Transcription of Frederick Douglass's Unpublished Handwritten Manuscripts about Toussaint L'Ouverture with an Introduction

PARK Soon Young

Introduction

This article reproduces Frederick Douglass's unpublished handwritten manuscripts about Toussaint L'Ouverture probably written between 1890 and 1891, four or five years prior to demise of Douglass. Those handwritten manuscripts will be a great help in clarifying Douglass's continuing search for the ideal black manhood in rhetorical form. Before turning to a closer discussion of the manuscripts, I would like to outline the life, works and times of Frederick Douglass.

One of the major factors in causing problems of black and white race conflict in the United States today originates in the institution of slavery, with its institutional contradiction. During the first half of the nineteenth century the institution of slavery, which had been maintained for about 250 years, was expanded and strengthened. White people believed in the inherent inferiority of the black "race." This paralleled the entrenchment of slavery and was used to justify the increased exploitation of blacks. African Americans[1)] were relegated to a subordinate position within the hierarchy of American society that appeared to be permanent. Later in the nineteenth century after the Civil War, the notorious institution was totally abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment. The war was a watershed in the history of black and white

Americans. The former, recovering their humanity from the state of degradation, had to overcome racial discrimination and social predicaments; the latter, losing confidence in "self evident" white supremacy, had to reshape the counter discourse.

No figure outshines Frederick Douglass not only in political and social impact at that time, but also for continuous influence on the African American liberation movement thereafter. In February, 1818, Frederick Douglass was born as a slave on a plantation in the American South, Maryland. At the age of twenty Douglass succeeded in escaping from his master's house. In 1841 Douglass became a paid general agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and the following year he became a regular agent for the Society. Frederick Douglass was an eminent abolitionist and orator, and also served as a newspaper editor, Civil War recruiter, and minister resident and consul general to Haiti. Frederick Douglass is one of the most outstanding leaders of the black struggle against slavery and advocates for their rights in the nineteenth century. Douglass poured all his power into his endeavor for his people until his death on February 20, 1895.

Since the very beginning of his activity as an abolitionist, Douglass strategically applied a discourse of black masculinity to African American liberation. Fully recognizing that African Americans were not supposed to have masculinity, let alone humanity, under the strict institution of slavery in the nineteenth century, Douglass intentionally championed "nonexistent" black masculinity. In the context of the time, Douglass's claim for black manhood was very provocative and controversial. Slaveholders, and white supremacists tried to prevent the emergence of a sense of black manhood, because they knew that the solidification of a robust black masculinity could prove detrimental to the institution of slavery[2]. Douglass constructed a double meaning for "man" or "manhood": "Male person" and "all people as human beings." Thus Douglass tried to elevate the masculine gender ideal to the idea of humanity by utilizing a gendered perspective[3].

Before and during the Civil War, Douglass had been trying to disprove the feminized black male image exemplified by such books as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) written by Harriet Beecher Stowe. In his novella "The Heroic Slave" (1853) to counteract the Uncle Tom stereotype, Douglass drew on a historical African American man and characterized him as a model of black masculinity. This novella was inspired by the slave ship revolt on the *Creole* in 1841 led by a slave named Madison Washington (c. 1819–?). In the novella Douglass constructed an effective literary ideology by drawing on and transforming the legacy of 1776. In other words, Douglass equated the masculine ideal of the Founding Fathers to that of African Americans. Yet by utilizing the ideal of the American revolutionaries, Douglass risks being caught in the mythology of an oppressive culture. To evade the trap of the white establishment, Douglass appropriated, transformed, and redefined the ideology of the Founding Fathers into an "unfinished American Revolution." Douglass's redefinition of the Founding Fathers' revolutionary ideal in order to justify black militancy by presenting ideology as an "unfinished American Revolution," would work effectively later on during the Civil War, the Reconstruction, and even the Civil Rights Movement in the twentieth century. But when Douglass wrote the novella during the antebellum period, the main audience was not black but white Americans. For at that time his main purpose was the abolition of slavery, and those who had to recognize the evil of slavery were, of course, whites. Therefore Douglass had to be very careful to establish black manhood even in rhetorical form because making a black hero too independent and aggressive might have permitted his white audience to evade acknowledging that they themselves had to intervene in order to end the institution of slavery. However, once the Civil War had broken out, knowing that both political and social solutions were necessary in order to abolish slavery and liberate African Americans, Douglass started to advocate the enlistment of black regiments and identified his audience as both white and black. He aimed at not only destroying white Americans' persistent disparagement of African

Americans but also elevating the self-esteem and self-respect of the blacks. At this time still utilizing American revolutionary ideology, Douglass successfully equated black masculinity with civil rights, and evaded any conceptual trap.

Yet, during the period from after the Reconstruction to the 1890s, the numbers of brutal lynchings of African Americans increased and prejudicial influence upon white assessment of black character still lingered on in the popular culture, such as minstrel shows. The institution of slavery as a system had been abolished for decades, but the slavery spirit supported by racism was still alive in the society. Not only did whites despise and degrade blacks, blacks themselves suffered from self-degradation. Douglass's masculinity discourse generally appears to be lost by the time of this re-degradation of African Americans' circumstances. However, the fact is that he continued to uphold the ideal of black masculinity until very late in his life. He knew the need for a black role model and kept asking himself what would be the most effective template for representing black male heroism[4].

A total of four handwritten manuscripts by Frederick Douglass about Toussaint L'Ouverture (c. 1743-1803) certify his enduring concern with black masculinity. I adopt the following classification in order to distinguish between these four versions of manuscripts. Each manuscript is listed in numerical order of its appearance in reel 19 of the microfilmed collections of Frederick Douglass Papers[5] held in the Library of Congress: Version 1 (Folder 1, Item 1, 1-12), version 2 (Folder 1, Item 2, 1-18), version 3 (Folder 2, Item1, 1-32, missing pages 11-12), and version 4 (Folder 2, Item 2, 1-37, misnumbered page 12 as 13 and twice appearing page 19). This article reproduces in total version 4.

Toussaint is a black leader who led the island of Santo Domingo (Haiti) Revolution of 1791 which resulted in the independence from French dominion in 1804. When he toured Europe during 1886-1887, Douglass met the French senator, Victor Schoelcher, who was writing a biography of Toussaint

L'Ouverture that was published as *Vie de Toussaint L'Ouverture* in 1889. On July 1 of the same year Douglass was appointed minister resident and consul general to Haiti. Douglass prepared an introduction for an English-language edition of the book, as he wrote "I then ventured to tell him [Schoelcher] that in case his life of Toussaint was published in the United States I would write an introduction to the work."[6] But it was never published. Although his manuscripts were never published in the form of a book as he had intended, Douglass's fourth version of manuscripts was published as a kind of posthumous work. The text was titled "Toussaint L'Ouverture," and was reprinted from the *New York Independent* in the *Colored American Magazine* in the issue of July 1903[7]. This published version, however, was heavily condensed, and it omitted 14 pages and several sentences from the original version 4. Here I have transcribed version 4 of Douglass's original handwritten manuscripts in its entirety[8].

All of the four versions of his manuscripts are undated, but the probable date can be deduced from close examination of internal references in the manuscripts and from Douglass's European tour itinerary. The following quotations from the manuscripts indicate the approximate date of his writing: "It was my good fortune while in Paris four years ago to have several interviews with the author [Schoelcher] of this life of Toussaint"[9]; "It was my good fortune, while in Paris four years ago, to have several interviews with the author of the life of Toussaint L'Ouverture"[10]; "It was my good fortune, … while in Paris, four years ago, to have had several memorable interviews with the author of this Book."[11] These manuscripts all include the description "four years ago." Douglass visited Paris twice, in October 1886 and May 1887, and during this period he met the author, Victor Schoelcher. Since Douglass was prompted to write the introduction and about Toussaint, the composition of these manuscripts probably occurred during 1890-1891[12]. Indeed, it was four or five years prior to his death in 1895.

By and large version 4 includes four main topics: Race prejudice in

American society, Toussaint L'Ouverture as an ideal black man, about Victor Schoelcher and appreciation of Toussaint in Haiti.

From the original page 1 to 10 Douglass focuses on the topic of race prejudice in American society. Douglass exemplifies how a man of African descent was ill-treated in the nineteenth century American society as if his race and color were "crime," no matter how able and distinguished he was[13]. In fact "the North meets the negro with scorn and proscription and the South meets him with lynch law and assassination,"[14] even though the institution of slavery as a system was abolished decades earlier. Douglass closely examines deliberate racial discourse in white supremacist society, negates it, and impartially proclaims the truth that "the negro is in all respects simply a man, one who possesses the possibility of all the virtues and the vices common to all other varieties of mankind." Antecedent to multi-cultural ideology in the twentieth century, Douglass beautifully metaphorizes: "We differ as the waves, but are one as the sea."[15] Also Douglass points out an unjust judgment on black people: George Washington is regarded as "a paragon of patriotism and all that is noble in manhood," on the contrary; "Toussaint L'Ouverture doing the same thing" is looked upon as "a moral monster."[16] Douglass equates ideal black manhood with the ideal of the Founding Fathers in a similar way to how he once utilized American revolutionary ideology during the antebellum period and the Civil War.

From the original page 10 to 23 Douglass focuses on the topic of Toussaint L'Ouverture as an ideal black man. Douglass illustrates Toussaint as an ideal representation of black male heroism. Here Douglass intensifies how Toussaint L'Ouverture was noble and brave even though he came from below, the institution of slavery. Douglass, however, points out the fact that Toussaint was "a slave supplying the highest qualities of freeman."[17] Douglass is well aware of the black audience who suffer the re-degradation in 1890s and who need a black role model. Douglass intentionally illustrates Toussaint as a comparatively well-off slave because he was concerned that the description of

Toussaint in chains might remind his black audience of their subjugation under the slavery. To enforce the fascinating image of Toussaint to his black audience and to negate the pseudo-anthropology stating the racial superiority of whites, Douglass portrays Toussaint as "a full blooded negro." Furthermore he contends: "No part of his greatness can be fairly ascribed to kinship with the white race."[18] As Douglass once lectured, there was white supremacist essentialism: "〔O〕ne drop of white blood is enough to account for all good and great qualities occasionally coupled with a black skin."[19] Therefore Douglass's characterization of Toussaint as a full blooded black man is not derived from the black nationalistic essentialism. Douglass is aiming at establishing an ideal image of black leader who fights against "the oppression and persecution of the negroes" in the American society where "the spirit of slavery" is still lingering on[20]. In other words, Douglass saw the Haitian Revolution symbolized in Toussaint L'Ouverture and contemporary violence against African Americans in the South as linked. He saw both as illustrations of ongoing oppression of people of African descent as well as of their ability to defeat it.

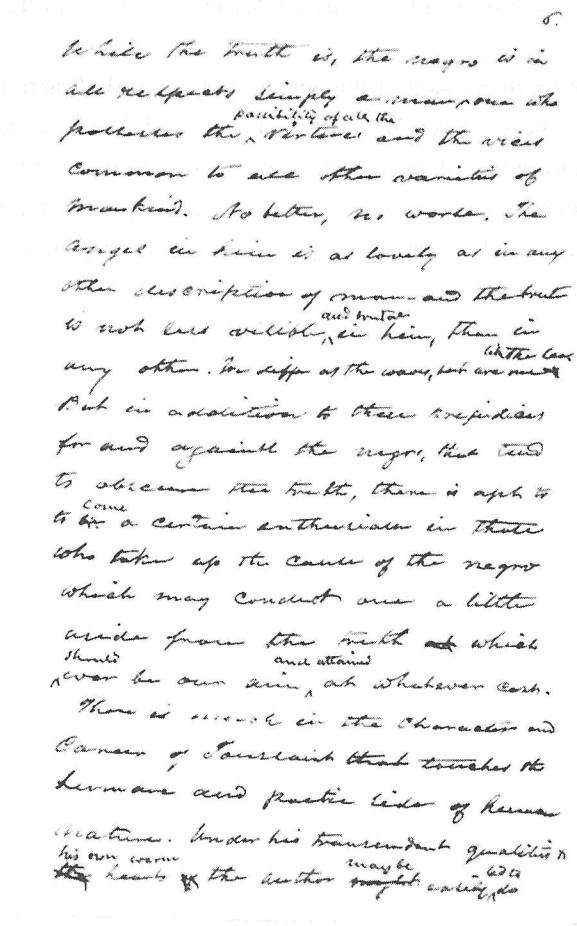
From the original page 23 to 34 Douglass focuses on the topic of Victor Schoelcher. Douglass elaborately explains how the French senator is eligible to write a biography of Toussaint. According to Douglass, Schoelcher's career began where the memory of the life and deeds of Toussaint was fresh; his young heart was doubtless early touched and his sympathies excited by the misfortunes of the black soldier and statesman and he naturally enough was eager to know all that could be known about him[21]. Indeed Schoelcher had traveled to Mexico, Cuba, and the American South in 1829-30 at about the age of 25. That voyage occasioned several studies of American slave society. After that he began a long career as an abolitionist writer. He was the first European abolitionist to visit Haiti after its independence[22]. Douglass honors Schoelcher: "As a philanthropist M. Schoelcher is to France what Wilberforce and Clarkson were to England and what Lincoln

and Sumner were to the United States."[23] Also it is worthy to notice in this section that Douglass transposed authoritative perspective from that of white abolitioninsts' tradition to that of his own. When Douglass published his first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*[24], it carried a "preface" by William Lloyd Garrison and a "letter" from Wendell Phillips, who were once Douglass's mentors, both authenticating Douglass's authorship of the slave narrative. These two abolitionists expressed their "confidence" in "truth" to prove that the ex-slave's narrative was not a fiction but all facts. Interestingly, in the manuscripts Douglass authenticates the white man's book. Here Douglass as a black man guarantees the truth of the book written by a white man: "Beyond the measure of the simple truth, there is nothing over sensational in this volume."[25] Douglass emphasizes to the readers "truth" in the book as the white abolitionists once appealed in his *Narrative*. In short, Douglass overturned previous abolitionist conventions by authenticating Schoelcher's representation of Toussaint[26].

From the original page 34 to the end Douglass focuses on the topic of appreciation of Toussaint in Haiti. Douglass expresses how he felt in Haiti to live there as the minister resident and consul general to the country in 1889. Douglass was sorry to know the absence of appreciation of Toussaint among Haitian people. The black hero's memory was not held in Haiti, and very little was said about him and that little was not in his praise at that time in Haiti[27]. Despite the less favorable appreciation of Toussaint in his country, Douglass insists that Toussaint had rendered great services for his people's freedom and independence and the luster he had shed on the character of black race. Douglass concludes: Toussaint's "character and works make him the property of mankind, and the best minds and hearts of the civilized world will cherish and vindicate his memory and execrate the base treachery and remorseless cruelty that left him to perish of cold and hunger in the icy damps of a gloomy prison."[28] These concluding remarks show that Douglass saw the Haitian

Revolution symbolized in Toussaint L'Ouverture and contemporary violence against African Americans in the American society as linked, illustrations of ongoing oppression of people of African descent as well as of their ability to defeat it.

As the fourth version of this manuscript was a draft and not yet fully edited by Douglass, it contains some grammatical inconsistencies. In the following transcription, I have indicated obvious mistakes with (sic) and inserted corrections of the obvious grammatical errors in parentheses. In addition, I have added the original page numbers in square brackets.



An excerpted page of Douglass's handwritten manuscripts about Toussaint L'Ouverture, version 4. In the ninth line from the top, it reads, "We differ as the waves, but are one as the sea," one of Douglass's favorite expressions in his later years.

Transcription of Frederick Douglass's Unpublished Handwritten Manuscripts about Toussaint L'Ouverture

To write out a full and fair estimate of the life and works of a great black man like Toussaint L'Ouverture and in such (a) manner that it shall be favorably received by the people of the United States, is a task not easily performed. Whether attempted by a French man or an American, a white man or black man, the undertaking in some respects will probably be a failure.

Even in regard to the character of Toussaint himself, there is danger of an incorrect measurement. The author may intend to be strictly just, to hold perfectly fair and steady the scales in which he proposes to weigh his hero's worth, and yet he may find that he has missed his honest aim. [1] The moral atmosphere, not only of this country but, more or less, that of the civilized world, is against his undertaking. The external pressure is unequal, more on one side than the other. It is the misfortune of men of African descent to be heavily shadowed by a cloud, and that they must wait to have it dispelled, before they can be properly seen either by themselves or by others. Suspicion of the presence of a drop of African blood in the veins of a man(,) however,(sic) able and distinguished, is a blight and mildew upon his life for American Society. He is regarded by the many as outside the pale of social brotherhood. Averted eyes meet him at every turn in the path of life. Even the Christianity of his times, scarcely includes him and evidently cares more for him abroad than at home far off than near at hand. His race is hated and his color is crime. The verdict of both court and country, is against him in advance of evidence or argument. A man in such condition can do but little to gain a creditable standing in the mind or conduct of such surroundings.

There are few things in [2] the world more blinding than race prejudice, and there are few things more inflexible and persistent. Against the claims of truth and justice, to say nothing of brotherly kindness, it stands like a wall of brass. Reason and common sense dash themselves against it in vain.

Individual men have risen and are rising above it, but the masses are ever under its sway and direction. In one form or another it has existed in all countries and in all ages. It was present at the marriage of Moses and confronted the star of Bethlehem at the birth of the Savior of the world. No good could come out (of) Nazareth, it said, and the Jews should have no dealings with Samaritans. In some parts of our own country today "There is no good Indian, but a dead one" and neither Irishman, Jew or (nor) Chinaman is fully included in the high human circle. But the fiercest wrath of this race prejudice is reserved for men and women of African blood. For such [3] there is a stick in every head or hand. The North meets the negro with scorn and proscription and the South meets him with lynch law and assassination.

It must be admitted if I have rightly stated the presence, the force and effect of this vulgar and absurd prejudice, it will not be easy to get Toussaint well before the American people. There is however a large love(,) truth and a measure of candour to be found here and with a considerable a (sic) willingness to read even the claims of a great negro and its awe. This generous side of our countrymen may be reached by this volume and its publication may also do something toward dispelling the thing that bars its way among our people at large.

But the difficulty of presenting to the public the life and works of Toussaint [4] is not wholly on one side. Extremes beget extremes. There are prejudices for the negro as well as prejudices against him, and neither is to be heeded in our honest pursuit of truth. A man of humane and tender sensibility deeply penetrated with a sense of the immeasurable wrongs of which the negro has been the victim for ages, may in the fervor of a feeling thus existed do a little more than justice to the vertues (virtues) of the negro, and less than justice to what may be his vices. I do not know whether I have been more amazed than amused, by some descriptions I have read and heard of the negro's perceptions, some making him out a very angel of piety(,) a natural born Christian and a very lamb in docility and the like [5] while the truth is,

the negro is in all respects simply a man, one who possesses the possibility of all the virtues and the vices common to all other varieties of mankind. No better, no worse. The angel in him is as lovely as in any other description of man and the brute is not lies visible and brutal in him, than in any other. We differ as the waves, but are one as the sea. But in addition to (sic) these prejudices for and against the negro,(sic) thus tend to obscure the truth, there is apt to to (sic) come a certain enthusiasm in those who take up the cause of the negro which may conduct one a little aside from the truth which should ever be our aim and attained at whatever cost.

There is much in the character and career of Toussaint that touches the humane and poetic side of human nature. Under his transcendent qualities to his own warm heart the author may be easily led to do [6] do (sic) injustice to his own head.

Of course the tendency against the the (sic) negro is much stronger than any that is yet developed for him — and it is against this, that both the writer and the reader should be on their guard. Men are not unlike sheep. They are apt to go with the multitude and often blindly. It is much easier to conform to popular sentiment than to confront and oppose it.

Again there are two standards by which the greatness of individual men is measured and something will depend on which we shall apply to Toussaint as to what shall be the result which ever shall reach. One standard is the ethnological standard, of measurement based upon points of difference of color and features in races, and the other is the standard based upon the broad foundation of the common and the essential humanity of all races [7] and applies all human beings alike, of whatever country or complexion. When you hear a man say, he prefers an honest negro to (a) dishonest white man, and that he would rather have the company of an intelligent negro than an ignorant white man, you need not hesitate to conclude that he is measuring men by the ethnological standard, and not by that broader and better one that judges men by character rather than by color or races. The negro is preferred not for what

is natural permanent, but for what is additional and acquired.

But worse still. Adopting this limited method of judgment, the negro gets his best of (sic) taken for his worst and gets no justice at all. What is applauded in the white man is abhorred in the black. George Washington leading his countrymen during a (sic) seven years (of) war [8] for freedom is regarded as a paragon of patriotism and all that is noble in manhood. Toussaint L'Ouverture doing the same thing was looked upon by the contemporary Christian world as a moral monster — diserving (deserving) death by the hangman's halter. Washington was fighting for political freedom. Toussaint was fighting against a personal slavery, and which according to the great Thomas Jefferson, one hour of it was worse than ages of that which Washington rose in rebellion to oppose. Yet in the eye of the world and according to their partial standard of measurement, one was a saint and the other a sinner, the one was an honor to human nature and the other a fellon (felon). [9]

The same manner of judgment was applied to Denmark Vesey at Charlestown(,) to Nat Turner at Southampton Virginia, and (to) John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Had these men taken up the cause of white man instead of poor colored people, they would have monuments of crystal and marble,(sic) to commemorate their hands and deeds. Color and race make all the difference. The same thing is sweet in the one cause, and bitter in the other.

There is one other impediment too, in the case of Toussaint L'Ouverture. One which does not rest upon race or color. It is the relativeness of of (sic) greatness itself. Thus, it is less easy to discover and define greatness while it stands as (sic) alone, than when viewed in comparison with some admitted to (sic) example of greatness. A ship sailing alone on a smooth sea under a full suit of canvas making the water foam under [10] her prow will seem to those on her deck to be making much better speed than when another vessel is alongside sailing the same way at the same rate of speed. In other words, it is easier to be a giant among pigmies than among giants.

This is the trouble in the cause of Toussaint. His work was peculiar and his character unique. Both his task and the material with which he had to work were of an uncommon kind. In fact he is without example and stands alone. He not only had to make bricks without straw, but to make wood take the place of iron and a rope of sand as strong as a chain of steel. [11]

He had to make what were considered things into men, property into persons, slaves, who had always cowered before their haughty masters, to confront these same masters with the port and dignity of freemen determined to be free and to be free at whatever cost to themselves or to others. It was a Herculean task and required a moral Hercules to (do) it. Great generals have done things great — but nothing greater than their man when measured by their different circumstances. It is not merely his success that bespeaks Toussaint's merit. It is the faith and courage of the man which should most distinguish and command him. The contest into which he flung himself, was desperate enough to appal (appall), all ordinary courage. He was to attempt the impossible. The wealth(,) valour and military skill of the most warlike nation of modern times, were employed against him. The interest and moral sentiment of the Christian world were also largely against him. All the sister islands of Hayti were slaveholding and [13] (Page 12 is misnumbered as 13.) were therefore against him. He had to match the firearms of France with the wooden arms of Hayti. It was rags against against (sic) uniforms, poverty against wealth — a mob against trained soldiers. Other men have done great things in great circumstances. Toussaint did great things against circumstances or rather made circumstances. He made not only the ship, but the sea upon which he floated to victory and freedom. The fire and fortitude of his soldiers proceeded from himself. No war was ever undertaken by Washington or Wellington which [14] which (sic) upon its face offered less chance of success and appeared more hopeless.

Then in measuring this man we should look somewhat at the place, from which this he came. Other liberators and saviors of men came from

above. This man came from below. It is not the lowly slave, but the high born freeman from whom are we taught to expect great things. It is the man whose neck has never bowed to the yoke, whose limbs have never been galled by the bondman's chain, and whose flesh has never been torn by the driver's lash, and whose primal manhood has never been crushed by the iron hand of the tyrant, who usually has the spirit and eloquence to rouse the masses to deeds of daring and gets himself elected as the head of a liberating host. But here we have a slave supplying the highest qualities of freeman. [15]

This is something great to begin with. Why did not his fellow slaves refuse to be led by him and say to him (")you are the same as ourselves: Who made you a commander over us?(") The fact that his people at once believed in him is one of the best evidences of the greatness of the man. In this respect he was an exception to a general rule.

On broad philosophical principles the starting point of Toussaint was against him. He was proclaimed unfit for the position to which he was called. His anticedents (antecedents) made him a follower while his nature made him a leader. The poet (Shakespeare) says truly (")it is the hand of little employment that hath the daintier touch." Sensibility is at (the) bottom of revolt. Men feel before they think and think before they act. [16]

Sensibility comes of gentle usage. The iron hand of slavery blunts and destroys in large measure the sensibility of the slave. Moses was fitted to slay the Egyptian who was ill(-)treating a Hebrew by his being brought up in the king's palace and cradled on the lap of the king's daughter. Raised above the dead level of his animal wants(,) and (sic) the slave has created in him a (sic) higher range of wants still more pressing and exacting. Give him a plenty of food, good clothes, a soft bed and ample time for rest and recreation, and you make him a full fledged rebel against slavery. But Toussaint illustrates in some degree both sides of this seemingly contradictory proposition. He was slave enough to seem contented with his lot, but his easy condition was a preparation for better things. He was a favored slave and almost a freeman. He was

his master's coachman and the distance between the coach and the family was not great. The intelligence on the inside sometimes extends to the man on the box. Toussaint had a [17] had (sic) a (sic) chance to hear much, to learn much and to think much and he doubtless did all three. He was not tortured by cruelty, famished by hunger, worn out by labor or hardened by brutal chastisement. It is easy to see that with his physical wants diminished his mental wants increased. Yet on the face of it there was something strange that such a man should all at once become a leader of insurgents against slavery which had to him been so mild. His time of life too tended to increase this strangeness. He was fifty years old, a time when men are generally averse to change and are supposed to shrink from new conditions of existence. But no one but himself knew how deeply he was affected by the simple thought of being a slave though long a slave and to its easy conditions in his case. His fare was good but his cage was narrow and where the door was opened Toussaint took his flight. [18]

But what a surprise it must have been to his master and to those who knew how tenderly he had always been treated, to find him at the head of rebellion against slavery. It was like a bolt from a clouded tropical sky, or rather a sudden upheaval from subterranean depths and darkness, an outpouring of volcanic fire and noxious vapour.

It meant that now Santo Domingo was to become a perfect hell of horrors, and the tenderly treated Toussaint, was thereafter to be seen, as by the lurid glare of a furnace infernal — where men ceased to be men, and became devils incarnate, who gloated over human blood laughed at human agony and mocked at despairing innocence. For since the days of the Spanish Inquisition when bigotry in (the) name of religion raised high its bloody hand against the happiness of mankind there has been nothing to surpass the terrible scenes enacted in Santo Domingo. [19]

For the sake of the much maligned negro I am glad that Toussaint was a negro and was the negro that he was. My residence in Hayti has fully

satisfied me on this point. He was a full blooded negro. His busts and portraits leave no doubt of his origin. His color, his features and hair tell the whole story. No part of his greatness can be fairly ascribed to kinship with the white race. He stands as a demonstration of what is possible ever under a wooly head, negro features and a black skin. What nature has done nature can do again. A Toussaint number one, makes possible a Toussaint number two, and many to follow. It is said that he was an exception. So he was, but only in the sense that other great men are exceptions. All Englishmen are not Peels, Gladstones and Brights [20] (Here appears page 19 again, however I omit it.) and all Americans are not Websters, Clays and Conklings (white abolitionists), but the races that have produced these can produce others like them. The material will not be exhausted while the race remains. We dare to think of Toussaint in this light, and view him with the same complacency with which other varieties of men view their great brothers. We present him as a standing reply to the assertion of negro inferiority.

But the beneficent influence of the example afforded in Toussaint was not confined to the negro. He had a mission to the whole white world scarcely less important than to the negro. His coming was a great and much needed awakening. The slavery of the Christian world was more disturbed by him than by any man prior to him. He taught slaveholders in every land and of every color the danger of goading to madness the energy that slumbers in the black man's arm. [21] The lesson he taught should not be lost on the oppression and persecution of the Negroes of the gulf states of our union today. Here may come other men of that rear not less brave and fertile in resources than this hero of Santo Domingo. In the language of Thomas Jefferson it should be remembered "That the Almighty has no attribution that will take sides with the oppression in such a contest." The world is more sympathetic with that who rise against oppression today than when this man led the revolt against slavery in Hayti. The whole Christian world was at that time was against him. England(,) France, Spain, Portugal(,) the United States and Holland were all

slaveholding. They could only look with horror upon a great negro leading his class in rebellion for their freedom. There was neither sympathy nor justice for the black insurgents. The moral weight of the world was against them. The the (sic) mountain siss (hiss) of slavery has now disappeared from the nations and [22] and (sic) in every land the negro now has his friends and advocates. An uprising in this age against oppressors and murderers would not be viewed as a hundred years ago. Tyrants and oppressors may well take this change of the world's thought into accounts. There may be a revolt against the spirit of slavery as well as against slavery itself. That deadly spirit, is at (the) bottom of the meanness of persecution of the freedmen of our Southern States and we are amazed that this possible resistance has not already been by it developed.

I have spoken of some difficulties in the way of giving a fair account of the life and works of Toussaint. These have all been well surmounted I think, by the author of this book. He has according to my reading well observed the injunction of Greenwell. He has [23] painted faithfully the black patriot, soldier and statesman. He has given as the most complete and trustworthy account of Toussaint yet given to the public. He has neither made his hero too great to obtain belief, nor so small as to excite contempt. The age is rational and things must be reasonable to gain acceptance. Beyond the measure of the simple truth, there is nothing over sensational in this volume. Neither is there any straining after effect. The character of the author made the appearance of this weakness impossible. It is the work of a venerable statesman, a member of the French Senate, far removed from vain ambition and one whose life is already crowned with honor that place(s) him beyond the range of temptation before which other men might fall. [24]

M. Schoelcher is not only aged and venerable, but he has behind him a long line of valuable services to his country and mankind. It has been given to him, as it has been given to few reformers, to see some of his most radical and deeply cherished ideas accepted by his countrymen, and organized into law. Such a man is not likely to give us fiction, in place of historic truth. The

present volume may be fairly taken as I have no doubt it was intended to be taken as the (h)onouring work of the life of its author. To my simple view he could have performed no service to the African race or to mankind more valuable than he has here done in refreshing [25] the world's memory of a great man whose example is still needed by the oppressed people with whom he was identified. The world has had at best, only glimpses of Toussaint. In this volume it will get a full and fair view of him.

No man of today was better qualified for this work than M. Schoelcher. His career began where the memory of the life and deed of Toussaint, was fresh. He heard and read all that was said about him and has well remembered what he heard and read. His young heart was doubtless early touched and his sympathies excited by the misfortunes of the black soldier and statesman and he naturally enough was eager to know all [26] all (sic) that could be known about him. His work before us may well enough be taken as the labor of love and truth.

While however, he has spoken well of his hero and of the African man, he has not flattered the vanity of the negro by attributing to his higher qualities (more) than he was known to possess — and yet he has withheld no fact in his career which should luster on his memory, and honor up on his race. In a word we have here, an honest biography of an honest man.

As a philanthropist M. Schoelcher is to France what Wilberforce and Clarkson were to England and what Lincoln and Sumner were to the United States. [27] The position of France on the subject of negro slavery is honorable to her high civilization and for this position she is indebted to no man more than to Victor Schoelcher. To him more than to any other statesman of his time is due the act that freed France from the shame and guilt of negro slavery. He had the wisdom to see what should be done, how it should be done and the exact time in which to do it. Many a golden opportunity is lost for on doure (dour) low ground of foulied (fouled) expediency or lack of manly courage. In the case of Schoelcher neither of these came between him and

manful duty. In him the hour and the man were well met. [28]

The story of his agony in the abolition of slavery in the French Colonies will be better told by his biographer. I will simply say, that when every throne in Europe who shaking and Lewis Phillip found it necessary to quit the throne of France, amid the tumult of that stormy period M. Schoelcher found time to urge upon the Provisional Government of France the abolition of slavery in all her Colonies — nor did he urge it in vain — for his hand was the hand permitted to peer the decree by which slavery ceased to asist (assist) in every port of the dominions of France.

It was my good fortune, for so I certainly esteem it, while in Paris, four years ago, to have had several memorable interviews with the author of this Book. I was first introduced to him in the [29] in (sic) the (sic) chamber of the French Senate by M. Theodore Stanton. And met him on several occasions afterwards at his own house. To say I was very much impressed by his appearance and interested in his conversation is to say almost nothing of what I really experienced. I look back to my calls upon him as among the most interesting I have ever made upon any public man and it has been my good fortune to call upon many of public men. At the time I met him, M. Schoelcher,(sic) was already eighty years of age. Yet the real living, active man was there, and fully abreast with the demand of his time and country. Had he been in the midst of his years he could not have been more truly alive than he was to passing events at home and abroad. [30] He seemed to have no more idea of quitting work, on account of his years than if forty, rather than eighty were his actual age. Like many other Europian (European) statesmen he is deterred from labor, neither by declining health nor weight of years. It was here that I learned of him his purpose to write this life of Toussaint. I confess that I heard him make this announcement with some amazement, considering the many demands upon his time and his advanced years, but he better than I knew the amount of work he could yet accomplish. I then ventured to tell him that in case his life of Toussaint was published in the United States I would write an

introduction to the work, but as already intrenched (entrenched). [31] I thought it very doubtful that I should ever be called upon to do this service.

While in Paris I learned much of the life and works of the author of this life and could say much of these which will doubtless come under the hand of Mr(.) Stanton. I must however allow myself to say, I was surprised to find such a house in Paris as his. The room in which I found myself seated and where M. Schoelcher keeps his busy hand and brain at work. It was largely decorated with the emblems of slavery. Old slave whips which had been used on the backs of slaves — in the French Colonies. On the walls were handcuffs — [32] broken chains, fetters, and iron collars with sharpe (sharp) prongs which had galled the necks and limbs of slaves in the French Colonies and now galls them no more. These barbarous implements of a past condition, were sent to him by Negroes from the Colonies in grateful recognition of his instrumentality in setting them free. One could easily see that the venerable liberator,(sic) looked upon these iron testimonies with (a) sense of relief and satisfaction. There were not wanting other and more valuable takers of negro gratitude to this noble philanthropist, telling himself and his visitors that he had not lived in vain. In these Martinique and Gaudoloupe (Guadeloupe) were well represented. Better were these than all the laurels gained on the field of battle and blood. They told of those victories more renowned [33] in peace than in war — and to which man may look without any heart piercing thoughts of slaughtered men and the ten thousand horrors of war.

Several colored members of the Corps legeslatif (legislative) called upon Senator Schoelcher on the morning of my visits. I was pleased to observe that his manner towards them had no show of patronage about it. He received them as one gentleman should receive another — without gash, but with dignified cordiality. They came I believe to consult their venerable benefactor of (sic), in respect (to) measures then pending in the assembly of which they were members. [34] Their manner told me plainly that they had the fullest confidence in the wisdom of their advisor.

At the time of my visits to M. Schoelcher I had the remotest idea that I should be appointed to the office of a states minister resident and consul general to Hayti, the scene of Toussaint's life and works. The appointment was welcome to be in part for the chance it would give me to learn more of their remarkable man, and how he was estimated by his countrymen. I am sorry to say that my information at this last point was not very gratifying. Toussaint's memory is not held in Hayti, in the honor it deserves. Very little is said about him and that little is not much in his praise. His case is another illustration of the truth that a prophet is without honor in his own country and among his kinsmen. [35] The absence of appreciation in Hayti of Toussaint seems to be that he was not sufficiently blood thirsty and that he was opposed to the complete separation of his country from France. He was also blamed for compelling his countrymen to work and keep the productiveness of the country up to the point attained in the time of slavery. No one pretends that Toussaint was not a friend to his people and a valiant friend of their freedom, but he was as they say too much of a Frenchman. Strange to say that the very people that say this today are strangely wedded to the French, send their children to France to be educated(,) are proud of their French language manners and fashions(,) and many of them take shelter under the citizenship of France when they propose to spend their days in Hayti. [36] These people do not stop to think that the errors of Toussaint, if errors they were, should be regarded, but as both in the scales, compared to the great services he had rendered and the luster he had shed on the character of their race. His high character, his valour and wisdom and his unflinching fidelity to the cause of liberty — are an inheritance of which his people should be proud. His lot however, is not singular. We are often loved least by that they have served best. But the memory of this man is not confined and will not be confined to his own country. He was too great for such limitations. His character and works make him the property of mankind, and the best minds and hearts of the civilized world will cherish and vindicate his memory and execrate the base

treachery and remorseless cruelty that left him to perish of cold and hunger in the icy damps of a gloomy prison. [37]

NOTES

1) The conventional name for Americans of African descent historically has been changed. In Douglass's days "colored" or "negro/Negro" were often used by identifying themselves in a positive way. During the twentieth century it changed from "Afro-American" to "African American." In this introduction I use mainly two identifications "African American" and "black," since African American is the most recent trend by which they call themselves and black is still the most common colloquial term.

2) Aldon D. Morris, "Foreword": Daren Clark Hine, and Earnestine Jenkins, eds. *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U. S. Black Men's History and Masculinity.* vol. 1 (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1999), xiii.

3) Richard Yarborough contends: "No nineteenth-century Afro-American thinker was more concerned with the issue of manhood than Frederick Douglass." Yarborough, "Race, Violence, and Manhood: The Masculine Ideal in Frederick Douglass's 'The Heroic Slave' ": Eric J. Sundquist, ed. *Frederick Douglass: New Literary and Historical Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 172.

4) For a more detailed argument on Douglass's black masculinity discourse, see Park Soon Young (朴珣英), "Frederick Douglass and His Strategic Application of Masculinity to African American Liberation," PhD dissertation, Osaka University (2007).

5) Frederick Douglass Papers, 34 microfilms (Washington DC: Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

6) vers. 4, 31.

7) *The Colored American Magazine* (Boston, Massachusetts, 1900-1909): *Black Journals: Periodical Resources for Afro-American and African Studies.* 89 microfiches, vol. 6 no. 6-7, card 32 (University Publications of America/LexisNexis), fiche 32, 487-92.

8) The only recent scholar who has focused on this topic is Celeste-Marie Bernier, " 'Emblems of Barbarism': Black Masculinity and Representations of Toussaint L'Ouverture in Frederick Douglass's Unpublished Manuscripts," *American Nineteenth Century History* 4.3 (2003): 97-120. She investigates Douglass's

continuing search for a form and style which would provide an accurate template of black male heroism and black masculinity. However, there are many careless and inaccurate quotations from the manuscripts and numerical order of quotation page in her essay. She even includes the non-existing words or phrases in the manuscripts which she "quotes."

As she points out that "these post-abolitionist works have so far remained untreated by modern scholars. This manuscript material occupies a rare status vis-à-vis Douglass: never published in his lifetime and at best only as excerpts thereafter, it seems never to have reached his intended audience" (100). Notable biographers and scholars of Douglass such as Phillip. S. Foner, Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Slave and Citizen: The Life of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Harper Collins, 1980), and William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (1991. New York: Norton, 1995) scarcely investigate Douglass's interest in Toussaint. Waldo E. Martin J., however, has treated the topic partially in *The Mind of Frederick Douglass* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1984), 261-73. Because of this fact, usually and generally it was believed that Douglass had given up applying black masculinity to African American liberation as a strategy in his late days of life.

9) ver. 2, 15.
10) ver. 3, 24.
11) ver. 4, 29.
12) The only manuscript titled "Introduction" is version 1 and considering the title it may have been written as early as 1887 after Douglass toured Europe.
13) ver. 4, 2.
14) ver. 4, 4.
15) ver. 4, 6.
16) ver. 4, 8-9.
17) ver. 4, 15.
18) ver. 4, 20.
19) "The Color Line": Philip S. Foner, ed. *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass, 1817-1895,* 5 vols. (New York: International, 1950-1975), 4: 344-45.
20) ver. 4, 22-23.
21) ver. 4, 26-7.
22) I am grateful to James Chastain for this information. See Chastain's entry

"Victor Schoelcher" in the *Encyclopedia of 1848 Revolutions,* http://www.ohio.edu/chastain/rz/schoel.htm (accessed September 28, 2009).

23) ver. 4, 27. William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson of the Britain and Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner of the United State were all played a great deal of role in the abolition of slavery in their own country respectively.

24) *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (1845), *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass,* (1881, 1893): Henry Louis Gates Jr., ed. *Frederick Douglass Autobiographies.* (New York: Lib. of Amer., 1994).

25) ver.4, 24.

26) "Emblems," 114.

27) ver.4, 35-36.

28) ver. 4, 37. Toussaint died from pneumonia in captivity in a French jail in 1803. On January 1, 1804, the dream of Toussaint L'Ouverture for an independent country was realized. The revolution led by Toussaint was a movement that transformed a slave colony into an independent country, the first independent black republic in the world, Haiti. "Toussaint L'Ouverture": Junius P. Rodriguez ed., *Encyclopedia of Slave Resistance and Rebellion* vol. 2 (Westport: Greenwood, 2007) 513-516.

(本学任期制助教)
(2010年3月27日受理)