

I was almost ready to give up when a young man recapped for me the events I had first heard about in 1986. In that year, at the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier's dictatorship, the most miserable people of Haiti's capital had taken to the streets. They had thrown their anger at every monument that they associated with the dictatorship. A number of statues had been broken into pieces; others were simply removed from their bases. This was how Truman came to find himself on the grass.

Columbus had a different fate, for reasons still unknown to me. Perhaps the illiterate demonstrators associated his name with colonialism. The mistake, if mistake there was, is understandable: the word "kolon" in Haitian means both Columbus and a colonist. Perhaps they associated him with the ocean from which he came. At any rate, when the angry crowd from the neighboring shanty towns rolled down the Harry Truman Boulevard, they took the statue of Columbus, removed it from its pedestal, and dumped it into the sea.

Notes

.....

1 The Power of the Story

1 Theories of history that have generated so many debates, models, and schools of thought since at least the early nineteenth century have been the object of a number of studies, anthologies, and summaries. See Henri-Irénée Marrou, *De la Connaissance historique* (Paris: Seuil, 1975 [1954]); Patrick Gardiner, ed., *The Philosophy of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974); William Dray, *On History and Philosophers of History* (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1989); Robert Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). My trust here is that too many conceptualizations of history tend to privilege one side of historicity over the other; that most debates about the nature of history, in turn, spring from one or another version of this one-sidedness; and that this one-sidedness itself is possible because most theories of history are built without much attention to the process of production of specific historical narratives.

Many writers have tried to chart a course between the two poles described here. A number of broken lines from the Marx of *Eighteenth Brumaire*, to the work of Jean Chesnaux, Marc Ferro, Michel de Certeau, David W. Cohen, Ranajit Guha, Krzysztof Pomian, Adam Schaff, and Tzvetan Todorov crisscross this book, not always through the mechanical means of citations. See Jean Chesnaux, *Du Passé faisons table rase* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1976); David W. Cohen, *The Combining of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Michel de Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); Marc Ferro, *L'Histoire sous surveillance* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1985); Ranajit Guha, "The Prose of Counter Insurgency," *Subaltern Studies*, vol. 2, 1983; Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1926); Krzysztof Pomian, *L'Ordre du temps* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984); Adam Schaff, *History and Truth* (Oxford: Pergamon

Press, 1976); Tzvetan Todorov, *Les Morales de l'histoire* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1991).

2 Todorov, *les Morales*, 129–130.

3 Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historic Representation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

4 In fact, each narrative must renew this claim twice. From the viewpoint of its immediate producer(s), the narrative makes a claim to knowledge: that which is said to have happened is said to be known to have happened. Every historian delivers a narrative with a certificate of authenticity, however qualified. From the viewpoint of its audience, the historical narrative must pass a test of acceptance, which reinforces the claim to knowledge: that which is said to have happened is believed to have happened.

5 See Todorov, *Les Morales*, 130–169, for a discussion of the differences between fiction, fake, and historical writing and on various kinds of truth claims. See also chap. 5, below, on authenticity.

6 Pomian, *L'Ordre du temps*, 109–111.

7 Evidentials are grammaticalized constructions through which speakers express their commitment to a proposition in light of the available evidence. See David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 127. For example, the difference in epistemic modality between a witness and a non-witness could be a grammaticalized requirement.

8 Arjun Appadurai, "The Past as a Scarce Resource," *Man* 16 (1981): 201–219.

9 For updates on that discussion, see Paula Brown and Donald F. Tuzin, editors, *The Ethnography of Cannibalism* (Washington, D.C.: Society for Psychological Anthropology, 1983); Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986); and Philip P. Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

10 Ralph W. Steen, *Texas: A Story of Progress* (Austin: Steck, 1942), 182; Adrian N. Anderson and Ralph Wooster, *Texas and Texans* (Austin: Steck-Vaughn, 1978), 171.

11 This partial list of disputed "facts" and my understanding of the Alamo controversy are based on oral and written sources. Research assistant Rebecca Bennette conducted phone interviews with Gail Loving Barnes of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas and Gary J. (Gabe) Gabehart of the Inter-Tribal Council. Thanks to both of them, as well as Carlos Guerra, for their cooperation. Written sources include articles in local newspapers (especially the *San Antonio Express News*, which publishes Guerra's column): Carlos Guerra, "Is Booty Hidden Near the Alamo?" *San Antonio Light*, 22 August 1992; Carlos Guerra, "You'd Think All Alamo Saviors Look Alike," *San Antonio Express News*, 14 February 1994; and Robert Rivard, "The Growing Debate Over the Shrine of Texas Liberty," *San Antonio Express News*, 17 March 1994. They include also academic journals: Edward Tabor Linenthal, "A Reservoir of Spiritual Power: Patriotic Faith at the Alamo in the Twentieth Century," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 91 (4) (1988): 509–31; Stephen L. Hardin, "The Félix Nuñez Account and the Siege of the Alamo: A Critical Appraisal," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 94 (1990): 65–84; as well as the controversial book—Jeff Long, *Duel of Eagles: The Mexican and the U.S. Fight for the Alamo* (New York: William Morrow, 1990).

12 Arthur A. Butz, "The International 'Holocaust' Controversy," *The Journal of Historical Review* (n.d.): 5–20; Robert Faurisson, "The Problem of the Gas Chambers," *Journal of Historical Review* (1980).

13 Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Les Assassins de la mémoire: "Un Eichmann de papier" et Autres essais sur le révisionnisme* (Paris: La Découverte, 1987); Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie de meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993); Deborah E. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: The Free Press, 1993); Faurisson, "The Problem of the Gas Chambers"; Mark Weber, "A Prominent Historian Wrestles with a Rising Revisionism," *Journal of Historical Review* 11 (3) (1991): 353–359.

The differences between these rebuttals offer lessons in historical strategies. Pressac's book faces head-on the revisionist's challenge to treat the Holocaust as any other historical controversy and to deal with the facts and just the facts. It is the most "academic" in an old-fashioned way. Almost three-hundred footnotes of archival references, numerous pictures, graphs, and tables document the massive death machinery set up by the Nazis. Lipstadt takes the position that there should be no debate on "facts," because such debate legitimizes revisionism; but she engages the revisionists polemically on their political motivations, which seems to me no less legitimizing and requires numerous allusions to empirical controversies. Vidal-Naquet consciously rejects the proposition that debates on "facts" and ideology are mutually exclusive. Although he avoids name-calling, he continuously expresses his moral outrage not only at the revisionist narrative but at the Holocaust. There would be no revisionism if there was no Holocaust. This strategy leaves him room for both a methodological and political critique of revision-

ism, and for empirical challenge on the "facts" he chooses to debate. Vidal-Naquet also avoids the trap of Jewish exceptionalism, which could easily lead to a view of history as revenge and justify use and misuse of the Holocaust narrative: Auschwitz cannot explain Chabra and Chatila.

14 As noted, there are wide variations in the views expressed by the revisionists, but the last fifteen years have seen a shift toward a more academic stance, to which I shall return.

15 White, *The Content of Form*.

16 See Hayden White, "Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth," in *Probing the Limits of Representation*, S. Friendlander, ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 37-53.

17 H. Ebbinghaus, *Memory: A Contribution to Experimental Psychology* (New York: Dover, 1964 [1885]); A. J. Cascardi, "Remembering," *Review of Metaphysics* 38 (1984): 275-302; Henry L. Roediger, "Implicit Memory: Retention Without Remembering," *American Psychologist* 45 (1990): 1043-1056; Robin Green and David Shanks, "On the Existence of Independent Explicit and Implicit Learning Systems: An Examination of Some Evidence," *Memory and Cognition* 21 (1993): 304-317; D. Broadbent, "Implicit and Explicit Knowledge in the Control of Complex Systems," *British Journal of Psychology* 77 (1986): 33-50; Daniel L. Schacter, "Understanding Memory: A Cognitive Neuroscience Approach," *American Psychologist* 47 (1992): 559-569; Elizabeth Loftus, "The Reality of Repressed Memories," *American Psychologist* 48 (1993): 518-537.

18 U.S. figures do not include the colony of Louisiana. For the narrative and sources behind these estimates, see Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). Partial updates of Curtin's figures on exports from Africa do not invalidate the general picture he provides for imports throughout the Americas.

19 Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974); B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984); Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Life in the Americas* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1993); Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989).

20 W. E. B. Du Bois, *Some Efforts of American Negroes for Their Own Social Betterment* (Atlanta: The Atlanta University Press, 1898); *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the At-*

tempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

21 E.g., Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*; Edward Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957); Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990 [1941]); Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, London: Harper & Bros. 1944).

22 Paul Ricoeur rightly notes that both the logical positivists and their adversaries launched and sustained their long debate on the nature of historical knowledge with little attention to the actual practice of historians. Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, vol. 1, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 95. Ricoeur himself uses abundantly the work of academic historians from Europe and the United States. Other recent writers also make use of past and current historical works, with various degrees of emphasis on particular schools or countries, and with various digressions on the relationship between the development of history and that of other institutionalized forms of knowledge. See De Certeau, *L'Écriture*; François Furet, *L'Atelier de l'histoire* (Paris: Flammarion, 1982); Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994). Such works bring theory closer to the observation of actual practice, but is historical production limited to the practice of professional historians? First, from a phenomenologist's viewpoint, one could argue that all human beings have a pre-thematic awareness of history that functions as background for their experience of the social process. See David Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 3. Second, and more important for our purposes here, narrative history itself is not produced only by professional historians. See Cohen, *The Combining of History*; Ferro, *L'Histoire sous surveillance*; Paul Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

23 Ferro, *L'Histoire sous surveillance*.

24 Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

25 Crockett himself contributed to his perception as hero, starting with his autobiography. But his historical significance remained limited until the television series and John Wayne's 1960 movie, *The Alamo*, made him a national figure.

26 Remarkable exceptions, each in its own way, are Cohen's *The Combining*, Ferro's *L'Histoire sous surveillance*, and de Certeau's *L'Écriture de l'histoire*.

27 Indeed, most of the times that the word "history" will be used henceforth, it will be used primarily with that meaning in mind. I reserve the words sociohistorical process for the other part of the distinction.

28 I label the occupants of such and other structural positions *agents* to indicate at the onset a rejection of the structure/agency dichotomy. Structural positions are both enabling and limiting.

29 See Alain Touraine, *Le Retour de l'acteur* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 14–15.

30 I expand here on W. G. Runciman, *A Treatise on Social Theory*, vol. I: *The Methodology of Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 31–34.

31 Ferro, *L'Histoire sous surveillance*; Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981); Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *La Gloire des nations, ou, la fin de l'empire soviétique* (Paris: Fayard, 1990); Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992); William F. Lewis, "Telling America's Story: Narrative Form and the Reagan Presidency," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73 (1987): 280–302.

32 Michel Foucault, "On Power" (original interview with Pierre Boncenne, 1978) in Michel Foucault, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture. Interviews and Other Writings*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York and London: Routledge, 1988), 103.

33 Oral history does not escape that law, except that in the case of oral transmission, the moment of fact creation is continually carried over in the very bodies of the individuals who partake in that transmission. The *source* is alive.

2 The Three Faces of Sans Souci

1 I have not done fieldwork on the oral history of Sans Souci. I suspect that there is much more in the oral archives than this summary, which encapsulates only "popular" knowledge in the area as filtered through the routine performances of the guides.

2 Karl Ritter, *Naturhistorische Reise nach der westindischen Insel Hayti* (Stuttgart: Hallbergersche Verlagshandlung, 1836), 77; John Candler, *Brief Notices of Hayti: with its Conditions, Resources, and Prospects* (London: Thames Ward, 1842); Jonathan Brown, *The History and Present Condition of St. Domingo* (Philadelphia: W. Marshall, 1837), 186; Prince Sanders, ed., *Haytian Papers. A Collection of the Very Interesting Proclamations* (London: Printed for W. Reed, 1816); Aimé Césaire, *La Tragédie du roi Christophe* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1963); Alejo Carpentier, *The Kingdom of This World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983 [1949]); Pompée Valentin Baron de Vastey, *An Essay on the Causes of the Revolution and Civil Wars of Hayti* (Exeter: printed at the Western Luminary Office, 1923 [1819]), 137.

3 Cited in Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haïti*, tome II: 1799–1803 (Port-au-Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1989 [1847]), 172–73.

4 Jean Baptiste Romain identifies a coffee area named Sans Souci in colonial times between what is now Vallières and Mombin-Crochu, more than forty kilometers southeast of Milot. Currently, Sans Souci refers not only to the Milot palace, but also to a rural area of a few hundred inhabitants, around Bois Laurence in the commune of Mombin. Jean-Baptiste Romain, *Noms de lieux d'époque coloniale en Haïti. Essai sur la toponymie du Nord à l'usage des étudiants* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'État, 1960).

5 Gros, *Récit historique sur les évènements* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie Parent, 1793), 12–14.

6 John K. Thornton, "African Soldiers in the Haitian Revolution," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 25, nos. 1, 2 (1991): 58–80.

7 Claude B. Auguste and Marcel B. Auguste, *L'expédition Leclerc, 1801–1803* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie Henri Deschamps, 1986), 189. Italics mine. There was a long-standing animosity between Christophe and Sans Souci, the cause of which remains unknown. The French intended to make full use of this personal conflict to set Christophe against Sans Souci; but Christophe disappointed them, showing little enthusiasm in this first campaign. See François Joseph Pamphile, Vicomte de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de Saint-Domingue*, 2 vols. (Paris: Pilet Ainé, 1819), 220–221.

8 Auguste and Auguste, *L'expédition Leclerc*, 188–198.

9 French general Pamphile de Lacroix, a veteran of the Saint-Domingue expedition, later noted in his memoirs his surprise at Sans Souci's military effectiveness. Christophe himself came close to suggesting that if the colonial troops had used guerilla tactics similar to those of Sans Souci they would not have lost the first phase of the war against the French. Lacroix, *Mémoires*, 219, 228.

10 Laura V. Monti, *A Calendar of the Rochambeau Papers of the University of Florida Libraries* (Gainesville: University of Florida Libraries, 1972).

11 To claim otherwise would be to suggest that a "source" can be "the thing" itself, which is nonsense. Because facts are not "things" (they cannot be asserted only—if at all—on ontological grounds), sources are always *about* something else.

12 Even scholars who can hardly be accused of empiricism sometimes come close to equating a "new" history with a turn toward new objects defined in terms of their content-matter. See Jacques Le Goff and P. Nora, eds., *Faire de l'histoire*, vols. 2, 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1974). To be fair to Le Goff, Nora et al., most French historians have learned since the 1950s that the historical subject is constructed. That was, in retrospect, the epistemological lesson of the historians associated with the French historical journal, *Annales*. That the turn to new objects was translated by many in the Anglo-Saxon tradition as an empirical discovery is nevertheless telling.

13 E.g., Krzysztof Pomian, *L'Ordre du temps* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984); David Carr, *Time, Narrative and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

14 W. H. Dray, "Narration, Reduction and the Uses of History," in David Carr, William Dray, Theodore Geraets, *La Philosophie de l'histoire et la pratique historique d'aujourd'hui/Philosophy of History and Contemporary Historiography* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1982), 203. This distinction is similar to that between description and narration. I am not very keen on either of these divisions when phrased in terms of contents, or even in terms of organization. A list without a point is not an easy one to make. I admit, however, an irreducible distance between the viewpoint of the chronicler as witness and actor, and the viewpoint of the narrator as storybuilder. That distance reflects the ambiguous mix of the two sides of historicity. Second, the distinction in terms of viewpoints allow us to distinguish between narrator and author as potentially different voices (Pomian, *L'Ordre du Temps*). For a critique of the possibility of an ideal chronicler, see Paul Roth, "Narrative Explanations: The Case of History," *History and Theory* XXVII (1988): 1-13, and pp. 51, 55 below.

15 B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

16 Emile Benveniste, *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris: Minuit, 1969), 143.

17 Michel de Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 20-21.

18 The difference duplicates somewhat that of the viewpoint between chronicler and narrator. While sources remain close to the material traces of participation, archives already condition facts toward narratives.

19 The history of the Rochambeau Papers is itself an archival story full of silences. They were brought by the University of Florida from Sotheby, but how they came to Sotheby remains a mystery: there is no record of provenance (Monti, *Rochambeau Papers*, 4). Some Haitians suggest that the appropriation of the papers by whomever Sotheby was acting for could very well be a case study of the quite concrete effects of differential power in the international market for documents.

20 E.g., Gros, *Récit historique*; de Lacroix, *Mémoires*; Beaubrun Ardouin, *Études sur l'histoire d'Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: François Dalencourt, 1958); Hubert Cole, *Christophe, King of Haiti* (New York: Viking, 1967); Jacques Thibau, *Le Temps de Saint-Domingue: L'esclavage et la révolution française* (Paris: J. C. Lattes, 1983).

21 At one point during the war within the war, he told the French that he would surrender only if they expelled Christophe, a proposition a French witness refers to as a "pretext." de Lacroix, *Mémoires*, 220.

22 Monti, *Rochambeau Papers*.

23 Auguste and Auguste, *L'expédition Leclerc*.

24 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Ti difè boulè sou istoua Ayiti* (New York: Koleksion Lakansiyèl, 1977).

25 Hénock Trouillot, *Le gouvernement du Roi Henri Christophe* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie Centrale, 1972), 29.

26 There are, in this story, a number of telling silences, both collective and individual, the motives for which we can only guess, both doubtful and genuine. William Harvey, of Queens College (Cambridge), who served as Christophe's adviser during months of residence in Haiti and wrote what may pass for the King's first biography, flatly states that the palace was named "probably, from the manner in which it was defended by nature." See W. W. Harvey, *Sketches of Hayti; from the Expulsion of the French to the Death of Christophe* (London: L. B. Seeley and Son, 1827), 133. Whether Harvey, who moved extensively within the kingdom, heard either about the Colonel or Potsdam is not clear. But he had the prudence that has come to characterize foreign consultants, and "nature" may have looked to him as a perfect alibi. Similarly, one can tie the silence of some Haitian witnesses, such as de Vastey, to a desire to preserve a favorable image of Christophe.

27 Lacroix, *Mémoires*, 227, 287. The conversation mentioned, which occurred in the first phase of the war within the war, already suggests Christophe's wish to make of Sans Souci a non-object of discourse. In the course of the exchange, de

Lacroix bluntly challenged Christophe's claims to fame, hinting that if Christophe was as popular and respected as he affirmed he would have convinced the blacks to betray Sans Souci. (Note the pattern of induced betrayal.) As the French general later reports the exchange, Christophe dodged the issue of command and popularity. He called Sans Souci a "brigand," displacing into the field of Western tastefulness what was a serious competition for national leadership.

28 Jonathan Brown, *The History and Present Condition of St. Domingo*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: W. Marshall, 1837), 216.

29 Hérard Dumesle, *Voyage dans le Nord d'Hayti* (Cayes: Imprimerie du gouvernement, 1824), 225–226.

30 Vergniaud Leconte, *Henri Christophe dans l'histoire d'Haïti* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1931), 273.

31 Harvey, *Sketches of Hayti*.

32 Charles Mackenzie, *Notes on Hayti, Made During a Residence in that Republic*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), 209; *Notes on Hayti*, vol. 1, 169–179.

33 Ritter, *Insel Hayti*, 77, 78, 81.

34 *Ibid.*, 76.

35 *Ibid.*, 77–82.

36 Cole, *Christophe*, 207.

37 For the record, Cole was often sympathetic to his subject. My point is that this sympathy pertains to a particular field of significance that characterizes treatments of the Haitian Revolution by Western historians. See chap. 3.

38 René Phelipeau, *Plan de la plaine du Cap François en l'île Saint Domingue* (hand copy, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1786).

39 Possible corroboration of this interpretation is an ephemeral change in the name of Grand Pré itself. Sometime between the death of Sans Souci and 1827, the plantation was rebaptized "La Victoire" (The Victory). Mackenzie's first volume opens with a picture of a plantation "La Victoire, formerly Grand Pré, on the road to Sans Souci" (Mackenzie, *Notes on Hayti*, vol. 1., frontispiece). Unfortunately, we do not know if the name change occurred during Christophe's tenure or in the seven years between his death and Mackenzie's visit.

40 Robert Norris, *Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Adabee, King of Dahomy* (London: Frank Cass, 1968 [1789]), xiv. On "mulatto" historians and the Haitian past, see David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Hayti*, chap. 3 (London: MacMillan Caribbean, 1988). On Ardouin in particular, see Hénock Trouillot, *Beaubrun Ardouin, l'homme politique et l'historien* (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, 1950). For a close reading of Ardouin, see Drexel G. Woodson, "Tout mounn se mounn men tout mounn pa menn: Microlevel Sociocultural Aspects of Land Tenure in a Northern Haitian Locality" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1990). On class and color in Haïti, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Hayti: State against Nation* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1989).

41 Lacroix, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, 287; Leconte, *Henri Christophe*, 282.

42 Thornton, "African Soldiers in the Haitian Revolution."

43 Auguste and Auguste, *L'Expédition Leclerc*.

44 Ardouin, *Études sur l'histoire d'Haïti*, vol. 5, 75.

45 Oréelites' appropriation and control of mass aspirations in postcolonial state building, see Trouillot, *Ti dife boule*; Trouillot, *Hayti: State against Nation*. For a model study of these issues in India and Indian historiography, see Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

3 An Unthinkable History

1 Quoted by Roger Dorsinville in *Toussaint Louverture ou La vocation de la Liberté* (Paris: Julliard, 1965).

2 Cited by Jacques Cauna in *Au temps des îles à sucre* (Paris: Karthala, 1987), 204.

3 Most of these pamphlets, including those cited here, are included in the Lk12 series at the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris. Others were reproduced by the French government (e.g., French National Assembly, *Pièces imprimées par ordre de l'Assemblée Nationale. Colonies* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1791–92).

4 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness," in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. Richard G. Fox (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1991), 17–44.

5 Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Domination*, chap. 2 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). Psalmanazar's hoax about cannibalism in Taiwan captivated interest in Europe between 1704 and 1764 exactly because it played on these preconceptions. See Tzvetan Todorov, *Les Morales de l'histoire* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1991), 134–141. For an earlier example of admiration and contempt for the Orient, see John Chardin's *Travels*, in which the Persians are "Dissemblers, Cheats and the basest and most impudent Flatterers in the World" and, two pages later, "the most Civiliz'd People of the East," 187–189. John Chardin, *Travels in Persia 1673–1677* (New York: Dover, 1988; originally published in Amsterdam, 1711).

6 *Notre Librairie* (October–December 1987) no. 90, Images du noir dans la littérature occidentale; vol. I: Du Moyen-Age à la conquête coloniale. Simone Desalle and Lucette Valensi, "Le mot 'nègre' dans les dictionnaires français d'ancien régime: histoire et lexicographie," *Langues françaises*, no. 15.

7 Gordon Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thoughts, The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492–1900*, chap. 3 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Serge Daget, "Le mot esclave, nègre et noir et les jugements de valeur sur la traite négrière dans la littérature abolitionniste française de 1770 à 1845," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 60, no. 4 (1973): 511–48; Pierre Boule, "In Defense of Slavery: Eighteenth-Century Opposition to Abolition and the Origins of Racist Ideology in France," in *History from Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology*, ed. Frederick Krantz (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 219–246. Louis Sala-Molins, *Misères des Lumières. Sous la raison, l'outrage* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1992); Michèle Duchet, "Au temps des philosophes," *Notre Librairie* (October–December 1987) no. 90, Images du noir, 25–33.

8 *Archives Parlementaires*, 1st ser. vol. 8 (session of 3 July 1789), 186.

9 Tzvetan Todorov, *The Deflection of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford Humanities Center, 1989), 4.

10 Jacques Thibau, *Le Temps de Saint-Domingue. L'esclavage et la révolution française* (Paris: Jean-Claude Lattès, 1989), 92.

11 Michèle Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Maspero, 1971), 157. Emphasis added. On anticolonialism in France, see Yves Benot, *La Révolution française et la fin des colonies* (Paris: La Découverte, 1987); *La Démence coloniale sous Napoléon* (Paris: La Découverte, 1992).

12 David Geggus, "Racial Equality, Slavery, and Colonial Secession during the Constituent Assembly," *American Historical Review* 94, no. 5 (December 1989): 1290–1308; Daget, "Le mot esclave"; Sala-Molins, *Misères*.

13 Raynald, Guillaume-François, *Histoire des deux Indes*, 7 vols. (The Hague: Grosse, 1774). Michèle Duchet, *Diderot et l'Histoire des deux Indes ou l'écriture fragmentaire* (Paris: Nizet, 1978); Yves Benot, *Diderot, de l'athéisme à l'anti-colonialisme* (Paris: Maspero, 1970), *La Révolution française*.

14 Duchet, *Diderot et l'Histoire*; Michel Delon "L'Appel au lecteur dans l'Histoire des deux Indes," in *Lectures de Raynal. L'Histoire des deux Indes en Europe et en Amérique au XVIIIe siècle*, (eds.) Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Manfred Tietz (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1991), 53–66; Yves Benot, "Traces de l'Histoire des deux Indes chez les anti-esclavagistes sous la Révolution," in *Lectures de Raynal*, 141–154.

15 Jean-Claude Bonnet, *Diderot. Textes et débats* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1984), 416. On the construction of European civilization implicit in the *Histoire*, see Gabriëla Vidan, "Une réception fragmentée: le cas de Raynal en terres slaves du Sud," in *Lectures de Raynal*, 361–372.

16 Louis Sala-Molins, *Le Code noir ou le calvaire de Canaan* (Paris: PUF, Pratiques Théoriques, 1987), 254–261. In Benot's apt phrase, autonomy was "fatally white" whenever it came up in the *Histoire* (Benot, "Traces de l'Histoire," 147).

17 Serge Daget, "Le mot esclave, nègre et noir," 519.

18 Yves Benot, *Diderot*, 316. Emphasis added.

19 Pierre Bourdieu, *Le Sens pratique* (Paris: Minuit, 1980), 14. The unthinkable applies to the world of everyday life and to the social sciences. See *Le Sens pratique*, 90, 184, 224, 272.

20 There is no term in the vocabulary of the times either in English or in French that would account for the practices—or encapsulate a generalized notion—of resistance. I use resistance here in the rather loose way it appears nowadays in the literature. I am dealing elsewhere with the necessary distinction between resistance and defiance and the concept of resistance. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "In the Shadow of the West: Power, Resistance and Creolization in the Caribbean." Keynote lecture at the Congress, "Born out of Resistance," Afro-Caribische Culturen, Center for Caribbean and Latin American Studies, Risjksuniversiteit Utrecht, Netherlands, 26 March 1992.

21 "Nature has at last created this stunning man, this immortal man, who must deliver a world from the most atrocious, the longest, the most insulting tyranny. He has shattered the irons of his compatriots. So many oppressed slaves under the most odious slavery seemed to wait only for his signal to make such a hero. This heroic avenger has set an example that sooner or later cruelty will be punished, and that Providence holds in store these strong souls, which she releases upon earth to reestablish the equilibrium which the inequity of ferocious ambition knew how to destroy." (Mercier, *L'An 2440*, xxii, in Bonnet, *Diderot*, 331).

22 Whether Louverture himself had read Raynal in 1791 and was convinced of his own future role in history is unproven and beside the point.

23 In Benot, *Diderot*, 214; Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire*, 175. Emphasis added.

24 Interpellation is one of the favorite tropes of the Enlightenment, abundantly used in the *Histoire* for a number of political and rhetorical reasons. Michel De-
lon, "L'Appel au lecteur."

25 "Ces fers dès longtemps préparés . . . pour nous . . . / C'est nous qu'on ose méditer / De rendre à l'antique esclavage" etc. (*La Marseillaise*).

26 *Archives Parlementaires*, vol. 9 (session of 22 October 1789), 476–478.

27 Lucien Jaume, *Les Déclarations des droits de l'homme. Textes préfacés et annotés* (Paris: Flammarion, 1989).

28 E.g., Diderot in Benot, *Diderot*, 187.

29 Seymour Drescher, *Econocide, British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1977).

30 Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire*, 177; Michèle Duchet, *Le Partage des savoirs* (Paris: La Découverte, 1985).

31 *Archives Parlementaires* 25, 740. To be fair, the same Grégoire was accused more than once of inciting black rebellion, but the specific evidence was quite weak. See for instance, *Archives Parlementaires*, vol. 10 (session of 28 November 1789), 383. See also Carl Ludwig Lokke, *France and the Colonial Question: A Study of French Contemporary Opinion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 125–135; Sala-Molins, *Misères des Lumières*, passim.

32 M. Schwartz (Marie Jean-Antoine Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet), *Réflexions sur l'esclavage des Nègres* (Neufchatel et Paris, 1781).

33 Lokke, *France and the Colonial Question*, 115.

34 Actually, the two remarkable exceptions I am willing to concede are Jean-Pierre Marat and Félicité Sonthonax.

35 To be sure, there were oral and written texts of which the philosophical import became increasingly explicit as the Revolution advanced, from the speeches reportedly given at the gatherings that preceded the insurrection to the Haitian Constitution of 1805. But these are primarily political texts marking immediate goals or recent victories. Up to the first post-independence writings of Boissond-Tonnere, there were no full-time intellectuals to engage in speech acts one step removed from the political battles, as in the French and the American revolutions, the later anticolonial struggles of Latin America, Asia, or Africa, or the revolutions that claimed a Marxist ancestry.

36 Clearly, many *gens de couleur* and especially mulatto plantation owners had internalized white racial prejudice. Further, some had quite objective reasons to argue for the maintenance of slavery. European debates, and especially the French Revolution, provided them a platform to argue for their interest and to voice their prejudices. See Julien Raimond, *Observations sur l'origine et les progrès du préjugé des colons blancs contre les hommes de couleur; sur les inconvénients de le perpétuer; la nécessité de le détruire* (Paris: Belin, 1791); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Motion in the System: Coffee, Color and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Saint-Domingue," *Review 5*, no. 3 (A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems and Civilizations): 331–388; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Inconvenience of Freedom: Free People of Color and the Political Aftermath of Slavery in Dominica and Saint-Domingue/Haiti," in *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics and Culture after Slavery*, ed. F. McGlynn and S. Drescher (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), 147–182; Geggus, "Racial Equality," 1290–1308. On the rejection of racial prejudice by mulatto leader André Rigaud, see Ernst Trouillot, *Prospections d'Histoire. Choses de Saint-Domingue et d'Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1961), 25–36.

37 *Archives Parlementaires*, vol. 34 (session of 30 October 1791), 521; see also 437–38; 455–58; 470, 522–531.

38 Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery* (London and New York: Verso, 1988), 133.

39 Baillio, *L'Anti-Brissot, par un petit blanc de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Chez Girardin, Club Littéraire et Politique, 1791); Baillio, *Un Mot de vérité sur les malheurs de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1791); Milscent, *Sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Imp. du Patriote français, 1791); Anonymous, *Adresse au roi et pièces relatives à la députation des citoyens de Nantes, à l'occasion de la révolte des Noirs à*

Saint-Domingue. Arrêt de la Municipalité de Nantes (Le Cap, n.d. [1792?]); Anonymous, *Pétition des citoyens commerçants, colons, agriculteurs, manufacturiers et autres de la ville de Nantes; Lettre des commissaires de la Société d'agriculture, des arts et du commerce de la dite ville aux commissaires, de l'assemblée coloniale de la partie française de Saint-Domingue, et réponse des commissaires de Saint-Domingue* (Paris: Imp. de L. Potier de Lille, n.d. [1792?]).

See also the reports of the legislative committees led respectively by Charles Tarbé and Garran-Coulon: *Pièces imprimées par ordre de l'Assemblée Nationale. Colonies* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1792) and J. Ph. Garran, *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue, fait au nom de la Commission des Colonies, des Comités de Salut Public, de Législation et de Marine, réunis* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1787–89). Further references to these debates are in the *Archives Parlementaires*, notably vol. 35, (sessions of 1 December 1791, 3 December 1791, 9 December 1791, 10 December 1791), 475–492; 535–546; 672–675; 701–710. Blangily's speech was read on 10 December 1791. *Archives Parlementaires*, vol. 35, 713–716.

40 Cited by Cauna, *Au temps des îles à sucre*, 223. Emphasis added.

41 Blanchelande, *Précis de Blanchelande sur son accusation* (Paris: Imprimerie de N.-H. Nyon, 1793); Anonymous, *Extraits d'une lettre sur les malheurs de SAINT-DOMINGUE en général, et principalement sur l'incendie de la ville du CAP FRANÇAIS* (Paris: Au jardin égalité pavillon, 1794?); Anonymous, *Conspirations, trahisons et calomnies dévoilées et dénoncées par plus de dix milles français réfugiés au Continent de l'Amérique*, (Paris?: 1793); [Mme. Lavaux], *Réponse aux calomnies coloniales de Saint-Domingue. L'épouse du républicain Lavaux, gouverneur général (par intérim) des îles françaises sous le vent, à ses concitoyens* (Paris: Imp. de Pain, n.d.); J. Raimond et al., *Preuves complètes [sic] et matérielles du projet des colons pour mener les colonies à l'indépendance, tirées de leurs propres écrits* (Paris: De l'imprimerie de l'Union, n.d. [1792?]).

42 *Cobbet's Political Register*, vol. 1. (1802), 286.

43 Benot, *La Démence*.

44 Historically, of course, the respective denials of the Haitian Revolution, of the relevance of slavery, and of the Holocaust have quite different ideological motivations, social acceptance, and political impact.

45 See chap. 2. See also David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1988); and Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Haiti: State against Nation. The Origins and Legacy of Duvalierism*. (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1990).

46 The Haitian Revolution sparked the interests of abolitionists in the United States and especially in England, where there were a few calls for support. But even British abolitionists showed much ambivalence toward the Haitian people and their forcibly acquired independence. Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 252–52; Greggus, "Racial Equality."

47 Trouillot, *Haiti: State against Nation*.

48 One of the rare studies of the Polish legions in Saint-Domingue is Jan Pachonski and Reuel Wilson, *Poland's Caribbean Tragedy. A Study of Polish Legions in the Haitian War of Independence, 1802–1803* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1986), unfortunately marred by a number of mistakes.

Hobsbawm mentions the Haitian Revolution once in the notes, twice in the text: the first time to say, in passing, that Toussaint Louverture was the first independent revolutionary leader of the Americas—as if that was not important; the second time (in parentheses) to note that the French Revolution "inspired" colonial uprisings. See Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolutions, 1789–1848* (New York: New American Library, 1962), 93, 115. If we accept that Hobsbawm is at the extreme left of Western academic historiography and a historian otherwise conscious of both the invention of tradition and the need to write a history from below, the parallel with Diderot-Raynal is amazing.

49 Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 251, 263.

50 Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1969), 210–220, 34.

51 Jean Tarrade, "Le Commerce colonial de la France à la fin de l'ancien régime: l'évolution du système de l'exclusif de 1763 à 1789," 2 vols. (Thèse pour le doctorat d'état, Paris: Université de Paris, Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, [1969]1972). Robert Stein, *The French Sugar Business* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

52 One circular of the pro-slavery forces argues forcibly along such lines: "The Société des Amis des Noirs wishes to bring into question in the National Assembly the abandonment of our colonies, the abolition of the slave trade and the liberty of our Negroes. If only one of these points is decreed, there would no longer exist commerce or manufacture in France," in Daniel P. Resnick, "The Société des Amis des Noirs and the Abolition of Slavery," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 7 (1972), 558–569, 564. See also *Archives Parlementaires*, vol. 10 (session of 26 November 1789), 263–65; vol. 35 (session of 6 December 1791), 607–608.

53 Resnick, "The Société des Amis des Noirs," 561. There is now a growing literature on public debates on slavery, race, and colonialism in revolutionary

France, with quite a few titles in English. See Robin Blackburn, "Anti-Slavery and the French Revolution," *History Today* 41 (November 1991): 19–25; Boule, "In Defense of Slavery"; Serge Daget, "A Model of the French Abolitionist Movement," in *Anti-Slavery, Religion and Reform*, eds. Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher (Folkstone, England: W. Dawson, and Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1980); Seymour Drescher, "Two Variants of Anti-Slavery: Religious Organization and Social Mobilization in Britain and France, 1780–1870," in *Anti-Slavery, Religion and Reform*, 43–63; Seymour Drescher, "British Way, French Way: Opinion Building and Revolution in the Second French Emancipation," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 3 (1991): 709–734; Geggus, "Racial Equality," 1290–1308; Jean Tarrade, "Les Colonies et les Principes de 1789: Les Assemblées Révolutionnaires face au problème de l'esclavage," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 76 (1979): 9–34.

Many relevant passages are also in Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans*, and Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, especially chaps. 5 and 6. The most comprehensive book on the subject is Benot, *La Révolution française*.

54 An increasing number of historians are also exposing the silence. Geggus, "Racial Equality," 1290–1291; Benot, *La Révolution française*, 205–216; Tarrade, "Les colonies et les principes de 1789," 9–34.

55 Jacques Marseille and Nadeije Laneyrie-Dagen (eds.), *Les Grands évènements de l'histoire du monde, La Mémoire de l'humanité* (Paris: Larousse, 1992).

56 French historians could not claim to have missed these two books: Césaire was at the time one of the most prominent blacks writing in French. James was published by the prestigious Parisian house of Gallimard. Aimé Césaire, *Toussaint Louverture. La Révolution française et le problème colonial* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1962). P. I. R. [sic] James, *Les Jacobins noirs* (Paris: Gallimard, 1949).

57 These collective works include notably, François Furet and Mona Ozouf, *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988); Jean Tulard, Jean-François Fayard and Alfred Fierro, *Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution (1789–1799)* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1987); Michel Vovelle, ed., *L'Etat de la France pendant la Révolution* (Paris: La Découverte, 1988). In such arid land, this last compilation has the merit to attribute a few pages to colonial issues, written by U.S. historian Robert Forster and the indefatigable Yves Benot. On the celebrations, see Sala-Molins, *Les Misères des Lumières*.

58 E.g., Yvan Debbash, "Le Marronnage: Essai sur la désertion de l'esclave antillais," *L'Année sociologique* (1961): 1–112; (1962): 117–195.

59 One example among others. David Geggus and Jean Fouchard agree in suggesting that a royalist conspiracy could have provoked the revolt of 1791. But

Fouchard notes this possibility in a book that remains one of the epic monuments of Haitian history. Geggus, in turn, concludes that if royalist participation is proved, "the autonomy of the slave insurrection will find itself considerably diminished." Robin Blackburn, who notes this disparity between the two authors, rightly finds Geggus's conclusion "curious" (Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 210). See Jean Fouchard, *The Haitian Maroons: Liberty or Death* (New York: Blyden Press, 1981; original printing, 1972).

60 See Julius S. Scott III, "The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communications in the Era of the Haitian Revolution" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1986).

61 See Robert Stein, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax: The Lost Sentinel of the Republic* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson, 1985); Benot, *La Révolution*.

62 Stein, *Léger Félicité Sonthonax*; Cauna, *Au temps des îles*; David Geggus, *Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of St. Domingue, 1793–1798* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982). The "revolution" in Geggus's title is the French revolution. He has since extended his use of the word to include Haitian achievements.

63 Eugene Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1981 [1979]). Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*.

64 Thomas Madiou, *Histoire d'Haïti*, 7 vols. (Port-au-Prince: Henri Deschamps, 1987–89 [1847–1904]); A. Beaubrun Ardouin, *Études sur l'histoire d'Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: François Dalencourt, 1958). See Catts Pressoir, Ernst Trouillot, and Hénock Trouillot, *Historiographie d'Haïti* (Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1953); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Ti difé boulé sou istoua Ayiti* (New York: Koléskion Lakansiel, 1977); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Haïti: State against Nation*.

65 See Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haïti: The Saint-Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Claude B. Auguste and Marcel B. Auguste, *L'Expédition Leclerc, 1801–1803* (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie Henri Deschamps, 1985). Fick remains much too close to the epic rhetoric of the Haitian tradition. Her treatment of resistance is overly ideological and skews her reading of the evidence in the direction of heroism. Nevertheless, her book adds more to the empirical bank on Saint-Domingue than most recent works in the epic tradition. David Geggus's ongoing research remains empirically impeccable. One wishes that it would continue to move further away from the discourse of banalization and would spell out explicitly, one day, some of its hidden assumptions. The work by the Auguste brothers on the French expedition comes closer to finding a tone that treats its material with ideological respect without falling

into a celebration or extrapolating from the evidence. It is well grounded into archival research, yet it does not make concessions to the banalizing discourse.

66 Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, 3 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1981-1992); Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Marc Ferro, *Histoire des colonisations. Des conquêtes aux indépendances, XIIIe-XXe siècles* (Paris: Seuil, 1994).

4 Good Day, Columbus

1 Rachel Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)* (Paris: Éditions E. de Brocard, 1973); Charles Julian Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492," in *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980; reprinted from Setton and Hazard, eds., *A History of the Crusades* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, [1975], 1980 396-456).

2 The influence of nearly eight centuries of Islamic control over one or another of the dominions of Europe is undeniable. See S. M. Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain, 711-1492 A.D.*, Medieval Iberian Texts and Studies (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981); Robert I. Burns, *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Allan Harris Cutler and Helen Elmquist Cutler, *The Jew as Ally of the Muslim. Medieval Roots of Anti-Semitism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986); Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz, *L'Espagne musulmane*, trans. Claude Farragi (Paris: OPU/Publisud., 1985 [1946-1973]). Also, whereas the Christian victors expelled the Jews, the capitulation treaties protected Islamic cultural practices, including religion. See Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane*; Irving, "Reconquest of Granada"; Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest"; Burns's book, *Muslims, Christians and Jews*, summarizes nicely the different approaches to the study of Muslim-Christian contact.

3 J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West, 400-1000* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, [1965] 1988); Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest"; Cutler and Cutler, *The Jew as Ally of the Muslim*.

4 Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest."

5 Isabella had summoned Columbus to Santa Fe, the town she had built near Granada, during the siege, to serve as military headquarters and as a symbol of Christian determination. Antonio Rumeu de Amas, *Nueva Luz sobre las Capitulaciones de Santa Fe de 1492 Concertadas entre los Reyes Católicos y Cristóbal Colón*.

Estudio Institucional y Diplomático (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985), contends that serious negotiations between royal secretary Juan de Coloma and Fr. Juan Pérez, Columbus's sponsor, started on January 2, 1492, the very day the Christian flag was raised over the Alhambra. The final mandate was drawn up in April 1492.

6 Biographers agree that the decade Columbus spent in Portugal was the formative period of his life. Unfortunately, little documentation is available on that period. See Samuel Eliot Morison, *Christopher Columbus, Mariner* (New York: New American Library, 1983), 12-16; Gianni Granzotto, *Christopher Columbus* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985), 34-47; William D. Phillips, Jr., and Carla Rahn Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 94-97.

7 Thomas Gomez, *L'Invention de l'Amérique. Rêve et réalités de la conquête* (Paris: Abier, 1993), 188-200.

8 Roy Preiswerk and Dominique Perrot, *Ethnocentrism and History. Africa, Asia and Indian America in Western Textbooks* (New York, London, Lagos: Nok Publishers, 1978), 105.

9 Camacho Juan Rafael Quesada and Magda Zavala, eds., *500 años: Holocausto o Descubrimiento?* (San Jose: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 1991). Justin Thorens et al., eds., *1492. Le Choc des deux mondes* (Geneva: UNESCO/La Différence, 1993).

10 Vitorino Magalhaes Godinho, "Rôle du Portugal aux XVe-XVIe siècles. Qu'est-ce que découvrir veut dire? Les nouveaux mondes et un monde nouveau," in J. Thorens et al., *1492. Le Choc*, 57.

11 On naming and power, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Peasants and Capital. Dominica in the World Economy*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 27; "Discourses of Rule and the Acknowledgement of the Peasantry in Dominica, W.I., 1838-1928," *American Ethnologist* 16 (4) (1989), 704-718. See also chap. 2, above.

12 To bring the point home to a U.S. audience, I will draw on a local analogy. In spite of its legal murkiness and its terminological awkwardness, the notion of "date rape" is both a conceptual and a political victory for actual rape victims. It desanitizes some facts of rape and makes possible narratives that were previously forbidden as *narratives of rape*. Facts that were thought to be clear can at least be presented for judgment to a court of law. Semantic ambiguities aside, for victims of rape, this is not at all a trivial matter.

13 On that score, the Quadricentennial celebrations of the landfall provide the clearest example of public history on a global stage. For different reasons, in the early 1890s both Spain and the United States enlisted the smooth participation of a number of states on both sides of the Atlantic. They were not successful in 1992.

14 Centennials themselves are elaborate variations on the annual theme. They are most often fashioned around an event that has been celebrated yearly at a fixed date—even if by a few. They may, in turn, revitalize an annual cycle, as we will see later.

15 These three ensembles are dealt with unequally here, and I do not claim to exhaust all modes of appropriation of Columbus and his landfall within each of them. Latin America in particular, where constructions about Columbus are complex and numerous, is shortchanged in the discussion that follows. See Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of its History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961); John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970). But my point is not to show what images of Columbus look like in each of these three ensembles or even to construct an equilateral triangle with sketches from the three. Rather, this is a narrative about narratives of power that aims at no center itself—except, of course, the nondescript place that Columbus stumbled upon in the middle of this nowhere they now call the Carribbean.

16 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness," in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. Richard G. Fox, (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1991), 17–44.

17 Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1959), 2–3; 124. Gomez, *L'Invention de l'Amérique*, 281.

18 Until the 1830s, for instance, there may have been three times more literary or musical works about an American figure like Montezuma (including that by Vivaldi) than about Columbus.

19 Reflecting on the invention of traditions in the United States, Eric Hobsbawm rightly insists that "Americans had to be made" in ways Europeans did not need to be. See Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 279. This production of traditions started in the United States much earlier than Hobsbawm seems to think and perhaps earlier than in Europe since North America was perceived as having no authentic traditions.

20 On the Tammany Society, see Edwin Patrick Kilroe, *Saint Tammany and the Origin of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913); and Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789–1865* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971). Columbus's landfall was also celebrated in Baltimore and Boston in 1792. See Herbert B. Adams, "Columbus and His Discovery of America," in *Columbus and His Discovery of America*, eds. H. B. Adams and H. Wood, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 10th series (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1892), 7–39; Reid Badger, *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbia Exposition and American Culture* (Chicago: N. Hall, 1979). The first permanent monument to Columbus in the United States may have been that erected by the Chevalier d'Anmour, the French consul to Baltimore (Adams, "Columbus and His Discovery of America," 30–31). Still, New York tends to be the most popular reference for early Columbian celebrations, proving that even traditions about traditions are created unequal. On early monuments to Columbus in the United States, see Charles Weathers Bump, "Public Memorials to Columbus," in Adams and Wood, *Columbus and His Discovery of America*, 69–88.

21 Columbus died in Spain in 1505. More than thirty years later, his remains were transferred to Santo Domingo, then supposedly to Havana and/or Seville. Where they are now remains a matter of controversy, in spite of Santo Domingo's edge among the favorite locations.

22 The acknowledgement that the rules for classification had changed was quite candid on the part of the early colonists. It declined somewhat in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to reappear with political and cultural nationalisms of various kinds in the twentieth century. See Anthony Pagden, "Identity Formation in Spanish America," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World*, eds. N. Cahny and A. Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 51–93; Stuart Schwartz, "The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World*, 15–50; Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967); Magnus Mörner, ed., *Race and Class in Latin America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

23 Mörner, *Race Mixture; Race and Class in Latin America*; Schwartz, "The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil"; Pagden, "Identity Formation in Spanish America"; Marvin Harris, *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (New York: Norton Library, [1964] 1974); Nina De Friedemann, "The Fiesta of the Indian in Quidbó, Colombia," in *Ethnicity in the Americas*, ed. F. Henry (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1976), 291–300.

This does not suggest that Latin America stands outside the international hierarchy of races, religions, and cultures, or that native Americans in that region do

not encounter prejudice. Rather both discourses and institutionalized practices of discrimination allow much more flexibility to the actors than, say, the rigid U.S. system—to the point where phenotype alone does not determine the socio-racial denomination of specific individuals. In fact, at times, the reverse can be true: individuals of known "Indian" ancestry can become "white." See Eric R. Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 236. The treatment of black populations and the ways that boundaries defining blackness and whiteness are erected is also relevant to this argument. Marvin Harris, who rightly criticizes naive claims of Latin American racial harmony, admits that "it is definitely verifiable that all hybrids were not and are not forced back into a sharply separated Negro group by application of a rule of descent. This was true during slavery and it was true after slavery. . . ." See Harris, *Patterns of Race*. This was even truer of the native Americans.

24 Schwartz, "The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil," 30. See also Pagden, "Identity Formation in Spanish America."

25 Cited by Mörner, *Race Mixture*, 86.

26 Mörner, *Race Mixture*; Manning Nash, "The Impact of Mid-Nineteenth Economic Change Upon the Indians of Middle America," in Mörner, ed., *Race and Class in Latin America*, 181–83.

27 These ideological traits of the discourse on culture and ethnicity in Latin America are so strong that they spill over into academic literature. Many scholars speak of Latin American groups as if they were peculiar biological blends—café au lait type mixtures—of otherwise "pure" pre-Conquest entities: Indian, African, Spanish, Portuguese (e.g., Mörner, *Race Mixture* and *Race and Class*). Similarly, "the Indian Legacy" of Spanish America is often assumed, rather than demonstrated, by "native" cultural historians in particular (e.g., Mariano Picón-Salas, *A Cultural History of Spanish America from Conquest to Independence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

28 Lydio F. Tomasi, ed., *Italian Americans. New Perspectives in Italian Immigration and Ethnicity* (New York: Center for Migration Studies of New York, 1985); Charles Speroni, "The Development of the Columbus Day Pageant of San Francisco," reproduced in *The Folklore of American Holidays*, ed. H. Cohen and T. P. Coffin (Detroit: Gale Research, 1987), 301–02.

There are vague mentions of Columbus Day celebrations by Italian-Americans as early as the 1840s, especially after the creation of the Colombo Guard by Genoese immigrants in New York. See Lydio F. Tomasi, ed., *The Italian in America: The Progressive View, 1891–1914* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1972), 79.

29 Christopher Kauffmann, *Faith and Fraternalism. The History of the Knights of Columbus, 1882–1982* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982).

30 Kaufmann, *Faith and Fraternalism*, 79–81.

31 Bessie Louise Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926).

32 Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions"; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (New York: Pantheon, 1987); Salvador Bernabeu Albert, *1892: El IV Centenario del descubrimiento de America en España: Cooynjuta y Commemoraciones* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1987); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Reid Badger, *The Great America Fair: The World's Columbia Exposition and American Culture* (Chicago: N. Hall, 1979).

33 Raymond Carr, *Spain, 1808–1939*, Oxford History of Modern Europe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); Melchor Fernandez Almagro, *Cánovas. Su vida y su política* (Madrid: Ediciones Tebas, Colección Políticos y Financieros, 1972); Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire*.

34 Albert, *1892*, 19.

35 My account of the quadricentennial activities is drawn primarily from Albert, *1892*. On Spain at the time, see Carr, *Spain, 1808–1939*; on Cánovas, see Almagro, *Cánovas*.

36 They were France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Belgium, Russia, Austria, Holland, Denmark, Germany, Portugal, Mexico, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Columbia, Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Brazil, Haiti, and the United States.

37 Albert, *El IV Centenario*; Louis de Vorsey, Jr. and J. Parker, eds., *The Columbus Landfall Problem: Islands and Controversy* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982).

38 Topics in Madrid and elsewhere varied from "Marriage and Divorce in Private International Law," to the possibility of a military alliance tying Spain and Portugal to Latin America, to the relevance of philosophical positivism for the writing of history.

39 Cited by Albert, *El IV Centenario*, 123.

40 Cited by Badger, *The Great America Fair*, 120.

41 Badger, *The Great America Fair*, 132. On the Chicago Exposition, see John Joseph Flinn, ed., *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition*, handbook ed. (Chicago: Columbian Guide, 1893); Rand McNally and Co., *Handbook of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1893); Badger, *The Great America Fair* and Robert W. Rydell, *All the World Is a Fair. Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

42 Years before, the United States had boycotted a similar project by Bolívar. Blaine himself did not witness the opening of the fair. He died in January 1893, months after submitting his resignation to President Harrison.

43 Albert T. Volwiller, ed., *The Correspondence Between Benjamin Harrison and James G. Blaine, 1882-1893*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 14 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1940); Leslie Manigat, *L'Amérique latine au XXe siècle 1889-1929*, L'Univers Contemporain, ed. Jean Baptiste Duroselle (Paris: L'Université de Paris, Institut d'Histoire de Relations Internationales, 1973); Lester D. Langley, *America and the Americas: The United States in the Western Hemisphere* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989); Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison*, American Presidency Series (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1987); David Healy, *Drive to Hegemony. The United States in the Caribbean, 1898-1917* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

44 Flinn, *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition*, 7-8.

45 I. W. Howerth, "Are the Italians a Dangerous Class?" *The Charities Review—A Journal of Practical Sociology* IV (1894): 17-40.

46 Tomasi, *The Italian in America*; Badger, *The Great America Fair*, 85.

47 "An Act Fixing and Establishing the Permanent and Temporary Seats of Government," *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio* (Chillicothe: J. S. Collins, 1812). "An Act to Amend an Act Fixing," *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio* (Zanesville: Dadid Cham, 1816). John Kilbourn, *The Ohio Gazetteer or Topographical Dictionary*, 2d ed. (Columbus: Smith and Griswold, 1816), 3 and passim; 3d ed., (Albany, New York: Loomis, 1817); 5th ed., (Columbus, Ohio: Griswold, 1818); 6th ed., (Columbus, Ohio: Bailhache & Scott, 1819). Caleb Atwater, *A History of the State of Ohio, Natural and Civil*, 2d ed. (Cincinnati: Glenzen & Shepard, 1838). James Silk Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western United States of America*, vol. 2 (London: Fisher, Son, 1842). James H. Perkins, *Annals of the West* (Cincinnati: James R. Albach, 1847). Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Cincinnati: Bradley and Anthony, 1848). W. H. Carpenter and T. S. Arthur, eds., *The History of Ohio, from its Earli-*

est Settlement to the Present Time (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1854). Jacob Henry Studer, *Columbus, Ohio: Its History, Resources and Progress* (Columbus: J. H. Studer, 1873).

To be sure, all these documents could have missed the trace of a connection between the Genoese navigator and the Ohio town. My point is that even if such a trace existed then, it had little significance in and out of Columbus, Ohio. Both Buckingham and Howe had an interest in the origins of town names. Neither mentions the Genoese.

48 Bump, "Public Memorials to Columbus," 70.

49 *Official Guidebook, AmeriFlora '92: April 20-October 12* (Columbus: Marbro Guide Publications, 1992). There are many references to "the largest city in the world named after the great explorer" in recent mentions of the connections, echoes of Chicago 1893 and the U.S. appetite for size.

50 Sidney W. Mintz, "Goodbye, Columbus: Second Thoughts on the Caribbean Region at Mid-Millennium," Walter Rodney Memorial Lecture, May 1993 (Coventry: University of Warwick, 1994).

51 Hence, the limited relevance of the terminological debate about "blacks" versus "Negroes," "Afro-," or "African-Americans." The central problem here is not how to designate U.S. citizens of known African descent but how to reconcile their blackness with the second half of the compound. Whether or not some Asian-Americans or Hispanic-Americans will become honorary whites, as have all Irish and Italian immigrants before them, and whether this new inclusion will burst open the second half of these compounds is an open question.

52 Tomasi, *The Italian in America*, 78.

53 Columbus Day did not become a federal holiday in the United States until 1968.

54 This "American" Columbus was modified somewhat in old world territories taken by the United States. Further decontextualized, October 12 became Discovery Day in Hawaii and Guam, places where Columbus never set foot alive, but where chunks of the myth followed U.S. power.

55 October 12 is a fixed holiday in at least twelve former colonies of Spain, under different labels, including "Day of the Americas" in addition to those cited above. There are numerous variations on the theme. Panama, whose Latin legitimacy has sometimes been questioned because of its United States-sponsored birth, celebrates Latin American Nations Days on October 12. In Cuba, discovery-oriented celebrations were toned down by the revolutionary govern-

ment which, in turn, promoted the celebration of the launching of the war of independence on October 10. Peru does not set Columbus Day as a fixed holiday but celebrates National Dignity Day on October 9. The situation is quite different in countries where the influence of Spain is less obvious. Except for the United States and Canada, none of the American countries that bear more strongly the imprint of one of Spain's former colonial competitors celebrates October 12. For instance, Trinidad celebrates the first European landfall on its shores on August 4. Haiti celebrates its own "discovery" on December 5.

56 There are many twists to the manipulation of history and of current calendars in the construction of ethnicity. In Caño Mochuelo, Columbia, October 12 is "The Day of the Indian," the occasion for one of the many regional fiestas which, according to De Friedemann, perpetuate Indian stereotypes and act as a "cultural mechanism of subordination." Friedemann, "The Fiesta of the Indian in Quibdó, Colombia," 293.

57 Christopher Columbus, *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492-1493* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 63.

58 Columbus, *The Diario*; Columbus, *The Voyage of Christopher Columbus*, ed. John Cummins (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1992), 93.

5 The Presence in the Past

1 William Styron, "Slavery's Pain, Disney's Gain," *The New York Times*, 4 August 1994.

2 Jorge Luis Borges, "Pierre Ménard, Author of Don Quixote," in *The Overwrought Urn*, ed. C. Kaplan, (New York: Pegasus, 1969 [original Spanish 1938]). On Ménard's novel as performance, see A. J. Cascardi, "Remembering," *Review of Metaphysics* 38 (1984): 275-302.

3 Many historians and Civil War buffs had fought the project because they felt that the proposed park would blot out important war sites. Environmentalists, in turn, had raised an uproar about crowding and traffic congestion. In both cases, the loudest objections focused more on the proposed site than on the intrinsic value of the project. In the same tone, Disney's official announcement was that the company would look for a "less controversial" site. Some analysts saw in the announcement a graceful way for Disney to abandon the project altogether. *The Wall Street Journal* (29 September 1994), 3; *The New York Times* (29 September 1994); (30 September 1994).

4 I am not assuming that either Ménard, or Borges himself espouses or expresses a coherent philosophy of history. I am not even assuming that Borges's main theme here is history. Obviously, I am using the parody within my own frame. I am satisfied, however, that this use is justifiable. For extended treatments of "Pierre Ménard," see Raphaël Latouche, *Borges ou l'hypothèse de l'auteur* (Paris: Balland, 1989), especially pt. III, "L'oeuvre invisible. Pierre Ménard auteur du Quichotte," 170-210. Emilio Carilla, *Jorge Luis Borges autor de 'Pierre Ménard' (y otros estudios borgesianos)*, pt. 1 (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1989), 20-92. For a related theoretical use of Ménard's *Quixote*, see Cascardi, "Remembering," 291-293. For Ménard and the history of texts, see Jean-Marie Schaeffer, *Qu'est-ce qu'un genre littéraire?* (Paris: du Seuil, 1989), 131-154.

5 For a similar conclusion on the text as literary product drawing from a reading of Borges, see Schaeffer, *Qu'est-ce qu'un genre littéraire?*

6 Borges, "Pierre Ménard," 23.

7 Cascardi, "Remembering," 289.

8 Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Les Assassins de la mémoire: "un Eichmann de papier" et autres essais sur le révisionnisme* (Paris: La Découverte, 1987); Pierre Weill, "L'anniversaire impossible," *Le Nouvel Observateur* 1579, 9-15 February 1995, 51. The divergences between Vidal-Naquet's stance and mine are mostly—but not only—terminological. He calls "memory" a living relation to the past, in part because he believes in a scientific history based implicitly on a nineteenth-century model of science. I explicitly reject that model both for the natural sciences and for the systematic historical investigations performed by professionals. For the record, Weill's statement should not be dismissed as the individual complaint of a Jew maladjusted within France's social structure: he is the president of the powerful Sofres group.

9 Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

10 David McCullough, James McPherson, David Brian Davis are among the historians who addressed wide audiences on some of these controversies in public forums or in newspapers.

11 In France, leading members of the guild express themselves regularly in daily or weekly publications. François Furet or Emmanuel Leroy Ladurie are not penalized for writing in *Le Nouvel Observateur* or *Le Monde*. Some of the most famous names in German history fought the Historiker debate on the uniqueness of the Holocaust in the pages of daily and weekly newspapers. And the public debate itself was launched by philosopher-sociologist Jürgen Habermas.

12 Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

13 In the 1970s, some professional historians, notably Jean Chesneau and Paul Thompson, made a passionate case for academic historians to explicitly position themselves vis-à-vis their present. See Jean Chesneau, *Du passé faisons table rase* (Paris: Maspero, 1976); Paul Thompson, *The Voice of The Past: Oral History* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

14 See Tzvetan Todorov, *Les Morales de l'histoire* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1991), chaps. 7 and 8, on the ethical differences between scholars and intellectuals.

Index

.....

- actors: and narrators, 2, 22–24, 140, 146, 149, 150–151; perspective of, 47, 48, 59, 110–112, 113, 116, 118. *See also* historicity
- Adams, Henry, 98, 105, 128
- Afrocentrism, 36
- agents: defined, 23
- Alamo, 1–2, 9–11, 19, 20, 21, 151
- American Revolution, 38, 78, 88
- Appadurai, Arjun, 8, 52
- archival power, 27, 55–57, 99, 103, 105, 116
- archives, 45, 55, 103, 105; creation of, 26–27, 45, 48, 51–53; defined, 48, 52–53; uses of, 56, 58. *See also* archival power
- Ardouin, Beaubrun, 67–69, 105
- Auguste, Claude B., 67
- Auguste, Marcel B., 67
- Auschwitz, 12, 97, 147, 149
- authenticity, 145, 148–151
- banalization, 83, 96–97, 102–104. *See also* trivialization
- Belém, 108–110, 140
- Benveniste, Emile, 51
- Blackburn, Robin, 105
- Blanchelande, 91
- Blangilly, 92, 106
- bodies. *See* traces
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 38, 106
- Bonnet, Jean-Claude, 81
- Borges, Jorge Luis, 143–145
- Bossale/Bossales, 40, 67
- Boudet, Jean, 42
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 82
- Brazil, 17, 18, 23, 84, 109, 110, 122
- Brisot (de Varville), Jean-Pierre, 87, 90–91
- Brown, Jonathan, 35–36, 61
- Brunet, Jean-Baptiste, 42
- Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio, 125–127, 128, 132, 135
- Carpentier, Alejo, 32, 26
- Cascardi, A. J., 148
- Cervantes, Miguel de, 144, 148, 150
- Césaire, Aimé, 32, 36, 102
- Chichén Itzá, 141–142
- Christendom, 74, 76, 108, 110–112
- Christophe, Henry, 34 (*illustration*); as ally of Dessalines and Pétion, 39, 42, 44; character of, 35, 36, 38–39, 60, 62; death of, 60; his forts and palaces, 31–36, 97; historians' views of, 59–64; and Jean-