Lingue e Linguaggi
Lingue Linguaggi 70 (2025), 301-317
ISSN 2239-0367, e-ISSN 2239-0359
DOI 10.1285/i22390359v70p301
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THE RHETORIC OF IMPERIAL ORDERS
Napoleon Bonaparte, his family and their dream of the reconquest of Haiti

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Abstract - The impact of Napoleon's invasion of Haiti had far reaching consequences for colonial history. It was responsible for the Louisiana Purchase by the United States in 1803 and the first successful slave uprising in the colonial New World. The failure of Napoleon's campaign illustrated the weakness of his military strategies but also his dynastic claims that supported them. By engaging his brother-in-law, Emanuel Leclerc, Napoleon lost France's most important Caribbean and North American territories. His presumed dynastic superiority was an echo of his claim to European white superiority over the rights of native and Afro cultures that was overturned for the first time in the history of colonial slavery. An examination of the roles of his family in this colonial catastrophe demonstrates the extent to which their claims to dynastic and European superiority dominated their racist social and political rhetoric which inspired their campaign to reclaim Haiti. Napoleon Bonaparte and his family participated in the mission to reconquer Haiti after its governor, Toussaint Louverture, declared its independence in 1801 by drawing up a new constitution. In response, Napoleon organized an invasion led by his sister, Pauline's husband, General Emmanuel Leclerc in 1802. Napoleon's rhetoric established a theater of imperial conquest and revoked both French Republic's Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen and Toussaint's Haitian Constitution. Napoleon's desire to reconquer Haiti was also inspired by his wife, Josephine's creole identify and fantasy of plantation wealth she enjoyed as a child in Martinique. This fantasy of an elite plantation society was enjoyed again by Pauline in Haiti where she organized elaborate soirees for its upper echelons before the death of Leclerc from yellow fever. The rhetoric of social imperialism was practiced at her parties by her guests and reinforced the resurgence of the French colonial empire. The rhetoric of republicanism was sacrificed to the grandeur and culture of imperialism and colonialism by Napoleon and his family who sought to uphold his emerging empire and dynasty.

Keywords: Haitian Revolution; Toussaint Louverture; Napoleon Bonaparte; Emmanuel Leclerc, Pauline Bonaparte.

1. Napoleon and Haiti: The Rhetoric of Colonial Dominion

The Haitian Revolution inspired by the French Revolution of 1789 was led by Toussaint Louverture and ended with his control of the island as governor for life in 1801. He was later captured by the French and died in prison in 1803.

Initially, Toussaint did not fight against the French, but for them. After slavery was abolished by the French Constitution of the Early Republic in 1794, the French recruited former slaves to fight both the British and Spanish who sought to reimpose slavery on behalf of the white plantation owners. It was only after Toussaint declared himself governor for life and attempted to establish a new constitution for a free independent Haiti that Napoleon decided to remove him from power and regain control over Haiti in 1801 (Girard 2011; Branda and Lentz 2006; Worley 2024) Napoleon's desire to reclaim Haiti with its large sugar production that rivaled that of any other colony in the Caribbean was coded in imperial language. Napoleon revoked the liberty, fraternity and equality slogan of the French Revolution and Article 1 of the Republic Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen with its affirmation that "men and women are born and remain free and equal."

The exile of Chateaubriand to North America and his tales about the injustices done to the indigenous peoples coincided with the slave revolt in Santo Domingo in 1791. By the time of Chateaubriand returned to France, Napoleon had reinstated slavery in the French Caribbean and planned to extend it to plantations to Louisiana. While Chateaubriand does not directly address this historic event, he does shed light on the tragic impact on indigenous peoples in an effort to sway public opinion. Contemporaries Chateaubriand and Germaine de Staël emerge as vociferous opponents of the imperialist designs of Napoleon, and their fictional works about the negative impact on slaves and indigenous peoples adds credence to their political stance. In his memoirs, Chateaubriand refers to Napoleon "as the oppressor of our liberties," meaning literary freedom. He associates Napoleon with tyranny and an age of despotism. In such a climate, literary fiction was the primary method of swaying public opinion and evading Napoleon's censorship. In comparison to George Washington, Chateaubriand observes in retrospect that Napoleon: "combats noisily on an old theater of action, in an old country, he thinks only of building up his own fame, takes charge only of his own destiny. He seems to think that his mission will be short; that the torrent that falls from such a height will be quickly exhausted; he hastens to enjoy and abuse his power…Leaning over the world with one hand he overturns kings, with the other crushes the giant revolution; but in overcoming anarchy, he stifles liberty, and finally loses his own on the last field of battle…Bonaparte robs a nation of its independence" (Chateaubriand 1848, I:183, 218, 258).

Staël (1821), in her *Ten Years' Exile,* is critical of Napoleon's betrayal of his Treaty of Amiens which he used as a ploy to capture Toussaint, "the chief of the negroes," writing: "Bonaparte sent General Leclerc to Santo Domingo, and designated him in his decree as *our* brother-in-law. This first royal we, which associated the French with the prosperity of this family, was a most bitter pill to me. He obliged his beautiful sister to accompany to Santo

Domingo, where her health was completely ruined, a singular act of despotism for a man…[who] makes use of morality to harass some and dazzle others." Toussaint, she claims was "no doubt a criminal" who "deserved his fate on account of his cruelty, but the emperor had the least right to inflict it upon him, as he had engaged to guarantee him his life and liberty"(Staël 1821, pp. 52-53, 187). And she also wrote to Joseph Bonaparte: "Can you deny the perfectibility of the human species when blacks begin to talk constitution" while she wrote to Thomas Jefferson: "If you succeed in destroying slavery in the South, the world will have at least one government as perfect as human reason can imagine." (Isbell 2000, pp. 43, 47).

To impose his imperial designs, Napoleon determined to defeat the "gilded Africans."[1] After receiving a copy of Toussaint Louverture's Constitution of 1801, Napoleon replied in a letter carried by Toussaint's sons, who were educated in France, that Haiti's constitution "included many good things" but other things that went against the sovereignty of the French Republic (Dubois 2005). Ultimately those sons were coerced to join the French invasion of Saint-Domingue and were successfully used as bait to capture Toussaint. Napoleon's orders to identify and recruit Toussaint's enemies André Rigaud and Alexandre Pétiton failed as well as his plans to win over Dessalines. Napoleon's tactical strategy depended upon his ability to wield influence over the black generals and deport them from the island, commanding Leclerc to "not allow any blacks, having held a rank above captain, to remain on the island (Dubois 2005). Without deporting the "gilded negroes" wearing epaulettes, Napoleon warned, "we will have done nothing, and an immense and beautiful colony will always remain a volcano, and will inspire no confidence in capitalists, commerce or colonists" (Duboi 2005s). Napoleon's instructions to disarm blacks and return them to "free cultivators" (a program introduced by Toussaint) in Haiti proved to be impossible. Napoleon had reinstated slavery in the other French colonies, including Guadeloupe and Martinique, and he also intended to reinstate slavery in Spanish Santo Domingo. Napoleon's policy of enforcement hinged upon sending anyone who opposed him to France. This included anyone who "discussed the rights of blacks, who have spilled so much white blood" (Dubois 2005).

James Stephen's (1803) sympathetic biography of Toussaint whom he called a hero, portrayed the betrayal by Leclerc who attempted to kill all the insurgents and poor labor by stabbing and drowning them because "they choose to work as men for wages." Stephen also alluded to the strict censorship laws imposed by Napoleon to prevent dissent from erupting over his Caribbean policies: "I thank God that Englishmen may still dare to tell the truth though Buonoparte takes care that Frenchmen shall not hear it…Let us hear for instance of one of Buonoparte's hireling writers before quoted, as

having published a vile and absurd book to defame our Hero in Paris, while the Consul was trying to hunt him down in St. Domingo. Mark how much malice itself is obliged to confess in his favor" (Stephen 1803, p. 2). Stephen (1803) also compares Napoleon's influence over Toussaint's sons in Paris to Shakespeare's Richard III, who acquired the English throne by condemning his young nephew wards to the Tower of London: "Ignorant as the poor lads were of public affairs, they had been taught that it was for their father's good to comply with the wishes of the Chief Consul; and Buonoparte himself had talked with them and caressed them at Paris to impress that opinion on their minds. Like the hunched-back Richard, he had fawned upon the poor boys, the better to effect his treacherous and bloody designs." The sons were sent as bait to reunite with their father carrying Napoleon's letters, and this enabled the French to capture Toussaint and return him to France as a prisoner by holding his sons hostage and offering the negotiation of the Treaty of Amiens.

Napoleon's decision to sell the Louisiana Territory in 1803 was directly precipitated by his impending loss of the Haitian Revolution. His contact with key figures in the Haitian Revolution reveal his attitudes towards his nemeses and the methods they employed to seek an equitable resolution to the conflict. While Toussaint was betrayed by Napoleon who made overtures of negotiation only to take him into custody and let him die in prison, his successors found more immediate modes of reconciliation that coalesced with the imperial politics that Napoleon promoted from 1804 onwards. For example, Napoleon's decision to send his brother- in-law, General Charles Victoire Emmanuel Leclerc, together with Napoleon's sister, Pauline, demonstrates the faith Napoleon had in the imperial dynasty he began planning in Italian campaigns. Appropriating the imperial trappings of Ancient Rome was a shrewdly thought-out strategy that would be fully promoted through Napoleonic propaganda and used to justify his plans for global conquest. Napoleon placed his siblings and their spouses on key thrones that he had conquered in order to reinforce his dynastic lines. Caroline and Joachim Murat ruled Naples while Elisa was queen of Etruria in Florence.

It is important to remember that the French colonial territories that had been freed by French Constitution's abolition of slavery in 1794 provided the germ of Napoleon's imperial designs since the campaign of 1802 for the reconquest of Haiti falls chronologically two years before his coronation. Napoleon's decisions to sell the Louisiana Territory in 1803 to the United States showed his inability to realize dreams of a larger colonial empire. Haitian emperor, Jacques Dessalines, was directly inspired by Napoleon's example to adopt the title and trappings of empire after Napoleon's example. Napoleon's decision to send Pauline to Santo Domingo was based on the widespread rumors of the wealth that Europeans amassed as plantation

owners. Thus, her status would have been raised to a level of opulence he desired for members of his dynasty. Pauline accepted this role as emissary of the new colonial power Napoleon sought to reinstate in Haiti, but the issue of slavery, of course, caused the demise of French ambitions. After the news of the reinstatement of slavery in Guadeloupe reached Santo Domingo, draconian measures were taken by Leclerc to eradicate all insurgents and their families. Leclerc continued to assure Napoleon that he was successfully manipulating the black generals to his will, stating that Christophe would soon be sent to France "without the slightest fear that his departure will trigger an insurrection" and Dessalines "begged me not to leave him in Saint-Dominigue" (Clammer 2023, p.175). By contrast, during a dinner party hosted by Pauline, Leclerc's black general, Augustin Clerveaux, asserted his conditional support of the insurgency: "If I fancied that the restoration of slavery would ever be thought of here, I would become a brigand in an instant" (Clammer 2023, p. 175). As soon as news reached Dessalines that Napoleon had been crowned emperor in 1804, plans were made to declare Dessalines emperor of Haiti for life. The Haitian generals approved the nomination and Dessalines coronation took place on October 8 in Port-au-Prince. He then wrote to Napoleon whom he addressed as his imperial brother and cousin, explaining that no ambassador to France would be provided so long as he regarded the Haitian emperor as an outlaw. He advised Napoleon that he would never conquer the island since the shores of Haiti were forever closed to him. Instead, Dessalines proposed that Napoleon send Leclerc's widow, Pauline, back to Haiti to wed the emperor so his people could witness "the widow of the vanquished in the arms of the victor" and the "Corsican blood [which] would join with the black" in their offspring (Clammer 202).

2. Pauline and Creole Society in Haiti

Napoleon's sister, Pauline accompanied her husband, Charles Leclerc, on the expedition to St. Domingo, together with their young son, Dermide. Married in 1797 to Leclerc, Napoleon appointed his new brother-in-law as Commander-in-Chief of the French army in Italy. Pauline continued to maintain a reputation as a pleasure-loving woman who orchestrated promiscuous bacchanals in St. Domingo with her numerous lovers. Mme. de Genlis claimed that Napoleon's decision to include his sister in the expedition was to break up her current affair with an actor: "When she [Pauline] started for St. Domingo, she had for Lafon, actor of the Théâtre-Français, an affection about which there was so little secrecy, that Mlle. Duchesnois, on learning that General Leclerc was taking his wife with him, foolishly exclaimed, … 'Oh! Mon Dieu, how grieved I am! It is easy enough to kill

Lafon; he is so much in love with her'" (William 290). Laure Junot, Duchess of Abrantès later reminisced:

> I told her that she would be queen over there; that she would ride in a palanquin; that a slave would be attentive to her least movement in order to execute her will; that she would walk about under flowering orange-trees; that the snakes would do her no harm, if there were any in the Antilles; that the savages were equally innocuous; that it was not there that people were roasted on spits, and I concluded my speech by telling her that she would look very pretty dressed à la créole. (Williams 1908, p. 288)

Pauline confirmed after her arrival to St. Domingo: "Here, I reign like Joséphine; I am the first" (Williams 1908, p. 301). Her new regal lifestyle was short-lived, however. Leclerc soon caught yellow fever after his vicious campaign against the black insurgents, instead of deporting them, as Napoleon had commanded, and his death was announced on November 2, 1802.

3. Josephine Beauharnais and Creole Society in Martinique

Napoleon's interest in reclaiming Haiti was also the direct result of his marriage to Josephine. As a Creole, her origins became part of her social mystique but also remained a lost source of wealth to be recaptured by her husband. Napoleon's interest in recapturing Santo Domingo was naturally due to his knowledge of the Caribbean which he had learned from his empress, Josephine. Josephine's wealth or lack thereof, was concrete proof of the value of the Caribbean plantations and the vast wealth they generated for France. The Caribbean was also hotly contested by the British whose notorious rivalry with the French heightened their desire to retain as much of the colonial Caribbean as they could. Throughout her life, Josephine was also marked by the culture of her upbringing in the Caribbean and referred to as Creole. However, Josephine's life was marked by the pretentions to wealth, and not the actual acquisition of it. It was only after her marriage to Napoleon and ascension to the title of empress that her luxurious residence at Malmaison provided her with the splendors of wealth she felt entitled to.

French emigrants flocked to the Caribbean in hopes of establishing their wealth by acquiring plantations. Jean Baptiste Dutertre *Menagerie* (fig.1) from *his Histoire Generale des Antilles Habitées par Les François* (1654) depicts the idyllic and prosperous lifestyle colonial plantation owners could expect to reap by settling in the Antilles and employing slave labor. The print illustrates each step in the processing of coffee which is performed by slaves in front of the manor house. According to the author, who provides

a handbook for the new colonists of Martinique and Guadelupe, he does not intend to criticize Christians who own slaves, but only to comment on their use of slave labor:

> I do not pretend to treat of the nature of servitude here, and of the quality of the estate, which the man acquires by his property, by birth, by the right of war, by the law of war…they live according to the laws of France, which abhors servitude on all the Nations of the world, & where all slaves recover the lost liberty, As soon as they land there, and touch the earth….I will only be content to speak of it as a historian, & to make known to the reader the condition of these poor execrable [miserable slaves] so our French serve themselves in the Isles ; And since these slaves are the best property of the inhabitants, since all the wealth of the country comes from their labour, and that they now make a considerable part of the West Indies by their number, which exceeds them [the French]. I am very fond of our Frenchmen, and I have thought it necessary to make a particular treatise to guide them, and their manners, in this Natural History, in order to render it complete in all its parts." (Dutertre 1654)

Marius-Pierre Le Masurier's *Marché à Saint Pierre de la Martinique* (1775) (fig. 2) also depicts a harmonious combination of all races and classes, identified by skin color and fashion, in a lively portrayal of a marketplace along the harbor beach in which fashionably dressed white colonial couples happily mingle with slaves and mixed race gens de couleur. The prosperity of the marketplace is reflected in the vendors who sell their goods and demonstrate their free or enslaved status according to their dress. Martinique was a French colony that produced molasses, sugar and coffee. Napoleon's future wife, Josephine Beauharnais's (Marie Josèph Rose Tascher de la Pagerie) family owned a plantation at Les Trois-Îlets across the bay from Fort Royal in Martinique. Josephine's grandfather, Gaspard Tascher, was a poor nobleman who had emigrated from France and acquired estates on Santo Domingo as well as Martinique from his bride's family. Josephine's father, Joseph Tascher, had received ownership of the plantation of Trois-Ilets in Martinique, and its 150 slaves, as a dowry from his wife's parents. Josephine had been born several weeks after a hurricane destroyed the stately plantation home and forced the family to move into the sugar refinery, where they would remain for the next five years together with the actively functioning processing machinery. Fatefully, at the time of her birth, Josephine's future husband and cousin, Alexandre de Beauharnais, was the six-year-old ward of Josephine's parents and grew up with her on the island. The plantation had never produced great wealth, and the family struggled to maintain their subsistence from it until the death of Joseph Tascher during the Revolution and slave revolts in Martinique.15 The family's poverty was exacerbated by failed harvests and a British blockade of Martinique 1776-1777 which ended with an attack on Martinique's Fort-Royal after the French supported the

American Revolution, followed by the British capture of St. Lucia. Josephine's education had been interspersed with the magical beliefs of the slaves, and her provincial background and her poverty did not make her a good candidate for a wealthy marriage match in Paris. Thus, she was engaged to her cousin, Alexandre Beauharnais, who had since enlisted in the army and been reassigned from Brest in France to the Caribbean (Erickson 1998, pp. 1-20).

In 1779, Josephine returned to Paris with her father with the intent of marrying Alexandre. Following the births of their two children, Alexandre returned to Martinique with his mistress while Josephine, whose legal name at the time of her marriage was Marie-Joseph-Rose Tascher de la Pagerie, remained in Paris. Alexandre went to Fort-Royal and rejoined the Tascher family, while his mistress, Laure de Giradin, settled her father's plantation estates. With the intent of divorcing Josephine to marry Laure, Alexandre then tried to extract evidence against his lawful wife for infidelity from her family's slaves. When his Tascher in-laws asked him to leave, he sought refuge from Mme. Du Turron who spread gossip about his wife's sexual adventures in Martinique growing up.17 Thus, the conflict erupted into marital contracts and after the French Revolution and death of Josephine's estranged husband, Beauharnais. Alexandre even wrote to Josephine demanding that she vacate their Paris home on the grounds of the sexual improprieties he uncovered about her. Josephine responded by seeking a legal separation from him (Erickson 1998, pp. 30-51). As late as 1787, Josephine was receiving money from her uncle's plantation in Martinique and St. Lucie, and she returned home to Martinique in 1788. The rhetoric of the French Revolution spread to Martinique in 1789, as it did to Santo Domingo. Josephine's experiences getting evacuated from Martinique parallels that of Sansay in Santo Domingo. Conflicts erupted between slaves seeking revenge and white plantation owners. The violence included nighttime raids, hangings, and the abduction of women. Josephine and her daughter, Hortense, hid in the Government House in Fort-Royal and sought passage back to Paris. When the soldiers mutinied and turned over the forts to the rebel insurgents, Josephine's uncle, who managed the family plantation, was taken hostage and the island's governor fled into the interior. Employing the tactics later used by Toussaint, the insurgents gave warning that the forts would be destroyed, and this forced an immediate evacuation. Josephine was contacted by a friend of her uncle's and military official, Durrand du Braye, who commanded the French warships in the harbor, with secret instructions to go to the harbor and meet a longboat to evacuate to a warship. Once they reached the beach, they had to run for their lives to avoid the gunfire that erupted. Once they boarded the warship, the Sensible, the cannons of Fort-Royal began firing upon them as they made their escape and back to sailed to France (Erickson 1998, pp. 67-79).

Napoleon certainly sought out the divorced and widowed Josephine for her ties to Caribbean wealth as well as her social connections in Paris. However, as late as 1805, Josephine returned to her family estate where she visited Madame Tascher de la Pagerie. La Pagerie and Josephine's sister, Rose, who also remained in Martinique, frequently communicated with the empress in hopes of improving the colonial economy and connections to the elite of Paris and Napoleon's cabinet. Napoleon also maintained a strong interest in Martinique since it was part of his French colonial empire that continued to produce exports for France (Schloss 2009, pp. 33-34). When Napoleon restored slavery in French Caribbean, he also banned mixed race people from entering Paris, banned mixed race marriages and required Africans to carry identifying cartouches while on the European continent (Schloss 2009, pp. 24-25).The number of people of African descent around 1807 has been estimated at 7000 to 1600 on the continent (Boulle 2006, pp. 19-46). Following the loss of Haiti, Martinique became France's most important colonial possession until 1809 when it was captured by the British. At that time, the colonial population included 8,985 whites, 7,100 mixed race gens de couleur, and 78, 528 slaves; the capture of Martinique allowed the British to dominate the market for sugar and undercut the French domestic sugar beet market (Schloss 2009, p. 46).

4. Lucien Bonaparte: The Politician Who Rejected His Own Humanitarian Novella

Napoleon's brother, Lucien Bonaparte, also wrote a romance novella about the negative impact of slavery under colonial rule. *La Tribu indienne, ou Édouard et Stellina* (1799) exposes the corrupt practices of colonialism and slavery in Ceylon from the perspective of a white Englishman who falls in love with an Indian woman. The book was published by Lucien Bonaparte and reviewed in the Mercure de France, on 10 prairial, an 7 (May 29, 1799). The author then immediately removed from the market in 1799 and bought back all remaining copies before Napoleon reinstated slavery and organized his campaign against the Haitian resistance in 1801. Although Lucien Bonaparte never supported his brother's military campaign and opposed the invasion of Haiti, he did become the Minister of the Interior following the Dix-Huit Brumaire coup carried out with his brother which made Napoleon the First Consul. This political promotion caused Lucien to suppress of his own novella with its abolitionist anti- colonial message. Subsequent translations, however, appeared in German (1802, new edition 1812), and in Danish (1805), and the novella was published anonymously 1822 in French, *Les Ténadares ou l'Européen et l'Indienne*, and identified mistakenly as a translation from the English by Elizabeth Helme. Moore (2020) suggests that

Lucien's Bonaparte's original source for his story plot was Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770). This expansive overview of the impact of European colonialism, like that of Burke and Chateaubriand, both criticizes and accepts the conditions of slavery. For example, although Raynal's prediction of a slave uprising has been proposed as anti-slavery sentiment, Raynal only believed in gradual emancipation which was carried similar to plans carried out in America in the Union states and the British Caribbean. Raynal believed that slaves should not be freed, but only their children after the age of 20. According to Raynal, the Negroes had a natural inclination to freedom from the yokes of their white colonial masters and "only want a chief, sufficiently courageous to lead them on to vengeance and slaughter." Thus, his Eurocentric view was intended as a warning for white audiences. Lucien Bonaparte's portrayal of the actions of the chieftains in East India, suggests a parallel social pattern in Africa and the Caribbean where slaves continued to be dominated and exploited by whites. In this context, the mixed-race relationship, while it might evoke sympathy from white readers, only serves to reinforce this social pattern of domination and exploitation and demonstrates for the reader the emotional consequences on a human level.

The character, Edouard Milford, is an Englishman who is shipwrecked and stranded on the island of Ceylon after the Bedas tribe attacks his ship and crew. After the daughter of a tribal chief, Stellina, rescues him, Edouard, in turn, marries her, impregnates her, then sells her into slavery and abandons her to her fate. Edouard is persuaded to sell Stellina into slavery, the daughter of a chieftain, to help the Portuguese achieve colonial control of the island. Edouard's death is his just punishment while Stellina's death in childbirth demonstrates the futility of her situation. She and her unborn baby die in a massacre by the Portuguese of her tribe. The illustration to Edouard and his companions' rescue for Chapter 2, "Le Sacrifice," depicts three Europeans, including Edouard, who kneel and bow before a chieftain and Stellina, while another younger stronger man threatens those who would subvert their intervention. The caption: "Fût-ce le grand Brama, dit-il, ces trois hommes m'appartient, et je les donne à Stellina" ["Even if it were the great Brama," said he, "these three men belong to me, and I give them to Stellina] (cf. Le tribu indienne, v. 1, p. 75). While the three European men avoid becoming human sacrifices to the Hindu god, Brahma, Stellina's death with her baby represents the human sacrifice of her entire tribe to European greed and colonialism through genocide. Five out of 10 original illustrations by Prud'hon have been found in three known extant copies of the original 1799 edition, but they are thought to have been bound later in the nineteenth century. However, the original illustrations were printed and widely circulated as independent art prints. They were much appreciated by French

romantic artist, Eugene Delacroix, and they are instructive of the key events that occur in the novella: 1 ("L'hospitalité"), 2 ("Le sacrifice"), 3 ("L'oracle"), 5 ("La grotte") and 8 ("L'ingratitude"). According to Delacroix, "finds a mysterious pleasure, or rather a purer pleasure, free from all nonpictorial considerations, in the contemplation of these scenes whose subject is unknown" (Ionscu 2011). A comparison of *Le sacrifice* (fig. 3) with *L'gratitude* (fig. 4) sums up the negative impact of European French colonialism on indigenous peoples by comparing the native peoples act of mercy towards the colonial invaders with Europeans' inevitable exploitation of indigenous peoples that results in their genocide. A reader's knowledge of the novel would have been unnecessary to identify the original contact with Europeans who were spared by their captors and the ultimate betrayal of the indigenous peoples in return for their hospitality. It was a plot that was reenacted in virtually all instances of Europeans' first contact with natives. The ability of Europeans to colonize territory was based upon their friendships with the tribes, often time through the intercession of women, as in the more famous historical precedents of Pocahontas and John Smith or Malinche and Hernan Cortes in the Americas. Their overtures of female friendship resulted in catastrophe for their tribes who were consequently decimated by colonialism. Once married to Stellina, Edouard betrays the pregnant Stellina by accepting a large payment in the form of slaves and gold, in exchange for the chieftain's daughter. The Portuguese play a role as the civilizers of society who destroy the native Hindu gods' statues to prevent rituals of human sacrifice. Like Staël's Zulma and Mirza, the emotion of true love is revealed through the tragedy that destroys the life of the heroine. However, in *Edouard and Stellina*, Stellina's native fiancé, Cosmoë, exacts revenge for their exploitation.

5. Conclusion

Napoleon and his family played a crucial role in establishing a military dynasty to carry out the imperial designs of France which were first articulated in the Haitian invasion and capture of Toussaint Louverture. In both diplomatic and social circles, the rhetoric of conquest and elitism predominated and served to reinforce the aims of the emerging French Empire. The revocation of the Rights of Man and Citizen were reinforced by Napoleon's miliary commands and the social hierarchy of colonialism that Pauline and Josephine established in their domestic spheres of entertainments. Lucien Bonaparte's attempt to criticize colonialism and slavery through the publication of his novella only served to reinforce the

global reach of European colonialism by demonstrating the power of politicians to censor opposition and control media.

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Annexes

Figure 1
Jean Baptiste Dutertre. *Menagerie*. illustration *to Histoire Generale des Antilles Habitées par Les François.* 1654.

Figure 2
Marius-Pierre Le Masurier (French, active 1769-75). *Marché à Saint Pierre de la Martinique*, 1775. Oil on canvas; Avignon: Musée Calvet.

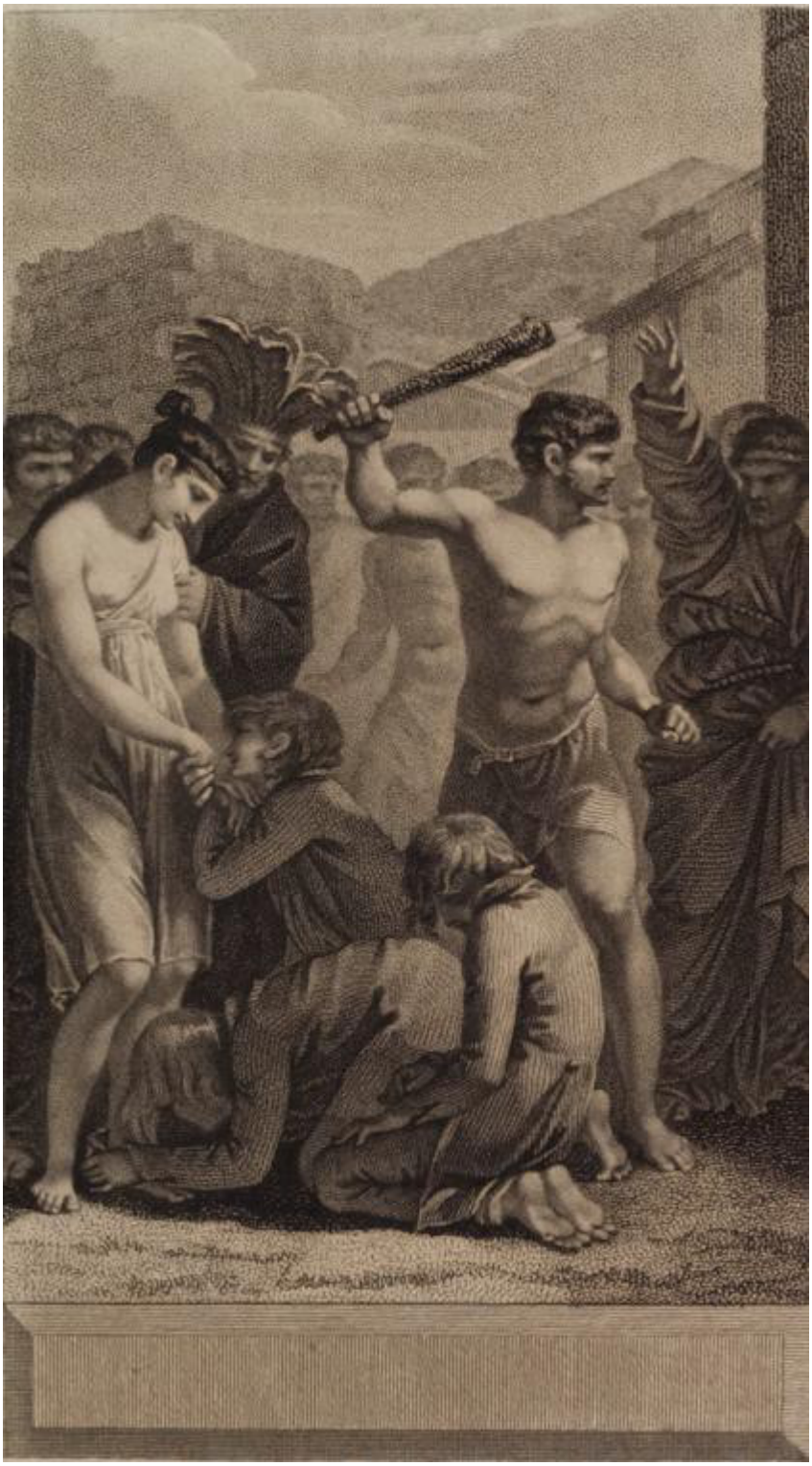

Figure 3
Prud'hon, Pierre-Paul (1758-1823) Le Sacrifice, chapter 2;,illustration to Lucien Bonaparte's *Edouard et Stellina*. par le citoyen L.B.A Paris : De l'imprimerie de Honnert, an VII [1799]. Engraving by Jean Godefroy (illustrations were not included in the published edition of 1799; a deluxe edition was published in 1872).

Figure 4
L'Ingratitude, chapter 8, illustration to Lucien Bonaparte's *Edouard et Stellina*. par le citoyen L.B.A Paris : De l'imprimerie de Honnert, an VII [1799]. Engraving by Jean Godefroy.