

**SWEDEN AND HAITI, 1791–1825:
REVOLUTIONARY REPORTING, TRADE, AND
THE FALL OF HENRY CHRISTOPHE**

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The Haitian Revolution was followed with great interest in Stockholm during the first years of the nineteenth century.¹ One might imagine that a Scandinavian country on the periphery of Europe would have been uninterested in, and removed from, events in the Caribbean. This was not the case. From 1802 to 1804, one Stockholm newspaper reported 276 times on the revolution and mentioned Toussaint Louverture's name 178 times.

Swedish interest in Haiti was not limited to reporting about the revolution. Sweden tried in several ways to increase its trade with the new nation, and both Swedish and French merchants traded unofficially with independent Haiti under the Swedish flag. The Swedish government attempted to sell arms to both northern and southern Haiti in the 1810s using its Caribbean colony Saint-Barthélemy as an outpost. The Swedish case is another confirmation of recent studies rejecting the narrative of post-independence Haitian isolation.² Swedish trade is an enlightening example of how smaller colonial powers tried to carve out a position in the highly competitive trade with Haiti and the nascent Latin American politics during and after the Napoleonic wars.

Several Swedes visited Haiti in the 1810s—both in government service and as travelers—and wrote detailed accounts. An especially interesting document by a Swedish officer in Henry Christophe's army offers new information on the final stages of his reign in 1820.

The Haitian Revolution has been studied exhaustively during the past two decades. The oblivion that Michel-Rolph Trouillot eloquently exposed in the 1990s has been transformed into a stream of academic publications.³ The present article adds to this knowledge by analyzing Swedish perceptions of and contact with Haiti before the Swedish recognition of the Haitian nation in 1825. It also presents a range of new sources pertinent to independent Haiti's early history.

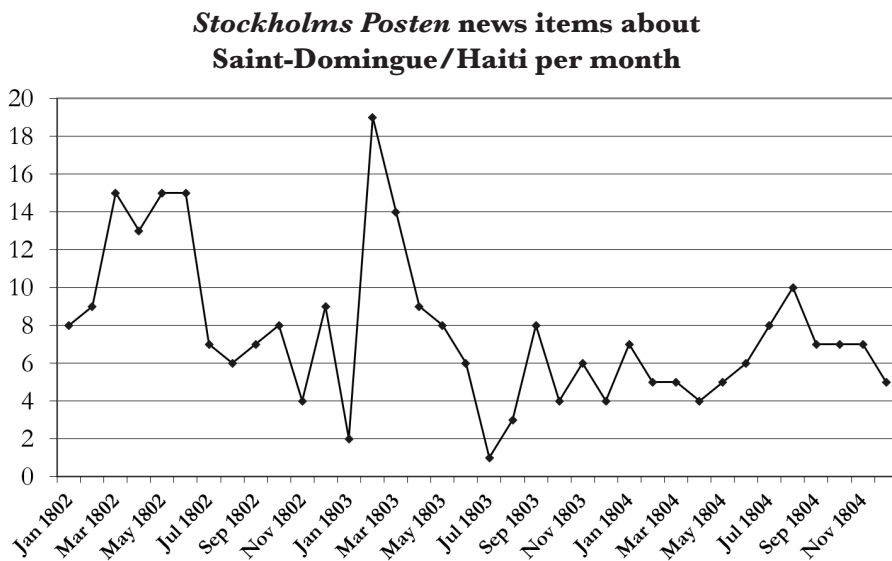


TABLE 1. NUMBER OF ARTICLES AND NEWS ITEMS PUBLISHED EACH MONTH IN *STOCKHOLMS POSTEN* FROM JANUARY 1802 TO DECEMBER 1804

REPORTING THE REVOLUTION IN STOCKHOLM

The reporting on the Haitian Revolution in Swedish newspapers at the turn of the century confirms that there was widespread interest in the war.⁴ The editors of *Stockholms Posten* lamented that there was not enough information arriving: “We are impatiently awaiting more news to arrive from S. Domingo.”⁵ In the 1780s, the Stockholm newspapers produced at least 30,000 copies in total every week for a population of around 75,000 inhabitants, and a single copy was often read by several people. Literacy was comparatively high in Sweden at approximately 80 percent around 1800; the Lutheran Church promoted reading knowledge in all levels of society. Founded in 1778, *Stockholms Posten*, one of the main Stockholm newspapers, was published Monday to Saturday. It was known for its questioning stance toward both court and church and was read by everyone in Stockholm who had an interest in foreign news.⁶ In the two final years of the war and the first year of independence (1802–1804), *Stockholms Posten* published 276 news items on Haiti, ranging in length from a few lines to articles of several pages—an average of almost two per week. The total length of the reporting during these three years is approximately 41,000 words, enabling Stockholm newspaper readers to follow Haitian events in detail (Table 1).

Stockholms Posten mainly used French and British sources. The main sources for foreign news were European newspapers that *Stockholms Posten* subscribed to. There were no correspondents in a modern sense: occasionally foreign news was relayed by letter-writing Swedes abroad, but as far as can be ascertained there were no Swedes reporting from the theatre of war. News was published in Stockholm two to four weeks later than on the continent or in Britain, and to this delay the transit time from the Caribbean must be added. A three-month interval was normal: General Leclerc's death on November 2, 1802, was reported in Stockholm on January 31, 1803.

Sweden was neutral during these years, and foreign news, as long as it was not reporting on controversial issues such as the French Revolution, was generally not censored. The Stockholm reader was usually notified about a news story's country of origin, and he or she could thus at least superficially adjust for bias. It is possible that during certain periods of the war Stockholm readers were better informed than those in the warring countries.

Stockholm inhabitants were usually up to date about what happened outside Sweden. Over the previous decades, they could have read many articles on Saint-Domingue, on the importance of the colony for the French economy, on the failed British invasion of the island, on the Caribbean plantation system, etc. Slavery and colonialism had been incessantly debated in Swedish newspapers and books—both translated titles and works by Swedish authors—since at least the 1780s.⁷ To the extent that a public opinion can be defined at all, it was mostly critical toward slavery and questioning of colonialism. A 1781 *Stockholms Posten* article on colonialism summarized the critique: "There are still lands on earth to discover. . . . There are still riches to rob, counties to plunder, heads to baptize, throats to strangle, blood to shed."⁸

There had been widespread interest in—and support for—the liberation of the British American colonies.⁹ The reception of the Haitian Revolution in Sweden cannot be easily disjoined from Swedish attitudes toward the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. This understanding can be compared to the reception of the Haitian Revolution in German-speaking countries. Several studies on the German reception of the events in Haiti that predate the wave of Anglo-American and Francophone research are relevant for the understanding of Northern European reporting.¹⁰

COLONIAL WAR

Stockholms Posten's coverage of the Haitian Revolution often focused on violence inflicted on the white population. An early 1802 article taken from a London paper is typical. It was based on what supposedly was an October 25, 1801, letter from an inhabitant of Haiti: "Yesterday morning (it is said) Toussaint was informed that an army of rebellious negroes stood a few miles from the town gates, and that the rebels' intentions were to attack the city, fire at it from several directions and massacre all whites and blacks that support the government." Governor General Toussaint Louverture tried to quell the rebellion, which followed the rumor that he had sent an envoy to purchase slaves in Jamaica and reintroduced the chain gang as a form of punishment: "Toussaint took command of the cavalry unit and . . . flew to confront the enemy. . . . Five lieus [approx. ten miles] from here they encountered 600 enemies; they attacked them and captured some rebels which they brought back. These will be executed immediately." The French informant added that notwithstanding the attempts to stop the revolt, "the country is a scene of unheard murderous acts. Yesterday the insurgents massacred a number of whites, and among them several women and elderly men."¹¹ Two days after publishing this report, the paper stated that the rebellion was not mentioned in the French papers, a way for the Stockholm editors to point out the warring parties' different perspectives and efforts at censorship.

It is sometimes hard to distinguish what was taken from foreign papers and what the Stockholm editors added. It was impossible for the editors to check facts. Still, the paper discussed the veracity of reports and reserved judgment. For example, it reported a massacre of 1,800 whites in Cap and Gonaïves but cautioned that "this [news] nevertheless requires confirmation."¹²

During the brief Franco-British Peace of Amiens, in 1802–1803, *Stockholms Posten* made clear that the previously warring parties had a common interest in quelling the insurrection. On March 1, 1803, it reported that the British government had promised troops and arms in support of the French campaign.

The war became ever more ferocious after the arrival of the Leclerc expedition and the breakdown in negotiations between local leaders and the French army. That "Bonaparte now appears to . . . be completely occupied with the colonies" was a confirmation of Saint-Domingue's great importance for France.¹³

The paper pointed out that even if there was a common interest in upholding slavery, commercial interests were more important than politics,

especially because of the “greedy [British and US] speculators for whom lust for profit is everything and humanity nothing,” who were furnishing the rebels with arms and munitions.¹⁴ Fear of the rebellion spreading was often mentioned and was considered confirmed by news of a conspiracy to burn down Kingston, Jamaica: “Fourteen of the rebellious negroes are already executed. The inhabitants of this island have great reason to regret that they received negro refugees from S. Domingo, as our negroes’ hearts have been completely ruined by their revolutionary thoughts.”¹⁵ The paper reported about conflicts elsewhere in the Caribbean, including the revolt on Guadeloupe following the French reestablishment of slavery in May 1802 (*Stockholms Posten*, August 26, 1802).

The war became increasingly taxing for the French army. Sickness, alcoholism, insubordination and suicides were rampant: “3 sergeants had shot themselves . . . in cold blood at the morning parade.”¹⁶

The paper commented without judgment on how Alexandre Pétion—“whose manners are dignified and agreeable”—changed allegiance after the imprisonment of Louverture. It correctly predicted that Pétion would play an important role once “the negroes and mulattos cannot be tamed anymore.”¹⁷ The possibility of a future independent Saint-Domingue was discussed several times, and the paper wondered whether Britain would allow such a turn of events, which might threaten its own Caribbean territories (*Stockholms Posten*, January 21, 1804). Rumors of French defeat began circulating, and the fact that several thousand Polish soldiers had deserted was not an auspicious sign (*Stockholms Posten*, May 31, 1803; June 13, 1803).

By December 1803, word about the final French defeat began to reach Sweden, and this news was confirmed at the end of the month. Haiti’s Declaration of Independence was reported early in March 1804: “[Jean-Jacques Dessalines] declares in the name of the black people and the mulattos that S. Domingo’s independence has been proclaimed, and that the slaves have regained their natural rights, which they hereafter aim to defend and never relinquish . . . [and] for which the black people have fought for 12 years.”¹⁸ On May 8, 1804, the paper stated: “The negroes have restored S. Domingo’s former name Haiti.”¹⁹ *Stockholms Posten* kept reporting throughout 1804 about the dire situation of the remaining white population. However, it also printed a proclamation by Dessalines, originally published in a New York paper, claiming that 60,000 black people had been executed by Leclerc and Rochambeau’s forces (July 18, 1804; August 6, 1804).

Stockholms Posten’s copious reporting of the hostilities still conveys the dread of an extremely acrimonious war. The mix of first-hand accounts—

authentic or not—with military and political reports centering the Caribbean as a pivotal stage in the conflict engulfing both metropolises and colonies illustrates the historical novelty of this war of independence.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE AND JEAN-JACQUES DESSALINES

Another way to gauge the reporting in *Stockholms Posten* is to follow how the depiction of the main leaders of the revolution changed. The characterization of Louverture changed radically from the generally positive depiction of him as a defender of order and the white population to the image of him as a cruel and murderous rebellion leader, while Dessalines received little attention until he took power, whereafter he was immediately portrayed negatively. Between 1802 and 1804 Louverture's name was mentioned 178 times, and that of Dessalines 113 times.

If you had asked a Stockholm burgher in 1803 who Louverture was, you would have been informed about his status as the leader of the insurgence at Saint-Domingue. In the beginning of the period he was treated fairly positively, as often was the case in the French press that *Stockholms Posten* used as its source. Before the arrival of the Leclerc expedition, Louverture and other leaders were seen as guarantors of the safety of the white population: "All accounts agree that without the courage and steadfast endeavours of a Toussaint, a Christophe, a Dessalines . . . the entire colony S. Domingo would have become a victim of murder and devastation."²⁰ Such views were also found in the British press, and the Stockholm paper thus stated: "In Europe no one can imagine to what degree of peace, order and prosperity Toussaint Louverture brought this colony. The entire island is under his command, and [every]one is so happy with his behavior, that the inhabitants of whatever party or color they may be, revere him."²¹

Soon news arrived that Louverture had turned against his former French masters, and the reporting changed tune. He was now called a "traitor," a "monster," "ambitious," "cruel," a "swindler," etc.²² After his capture (reported July 28, 1802), the paper continued to report on his imprisonment and death in France: "It is reported from Besançon that Toussaint Loverture [*sic*] completed his trajectory in his prison in the Joux castle where he died."²³ Another sign of Swedish interest in the revolutionary leader is that a critical biography was translated and published in 1802.²⁴ That the Haitian Revolution had captured the Swedish audience is also evident from the translation of J.-B. Picquenard's (1798) *Adonis, ou le Bon nègre, anecdote colonial* the same year. Though a fictionalized rendering of the 1790s uprisings, it does convey the brutal treatment of Saint-Domingue's Black population and the ferocity of the revolutionary war.²⁵

After taking power, Dessalines did not enjoy the benefit of the doubt. He was immediately disparaged, often with loaded terms such as “barbarian,” “cannibal,” “cruel,” “wild,” “brutal,” “perfidious,” etc.²⁶ A notice taken from a US paper focused on purported racial characteristics: “He is of savage appearance, and is cunning and intimidating like almost all negroes, and at the slightest adversity he attempts to get his rights with either the sword or a gun.”²⁷

Stockholms Posten repeated the endless litanies of Black violence printed in the foreign press, but it also recognized the cruelties of slavery and colonial rule in the Caribbean. While Toussaint was initially considered a moderating influence, the reporting after his capture and during the final stages of the war focused on the dire consequences for the white population both before and after Dessalines’s declaration of independence. This mirrored the foreign press used as sources for *Stockholm Posten*’s articles. Though France and Britain were at war, they had a common interest in maintaining colonial slavery.

HAITI VIEWED FROM SWEDISH SAINT-BARTHÉLEMY

In 1785 Sweden took possession of Saint-Barthélemy, a small island in the Lesser Antilles that served as its only Caribbean colony. This was not Sweden’s first colony in the Americas. Sweden had already in the 1630s colonized an area called “New Sweden” at the mouth of the Delaware River. This colony was short-lived, and within two decades it was replaced by a Dutch settlement. By the late eighteenth century, Sweden had been trying to acquire a Caribbean colony from various European powers for several decades. The aim was to gain a foothold in the West Indies in order to participate in the lucrative colonial trade. After drawn-out negotiations with France, Sweden acquired Saint-Barthélemy in exchange for French trading privileges in Sweden.²⁸

However, Saint-Barthélemy is a small and arid island, and it was impossible to grow sugar there. It was soon understood that the island’s main advantage was its good harbor and position, and in 1786 it was declared a free port. The wars following the French Revolution soon overtook the Caribbean, and while the island was profitable as a neutral trading port during parts of the conflict, it never fulfilled the goal that had motivated its acquisition from France.

The Swedish governors reported frequently with trepidation about Saint-Domingue throughout the 1790s. A 1792 report underlined the threat of the revolts spreading through the archipelago:

The situation at the island [of] St. Domingo is still quite bad; troops have arrived but they are not strong enough to resist the free colored. It is said that the white inhabitants have lost more than fifty thousand slaves, partly killed, partly escaped, and the price of these human goods has risen by a quarter. It is rumored that English frigates are cruising in their waters to stop the negro-revolutionary contagion from reaching Jamaica and to support the French planters at St. Domingo to the extent they can.²⁹

Another dispatch of the same year noted with dismay how “free mulattos and negroes, and even a band of white adventurers, travel among the islands and hold proper lectures propagating the pretended rights of the colored.”³⁰ The fear of rebellion was fueled by stories told by the large number of white refugees arriving at Saint-Barthélemy from the French islands throughout the 1790s.

THE REPORT OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

The first newspaper printed at Swedish Saint-Barthélemy appeared on April 2, 1804. The weekly *Report of St. Bartholomew* reported with alarm on the events in Haiti.³¹ It published a range of Haitian documents, including Dessalines’s January 1, 1804, Declaration of Independence in English (*Report*, July 5, 1804). Later the same month (July 31, 1804), it printed Dessalines’s April 28 *Proclamation on Liberty or Death* in full. The proclamation started: “Crimes, the most atrocious, such as were until then unheard of, and would cause nature to shudder, have been perpetrated. . . . At length the hour of vengeance has arrived, and the implacable enemies of the rights of man have suffered the punishment due to their crimes.”³² The burning question on Saint-Barthélemy was whether Dessalines’s “axe upon the ancient tree of slavery and prejudices” would come down upon the white populations on other islands.³³ The editor of the *Report* justified the printing of such incendiary pieces:

We have picked up as much stuff as We have found of the foregoing kind, and We have thought proper to lay it before our Readers, not as amusing, but partly as a curiosity, partly as a warning to all those, who may have some interest in Colonies of some extent; as in the latter view it is our firm opinion, that nothing but inconsistency in the Government and the whole bulk of the Inhabitants of the Negro-conquered part of St. Domingo, has caused the undertaking & success of those savages who now are completing [*sic*] the Destruction

of that once fine Country, and will soon thereafter stoop to the mutual Destruction of themselves. (July 31, 1804)

The reporting from Haiti was frequent in the following years, always criticizing the new state and often connecting such criticism to racial categorizations: “The black principle, *the time aw hungry, aw shan’ work, tha time me belly full aw go to sleep*, is probably not worn out of the Haytian Imperial Subjects.”³⁴ The paper avidly reported on internal strife and welcomed Dessalines’s downfall. The Swedish authors’ view of the Black population warrants a larger discussion than can be undertaken in the limited context of this article, but it is obvious from these newspaper citations—from both Stockholm and Saint-Barthélemy—as well as from official documents that many authors were highly influenced by a view of the Black population as inferior. This is also true for the longer reports and narratives described below.

The response to the Haitian Revolution by Swedish colonial administrators and the Swedish colonial newspaper poses several questions. One of the most debated today concerns the extent of the connections between the French Revolution and the Caribbean revolts throughout the 1790s that culminated in Haitian independence. To the editor of the *Report of St. Bartholomew* these events not only were interconnected but formed a clear sequence leading step by step toward the final emancipation of the Black population of Haiti and then—if the threat was not stymied—all Caribbean slave colonies.

Such fears also affected government officials in Stockholm. They were well informed by both Saint-Barthélemy administrators and the press about what was transpiring in the Caribbean. An example of how knowledge about the Haitian Revolution influenced decision-making in Stockholm concerns the civil rights of the Swedish free Black population at Saint-Barthélemy.³⁵ The colony’s form of government afforded to all free men who owned property of a certain value the right to elect representatives to the governing council. When several free Black property holders petitioned for the right to vote in 1811, their demand was sent on to Stockholm. It was rejected by the government in Stockholm in 1812:

To deny free colored in possession of houses or land voting rights might seem unjust; however, West Indian customs may presently require this rule, and a deviation from it might, even if it would not lead to the horrors that took place on St. Domingo, in due course lead to all property ending up in the hands of the free colored.³⁶

The denial of voting rights to free Black property owners indicates how important the information concerning Haiti was for government attitudes toward the management of the Swedish colony. Although the reports concerning Haiti in the Swedish newspapers became less frequent, Sweden's Caribbean presence ensured the state's continued interest in the region. The rising possibility of a lucrative trade with Haiti also bolstered the flow of information concerning Haitian matters to government circles in Stockholm.

FRENCH INVASION TO HINDER HAITIAN TRADE

Fear of the Haitian Revolution spreading did not impede trade with the new nation. An article in the *Report of St. Bartholomew* summed up the situation in the years following independence: "The trade with Hayti furnished all the public departments with occupation, and was lucrative to a degree calculated to satisfy even the intemperate in their desire of gain. It was the cause of a large money circulation, and was become productive of public revenue beyond moderate expectation, but it was not destined to be of long duration."³⁷

Both traders and government officials at Saint-Barthélemy were well aware that the French authorities at neighbouring Guadeloupe highly disliked such trade. The article continued:

[The trade] attracted the notice of people abroad, and at length the attention of the government of Guadeloupe . . . [which] sent a force of two hundred men, and three armed vessel[s]. . . . [T]hey possessed themselves of the country, alledging [*sic*] that their object was to exterminate the trade which was carried on with the rebellious colony of St. Domingo.³⁸

French troops attacked Saint-Barthélemy the night of November 11, 1807, and a Swedish soldier died defending the capital, Gustavia. The troops confiscated merchandise, which they claimed originated from Haiti, as well as ships used in the trade. Coffee was the main product, but other Haitian commodities were probably also traded via Saint-Barthélemy. Though there are no records of what was transported on Swedish ships to Haiti, it may be assumed that this cargo consisted mostly of goods from North America and Europe, especially France. As mentioned in the narrative discussed below (Gyllengranat), French traders often freighted Swedish ships to avoid the blockade.

The French troops left after holding Saint-Barthélemy for less than twenty-four hours.³⁹ However, a development the following week proved

that the invasion had succeeded in ways that extended beyond the seizure of goods and ships. On November 17, the Swedish governor issued a proclamation. The new law prohibited “tout espèce de commerce, traite et communication de la part des habitants avec les noirs de l’isle de Saint-Domingue, révoltés contre la France,” prescribing as punishment imprisonment and the confiscation of merchandise and vessels.⁴⁰ The attack on Saint-Barthélemy had been part of the French strategy to pressure other nations to stop trading with Haiti. France had for example in 1806 managed to make the United States outlaw the trade.⁴¹ The Swedish consul in New York, Richard Söderström, reported in 1806 with irritation that US authorities held Swedish ships in US harbors until he proved that they were destined for Saint-Barthélemy and not Haiti.⁴²

ARMS AND MUNITIONS

In 1809, King Gustav IV Adolf was deposed, and the Swedish constitution went through radical changes. Napoleon’s field marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte was made crown prince in 1810 and given the name Carl Johan. Although he was not crowned king until the death of Carl XIII in 1818, he became the *de facto* leader of Sweden immediately. Bernadotte had been in the political-military center of French politics for almost two decades. In 1801 he strove to be appointed leader of the Saint-Domingue expedition, but Napoleon instead assigned the command to his own brother-in-law Charles Victoire Emmanuel Leclerc. Bernadotte later refused to command the much smaller force sent to quell the rebellion on Guadeloupe in 1802.⁴³ Carl Johan was well aware of the economic advantages of holding Caribbean colonies. At the 1812 parliament it was decided that the administration of Saint-Barthélemy would be transferred to the crown, and henceforth the income from the island went to the royal family. Carl Johan was instrumental in the negotiations that led to the brief (1813–1814) Swedish acquisition of Guadeloupe toward the end of the Napoleonic Wars.⁴⁴

Saint-Barthélemy, initially acquired on the premises of participating in the slave and sugar trade, once again incited interest, this time as an outpost for trade with the new Latin American nations. The island’s governor inquired whether he was to allow trade with Haiti. The answer from Stockholm was vague:

On the one hand, rest assured that His Majesty sees with pleasure all means to increase the well-being of the colony and thus also increase the income of His Majesty and the Crown; on the other hand, St. Domingo’s relationship with its motherland, and [France’s] with Sweden, does not allow

the granting of any official authorization to trade with a people whose government is not yet recognized and that is considered to be in a state of insurrection with its lawful authority.⁴⁵

However, continued Gustaf af Wetterstedt, the official responsible for colonial policy in Stockholm, “clandestine trade [with Haiti] is promoted, His Majesty does consent to it, but he does not permit it, and [the trade] is of the nature that it must be disowned by His Majesty if any protests are made [by the French].” The letter recommended that this strategy should also be adopted to avoid Spanish ire over trade with Latin American insurgents. It issued no instructions, leaving the Saint-Barthélemy governor to use his “skills, judgement and local knowledge” to further the trade while not compromising Swedish diplomatic relations.⁴⁶ This stance was repeated in the instructions to a newly appointed governor in 1819: “Mr Norderling mettra dans les communications qui seront quelque fois inévitables avec les Chefs des Insurgés ou avec les Gouvernemens de St. Domingue, tout la franchise et les procédés convenables, sans jamais les reconnaître officiellement dans leur titres et caractère d’indépendance.”⁴⁷

The ambiguity is striking, but in reality Stockholm authorities went to great lengths to promote clandestine Swedish trade via Saint-Barthélemy. Carl Johan ordered the navy captain August Burchard Gyllengranat to investigate the possibilities for Swedish trade with Haiti and the feasibility of acquiring an additional Swedish Caribbean territory. Gyllengranat left Sweden in April 1815—the same month that Wetterstedt drafted his letter to the Saint-Barthélemy governor—in command of the ship *Delphin*.⁴⁸ He submitted a long report about his Haitian visit to Carl Johan in September 1816, after his return to Sweden. Gyllengranat was not impressed with King Henry Christophe and claimed that his reign had replaced slavery with tyranny. In fact, his report shows negative judgment toward most of the figures he met. One exception was Baron Alexis de Dupuy, one of the king’s secretaries, who “in all matters was far superior than can be expected in Hayti in this period of terror.”⁴⁹ Gyllengranat did, however, admit that the lack of educated civil servants was a consequence of the absence of schools.⁵⁰

Gyllengranat reported about ample possibilities for Swedish trade with Haiti. He noted that both the Northern Kingdom and the Southern Republic needed arms to defend themselves against a French invasion, as well as against each other. Baron Dupuy and the minister for foreign affairs, Comte de Limonade, assured him that Henry Christophe was especially interested in acquiring military stores. Gyllengranat listed the

merchandise that US, British, and German traders brought to the island, and noted that it would be possible to undersell the British, the Northern Kingdom's main trading partners.⁵¹ He lamented the decreased role of Swedish trade: "Also Saint Bartholomew traded profitably with Hayti, but presently such trade is limited to the Southern part; the presidency of Pethion [*sic*]." ⁵²

For Saint-Barthélemy merchants, trading with Christophe's Kingdom was not without danger. Gyllengranat was ordered to free a naturalized Swedish merchant, named Bouillon, who had been imprisoned by Christophe since 1812—probably because he was considered a French national. According to the *Delphin's* ship doctor—who himself left an interesting description of Cap Henry (later Cap-Haïtien)—Christophe "required proof that [Bouillon] was a Swedish burgher, something [Gyllengranat] did not have."⁵³ The operation failed, and Bouillon remained in jail.

Gyllengranat noted frequent French trading under Swedish and Norwegian flags (Norway was in 1814 ceded by Denmark to Sweden and remained in a personal union with Sweden until 1905): "During my time at Saint-Barthélemy, many Swedish and Norwegian ships originating from Marseille passed by; they were all destined to Pethion's [*sic*] territory and freighted by French merchants."⁵⁴ That France tried to prevent trade with Haiti is well known, but it was difficult to hinder French merchants from using other nations' vessels, and this practice was eventually permitted in March 1816.⁵⁵ Gyllengranat was well aware of the need to avoid upsetting French authorities, which could erode already tense Franco-Swedish relations. He meant that this danger could be overcome by using local merchants to shift arms and other goods from Saint-Barthélemy.

Upon Gyllengranat's return to Sweden, Carl Johan declared his intentions to send a trading expedition to Haiti. Gyllengranat furnished the crown prince with a proposal of how to fit out the ship and what merchandise was appropriate. After the 1815 peace in Europe, Sweden had a surplus of arms and munitions. Weapons and iron had already been important export products since the seventeenth century. It had been suggested earlier in 1816 that military material—20,000 rifles, more than 600 cannons of different types and calibers, and about 10 million rifle rounds—should be stored at Saint-Barthélemy and offered for sale.⁵⁶ The colony's governor pointed out that "St. Domingo's need for military equipment is already satisfied by the Englishmen; it might be possible to sell them more, but not in any considerable quantity."⁵⁷ His advice was heeded, and in 1819 a ship freighted by the crown was sent to Saint-Barthélemy

with a much reduced load: 71 cannons and 18,500 cannonballs, 500 rifles with 50,000 rounds, and other small arms and equipment. A year later another ship was sent to Saint-Barthélemy loaded with gunpowder. By 1822 all the small arms and rounds, and half of the cannons, were sold to merchants on the island who sold them on in turn.⁵⁸ It is impossible to ascertain whether any of these arms went to Haiti, since such trade did not leave any paper trail. The Swedish trade with Latin American *insurgentes* in the 1820s is better known: the attempt to sell warships to Colombia and Mexico led to a drawn-out international diplomatic conflict.⁵⁹

SALESMEN AND MERCENARIES

The Swedish officer Severin Lorch was sent to Saint-Barthélemy with Gyllengranat to take up a position in the island's artillery. He traveled extensively in the Antilles, and in October 1816 he arrived in Les Cayes, from which he went by land to Port-au-Prince. He met with President Alexandre Pétion, who made a favorable impression on him. In an 1818 report about his journeys, addressed to Carl Johan and thus drafted in French, he outlined the advantages of commercial relations between Sweden and Haiti. He related how Pétion had told him that Swedish arms and ships would have been of interest at an earlier point but were not required anymore. This information may have cooled aspirations in Stockholm. According to Lorch, Pétion also underlined that “Il [Pétion] ne voudrait pas encore former avec quelque puissance des relations de commerce fixes.”⁶⁰ None of the visiting Swedes harbored any illusions that they could sell Haitian leaders anything they did not require, or at a price that was not favorable to the Haitian governments. The Swedish position in the Caribbean was weak. Sweden had, for instance, never been able to defend its own small island, as the French invasion in 1807 proved. Nevertheless, Lorch suggested that Sweden should employ agents to facilitate trade in both Haitian states. Lorch was an astute promoter of Swedish trade; he was later appointed Swedish consul in Philadelphia. His view that Swedish–Haitian trade could be increased should be considered as justified.

Lorch's observations during his visit were more optimistic than Gyllengranat's and often went against received wisdom. His view of both the cities and the countryside gave a balanced view of the security situation. Lorch too believed that Haitian independence was contagious, but he saw this as a positive development:

L'existence des États de Nègres et de gens de couleur à St. Domingue me semble d'autant plus assurément annoncer

aux autres Antilles des changemens politiques non pas très éloignés, que le développement général et graduel du caractère et des facultés humaines parait aussi les amener.⁶¹

Lorich did not join the chorus predicting Haiti's downfall but rather used Haiti as an example of a possible future for an imminently postcolonial Caribbean.

HENRY CHRISTOPHE'S FALL AND VASTEY'S EXECUTION

The artillery captain Johan Albrekt Abraham de Frese traveled with several other Swedes to Haiti in search of employment. He was the head of a minor noble family and was educated and fluent in French.⁶² His account begins with his arrival at the island in 1819 or 1820: "After sailing 7 weeks we sighted the place where we all hoped to find our fortune."⁶³ This wish was not to be fulfilled. A merchant from Gothenburg and the ship's supercargo (the person responsible for its cargo) died of yellow fever shortly after the arrival at Cap Henry. Frese's account is dated January 21, 1821, and he appears to have written his narrative over the space of at least several months covering his arrival and the ensuing events of 1820. When Frese finished his description of his service to King Henry Christophe, he was the only survivor of the group of Swedes and the city had changed name again, this time to Cap-Haïtien.

Frese, like the other Swedish visitors, met with most of the prominent officials. Frese encountered for instance Baron Dupuy—whom Gyllengranat had appreciated—and who according to Frese was a central person in Christophe's government. In his characterization of the baron he added that Dupuy had, before returning to Haiti, spent several years touring North America with a puppet theatre. Dupuy took a liking to Frese and introduced him to the king, who hired him.

Frese's account of his service as artillery instructor in Christophe's military is detailed and rich in observations of daily life in the Kingdom. His overall judgments were initially fairly positive, and Frese attributed his survival of the yellow fever to the good care Christophe had arranged for him. However, when the rebellion against Christophe started in early October 1820, the king's personality changed: "The revolution erupted, and the appearance of true majesty that he had been capable to uphold, vanished in the rising sun of freedom and in the flames of a long quelled fire of vengeance."⁶⁴ Frese's description of the ensuing days is harrowing, and he does not take sides in his account. He participated in a cavalry unit together with other "persons interested in maintaining order."⁶⁵ The unit killed several soldiers before they managed to quell some of the unrest and

looting following Christophe's suicide. His account of what transpired ten days after the king's death is worth quoting in full, as it is to my knowledge the only detailed description of the execution of some of the king's children and the leaders of the kingdom.⁶⁶

The night of October 18th, instead of patrolling the streets on horseback, we went to the prison. Had I been able to foresee what would happen, I would have stayed home. Entering the prison yard, we found 200 men and cavalry. Several lamps illuminated the yard. (It was 10 o'clock at night.) The most fearsome spectacle I ever saw followed. The prisoners were presented one by one.

The crown prince was first. Richard [the leader of the insurrection against Christophe, also known by his title Duc de Marmalade] told him that even though he was a child and never had done evil, the tranquility of the state demanded his life. The prisoner accused them of inhumanity; he said his only [crime] was to be the son of their enemy, of their former king. This was admitted, but cruel necessities required this sacrifice. "Well, then, I am at peace." A nod from Richard and four bayonets were run into the back of the courageous youth. A military carpenter was at his side and cut off his head the moment he fell over. He was only 16 years old. He was an excellent youth who combined the truest of hearts with a good head.

After him came the Batarde (Prince Eugène, also known as Duc de Mole). He did not deign [to utter] a word in response to their speech. A spiteful gaze was all he gave his executioners. He was 22 years of age.

The Marshal Prince Joachin, the king's favorite, came now. He was reproached for his unlawful crimes, his cruelties and bloody advice. "Vive le Roi! vive sa manière de gouverner des scélérats comme vous!" Even when he was falling over he exclaimed: Vive le Roi!

Yet another five: Marshal Prince Philip, General Duc de Lascaron, Chancellor Baron Vastey, General Baron Dessalines and aide-de-camp Vainquir were murdered in the same manner. Lascaron and Vastey begged and prayed for their lives, they said they would happily emigrate, or serve as soldiers, if their lives were spared—all in vain. Vastey was only hit with an axe in the head, and still showed signs of life the second afternoon when some foreign merchants went to visit the place where the bodies were thrown. A 12-year-old illegitimate child of Christophe was the last victim this night.⁶⁷

This is the only detailed information we have on the death of for instance Pompée Valentin Vastey, the important writer of *Le Système colonial dévoilé* (1814).⁶⁸ As a matter of fact, Frese was aware of Vastey's literary work but claimed in a section on Haitian letters in his account that the works of both Vastey and Julien Prévost (Comte de Limonade) were authored by another Haitian writer, Juste Chanlatte (Comte de Rosiers).⁶⁹

The accounts of Gyllengranat and Frese were mainly critical toward Henry Christophe and his reign. The historian Philippe Girard discusses how to confront such descriptions in his recent Louverture biography: "Few scholars now dare to question some aspects of Louverture's record for fear of appearing critical of the cause for which he fought, an attitude that is seemingly respectful but also simplistic and even patronizing." Christophe's afterlife in scholarship has been different from Louverture's, but as Girard points out, "turning him [Louverture] into a one-dimensional hero of emancipation obscures the complexities of the Revolution he had to navigate and the skill he displayed in doing so."⁷⁰ The information on Christophe in the Swedish accounts is yet another reminder that a new study—the most recent full-length biography was published in 1967—of his life and reign would be most welcome.⁷¹

PROCLAIM FREEDOM AND EQUALITY BETWEEN ALL COLORS

Gyllengranat, Lorch, and Frese were military men, and their manuscript accounts were not destined for publication but served as sources of information for the king and civil servants in Stockholm. However, another Swedish visitor to Haiti nurtured literary ambitions. Olof Erik Bergius served as a judge at Saint-Barthélemy in 1814–1816. After resigning from his appointment, Bergius traveled widely in the Caribbean. His book *Om Westindien* [About the West Indies] was published in Stockholm in 1819.

Bergius's book is an interesting example of how much information a single traveler could gather while island-hopping for a couple of years. To a modern reader, his account appears relatively balanced. He introduces his Haitian chapter with a telling metaphor: "The history of the colonies I have already described is without resolution, like an interrupted conversation. St. Domingo has completed the circle of its destiny, and stands like a threatening ruin, a warning to its neighbors, but wonderful for its successors."⁷² In his account of the Haitian Revolution he shows sympathy with the Black population's quest for freedom: "The island St. Domingue, freed from its oppressors, was again home to peace and comfort. The independence was so much dearer to its multi-colored inhabitants, as they had won it with exertion and blood, and as they had afterward understood that every contact with France would be a noose for

their most sacred rights.”⁷³ Bergius’s judgment on Louverture was mainly positive, and though he did recognize cruelties under Christophe’s rule he showed some understanding for the political difficulties the new rulers confronted. He also described the active trade that he witnessed with several nations.

The book’s final chapter summarizes Bergius’s reflections on Caribbean history and its present conditions: “I have shown, how societies have been created here that only have the constitutional right to *produce* and *consume*, and without the right to choose seller or buyer, or to elect their governors, influence the laws, defence or affairs of the State.”⁷⁴ Bergius’s observations are perspicacious, and his conclusions are close to an anticolonial firebrand speech; he was inspired by, among other writers, the anticolonial French author Dominique de Pradt.⁷⁵ Bergius proposed a confederation of island states, possibly under the protection of the United States. Ultimately, however, the only solution to the political turmoil in the West Indies was, according to Bergius, to replicate the Haitian experience: “Proclaim . . . freedom and equality between all colors, and the name of European domination in the West Indies shall be blown away by the Trade Winds, and like those, never to return.”⁷⁶

Reviewers of Bergius’s book agreed that freedom in Latin America would follow upon Haiti’s successful example. *Stockholms Posten* underlined that decolonization was inevitable: “The hour seems to have arrived when the development cannot any longer be stopped by the barbarity in which the Europeans’ limitless greed and unjust oppression have kept this hemisphere.” The newspaper admitted that colonial freedom threatened European prosperity but argued that it would finally also benefit the “nations that based their wealth on their barbarity in the Americas.”⁷⁷

RECOGNITION

Bergius’s prediction that immediate decolonization would follow the abolition of slavery was based on the Caribbean’s importance for the metropolises. He could hardly have foreseen the economic crisis that was looming. In Sweden, commerce with Haiti and the Caribbean had now become associated with the attempts to find markets for Swedish exports in Latin America. This was already manifest in the efforts to sell arms to the insurgents and the new republics. Severin Lorch, who reported from Haiti in 1816, was sent on a secret mission to Colombia in 1823 to negotiate a commercial treaty. Before leaving Philadelphia he wrote to President Boyer to present the advantages of trade with Sweden. He proposed that Swedish ships should enjoy the same customs tariff that was afforded to British trade. On his way back to Philadelphia, he made a stop in Haiti. It

is probable that this visit led to the decision of August 26, 1825, to establish a consulate in Port-au-Prince.⁷⁸ Sweden's recognition of Haiti followed closely upon the establishment of French–Haitian diplomatic relations the same year. The Saint-Barthélemy governor was instructed to announce that a “consul [will] be appointed for the Island of St. Domingo or Hayti, [and that] all those who may be inclined to apply for the appointment” were to submit their applications to the Stockholm Board of Trade.⁷⁹ As a comparison, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Swedish consulates were established in Rio de Janeiro (1808), Buenos Aires and Montevideo (1836), Pernambuco (1838), Havana (1839), and Caracas (1847).⁸⁰

Haiti was still present in Swedish news and literature in the 1820s and 1830s. A laudatory biography of Henry Christophe was printed in 1821 in Stockholm. It compared him to Charlemagne and Peter the Great as a state builder and wondered: “Must thus everywhere centuries pass before it will be allowed to admit [his] greatness?”⁸¹ Other examples are the two Swedish theatrical adaptations of Heinrich von Kleist's novella *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo*, first translated and published in Stockholm in 1811. Set during the revolution, Kleist's novella is strongly critical of the white creoles and ends with a white man killing his Black mistress. The two Swedish adaptations (1819, 1832) both deleted the original's tragic ending. The white male protagonist shoots his Black lover, but she survives and forgives him.⁸²

Many of the tropes from the 1802–1804 reporting on the revolution were repeated in books and journals. A Swedish Saint-Barthélemy priest opined in 1835 that “St. Domingo is now in all respects a desert in comparison to what it was when France owned it.”⁸³ On the other side of the spectrum was Karl Ferdinand Philippi's history of Haiti, published in Swedish in 1833, which was sympathetic toward the revolutionary leaders and supportive of independence.⁸⁴

CONCLUSION

The examples given here of Swedish interest in the revolution prove that the importance of the Haitian events was fully understood in Stockholm during the end years of the independence war. Subsequent trade and contact with Haiti confirm the recent view that Haiti's isolation after independence has been exaggerated. Julia Gaffield summarizes this point in her recent book: “The familiar scholarly focus on Haitian isolation masks the many and diverse ways that Haitians and their leaders interacted with Atlantic World empires, nations, and colonies.”⁸⁵

The Swedish accounts discussed in the article offer interesting information on Haiti's first independent decades and would all benefit

from a deeper analysis. The aim in this article has been only to introduce them as pertinent to both Haitian and Caribbean history. Gyllengranat and Lorch's visits were motivated by Swedish commercial interests. Gyllengranat witnessed brisk trade, while Lorch was an astute observer not blinded by preconceived ideas. Frese's narrative adds to our knowledge about the final period of Henry Christophe reign.

Foreign descriptions of Haiti were mostly written by educated white males, and the Swedish accounts were no different.⁸⁶ Writers shared common European ideas about Black inferiority, but arguably, being from a less colonially invested nation made it possible for them to form opinions somewhat different from those of observers from major powers. For example, Bergius's conclusions on Haiti's history and the colonial Caribbean's future are still worth pondering today.

Views on Haiti were, and are, divisive. The information in the Swedish accounts on Christophe's Kingdom is generally not very positive. However, these visitors were clear in recognizing Haitian agency. Even when voicing highly critical opinions, they all agreed on the rulers' legitimacy and the independent status of the new nations.

Swedish Saint-Barthélemy was pivotal in the relationship with Haiti. News from the colony kept Stockholm authorities informed about the Caribbean, and trade with Haiti was supported. France's prohibition of trade with its former colony was regarded mainly as a problem to be circumvented. Swedish colonial ambitions reached their final stage when Carl Johan attempted to obtain more territories in the 1810s, with the brief acquisition of Guadeloupe as the high point. Swedish attempts to sell arms to Haiti is an example of how at the same time that colonial territorial ambitions finally abated in Stockholm, Saint-Barthélemy was used to advance trade with Haiti and the future Latin American republics.

The examples of Swedish–Haitian relations presented here offer additional proof of the wide-ranging consequences of the revolution and Haitian independence. Another conclusion is that although earlier historiography has focused predominantly on the relationship between metropole and colony, Sweden needs to address its Caribbean past in relation to the surrounding archipelago as well. The issues and material discussed here are an indication that Swedish Caribbean colonialism needs to be further investigated.

Notes

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- ¹ For simplicity's sake I often refer to the French colony of Saint-Domingue as Haiti, as well as calling the new nation by the same name through its various territorial configurations during the period discussed in the article. In the same vein, the "Haitian Revolution" encompasses the time span 1791–1804. All translations are my own, and I retain the spelling of names used in the original sources.
- ² Gaffield, *Haitian Connections*.
- ³ M.-R. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*. I refrain from referring to the enormous recent Haitian bibliography except when called for in specific cases; for an overview, see Sepinwall, "Beyond *The Black Jacobins*."
- ⁴ Jansson, "Flera perspektiv."
- ⁵ *Stockholms Posten*, April 8, 1802: "Vi wänta med otålighet vidare underrättelser från S. Domingo."
- ⁶ On *Stockholms Posten*'s reporting on the French Revolution, see Hägerstrand, "Stockholms Posten och franska revolutionen."
- ⁷ Thomasson, "Knowledge, Silence and Denial."
- ⁸ *Stockholms Posten*, November 17, 1781: "Ännu finnas länder på jorden at upptäcka. . . . Ännu finnas rikedomar att röfwa, Landskaper at plundra, hufvud at döpa, halsar at strypa, blod at utgjuta."
- ⁹ Elovson, *Amerika i svensk litteratur*.
- ¹⁰ See Schüller, *Die deutsche Rezeption haitianischer Geschichte*, 52, on the relationships between the reception of the American, French, and Haitian revolutions. For a summary of Schüller's work in English, see Schüller, "From Liberalism to Racism"; Zeuske, "Die Vergessene Revolution." Susan Buck-Morss's publications should also be included in this context: "Hegel and Haiti"; *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*. In the Danish case some insights into the relationship between its Caribbean islands and Haiti can be found in Olsen, *Vestindien*.
- ¹¹ *Stockholms Posten*, February 2, 1802: "I går på förmiddagen (heter det) erhöill Toussaint officiel underrättelse att en Armee af upproriske Negrer stod få mil ifrån Stadsportarne, och att Rebellerne hade för afsigt att gå löst på Staden, beskjuta den från åtskilliga sidor samt massakrera alla Hwita och Swarta som hörde till Regeringen. . . . Toussaint ställde sig i spitsen för ett parti Kavalleri . . . flögo för att möta Fienden. . . . Fem Lieues härifrån träffade de 600 Fiender, angrepo dem och togo till fånga någre Rebeller, hwilka de medbragte. Desse skola afrottas med det första. . . . Landet föreställer en Scen af ohörda mordgärningar. I går massakrerade Insurgenterna ett antal Hwita

och deribland flera Qwinfolk och ålderstegne Män.” For more on this episode, see Girard, *Toussaint Louverture*, 225–227.

- ¹² *Stockholms Posten*, May 29, 1802: “Men detta fordrar likwäl bekräftelse.”
- ¹³ *Stockholms Posten*, March 8, 1802: “Bonaparte synes nu mera . . . wara helt och hållet sysselsatt med Kolonierna.”
- ¹⁴ *Stockholms Posten*, January 26, 1804: “girige Spekulanter, för hwilka ett lågt interesse är allt, och mensklighet intet.”
- ¹⁵ *Stockholms Posten*, September 17, 1803: “Fjorton af de upproriske Negrerne äro redan afträttade. Inbyggarne på denna ö hafwa största orsak att beklaga det de mottagit Negerflygtingar ifrån S. Domingo, emedan desse igenom sina Revolutionsgrundsatser alldes förderfwat våra Negrers hjertan.”
- ¹⁶ *Stockholms Posten*, September 9, 1802: “3 Sergeanter hade en morgon på Paraden . . . med kalt blod skjutit sig till döds.”
- ¹⁷ *Stockholms Posten*, February 23, 1804: “Hans uppförande är wärdigt och behagligt, och han kommer helt säkert att spela en stor roll när Negrerne och Mulatterne icke mera kunna tämjäs.”
- ¹⁸ *Stockholms Posten*, March 2, 1804: “ger tillkänna, i det Swarta Folkets och Mulatternes namn, att S. Domingos Sjelfständighet blifwit proklamerad, och att Slafwarne återfått sina naturliga rättigheter, hwilka de hädanefter ärnade förswara och aldrig afstå . . . för hwilken det Swarta Folket kämpat i 12 år.”
- ¹⁹ “Negrerne hafwa återgifwit S. Domingo dess fordna namn Haiti.” In the following articles the spelling “Hayti” is predominant. See Geggus, “The Naming of Haiti.”
- ²⁰ *Stockholms Posten*, March 11, 1802: “alla berättelser instämman deri, att, utan en Toussaints, en Christofs, en Dessalines . . . mod och ståndaktiga bemödande, hela Kolonien S. Domingo skulle blifwit ett offer för mord och förödelse.”
- ²¹ *Stockholms Posten*, February 18, 1802: “i Europa kan ingen föreställa sig till hwilken grad af lugn, ordning och wälmåga Toussaint Louverture bragt denna Koloni. Hela ön står under hans befallning, och man är så nöjd med hans uppförande, att Inbyggarne, af hwad parti och färg de än må wara, allmänt wörda honom.”
- ²² *Stockholms Posten*, April 12, 13, 16, 1802; May 5, 27, 1802; July 28, 1802.
- ²³ *Stockholms Posten*, May 14, 1803: “Från Besançon förmäles, att Toussaint Louverture fulländat sin bana i sitt fängelse uti Slottet Joux och derstädes affidit.”
- ²⁴ Dubroca, *Anföraren*. It was printed in French, English, and German the same year.
- ²⁵ Picquenard, *Adonis*; Charara, *Fictions coloniales*, 173–294.
- ²⁶ *Stockholms Posten*, February 23, 1804; May 8, 1804; July 7, 1804.
- ²⁷ *Stockholms Posten*, September 12, 1804: “Han har ett wildt utseende, är såsom nästan alla Negrer listig, injagar fruktan och plär wid minsta motsägelse förskaffa sig rätt, antingen med wärjan eller med en pistol.”

- ²⁸ Swedish Caribbean colonial historiography is underdeveloped. Only four PhD dissertations have focused on Swedish Saint-Barthélemy: the first two date back to 1888 and 1951, and the third and fourth were defended in 2016: Wilson, "Commerce in Disguise"; and Pålsson, "Our Side." For an overview of the state of research, see Thomasson, *Thirty-Two Lashes*. Historical work concerning Scandinavian colonialism in general has recently intensified as two recent anthologies attest: Naum, *Scandinavian Colonialism*; Weiss, *Ports of Globalisation*.
- ²⁹ Carl Fredrik Bagge, April 16, 1792, vol. 1B, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, The Swedish National Archives [Riksarkivet], Stockholm (hereafter SNA): "I Ön St. Domingo står ännu ganska illa till; Troupper äro väl ankomne, men icke starcka nog att bjuda de fria Couleurta spetzen: Man påstår att de hvita Inneväanarena förlorat öfver femtjo tusende Slafvar, dels dödade dels bortrymde, och så är denna Människo Vahra omkring $\frac{1}{4}$ del dyrare än förut. Det förljudes att engelska Fregatter kryssa i deras farvatten, dels för att förhindra Neger-Revolutions smittan att utbreda sig på Jamaica, dels för at bistå de undertryckte franska Planteurerna på St. Domingo, i hvad de förmå."
- ³⁰ Carl Fredrik Bagge, January 23, 1792, vol. 2B, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, SNA: "Fria Mulatrar och Negrar, till och med en hop hvita Aventurier, resa Öarne omkring och hålla ordentliga föreläsningar öfver de Couleurta pretenderade Rättigheter."
- ³¹ On the *Report*, see Pålsson, "Our Side," esp. ch. 6; Cave, *Printing and the Book Trade*, 253–262.
- ³² On early publications of English translations of Dessalines' proclamations, see Jenson, "Dessalines's American Proclamations"; Gaffield, *Haitian Declaration of Independence*. The *Report's* translation of the independence declaration is the same as later published in Rainsford, *Black Empire of Hayti*, 442–446.
- ³³ *Report of St. Bartholomew*, July 31, 1804.
- ³⁴ *Report of St. Bartholomew*, April 6, 1806, italics in the original.
- ³⁵ On the legal status of the free Black population in the Swedish colony, see Thomasson, "Vous-même, ôtez votre chapeau!"
- ³⁶ Statsrådsprotocoller, March 11, 1812, Handels och Finance Expeditionen, SNA: "Att utesluta ifrån rösträttighet äfven de frie Couleurte, som äga hus eller besitta jord, synes wäl vara obilligt; men kanske fordrar Westindiens allmänna bruk för det när warande detta afseende, och en afwikelse derifrån skulle, om den ock ej förorsakade alla de gruvligheter som på St. Domingo, i tidens lopp möjligen föranleda dertill, att all fast egendom komme i frie Couleurtes händer."
- ³⁷ *Report of St. Bartholomew*, November 23, 1811.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Wilson, "Commerce in Disguise," 210–211.
- ⁴⁰ Proclamation, November 17, 1807, vol. 1C, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, SNA.
- ⁴¹ On the French attempts to hinder trade with Haiti, see Brière, *Haïti et la France*.

- ⁴² Söderström to Board of Trade, August 1, September 1, 1806, vol. 2, Svenska konsulers brev, *Diplomatica Americana*, SNA; Gaffield, *Haitian Connections*, 188; Hickey, “America’s Response”; Jakobsson, “Haitis självständighet.”
- ⁴³ Norvins, *Souvenirs d’un historien*, vol. 2, 310; Höjer, *Carl XIV Johan*, vol. 1, 255. There is an abridged French translation of Höjer’s biography: *Bernadotte. Maréchal de France*.
- ⁴⁴ Thomasson, “Entre rêves coloniaux.” Carl Johan’s personal archive contains ample material on the economy and administration of colonies, especially in the Americas: Karl XIV Johans arkiv, Bernadotte family archives, Royal Palace, Stockholm.
- ⁴⁵ Gustaf af Wetterstedt, April 2, 1815, vol. 258, Fonds suédois de Saint-Barthélemy, Archives nationales d’outre mer, Aix-en-Provence, France (hereafter ANOM): “Å ena sidan bör Herr Baron vara öfvertygad, att Kongl. Majt. med nöje ser alla de utvägar vidtagas, hvarigenom Coloniens trefnad bereder, och i följe deraf en ökad inkomst för Kongl. Majt. och Kronan, men å den andra sidan tillåter icke St. Domingos förhållande till moderlandet, och dettas till Sverige, att någon offentlig autorisation kan gifvas åt handeln med ett folk, hvars regering icke ännu är erkänd, och som anses vara i insurrectionstillstånd med dess lagliga öfverhet.”
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.: “Derigenom kan den smyghandel understödjäs, som Kongl. Majt. väl kan medgifva, men ej tillåta, och som varande af den natur, att den nödvändigt af Kongl. Majt. måste förnekas, så snart som officiellt klagomål i detta afseende göras . . . färdighet, omtanke och lokalkännedom.”
- ⁴⁷ Instruction, d’après la quelle Mr Norderling aura à se régler dans l’exercice de ses fonctions de Gouverneur de la colonie de St. Barthélemy . . . , April 29, 1819, vol. 256, Fonds suédois de Saint-Barthélemy, ANOM.
- ⁴⁸ Instruction to Gyllengranat, March 23, 1815, Documents relating to Saint-Barthélemy, 1784–1869, BANC MSS Z-A 4, Bancroft Library, Berkeley.
- ⁴⁹ August Burchard Gyllengranat, Underdånig Relation om Ställningen på Ön Sanct Domingo i Ekonomiskt, Commercielt och Politiskt hänseenden, ms dated Karlskrona, September 25, 1816, vol. 138, Karl XIV Johans arkiv, Bernadotte family archives, Royal Palace, Stockholm. Citation: “i alla ämnen hvida öfver hvad man i Hayti kan vänta sig under denna skräck Period.” The same dossier contains a French translation of the report, since Carl Johan never acquired Swedish: *Relation sur l’état politique, économique et commercial de l’île de Saint Domingue*. For a summary of Gyllengranat’s report, see Tingbrand, “Henri Christophe.” On Dupuy and his publications, see Chris Bongie’s introduction in Vastey, *The Colonial System Unveiled*, 56, 63–64.
- ⁵⁰ On Henry Christophe’s educational reform inspired by Lancasterian models, see Racine, “Imported Englishness.”
- ⁵¹ Pierre, “Liberal Trade in the Postcolonial Americas.” For German commercial ambitions vis à vis Haiti, see Zeuske, *Die Vergessene Revolution*, 306–310.

- ⁵² Gyllengranat, *Underdånig Relation*: “Sanct Bartholomew har äfven fordom idkat en riktande handel med Hayti, men den är för närvarande inskränckt till Södra delen eller Presidentskapet Pethion.”
- ⁵³ Nils Vilhelm af Grubben’s travel account: *Min lång-resa åren 1815 och 1816*, ms in private collection, typed transcript copy: vol. 11, Sten Simonsens samling, SNA: “ville ha bevis för att han var Svänsk borgare hvilket ej Baron hadde.” The Bouillon affair and Haitian trade policy are discussed in Governor Stackelberg’s report, September 10, 1815, vol. 3B, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, SNA.
- ⁵⁴ Gyllengranat, *Underdånig Relation*: “Under mitt sednaste vistande i St Bartholomew, passerade många Svenska och Norrska Skepp ifrån Marseille till Pethions område, alla dock befraktade för Fransysk räkning.”
- ⁵⁵ Brière, *Haiti et la France*, 49–52.
- ⁵⁶ Wetterstedt to Governor Stackelberg, February 29, 1816, vol. 258, Fonds suédois de Saint-Barthélemy, ANOM.
- ⁵⁷ Stackelberg to Stockholm, May 16, 1816, vol. 4A, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, SNA: “hvad St. Domingo beträffar, så ha de blifvit utaf Engelmännerna försedde med alla sine krigsförnödenheter; dock torde der väl än kunna ske någon afsättning, men jag tror den aldrig kan blifva betydande.”
- ⁵⁸ Accounts by Governor Norderling of the arms sold until February 17, 1822, vol. 8A, S:t Barthélemysamlingen, SNA; Carl Johan to the Saint-Barthélemy governor, October 12, 1820, Documents relating to Saint-Barthélemy, 1784–1869, BANC MSS Z-A 4, Bancroft Library, Berkeley.
- ⁵⁹ Swärd, *Latinamerika i svensk politik*. Swärd’s description of Swedish trade is mainly valid, but for corrections to his economic data see Hildebrand, review; Vidales, *Bernadotte, San Bartolomé y los insurgentes*.
- ⁶⁰ Severin Lorch, *Rapport sur ses voyages en 1816 et 1817 à St Barthélemy à Haiti, aux États Unis de l’Amérique du Nord et en Egypte*, ms dated Stockholm, May 30, 1818, M 298, Swedish National Library [Kungliga Biblioteket], Stockholm.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² Frese, born in 1791, resigned from army service in 1816. By 1825 he had not been heard from for several years; he never returned to Sweden. Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, vol. 2, 192.
- ⁶³ Johan Albrekt Abraham de Frese, *Anteckningar under mitt vistande på Haiti*, ms dated Cap Haïtien, January 21, 1821, X 415 a, Uppsala University Library: “Efter 7 veckors segling, fingo vi sigte af det der vi alla hoppades finna vår lycka.”
- ⁶⁴ Frese, *Anteckningar*: “Revolutionen utbröt—och det sken af sann Konungslighet, hvarmed han förstått omgifva sig, försvann vid den upgående frihetens sol och bland lågorna af den länge qväfda hämnens brand.”

⁶⁵ Ibid.: “Fredsstiftande personer.”

⁶⁶ The main previous sources on the aftermath of Henry Christophe’s suicide are Ritter, *Naturhistorische Reise*, 61–65; and Ardouin, *Études sur l’histoire d’Haïti*, vol. 8, 453. Leconte draws from Ritter and Ardouin in *Henri Christophe*, 426–428. In turn, H. Trouillot refers to Leconte’s account, together with Ardouin’s, in “Le Gouvernement du roi Henri Christophe,” 164. Another example is Hubert Cole’s biography *Christophe: King of Haiti*, which includes the prison yard scene (274) from Ritter without any significant details except for Joachim’s “*Vive le roi!*”

⁶⁷ Frese, Anteckningar: “Den 18de Octob’, i stället för att som wanligt kringrida gatorne, bar det af till Fängelset. Hade jag kunnat förutställa mig hvad som skulle följa, så hade jag säkert blifwit hemma. Inkomne på fängelsegården, funno vi der 200 Man eller Cavallerie. Fler lyktor uplyste gården (Klockan var nästan 10 efter). Härpå följde det rysligaste skådespel jag någonsin sett. Fångarne blefvo en för en framkallade. / Först infördes Kronprinsen: Richard sade honom, att oaktadt han var ett barn, och aldrig gjort något ondt, så fordrade Statens lugn hans lif. Den fängne förestälde dem deras omensklighet: han sade sitt enda bestå i att wara son af deras fiende, af deras fordna Konung. Man medgaf detta, men den grymma nödvändigheten fordrade detta offer. “Nå väl jag är tilfreds.” En vink af Richard, och 4 Bajonetter nedstötte bakifrån den modige ynglingen. En Regements Timmerman var tillreds och afhögg dess hufvud i samma ögonblick han föll. Han var knapt 16 år. En förträfflig yngling, och som förenade det bästa hjerta med ett godt hufvud. / Efter honom kom Batarden (Prins Eugène, äfwen kallad Duc de Mole). Ej ett enda ord vårdade han sig swara på deras tal. En föraktlig blick, var allt han skänkte sina bödlar. Han föll utan att giwfa en enda suck ifrån sig. Han var 22 år. / Marschalken Prins Joachim, konungens Favorit kom nu. Man förebrädde honom sina olagliga brott, sina grymheter och blodiga råd. “Vive le Roi! vive sa manière de gouverner des scélérats comme vous!” Ännu i det han föll ropade han: Vive le Roi! / Ännu fem andra: Marskalken Prins Philip, Generalen Duc de Lascaron, Cançelleren Baron Vastey, Generalen Baron Dessalines och en adjutant Vainquir mördades på samma sätt. Lascaron och Vastey tiggde och bådo om lifvet, de sade sig gerna vilja gå i landsflykt, eller tjena som soldater, blott man skänkte dem lifwet – förgäfwes. Vastey höggs endast med en yxa i hufvudet, och gaf ännu tecken til lif andra eftermiddagen, då några främmande handlande gingo för att se, hwart man kastat kropparne. Ett Christophs oäkta barn af 12 års ålder war det sista offret denna natt.”

⁶⁸ For a thorough contextualization of Vastey’s works, see Daut, *Baron de Vastey*.

⁶⁹ On Chanlatte, see Bongie, “The Cry of History.”

⁷⁰ Girard, *Toussaint Louverture*, 262.

⁷¹ Cole, *Christophe: King of Haiti*.

⁷² Bergius, *Om Westindien*, chapter 10 on Haiti, 222: “De Coloniers historia jag redan beskrifvit är utan upplösning, som ett afbrutit samtal. St. Domingo har

genomgått cirkeln af sina öden, och står qvar blott som en hotande ruin, varnande för sina grannar, underbar för efterkommande.”

- ⁷³ Ibid., 263: “Ön St. Domingo, befriad från sina förtryckare, blef nu åter ett hemvist för lugn och trefnad. Sjelfständigheten var dess mångfärgade inbyggare så mycket dyrbarare, som de med möda och blod tillkämpat sig den, och som de senast hunnit öfvertyga sig, att hvarje samband med Frankrike var en snara för deras heligaste rättigheter.”
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., 277, italics in the original: “Jag har visat, huru man här tillskapat samhällen, med yttre utseendet af Stater, hvilkas enda constitutionella rättighet består i att *producera* och *consumera*; för öfrigt utan val, hvarken af säljare eller köpare, eller styrelse, eller lagar, eller försvar, eller Stats-förhållanden.”
- ⁷⁵ Pradt was translated into Swedish: *Om Spanska Koloniernas*. See also Swärd, *Latinamerika i svensk politik*, 108–110.
- ⁷⁶ Bergius, *Om Westindien*, 293: “proclameras . . . frihet och jemnlighet mellan alla färgor; och namnet af Europeernas herravälde i Westindien, skall bortföras af Passade-vinden, för att, liksom den, aldrig återvända.”
- ⁷⁷ *Stockholms Posten*, August 13, 1819: “Stunden synes wara kommen, då utvecklingen ej mer kan emotstås af det barbari, hwaruti Europeernas gränslösa rofgirighet och orättwisa förtryck försänkt denna hemisphèr . . . de nationer, som hittills på Americas barbari byggt sitt eget wälstånd.”
- ⁷⁸ Severin Lorch, July 17, 1823, vol. 81, Skrivelser från konsuler, Huvudarkivet, UD, SNA; Mörner, “Svensk-colombianska förbindelser”; Almquist, *Kommerskollegium och Rikens Ständers*, 390.
- ⁷⁹ Proclamation, May 4, 1826, vol. 135, Fonds suédois de Saint-Barthélemy, ANOM.
- ⁸⁰ Müller, *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce*, 45.
- ⁸¹ [Pfeilschifter], *Henrik I*, 36: “Måste då öfverallt århundraden förgå, innan det är tillåtet att erkänna och värdera storheten?” The German original: Pfeilschifter, “Heinrich I.”
- ⁸² [Kleist], “Förlofningen”; [Cederborgh], *Toni*; [Lindeberg], *Toni*; Blänkner, *Heinrich von Kleists Novelle*; Uerlings, “Die Haitianische Revolution”; Allan, *The Stories of Heinrich von Kleist*.
- ⁸³ Introduction, comments, and translation by C. A. Carlsson in Coleridge, *Sex månader i Westindien*, introduction: “St Domingo är nu i alla afseenden en öcken, emot hvad den var, då den egdes af Frankrike.”
- ⁸⁴ Philippi, *Fristaten St. Domingos*; German original: *Geschichte des Freistaats*.
- ⁸⁵ Gaffield, *Haitian Connections*, 11.
- ⁸⁶ Popkin, *Facing Racial Revolution*, introduction.

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