

Index

Note: French words are indicated in italics. Information from endnotes is indicated by an n following the page number.

- abolition of slavery
 in Britain, 2n4, 17n36, 24n56
 Code Noir, relationship to, 16–19
 1793 emancipation proclamations for,
 217, 236–291, 293–302
 February 4, 1794 decree (16 Pluviôse)
 on, 214, 255–302
 in France, 18n36, 18n38
 gradual emancipation, 145–146, 224,
 286, 312
 Haitian Revolution and, 216, 256–257,
 282–283, 285–286, 292–293
 in Jamaica, 2n3
 manumission relationship to, 11n28
 military service and, 16, 17n35
 planter brutality and, 145–146, 230
 slave rebellions/revolts and, 282–283
 in Surinam, 2n3
 Tocqueville as abolitionist, 18n38,
 20, 44
 in U.S., 19
- administrators, *See also specific administrators by name*; intendants;
 governors
 archival preservation by, 27n67
 authority of, 39–40, 40n29, 109
 Code Noir authority invoked by, 15–19,
 221, 223–231, 287–288
 on colonial racial demographics, 55–58
gens de couleur libres support from, 253
- Haitian Revolution role/stance of, 216,
 217–218, 223–231, 253, 255–257,
 276–277, 285
 late revolutionary, 303–308
 manumission stance of, 71, 80–81,
 83–89, 90–91, 97, 99–100,
 107–108, 110, 111–113, 114–116,
 233, 291–302
 military service imposed by, 111–116
 as plantation owners, 42n39
 planter brutality addressed by, 62,
 122–126, 130–131, 151–156,
 157–160, 163–166, 167, 177–181,
 182–187, 190–195, 201–206, 289–291
 power struggles amongst, 30, 288
 on slave crimes and punishment, 59–62
 taxation policies of, 93–108
affranchis (freed persons), *See also nègrès libres*;
gens de couleur libres
 dangers perceived by, 14
 defined, 13, 68n123
 parentage of, 85
 politicization/political power of, 231–232
 population of, 13, 35–36
 racial categorization as, 3–13, 13n32
- Ailhaud, Jean Antoine, 253, 277n70, 285,
 288, 289
- Algeria, 20n42, 31
- Almeida, Jean-Baptiste Suarez d', 184,
 185–187, 190, 201

- amirautés* (admiralty tribunals), 42
 Armand, 257
- baptism, manumission through, 31,
 86–87, 110
- Barbados, 14n33
 Bard, David, 311
 Bauvais, Louis-Jacques, 246, 258
 Bégon, Michel, 71
 Belair, Gabriel Aimé, 272n47, 281, 282
 Belley, Jean-Baptiste, 300
 Bessner, Baron de, 145n64, 145–146, 152
 Biassou, Georges, 16, 216, 218, 255–256,
 257, 258, 272, 276–285, 295
 Blénac, Comte de, 59–62, 71
 Bodin, Jean, 9, 29, 47–54, 49n60, 51n72,
 52n75, 77, 211
 Bonaparte, Napoleon, 2, 17–18, 20,
 214, 308
 Bongars, Alexandre-Jacques de, 107, 108,
 109, 114
 Boucaux, Jean, 261
 Boukman (Dutty), 257, 273, 283
 Brazil, 14n33, 78
 Brissot de Warville, Jacques-Pierre,
 250–252, 285, 286
- Britain
 abolition of slavery/antislavery sentiment
 in, 2n4, 17n36, 24n56
 eviction of, from Hispaniola, 304
 judicial torture in, 169n4
 planters' alliance with, 288
 Saint-Domingue occupation by, 299–300
 Seven Years' War involving, 4, 14, 97,
 113, 121, 213
- Bruère, Arnaud “Villeneuve”, 98–99
 Brulley, Augustin Jean, 253–254, 300
 brutality, planter, *See* planter brutality;
 torture
- Buffon, 184, 185–187, 190
 Bullet, Jeannot, 257, 277, 283
 Burke, Edmund, 241
- Cambefort, Colonel, 281n83
 Canada, 20n42, 31
 Cap Français
 burning of, 291
 Chamber of Agriculture in, 177n30,
 192–193, 194
Conseil Supérieur in, 90, 101–103,
 117–118, 120, 132, 133–135, 139,
 160, 177, 192, 207, 262, 263, 266
- courts generally in, 41n34, 89, 90–94,
 101–103, 117–118, 120, 131–138,
 139, 141, 160, 167, 177n30,
 184–187, 192, 194, 196, 203, 207,
 262, 263, 266
- gens de couleur libres* in, 105
 manumission of slaves in, 26n66
 political power struggles in, 288
sénéchaussée in, 131–138, 183–196,
 203, 263, 266
- slave communities/gathering places
 in, 270
 views of, 263, 266
- Carteau, Jean-Félix, 271
 Cassarouy (1770 planter brutality case),
 133–134, 135, 136, 137–138
 Castries, Charles-Eugène de la Croix de,
 157, 160, 161, 229–230, 234,
 239–240
- Catholicism, 69–70, 86–87.
See also religion
- Chamber of Agriculture, 177n30,
 192–193, 194
- Chapuzet, M., 142–143
Chasseurs Volontaires, 115
 Chavannes, Jean-Baptiste, 239
 Chilleau, Marquis du, 119n138
 Choiseul de Stainville, Etienne-François de,
 129–130, 138, 139
- citizenry/citizenship
 of *gens de couleur libres*, 79, 235,
 254, 298
 and slave standing, 52–54, 58, 214
- civil commissioners, *See* administrators
- Civil War, U.S., 2, 17n35
 Clarkson, Thomas, 239
 Clavière, Etienne, 250
 Club Massiac, 234, 238, 241, 245
 Clugny, Jean-Etienne-Bernard
 de, 140
- Cocosby, Marie-Rosalie-Florimonde, 107
- Code Noir
 abolition of, 18, 44
 abolition of slavery relationship to,
 16–19
 administrators invoking authority of,
 14–19, 221, 223–231, 287–288
 colonial social structure based on, 4,
 29–31, 43–76
 Declaration of the Rights of Man vs.,
 219–220
 drafting of, 58–63, 71–73, 178

- gens de couleur libres* invoking authority of, 15–16, 82, 217, 221–223, 235–236, 237, 238, 240–241, 244, 248, 253–254
- Haitian Revolution, influence on, 4–19, 215, 216–217, 219–231, 260–285, 287–288, 290–291
- legal culture based on, 14–19, 29–31, 55–67
- manumission regulated under, 5, 10–11, 12, 30–31, 67–76, 68n124, 72n140, 78–83, 117, 215
- marronage* regulated under, 139–140, 184
- planter brutality regulated under, 5, 10, 11–12, 30–31, 62–63, 126–128, 130, 132–138, 133n24, 139–144, 168–170, 171, 176–181, 184, 198–199, 209–210, 215, 225–226, 261–262, 263, 268–269, 290
- planters invoking authority of, 14–16 as product of customary law, 41, 43, 72n136, 72n137
- publication of, 260
- reform of, 156–157
- Roman law influences on, 29, 64, 65, 68, 71–73, 72n136, 72n137, 74, 75, 82, 126, 136, 148, 182n52
- slave “crimes” and punishment under, 58–67
- slaves’ exposure to, 260–276
- slaves invoking authority of, 14–16, 214–223, 276–285
- sovereignty of planters regulated under, 2, 12–13, 63n107
- structure and basis of, 7
- title page and opening text of, 44
- torture regulated under, 131–138, 168–170, 171, 174–210, 225–226, 228–269, 290–291
- transformation of, 5–6, 7, 15–19
- well-ordered commonwealth relationship to, 9
- coffee plantations, 14, 37, 39, 247
- Colbert de Seignelay, Jean-Baptiste, 33, 43, 55
- colonialism
- court structure during, 40–43, 41n34, 41n36, 41n37
 - government structure during, 39n25, 39n26, 39n27, 39–43, 40n29
 - Haitian contemporary situation impacted by, 23n54, 313–314
 - Haitian Revolution relationship to, 3–5, 6–7, 19–21, 25–26, 215–216, 218
 - Tocqueville on, 4, 20n42, 31
 - Columbus, Christopher, 31–33
 - commonwealth ethics, 29, 168, 223. *See also* well-ordered commonwealth; ethics
 - Compagnie des Indes Occidentales (West India Company), 33–35
 - Condorcet’s *Réflexions sur l’esclavage des nègres*, 224–225
 - Conseils Supérieurs*, *See also* courts
 - Chamber of Agriculture as successor to northern Conseil, 177n30, 192–193, 194
 - efforts to combat racial discrimination, 120
 - establishment and authority of, 33–43
 - location of, 263, 266–268
 - manumission addressed by, 90–92, 101–103, 117–118
 - Montarand judgeship on northern Conseil, 207
 - planter brutality addressed by, 132, 133–135, 139, 156, 160, 190–191, 201–206
 - suspension and merger of, 167, 262
 - taxation role of, 93–108
 - Constitution of 1801, 214, 216, 218, 306–307
 - cotton plantations, 2, 14
 - Courrejolles, 143–144
 - Courtin, Sebastien Jacques, 190n76
 - courts
 - appellate, 42, 201–206
 - authority of, 41n37, 139
 - Code Noir authority invoked by, 14–16
 - Code Noir publication by, 260
 - colonial structure of, 40–43, 41n34, 41n36, 41n37
 - Conseils Supérieurs* as, 40–43, 90–94, 101–103, 117–118, 120, 132, 133–135, 139, 156, 160, 177, 190–191, 192, 201–206, 207, 262, 263, 266–268
 - efforts to combat racial discrimination, 120
 - French, 41n36
 - gens de couleur libres*’ use of, 92n54, 97–99, 105–106, 120, 232
 - judicial torture by, 169n4, 169n5, 170n7, 179–181

- courts (*cont.*)
 location of, 263, 266–268
 manumission addressed by, 89, 90–92, 96, 97–99, 101–103, 108–111, 117–118
 notaries in, 91, 92n54, 118
 planter brutality addressed by, 129, 130–144, 141n54, 156, 160, 161–162, 190–191, 201–206, 261–262, 263–270
sénéchaussées as, 42, 131–138, 184–187, 190, 192, 194, 196, 203, 263, 266
 slave “crime” and punishment under, 58n93, 59, 61–62, 269n35
 slave testimony in, 141n54, 141–143, 171, 181–187
 suspension and merger of, 177, 262
 taxation role of, 93–108
 creditors, 101, 102
 Croix-des-Bouquets, 247
 currency, colonial exchange rates, 37n17
 Cussy, Pierre-Paul Tarin de, 55–58
- Darius, Pierre, 200, 204
 Davis, David Brion, 6, 309
 de la Mardelle, Guillaume-Pierre-François, 190–191, 191n79
 de Tocqueville, *See* Tocqueville, Alexis de
 Debien, Gabriel, 28, 87
 Declaration of Independence (1804), 2, 214, 307
 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789), 219–220, 236, 237, 282, 283
 on racial equality, 245–247, 248
 decrees, *See* legislation
 Delpeche, Olivier Ferdinand, 289n107
 Dessalines, Jean-Jacques, 3, 214, 307
 Dessources (1771 planter brutality case), 131–132, 134, 135, 138, 261
 d’Ogeron, Bertrand, 33
 Dorigny, Marcel, 242
droits de Liberté (freedom taxes), 93n55, 95n63, 96
 Dubois, Laurent, 249
 Dubuisson, Paul-Ulric, 149–150
 Duchet, Michèle, 122–123
 Dufay, Louis, 300
 Dutty, Boukman, 257, 273, 283
- economy, *See also* taxation of manumission
 creditor influence on manumission, 101, 102
gens de couleur libres’ economic strength, 37n19, 78, 247
 Haitian revolutionary policies on, 293–295, 294n130, 298n156
 late revolutionary policies on, 304, 306
 planter brutality impacting, 123n5, 125n10, 156n101
 wages after emancipation as, 294n130, 298n156
 emancipation, *See* manumission; abolition of slavery
 1793 emancipation proclamations, 217, 286, 289–291, 293–302
 England, *See* Britain
 Enlightenment, *See also* morality; humanitarianism/humanity
 Declaration of the Rights of Man influenced by, 219
gens de couleur libres’ politicization influenced by, 240
 Haitian Revolution influenced by, 224–225, 240
 planter brutality addressed by, 147–148, 165, 174
 slavery impacted by, 24–25, 224–225
 Ennery, Victor-Thérèse Charpentier d’, 111
 escaped/runaway slaves, *See marrons*
 Estaing, Charles d’, 95
 ethics, *See also* morality
 commonwealth, 29, 168, 223.
 See also well-ordered commonwealth
 modern understandings of, 26–27
 prudential, 8n18, 25–26, 49–50, 54, 122–126, 128, 130–138, 146, 157, 164–166, 223
 strategic, 8, 17, 25–26, 29, 67, 223, 314
 exchange rates, 37n17
- flibustiers* (French privateers), 33–35
 France/French empire
 abolition of slavery in, 18n36, 18n38
 administrators/civil commissioners of, *See* administrators
 colonialism of, *See* colonialism
 courts in, 41n36
 freedom principle and slaves in, 54n81, 68–69, 89–90, 90n45, 261
 French Revolution, 6, 19–20, 213, 231
gens de couleur libres in, 117n130

- Haitian Revolution's impact on, 2
 Louisiana sale by, 2
 Naval Ministry of, 39, 85, 129–131, 147, 157, 161, 287
 reactionary colonial policies of, 214
 response to Haitian Revolution, 16–19, 308
 rivalries in, 30
 role in Seven Years' War, 4, 14, 97, 113, 121, 213
 slaves brought to, 54n81, 68–69, 89–90, 90n45, 261
 free people of color, *See gens de couleur libres*
 freed persons, *See nègrès libres; affranchis*
 freedom taxes, 56–96, 93n55, 95n63
 French Guiana
 Bessner in, 145n64, 145–146, 152
 emancipation of slaves in, 229–230
 planter brutality debates in, 151–156
 slavery debate in, 145–146
 French Revolution, 6, 19–20, 21, 213, 231
 fugitive slave police, *See maréchaussée*
- Galbaud du Fort, François-Thomas, 256, 288, 291, 293
 Garran de Coulon, Jean-Philippe, 274, 276, 283, 290
 Geggus, David
 on armed slaves, 116n126, 250n139
 on Belair, 272n47
 on Haitian Revolution, 212n5, 290
 on planter brutality, 162, 262
 on slave population, 38
gens de couleur libres (free people of color), *See also* manumission
 civic status of, 79n54, 235, 254, 298
 civil war between whites and, 246–247, 292–293
 Code Noir authority invoked by, 14–16, 82, 217, 219–238, 240–241, 244, 248, 253–254
 Code Noir impact on, 5
 courts used by, 92, 97–99, 105–106, 120, 232
 dangers perceived by, 14
 defined, 13, 68n123
 economic strength of, 37n19, 78, 247
 Enlightenment influencing, 240
 estates owned by, 37n19, 247
 in France, 117n130
 free colored movement of, 5, 16
 influence on colonial society, 56–57, 80, 83, 234–235, 242–243, 251–252
 interracial sexual unions of, 11, 81, 83, 94
 interracial unity with whites, 114
 legal status of, 91–92. *See also* civic status of
 military service of, 16–17, 17n35, 26n66, 111–116, 116n126, 217, 233, 241–242, 249, 256, 291–293, 294n131, 300
 naming practices of, 103–104, 104n88
 notaries and, 91, 92n54, 118
 parentage of, 85n28, 104, 110
 politicization/political power of, 78, 82, 92n52, 105–106, 120, 214, 216, 221–232, 234, 235–254, 285
 population of, 13, 35–36, 77–78
 public offices held by, 92n52, 238
 racial categorization as, 13n32, 67n123, 104n87
 racial equality struggles of, 211, 232–233, 236–254
 racism toward, 97, 100–101, 120, 217
 registration requirements for, 91–94, 117–118
 respect/gratitude requirements for, 80, 88, 98, 106, 287
 role in Haitian Revolution, *See* Haitian Revolution
 slave rebellion/revolt relationship to, 234–235, 241–243, 248–249
 slavery addressed by, 237–238
 status compared to Indians, 100
 voting rights for, 232, 234, 238–239
 geography of Saint-Domingue, 38–39
 government, colonial structure of, 39n25, 39n26, 39n27, 39–43, 40n29. *See also* administrators; legislation; royalism; taxation of manumission
 governors, *See also specific governors by name*
 authority of, 39–40, 40n29
 military service imposed by, 111–116
 as plantation owners, 42n39
 planter brutality addressed by, 130–131, 159–160, 167
 policies toward manumission, 99–100, 107–108, 110, 111–113, 114–116
 taxation by, 96

- gradual emancipation, 145–146, 224, 286, 312
- grands blancs*, 36n13, 225.
 See also planters
- Great Britain, See Britain
- Grégoire, Abbé, 235, 242, 246n117
- Guadeloupe, 14n33, 35, 59, 61, 71
- Guiana, See French Guiana
- Guyot, 66
- Haiti, See also Saint-Domingue; Hispaniola
 1801 Constitution of, 214, 216, 218, 306–307
 impact of colonialism on contemporary, 23n54, 313–314
 independence of, 2, 214, 307
- Haitian Revolution
 abolition of slavery as issue in, 216, 256–257, 282–283, 285–286, 292–293
 administrators' role/stance in, 216, 217–218, 223–231, 253, 255–257, 276–277, 285–291
 April 4, 1792 decree, 252–253, 285, 288
 Code Noir influence on, 4, 7–19, 215, 216–217, 219–231, 260–285, 287–288, 290–291
 1801 Constitution, 214, 216, 218, 306–307
 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen influencing, 219–220, 236, 237, 282, 283
 economic issues addressed during, 293–295, 294n130, 298n156
 Enlightenment/morality influencing, 224–225, 240
 as extralegal violence, 211–213
 French Revolution relationship to, 21, 231
 historical impact of, 1–3, 22
 legacies of colonial history for, 3–5, 6–7, 19–21, 25–26, 215–216, 218
 legal character of, 214–218, 219–231, 260–285, 287–288, 290–291
 manumission as issue impacting, 215, 217, 233, 277–278, 291–302
 May 15, 1791 decree, 243–247, 248
 May 5, 1793 proclamation, 289–291
 politicization/political rights of *gens de couleur libres* impacting, 211, 214, 216, 231–232, 235–254, 285
 proslavery view of, 2–3
- racial equality struggles impacting, 232–233, 236–254, 301
- revolutionary administration under Toussaint Louverture, 255–308
- role of civil war in, 246–247, 292–293
- slave rebellions/revolts impacting, 221, 222–223, 231–232, 246, 248–249, 252, 255–256, 257–285, 288
- sovereignty issues as backdrop for, 211
- U.S. response to, 17n35, 19, 310–312
- U.S. Revolutionary War relationship to, 22
- Hédouville, Gabriel Marie Théodore Joseph d', 305
- Hilliard d'Auberteuil, Michel René, 147, 271–272
- Hispaniola, See also Haiti; Saint-Domingue
 British and Spanish departure from, 303
 geography of, 38–39
 map of, 29
 settlement of, 31–35
 struggle for control of, 213
- humanitarianism/humanity, See also morality
 and critique of planter brutality, 26n64, 122, 124, 126, 128–129, 137, 138, 140, 144, 147–148, 165, 174
- Hyacinthe, 257, 258
- Indians
 European invasion decimating, 31–33
 map of population of, 33
marronage of, 33
 status compared to *gens de couleur libres*, 100
- indigo plantations, 14, 37–38
- intendants, See also *specific intendants by name*
 authority of, 39–40, 40n29
 manumission stance of, 99–100, 107–108, 110, 114–116
 as plantation owners, 42n39
 planter brutality addressed by, 130–131, 159–160, 167, 177
 taxation by, 96
- interracial sexual unions, 11, 81, 83, 94
- Jamaica, 2n3, 14n33, 78
- Jean-François (Papillon), 16, 216, 218, 255–256, 257, 258, 272, 276–285, 295
- Jeannot (Bullet), 257, 277, 283

- Jefferson, Thomas, 311, 312
 Jouammicault, Mr., 144
 judiciary, *See* courts
 Jumecourt, Hanus de, 247
- Kina, Jean, 258
- La Luzerne, César-Henri de, 182n53, 202, 203, 205
 La Rivière, Romaine, 258
 Laborie, Pierre-Joseph de, 192
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 229
 laws, *See* legislation
 Le Cap, *See* Cap Français
 Le Tellier, Michel, 44
 Lebrasseur, Alexandre, 120
 legal system, *See* courts; legislation
 legislation
 April 4, 1792 decree, ending racial discrimination, 217, 252–285, 288
 Code Noir, *See* Code Noir
 courts’ “quasi-legislative” role, 41, 41n37, 42–43
 February 4, 1794 decree (16 Pluviôse), abolishing slavery, 214, 300–302
 May 15, 1791 decree, on metropolitan interference with slave regime, 246n117
 May 15, 1791 decree, on racial equality, 243, 245–249
 September 24, 1791 decree, reversing racial equality, 249, 251
 1711 ordinance, on manumission, 83–84
 1713 ordinance, on manumission, 84
 1736 ordinance, on manumission, 86–87
 1738 ordinance, on manumission, 89–90
 1758 *arrêt*, on manumission, 91–92
 1764 ordinance, on manumission, 96
 1768 ordinance, on manumission, 101–103
 1712 ordinance, on planter brutality, 128, 177n27
 1791 Port-au-Prince concordat, 247–248
 1784 royal ordinance, 119, 156n101, 157n102, 158–160, 177
 1785 royal ordinance, 119, 161, 199
 1793 emancipation proclamations, 217, 286, 289–91, 293–302
 Lejeune affair (Nicolas Lejeune, 1788 planter brutality case)
 appeal of decision, 201–206
 basis of, 167
 Code Noir references in, 176–181, 209–210, 225–263, 268–269
 defense in, 186, 188–190
 dismissal of case, 201, 202
 Lejeune as fugitive from justice, 190–195, 268–269
 other planters’ response to, 167, 187, 191–192, 193–195
 paternal intervention in, 196–201
 poison as central issue in, 174, 179–180, 185–186, 187–188, 195, 197–198, 199–200
 post-trial outcomes, 206–210
 slave exposure to Code Noir through, 263
 slave rebellions/revolts as concern in, 173, 174, 186–187, 188–190, 194–195, 196–198
 slave testimony in, 181–187
 sovereignty and planter brutality highlighted by, 172–173, 178–179, 208–210
 uniqueness of prosecution in, 176
 Léogane, courts in, 40, 90
 Lescallier, Daniel, 229–230
liberté de savane (Savanna freedom), 78n3, 87–89
 Locke, John, 57n90, 58n91
 Louis XIV, 7, 16, 30, 43, 44, 82, 156, 214, 219, 222, 230, 235, 244, 260, 268, 270
 Louis XVI, 121, 157, 220, 222, 228, 229, 236, 240, 275, 278
 Louis XVIII, 208
 Louisiana, 2, 84n24
 Louisiana Purchase, 2
 Louverture, Toussaint
 1801 Constitution of, 214, 216, 218, 306–307
 death of, 18
 as insurgent leader, 17–18, 257, 277, 292, 295, 302
 late revolutionary administration of, 255–308
 militarization of plantation labor by, 214, 216
- Macandal, François/Macandalisme, 132n20, 136, 175–176, 285
 Macaya, 295
 Machiavelli, 49n60
 Magre, 192

- Maguero (1788 planter brutality case), 182–183
- Malouet, Pierre-Victor, 151–156, 163–166, 223–224, 225–228
- manumission
- administrators' policies toward, 71, 80–81, 83–89, 90–91, 97, 99–100, 107–108, 110, 111–113, 114–116, 233, 291–302
 - 1758 *arrêt* on, 91–92
 - through baptism, 86–87, 110, 118
 - Code Noir regulation of, 5, 10–11, 12, 29–117, 68n124, 72n140, 215
 - courts addressing, 89, 90–92, 96, 97–99, 101–103, 108–111, 117–118
 - creditors influencing, 101, 102
 - cultural anxieties associated with, 80–81, 83
 - decline of, 116–120
 - 1793 emancipation proclamations relationship to, 214, 218, 287
 - in French Guiana, 229–230
 - impact on Haitian Revolution, 215, 217, 233, 277–278, 291–302
 - interracial sexual unions and, 1, 81, 83, 94
 - legal struggles over, 80
 - liberté de savane* as unofficial, 54–89, 78n3
 - Marie-Victoire (case of), 106–111
 - Marion (case of), 97–99
 - through marriage, 85n29, 117, 240
 - military service in exchange for, 16, 17n35, 26n66, 81–36, 111–116, 116n126, 217, 233, 250, 256, 291–293, 294n131, 300
 - Montesquieu on, 73–76, 233
 - naming practices at time of, 103–104, 104n88
 - 1711 ordinance on, 83–84
 - 1713 ordinance on, 84
 - 1736 ordinance on, 86–87
 - 1738 ordinance on, 89–90
 - 1764 ordinance on, 96
 - 1768 ordinance on, 101–103
 - 1784 ordinance on, 119
 - 1785 ordinance on, 119
 - patriotism impacting, 97
 - publication requirements for, 101, 103
 - racism impacting, 85–101
 - reenslavement after, 97–100, 99n75, 102
 - registration requirements for, 91, 117–118
 - relationship of abolition of slavery to, 11n28
 - relationship to forms of colonial sovereignty, 80, 83–84, 87, 99, 107, 108–109
 - respect/gratitude as requirement for, 80, 88, 98, 106, 287
 - strategic use of, 81, 84–85, 111, 115
 - taxation of, 87, 93n55, 95n63, 96, 115
 - tenuous nature of, 80, 96
 - testamentary, 89, 95, 106–111
 - urban, 88
 - in U.S., 84n24
- Marbois, François Barbé de, 177, 182–184, 190, 191–195, 201–206, 234–235
- maréchaussée* (fugitive slave police), 81, 113, 116n126, 216, 233, 241–242, 249
- Marie-Rose (victim in 1788 Lejeune affair), 167, 184n57, 185, 187, 199–200
- Marie-Victoire (1775 manumission case), 106–111
- Marion (1760s manumission case), 97–99
- marriage, manumission through, 85n29, 117, 240
- marrons* (fugitive slaves)
- Code Noir regulation of, 139–140, 184
 - geography aiding, 39
 - maréchaussée* apprehension of, 81, 113, 116n126, 215–242, 243, 249–250
 - planter brutality and, 123, 131–132, 133, 139–140, 141–143, 175–176, 184
 - punishment of, 113
 - role of manumission in containing, 81, 84, 111, 112–113, 233, 250
 - as threat to colonial stability, 56
- Martial, 257
- Martinique, 14n33, 35, 59, 61, 71
- masters, *See* planters
- Maury, Abbé, 245
- merchants, rivalries of, 30
- Mercier, Louis Sebastien, 151
- Middle Passage, 36n16
- military service
- armed rebellion as product of, 116n126, 250n139

- of *gens de couleur libres*, 14–17, 17n35, 26n66, 81, 111–116, 116n126, 217, 233, 241–242, 243, 249–250, 256, 291–293, 294n131, 300
- manumission in exchange for, 16–17, 17n35, 26n66, 81, 111–116, 116n126, 211, 217, 250, 256, 291–293, 294n131, 300
- Mills, Jean-Baptiste, 300
- Milscent, Claude, 281n83
- Mirabalais, 247
- Mirbeck, Frédéric Ignace de, 249, 272
- Moïse, 305, 306
- Monroe, James, 312
- Montarand, Couët de, 185n60, 185–187, 196, 200–201, 204–205, 207–208
- Montarcher, Jean-François Vincent de, 107, 110, 111
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de
- on dangers and abuses of slavery, 122, 127
- on definition of slavery, 148
- on law of slavery, 63–67
- Lejeune citing, 188, 189
- on manumission, 73–76, 233
- morality, *See also* ethics; Enlightenment as factor in revolutionary antislavery, 224–225, 240
- planter brutality as moral issue, 26n64, 122, 124, 126, 128–129, 137, 138, 140, 144, 147–148, 165, 174
- slavery and, 24n56, 24–25, 52–54, 224–225, 308
- Moreau de Saint-Méry, Médéric-Louis-Elie, 27, 71, 104n87, 144, 179, 235, 245, 246n117, 266
- Morgan, Catherine “Catin”, 261
- Morisseau, Philippe, 106, 110
- Morisseau d’Ester, 106–109, 110
- mortality rates, slave, 36n16, 38, 137
- mulattos, *See gens de couleur libres*
- naming practices, 103–104, 104n88
- Napoleon, *See* Bonaparte, Napoleon
- Naval Ministry, French, 39, 85, 129–131, 147, 157, 161, 287. *See also specific Ministers by name*
- negrès libres* (free blacks), *See also affranchis*
- defined, 13
- population of, 5, 35–36
- Nisbet, Charles, 311
- Nolivos, Pierre Gédéon de, 107, 108, 109
- northern department
- creation of, 35
- geography of, 38
- response to Lejeune affair, 193–195
- revolutionary power struggles in, 288
- slave revolt in, 16, 216–223, 231–232, 246, 248–249, 252, 255–256, 258, 273, 276–285
- notaries, *gens de couleur libres* use of, 91, 92n54, 118
- Ogé, Vincent, 232, 236, 238–239, 279
- ordinances, *See* legislation
- Page, Pierre François, 253–254, 300
- Pantin, 132
- Papillon, Jean-François, 16, 216, 218, 255–256, 257, 258, 272, 276–285, 295
- Patoulet, Jean-Baptiste, 59–62
- patriotism, 97
- Petit Goâve, courts in, 40, 260
- petits-blancs* (poor/middling whites), 86
- Pinchinat, Pierre, 247
- planter brutality
- abolition of slavery and, 145–146, 230
- administrators’ policies toward, 62, 122–126, 130–131, 151–156, 157–160, 163–166, 167, 177–181, 182–187, 190–195, 201–206, 289–291
- Cassarouy (1770 planter brutality case), 133–138
- Code Noir regulation of, 5, 10, 11–12, 30–31, 62–63, 126–128, 130, 132–138, 133n24, 139–144, 168–170, 171, 176–181, 184, 198–199, 209–210, 215, 225–226, 261–262, 263, 268–269, 290–291
- colonial debate over, 145–162
- courts addressing, 129, 130–144, 141n54, 156, 160, 161–162, 190–191, 201–206, 261–262, 263–270
- Dessources (1771 planter brutality case), 131–132, 134, 135, 138, 261
- Dubuisson on, 149–150

- planter brutality (*cont.*)
 Hilliard d'Auberteuil on, 126, 271–272
 late colonial attempts to reform,
 156–162
 Lejeune affair (1788 planter brutality case), *See* Lejeune affair
 Maguero (1788 planter brutality case), 182–183
 Malouet on, 151–156, 163–166, 223–224, 225–228
marronage relationship to, 122, 131–132, 133, 139–140, 141–143, 175–176, 184
 morality and humanitarian critiques of, 26n64, 122, 124, 126, 128–129, 137, 138, 140, 144, 147–148, 165, 174
 punishment of, 159n109, 159n110, 159–160
 relationship between poisoning and, 132n20, 135–136, 174–176, 175n20, 180n43, 185–186, 187–195, 197–198, 199–200, 285
 relationship to colonial economy, 123n5, 125n10, 156n101
 response of other planters to, 122–144, 187, 191–192, 193–195, 203
 1712 ordinance on, 128, 177n27
 1784 ordinance on, 156, 156n101, 157, 157n102, 158–160, 170
 1785 ordinance on, 161, 199
 1791 slave revolt and, 279–284
 slave rebellions/revolts relationship to, 122, 123, 126, 137, 151, 155–156, 173, 174, 186–187, 188–190, 194–195, 196–198, 281–282, 289–291
 slave testimony on, 141n54, 171, 181–187
 slavery as institution threatened by, 26, 121–126, 147–150, 166n131
 sovereignty and, 121, 125n11, 126–128, 127n13, 130, 164, 167–173, 172n14, 178–179, 208n146, 208–210
 Thomas (1775 deposition in planter brutality case), 141–143, 182
 torture as, *See* torture
 U.S. southern humanitarian reform impacting, 26n64
- planters
 absentee, 119, 157n103, 157–159, 177, 279
 administrators as, 42n39
 brutality of, *See* planter brutality; torture
 Code Noir authority invoked by, 14–16
 Code Noir impact on, 11–12
 debts of, 101, 102
 Dessalines' massacre of, 3, 307
gens de couleur libres as plantation owners, 37n19, 247
 interracial sexual unions of, 11, 81, 83, 94
 as judges, 42
 managers and agents of, 119, 157–159, 177, 279
 manumission of slaves by, *See* manumission
 patriotism of, 97
 poisoning of 132n20, 135–136, 174–176, 175n20, 180n43, 185–186, 187–188, 195, 197–198, 199–200, 285
 population of, 13, 35–36, 36n13, 77
 protests of taxation policy, 96
 rebellion of 1670 by, 33
 rebellion of 1769 by, 114
 respect/gratitude of manumitted slaves toward, 80, 88, 98, 106, 287
 responses to planter brutality, 143–144, 187, 191–192, 193–195, 203
 revolutionary conflict between *gens de couleur libres* and, 246–247, 292–293
 rivalries of, 30
 sovereignty over slaves, 12–13, 39, 63n107, 80, 83–84, 87, 99, 107, 121, 124–128, 125n11, 127n13, 130, 164, 172n14, 172–173, 179, 208n146, 208–210, 211
Plessy v. Ferguson, 2
 poisonous 132n20, 135–136, 174–176, 175n20, 180n43, 185–186, 187–188, 195, 197–198, 199–200, 285
 Polverel, Etienne, 17, 26n66, 214, 217, 253, 256, 277n70, 285–302, 303
- population
 demographics of, 8, 13, 14n33, 35–36, 36n13, 57
 racial balance of, 56, 64–65, 77–78
 racial categories of, 13n32, 67n123, 104n87
- Port-au-Prince
 as colonial capital, 40
 concordat (1791), 247

- Conseil Supérieur* in, 93–108, 118,
 120, 139, 156, 160, 177, 190–191,
 201–206, 266–268
- courts generally in, 93–108, 118, 120,
 139, 156, 160n115, 177, 190–191,
 192, 201–206, 266–268
- gens de couleur libres* in, 105
- slave communities/gathering places in,
 263–268, 270
- 1791 Port-au-Prince concordat, 247
- private property, 50–54.
See also sovereignty
- proslavery ideology, 2–3, 8n18
- prudence/prudential ethics, *See also* ethics
- planter brutality and, 122–126, 128,
 130–138, 146, 157, 164–165
- “policy of prudence”, 8n18
- sovereignty and, 49–50, 54,
 165–166, 223
- strategic ethics as, 8, 25–26
- racial balance of population, 56, 64–65,
 77–78
- racial categories, 13n32, 67n123, 104n87
- racial discrimination
- judicial and ministerial efforts to
 combat, 120
- April 4, 1792 decree ending racial
 discrimination, 217, 252–253,
 285, 288
- impact on manumission, 97, 100–101
- racial equality struggles
- April 4, 1792 decree impacting, 252–253
- February 4, 1794 decree (16 Pluviôse)
 impacting, 214, 300–302
- May 15, 1791 decree on, 245–247, 248
 and political rights, 231–232, 234,
 235–254
- role in Haitian Revolution, 232–233,
 236–254, 301
- September 24, 1791 decree reversing
 racial equality, 249, 251
- Raimond, Julien, 211, 222, 236, 238,
 239–241, 242–243
- Raynal, Abbé, 151n86, 157n102, 163,
 271n46, 271–272
- rebellions/revolts, planter, *See* planters
- rebellions/revolts, slave, *See also* Haitian
 Revolution
- abolition of slavery as goal of, 282–283
- amnesty for, 276
- armed rebellion as result of military
 service, 116n126, 250n139
- fear of, in Saint-Domingue, 9–10
- French response to, 2, 17–18
- Gabriel’s conspiracy, in Virginia, 312
- gens de couleur libres’* relationship to,
 234–235, 241–243, 248–249
- historical interpretations of, 273–274
- impact on Haitian Revolution, 221,
 222–223, 231–232, 246, 248–249,
 252, 255–256, 257–285, 288
- manumission of leaders as issue in, 280
- marronage* as, *See marrons*
- planter brutality relationship to,
 121–122, 123, 126, 137, 151,
 155–156, 173, 174, 186–187,
 188–190, 194–195, 196–198,
 279–284, 289–291
- royalism and, 273–276, 280–281,
 283, 284
- southern, 257–258
- Spanish support of, 288
- in Surinam, 155, 223
- reenslavement, 97–100, 99n75, 102
- registration requirements, 91, 117–118
- religion, *See also* Enlightenment
- Code Noir rationalization via, 69–70
- manumission as act of piety, 79
- manumission through baptism, 86–87,
 110, 118
- planter brutality addressed via, 138, 140
- republicanism
- vs. royalism, 16, 65, 274
- revolution, defined, 1, 6
- Revolution, French, 6, 19–20, 21, 211, 213
- Revolution, Haitian, *See* Haitian
 Revolution
- Revolutionary Catechism*, 1, 6
- Revolutionary War, U.S., 17n35, 22
- Rewbell, Jean-François, 244, 246
- Richeprey, Henri de, 229
- Rigaud, André, 236, 246, 258, 304
- Robespierre, 6, 244, 245, 246n117
- Rohan-Montbazon, Prince de, 114
- Roman law
- and Code Noir, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71n136,
 71–73, 72n137, 74, 75, 82, 126,
 136, 148, 182n52
- and judicial torture, 182n52
- and manumission, 68, 71–73, 74, 75, 79,
 82, 84, 93, 235
- patria potestas* doctrine of, 64, 126, 136,
 148, 153
- and slave punishment, 64, 65, 66
- and slave rebellions, 48

- Roume de Saint-Laurent, Philippe, 249, 272
- Rouvray, Marquis de, 243
- royal *justice retenue*, 42
- 1784 royal ordinance, 119, 156, 158–160, 176–177, 210, 262, 279, 290
- 1785 royal ordinance, 119, 161, 176, 199, 210, 262, 279, 290
- royalism
- as historiographical category, 273–276
 - republicanism vs., 16, 65, 274
 - slave rebellions/revolts and, 273–276, 280–281, 283, 284
- runaway slaves, *See marrons*
- Saint-Christophe, 35, 59, 61–62, 71
- Saint-Domingue, *See also Hispaniola*; Haiti
- abolition of slavery in, 16–19
 - British occupation of, 299–300
 - departments of, *See northern department*; southern department; western department
 - emigration from, 2, 252, 293, 310, 311
 - fear of slave uprising in, 9–10
 - geography of, 38–39
 - history of colonization of, 31–35
 - legal culture of, 14–19, 29–31, 55–67
 - manumission of slaves in, 4, 10, 11n28, 78
 - map of, 35
 - plantation crops in, 37n20, 37–38
 - population of, 13, 14n33, 35–36, 36n13, 56, 57, 77–78
 - racial categories in, 13n32, 67n123, 104n87
 - strategic ethics of slavery in, 4–26
- Saint-Léger, Edmond de, 249, 272
- Saint-Marc Assembly, 244
- Savanna freedom (*liberté de savane*), 78n3, 87–89
- Schoelcher, Victor, 44
- sénéchaussées* (local courts of first instance)
- authority of, 42
 - location of, 211, 263
 - planter brutality addressed by, 131–138, 184–187, 190, 192, 194, 196, 203
- serfdom, 226–228
- Seven Years' War, 4, 14, 55, 97, 121, 213
- sexual unions, interracial, 11, 81, 83, 94
- slavery, *See also slaves*
- abolition of, *See abolition of slavery*
 - Bodin on, 47–54
 - Enlightenment/morality and, 24n56, 24–25, 52–54, 224–225, 308
 - ethics of, *See ethics*
 - French colonial justification of, 68
 - gens de couleur libres* addressing issue of, 237–238
 - law of, *See Code Noir*
 - manumission from, *See manumission*
 - mothers' status as determinant of, 85n28
 - planter brutality as threat to institution of, 26, 121–126, 147–150, 166n131
 - proslavery ideology, 2–3, 8n18
 - rebellion against, *See rebellions/revolts, slave*
 - reenslavement, 97–100, 99n75, 102
 - revolution defined in relation to, 1, 6
 - serfdom vs., 226–228
 - sovereignty and, 44–54, 51n72, 52n75, 58n93
 - strategic antislavery, 24, 25–26
 - U.S. southern humanitarian reform impacting, 26n64
- slaves, *See also slavery*
- brought to France, 54n81, 68–69, 89–90, 90n45
 - civic status of, 52–54, 58, 214
 - Code Noir authority invoked by, 14–16, 221–223, 276–285
 - Code Noir experience of, 260–276
 - courts used by, 269
 - “crimes” and punishment of, 58n93, 58–67, 269n35
 - dangers perceived by, 14
 - as “enemies”, 48, 56, 57–58, 64–65, 168
 - escaped/runaway, *See marrons*
 - legal status of, 44n49, 62
 - manumission of, *See manumission*
 - mortality rate of, 36n16, 38, 137
 - planter brutality toward, *See planter brutality; torture*
 - planters' sovereignty over, 12–13, 63n107, 80, 83–84, 87, 99, 107, 108–109, 121, 125n111, 126–128, 127n13, 130, 164, 172n14, 172–173, 178–179, 208n146, 208–210, 211
 - poisoning by 132n20, 135–136, 174–176, 175n20, 180n43,

- 185–186, 187–188, 195, 197–198,
 199–200, 285
 population of, 13, 14n33, 35–36, 56, 57,
 64–65, 77
 rebellions/revolts of, *See* rebellions/
 revolts, slave
 suicide of, 137
 testimony of, 141n54, 141–143, 171,
 181–187
 Society of the Friends of the Blacks,
 17n36, 18, 170n7, 224, 242, 250,
 252, 271, 310
 Sonthonax, Léger Félicité, 17, 26n66,
 214, 217, 253, 256, 277n70,
 285–302, 303
 southern department
 civil war in, 247
 creation of, 35
 geography of, 38
 political power struggles in, 288
 slave rebellions/revolts in, 257–258
 sovereignty
 Bodin on, 47–54
 Code Noir and, 12–13, 63n107
 Declaration of the Rights of Man
 drawing on ideas of, 219–220
 and Haitian Revolution, 211
 manumission and, 80, 83–84, 87–88, 99,
 107, 108–109
 planter brutality and, 121, 122, 125n11,
 126–128, 127n13, 164, 172n14,
 172–173, 178–179, 208n146,
 208–210
 of planters, 12–13, 63n107, 80, 83–84,
 87–88, 99, 107, 108–109, 121,
 125n11, 126–128, 127n13, 130,
 164, 172n14, 172–173, 178–179,
 208n146, 208–210, 211
 private property and, 50–54
 royal/public vs. planter/domestic,
 121, 125, 127n13, 130, 164,
 178–179
 slavery and, 44–54, 51n72, 52n75,
 58n93
 torture and, 172n14, 172–173, 178–179,
 208n146, 208–210
 Spain
 colonization of Hispaniola, 31–35
 departure of, from Hispaniola, 303
 manumission laws of, 79
 support for slave rebellion, 288
 strategic antislavery, 24, 25–26
 strategic ethics of slavery, 8, 17, 25, 29, 67,
 223, 314. *See also* ethics
 sugar plantations, 37n20, 37–39
 suicide, slave, 137
 Surinam, 2n3, 155, 223
 Taino population, 31–33. *See also* Indians
 taxation of manumission, 87, 93n55,
 93–96, 95n63, 115
 testamentary manumissions, 89, 95,
 106–111
 testimony, slave, 141n54, 141–143, 171,
 181–187
 Thomas (1775 deposition in planter
 brutality case), 141–143, 182
 tobacco plantations, 36–37
 Tocqueville, Alexis de
 as abolitionist, 18n38, 20, 44
 on colonialism, 4, 20n42, 31
 on French Revolution, 4, 19–20
 on Louis XVI's edicts, 121
 on metropolitan provincial authority, 40
 Tortuga, 33
 torture, *See also* planter brutality
 Code Noir regulation of, 132–138, 168–
 170, 171, 176–181, 184, 198–199,
 209–210, 225–226, 261–262, 263,
 268–269, 290–291
 colonial use of, 168
 definition/meaning of, 181, 209n147
 demise and abolition of, 171n10
 judicial, 169n4, 169n5, 170n7, 179–181
 Lejeune affair (1788 planter brutality
 case), *See* Lejeune affair
 modern history of, 172
 poison scare as justification for, 174–
 176, 175n20, 180n43, 185–186,
 187–188, 195, 197–198, 199–200,
 285
 relationship between *marronage* and,
 175–176, 184
 reports of, 131–132
 slave rebellions feared as result of, 173,
 174, 186–187, 188–190, 194–195,
 196–198
 slave testimony on, 181–187
 sovereignty and, 172n14, 172–173,
 178–179, 208n145, 208–210
 Toussaint, *See* Louverture, Toussaint
 Treaty of Ryswick (1697), 35

- United Nations Convention Against Torture (UNCAT), 209n147
- United States
- abolition of slavery in, 19
 - Civil War in, 2, 17n35
 - cotton plantations in, 2
 - demographics of, 14n33
 - emigration from Haiti to, 2, 252, 293, 310, 311
 - Haitian Revolution's impact on, 17n35, 19, 310–312
 - Louisiana Purchase by, 2
 - manumission in, 84n24
 - Revolutionary War in, 17n35, 22
 - slave revolts in, 312
 - southern humanitarian reform in, 26n64
 - tobacco plantations in, 36–37
- Vallière, Louis-Florent de, 107, 110, 111
- Vieville des Essars, Jean-Louis, 230, 290
- “Villeneuve” (Arnaud Bruère), 98–99
- Vincent de Mazarade, Alexandre de, 182–184, 190, 191–195, 201–206
- Virginia, 37, 312
- voting rights, for *gens de couleur libres*, 232, 234, 238–239
- wars, *See* Seven Years' War; Revolutionary War, U.S.; Haitian Revolution; French Revolution; Civil War, U.S.
- well-ordered commonwealth, 9, 47, 52, 218
- West India Company, 33–35
- western department
- civil war in, 246–247
 - creation of, 35
 - geography of, 38
 - slave rebellions/revolts in, 257, 258
- whites, *See* planters; *petits-blancs*; *grands blancs*
- Zabeth (victim in Lejeune affair), 167, 184n57, 185, 187, 199–200