

Scotland and Haiti: The Mystery of Duncan Stewart (1)

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THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION was—and continues to be—one of the truly great events of the modern Atlantic world, both in terms of the revolutionary struggle for power which occupied the decade or so until 1804, and in terms of the post-revolutionary settlements, which may be said to have lasted until around 1820. Both periods have drawn the sustained interest of novelists, dramatists and historians over the last two centuries.

As well as a very large periodical literature, there is a huge quantity of manuscript and documentary material relating to Haitian affairs between 1791 and 1820, in various national collections, though not all of it has been fully examined (2); while the wider impact of the revolution and of the post-revolutionary settlement has been marked by torrent of books in a number of languages: many of these having been published in the last half-century or so (3).

The revolutionary period until 1804 is associated most notably with the name of Toussaint Bréda or L'Ouverture—an early genius of asymmetric counter-imperialist warfare. He has drawn the attention of biographers in the shape of Beard and Schoelcher and Alexis (4), Pluchon (5), the martiniquais Césaire (6), the Trinidadian James (7), Sannon (8), Gragnon-Lacoste (9), Waxman (10), Saint-Rémy (11), Nemours (12), and the Soviet Russian Vinogradov in the shape of his Chyorny Konsul (13). (This last book was the inspiration for the film of Toussaint's life which was planned by the Soviet Lettish director Sergei Eisenstein, and for which some test-scenes were even shot, with the black American communist singer Paul Robeson in the leading role (14)).

The Trinidadian historian James was also the author of a play on Toussaint, which was staged in London in the the 1930s with Robeson again in the leading role

(15). Haitian affairs had earlier drawn the attention of the German dramatist Heinrich von Kleist in the shape of his novella *Die Verlobung in San Domingo*. They later attracted the attention of the 20th century German composer Werner Egk, in the form of an opera of the same name as von Kleist's novella. Further attention came in the way of David Blake's opera *Toussaint*, and the Canadian composer and film-maker Robert Robertson with his operatic work *The Kingdom*: while in the same 20th century, Haitian affairs would also inspire the dramatic writing of the St. Lucia-born Nobel prize-winner Derek Walcott (16).

The post-revolutionary period from 1804 until 1820, associated primarily with the name of the black king Christopher—*le roi Christophe*—has also drawn the attention of the dramatist Aimé Césaire in the shape of *La Tragédie du Roi Christophe* (17), the surreal Cuban novelist (and musicologist) Alejo Carpentier in the shape of *El Reino de Este Mundo* (18), novelists such as Bourne and Hugo and Pratt, and (150 years later) Madison Smart Bell (19), as well as historians, observers and participants such as Leconte (20), Vandercook (21), Cole (22), Limonade (23), and Sanders (24).

But what has been written of Scotland and the Scots in all of this? For a century or so before 1804, Scottish identity had been subsumed as British. In other words, for much of the world, Scots were now English, or at best British and it is correspondingly hard for the historian to identify these so-called Britons, or Englishmen, for the Scots that they might properly have been (25).

And yet it is clear that a number of Scots were involved in the revolutionary struggle for power that raged in Haiti from 1793 to 2004: and in the post-revolution settlement which lasted until around 1820. The National Archives of Scotland (NAS) holds the papers of James Guthrie, who was an acting quartermaster in Britain's counter-revolutionary expeditionary force in the 1790s (26). The NAS also holds the McNeil of Lossit, Campbeltown, Papers, with material on Haiti around 1803: and the

Maitland papers. These latter include 27 letters signed by Touissant L'Ouverture, dating from 1798, to General Thomas Maitland (this onetime M.P. for Haddington Burghs being also a character in James' play about the revolution) (27): while scores of letters on the subject of Haitian affairs to the editor of the Glasgow Courier were published in book form in 1816 (28).

The Rhodes House Library at Oxford has two volumes of correspondence on Caribbean affairs by Henry Dundas, the Scots-born potentate who effectively ran his country for the benefit of England (or Britain) for thirty years from around 1780 (29). There may also be relevant material in Glasgow's Mitchell Library, whose Rare Books department holds the minutes, from 1807 to 1969, of the Glasgow-West India Association (30). And in the 1960s, in the Venezuelan capital of Caracas, a book was published about the Scottish-Haitian trader Robert Sutherland, a friend of "El Líberador", Simón Bolívar (31).

Stuart Reid, meanwhile, has written in the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* about the Royal Scots' campaigns against the Haitian slaves in the 1790s (32); one of the four teachers imported to the post-revolutionary Haitian kingdom was, "a young Aberdeen collegian" (33); at one point the British vice-consul was reportedly one "McGuffie, a Scotsman by birth" (34); and in the early 1820s, the British consul-general was one Charles Mackenzie—also "a Scotsman" (35).

And at least two other Scots were witness to the baroque, phantasmagoric monarchy that followed nearly two decades of extremely violent revolutionary struggle. One of these Scots was to occupy the chair of mathematics in the new Royal Academy, and was called Moore. Nothing at all is known about him (36). The other was personal physician to the black king Christopher—known to history as le roi Christophe—and his name was Duncan Stewart (37).

What brought slavery down in Haiti was revolution in France. Despite the supreme efforts of the colonial class, the slaves began to hear that the common people in France had risen against their oppressors. They had tumbled their king and his whores, and were talking of liberty, equality and fraternity. Mass meetings were soon being held in the forests at night: and soon too, the slaves rose in revolution under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture. For much of his life an unsung slave, this genius of irregular warfare emerged in his 'forties to lead a revolution designed to destroy slavery and the slave-owning class for ever on Haiti. He achieved his aims, too: but when the French invited him aboard their flagship to offer surrender, he was kidnapped, taken to France and abandoned to die in a dungeon high in the Jura mountains (38).

Still, a free, black republic was proclaimed, which—as in France—gave way to a post-revolutionary monarchy. It was no more grotesque in its affectations than any of its European models: though it did sit a little oddly among the mountains and forests of tropical Haiti. Under this monarchy, with its pages, ladies-in-waiting, Court and Order of Chivalry, great plans were launched in the fields of culture and education and public health.

Christophe had fought as a boy-soldier against the colonial power in the American Revolution—but he was the first crowned monarch of the New World. As such, Christophe corresponded, via Count Lieven, the Russian ambassador in London, with Tsar Alexander I (whose eponymous grand-nephew was in 1887 to be so nearly cut-off by one Sasha Ulianov). The new king also had a number of correspondents in England and Scotland. He exchanged letters with Sir John Sinclair, president of the Board of Agriculture, and with the English abolitionist William Wilberforce, who in 1811 sent good wishes to “His Sable Majesty” on account of his grand coronation that

summer.

And then there was le roi Christophe's personal physician, with the indubitably Scottish Highland name of Duncan Stewart: an intimate of and advisor to the king and who was to attend him in his dying moments in the royal palace at Sans Souci in August, 1820.

Exist, Stewart certainly did. It is quite clear from the correspondence that he was known not only to Wilberforce but also to the other abolitionists of Clarkson, Wilson and Macaulay. And in Césaire's play, *La Tragédie du roi Christophe*, "the Scottish doctor" Stewart is clearly identified as the king's personal physician, though he is styled Steward. In the published text of the play, however, Césaire offers no hint as to the origin of his claim regarding Stewart (39).

Vandercook, meanwhile, refers to, "Dr. Duncan Stewart of Edinburgh—a tall, dour Scotsman" (40); while Parsons writes that Christophe, "made Dr. Duncan Stewart of Edinburgh his personal physician (41); and repeats the claim word for word in a later publication (42).

Stewart is also identified as the king's doctor in Thomson's *Bonjour Blanc*; "Wilberforce agreed to supply him with seven schoolmasters, a private tutor for the Royal princesses.....and seven teachers for a Royal Academy, among them a classical professor, fellows of medicine, surgery and mathematics, and a pharmaceutical chemist.....The first teacher to arrive in Haiti was a certain T.B. Gulliver, whom Christophe presented with gifts of sheep [sweets?], coffee and sugar; his colleagues George Sweet and Tom Bosworth, however, were too fond of Haitian rum and, despite ministrations from the King's personal physician, died after attacks of fever and gout. The physician was a Scotsman, Duncan Stewart, also appointed Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy, and *maréchal de camp* commanding the Haitian Medical School".

There is further confident and full reference to Stewart in similar terms in the Heintz's very competent history of Haiti (43): and a great deal more in Cole's biography of Christophe, in which the author writes of, "the Scotsman Duncan Stewart, professor of anatomy at the Royal College and *maréchal de camp* commanding the Royal Haitian Medical Corps" (44). And as recently as 1999, a writer in the *Journal of Caribbean History* was referring to, "a Scot named Duncan Stewart, [the king's] personal physician and one of his most trusted advisors" (45).

Coupland's biography of Wilberforce adds some more: he quotes one letter to the effect that, "Dr Stewart, the Professor of Anatomy, has come out with Mrs. Stewart—he appears a man of about 28 and very clever—he has taken charge of the hospitals" (46). Meanwhile, the published correspondence of Christophe and Clarkson offers more evidence. According to the introduction, "Perhaps his [the King's] closest white friend was Duncan Stewart, a Scotsman who served not only as his personal physician but as his intimate advisor as well". And later, the title quotes Wilson to Mrs Clarkson, "Nothing could exceed his care and attention to the King of his assiduity to her [the Queen] after the King's death" (47).

And then, and finally (perhaps), there are the three letters from Stewart himself held in the British Library (48).

The first, addressed to Clarkson, is dated December 1819, and precedes the death of Christophe. "Perhaps there never was a man, who from the energy and acuteness of his mind, and from an intimate knowledge with the character of the people he governed, so well calculated to rule a kingdom, as the present King of Haiti. He found the Haitians at the death of Dessalines [an associate of Toussaint] in the most complete state of anarchy and the soldiery abandoned to every species of licentiousness. His intelligent mind soon discovered that he had but one course to follow and at the sacrifice of his natural disposition he was forced to employ severities

for which he has been unjustly reprobated by those who were ignorant of their necessity.....In proportion as his people can bear it, their liberties are gradually increased and also many of the disadvantages of a perfect military government.....The Hospitals of the Kingdom I have wholly under my care and the King has given me compleat power to order what I think necessary for the dieting, clothing and accommodation of the sick in his Hospitals.....At my recommendation the King has likewise much increased the rations of his troops and.....with these advantages the soldier does not require any pay in money. The agriculturalists are allowed one fourth of the produce of the land, besides the privilege of the use of some land to raise fowls, pigs and vegetables for their families.....His majesties present ministers, at least those on whome the great weight of the Government rests, are mullatoes and are very intellligent and well-educated men” (49).

Stewart's second letter follows the death of the King, and is dated December 1820. “The greatest confusion and disorder has, and still exists, since the King's death. The President Boyer seems indifferent to all establishment for the moral and intellectual improvement of his people, he has dismissed all the school-masters and professors.....he has taken possession of the treasure private and public belonging to the late King, and has carried it away with him to Port au Prince....King Henry died by his own hand, finding himself reduced to a helpless state by paralysis and deserted by all his troops, he shot himself throught he heart. During the last two months of his life I attended him night and day.....I used often to converse with him for hours, he seemed sensible that he had used his people harshly, and that he ought to have been more liberal to his soldiers.....he however went much too far and was often barbarously cruel.....the last three years of his life.....were sadly stained by acts of oppressive cruelty and dreadful injustice to his people.....and the vengeance of his people would not long have been delayed”.

The third letter is of no great substance, except for its reference to a Mr. Small, of George Yard, Lombard Street, to whom Stewart had granted power of attorney (and in whose papers there may yet be more letters of Stewart to be found): and for its prophetic observation, “Poor Haiti is still the scene of discord and in all probability will continue to be so whilst the present system exists.....They must very rapidly return to the state of the most ignorant Africans”.

Those letters clearly attest to Stewart’s position in the King’s household, and to his medical ability: no fraud, no charlatan, could have fooled all of Clarkson and Christophe and their several advisers. Stewart, in other words, existed, pretty much in the sort of position the written record grants to him, and certainly as a significant medical man at the heart of Christophe’s kingdom.

But that is by no means the end of the story of Duncan Stewart. Why, after all, is there no reference to him whatsoever, in a dozen publications which describe exactly what Stewart describes in his letters to Clarkson?

Harvey, publishing in 1827, writes of the death of Christophe, but nowhere mentions Stewart (50); Franklin, publishing the following year, notes the suicide of Christophe and the arrival of the new British consul-general Charles Mackenzie, but omits mention of Stewart (51); Hanna in 1836 covers all the usual ground, without mentioning Stewart (52); and Candler is able to write in 1842 of Christophe’s suicide, of the presence at the royal death of French physicians, of the “British” vice-consul in Govaïves, “M’Guffie, a Scotsman by birth”; and is able to add that, “there is a military hospital....with physicians, lay superintendents, and several servants”: but nowhere mentions Duncan Stewart (53)!

In 1884, Spenser St. John, onetime Britain's Minister Resident and Consul General in Haiti, published a history of Haiti: but nowhere is Duncan Stewart mentioned (54). Nor is there any mention of Stewart in Coupland's history of the British slavery-abolition campaign (55); or in Griggs' biography of the abolitionist Clarkson (56). There is no mention of Stewart in Carpentier's novelisation, although the book covers the massage of Christophe's paralysed limbs by an un-named doctor and the suicide of the king (57); nor in Sanders's Haytian Papers (58); nor in Nicholls history of Haiti (59); nor in the catalogue to the Wilberforce archive (60); nor anywhere in the complete run of the Edwardian periodical *Caribbeana* (61).

Of course, such lacunae may be acceptable in the printed record: for the manuscript record will always make up for any shortfall in the published story (and in any case there may be reference to Stewart in some of the multi-volume 19th century accounts in French of the Haitian revolution which have not been surveyed for this article)(62).

After all, we have very clear evidence of a Scottish doctor called Duncan Stewart, said to be from Edinburgh, at the heart of Christophe's kingdom. There must, therefore, be very substantial trace of him in the Scottish archives, as also in the archives of contemporary medical training agencies. Or not, of course, as the case may be

Or not, as the case may be, indeed! There is no sign of Stewart in the manuscript holdings of the National Library of Scotland (63); nor in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge (where the papers of Clarkson are kept) (64); nor in the records of Anti-Slavery International (65); nor in the Wellcome Library for the History and

Understanding of Medicine (66). And David Geggus says in response to an enquiry for further information about Stewart, "I am afraid I haven't a clue" (67).

What about the record of his medical training? Towards the end of the 18th century, and into the 19th, the procedure for medical training was that practising physicians and surgeons took on apprentices and trained them 'on the job'. Later, they could apply to a university for a degree (68).

Such aspirants to a degree required the endorsement of a fully-qualified doctor and were required to supply the equivalent of a thesis. If Duncan Stewart were indeed from Edinburgh, he could be expected to have trained under a local doctor there, and attended classes at the university.

But there is no sign of Duncan Stewart in Edinburgh City Archives' manuscript list of medical apprentices (69). The Edinburgh Medical Graduates 1705-1845, published in Edinburgh in 1846, lists no Duncan Stewart, or variant (70). There are, however, lists of students who matriculated at Edinburgh. After 1811, more detail is provided, giving for example country of residence. Among the medical students who graduated around the right time were Duncan Stewarts in 1793-1794, 1797-1798, and for three consecutive years, 1806-1807, 1807-1808 and 1808-1809 (71).

And at the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, a Duncan Stewart became a Diplomate in April 1808: "being severely examined upon their skill in Anatomy, Surgery and Pharmacy were found fully qualified to practise these arts and received diplomas and paid the usual fees to the Examiners". There is no way of establishing Stewart's age with certainty on graduation: but, "the Diploma was used initially as a means for examining country surgeons, but very often it was used as a cheaper means of acquiring a basic medical qualification for those who could not afford to do so at Edinburgh university, so there will be a number of cases in which Diplomates' ages are comparable with those of university graduates" (72).

As for other centres of medical training. A Duncan Stewart matriculated at Glasgow university in 1807 (73): while a Duncan Stewart became a licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow in May 1826 (74) (though this is without question too late as far as Duncan Stewart of Haiti is concerned).

Three Duncan Stewarts matriculated at the university of St Andrews: but the dates do not fit (75): and the one entry of interest at Aberdeen is again too late (76). There is no trace of any contemporary Duncan Stewart at Dublin (77), Oxford (78) or Cambridge (79). And finally there are two Duncan Stewarts listed in one other Aberdeen source: a Duncan Stewart in London, proposed by doctors John Barclay and James Miller in Edinburgh, graduated MD on December 1813: and a Duncan Stewart, proposed by doctors John Barclay and James Begbie, graduated MD in October 1824 (80).

As for any other trace of Duncan Stewart in Edinburgh: the National Archives of Scotland catalogue has 251 references to Duncan Stewart—but none appears to be to a Duncan Stewart of Haiti (81). No less than 74 Duncan Stewarts appear in the NRAS index dealing with documents in private hands: there is only one of note, referring to a Duncan Stewart of Buenos Aires in 1832 (which is almost certainly too late) (82). The website for Scottish Wills or Testaments of Scots lists 72 Duncan Stewarts: but none appears to be Dr. Duncan Stewart of Haiti (83).

Might Duncan Stewart have owned property in Edinburgh between 1781 and 1820? Not according to the indices to the various Registers of Sasines (84). And the Register of Deeds, which contains a very wide range of documents with annual indices, refers to a few Duncan Stewarts for the years between 1808 and 1820—but not to Duncan Stewart of Haiti (85).

Duncan Stewart seems not to have left a Will in Scotland (which suggests that after Haiti, he did not return to Scotland). Nor does he appear to have left a Will in

England (86). There is no sign of him in the Edinburgh Post Office Directory between 1805 and 1818 (87), nor is there any trace in the Scots Peerage, the Dictionary of National Biography, the index to the 34 volumes of the Old Edinburgh Club, or the nine volumes of the Stewart Society.

Nor is there any trace of Duncan Stewart's marriage in the microfiche indices to marriages and baptisms in the Church of Scotland parishes in and around Edinburgh (88). There is nothing in the Scots Magazine for 1816 and 1817, nor is there anything in the records of irregular marriages (89). There is no reference to Stewart in the index to the Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research (90), there is no reference to him in the burgess rolls for Edinburgh (91) or Glasgow (92), nor is there anything of substance in the ministry records of the Church of Scotland (93).

And finally, what about emigration records? A Duncan Stewart, his wife and sons, emigrated to North America on the London-registered David from Greenock in June 1821. They settled in Dalhousie, Upper Canada, on September 1st, 1821. A Duncan Stewart, 22, a farmer, emigrated on the Niagara to Philadelphia in 1822. There was an American loyalist called Duncan Stewart who had been Customs Collector at New London, Connecticut—but by 1788, he was home again, hoping for a post in the West Indies (94).

Clearly, however, none of these is Duncan Stewart of Haiti

So despite fairly extensive searching, surprisingly little is known about Duncan Stewart, doctor to le roi Christophe in the last days of the Haitian kingdom—or at least little relative to what could be known. Some things can be deduced, however, and some plausibly supposed. Coupland writes of Stewart coming out to Haiti and appearing to be

then aged about 28 (95). This “coming out” suggests that he arrived directly from Britain: that is, he did not arrive from elsewhere in the Caribbean or the north Americas as the son or grandson of some post-Culloden emigrant, voluntary or otherwise. And his age clearly “scotches” in terms of any sort of accuracy the legend provided by Bourne for his fictional Stewart.

But it can plausibly be supposed in the absence of anything to the contrary that he was of Highland origin: after all, he bore a clearly Highland name. And he was no more than a couple of generations from Culloden: he might even have been a speaker of Gaelic. Certainly, he can be considered at least metaphorically as some sort of spiritual kinsman to R. L. Stevenson’s great Jacobite rebel Ailean Breac Stiùbhart (96): and this alone makes Duncan Stewart worthy of some interest—given that as a presumed product of the recently-colonised Highlands he found himself at the centre of the greatest anti-colonial convulsion of his time.

But more important is his position at the centre of the first post-bourgeois modernising regime of recent times. After all, the French revolution, from which the Haitian grew and without reference to which the Haitian can scarcely be mentioned, is for all its importance—for all its self-importance—not much more than another bourgeois revolution of the sort which the English had had in two parts a century earlier.

But the problems, the competing developmental strategies, faced by Christophe were—and still are, for much of the so-called Third World—intensely modern, intensely relevant. Call in the foreign investors with their vaunted capital and technical expertise and have them loot the natural resources of your soil (and sea)? Grow an indigenous bourgeoisie and watch it spend the national surplus on yachts and its daughters’ weddings? Give the land to the people and watch this peasantry blast the national surplus on rum and the priesthood? (And can an industrial crop like sugar be

produced at a price competitive on international markets on the basis of petty peasant proprietorship anyway?)

Or (to recall the debates on accumulation between Bukharin and Preobrazhensky in the 1920s: and later debates on the nature of agricultural efficiency) pre-empt Stalin and re-establish agricultural slavery on an industrial scale, but distinguish it with the great title of modern freedom? A detailed record of, and commentary on, this process, these debates, with regard to the Haitian kingdom, would surely be of great value to the modern historian. But in the chaos which followed the collapse of the monarchy, any documentation in Haiti relating to Christophe's regime was destroyed, either at the time by design, or later by accident.

And it is not known whether Duncan Stewart left any first-hand witness commentary of his own. Indeed, very little more is known about him. He was married—to a woman, “with no personal and few mental attractions”, in the stern view of the abolitionist Wilson (97).

Was she too Scottish? To whom did this wife write during her years in Haiti? Did she keep a diary when in Christophe's kingdom? Might those letters and that diary still to be found? Did she have children? To Stewart? To a later husband? Where are their descendants today? When and where did she die—and is there an obituary to be found somewhere?

As for Duncan Stewart himself: he may have been recruited in Edinburgh by Zachary Macaulay, an emissary of Wilberforce, in 1815 (98). We know he was about 28 on arrival; and he was there at least until the death of Christophe in 1820. He must surely have written more letters in those years than the three now in the British Library. But to whom? And where are they now? Did Stewart leave Haiti? When? Where did he go to? Why have no other letters ever been found? Or a diary? A draft manuscript biography or memoir? An obituary somewhere, or some memorial article in a long-

forgotten magazine, even an entry in some 19th century biographical index or dictionary? But there is no trace. Duncan Stewart appears to have come from nowhere and (along with his wife) to have disappeared into thin air.

There is just one further snippet of information. Charles Mackenzie arrived as British consul-general to Haiti in around 1820, and we know that the last letter from Duncan Stewart in the British Library is dated May 20, 1821: in other words it is just possible that they met each other (99).

A decade later, Mackenzie published his two-volume *Notes on Haiti* (100). Recalling Christophe's kingdom, he writes of, "His medical adviser the late [sic!] Dr. Stewart, a Scotch physician who had been long his confidential attendant".

We may well suppose this to be accurate: in other words, Duncan Stewart was dead before he was yet 40, by the end of the 1820s. Thereafter, certainly, this unique Scottish witness to a Caribbean revolution which in many ways prefigures the spirit of the socialist revolutions of the 20th century, disappears utterly from the historical record. Did he leave Haiti for other climes in the western hemisphere or did he remain there in the ruins of Christophe's kingdom until his untimely death?

We do not know (101). But even in the ruins of modern Haiti, he is not entirely forgotten. For today in the Museum of Haitian Art in the national capital of Port au Prince hangs a painting by the 20th century primitivist Gondré. In the centre of the frame is le roi Christophe, engaged in the act of shooting himself in his palace of Sans Souci in 1820. From the corner of the painting, a white man rushes to the king's aid: a white man wearing a stethoscope.

Who is this: if not Duncan Stewart himself? (102)

Notes

(1). A draft of this paper was presented in June 2004 at the international conference to mark the bicentenary of the Haitian revolution hosted by the University of the West Indies in Trinidad. Much of the research for this paper was funded by a Kerr-Fry Award via the University of Edinburgh.

(2). For example: A Guide to the Manuscript Sources for the History of Latin America and the Caribbean in the British Isles. Peter Walne. (1973). Unexploited Sources for the History of the Haitian Revolution. David P. Geggus. *American Research Review*, 18:1 (1983)

(3). For example: Eleazar Córdova-Bello. *La Independencia de Haití y su influencia en Hispanoamérica*. (1967). David Patrick Geggus. *Slavery, War and Revolution: the British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793-1798*. (1982). Editor, David P. Geggus. *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*. (2001). Lester D. Langley. *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850*. (1996). Emilio Cordero Michel. *La Revolución Haitiana y Santo Domingo*. (1968).

(4). John Beard. *Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture*. (1853). Victor Schoelcher. *Vie de Toussaint-Louverture*. (1889). Stephen Alexis. *Black Liberator, the Life of Toussaint Louverture*. (1949). Toussaint is thought to have been born in the year 1746.

(5). Pierre Pluchon. *Toussaint Louverture: Un Révolutionnaire Noir d'Ancien Régime*. (1989).

(6). Aimé Césaire. *Toussaint Louverture - la Révolution Française et le Problème Colonial*. (1981). (Césaire once taught French literature to Frantz Fanon, author of the great 1960s anti-colonial tract known in English with a resonant introduction by J. P. Sartre as *The Wretched of the Earth*).

(7). C.L.R. James. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938). The first edition was dedicated to Harry and Elizabeth Spencer of

Nelson in Lancashire - English internationalists in a great tradition, whose assistance made it possible for James to begin work on his great book. As for Toussaint's genius on the battlefield: James writes in his forward, "Apart from Napoleon himself, no military commanders or strategists of 1793-1815 exceeded Toussaint L'Ouverture or Dessalines".

(8). P. Sannon, *Vie de Toussaint-L'Ouverture*. 3 vols. (1920-1933).

(9). Gragnon-Lacoste. *Toussaint L'Ouverture*. (1877).

(10). P. Waxman. *The Black Napoleon*. (1931).

(11). Saint-Rémy. *La Vie de Toussaint L'Ouverture*. (1850).

(12). Auguste Nemours. *Histoire Militaire de la Guerre d'Indépendance de Saint-Domingue*, (1928): *Histoire de la Captivité et de la Mort de Toussaint-L'Ouverture* (1929). James met Colonel Nemours in Paris shortly after the Spencers had helped get him there.

(13). Antolii Vinogradov, *Chyorny Konsul*, (1931). Published in English as *The Black Consul*, (1935), (and described by *Everyman's Dictionary of European Writers* as an historical novel). And there are at least another dozen biographies in English of Toussaint: C.W. Elliott, *St. Domingue, its Revolution and its Hero, Toussaint Louverture*, (1855): C.R. Gillespie, *Papa Toussaint*, (1998): Edouard Glissant, *Monsieur Toussaint*, (1981): Leslie Pinckney Hill, *Toussaint L'Ouverture, a Dramatic History*, (1928): Ralph Korngold, *Citizen Toussaint*, (1945): Charles Moran, *Black Triumvirate, a Study of Louverture, Dessalines, Christophe - the Men who Made Haiti*, (1957): C. W. Mossell, *Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Hero of Saint Domingo*, (1896): Wenda Parkinson, *This Gilded African, Toussaint L'Ouverture*, (1980): Wendell Phillips, *Toussaint L'Ouverture*, (1966): Martin Ros, *Night of Fire, the Black Napoleon and the Battle for Haiti*, (1991): Laurence Santrey, *Toussaint L'Ouverture*, (1994): and, Hugh Sinclair, *Toussaint L'Ouverture*, (1978).

- (14). For this information, I am indebted to Charles Forsdick of Liverpool University.
- (15). The play, written in 1936, was at the time called Toussaint Louverture. It was re-written in 1967 with the title *The Black Jacobins* and was staged by the Trinidadian Dexter Lyndersay at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria while that country's civil war was still raging. The text of the play was published in 1993 by the School of Continuing Studies, University of West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago, as part of a collection under the title *A Time and a Season: Eight Caribbean Plays*.
- (16). Heinrich von Kleist, *Die Verlobung in San Domingo* (novella), (1810). Werner Egk, *Die Verlobung in San Domingo* (opera), world premiere, Munich. (1963). David Blake (music) and Anthony Ward (libretto), *Toussaint*, 1977 (opera). Robert Robertson, *The Kingdom* (opera), world premiere Amsterdam. (1984). At time of writing, Robertson is on a David Lean Foundation grant, studying Eisenstein's ideas on the confluence of sound, music and image in film. Derek Walcott, *The Haitian Trilogy*. Excerpts from the play, directed by Walcott, were presented at the June, 2004, conference to mark the bicentenary of the Haitian revolution hosted by the University of the West Indies in Trinidad. See also: VèVè A. Clark, *Haiti's tragic overture: (mis)representations of the Haitian Revolution in world drama (1796-1975)*, in: James A. W. Heffernan, editor, *Representing the French Revolution; Literature, Historiography and Art*. (1992).
- (17). Aimé Césaire, *La Tragédie du Roi Christophe*. (1963). Bernard Dadié of the Ivory Coast also covers the Haitian revolution, in his *Iles de tempête*. (1966).
- (18). Alejo Carpentier. *El Reino de este Mundo*. (1949). The great partisan of Cuban independence, José Martí, travelled in Haiti in 1895. His account of these travels, *Apuntes de un Viaje*, appeared in 1938. It is no accident that the appendix to James' *Black Jacobins* is sub-titled, "From Toussaint L'Ouverture to Fidel Castro".
- (19). Peter Bourne (pseudonym of Graham Montague Jeffries, 1900-1982). *The Black*

Saga, also appeared under the name of Drums of Destiny. The novel, which is in the class of library-fiction, is set in the Haitian kingdom of le roi Christophe: and the king's doctor is one Duncan Stewart! According to the book, Stewart was born on September 10th, 1768, and was raised at a place called Deil's Glen. Stewart was taken-in by Thomas Anderson, a physician in Leicester Fields, London, who had been born at Killin. Duncan Stewart stayed with Anderson for 15 years. He was on his way to enrol for his medical diploma when he killed a man. As a result, he was sent as doctor on the ship *Pride of Bristol*, which is how he found himself on Haiti. By this account, Stewart would have been close to 50 when he arrived in Haiti, having presumably spent many years out of Britian, and possibly as sea. This is unlikely, and in any case does not accord with other information to hand. But it is surely a strange coincidence that the author called his doctor to le roi Christophe Duncan Stewart - and strange that the "legend" the author provides for his fictional character is so authentic! Or was Bourne drawing on some non-fictional source (such as Parsons, for instance?) Unfortunately, Bourne is dead, and his son has no idea where his father might have got his Duncan Stewart character from. (Author correspondence with Roderic Jeffries Graeme). Victor Hugo wrote of Haiti in his *Bug-Jargal*, published in English in 1894 (and also under the title of *The Slave King*). The novel, written when Hugo was just 16, was published 20 years later. It features the great Haitian revolutionaries of Boukman, Bissou and Jean-Francois. See also: Frances Hammond Pratt, *La Belle Zoa*, (1854): the first-ever novel about Haiti. And also, Madison Smartt Bell. *All Souls' Rising*. (1995).

(20). Vergniaud Leconte. *Henri Christophe dans l'Histoire d'Haïti*. (1931).

(21). John W. Vandercook. *Black Majesty, the life of Christophe, King of Haiti*. (1928).

(22). Hubert Cole. *Christophe, King of Haiti*. (1967).

(23). Limonade, Julien Prévost, comte de. *Relation des glorieux événemens qui ont porté Leurs Majestés Royales sur le trône d'Hayti: [et]: suivi de l'histoire du*

couronnement et du sacre du roi Henry 1er, et de la reine Marie-Louise. (1811).

(24). Sanders, Prince. Haytian Papers; a collection of very interesting proclamations and other official documents, together with some account of the rise, progress and present state of the kingdom of Hayti. (1818).

(25). For example, Brigadier General the Honourable Thomas, brother of Lord Lauderdale and associate of Dundas, is blithely described as, “the English [sic!] commanding officer, Maitland”, in J.H. Parry and P.M. Sherlock, *A Short History of the West Indies*, (1956). David Turley’s *The Culture of English Anti-Slavery*, (1991), may well subsume Scotland within its English purview; as also within its British purview may *Slavery and British Society 1776-1846*, edited by James Walvin (1982); and W. L. Mathieson’s *British Slavery and its Abolition, 1823-1838* (1926). C. Duncan Rice (now principal of Aberdeen University) has written specifically on Scotland and slave abolition: *The Scots Abolitionists, 1833-1861* (1981). But this title (which draws on a doctoral thesis, *the Scottish factor in the fight against American slavery, 1830-1870*), clearly covers a period later than that of the Haitian revolution and post-revolutionary settlement. See also, C. Duncan Rice, *Controversies over slavery in 18th and 19th century Scotland*, in: Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman, eds. *Antislavery Reconsidered*, (1979).

(26). NAS. James Guthrie Collection. GD 188. Box 28.

(27). NRAS, no. 2749/36: the McNeil of Lossit, Campbeltown, Papers. NAS. Steel / Maitland Papers. GD 193. Boxes 2, 3 and 6. The Toussaint material is in Box 2, dossier 12.

(28). “The Colonist”, *The Edinburgh Review and the West Indies*. 1816. Sometimes described as a pamphlet, the title runs to 360 pages, and is a negative assessment of Christophe’s Haitian kingdom.

(29). Rhodes House, Oxford. West Indies Mss. s. 7. This complements material held in

the National Archives, the National Library of Scotland and the British Library.

(30). In this respect see: James A. Kinloch, honours dissertation at Strathclyde University (ref. A@GN202): *The Evolution, Development, Organisation and Finance of the Glasgow-West Indian trade in the 18th and 19th centuries*. For this source, I am indebted to Ronnie Scott of Glasgow University.

(31). Paul Verna. Robert Sutherland, *Amigo de Bolívar en Haiti*. Caracas. (1966).

(32). Stuart Reid. *Brigands and the Black Vomit: the Royal Scots on San Domingo, 1794-1797*. *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 74 (299), (1996).

There is much material on British forces in Saint Domingue/San Domingo during the revolutionary struggle. Given the “British” character of Scottish identity at the time, many soldiers and officers of Scottish origin may have found themselves in a “British” unit. Roger Norman Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats - the British West India regiment, 1795-1815*. (1979). Thomas Phipps Howard, *The Haitian Journals of Lieutenant Howard, York Hussars, 1796-1798*. (1985). David Geggus, *Yellow Fever in the 1790s: the British army in occupied Saint Domingue*, *Medical History*, 23, (1979). David Geggus, *The British Army and the Slave Revolution*, *History Today*. (1982). David Geggus, *The Destruction of the British Army in the West Indies; some further comments*. *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 61, (1978).

(33). Sir Reginald Coupland, *Wilberforce*. 1923. (1945). The name of this “young Aberdeen collegian” may have been: Thomas Bosworth, or T. B. Gulliver, or John Daniel, or William Simmons. Karen Racine, *Britannia’s Bold Brother*, *Journal of Caribbean History*, vol. 33, 1 and 2. (1999); drawing on the British and Foreign School Society Archive, Brunel University. Register of student teachers at Borough Road 1804-1821. (Prince Sanders was another graduate of the school).

(34). John Candler, *Brief Notices of Hayti*, (1842). “The British vice-consul in Gonaïves is M’Guffie, a Scotsman by birth” (pg. 64).

- (35). Charles Mackenzie, Notes on Haiti. (1830).
- (36). The Librarian of the Royal Society has no information on this mathematician, who was not a member of the Society. Nor does he figure in Wallis's Directory of British Mathematicians 1700-1800. But see: Alex Craik, John West in Jamaica, *Historia Mathematica*, 25. (1998). And also: James E. McClellan III, *Colonialism and Science: Saint Domingue in the Old Regime*. (1992).
- (37). Richard Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves*. (1985).
- (38). Inciting Wordsworth to slam-off one of the worst-ever sonnets in English: "Whether the rural milk-maid by her Cow sing in thy Hearing.....", etc. etc. ("O miserable Chieftain", indeed!)
- (39). Césaire is a former mayor of Fort de France in Martinique and maintains an office in the Mairie there. To date, he has not responded to a written request with regard to his source.
- (40). Vandercook, *op. cit.* pg. 131. Vandercook gives no hint as to where his "tall, dour" detail may have derived from: which, in the circumstances, is something of a pity.
- (41). Robert P. Parsons, *History of Haitian Medicine*, *Annals of Medical History*, New Series, Vol 1. (1929).
- (42). Robert P. Parsons, *History of Haitian Medicine*. (1930).
- (43). Ian Thomson. *Bonjour Blanc*. (1992).
- R.D. Heintz and N.G Heintz, *Written in Blood, the story of the Haitian people, 1492-1971*. (1978)
- (44). Hubert Cole, *op. cit.*
- (45). Racine, *Britannia's Bold Brother*, *op. cit.*
- (46). Coupland, *op. cit.* pg. 468.
- (47). Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, eds, *Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson, a Correspondence*. (1952). pgs. 54, and 244. The letter to Mrs Clarkson is

dated 30 January, 1822.

(48). Duncan Stewart letters. British Library, Add. MSS. 41266, etc

(49). Stewart does not report and may not have known (then again, he may have known only too well) that Freemasonry was a powerful influence among the “mullatoes” of Haiti. Racine, *op. cit.*, reports that, “In 1806 the Grand Lodge of England has established an affiliate branch in Haiti”. See: Ramón Martínez Zaldúa, *Historia de Masonería en Hispanamérica*. (1977).

(50). William W. Harvey, *Sketches of Haiti (from the expulsion of the French to the death of Christophe)*. (1827).

(51). James Franklin. *The Present State of Haiti*. (1828).

(52). S. W. Hanna. *Notes on a visit to some Parts of Haiti*. (1836).

(53). John Candler. *Brief Notices of Hayti*. (1842).

(54). Sir Spenser St. John. *Hayti: or, the Black Republic*. (1884).

(55). Sir Reginal Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement*, (1933).

(56). Earl Leslie Griggs, Thomas Clarkson. (1936).

(57). Alejo Carpentier, *op. cit.*

(58). Prince Sanders, *op. cit.* (1969 edition)

(59). David Nicholls. *From Dessalines to Duvalier*. (1979).

(60). *Catalogue to the Wilberforce Archives*. (1932).

(61). An Edwardian journal, specialising in the British West Indies. (62). For example, titles whose dates of publication overlap with or are later than Christophe’s kingdom: Beaubrun Ardouin. *Etudes sur l’Histoire d’Haïti*. 6 vols. (1853). Thomas Madiou. *Histoire d’Haïti*. 2 vols. (1817-1847). (Published in Port au Prince). Pamphile Lacroix. *Mémoires pour Servir a l’Histoire de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue*. 2 vols. (1819). Céligny Ardouin. *Essais sur l’Histoire d’Haïti*. (1865). M. Dalmas. *Histoire de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue*. 2 vols. (1814). Justine Placide. *Histoire de l’Ile d’Haïti*.

(1826).

(63). E-mail to author from Colm McLaughlin, Curator, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland.

(64). E-mail to author from Jonathan Harrison, St. John's College Library.

(65). E-mail to author from Caroline Moorhead, Anti-Slavery International.

(66). E-mail to author from the Wellcome Library's Jette Nielsen: "I have searched our library catalogue, our biographical card cabinet, 18th century medics and the alumni registers of the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow.....It is quite a challenge to find biographical information on medics who practised in the beginning of the 19th century".

(67). In an e-mail to the author.

(68). This sounds very like the background which Peter Bourne supplies for his fictional Duncan Stewart. For a supremely entertaining account of this training process and its aftermath, see: Lisa Rosner, *The Most Beautiful Man in Existence*. (1999).

(69). Edinburgh City Archives, (incomplete) manuscript list of medical apprentices, dating from 1801.

(70). Held in the Department of Special Collections, University of Edinburgh.

(71). There was another Duncan Stewart, a student of divinity, who graduated 1804-1805, from Kinclaven, Dunkeld.

(72). E-mails to author by Steve Kerr, Assistant Librarian, Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

(73). *Matriculation Album of the University of Glasgow, 1728-1858*. Glasgow. (1913).

(74). E-mail to author from Carol Parry, Archivist, Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow.

(75). *Matriculation Roll of the University of St Andrews, 1747-1897*. Edinburgh. (1905).

(76). *The Roll of Alumni in Arts of University and King's College, Aberdeen, 1596-*

1860. This Duncanus Stewart, Rossiensis, attended for three years and graduated MD in 1824.

(77). The Catalogue of Graduates of the University of Dublin. Dublin. (1869).

(78). Alumni Oxoniensis, 1715-1886. Oxford. (1891).

(79). Alumni Cantabrigiensis, 1752-1900. Cambridge. (1954).

(80). Officers and Graduates of the University and King's College, Aberdeen 1495-1860. Aberdeen. (1893).

(81). The catalogue covers Courts of Session, Admiralty Courts, Gifts and Deposits, Sheriff Courts, Justiciary Courts, and Register House Productions.

(82). NRAS. no. 2654/1, Box 48, bundle 7.

(83). <http://www.scottishdocuments.com/>

(84). There are two references to the same man. Entries 30540 and 20590, dated March 27 1817 and April 11 1817, refer to an Eleanora Seymour Short, spouse of Duncan Stewart, a surgeon in Boness. At this time, of course, Duncan Stewart was in Haiti.

(85). There is a deed granted by a Duncan Stewart to a Duncan Stewart in Fort William (dated 1.2.18190 [Vol. 152/363/44]: another granted by Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie (dated 24.3.1812) [Vol. 21.268.354]; another deed granted by Duncan Stewart of Achnacone (dated 2.6.1812) [Vol. 25.35.31]; Duncan Stewart was grantee of a conveyance (dated 23.1.1813) [Vol. 25.93.32]; and another Duncan Stewart in Achnocran granter of a bond (dated 27.5.1811) [Vol. 38.293.238].

(86). The NAS holds the Index to English and Irish grants of probate and letters of administration, 1858-1900. There is no sign of Duncan Stewart here (although this is probably too late anyway).

(87). The only Duncan Stewarts being a vintner, a writer and a coffee-house owner.

(88). There are some men marrying called Duncan Stewart, but not about the right time.

(89). Calendar of Irregular Marriages in the South Leith, KSR, 1697-1818. Edinburgh.

(1968).

(90). Post-Waterloo, numbers of Scots made their way to South American to fight in the wars of liberation there.

(91). The Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses, 1701-1841. Edinburgh. (1929).

(92). Burgesses and Guildbrethren of Glasgow, 1751-1846. Edinburgh. (1931).

(93). The Fastii Ecclesiae Scoticae has, Vol 1, pg 27, Duncan Stewart, MD, HEICS, born 21.1.1805, Dingwall (?), the son of the reverend Alexander Stewart (1764-1821), and his second wife, Emilia Calder.

(94). Information supplied via e-mail by David Dobson: who adds, intriguingly, "I have noticed references to ships bound from Scotland to Port au Prince, presumably for sugar, which may identify Duncan's emigration route".

(95). Coupland, op. cit.

(96). How coincidental is it that the leader of the 1837 rebellion of the black sections of the West Indies regiment was one Donald Stewart?

(97). Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator, eds, Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson, a Correspondence. (1952). pgs. 54, and 244. The letter to Mrs Clarkson is dated 30 January, 1822.

(98). Viscontess Knutsford. Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay. (1900).

(99). James Franklin, op. cit. Pg. 260, says Charles Mackenzie, British Consul-General arrived, around 1820. Charles Kenneth Mackenzie was born in 1788. His father Francis, a lawyer, owned a plantation in Demerara, and was governor of Grenada during the Julien Fédon rebellion of the 1790s. Francis led the attempts of British troops, "to prevent the massacre of British planters and their families" (with counter-massacres, doubtless, of the rebels). For a history of the rebellion and a discussion of the role of Mackenzie père, see Raymund P. Devas, The Island of Grenada 1650-1950. (1964). By the early years of the next century, the son Charles had begun medical training at

Edinburgh (but he does not later mention having come across Duncan Stewart there). In 1808, Charles was chosen president of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, a society of medical students and post-graduates. The following year, he received a medical degree and became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in London. He is said to have then joined the Peninsular Campaign (just like the subject of Rosner's *The Most Beautiful Man in the World*). He was appointed consul-general in Haiti at the end of (according to some sources) 1825: but he had returned to Britain before the end of 1827, bringing with him some specimens for the attention of his friend W. J. Hooker, Regius professor of botany at Glasgow. His consulship was officially terminated in October 1828, and he died, aged about 75, in 1862. See also, Joseph Irving, *The Book of Scotsman*. (1881): and Helen Mackenzie, *Storms and Sunshine of a Soldier's Life: Lt.-General Colin Mackenzie*. The author was the wife of Colin: who was a younger brother of Charles. The foregoing information is extracted from the "biographies of some obscure contributors" section of www.victorianresearch.org/ My attention was drawn to this invaluable site by Keith Skakle of the National Library of Scotland.

(100). Mackenzie, *op.cit.* The National Archives at Kew holds Mackenzie's report on the Haitian Rural Code, dated 1826. CO, 318/102. Mackenzie's published writings on Haiti so damaged the abolitionist cause that the Anti-Slavery Society subsequently sent Richard Hill of Jamaica to Haiti with a brief to report on conditions there in a more favourable light.

(101). But the informed suggestion has been made that there may well be trace of Stewart in some out-of-the-way parts of Haiti to this day. The National Archives has a file on a Duncan Stewart, born Glasgow, Lanarkshire, served in Royal Artillery, discharged aged 26, 1804-1814. WO 97/1264/18. (This reference relates to the records of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea).

(102). Gondré's painting of the death of Christophe was heroically discovered in early

2004 by Alasdair Pettinger of the Scottish Music Centre in Glasgow. In an e-mail to the author he wrote of coming across the painting of the king's suicide, "which includes an unmistakably white man rushing to his aid, adorned with a stethoscope. Clearly, this must be Duncan Stewart. I was very pleased to be able to show my friends this painting as evidence of Scottish-Haitian connections almost as old as the republic itself. The staff at the gallery were very interested, for they had for a long time been puzzled about the identity of this 'blanc' ".

A copy of the painting was subsequently posted online at—

<http://www.bulldozia.com/haiti/gondre.html>

Paintings by Gondré feature in the catalogue of the Haitian art collection of the distinguished American film director Jonathan Demme. The catalogue has been published in book form under the title *Island of Fire*, by Kaliko Press, New York. Gondré was from Cap Haïtien (known during the monarchy as Cap Henri), near to the point from which Christophe ruled Haiti. Gondré painted in the 1940s and 1950s, after which he appears to have emigrated to the United States, and disappeared from the painting scene. There is, therefore, no way of knowing what his source was for "his" Duncan Stewart. There is a second illustration of the suicide of Christophe, which pre-dates Gondré. It does not, however, show Duncan Stewart as present. See: *Histoires des Colonies Françaises*, Paris, 1929. Vol I, Amérique, pg. 548.