

“Emancipatory Royalism, *Rayanos*, and Imagined Unknowns:
African Descendants in the Borderlands of *La Española*”

By

Jesús Ruiz

Dr. Kris Lane

Fall 2015

Introduction



Figure 1: Map of Hispaniola, circa 1790.¹

Sharing the island of *La Española* (Hispaniola) with Spanish Santo Domingo, the French colony of Saint Domingue had become, by the late eighteenth century, the richest in the Americas and a main driver of the African slave trade. The Age of Revolutions saw European monarchies come under attack and yet, in Saint Domingue many who fought in the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) allied themselves variously and at different times with the French, British, and Spanish crowns. By 1789, social and political turmoil in the French colony had pitted radical autonomist groups against conservative royalists. Various conspiracies ensued and in August of 1791, the largest slave revolts in the history of the Americas set the colony ablaze. Paradoxically, the African and African

¹ Archivo General de Indias (Hereafter: AGI) Mapas y Planos, Santo_Domingo (MPSD), 552, 1790.

descendant insurgents leading the revolts shouted cries of “long live the king” and “I burn my nation.”² Why was this? And what can the process of fighting for a king whose colony had them enslaved reveal about the ideological and identity formations of the former slaves who decided to fight, not for a nascent French Republic, but for an increasingly weakening monarchy?

My research project explores these questions by focusing on instances when African and African descendants from the French colony of Saint Domingue crossed the colonial boundary separating them from Spanish Santo Domingo. I look at the literal act of traveling across the border, but I also analyze how these people of African descent conceptually negotiated the legal, religious, and political structures within the entire island of Hispaniola. In doing so, I interrogate the ways in which these African descendants who crossed the border attempted - sometimes failing and others succeeding – to utilize Spanish political and intellectual concepts to their advantage. I argue that these African descendants fashioned a keen understanding of Spanish, as well as French, ideological concepts. I hypothesize these transimperial networks, both literal and conceptual, provided Saint Dominguan revolutionaries with a common adoption of royalism. I contend that this ideological stance must be seen as a fluid process that challenges narrow and static historical binaries that place royalism as a mere conservative counter discourse to nascent republican values. Instead, my research paper seeks to illustrate how these monarchical concepts were rooted in an abiding faith in authority, hierarchy, patronage systems, loyalty, and emancipatory principles.

² Archivo General de Indias (Hereafter: AGI) Santo_Domingo (Hereafter: SD), 1029, N.4, F.95, Year 1791

Note: My use of ‘African descendants’ includes free people of color (*gens de couleur*), free blacks (*affranchis*), and slaves.

My paper is divided into five total sections. The first section will outline my methodological approach, which focuses primarily on a Spanish imperial perspective. The second section is a brief overview of the historiography of Africans within the Spanish Empire, and provides some foundational frameworks for this paper. Making up the main body of the work, the three middle sections delve into the specific primary case studies I have chosen for this paper. Each section will be complemented by secondary scholarship dealing with African descendants in the Spanish Empire, Colonial Latin American histories, works on the African Diaspora, and topics dealing with borderlands themes. I will then bring some of the themes together at the end with a succinct conclusion that touches on the scholarly implications of this project, as well as why it may be of relevance to contemporary debates surrounding Haitian-Dominican relations.

Sources and Methodology

Employing a transimperial approach, this study takes into account both the perspective of the French colonial project and that of the Spanish administration from Santo Domingo. Doing so has facilitated framing this project beyond imperial lines and exploring an aspect of the Haitian Revolution that has hitherto been scarcely researched. Thus, a central concern of this paper is to reorient the Haitian revolutionary debate from Franco and Anglo-centric interpretations, to a broader framework that includes the Spanish Empire because, after all, such is the nature of my primary sources. For obvious geographical reasons, France and Spain are the two major lenses through which I frame this project. Yet, I must admit that I have placed much analytical weight on the Spanish perspective. I have done this namely for three reasons. First, my primary sources are

strictly from Spanish archives. Second, I have found that in reviewing the literature about African descendants in the Spanish Empire, I have been able to formulate critical questions that will help better frame the way I interrogate the primary materials. Third, probing the various approaches employed by Colonial Latin America scholars has provided me with what I believe has been a foundational historiographical and analytical exercise. If I am to properly illuminate the ideological navigations and identity formations of African descendants from Saint Domingue, I must attend seriously to the Spanish role in that narrative.

My primary sources originate from pre-dissertation research I conducted last summer at the General Archive of Indies (AGI) in Seville, Spain. These documents include legal testimonies, political and military correspondence, and first-hand accounts of the revolution. I have identified four cases in which African descendants either crossed the border into Spanish territory, directly exchanged correspondence with Spanish border officials from border towns on the French side of the island, or whose accounts were transmitted to Spanish authorities by Spanish agents traveling to the French side of the border. The cases differ in “how,” “when,” and “why” these men were navigating the frontier lands. These men included mulattos (free people of color), free-blacks, and former slaves who had taken their freedom into their own hands. Despite their social and racial differences, however, they paralleled each other on two fronts. They were all part, in varying degrees, of military, social, or political struggles for rights, freedoms, and sovereignty against white French colonial elites. Additionally, they concurred in their need and/or desire to get to Spanish territory.

Afro-descendants in the Spanish Empire

Before analyzing the primary material, it is necessary to conduct a review of the literature that centers on African and African descendants' experience within the Spanish Empire. This way, all of the primary material subsequently presented will stand on a much more firm analytical base. I summarize my readings in what follows and at the end provide an extensive footnote covering the works herein detailed. Throughout the paper, I will refer back to pertinent examples from this scholarship.

Dating back to the late nineteenth century works of Afro-Latin American history have traced the 'black' experience throughout the Spanish Empires. The twentieth century saw scholars like Fernando Ortiz and Gilberto Freyre write about African cultural survivals and how to incorporate African descendants into the nation-state. Pioneering studies by Frank Tannenbaum and Eric Williams marked a shift in the scholarship by exploring the differences between slave societies, race relations, and the rise of capitalism.³ It was not until the late 1970s and early 1990s that historians seriously engaged analyses of slave life, law, and plantation complex frameworks. In the last decades, historians have analyzed the ways in which African and African descendant people have developed acute understandings of colonial and imperial apparatuses. Specifically, scholars have pointed to how black subjects within the Spanish Empire were able to navigate imperial and colonial structures in order to secure freedom and rights for

³ The pioneers: Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (New York: Knopf, 1956); Fernando Ortiz, *Los Negros Esclavos* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1916) and *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar* (New York: Knopf, 1947); Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: the Negro in the Americas* (New York: Knopf, 1947); Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

themselves. Perhaps more importantly, scholars have sought to situate African-descended people within their own narratives, not simply because they may inform our understanding of colonial processes, but because of the centrality of their stories within the development of Spanish American societies. Understanding the Afro-Latin American experience also sheds critical light onto methods that shape studies focused on the African Diaspora and Slavery.

For instance, works on legally pluralistic societies where multiple judicial structures intersected are especially insightful for this paper. These geographic areas (often frontiers) created spaces within which African descendants put their understandings of the law into practice. What makes the historiography perhaps the more significant is that scholars have shrewdly demonstrated how African descendants were able to engage in such mobility, possibilities, and circumventions, whilst faced with colonial and imperial power structures that much too often privileged racial superiority and control. Undoubtedly, the violently stratified and racialized hierarchical structures of colonial societies made it all the more difficult for African descendant populations throughout the New World to forge their own communities. Nevertheless, historians have made critical methodological strides in unveiling the voices of those marginalized by colonial powers, while elucidating the complicated ways and various social structures, in and by which, African descendants throughout the Spanish empire were able to create for themselves otherwise unattainable opportunities.⁴

⁴ Works I have found especially useful in thinking about how to frame the experience of African descendants from Saint Domingue within a Spanish Imperial perspective include: Herman Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Indiana University Press, 2003) and *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico* (Indiana University Press, 2009); Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith, editors, *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America* (Stanford University Press, 2009); Sherwin Bryant,

“Under the Same Climate”: The Ogé and Chavannes Affair

With the literature review in mind, let us now turn to the case of Vincent Ogé and Jean-Baptiste Chavannes.⁵ On October of 1790, Vincent Ogé and Jean-Baptiste Chavannes, both free men of color, began an uprising near the French border town of Dondon directed towards a group of white elites from the town of Saint Marc in the western portion of the colony of Saint Domingue. Their movement’s intent was to force the elite colonists who had formed an assembly at Saint Marc, to implement a decree that had been passed by France’s National Assembly on March 8 of that same year granting free citizens “without distinction” (meaning *all* races) their inclusion into the various assemblies formed in the colony, as well as conceding them political rights.⁶ As a relatively wealthy man of color (he was a *quadroon*: one-quarter African descent), Ogé had traveled to France to stake his claims. Nonetheless, upon his return to the colony Ogé soon realized that influential and elite whites refused to grant free people of color entry

Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage: Governing through Slavery in Colonial Quito (University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Sherwin K. Bryant, Rachel Sarah O’Toole, and Ben Vinson III, eds., *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora* (University of Illinois Press, 2012); Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (University of Illinois Press, 1999); Ben Vinson III, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford University Press, 2003); Michele Reid-Vazquez, *The Year of the Lash: Free People of Color in Cuba and the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World* (University of Georgia Press, 2011); Maria Elena Díaz, *The Virgin, the King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670-1780* (Stanford University Press, 2002); Matthew Restall, *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayas, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan* (Stanford University Press, 2009); Rebecca Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery* (Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 2005); Ann Twinam, *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies* (Stanford University Press, 2015); James F. King, “A Royalist View of the Colored Castes in the Venezuelan War of Independence,” *HAHR* 33, no. 4 (1953): 526-37; Aline Helg, *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770-1835* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004)

⁵ AGI, SD 1028, N. 12, F.13, Year 1790.

⁶ Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 87-88.

into their assemblies. The elite whites, along with the colonial authorities in the northern port city of Le Cap, had also branded Ogé an outlaw for his political machinations. Pamphile de Lacroix, a French general who witnessed the revolution first hand, stated that the members of the Saint Marc assembly declared flatly they would never share political power with a “bastard and degenerate race” – the free-coloreds.⁷ Ogé returned to his hometown of Dondon near the border with Santo Domingo and gathered his troops who, along with his co-conspirator Jean-Baptiste Chavannes, were waiting for him to lead them into battle. His few victories, though, were short-lived and colonial troops sent from Le Cap crushed their march forcing them to flee into Santo Domingo. Around November 1790, Ogé and his men were apprehended by Spanish authorities and subsequently extradited back to the French colony. On February 6 of the next year, Ogé, Chavannes, and dozens of other free men of color who had taken up arms for their rights, were brutally executed in Le Cap’s public square by being broken on the wheel.⁸

The aforementioned is the general narration of Ogé and Chavannes’ revolt within the historiography of Haitian revolutionary studies. Most of the literature relies on primary printed material from Le Cap, and some of the most recent work has provided new and important primary material from the notarial archives in France.⁹ However, we know almost nothing about the details of what occurred on the Spanish side of

⁷ As cited in: Dubois, *Avengers*, 86.

⁸ Dubois, *Avengers*, 88.

⁹ For a review on the experience of free men of color and Ogé, see the following works by John D. Garrigus: *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint Domingue* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); “Thy Coming Fame, Ogé! Is Sure”: New Evidence on Ogé’s Revolt and the Beginning of the Haitian Revolution,” in *Assumed Identities: The Meanings of Race in the Atlantic World*, eds., Garrigus and Christopher Morris (Texas A&M University Press, 2010); and “Vicent Ogé Jeune (1757-91): Social Class and Free Colored Mobilization on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution,” *Americas* 68, no. 1 (July 2011): 33-62; Stewart R. King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue* (University of Georgia Press, 2001).

Hispaniola's border while these men were held in custody by authorities for almost a month. Furthermore, if much of the groundbreaking research on race, citizenship, and the free population of color in Saint Domingue relies so much on the legal records of Ogé and Chavannes' court testimonies to the authorities at Le Cap, what must we make about the legal records left behind in the Spanish archives from the case that eventually saw these African descendants extradited back to Saint Domingue? What do these records reveal about the ambitions and pretensions behind the movement these free men of color waged? And what can the process of testifying before Spanish lawyers and authorities uncover about the wider implications of political, intellectual, and social exchange between subjects of both the French and Spanish colonies? In order to appropriately attend to these questions, I will present and analyze a portion of the 1790 *sumaria* or, fact-finding mission and legal testimony. These judicial records provide key insight into the ways in which Ogé and Chavannes understood Spanish law. Moreover, the rich detail of the primary evidence illuminates that for years people like Ogé, Chavannes, and other men of color – both free and enslaved – were able to navigate through various social structures and, as Jane Landers puts it when referring to frontier people in Spanish Florida: “adeptly manipulate a variety of political contests as well as the demographic exigencies [of colonial authorities].”¹⁰

It was around December of 1790 when, fleeing towards the capital of Santo Domingo, Ogé and his men were taken into custody by authorities near the town of San Juan de la Maguana in Spanish territory. Interestingly, the lawyers in the case stated that there was no struggle or clash at the time of their arrest. Simply, Ogé and his troops “laid

¹⁰ Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (University of Illinois Press, 1999), 3.

down their arms.”¹¹ Perhaps this is telling of their motivations for fleeing towards the Spanish side and seeking asylum? In other words, does it not beg the question of why a military group who had just taken up arms would so easily capitulate and lay them down? My contention is it absolutely does. I also believe, though, it demonstrates what they knew about the possibilities the Spanish legal system provided. As Frank Tannenbaum suggested in his *Slave and Citizen*, African descendants in Spanish slave societies had a moral and legal status that afforded them certain opportunities otherwise not attainable in New World regions such as British America.¹² It appears Ogé and his company were optimistic of their prospects.

However, once the testimony began, it was clear that the Spanish governor, Don Joaquín García, was distrustful of Ogé’s “brigands.”¹³ García seemed guarded about Ogé and Chavannes’ accusations of the white planters who had formed the provincial assembly at Saint Marc. The lawyers in the trial, however, were less reactionary and acknowledged that Ogé and Chavannes had the right to a fair trial and specifically had room for litigation.¹⁴ During that litigation and, when asked about their general background information (i.e., occupation, marital status, etc.), Ogé and Chavannes said something that seemed to have a profound effect on the lawyers. They proclaimed to be *rayanos* and *fronterizos* (borderlands persons or frontiersmen) and that even though they had been born on the French side of the border, they frequently traveled to and from the dividing line, and into Spanish territory. When they were asked why it was that they

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in America* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1946).

¹³ Ada Ferrer’s most recent study shows that this was a common term to refer to the African descendant insurgents of the Haitian Revolution, which is intriguing given that the revolution had not yet ‘officially’ started, see: *Freedom’s Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

¹⁴ AGI, SD 1028, F.10.

traveled into Spanish territory, Chavannes responded he often met at his *cuñado*'s (brother in law) house near the Hinchá region (further into Spanish territory), while Ogé stated he would "hunt" and "sometimes his mother would buy beef from a man named Juan Andujar."¹⁵ Clearly, these free men of color had time for leisure activities in Spanish territory, were engaged in business transactions, built commercial networks, and even had familial relations. When asked if they had ever recruited any free men of color or blacks from the Spanish territory, Chavannes responded they had five "Spanish mulattos" who had been soldiers with them in the Grand Riviere – a town near the border – who all eventually deserted Ogé's forces.¹⁶ So in addition to their political, patronage, and economic links across the border, it appears they also developed military networks. Their political rhetoric during the testimony was unwavering; they explicitly condemned British monarchical ambitions and were loyal to the Bourbon Catholic monarchies of France and Spain. Throughout their testimony, they continuously warned the lawyers of "Jewish" and "Protestant" seditious sympathizers in Saint Domingue who threatened to destroy the monarchy.¹⁷

Governor García was having none of it. He accused the men of being usurpers and counseled the legal authorities to send the men back immediately. Yet, the lawyers did not share his opinion. The attorneys in fact seemed quite convinced of Ogé and Chavannes' statements. One of the lawyers, Don Vicente Antonio Fauna, followed the testimonies with a series of extraordinary remarks. On the one hand, he said, the "mulattos have been born next to us and under the same climate and influences than that of the foreigners (reference to the British), whom they don't know, with whom they have

¹⁵ Ibid, F. 196-97.

¹⁶ Ibid, F. 63-66.

¹⁷ Ibid, F. 390.

never conversed with, and whose customs, treatment, and legislation they have much less experience with than with ours, who they have frequented since their infancy.”¹⁸ At this point, Fauna seemed to lean towards clemency. He added that other families had come to their borders because they had “seen with their very own eyes the humanity with which our legislation treats all of its vassals, with no distinction of social state, nor qualities.” Fauna pushed the rhetoric even further by stating that “even though nature makes us black and white, we are sons of one species, and we are invigorated by the same spirit.”¹⁹ Despite Fauna and other lawyers’ attempts to avoid “blood on their hands,” the ruling to extradite Ogé and Chavannes passed.²⁰

The Spanish legal documents of the Ogé and Chavannes affair not only raise significant questions about free people of colors’ understanding of Spanish law and of the geopolitical stakes at play, but they also provide crucial insight into how African descendants from Saint Domingue may have understood their sense of place in the borderlands of Hispaniola. In other words, Ogé and Chavannes’ legal testimony uncovers the networks they had created as frontiersmen with Spanish groups and people, and sheds light on an aspect of the Haitian Revolution that speaks to notions of fluidity and border spaces as sites of negotiation, identity formation, and contestation. Thus, I propose that we look at the border of Hispaniola as what David Gutiérrez coined a “third space,” which we cannot see as “separate bounded and bordered national binary spaces,” but

¹⁸ Ibid, F. 13 – Original Spanish: “han nacido al lado de nosotros, y bajo de un mismo clima é influencias; que al de los extranjeros, a quienes no conocen, con quienes no han conversado y de cuyas costumbres, trato, y legislación no tienen la experiencia, que de la de nosotros con quienes se han frecuentado desde su infancia.”

¹⁹ Ibid, F. 14 – Original Spanish: “han visto por sus propias personas la humanidad con que mira y protege nuestra legislación a todos los vasallos, sin distinción de estados, ni de calidades.” And, avnque [sic] la naturaleza hace de sus hijos negros y blancos somos hijos de una propia especie, y nos anima un mismo espíritu”

²⁰ Ibid, F. 17.

rather as locales that “capture the porosity of political borders.”²¹ This third space, I argue, helped to establish networks for African descendants from Saint Domingue that not only exposed them to Spanish legal systems, but also allowed them to develop ideological frameworks that were rooted in a monarchical tradition deeply entrenched in both the French *and* Spanish sides of the island. As the next case demonstrates, religion and politics were essentially inseparable during this period on the island of Hispaniola.

“Cure des Nègres”: Papillon, Religion, and Ideology

Understanding the experience of African descendants in the various border spaces of Hispaniola at the turn of the eighteenth century must be situated within a broad literature that, in addition to understanding how blacks navigated judicial structures, also takes into account studies that illuminate how people of African descent in the Atlantic World were able to evade rigid colonial boundaries and construct sovereignties for themselves by drawing on capacious social and political structures.²² This scholarship unquestionably provides a sound base with which to frame the case-studies in the present paper. However, the questions I posed in the introduction of why the insurgents chanted “long live the king” and “I burn my nation” (see Figure 2) require further examination. Thus, I ground my analysis within literature that also zooms in on how religious

²¹ David Gutiérrez, “Migration, Emergent Ethnicity, and the ‘Third Space’: The Shifting Politics of Nationalism in Greater Mexico,” *Journal of American History* 86, no. 2 (1999): 2.

²² Important examples include: Matt D. Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle Against Atlantic Slavery* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Ada Ferrer, *Freedom’s Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2014); Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (Harvard University Press, 2010);

structures may help better comprehend the ways in which African descendants conceptualized their capacity for resistance.²³

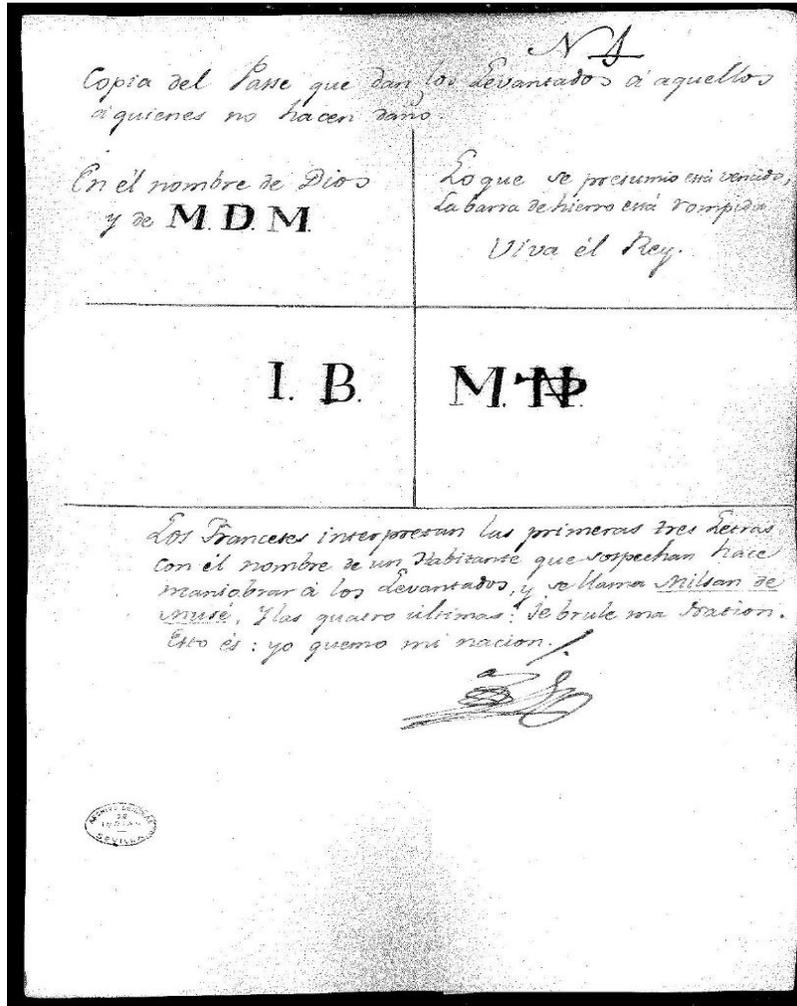


Figure 2: Copy of "pass" insurgents gave "those who they do not harm." Top right part states "Long live the King" and at the bottom the Spanish official translates the I. [sic]. B. M. N. as je brule ma nation or, "I burn my nation."

Building upon this literature, I propose that African descendants who literally traveled to and through the border, also developed conceptual ties with people in the

²³ I'm thinking specifically of the works of Herman Bennett, Matthew Restall, Ann Twinam, James F. King, and Alida C. Metcalf (all outlined in footnote 8).

Spanish colony through their Christianity. Herman Bennett's work about African descendants in colonial Mexico explicitly outlines that "Christianity rather than race or slavery provided the structural contours of blackness."²⁴ Bennett is perhaps overstating this claim, but the critical point is that he utilizes structural Christianity as a methodological tool with which to view the actions of Afro-descendants in colonial Mexico. He presents the case of a young woman named María, for instance, who in staking her claims for a union with a man she had sexual intercourse with, demanded the Christian sacrament of marriage. María framed her virtue, honor, and (Bennett argues) her blackness within the structure of Christian practices. The young black woman had surrendered her virginity under the promise of marriage and was thus outraged when the man failed to make due on his assurance. Bennett's key argument is that Christianity provided María with a literal (i.e., the Church, ecclesiastical courts, etc.) and conceptual (her unwavering faith) space within which to formulate her grievance. He states "the fact that a young black woman could legitimately stake such a claim in the contours of a rapacious colonial slave society in which all women constituted objects of unbridled desire speaks to María's Christian consciousness. Christianity made possible María's understanding of herself and her body. She conceived of herself as possessing virtue, which was literally embodied in her virginity."²⁵ This framework allows for a deeper analysis of how African descendants from Saint Domingue utilized the structures and representatives of the Catholic Church in order to improve their situations.

The aftermath of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) in Saint Domingue saw the rise of anticlericalism, the weakening of Christian religious instruction, and the

²⁴ Bennett, *Colonial Blackness*, 61.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 138.

suppression of the Jesuit Order, whose priests (*cure des nègres*) had been accused of providing protection and asylum to slaves. Spanish America also saw such trends, but changes fell short of the radical moves of the French Revolution and its colonies.²⁶ This paper thus interrogates how, shortly after the revolts in the northern plains of Saint Domingue in 1791, one of the leaders of the insurgency, Jean François Papillon began negotiating with a Spanish priest named Josef Vasquez in hopes of gaining support of the Spanish colonial government for their movement.²⁷ I argue that Christian Spaniards like Vasquez must have appealed to the black revolutionaries, who were disillusioned with the French church, distrusted the British, and whose royalist viewpoints were informed by a seemingly unwavering loyalty to the Catholic faith.

On January of 1792, the Spanish commander – Andres de Heredia – stationed near the border town of Saint Raphael (*San Rafael*), which was across from the French town of Dondon, received a translated copy of proposals made by Jean François Papillon and members of his insurgent camp.²⁸ The main intermediary tasked with forwarding these documents to the border commander was the parish priest of the Spanish border town of Dajabón, Don Josef Vasquez. Papillon’s intention was that the border commander would pass the proposals over to the Spanish governor, Joaquín García, who would subsequently forward them to the King of France. While the document definitely arrived in García’s office, it never made the voyage across the Atlantic and to the royal courts in Versailles. The proposals put forth by Jean François’ are key because they speak to the ideological and emancipatory beliefs by which this “black chief” (*gefe negro*)

²⁶ Sue Peabody, “A Dangerous Zeal”: Catholic Missions to Slaves in the French Antilles, 1635-1800,” *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 1 (2002): 53-90.

²⁷ AGI, SD 1030, N.390, F.546, Year 1792.

²⁸ Archivo General de Simancas (Hereafter AGS), Secretaría y Despacho de Guerra (Secretary of War, hereafter: SGU,LEG) 7157, 18, F.71, Year 1792.

stood. Of the six total proposals, three deserve particular attention. The first states that the leaders of the insurrection were willing to “return the slaves (meaning the *former* slaves now fighting in the insurgency) back to their plantations but only as free men and with some type of daily or weekly pension.”²⁹ The next proposal stated “the insurrection began in the name of the King informing everybody that they were free and bearing arms for their King.”³⁰ Finally, showcasing Papillon and the other insurgents’ caution and acute awareness of the volatile situation, proposal number five declared they “wanted to come to an accord because they did not want to always live in war, but they distrusted the President (Spanish Governor) would turn them in to be martyred like the mulatto Ogé.”³¹

The record put forth by Jean François Papillon illustrates that the insurgents abided by a royalist ideology rooted in loyalty to the King of France. It also strongly suggests that royalism was the ideological impetus with which leaders like Papillon were able to convince the masses of slaves to initially take up arms. Furthermore, the text uncovers the need to take royalism seriously as an emancipatory ideology. That the French monarchy was the very power structure behind plantation slavery is, at first glance, paradoxical. Yet, as the work of James Sweet suggests, identity formation for Africans in the Americas was a complex process that included being able to transform and adapt oneself to new realities.³² Similarly, Matthew Restall’s work on Afro-Yucatecan southeastern Mexico posits that in order to better understand African diasporic

²⁹ Ibid, F. 71 – Original Spanish: “que rendirán los esclavos a sus havitaciones [sic] pero en calidad de libres y con alguna pension por dia o por semana.”

³⁰ Ibid, Original Spanish: “Que la insurreccion comenzó en nombre del Rey haciendoles saber a todos que eran libres y que tomaban las armas por su Rey.”

³¹ Ibid, Original Spanish: “Que apetece la composicion por que no han de vivir siempre en guerra, pero que desconfian de que el Señor Presidente los entregue como al mulato Ogé para ser martirizados.”

³² James Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

identities, it is important to shift the focus from Afrocentric and collective interpretations, to how people created their individual and sometimes multiple identities.³³ Therefore, the notion that former slaves took on an ideological stance impelling them to fight for an increasingly less powerful monarch, sheds light on the ways in which royalism was fluid and not necessarily incompatible with Liberal Republican values too often conceptualized on the other end of the ideological spectrum, namely as *liberté, égalité, and fraternité*.

Ultimately, the scholarship treats Jean François and other insurgent leaders' success only insofar as they eventually became "auxiliary" troops to Charles IV of Spain.³⁴ Indeed, the black auxiliaries received medals, munitions, and important provisions for their service to the Spanish crown. However, I argue that while their time acquiring valuable weapons and goods from the Spanish crown is important, a close reading of the proposals lobbied by Jean François' carry a much deeper conceptual meaning. They elucidate that the structural connection between the insurgents and Priest Vasquez were effectively rooted in their shared Catholicism. While it is difficult, as Restall suggests, to "determine whether professions of faith were sincere" or mere "lip service," African descendants throughout the Americas had various reasons to adopt Christianity.³⁵ This does not mean that religious practices were not brought over from Africa as they certainly were, but it suggests that African descendants in New World societies were able to adopt and perform their own versions of what they wanted

³³ Matthew Restall, *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayas, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan* (Stanford University Press, 2009).

³⁴ Jorge Victoria Ojeda, *Las Tropas Auxiliares de Carlos IV: De Saint-Domingue al Mundo Hispano* (Universitat Jaume I, 2011).

³⁵ Restall, *The Black Middle*, 235.

Christian rituals and institutions to signify for them.³⁶ In the case of African descendants from Saint Domingue, Christianity acted as a tool with which they could build broad structural connections to Spanish Santo Domingo. This religious framework also sheds light on their immediacy to Spanish customs, and the porosity of Hispaniola's border. The implications of these men's religious negotiations, I believe, could potentially challenge a long-standing historiographical tradition that mainly centers cultural and religious frameworks in Saint Domingue within the study of Vodou.³⁷

“Cubrirme de su piel”: Negotiating Identity and Colonial Anxieties

Aside from African descendants' negotiations of legal and religious structures, military correspondences also form a crucial part of this study. In this final section, I outline the cases of two African descendant men, which I believe will mark the first time they enter the historical narrative about the Haitian Revolution.³⁸ Adding two likely new characters to the debate could prove to be important in its own right as it would show that Carolyn Fick's call to study the revolution as a movement from “below” – one that

³⁶ On African Christianity and other religious practices, see: Sweet, *Recreating Africa and Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Jason R. Young, *Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kongo and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery* (Louisiana State University Press, 2007); Ras Michael Brown, *African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Lowcountry* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); and Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo* (University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

³⁷ See: Joan Dayan, “Querying the Spirit: The Rules of the Haitian Lwa,” in *Colonial Saints Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, eds. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (Routledge Press, 2003): 31-50; David P. Geggus, “Marronage, Voodoo and the Saint-Domingue Slave Revolution of 1791,” in *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, eds. Patricia Galloway and Philip Boucher (University Press of America, 1992): 22-35; and Pierre Pluchon, *Vaudou, sorciers, empoisonneurs: De Saint-Domingue à Haïti* (Paris: Karthala, 1987).

³⁸ To my knowledge, there are no references to either of these men in the historiography. I have yet to come across any references to their names. There is a chance that Riqueti was a *nom de guerre* (an assumed name or alias). As for Bongard, his surname simply has not surfaced in the literature.

attends to the masses and its multiple protagonist – is still fundamentally relevant.

Riqueti

One month after the initial slave revolts of August 1791, the other Spanish border commander, Joaquín Cabrera, had an intriguing exchange with a mysterious “Ethiopian general”³⁹ named “Riqueti.”⁴⁰ Cabrera described his in-person meeting with the black insurgent to the Spanish administrators. He claimed Riqueti offered to give him sugar and coffee in exchange for gun powder and bullets in order to continue the war in the name of God and opposing the “white rebels” who were against “both majesties.”⁴¹ Cabrera described not being able to help the black general, but noticed that Riqueti had two hundred men under his command – of which many were black, some mulattos, but all on horseback and properly armed. Cabrera then described Riqueti’s uniform as blue, but expressed confusion at the cross stitched onto it, with which he acknowledged being “unfamiliar.”⁴² What did this mean? How could an ostensibly devout Catholic like Cabrera, who constantly thanked God in his letters, not know the origin of a cross?⁴³ I will return to these questions in what follows. Cabrera finished his account by stating that the blacks who were under Riqueti’s command had beheaded the French military commander from the Grand Riviere (near Dondon in the north) and placed his head

³⁹ In colonial Spanish usage, *Etiopie* or, “Ethiopian” was generally synonymous with black African, so I’m not taking Ethiopian in this case to literally mean a native of the Empire of Ethiopia, but rather a black insurgent leader from Saint Domingue.

⁴⁰ AGI, SD 1030, N. 73-74 Year 1791.

⁴¹ Ibid, Original Spanish: “en contra de los rebeldes blancos a sus majestades.”

⁴² Ibid, Original Spanish: “un uniforme azul con cruz que desconozco.”

⁴³ Additionally, the fact that Cabrera was a military commander makes his ignorance more confounding as someone of his high ranking was often expected to know most “orders” of crosses.

where Vincent Ogé's had erstwhile been displayed; the insurgents allegedly also gave Ogé a proper burial.⁴⁴

Cabrera's account of the enigmatic Riqueti is consistent with the royalist dispositions all of the African descendants presented in this study have claimed. Also, Riqueti makes no secret of his Christian affinities and thus the document strongly suggests that he, like Ogé, Chavannes, and Papillon, was also a Christian royalist. Still, what to make of the mysterious cross on his blue uniform? Was this simply an exercise by Riqueti in sartorial symbolism? It is hard to say, but studies about Christian Africa have provided valuable insight into cultural and religious sartorial practices transported across the Atlantic from the West and Central Africa to Caribbean slave societies.⁴⁵ Particularly germane for better conceptualizing what Riqueti's cross might have meant is a study about the Kingdom of Kongo by art historian Cécile Fromont. Her in-depth investigation traces how the elite classes from the Kingdom of Kongo engaged with visual and material cultures from Europe in order to fashion their own conceptualization of Christian doctrine, which Fromont coined as "Kongo Christianity." The author contends that Kongolese elites utilized narratives and visual artifacts through what she calls "conceptual spaces of correlation" in order to "transform and redefine them into the constitutive and intimately linked parts of a new system of religious thought, artistic

⁴⁴ Ibid, there's no mention of Ogé's body and thus a chance that they simply buried his head.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641-1718* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Linda M. Heywood, "Slavery and Its Transformation in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491-1800," *Journal of African History* 50, no. 1 (2009): 1-23; John K. Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (1991): 1101-1113; Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Central Africa in the Caribbean: Transcending Time, Transforming Cultures* (Kingston, Jamaica, 2003); and Monica Schular, *"Alas, Alas, Kongo": A Social History of Indentured African Immigration into Jamaica, 1841-1865* (Baltimore, 1980).

expression, and political organization.”⁴⁶ Crosses and crucifixes were such spaces of correlation and they opened important possibilities for subjects of the Kongolese kingdom to ensure their status as part of the expansive network of Christendom.

With this framework in mind and given the fact Saint Domingue had one of the highest influxes of slaves from the Kingdom of Kongo,⁴⁷ I propose that we think of Riqueti’s “unknown” cross as a cross-cultural iteration of the ways in which he fashioned his own sense of a royalist ideology rooted in Christianity. I do not pretend to claim that Riqueti was a Kongolese Christian. Nonetheless, I do posit that similar to Kongolese adaptations and reconfigurations of Portuguese Christian practices in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so too, did African descendants in Saint Domingue respond to and negotiate complex military, political, and religious networks with Spanish Santo Domingo.

Juan Bautista Bongard

On October 25, 1791, in a public square near the border town of Juana Méndez,⁴⁸ a free black named Juan Bautista Bongard gave a rousing speech to a crowd of white colonists and people of color (*gens de couleur*) from Saint Domingue. Given his hostile treatment of “whites” and “mulattos” it is most probable that Bongard was a black insurgent. Furthermore, the evidence strongly suggests he was also a former slave as his first lines state the whites (sugar planters), who he refers to as “vile scum,” did not want “to concede *us* [emphasis mine] three free days out of the week as the King had

⁴⁶ Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 2.

⁴⁷ John K. Thornton, “I Am the Subject of the King of Congo”: African Political Ideology and the Haitian Revolution,” *Journal of World History*, 4:2 (October 1993): 181-214.

⁴⁸ *Ouanaminthe* in French and *Wanamet* in Haitian Creole, located in the northeast part of Saint Domingue near the Spanish border town of Dajabón.

promised.”⁴⁹ Bongard continues his impassioned speech with, “well then, I warn you vile scum that your time has passed, you will no longer say: ‘captain, give 100 lashes to this negro,’ it is I from here on out that will give them to you. You know no God and no King . . . and you have attracted onto yourself all of the ills that are plaguing you now.”⁵⁰

Bongard then turns to the people of color and declares “it is for you that we’re here, we came to avenge the death and murder of Ogé and Chavannes . . . but if you persist (not complying) we will make you suffer the same fate as your fathers. Come amongst us my friends, you still have time, but if you follow the machinations of this vile scum (the whites), you can await the most horrible torments.”⁵¹ The climax of Bongard’s speech comes when he again turns his attention towards the whites and exclaims, “you all know that a part of the country is already ours, that we have possession of Limbé, Dondon, Port Margot, and of a large part of the plains of Le Cap, and that shortly we will march with torch in hand to the western and southern parts; it is I who tells you, and you can believe me, there will not be one white left in the colony; and I will only add that the first white I capture I would like to skin him alive and cover myself with his skin.”⁵²

⁴⁹ AGI, SD 1030, N.2, F.60-62, Year 1791. I keep his name as Juan Bautista instead of the French Jean-Baptiste to stay true to the source. Original Spanish: “Vosotros no haveis [sic] querido vil canallas concedernos tres dias de la semana como el Rey nos lo havia [sic] prometido.”

⁵⁰ Ibid, F. 60-61. In Spanish: “pues bien, yo os prevengo vil canallas que vuestro tiempo ha pasado [sic]; vosotros no direis mas: Capitan dadle 100 azotes a este Negro; soy yo de aquí adelante que os los hare dar. Vosotros no conoceis ni a Dios ni al Rey . . . y os aveis atraido bien los males que os suceden.”

⁵¹ Ibid, F. 61. Spanish: “es por vosotros que nosotros estamos aquí: nosotros venimos a vengar la muerte y el asesinato de Ogé y de Chavanne [sic] . . . pero si persistis nosotros os haremos sufrir la misma suerte que a vuestros padres. Venid entre nosotros mis amigos, todavia es tiempo, pero si segues los impulsos de esta vil canalla, podeis esperar los tormenos mas terribles.”

⁵² Ibid, F. 61-62. Spanish: “vosotros saveis [sic] que una parte del país es ya nuestra: que estamos en posesion del Limbé, del Dondón, de Port Margot, y de una grande parte del llano del Guarico, y dentro de poco nosotros iremos con la mecha en la mano a la parte del oeste y del sur: soy yo que os lo digo, y podeis creerme, no quedara un Blanco en la colonia; y os añado que al primer blanco que yo pille quiero desollarlo vivo, y cubrirme de su piel.”

The enticing speech is housed in an intelligence report from Spanish border agents to the governor of Santo Domingo. Reacting to the speech, governor García declared that all previous accounts of black insurgents being “dispirited” can effectively be “dismissed.”⁵³ Bongard’s ideological stance is consistently royalist and his speech suggests he is likely a Christian. But above all, his account is remarkable for its profound implications. On the one hand, it indicates that free blacks may have had a conspiratorial and more interconnected relationship with free people of color in the initial insurgency than the historiography hitherto indicates. On the other hand, what the report lacks is mentioning who the Spanish authorities tasked with traveling to Juana Méndez and conducting the investigation. Surely, the Spanish exercised their own precautions and so it is not surprising that this information was withheld from the primary evidence. Thus, it is important to read the archives not against, but along the grain in order to conceive of them as what Ann Laura Stoler called “condensed sites of epistemological and political anxiety.”⁵⁴ Treating the colonial archive as a contested site where imperial and colonial power is in fact not omniscient is central to Stoler’s approach. With this in mind, then, what might the deafening silences regarding Bongard’s file in the Spanish archive tell us about the overall social, racial, or religious make-up of the mission into Juana Méndez? And while we can deduce what Spanish colonial agents knew, to what extent do they reveal *how* they knew it?⁵⁵ While these questions may require further research, Bongard’s account does reveal that even Spanish factions traversed the porous border between the two colonies. Finally, Bongard and the African descendants presented in this paper

⁵³ Ibid, F. 58. Spanish: “parece que las noticias que se suministran de estar tan avatidos los negros no se compruevan.”

⁵⁴ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 20.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 3.

demonstrate that far from being a rigid and impenetrable boundary, the “border” separating both colonies on the island of Hispaniola actually provided interstices within which these men could manipulate social structures and negotiate ideological concepts.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have taken on the task of conducting an analysis relying largely on Spanish colonial accounts of events that are integral to the history of the Haitian Revolution. While these pages have presented well-known figures in the history of the revolution, some of them are largely understudied, and others are perhaps yet to be explored at all.

My research in the AGI last summer provided me with the rich and detailed primary material that I have utilized as the foundation of this project. The secondary literature has also been fundamental as it has helped me generate questions and employ analytical devices that have enriched my understanding of the experiences of African descendants in Saint Domingue.

Moreover, focusing specifically on the border as both a literal and conceptual space of negotiation and analysis has helped me imagine an aspect of the revolution that I hope will engage some of the most recent work on the Haitian revolutionary studies, and what I deduce is an increasing turn to the Spanish archival collections.⁵⁶

This paper has outlined the various ways in which African descendants in Saint Domingue were able to fashion a royalist ideological disposition based on their island wide awareness and manipulation of legal, political, religious, and military structures. I have attempted to center my analysis on the voices of the African descendant actors that I argue had much to do with how – particularly the Spanish – but also the French colonial governments handled the geopolitical intrigues of the era. In other words, African

⁵⁶ Graham T. Nessler's forthcoming work, *An Islandwide Struggle for Freedom: Revolution, Emancipation, and Reenslavement in Hispaniola, 1789-1809* (The University of North Carolina Press) available May 2016, promises to set an important precedent for future scholars in the field.

descendants like Vincent Ogé, Jean-Baptiste Chavannes, Jean François Papillon, Riqueti, and Juan Bautista Bongard not only forged new identities and concepts for themselves, but in doing so, they also shaped the ways in which the events of the Haitian Revolution unfolded. Localizing the movements of African-descendants and the specific events in which they took center stage, all within the porous border between the two colonies has strong implications for the study of Afro-Latin America, but also for historians of the African Diaspora and the Atlantic World.

My paper provides case studies that can help open a broader dialogue regarding the legacy of the Haitian Revolution, but it is also germane for the current (and critical) contemporary debate regarding Haitian-Dominican relations. The Dominican Republic has, in recent years, passed legislation that has effectively put tens of thousands of Haitian immigrants in a status of legal limbo. Legalizing enduring racist and xenophobic attitudes towards Haitians by Dominicans, the immigration crisis points to the lasting national narratives with which the Dominican Republic has been built. Dominican nationalism is rooted in a deep sense of Anti-Haitianism, racial whitening, and Spanish heritage. Consequently, my research intervenes in this contemporary debate as I show that many African descendants from Saint Domingue lived on the frontiers, traveled into Spanish territory, and developed vital networks with Spanish politicians, military personnel, and everyday people. The borderlands between the two colonies provided spaces within which African descendants from Saint Domingue were able to create interstices for themselves and ultimately have control over their own destinies.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archives

Spain

Archivo General de Indias, Seville (AGI)
Mapas y Planos, Santo Domingo (MPSD)
Santo Domingo (SD)

Archivo General de Simancas (AGS)
Secretaría y Despacho de Guerra (SGU)

Secondary Sources

Bennett, Herman. *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.

_____. *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Benton, Lauren. *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Brown, Ras Michael. *African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Lowcountry*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Bryant, Sherwin K. *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage: Governing Through Slavery in Colonial Quito*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Bryant, Sherwin K., Rachel Sarah O'Toole, and Ben Vinson III, eds. *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012.

Childs, Matt D. *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle Against Atlantic Slavery*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Dayan, Joan. "Querying the Spirit: The Rules of the Haitian Lwa." In *Colonial Saints Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, edited by Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, 31-50. New York: Routledge, 2003.

- Díaz, María E. *The Virgin, the King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670-1780*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Ferrer, Ada. *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956.
- Fromont, Cécile. *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014.
- Garrigus, John D. *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint Domingue*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- _____. "Thy Coming Fame, Ogé! Is Sure": New Evidence on Ogé's Revolt and the Beginning of the Haitian Revolution." In *Assumed Identities: The Meanings of Race in the Atlantic World*, edited by John D. Garrigus and Christopher Morris, 19-45. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2010.
- _____. "Vicent Ogé Jeune (1757-1791): Social Class and Free Colored Mobilization on the Eve of the Haitian Revolution." *Americas* 68, 1 (July 2011): 33-62.
- Geggus, David P. "Marronage, Voodoo and the Saint-Domingue Slave Revolution of 1791." In *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, edited by Patricia Galloway and Philip Boucher, 22-35. Maryland: University Press of America, 1992.
- Gutiérrez, David. "Migration, Emergent Ethnicity, and the 'Third Space': The Shifting Politics of Nationalism in Greater Mexico." *Journal of American History* 86, 2 (1999): 2.
- Helg, Aline. *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770-1835*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Heywood, Linda M. "Slavery and Its Transformations in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491-1800." *Journal of African History* 50, 1 (2009): 1-23.
- Katzew, Ilona and Susan Deans-Smith, eds. *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- King, James F. "A Royalist View of the Colored Castes in the Venezuelan War of Independence." *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 33, 4 (1953): 526-537.

- King, Stewart R. *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001.
- Landers, Jane. *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- _____. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Nessler, Graham T. *An Islandwide Struggle for Freedom: Revolution, Emancipation, and Reenslavement in Hispaniola, 1789-1809*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, Forthcoming May 2016.
- Ojeda, Jorge V. *Las Tropas Auxiliares de Carlos IV: De Saint-Domingue al Mundo Hispano*. Castellón de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2011.
- Ortíz, Fernando. *Los Negros Esclavos*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1916.
- _____. *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1947.
- Peabody Sue. "A Dangerous Zeal": Catholic Missions to Slaves in the French Antilles, 1635-1800." *French Historical Studies* 25, 1 (2002): 53-90.
- Pluchon, Pierre. *Vaudou, Sorciers, Empoisonneurs: De Saint-Domingue à Haïti*. Paris: Karthala, 1987.
- Reid-Vazquez, Michele. *The Year of the Lash: Free People of Color in Cuba and the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.
- Restall, Matthew. *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayas, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- Schular, Monica. "Alas, Alas, Kongo": *A Social History of Indentured African Immigration into Jamaica, 1841-1865*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Scott, Rebecca. *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery*. Cambridge: Belknap and Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Stoler, Ann L. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Sweet, James. *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- _____. *Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

- Tannenbaum, Frank. *Slave and Citizen: the Negro in the Americas*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947.
- Thornton, John K. *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641-1718*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
- _____. "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion." *American Historical Review* 96, 4 (1991): 1101-1113.
- _____. "I Am the Subject of the King of Congo": African Political Ideology and the Haitian Revolution." *Journal of World History*, 4, 2 (October 1993): 181-214.
- Twinam, Ann. *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Vinson, Ben. *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Warner-Lewis, Maureen. *Central Africa in the Caribbean: Transcending Time, Transforming Cultures*. Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2003.
- Williams, Eric. *Capitalism & Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944.
- Young, Jason R. *Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kongo and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007.