

**CREATING AND MARKETING NATIONS: VISIBILITY AND INVISIBILITY OF
RACE IN HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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The goal for the research in this dissertation is to shed light on race construction and its connection to national identity construction during the formative years of Haiti and the Dominican Republic following their independences. I argue that though these two 21st century nation brands are so different and their early formations a century apart, the similarities in their histories are striking. Through the analysis of documents related to the independence of each side of Hispaniola; efforts to recruit immigrants to bolster and develop their different population goals; and evidence of Western influence and reception of these nations during their early image developments, I illuminate the significant role that the strategic use of visibility and invisibility in the nation image developments had in the development of two vastly different nations and nation brands in the 21st century; and contribute to the ongoing research on race in Hispaniola. This research also presents some of the connections between past nation image constructions, modern nation brands, and the long-standing persistent racial tensions between Haiti and the Dominican Republic as an attempt to lay a foundation for understanding how racial tension between the two neighbors contributed to the state of strategic representation and brand formation in the 21st century as well as the immigration tension, racism, and violence that erupted in the wake of the 2015 deadline for repatriating immigrants in the Dominican Republic.

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INTRODUCTION

The Caribbean is a region that, for many, conjures up images of island paradises with white sand beaches, endless sunshine, tropical drinks, lively music, and exotic food. The region covers over a million square miles touched by the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean. The more than 40 million people who comprise the populations of the 25 island nations and territories in the Caribbean speak English, Spanish, French, Dutch, and Haitian Creole, in addition to a variety of patois. Each nation offers its own unique version of paradise, with different cultures and people. With few exceptions, every nation of the region benefits both from being part of the Caribbean and an individual island.

One exception is the island of Hispaniola. Haiti and the Dominican Republic share the island, which is in the northern part of the Caribbean, but appear to share little else. Sociologist Mimi Sheller notes that the Caribbean occupies a persistent space of paradise/hell and noble savages/cannibals:

The interplay of these two discourses in the consumption of the Caribbean creates a sense of excitement and danger, produced through moving closer and distancing, lounging and horror, touch and recoil. It is both the site of escapist tourism and the dangerous terrain of criminals, unstable governments, disease, and desperate boat people (p. 107, 2003)

Although Sheller is referring to the region and the dichotomies often existing within one destination, the description of the Caribbean could be talking explicitly about the two nations of Hispaniola. The western third of the island is Haiti, where people speak Haitian Creole and French. It is known for its poverty and need for perpetual aid and has the distinction of being home to the highest concentration of non-governmental organizations in the world. The eastern two-thirds of Hispaniola is the Spanish-speaking

Dominican Republic, the top-performing tourist destination in the Caribbean. It is in the difference in representations of these two nations, particularly in the context of destination marketing and tourism that the culmination of centuries of nation image construction differences is most evident.

The Walls around Hispaniola

A popular cruise port in the Caribbean is Labadee. An online search for the word Labadee¹ results in images of white sands, crystal clear blue ocean water, lush trees, zip lines, and even a roller coaster. The text results describe a private Caribbean paradise that boasts the 300-foot Dragon's Splash Waterslide and Arawak Aqua Park. The official web page for Labadee even includes a description of how to "Get a taste of local flavor," which includes shopping for handmade local art. This beautiful Caribbean paradise is a fenced-off, privately owned, largely manmade section of northern Haiti. Labadee, operated by Royal Caribbean International (RC), a cruise line, is inaccessible to locals not employed by RC. Guards, fences, and lush trees serve to keep locals away from this paradise and invisible to tourists. In fact, for many years cruise ship passengers were ushered onto RC's "private island" of Labadee without ever being informed that they were in Haiti (Wilkinson, 2006).

Labadee, is an exception for the nation because of its success with generating tourists and its all-inclusive model. Though Haiti has increased tourism over the past few years, the majority of the international visitors are not there for a vacation. It is the Dominican Republic side of the island that is known for its resorts and as a tourist

¹ Labadee is the name used by Royal Caribbean to describe the private resort. However the area is called La Badie locally and includes the resort and a fishing village. RC altered the name to make it more readable to English-speaking tourists.

destination. Also guarded by high walls and armed guards, the resorts of the Dominican Republic are almost exclusive to non-residents, with the exception to those that work on the properties in both official and unofficial capacities. For both sides, these resorts serve as major income-generating entities. Additionally, they have a function that is at the center of this research: These resorts are one of the tools used to highlight strategically constructed national identities and hide or make invisible the realities of these two Caribbean nations.

In this dissertation I examine the early official efforts toward national identity constructions in Haiti and the Dominican Republic and how these two vastly different identities were strategically built, in part, in contrast to one another, through race. In this research I begin to uncover some of the ties between the early role of race in national identity construction in the two nations, their 21st century national brands, and the tensions that exist between the two brands. This topic has relevance for the current climate in Hispaniola, where immigration and deportation have taken center stage, spawning human rights violations and image and public relations problems.

“Repatriating”

The tension between the two sides of Hispaniola has been racially charged since before each nation’s independence and, yet, because Haiti and the Dominican Republic share an island, there have always been mutually beneficial exchanges, particularly in the border towns where goods and labor cross regularly. Labor, in particular, is a point of tension in recent history, going and continuing to go in one direction, from Haiti to the Dominican Republic. Haitians looking for work can find it in the Dominican Republic, which then benefits from a cheap labor force.

Although the cultural exchanges that occur at the border are also a point of contention, it is labor exchange that was used to justify in 2010 radical amendments to the Dominican Republic's constitution, which changed the standards of who can be a citizen.

In 2003, cultural anthropologist Samuel Martinez wrote: “anti-Haitian propaganda puts forward the Haitian immigrant as a scapegoat for problems in the Dominican political economy while state-sponsored immigration from Haiti has created a mass of malleable non-union labor” (p. 83). Martin goes on to argue that the Haitian scapegoat strategy was used by Leonel Fernandez during the successful campaign for his first term as president of the Dominican Republic (1996-2000) in order to distract from shortcomings in his administration. It was in his second presidency (2004-2012) that Fernandez oversaw the 2010 constitutional amendments.

Prior to the 2010 changes in the constitution, anyone born on Dominican soil (with the exception of those born of diplomatic or “in transit” parents) had legal claim to citizenship. After the constitution was amended—under chapter five, section one, article 18 on nationality—those born to undocumented immigrants no longer automatically became citizens (Constitution of the Dominican Republic, 2010). In September 2013, the Central Electoral Board of the Dominican Republic Supreme Court took retroactive measures and ruled that individuals born in the Dominican Republic since 1929 of illegal/undocumented immigrants were not guaranteed citizenship in the Dominican Republic (Sentencia TC/0168/13, 2013). In 2010, the Dominican Republic had the largest foreign-born population, 4.2%, in the Caribbean, of which Haiti is the largest source (Ratha, Mohapatra, & Silwal, 2011). The new ruling disproportionately affected those of Haitian decent.

The Dominican Republic set and began enforcing a June 17, 2015 deadline for those who were suddenly foreigners under the new citizenship definitions to register as foreigners and apply to become naturalized Dominican citizens. According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the law affected over 200,000 people of Haitian decent living in the Dominican Republic (Dominican Republic urged, 2015). Those who did not become naturalized citizen by the deadline were “repatriated” or deported. The most recently available numbers from the Dirección General de Migración República Dominicana (Dominican Republic General Directorate of Migration or DGM) indicate that 15,754 Haitians (defined as those of Haitian decent without documentation of Dominican birth) were repatriated between August 14, 2015, when repatriation began, and January 10, 2016. Before the official enactment, 133,320 Haitians voluntarily left the Dominican Republic (Munoz, 2016). Immigration tensions continued to be a focus in the next administration. In February 2018, President Danilo Medina (2012-present) bolstered existing border control efforts by adding 900 soldiers, three helicopters, 50 off-road vehicles, and surveillance drones to secure the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. An English-language newspaper based in Santo Domingo, *Dominican Today*, quoted the president as saying that the added artillery was to, “counteract the pre-penetration of undocumented immigrants and protect security along the entire border line. ... We will coordinate all the institutions working at the border: Army brigades, Naval, Air Force squadrons, CESFRONT (Border Guard) and Immigration Directorate, so they may enforce Dominican law on the border” (Dominican Republic adds, 2018).

What led to the controversial Supreme Court decision and ultimately the deportations that began in 2015? Certainly the Dominican Republic and Haiti have had tumultuous pasts, including numerous battles between French and Spanish colonial powers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Haitian occupation/unification of the Dominican Republic from 1822 to 1844, and U.S. military occupations of Haiti from 1915 to 1934 and the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924. In addition to the complicated power struggles that have tied these two nations together, there is race—one of the major issues that has kept them apart. Despite early overlapping racial histories—due in part to the countries’ shared geographically determined role in the transatlantic slave trade—Haiti and the Dominican Republic are separated by later race-based constructions that are remnants of their different colonial pasts and formations as independent nations. These racial histories are important to consider. As cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall (1990) wrote: “cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised (sic) past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power” (p. 225).

Research on the subject of race in the Dominican Republic and Haiti and their relationship is not new. However, as Garcia-Peña (2015) points out, previous research has failed to delve into the historical context for the complexity of race in the Dominican Republic and its relationship to Haiti, only skimming the surface.

Dominican blackness is an embodied concept that is performed, and inscribed on the flesh of national subjects through social processes that are very much linked to the political and economic realities of the nation in its relationship to the history and persistence of colonial (Spain) and imperial (U.S.) impositions (p. 11)

Research has indicated a struggle within the Dominican Republic with protecting whiteness and justifying purity. Of this, Latin American studies scholar John P. Augelli (1980) writes, “despite a strong black presence, the long struggle against the Haitians to preserve national identity has made Dominicans fiercely Hispanic and non-African in cultural identification. The Dominican may be a mulatto or black racially, but he speaks Spanish, is baptized Roman Catholic and ‘thinks white’” (p. 21).

Sadly, these conceptions appear to have relevance not only for political conceptions of citizenship but also for violent xenophobia at an individual level. In the midst of enforcement of the new immigration laws, on February 10, 2015, a black Haitian man, Henry Claude Jean, known as Tulile, was lynched (Danto, 2015) in a public park in Santiago de los Caballeros, a city of more than 500,000 people in the northern part of the Dominican Republic. Amid speculation that the lynching was racially motivated, the national police stated that the man—found hanging with his limbs bound—was hanged because he was suspected of committing a robbery (Planas, 2015; Santana, 2015)². Lynching, however, has a significant history undeniably tied to race. It has been seen as serving to “exorcise blackness” (Harris, 1984). Historically, throughout all of the lands that were part of the Atlantic slave trade, lynching was used as a punishment almost exclusively for black men. Specifically, it was used for those accused of lewdness toward white women (Harris, 1984) and escape, which were actions perceived as an exercising of the misconception of equality on the part of the black man and a threat to the purity of whiteness.

² No media follow-up was found about anyone being charged with Tulile’s murder.

In an Agence France-Presse article published on June 26, 2015, after the reported lynching, President Medina was quoted as saying, "We're not going to accept false accusations of racism or xenophobia, which are baseless in a country that has been defined for centuries by the blending of cultures" (Agence France-Presse, 2015). However, the historical racial tie to the act of lynching in the context of current border unrest as well as centuries defined by blending, exclusion and, at times, violent eradication, point to race as an important factor in the discussion of the immigration issues between the Dominican Republic and Haiti following the 2010 Dominican constitution amendment and the 2013 Dominican Supreme Court ruling that changed the parameters of Dominican citizenship.

Invisible Similarities

Haiti and Haitians, or those of Haitian decent, are not only treated as undesirables in the context of Dominican immigration. Internationally, Haiti and its people are often associated with unwanted immigration, poverty, crises, and natural disaster. It has the distinction of being labeled the poorest country in the Western hemisphere. It is perpetually portrayed in Western media as a victim to be pitied (Balaji, 2011; Engler & Fenton, 2005; Potter, 2009). This Haiti is made completely invisible to most leisure tourists, as in the example of Labadee. Despite similar topographies, geographic locations, time spent as sovereign nations, and the presence of extreme poverty, Haiti and the Dominican Republic share little else by way of national identity (Jaramillo and Sancak, 2009). Haiti is often categorized as, and forced to remain, a "failed state" (Call, 2008; Zanotti, 2010), a title not typically bestowed upon the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic, which is not without extreme poverty, is nevertheless portrayed

with selective invisibility that supports a largely tourism-based economy focused on all-inclusive resorts, where tourists never see beyond walls that enclose brochure-inspiring vistas. In fact, the Dominican Republic has had some of the largest increases in tourism over the past few years of any Caribbean destination (Meyers, 2015).

The connections among how Haiti and the Dominican Republic are portrayed in the 21st century, as tourist destinations, the racially charged immigration issues, and the early inceptions of Haiti and the Dominican Republic lie within the creation of the early national identities for the two nations. The Dominican Republic and Haiti have distinct cultural differences but overlap in large part due to their geography. It is entirely due to the geography that the assertion of difference is so critical, because a shared border is like a sieve, allowing for flow of bodies, culture, and language. There are also economic consequences to muddled identities and brands in the current tourism climate, particularly for the Dominican Republic, which benefits from being strategically and distinctly different from the poorest nation in the western hemisphere, with which it shares a relatively small island. It is during the early histories of the Dominican Republic and Haiti that two vastly different national identities were constructed through strategic efforts on the parts of the nations' governments. The contrasting racial identities that were part of the national identities being constructed were vital and designed as part of communication strategies to distinguish the neighboring nations from each other on the global stage.

In this dissertation I examine how the contrasting views of race in the early constructions of identity in Haiti and the Dominican Republic have contributed to the use of visibility/invisibility in how those nations are marketed today. I use key materials from

the early promotional efforts, as well as current marketing materials, to demonstrate the connection between early identity efforts and current nation brands. I address the following research questions:

RQ1: What messages were shared with the global audience by the governments of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in their early efforts to publicize the two nations in both crafted messages and actions such as recruitment of specific populations? To address this question, I analyze the promotional materials created by the Haitian and Dominican governments following the countries' independences and key correspondence about national independence and population recruitment to tease out intended readings of those messages as well as readings unforeseen by the message generators.

RQ2: What Western influences were present in those messages? To answer this question, I address the historical context of the early efforts to publicize the nations and how those contexts shaped messages and strategies of the Dominican and Haitian governments. It is important to specifically look at Western influences (mainly those of the U.S. in the context of Haiti and the Dominican Republic) because it is the West that creates a value system through which the rest of the world is measured. A foundation of postcolonial critique, the West is a legacy of colonialism that found its roots in Edward Said's idea of Orientalism (1994), which viewed the West as Christian/civilized in contrast to the East/uncivilized/orient. The idea of the West employed here marks the distinction between civilized in contrast to and uncivilized population or Other, regardless of geographic location. As Hall (1992) stated, "By 'western' we mean ... a society that is developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular, and modern.

Nowadays, any society which shares these characteristics, wherever it exists on a geographical map, can be said to belong to ‘the West.’ The meaning of this term is therefore virtually identical to that of the word ‘modern.’” (p. 277). The investigation of this question will also inform the discussion of the brands of Haiti and Dominican Republic nearly two decades into the 21st century and what is made visible/invisible within the context of commodification and consumption through tourism.

RQ3: How were Haiti and the Dominican Republic perceived by the West, and how were the promotional efforts received during their nation image formations? To address these questions, I analyze media coverage, to assess the success of the messages Haiti and the Dominican Republic, by seeing if they are present in the coverage of the two nations.

RQ4: What are the messages being put forth in tourism and marketing efforts for these two countries in the 21st century? To address this question, I analyze currently distributed marketing materials to tease out what messages are being shared about the nation brands today and what connections there are, if any, between the current brands and the early national identities created at the nations’ inceptions. The marketing materials to be analyzed include the official marketing materials created by the nations and presented on their official tourism websites.

RQ5: What are the connections between the past and present? In addressing the previous questions about national messaging and the receptions of those messages, conclusions can be drawn about the connections between the past and present in terms of national representation and branding for both nations. To address this question, I examine the trials, errors and successes of the historical promotional efforts of Haiti and the

Dominican Republic, in conjunction with adaptation to current economic climates and milieus, to determine how, and the extent to which, marketing efforts of today have been influenced by the past.

Neighboring Diasporas

In the analysis of the materials that were used during the early building and promotion efforts of Haiti and the Dominican Republic I draw on Hall's ideas about identity, specifically the complexities of identity construction in diasporas. Hall (1996) wrote:

The term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual. Representation is possible only because enunciation is always produced within codes which have a history, a position within the discursive formations of a particular space and time (p. 447)

In his essay, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," Hall (1990) asserts several points that will be employed in this research on the relationship between the Dominican Republic and Haiti, which are at once part of both the Caribbean and Latin America. The first of these is Hall's discussion of diaspora, which is relevant to the Caribbean existing as part of the "African Diaspora," an enforced dispersal and fragmentation of Africa.

The term "African Diaspora" is used by scholars as a unifying tool to discuss the result of the global dispersal of African people during the slave trade as well as other black migrations. The use of such a term refers to what Connor (1986) calls, "that segment of people that live outside of the homeland" (p. 16). "Homeland" itself is conceptual and relies on what political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson (1998) refers to as "roots" or an imagined *family* history (quotes and italics in original). In the six criteria that political scientist William Safran (1991) uses to define diaspora,

“homeland” is a specific original “center” from which people or their ancestors have been dispersed (p. 83). The remaining five criteria involve collective memory or myth of the homeland; partial alienation and rejection from the host society; homeland as the true and ideal home; collective obligation to the maintenance/restoration of homeland; and continued relation, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in a situation where communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship (p. 83).

These criteria for defining diaspora are of particular interest in any conversation about Haiti and the Dominican Republic—in particular the last criterion, which stresses the relationship with the homeland as a defining characteristic of ethno-communal consciousness and existence. By all accounts both nations have diasporic roots, but to different diasporas: Haiti as part of the African diaspora and the Dominican Republic as part of a European, specifically Spanish, Diaspora. These different diasporic associations are a result of what Hall (1990) refers to as *positioning*, “which makes meaning possible—as a natural and permanent, rather than an arbitrary and contingent ending—whereas I understand every such position as strategic and arbitrary, in the sense that there is no permanent equivalence between this particular sentence we close and its true meaning as such” (p. 238). Positioning is paramount to success in myriad contexts, including national identity construction.

“National identity construction” is a term borrowed from sociology that explains the creation or existence of a collective definition of self. More specifically, sociologist Karen A. Cerulo (1997) states that national identity is “an entity molded, refabricated, and mobilized in accord with reigning cultural scripts and centers of power” (p. 387). The

inherent malleability and contextual nature of national identity echoes Anderson's (2006) imagined communities, of which he states, "in fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (p. 6). The imagined nations that are the Dominican Republic and Haiti have been constructed over time both by their respective governments and through circumstance and strategic efforts, to establish a deliberate presence on the global stage.

The early efforts of the Haitian and Dominican Republic governments fall broadly within the prehistory of national branding of the late nineteenth century, where, as nation-branding scholar Melissa Aronczyk (2013) notes:

[w]orld fairs and international exhibitions drew massive crowds to witness the staging of national culture. Through artistic renderings, buildings, performances, and other material and symbolic representations, visitors could experience the nation at once as a bounded collection of unfamiliar goods and peoples and as one among many similar units in a system of international classification (p. 4)

Although the early national identity constructions of Haiti and the Dominican Republic fall mostly outside of the scope of present-day nation branding, the two nations' participation in activities that fall within the prehistory of nation branding provides a strong influence on brand construction today, when both nations exist in the tourism-dependent region of the Caribbean and are economically reliant on strong nation brands. "The brand is meant to represent the nation's distinct and unique value among diverse international publics: investors, tourists, migrants, workers, scholars ... anyone who might have cause to bring their economic, symbolic, or human capital to bear on one country instead of another, equally viable option" (Aronczyk, 2009, p. 292). Haiti and the

Dominican Republic are in the unique position of having to assert distinction not only from the region, as their regional peers must do, but also distinction from each other as neighbors on a shared island. Through the study of early national identity construction in this research I will investigate its connection with the branding campaigns of distinction today.

Positioning

Historically the Dominican Republic has positioned itself in line with what Hall (1990) referred to as *Presence Europeene*, one of the three connected presences (he acknowledges the exclusion of other presences in this metaphor) that create the triangle of Caribbean cultural identity. The remaining two are *Presence Africaine* and *Presence Americaine* (or New World). Such a positioning speaks to imperialism, which Said (1993) defines as “the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory” (p. 9). Imperialism by force, *i.e.* colonization, occupation etc. ... is mostly a phenomenon of the past. However, the impacts are evident through its remnant, cultural imperialism (Said, 1993, 1994; Salwen, 1991; Schiller, 1976), which is “a verifiable process of social influence by which a nation imposes on another country its set of beliefs, values, knowledge and behavioral norms, as well as its overall style of life” (Beltran, 1978, p. 52). Essentially, long after colonization and independence, nations pursue values defined by outside powers, typically those of the West.

By both these definitions, the Dominican Republic is a product of Spain, strongly influenced by *Presence Europeene* after colonization and later the cultural imperialism that is inspired by its juxtaposition with the United States and Haiti. Ginetta E. B. Candelario (2007), a leading scholar on the Dominican Republic and race, argues that

such positioning within the context of racial identity is a geopolitically framed project of U.S. imperialism that influenced Dominican nation-building projects through anti-Haitianist (*sic*) discourses and ideologies. In contrast, as the first independent black republic in the Western Hemisphere, Haiti positioned itself more strongly toward what Hall called *Presence Africaine*.

Positioning is more than choice of identification or listing toward one influence in a nation's history. It is part of one of many pieces that come together to make meaning of a national identity and image. Positioning is also not freestanding in that it relies on contrast; as Hall stated, "without relations of difference, no representation could occur" (p. 229). An assertion of difference becomes especially necessary in instances of possible mistaken identity and/or a muddying of identity.

Race

Race, ethnicity, and nationality are independently and dependently used as tools of difference and distinction, often negatively, to justify varied treatments of different people (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). All three of these terms and their complicated fluid definitions are germane to the discussion of the relationship between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, none more so than race. Hall asserted that race is a discursive construction (1994) and a floating signifier (1996). Race as a floating signifier relies on two understandings. First, race cannot be pinned down by genetics, biology, or any science (Drescher, 1992; Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Gates 2011; Wilson, 1996) but does have physical recognizable markers. Second, race as a discursive construction is, in fact, a determination of history (Hall, 1996). History as we know it, is unto itself subjective in that in its recording, it is changed. This gives those who tell history and in some cases

shape it, an enormous power over how race is constructed. Hall's assertion that race is a discursive construction rests on the power of perceived knowledge, which has been wielded to highlight difference among races or, more specifically, to create a superior/inferior binary between races.

The social construction of race is particularly poignant in regard to race and the Caribbean, in few places more so than in the Dominican Republic. Within the academic and popular realms, due to the impact of immigration on the United States and an apparent need for a racial hierarchy, the concepts of ethnicity, nationality, and race are at times used interchangeably (Gracia, 2005). This clouding of these distinctly different categories has led to still-current misrepresentations where, for example, "Haitian" is assumed to be the same as "black," "European" means "white," and so on. This confusion is also evincing to the difference in the understanding of race from country to country that researchers such as Hoetnick (1967) and Mintz (1974) have grappled with, particularly within the context of the Caribbean as the subject of Western research. Beyond research there are economic ramifications to the use of a black/white binary within a context of many hues. To a Western, or U.S. audience with a desire for a "safe" level of difference between normal (home) and exotic (travel), a country's color has strong implications. In the 1950s, a booming moment in Haiti's tourism history, it benefitted greatly from a safe/exotic balance: "Haiti symbolized the Africa of the West, without the long voyage, and maintained some semblance of U.S. influence" (Polyné, 2010, p. 155). It was only later, during the 1980s, when the danger of AIDS and civil unrest came into play that the balance fell out of Haiti's favor (Abbott, 1988; Farmer,

1990). Essentially, when Haiti's similarities to the "dark continent" overshadowed its semblance of U.S. influence, its tourism suffered.

Even though the regional complexities of race and difference in the Caribbean are remnants of colonialism, people from the region are met with far simpler racial categories, not only when tourists visit, but when Caribbean people migrate, especially to the United States. Immigrants coming to America are forced to fall in line in the American racial hierarchy and fit into predetermined American racial categories that reduce the complexities to little more than a black/white issue (Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Candelario, 2007; Waters, 1990), despite the possibility of different understandings or uses/treatment of race (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). Adding even further to the confusion among these categories is the inconsistent self-identifying and reporting of assimilated generations of immigrant descent in the United States (Waters, 1990). The Dominican Republic, like much of the Caribbean, uses a different system of race classification from the United States. The Dominican racial definitions uses "Haitian" as synonymous with "black" and does not use "black" to describe any Dominican, regardless of what Dubois (2004) referred to as "the grosser physical differences of color, hair, and bone."

This use of race in the context of the Dominican Republic and Haiti both challenges and embraces Hall's use of race and its reliance on physical difference. In a famous lecture, Hall stated:

What fixes the difference is the genetic code. These things you can see are signifiers of things you can't see, e.g. intelligence, morality, sexuality. You can read the body as a text. We inspect this text, the body. We are readers of race. We are readers of social difference. We invoke the body as if it were a transcendental signifier. (Jhally & Hall, 1996)

The challenge is that the Dominican spectrum of race does not, moreover cannot, rely simply on physical markers to define race because of the color spectrum within it. Specifically, the “darker” end of the spectrum is physically indistinguishable from the “darkness” associated with Haiti. It is important to mark here the limitations of translation. *Raza* in Spanish very loosely translates to “race” in English, which is a powerful limitation to the word’s meaning in Latin America. As Caribbean and Latin American scholar April Mayes asserts, *raza* is more than race; its meaning closer to “ethnicity.” Mayes (2014) asserts that Dominicans are “a mulatto people – but as a *raza*, they were defined by their political and ideological whiteness” (p. 12).

In the Dominican parlance, however, Haitians are black and Dominicans are not. Instead, Dominicans are *indio*, *mestizo*, *mestizaje*, or 19 other identified categorizations (Guzmán, 1974), historical terms used to explain away Dominican dark skin as something other than ancestral mixing of black/African and white/European people and instead as a mixing of natives (Taíno) who arguably were the victims of an almost complete genocide during colonization, but remain a romantic symbol, and white/Europeans (Moya Pons, 2010; Horn, 2014). It is important to note that there was some mixing of bloodlines between the Spanish and Taíno in the late 15th century shortly after Christopher Columbus arrived. In the early colonies, Spanish soldiers maintained relationships with Taíno women, and at times made formal requests to take their wives back to Spain with them, instead of bringing back slaves. These unions also resulted in offspring, which suggests that there was a creole community forming in Hispaniola as early as 1498 (Funagallo, 2015, p. 97). The Spanish monarchy sought to suppress the blurring lines between the natives and the Spanish, and in 1502 sent Nicolas de Ovando,

a Spanish soldier and one of Christopher Columbus's successors, to take over the governing of the island. Ovando was ultimately responsible for the conquering of the Taíno people with the ambush and mass murder of the Taíno chiefs and their people and the hanging of Anacaona, the Taíno queen in 1503 (de la Casas, 2014; Irving, 1892; Saunders, 2005). With the decimation of the Taíno people went the possibility of the mixing necessary to support the myth of the Dominican darkness without the contribution of mixing with African blood.

“Mulatto” is the general term left over from slavery, used to describe someone with mixed European and African heritage. Dominicans achieved a “legal whiteness” as a mixed or mulatto people, and with it the privileges of being white, unlike in the United States, where the “one drop rule” has historically resulted in those with any African heritage being viewed as black and “precludes the privilege of whiteness” (Wheeler, 2015, p. 35). In the Dominican Republic being mixed was inherent with being Dominican, which ultimately became its own race unto itself. Of this Derby (2003) writes, “[I]n 1871 Dominicans were able to persuade U.S. senators against their own racial common sense that in the Dominican race mixture, as opposed to elsewhere, white blood predominated over black” (p. 8). This meaning of Dominican race was echoed through media accounts of the relationship between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, as evinced by an article in *The New York Times* cited by Waggoner (1950):

The hostility between Haiti and the Dominican Republic is deep and intense. Its basis is both racial and geographic. Haiti is French in culture and Negro in race, and stands proudly as the only Negro government in this part of the world. Squeezed up against Haiti on the same little island is the Dominican Republic, whose culture is Spanish and whose color is largely white to mulatto” (p. 135)

Mayes (2014) argues that in the interest of justifying interventions in Latin America U.S. political elites stressed racial hierarchies and as early as the 1850s, debates about Dominicans' race influenced U.S. interactions with the country. At that time, articles that advocated for the annexation of the Dominican Republic, represented Dominicans as a white nation on the verge of annihilation by Haiti" (p. 19). Even in the 21st century, U.S. statistics on the Dominican Republic state that the population is 73% mixed, 16% white, and 11% black (Central Intelligence Agency, 1, n.d.).

It is important to mark here the changes that have occurred in regard to Dominican race and the United States. Despite the historical acceptance of a "Dominican race" and *positioning*, recent history has shown that Dominicans are often categorized within the Western black/white binary when they come to the United States. As Hall (1990) stated, "*Vis-à-vis* the developed West, we are very much the same. We belong to the marginal, the underdeveloped, the periphery, the Other. We are the outer edge, the rim of the metropolitan world-always South to someone else's El Norte" (p. 227). Here "We" are those of the diverse colors of the Caribbean, not that which is constructed and theoretical but that which is visible.

The use of "mulatto" and like terms to denote a separate race is successful in semantically hiding darkness that may exist visually. There is an implication with all of these terms that mixing with Europeans in the Dominican Republic results in a darker white that is still not black. This acts to deny the existence of, or make invisible, the dark Dominican Republic, that which can be and has been confused with Haitian and "black." Yet so indistinguishable are the physical differences between Haitians and Dominicans

that during the attempted genocide of Haitians in 1937³ along northern borders, the Dominican army had to resort to non-visual means for distinguishing Haitians from Dominicans in the border towns. Under the orders of Gen. Rafael Trujillo, Dominican soldiers had suspected Haitians say words with the letter “r,” under the assumption that Haitians were unable to pronounce the Spanish “r” (Turtis, 2002).

Such a litmus test for “Haitianess” exemplifies Hall’s (1996) point that race is a signifier of things we cannot see, such as intelligence. Other scholars have marked that the assumption of inferiority as it relates to race prescribes levels of success. Bashi and McDaniel (1997) state that “racial classification has implications for a person’s life chances because racial stratification is a social hierarchy” (p. 669) and has been used as a determinant of fate (Van Ginneken, 1998) or a racial destiny. Wright (2015) notes that as racial identity evolved in the Dominican Republic in the nineteenth century, “Dominican intellectuals increasingly identified blackness as an impediment to development” (p. 22) and twentieth century events “further solidified the identification of blackness with disorder and brutality” (p. 27).

The idea of a racial destiny is reliant on a racial hierarchy based on assumptions of a natural order and the superiority of the white race (Mitchell, 2004). This idea affects race relations in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and throughout the Caribbean (Gates, 2011). Haiti, like the Dominican Republic and the rest of the Caribbean, has suffered from racial tension within its borders, including class distinctions; disputes between blacks and mulattos, groups whose existence remains a remnant of colonialism; and a

³ On October 8, 1937, Dominican Gen. Rafael Trujillo ordered his army to kill Haitians living on the Dominican side of the Massacre River that serves as the northern border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The massacre resulted in the deaths of 15,000 ethnic Haitians, many of whom were born in the Dominican Republic and thus were actually Dominican citizens.

complex classification system of race and color that originated in the late eighteenth century. In 1797, Médéric Louis Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry, a French colonist born in Martinique, created a classification system of the varying mixtures present in Haiti. The intentions were to demonstrate the inferiority of the black race and the degradation of the white race that occurs with racial mixing (Garrigus, 2006). This early schema of race, which was based on the idea that people have 128 points of inheritance, changed over time but still influences some of the categorizations of race used in Haiti in the 21st century, placing a higher value on lighter skin (Miller, et al., 2010). However, though colorism is an issue Haiti, race is far less so. Haiti still identifies as a black republic and is seen as such internationally. U.S. statistics on Haiti state that 95% of the population is black (Central Intelligence Agency, 2, n.d.). The existence of such an early racial classification system in Haiti, the system used in the Dominican Republic, and their residual effects are evidence of the significance placed on race/color during and after colonialism. Importantly, while there is strong evidence of the reinforcement of racial hierarchies as a result of U.S. influence, they did not begin with U.S. intervention.

Difference and Racism

Racism in Hispaniola had economic origins and was built on the existence of differences, both real and imagined. However, racism between all races stems from the same root: the belief in and emphasis on difference, whether defined by physicality, perceived cognitive capacity, or perceived civility or barbarism—all for the advancement of one group over another. Differences between blacks and whites have been defined by difference in physical appearance and supposed limited and inferior cognitive ability. Rodney (1974) writes, “[t]he racist theory that the black man was inferior led to the

conclusion that he deserved lower wages; and interestingly enough, the light-skinned Arab and Berber populations of North Africa were treated as “blacks” by the white racist French” (p 150).

These believed inferiorities of blacks and other subjugated groups rested on an idea of the existence of a “natural slave” (Blackburn, 2010; Wilson, 1996). Blackburn writes that “Aristotle had developed a doctrine of ‘natural slavery’ which wrapped together class-like and ethnic features. The “natural slave,” according to Aristotle, was a barbarian whose inclination was to defer and was distinguished by brawn, not brain; the ‘natural slaves’ needed the direction of those who were gifted with independence of character as well as intelligence and civilization” (p. 35). Wilson (1996) asserts that while Aristotle justified slavery, “[he] did not see slaves as less intelligent, less virtuous, or less human than others” (p. 39). However, whether intentional or not, Aristotle’s writing of a “natural slave” was an idea that had longevity. Specifically, it worked to encourage the dehumanization and ultimate beastilization of non-white races and, for the purposes of this discussion, to dehumanize blacks in particular. Beastilization is the taking away of “humanness” from slaves removing not only the possibility of intelligence and civility but going further by demoting them to animals. Davis (1997) writes, “[w]hile historians and other scholars frequently speak of dehumanization, they have seldom grasped the significance of the ultimate weapon for excluding humans from empathy, equal fellowship, and the Golden Rule: beastilization, which, significantly was closely associated with human enslavement from the time of the earlier civilizations” (p.12).

The African slave trade relied on a dehumanized understanding of the Other in order to use him as a tool rather than as a person. Césaire (1972) writes:

[n]o human contact, but relations of domination and submission which turn the colonizing man into a classroom monitor, an army sergeant, a prison guard, a slave driver, and the indigenous man into an instrument of production. My turn to state an equation: colonization = ‘thingification.’” (p. 42)

The continued mistreatment of Haitians based primarily on the fact that they are Haitian speaks to the colonial mentality that remains in the Dominican Republic. Identifying with (as) the colonizer (Spanish) allows for separation and othering.

It is important to mark here that the Atlantic slave trade is known as the forced labor of African (black) slaves working under white colonizers and falls within Fanon’s (1963, 2008) framework where slavery exists within an “I/Other” binary, which does not fit with the idea of forced labor within the context of the Dominican Republic and Haiti. It does not fit within this context because it implies both a homogenous I and homogenous Other. More fitting for the relationship between Haiti and the Dominican is that one of the uses of Other is to define the “I” by exemplifying what “I” is not (Said, 1978). Heron (2007), using the language of We/Them as opposed to I/Other, echoes similar sentiments in her work on the helping imperative, arguing that “We” creates a definition of self in relation and contrast to “Them.”

Beastilization—animalizing, dehumanizing, or depriving of human qualities (Merriam Webster, 2016)—and Othering, served as justification of the colonizing of the new world, for not only was there a “need” for European market expansion, but also there were peoples supposedly in “need” of European intervention. Contradictory to the second point, beastilization also justified the use of the Other, who—despite efforts of the Europeans—was incapable of reaching an equal level of civility and development. The Other was simply the brawn needed for expansion or, as Césaire (1972) states, an instrument of production.

The conception of the natural slave and his or her use as an instrument of production is evident in current relations between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. The Dominican Republic in the early 21st century is heavily reliant on migrant workers from Haiti and has been since late in the nineteenth century. The economic gap between the migrant Haitians in the Dominican Republic, most of whom lived in poverty, and the relatively well-off Dominicans “provoked feelings of racial superiority among the Dominicans” (Baud, 2005, p. 131). According to available data, there are anywhere from just below 250,000 to as many as 510,000 Haitian migrant workers in the Dominican Republic. The disparity in numbers reported can be attributed to both workers’ resistance to participating in surveys for fear of deportation or other immigration-related ramifications and the transient nature of the work (ICF International, 2012).

Regardless of whether the larger or smaller number is accurate, the numbers are significant and speak to both the need for work for Haitians and the need for workers in the Dominican Republic. The phenomenon’s resemblance to slavery is in the use and treatment of these workers. A report issued by ICF International, a business management consulting firm, identified agriculture and construction as the largest and second-largest Dominican industries dependent on Haitian labor. The report, which focused on work in construction, found that there are strong implications of forced labor (ICF International, 2012). The attractiveness of Haitian migrant workers is their willingness to work under less than optimal conditions in silence for fear of deportation. Such conditions include low wages; hazardous working conditions; mandated overtime; and connections among employment, room, and board that lend themselves to a paternalistic relationship with employers, and in some instances, sub-human treatment of Haitian workers.

Slavery and Race in the Dominican Republic and Haiti

Haiti and the Dominican Republic—like the rest of the Caribbean, Latin America, and the United States—were once colonies that relied on slavery and shifting slave populations that quickly outnumbered colonists. The latter fact is germane to the discussion and construction of race in these two nations. Columbus' first voyage to the Americas in 1492 landed on what we know today as Hispaniola, more specifically on the western coast, which we now call Haiti. The Spanish interest in the western part of the island quickly gave way to the potential for gold on the eastern coast, now the Dominican Republic. In the late seventeenth century, the French arrived on the western coast, marking the beginning of two vastly different paths for the neighboring countries. On Columbus' arrival, both sides of the island were populated by indigenous people who were captured, enslaved, and ultimately all but eliminated by the sixteenth century, in a fate similar to that of many indigenous people in the colonial times (Dubois, 2012; Moya Pons, 2010; Plant, 1987). African slaves were brought in by both the Spanish and French to replace the lost native workforce in the fields on the lush lands of Hispaniola. Sugar plantations sprang up on both sides of the island. Those on the Dominican side proved too costly and lost their economic hold to livestock. On the Haitian side, sugar production sustained a booming economy and led to a profitable entrance into independence.

The Dominican Republic transitioned its livelihood almost entirely from sugar plantations to cattle ranching by the mid-eighteenth century. The ranches were still home to slaves, but the dynamics between master and slave were vastly different on the ranches than on the plantations on either side of Hispaniola. More so on the ranches than on the plantations, white masters mixed with black slaves, producing offspring (Plant, 1987)

who became part of the “rainbow-hued spectrum of Caribbean peoples and cultures” (Mintz, 1974, p. 47). This contributed to the mulatto race of the Dominican Republic and muddled I/Other binary between master and slave, black and white, Dominican and Haitian.

In 1697 France gained power over the western third of the island from Spain through the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick. Sugar remained a pillar of economic success in Haiti, and by the 1780s Haiti provided 40% of sugar imports for Britain and France and 60% of the world’s coffee (Dubois, 2012). Haiti, then known as Saint Domingue, “annually produced more exportable wealth than all of continental North America” (Library of Congress Country Profile, 2006, p. 2) and was the “jewel of the Caribbean.” Success was forged through the use of slave labor and far more established lines between slave and master than existed on the eastern side of the island, although Haiti was not without a mulatto class and racial lines that were muddled, albeit less so than in the Dominican Republic.

In 1804 Haiti, with independence from France, became the first free black republic in the western hemisphere. It was a bloody and violent victory with many casualties. In the fight for freedom, tens of thousands of people, black and white, lost their lives. It was this historic victory and standing as a free black nation that attracted media attention that began to impact the development of Haiti. News of the revolution quickly traveled to colonial powers and the United States, but the triumph of freedom was soon marred by the cost. As Haiti struggled to manage its new status internally, other nations struggled with how to deal with the newly independent nation. In 1806 Thomas Jefferson enacted an embargo prohibiting U.S. trade with Haiti and crippled the young

nation's economy. The embargo has been argued to be the result of the president's fear that the Haitian revolution could inspire American slaves to rebel (Mathewson, 1995).

In 1810, trade between Haiti and the U.S. resumed. In fact, Haiti eventually provided a third of the coffee consumed in the U.S. and was among its top 10 trading partners (Osborne, 1912). France, the colonial power violently ousted, refused to acknowledge Haiti as a sovereign state. The U.S., while continuing trade with Haiti, also refused to acknowledge Haiti as a nation. The problem, Haiti historian Laurent Dubois (2012) has written "was that its leaders were black, and the history of how they had come to power offered a potentially inflammatory example" (p. 139).

However, despite years of internal turmoil and what amounted to a global shunning, Haiti persevered. The fertile land that made it so attractive during slavery remained a source of food locally and a source of exports, including coffee, sugar, and mangoes. In the nineteenth century, Haiti could tout what no other nation in the western hemisphere could: It was a self-sustaining, independent nation run by blacks. This distinction made it attractive to the U.S. not only as a partner for the trade of goods but also for the movement of people. Under the leadership of President of Haiti (1807-1811) and later King of Haiti (1811-1820) Henri Christophe and his successor, President Jean Pierre Boyer (1818-1843), Haiti was more than willing to welcome blacks from the United States. In fact, Haiti actively pursued them.

During his presidency, Boyer set his sights on the Dominican Republic and successfully orchestrated a 22-year occupation of the eastern part of Hispaniola that began in 1822. Some argue that it was, in fact, a unification of the island and was one of the most progressive times in Dominican history, particularly in terms of new laws

calling for racial equality that provided rights previously withheld from the black populations of the Dominican Republic. These changes, although met with some opposition, ultimately remained law after the Dominican Republic gained its independence (Santiago, 2005). However, even if there were positive results from occupation/unification, there were some harsh realities. During this time Boyer forced Dominicans into labor to supplement the reluctant labor force⁴ in Haiti and to profit from the newly acquired land (Castor & Garafola, 1974). It is important to note that Boyer himself was a mulatto but was described as “darker than most mulattoes” (Baur, 1947, p. 311). Haiti’s occupation was met with mixed reaction from the people of the Dominican Republic, who had just gained independence from Spain in 1821. It is this time that actually birthed the independent nation of the Dominican Republic and bred more hostility between the two nations. Dominican independence is not celebrated to mark the cutting of ties with Spain but freedom from Haitian occupation, on February 27, 1844.

After both nations were officially independent they were faced with U.S. military occupation. The U.S. Marine Corps occupied Haiti from 1915 to 1934 and the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924. The two nations had vastly different experiences and reactions to the overlapping occupations. An anti-Yankee response to occupations was not uncommon in Latin America and often led to feelings of inferiority. However, some benefitted from and supported occupations. However, such occupations also led to some adoption of the American culture. One example is the Dominican Republic’s embrace of America’s pastime, baseball (Baud, 2005). Beyond the adoption of the sport as a leisure

⁴ Despite being free from French rule, former slaves were still expected to do the same work on the country’s plantations and remained in a lower status in society after Haiti won its independence in 1804. However, the freed slaves did not want to return to work on plantations or within any system that resembled slavery (Dubois, 2005, 2012).

pastime, baseball has been and remains one of the few portals of economic mobility for Dominican men (Klein, 1999). According to a report from National Public Radio (NPR), 83 of the 800-plus players in Major League Baseball (MLB) were born in the Dominican Republic (Lagesse, 2016).

In contrast, Haiti's relationship with baseball is not one of participation but one of production. In 1969, then-Haiti President Francois Duvalier presented Haiti as a reservoir of cheap man power with a conveniently close proximity to the United States. Haiti offered generous tax cuts, franchise granting tariff exemption and no unions (Farmer, 1988). These attractive accommodations enticed, among other companies, Rawlings, to move production to Haiti in the early 1970s. Rawlings is the exclusive producer of balls used in MLB. It was only due to a 1991 embargo by the United States and the Organization of American States, in response to the coup d'état against Jean Bertrand Aristide⁵ (Jaramillo & Sancack, 2009), that Haiti lost its hold on the production of baseballs (among other goods) and its last moment to date of national financial growth. As of 2016, Rawlings has not returned to producing its baseballs in Haiti, despite some international outcry for the return of the production after the 2010 earthquake.⁶ It produces all of its baseballs in Costa Rica (Sandomir, 2010).

Scope of the Research

The similar beginnings that Haiti and the Dominican Republic share diverged and resulted in vastly different nations with vastly different relationships with the West. I

⁵ In 1991, Jean Bertrand Aristide became Haiti's first democratically elected president until a military coup that same year. He was later reinstated as president U.S. support) from 1994-1996 and 2001-2004. In 2004 another military coup cost him the presidency and forced him into exile (Dupoy, 2007).

⁶ On January, 12, 2010, Haiti was devastated by a 7.0 magnitude earthquake that killed over 160, 000 people and displaced 1.5 million people (Laurent, 2015).

argue that these different paths were strategic moves from the Haitian and Dominican governments and different receptions from the West, which possessed its own racial ideologies and different intended uses for each side of Hispaniola.

This research focused on documents produced by the governments of Haiti and the Dominican Republic that were part of decades-long promotional campaigns. These documents are evidence of two national identities being strategically designed and constructed to represent vastly different definitions of progress and modernity, using race as a tool that ultimately led to today's nation brands. To research the construction of the Haitian and Dominican identities and brands, I examine and analyze key texts from vital eras in the development of the national identities and marketing for Haiti and the Dominican Republic:

- Henri Christophe's *The Haytian papers: A collection of the very interesting proclamations and other official documents; together with some account of the rise, progress, and present state of the kingdom of Haiti*, published in 1816
- The Dominican Republic's publication from the 1939 World's Fair in New York
- A 1941 Dominican Republic commemorative stamp
- Correspondence connected to the development of The Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA)
- Jean-Pierre Boyer's correspondence related to U.S. black emigration to Haiti
- Media coverage of the two nations during the specific periods of the publicity efforts outlined in this study, including that found in *The New York Times* (1937-1944), *Freedom's Journal* (1827-1829), and *Coloured American* (1829-1842).

Through the first five texts listed above—which have been mentioned in other scholarly work, but have not, as far as I have been able to determine, been studied substantively or in context of one another—I take a look at pivotal national identity-shaping eras in the histories of Haiti and the Dominican Republic leading up to the 21st century. In both the selection and readings of the texts in this research I employed textual analysis which:

typically results in a strategic selection and presentation of analyzed text as the evidence for the overall argument. Textual analysis allows the researcher to discern latent meaning, but also implicit patterns, assumptions and omissions of a text. Text is understood in its broader, post structural, sense as any cultural practice or object that can be “read” (Fursich, 2009, p. 240)

Examinations of media coverage at the time of the historical texts demonstrates an international response to the identity-shaping eras of those nations serve as a litmus test as to the success of the publicity campaigns. Following the analysis of the historical texts, I analyze the 21st century tourism websites for both nations to demonstrate the lasting impacts the early nation identities have had on the current nation brands.

The dissertation is divided into six chapters. In chapter 1: Promoting the Color of Haiti, I examine the period just after Haitian independence in the early 1800s, an era defined by Henri Christophe’s efforts to shape and promote Haiti as a nation set apart by equality for all and successful black rule. This was a defining moment in Haiti’s history because it was marked by active and strategic messaging and promotion efforts on the heels of a newly independent nation. The examination of this era through the analysis of *The Haytian Papers* will yield insight not only in the official efforts put forth by the Haitian government but also the western influences that remained present as Haiti shaped and asserted its independence.

In chapter 2, *Trujillo's DR: Promoting the Color of the Land Columbus Loved Most*, I analyze texts from the Trujillo era (1930-1961). Although the Dominican Republic won independence almost a century earlier in 1844, this study will demonstrate that it couldn't really assert its independence, let alone shape the national identity on the global stage that was the precursor for the nation image of the 21st century until after the Spanish and the United States lost political control in 1924, just six years before Trujillo came to rule the nation and began an aggressive promotion effort to place the Dominican Republic in the best light on the global stage. Through analysis of texts from the Trujillo era, the research in this chapter illuminates some of the strategic promotional efforts employed during the era; and the western influences that were present. This chapter will address research questions one and two about the Dominican Republic's promotional messages and the presence of western influences in those messages.

In chapter 3: *Promoting Race and Recruiting in Haiti and the Dominican Republic*, I analyzed documents that provide evidence of the efforts to build what was being advertised from early 19th century in Haiti and mid-20th century Dominican Republic. In this chapter I look at correspondences between the Haitian government and the United States and the Dominican Republic government and the United States, in regard to enticing immigrants to further populate the nations and further the national identities that were being constructed.

The focus of chapter 4, *Receiving the Message: Perceptions of Nation*, is on the perceptions of Haiti and the Dominican Republic that were held by the Western world. Through the analysis of media response and travel writings during the times of early nation-promoting efforts, the chapter examines how the two nations' promotional efforts

were received by that audience, as reflected in *The New York Times* and two prominent African-American newspapers, *Freedom's Journal* and *Coloured American*.

Chapter 5, *The Dominican Republic and Haiti Brands in Modern Tourism*, analyzes the official tourism websites of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the early 21st century, as each nation continues to carve out a unique space in the competitive tourism-dependent region of the Caribbean. In this chapter I identify what has been maintained from early nation image construction efforts through the 21st century brands and where there have been divergences.

In chapter 6, I present conclusions and make the connections among past nation image constructions, modern nation brands, and the long-standing persistent racial tensions between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In this final chapter I lay a foundation for understanding how racial tension between the two neighbors contributed to the current state of strategic representation and brand formation as well as the immigration tension, racism, and violence that erupted in the wake of the 2015 deadline for repatriating immigrants in the Dominican Republic.

Connecting the past and the present

The specific eras that I focus on in this research, Haiti after its independence under Christophe and Boyer and the Dominican Republic during the Trujillo era, are what I argue are key moments in image nation construction for both nations that were foundations for 21st century nation brands. However, they are not the only points of history when national identity was a focus, particularly in the Dominican Republic. Ann Eller, (2016) scholar in Latin American and Caribbean history, wrote a pivotal work on the Dominican Republic that covered the period between the end of the Haiti

occupation/unification and the Trujillo era. In *We Dream Together*, Eller identifies this important understudied period as a geographic and chronological gray area where racial differences between the two sides of Hispaniola were far from black and white. Much of the racial identity that has played such an important role in the national image is a reflection of the minority elite ideas and identification in Santo Domingo, the capital. It is a third space of study that acknowledges the differences in nation and racial identity between elites and the greater populations; the cities, the countryside, and the border towns; and the exclusion of the majority in the presentation of the national image.

The disconnect between elites/nation image projection and the rest of the country or lived reality of the Dominican Republic came to light in more recent history during the 500th anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the Dominican Republic. Like the arrival of Columbus in the 15th century, the 1992 quincentenary was another example of Columbus displacing populations on Hispaniola. In preparation for the celebration, then-President Joaquín Balaguer focused on "slum clearing," which resulted in almost 200,000 people evicted from their homes without relocation or compensation (Greene, 2014). The centerpiece of the 1992 celebration was the Christopher Columbus lighthouse, which was originally commissioned by Trujillo in 1931 and completed for the 500th anniversary. Additionally, the staging of the celebration of Columbus shone light on the mixed feelings about Columbus and his "discovery" of the new world, a debate that continues to play out throughout Latin America and within the United States. As of 2017 four states and 57 cities in the United States have stopped celebrating Columbus Day and celebrate Indigenous Peoples Day in its place (Calfas, 2017).

In 1992, Dominican scholar Frank Moya Pons, a vocal critic, stated, “at this moment, there are many important people celebrating the history of the conquerors.” In response to such criticisms the official message from Dominican elites was, “all conquests have cruel aspects, but the Spanish didn’t just exploit, they stayed and intermarried and built something lasting,” said Salvador Tavares, spokesman for the Dominican Quincentennial Commission (Columbus celebration a clash, 1992). These two sides of the debate demonstrate the different roles Columbus and Spain are believed to have had in Dominican history. The elite narrative positions Columbus as a hero that created the Dominican Republic by connecting cultures. The opposing narrative acknowledges the downsides to Columbus’s arrival including the introduction of slavery and the decimation of the native people of Hispaniola. The latter of the two understandings of Columbus’s role is in opposition to the myths of the Dominican racial makeup which relies on the idea of the intermixing of between the Spanish and the native population they actually destroyed.

In this dissertation I focus on the minority elite messages because they were the loudest, if not only, messages heard on the global stage, specifically during the time of early nation construction in the Dominican Republic.

The goal for this dissertation research is to shed light on race construction and its connection to national identity construction during the formative years of Haiti and the Dominican Republic after their independences. I argue that though these two nation brands are so different, the similarities in their histories are striking. In this dissertation I illuminate the significant role that strategic use of visibility and invisibility in the nation image developments had in the development of these two vastly different nations and

nation brands we know today; and contribute to the ongoing research on race in Hispaniola.

This research will fill a hole by analyzing largely overlooked promotional materials from the early inceptions of the countries' national identities and demonstrating how they informed the nation's contemporary brands as tourist destinations. On a broader scale, the research presented in this dissertation focuses on materials that have not been studied together which offers a new contribution to discussions of the Caribbean, a region to which many Americans have ties. Races in the Caribbean are often classified differently than in the U.S. but are still influenced by the racial hierarchies in the U.S. and the West, which I argue have influenced their construction and place in Caribbean nation images. Furthermore, with race so woven into the fabric of Caribbean nation images, I demonstrate the connections between the impacts of historical events and how they are told and how those iterations of history can shape nation brand and perception decades and centuries later.

CHAPTER 1/PROMOTING THE COLOR OF HAITI

If you visit the town of Milot in northern Haiti and walk down the main road, you will end up at a gate of the Sans Souci Palace, one of three UNESCO World Heritage sites in the country. As you approach the modern-day wire gate and chain-link fencing that protects the grounds, you will be approached by vendors selling beaded jewelry, hats, paintings, and wooden sculptures. A horde of local guides will also be there to choose from, some with government-issued badges, offering tours in English, French, German, and Spanish. Choose any guide and you will hear a great story about President-then-King Henri Christophe, one of the founding fathers of Haiti. You will hear that Christophe, who was from Grenada, was elected president of Haiti in 1806, following the assassination of the nation's first president, Jacques Dessalines. You will learn that for most of Christophe's term, Haiti was divided, with Christophe controlling only the northern part of the island. The southern part of the nation was led by Alexandre Pétion, also president of Haiti⁷ (Dubois, 2005, 2012; Nicholls, 1974). You will learn how Christophe declared himself king of Haiti in 1811 and about his Sans Souci Palace, which bears a name that means "carefree" in French and Haitian Creole. Omitted from the tour, however, will be the story of Sans Souci, the man⁸ (Trouillot, 1997a).

⁷ Haiti's first leader as a free nation was Jean Jacques Dessalines, who served from 1804 to 1806, when he was assassinated. Henri Christophe was elected as Dessalines' successor as president of Haiti at the end of 1806. Alexandre Pétion, Christophe's rival, was elected as the head of legislature. In 1807, Christophe declared himself president for life, a decree that was met with great opposition, particularly from Pétion's followers. Christophe retreated to the northern part of the island, where he could exercise the most power and avoid the south's opposition, essentially leaving the south to elect Pétion as its president. This resulted in two Haitis, the State of Haiti in the north, later the Kingdom of Haiti, ruled by Henri Christophe, and Pétion's southern Republic of Haiti. The country would not be united again until Pétion's death, after which his successor, Jean-Pierre Boyer, set his sights on the north and unified the country after Christophe committed suicide in 1820 (Belegarde, 1941; Dubois, 2005, 2012).

⁸ Haitian scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot has noted that historians have puzzled over the fact that the man and the palace share a name yet does not provide a definitive clarification. However, he does offer the possible coincidence of the same name being shared by the man, the palace, and, at times, the town of Milot (which was sometimes called San Souci), as an example of the means and process of historical production.

Jean Baptiste Sans Souci was a slave, who briefly served as a colonial officer in the French army and later became a rebel commander during the Haitian Revolution, which took place from 1791 to 1804. As independence from France neared, Sans Souci initially refused to join, Touissant L'Ouverture⁹, the leader of the revolution, and his seconds in command, Christophe, and Jean Jacques Dessalines, all of whom he considered traitors. All three had served in the French forces and later became leaders in the revolution, however in 1802 they temporarily surrendered to the French before recommitting to the revolution and leading the charge to Haitian independence. Although he himself had once fought for the French, once he switched sides he stuck with his conviction. Christophe, and L'Ouverture had gone back and forth between their loyalty to freedom and loyalty to the French crown, which would continue even after Haiti's independence was won. Eventually willing to join their ranks, Sans Souci agreed to meet with Christophe but was attacked and killed by Christophe's soldiers (Trouillot, 1997a).

The omission of the story of Jean-Baptiste Sans Souci from the tours is not intentional but is, instead, a product of what Haitian scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1990, 1997a, 1997b) calls "silencing." Trouillot asserts that, "the production of history thus involves necessarily the production of silences, erasures, preferences, and exaggerations" (1990, p. 19). Throughout the walking tour of the grounds and the remains of the once-grand palace,¹⁰ part of the government-owned National History Park, you will likely hear an oral history that leaves out Christophe's shortcomings; demonstrates northern Haiti's preference for Christophe over Pétion, and in many ways

⁹ Touissant L'Ouverture was the leader of the revolution against the French, but died in 1803 in prison in France before the revolution was won and Haiti became an independent nation.

¹⁰ An 1842 earthquake severely damaged the palace, it was never restored and has only continued to deteriorate.

L'Ouverture; and exaggerates Christophe's role in Haiti's independence (Trouillot, 1997a, 1997b).

Before the tour of the palace and grounds is complete, your guide will offer an extension of the tour to another UNESCO site that is part of the National History Park, Citadel Laferrière, known also as La Citadelle Henri or simply "the Citadel." The journey can be completed by donkey, motorcycle, 4-wheeler, or on foot, depending on the day, the price you are willing to pay, and the time you are willing to commit. You will be passed on the way by large buses filled with Haitians from across the county, who are also visiting the Citadel. The buses will park in a lot midway to the fortress, and the Haitians in them will continue their tour on foot, drinks and packed lunches in hand. On the way up, you will pass houses, many with people outside ready to sell you a cool beverage, a snack, or trinkets. After a physically demanding trek—the Citadel sits 3,000 feet above sea level—you will arrive at the largest fortress in the Caribbean, built over 14 years, under Christophe's direction, through the labor of 20,000 slaves, to prevent a reinvasion by the French (ISPAN, 2010).

The magnitude of the fortress and the effort and lives used to create it are best felt on the breezy roof, from which you can see the scope of the national park and beyond. Throughout the grounds, hundreds of original cannons and cannon balls demonstrate the size of the cavalry ready to thwart any attack from the French, which never came to fruition. The impressive fortress—which, other than some guard rails, appears little changed from Christophe's day—was a symbol of strength and resistance that in some ways hid Christophe's insecurities. He feared a coup, and after suffering a stroke, committed suicide on October 8, 1820 (ISPAN, 2010). Haitian legend states that

Christophe killed himself with a silver bullet, which your guide may tell you is lodged in a door at the Citadel. Christophe's body remains entombed at the Citadel. Though his reign ended with fear, before his death, Christophe ruled with an intent to create a strong national image for newly independent Haiti on the global stage.

This effort is reflected in *The Haytian Papers: A Collection of the very interesting proclamation and other official documents, together with some account of the rise, progress, and present state of the kingdom of Haiti*. In this chapter, I use *The Haytian Papers*—first published in 1816—to address research questions one and two in regard to Haiti's early promotional efforts. I argue that the Haitian government marketed a national identity—one distinct in its representation of strength in the black race and equality among all races—that would have been attractive to black Americans in order to encourage immigration from the U.S. to Haiti. The nation was publicized as a place where black people held positions of power and that Haiti itself was ruled by a powerful black leader, the only place in the Western hemisphere where this was a possibility.

The organization of this chapter loosely follows the organization of the *Papers* themselves, because I believe that in addition to the process of the selection of the documents included in the collection, their order was also strategic. The organization of official documents included in the collection dictated the order of the analysis, the departure from that sequence occurs with the inclusion of analysis of the editor's notes and narratives which I wove into the analyses of the official documents. This chapter addresses research questions one and two that are concerned with what messages the nation was sharing with the global audience and what Western influence were present in those messages.

After introducing the papers and explaining the existence of the collection as a strategic tool for publicizing Haiti, I start to analyze Code Henri, which lays out Christophe's framework for the Haiti he was trying to build, and the similarities between that framework and that of the colonial times. In the "Creating a Haiti before creating the image" section, analysis of the documents that immediately follow Code Henri—Napoleon's proclamation and correspondence between Christophe and French Army generals—begins to tell the story of the Haitian image and image of himself that Christophe was trying to create through strategic use of emphasis and erasure, which is bolstered by Prince Saunders's narratives and reflections. This section also addresses questions of Western influence in that here we will see further examples of Western structure and colonial thought. In the "Creating an image of Haiti," "Christophe's Image," and "Redefining French connection" sections, I continue to offer examples of the messages about Haiti that Christophe and Saunders were trying to put forth and demonstrate western influence both through what was highlighted as similarities between Haiti and the West and the assertion of distinction from the West. The "Christophe's vision for Haiti" section showcases Christophe's plans for Haiti and demonstrates how much Western influence remained in Christophe's Haiti. In the "Nation pride and image under the weight of European standard and approval" I demonstrate the western influences in Saunders words with implications for his selections included in the *Haytian Papers*.

What are the *Haytian Papers*?

The *Haytian Papers* is a collection of translations of important documents and decrees made by Christophe, accompanied by commentary written by their compiler,

Prince Saunders, an African-American scholar and activist (1775-1839). Saunders, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, and was raised in the home a prominent white lawyer, George Oramel Hinkley. Saunders was afforded opportunities and education which, at the time, were largely reserved for whites only. Because of this, he was a land owner and a teacher by the time he turned 21. With Hinkley's support, Saunders ultimately gained favor from Dartmouth president John Wheelock, who recommended Saunders for a teaching position in Boston (White, 1975, p. 526). Saunders dedicated his early career to providing education as a means for mobility for black people in Connecticut and later Massachusetts at African schools before he became an advisor to Christophe as a result of the Haitian leader's relationship with a noted English abolitionist, Thomas Clarkson. In correspondence with Clarkson, Christophe stated intentions to make English one of the languages of the Haitian education system and culture. Clarkson suggested that bringing in free blacks from the United States would greatly help that and other plans come to fruition and that Saunders would be a good addition to such efforts (Dain, 2002; Griggs & Prator, 1952).

In his first year under Christophe's employ, Saunders published the *Haytian Papers*. However, he lost favor with Christophe on a trip to London, after posing as royal diplomat from Haiti. When ordered to return to Haiti, Saunders instead went to Boston, where he continued immigration recruitment to regain Christophe's favor and published a second edition of the papers (White, 1975). Though he never fully regained Christophe's trust, his most famous contribution to the early promotional campaigns for Haiti, *The Haytian Papers*, remains a valuable historical tool because it contains translations of

Christophe's declarations and correspondence between Christophe and French officials in which there is negotiation of the terms of Haiti's independence and French power.

There are two editions of *The Haytian Papers*, the first published in London in 1816 and the second published in 1818 in Boston. The 1816 edition of *The Haytian Papers* was reprinted in 2012 by ULAN Press. It is this version that I used in this research because it is a reproduction of the original that maintains the same format. *The Haytian Papers*, although republished and widely distributed during their initial publications, have not been the subject of substantive analysis by other scholars, let alone examination within the context of strategic national identity construction.

Timing and audiences

Nation image today is destination image and brand. It is carefully crafted through marketing, public relations, and crisis management. In tourism marketing, teams of people are hired to weave stories that highlight the strengths of a destination and its uniqueness, "in destination marketing successful branding efforts are designed to differentiate a destination from other competitive destinations and to develop for that destination a unique personality in the marketplace" (Henthorne, George, & Miller, 2016, p. 263). At times crafting and maintaining image and brand includes the need to make invisible that which could tarnish the constructed image. Destination marketing is much like history production and silencing in that it requires silences, erasures, preferences and exaggerations. In destination branding this is sometimes in response to natural disasters or the difference between the destination's reality and the presented paradise. Tropical countries are sold as an escape, "vacation is not reckoned to the time to consider new problems" (Britton, 1979, p. 320).

In the early nineteenth century, Saunders was charged with undertaking similar duties for Haiti, to create an inviting image of the young nation and attract visitors, in the form of immigrants. By selecting the texts included in *The Haytian Papers*, Saunders was developing an image of Haiti. During public speaking events in the United States and United Kingdom and with the written narratives, notes, and reflections that were interspersed in the *Papers*, Saunders created an image of Haiti that highlighted the strength of its population, formerly thought of as a weak, and hid some of the less pleasant aspects of the young nation, such as civil unrest. He created an especially flattering image of Christophe and described the nation of Haiti as nothing short of an island paradise, “which the sun delights to illuminate, abundantly pouring forth, with a complacent heat, all the benignity of his beneficent rays on the fields in which are to be found, in unparalleled plenty”(Saunders, 1816, p 57).

In the introduction to the *Papers*, Saunders wrote:

I am induced to the following translations of Haytian State Papers, in conjunction with some extracts from their ordinary Publications, before the British people generally, in order to give them some more correct information with respect to the enlightened systems of policy, the pacific spirit, the altogether domestic views, and liberal principals of the Government; and obviously evince the ameliorated and much improved condition of all classes of society in that new and truly interesting Empire (p. i)

The purpose of the collection is clear from the introduction. The documents were curated to persuade an audience to accept or at least consider the constructed image of the Haiti the collection represented, at a time when Haiti was not only *not* acknowledged by the global powers and former colonizers but was also consistently challenged and threatened with recolonization. In Christophe’s *Manifesto of the King*, included in the *Papers*, he

expressly states, “our first object has been to elevate the name and dignity of Hayti.” (p. 173).

The selection of these documents was strategic, as was the timing of the publication. In the *Manifesto*, Christophe stated, “now that we see the sovereign of Europe busied about the welfare of their subjects; that we deem it our duty to elevate our voice, to justify before the tribunal of nations, the legitimacy of our independence” (Saunders, 1816, p. 155). With much of Europe engulfed in change and unrest after the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars and the continent’s leaders coming together to restructure Europe,¹¹ Christophe saw an opportunity for Haiti to disseminate an independent national image while the Great Powers temporarily shifted focus from the colonies.

In the documents in the collection, Christophe is in conversation with France and with the people of Haiti, but it is evident throughout the documents that negotiations for France to recognize Haiti as an independent nation had failed. This is perhaps why Saunders tailored the first, and ultimately more relevant, edition of the *Papers* to a British audience.¹² The original British edition, compiled by Saunders to continue Christophe’s efforts to forge a relationship with the British government, highlighted a monarchial

¹¹ The Congress of Vienna of 1814-1815 was a meeting of European powers to decide on a peace plan and redistribution of power and land following the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars.

¹² It is important to note that Christophe had made several attempts to elevate the name and dignity of Haiti to a British audience prior to employing Saunders. With the constant threat of France trying to reclaim Haiti, Britain—a longtime enemy of France—would have been a strategic ally. In one of the early efforts to both bolster Haiti’s population and its relationship with Britain, Christophe offered citizenship to white British men if they married Haitian women, which showed some waning of his resolve for a proud black Haiti (Fanning, 2015). It is unclear how the women would be chosen or how much choice they would have in the matter, which raises questions about the value placed on women in the process of building an independent Haiti. Despite the proposition, which failed due to lack of significant number of men interested, it seems that the motivation was more about population increase and relationship building than altering the color of the nation.

Roman Catholic kingdom. For example, it included *Constitutional Law of the Council for the State Which Establishes Royalty in Hayti* (Saunders, 1816 p. 124), in which Christophe is declared King, his wife Queen, and his male children as heirs to the throne. The British government's interest in Haiti, focused on a desire to trade with the new nation, was complicated by its fear that Haiti could turn into an inspiration for revolutions among British colonies (Dain, 2002; Gaffield, 2015). Highlighting similarities between the governments, such as a shared monarchical structure, could have been an effort to calm those fears.

The intended audience of the second edition of *The Haytian Papers* was free blacks in the United States. The papers' 1818 publication was accompanied by a promotional tour of sorts where Saunders spoke to audiences of northern blacks in Baltimore, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, touting Haiti as an example of black success and as an ideal site for emigration for those who wanted to exercise freedom and equality (Alexander, 2013; Bethel, 1992; Fanning, 2015). Saunders was, among other things, an advocate for U.S. blacks emigrating to Africa and the Caribbean to contribute to and reap the benefits of black sovereignty (White, 1975). In *The Papers*, Saunders (1816) wrote, "The supreme Arbiter of the Universe had decreed in his immutable judgments, that the powerful and generous nation which was to stem in its course the torrent that was devastating Europe, and to rescue her from the brink of the precipice, was also to be the first to stretch its succouring (*sic*) and protecting hand to the oppressed people of Africa and America" (p. 216).

The US edition had less emphasis on a monarchical system, likely so that it would be more relatable to an American audience. The distinction between the two editions was

all but lost however, since, by the time the American edition was printed, the original edition had saturated the market in both Britain and the U.S. (Dain, 2002). Although the British edition of the *Papers* had made the U.S. edition less impactful, Saunders pushed the more U.S.-geared message during his speaking engagements throughout the United States.

In the collection, there are several instances where audiences are directly addressed. For example, “We appeal to all the Sovereigns of the world, to the brave and loyal British nation, which has been the first to proclaim, in its august senate, the abolition of the infamous traffic of Negroes” (p. 177) and “To the commercial powers inclined to connect themselves with us, we offer our friendship, the security of their property, and our royal protection to their peaceable subjects, who may land upon our shores with the intention of pursuing their commercial affairs, and conform with our laws and customs” (p.181). Individually, and in the original contexts, many of the documents included in the collection addressed governments of other independent nations. It is only as a collection that the included documents were used as a tool to appeal to individuals and targeted black populations for recruitment.

After Saunders’ introduction, the collection begins with “Code Henri: Laws Respecting the Culture (excerpted),” followed by an excerpt of the “Proclamation of the First Consul to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo” then correspondence between Christophe and the French government. The latter half of the *Papers* includes Christophe’s proclamations and a manifesto and concludes with plans for the future through the use of decrees that serve as more explicit invitations for immigration to the new nation.

Throughout the *Papers* are reflections and narratives from the collection's editor, which are included in the analysis.

Code Henri

Code Henri laid out Christophe's laws for the newly independent nation, but after years-long battles for independence from a centuries-long existence in slavery, the code left much to be desired. The rights of the people of Haiti in the code were a major departure from the laws of slavery, which afforded no rights to slaves. But they preserved an agrarian society indentured to its government and higher ranking members of its society.

Similarities to Slavery

The Code begins, "[t]he proprietors and farmers of land are bound to treat their respective labourers (*sic*) with true paternal solicitude; an obligation which it is greatly for their own interest to fulfil in its utmost extent" (Saunders, 1816, p. vii). In most economies reliant on agriculture, there will be land owners and land laborers, [but in a country just unshackled from a plantation system run by slave owners and toiled in by slaves, one would expect new laws to be less reminiscent of the former organization. The glaring familiarity between the former system and that laid out in the new laws must certainly have presented a challenge to Saunders, who was charged with publicizing Haiti as an attractive place for the emigration of free blacks from the United States.

The similarity between Code Henri and the laws of slavery is evident throughout, and the tone is set early in the text. Titre 4, pa 56 reads, "In lieu of wages, the labourers in plantations shall be allowed a full fourth of the gross product, free from all duties and expenses to the time of removal" (Saunders, 1816, p. vii). Any law in regard to

employment without pay, certainly for that time period and within the context of agriculture in a plantation setting, was at best indentured servitude, at worst dressed-up slavery. It is no coincidence that there was such a strong resemblance to slavery in Christophe's early efforts in ruling a newly independent state. It was an agrarian economy that had made Haiti successful during slavery, in terms of export and self-sustainability, and it was an economy that the country's infrastructure was built to support.

Class by Color

Issues of class and caste were also reflected in *The Haytian Papers*. Haiti was still a child of colonization and bore its mark. Race, skin color, and social hierarchy were prominent issues in Haitian society. Mulattoes were held in higher regard prior to the revolution and did not necessarily identify with, nor were accepted by, their darker peers. Those held in higher accord, such as high-ranking military positions, prior to the revolution—often mulattos—retained their higher status after independence was won, and gained land ownership. Potential for equality was won with independence, but the practice of equality was not yet in place. A hierarchical system that favored those with higher status under colonization was still the framework for Christophe's Haiti. Perhaps in anticipation of criticism of the new laws, Saunders acknowledged the hierarchical framework and attempted to qualify it by concluding this portion of the *Papers* with this statement:

I would here beg to observe, that while reading the foregoing laws, in order to have fair understanding of the grounds to which the military aspect of them is to be justly founded and approved, is that at the period when they were framed the whole population were soldiers; and all the most improved and intelligent men

were placed in the highest civil and military offices; in this state of things, a government bearing some degree of consonance to the condition, character, wants, and employment of the whole people, was absolutely necessary (p. xiv)

There are other relics of slavery in Code Henri however, that are difficult to ignore.

Although plantation residence was not entirely contingent on a laborer's immediate ability to work, housing was directly tied to the status of the laborer, as chapter II article XVII indicates: "The law punishes the lazy and vagabond, among whom are comprehended labourers of both sexes who shall quit the habitations in which they are domiciled, in order to reside in towns or other places where they are forbidden to settle" (Saunders, 1818, p. xi). Here is evidence of the hierarchical system in place and the rather low rung on the ladder that the laborer occupied.

Departures from Slavery

Despite the similarities to an old system, the code offered much to the people of Haiti that slavery did not. Work days were structured and included breaks; justice was delivered through a bureaucratic process instead of at the discretion of the land owner; and medical care and facilities, including midwifery and female nurses, were to be provided at the expense of the landlord or farmer. The laws provided a reliable homestead for the laborers that could not be taken away through the buying/selling/trading of the laborers nor could it be repossessed if the laborer was unable to work due to illness or infirmity. Also unlike in slavery, pregnant women were excused from field labor under Henri's code.

Strategic Omissions in Publicizing Christophe's Haiti

The excerpted code was strategically selected for inclusion in the *Haytian Papers* by Saunders to highlight the laws of the new country as outlined by its new King, but it

was not what was highlighted in what amounted to the accompanying publicity tour, as he traveled throughout the U.S. and U.K. to promote Haiti as the ideal destination for the emigration of free blacks.

Saunders' speeches featured many strategic omissions. He omitted and de-emphasized many of the points of contention in Christophe's reign and the state of Haiti in general, four of which are important in this dissertation: remnants of slavery, internal racial tension, the divide between northern and southern Haiti, and inevitable language barriers that would result from immigration. Perhaps these omissions were to make invisible the hardships in the nation and to perpetuate the image of a paradise that bore no similarities to that which the potential immigrants wanted to escape. Instead, while on his speaking tours, Saunders highlighted the aspects of Christophe's vision that were a greater departure from slavery, those that promoted upward mobility, and the fact that blacks were not inherently intellectually inferior to whites, which also may have been a particular point of interest for Saunders because of his background in education.

In publicizing Haiti to Americans, Saunders left out that there was a favored mulatto class in the southern Haiti and racial tension on the island, glossing over the civil war that separated Christophe's northern and Pétion's southern Haiti. In the published "Memoir presented to the American Council on Slave Abolition on December 11, 1818," Saunders said that the separation:

may at first appear somewhat discouraging to the beneficent views and labours (*sic*) of the friends of peace; but these I am inclined to think are by no means to be considered as insurmountable barriers against the benevolent exertions of those Christian philanthropists whose since and hearty desire is to reunite and pacify them (Saunders, 1818, p. 13)

In this statement, the implication is that through immigration, Haiti would reunite. Prudent to the understatement of the divide was the fact that Saunders was trying to get back in Christophe's good graces and employ, although on his tour he was for all intents and purposes representing *all* of Haiti, both the north and south. Christophe also downplayed the civil divide in an 1816 proclamation: "Sovereign of the nation, our paternal affection extends equally over all nations. From south to the north, from east to the west, all parts of the territory from the integrity of the kingdom; all its inhabitants have therefore equal claim to the benevolence of the King of Haiti; for we have already repeated, and will repeat again, that we do not consider ourselves as king over a portion of the territory, or of a part of the population, but of all the kingdom and of the whole people" (Saunders, 1816, p. 208). Christophe's self-proclaimed benevolence and Saunders' downplaying glossed over the significant difference between the northern and southern Haiti's laws. Code Henri's labor framework was far more evocative of slavery than the laws of the south under Pétion's rule. In contrast, Haitian historian and diplomat, Dantes Bellegarde (1953) described Pétion as the founder of rural democracy in Haiti because in 1814 Pétion passed laws that divided the large colonial plantations that defined Haiti before its independence, into small lots that were distributed as national gifts to individual lower officers and soldiers (p. 171).

The image of a united country that Saunders publicized extended beyond Haiti to the Spanish part of the island. In his mention of what was to be the Dominican Republic, he de-emphasized the value Spain put on the colony and emphasized the white emigration to Porto Rico (*sic*) "so that at present, there are but very few, if any, Europeans, or whites of any description, even in that section of the country" (Saunders,

1818, p. 10). This image of an implied, imminently unified island, hid important divides and differences that would have certainly impacted emigrating groups, not the least of which was language.

Saunders' promulgation of unity, through immigration, between the divided sides of Hispaniola and the United States, rested on a strong diasporic tie among what he referred to as people of the African race (Saunders, 1818, p. 12). It ignored the language barriers that were the result of differing colonial pasts of the United States and the French and Spanish sides of Hispaniola, as well as the diversity of African languages that mixed with French in Haiti to create Haitian Creole. In 1853, nineteenth-century English scholar John Rely Beard wrote, "a Haytian patois has been formed which can scarcely be understood by Frenchmen exclusively accustomed to their pure mother tongue" (1853, p. 14). To this day, Haitian Creole remains exclusive to Haiti. Saunders' addresses in the United States and the United Kingdom were in English, as were *The Haytian Papers* distributed in both nations. Saunders was fluent in French, which made possible his communications with Christophe and the subsequent translations of the documents of the *Papers*, but that did not address that there would be language barriers for those emigrating from the United States. Again through omission, Saunders hid some of the challenges that those who would migrate would face in Haiti, perpetuating a perfect paradise and erasing negatives from the story he was telling, or the image is presenting, much like the story of Christophe's Sans Souci palace.

Christophe's vision of an immigration influx, which Saunders was promoting, was in an environment where there were other efforts and campaigns for free blacks to leave the United States and "return" to Africa, a cause Saunders supported before he was

employed by Haiti. The United States, itself a young nation, was also in flux, as slaves and free blacks uncomfortably coexisted within its population. The transition from a society that benefitted from slavery to one that would exist without it was underway, but the complete abolition of slavery was a long way off, and the path was not clear. In the meantime, a growing population of free blacks caused tension in some sects of the white population, which openly opposed coexisting or integrating with this new class of people.

Although between some blacks and whites there was the common goal of moving free blacks out of the United States, there were clearly divergent motivations. In addition to the opposition to cordial coexistence of the two races, there were white political motivations that were more maliciously strategic. In *Confronting Black Jacobins*, Gerald Horne states, “the wider point was that despite their atrocious maltreatment, the Free Negroes could be positioned as a stalking horse in Hispaniola for Washington and ultimately destabilize Haitian rule. The Haitian leadership showed courage by brushing aside this consideration” (p. 138). Horne is suggesting that in addition to searching for a place to send free blacks, some sects of the white elite were actually searching for an inroad into taking over Haiti. This is a theme that would continue and become more prominent later when Jean Pierre Boyer became president of Haiti in 1820 and took on the immigration project.

Creating a Haiti before creating the image

Twenty-five years before the first publication of the *Haytian Papers*, in 1791, Haiti’s revolution began. Presumably in order to create context for the nation image that Christophe was constructing, Saunders included curated documents of the revolutionary era into the *Papers*, including selected documents that place Haiti and Christophe in a

preferential light and highlight a villainous side of France, which would go to great lengths to keep St. Domingue as its own.

On October 17, 1801, Napoleon presented a proclamation to the Consuls of the Republic, which included French Army General Charles LeClerc. Saunders incorporated the proclamation, *Napoleon's Proclamation of the First Consul to the inhabitants of St. Domingo*, in *The Haytian Papers*. It began:

Whatever be your origin or your colour (sic), you are all Frenchmen, *you are all free and all equal before God, and before the Republic* (italics in original). France, as well as St. Domingue, has been the prey of factions, dismembered by civil and by foreign wars; but all is changed. All nations have embraced the French, and sworn to them peace and amity. Frenchmen, too, have embraced one another, and have sworn unanimously to live as friends and brothers; come you, likewise, to throw yourselves into the arms of France, and rejoice to see once more your friends and brothers of Europe (Saunders, p. 1)

The inclusion of this document was to demonstrate the deceptive lengths to which the French were going in order to stop the revolution. That same year, in direct contradiction to the words of peace and brotherhood in the proclamation, Napoleon secretly sent General LeClerc, his brother-law, to kidnap L'Ouverture and end the revolution in 1802. LeClerc, did successfully capture L'Ouverture, which inspired Dessalines and Christophe to defect, albeit temporarily. He ultimately failed, however, because though L'Ouverture would die in prison in France, Dessalines and Christophe returned to the cause and Haiti's won its independence.

Following the extract in the *Papers* is correspondence between Christophe and General Charles LeClerc that took place during the final years of the Haitian revolution but *before* Napoleon's proclamation. It is unclear why the order of these document is not chronological, however, the juxtaposition of the letters could have been a tool to demonstrate the inconsistencies of the French while the revolution was happening, in

addition to the fact that throughout documents later in the *Papers*, and after the revolution was won and his reign began, Christophe makes several references to those deceptions.

The first letter reprinted in the *Papers* is a transparent effort at intimidation from LeClerc, in which he threatened Christophe with an invasion by 15,000 troops if he did not surrender Forts Picolet and Belair, two of the main forts that protected Cap François, which was the capital of department de Nord in Haiti. LeClerc referred to Christophe as a rebel for not welcoming the French army under his command. In this letter and the response from Christophe, there is a clear disagreement between the two in terms of whose orders Christophe was to adhere: France, represented by LeClerc, or Haiti, fighting for independence and represented by L'Ouverture. Christophe's response indicates the disconnect he believed existed between France and LeClerc: "It is your coming, and the hostile intensions you manifest, that alone could create them among a peaceable people, in perfect submission to France," (Saunders, 1816, p. 7). In the correspondence between LeClerc and Christophe there are several more instances where Christophe mentioned a disconnect between France and LeClerc. Christophe often referred to France as the motherland, maintaining that Haiti was very much French, and that LeClerc's presence in Haiti was in direct opposition to what Christophe referred to as a maternal promise made to Haiti, by France, of the abolition of slavery that was written into the 1793 French constitution.

Throughout the correspondences included in the *Papers*, Christophe makes references to the French motherland and its broken promise of freedom and equality for Haiti, arguing that the actions of those sent by France were in contradiction to official messages from France, a fact he also includes in the *Manifesto*. "They were, like

ourselves, cajoled by the proclamation of the First Consul, a masterpiece of perfidy, in which he told us ‘You are all equal and free before God and before the Republic’” (Saunders, 1816, p. 160). At the same time the instructions from General LeClerc were expressly in favor of slavery. Christophe’s disdain for LeClerc and Bonaparte is somewhat compartmentalized. In his critique of Haiti’s past with France he points blame at colonists and wards of France while seemingly saving France itself from his harshest words,

they induced Bonaparte to undertake the unjust expedition against Hayti....it was this faction that instigated the unheard of tortures we have experienced; tortures so frightful as could be devised by none but the colonists, hardened by the practice of every species of crime. It is the colonists that France owes the loss of numerous army, which met its fate in the plains and morasses of Hayti; it is to them that she owe the shame of an enterprise which has imprinted an indelible stain on the name of Frenchmen” (Saunders, p. 167)

The conversation that began with LeClerc was continued with other agents of France. General Jean Hardy, in particular, validated Christophe’s sentiments of a departure between France and its representatives in Haiti. Hardy wrote, “that you have been the victim of the treacherous insinuations of an infinity of being who, during the course of the revolution in France, have set all parties on fire together; have excited every discord; and who, after having brought themselves their own expulsion, have taken refuge in this colony, where they have distorted every fact and circumstance, disseminated the most atrocious falsehoods and calumnies, and sought, in fresh troubles, an existence that they could no longer find in Europe” (Saunders, 1816, p. 23). Hardy then goes on to refer to Haitians and Frenchmen as brothers, readily embraced by the same mother country—even those that went astray, presumably referring to Haiti’s rebellion. Hardy’s letter is full of compliments for Christophe, with only mildly subtle disapproval of Haiti’s

assertion of independence, notably still referring to Haiti as a French *colony*.

It is in Christophe's response that there was a shift in regard to his sentiments for France and its representatives in Haiti. He still referred to France's constitution that abolished slavery, but no longer separated the intentions of the Frenchman in Haiti and France itself: "How happens it, that the desires of the wicked, and the predictions of the evil-minded, appear so much in unison with the resolutions of the mother country?" (Saunders, 1816, p 27). After this statement, Christophe's shift from a French Haiti to an independent Haiti appears complete. His assertions of independence became more forceful in the correspondences and his deference toward France all but disappeared, which is well demonstrated in the following: "But General (Hardy), furnish yourself with the code of laws which are to govern this country" (Saunders, 1816, p. 30). Essentially he is asserting that Hardy is in Haiti, which is no longer France and that he need familiarize himself with laws of independent Haiti.

Creating the image of Haiti in the shadow of colonialism

In addition to promoting a strong image of an independent Haiti, Christophe also had to be ready to physically defend that independence. The Citadel was a tool of defense for both the image of Haiti and the land itself, a monument to power then as it is today. The language used to describe it in the Saunders's "Narrative of the accession of their royal majesties to the throne of Hayti" (p. 55-98 of *The Haytian Papers*) reads like tourism brochure copy:

The citadel Henry, the palladium of liberty, that majestic bulwark of independence, that monument of the greatness and of the vast combinations of a Henry, is built on the lofty summit of one of the highest mountains in the island, whence you may discover, to the left, the island of Tortuga, and the reflection of its beautiful canal. (pp. 79-80)

The Citadel is described as the magnificent site that it is but also as a symbol of strength and power. Missing is the story of its construction, the harsh and unsung labor that went into building it. The strategic omission of the cost of its construction in the *Papers*, made invisible the slave labor that was required to build it. Likewise, the Sans Souci Palace was described in flowery language: “The beauty and durability of its construction, its sumptuous apartments, all with inlaid work, and lined with the most beautiful and rarest tapestry, which was amassed at a great expense, and with particular care in the selection” (Saunders, 1816, p. 82).

Redefining the French Connection

Although Haiti’s independence from France and the fact that the nation was created by a slave revolt was a point of pride for Christophe, documents in the *Papers* demonstrate shifts in Christophe’s thinking about Haiti’s relationship to France. In *The King’s Manifesto* and royal proclamations within the *Papers*, he consistently described Haiti as a nation that persevered and triumphed, despite the betrayals of France. For example, in *The King’s Manifesto* (undated), Christophe stated:

We merited the blessings of liberty, by our loyal attachment to the mother country; we evinced our gratitude when, reduced to our own resources, deprived of all communication from the parent state, we resisted every seduction; when inflexible to menaces, deaf to propositions, inaccessible to artifice, we braved misery, famine, privations of every description, and finally triumphed over her numerous enemies, as well internal as external. We were then far from anticipating, as a reward for so much constancy and such sacrifices of our blood that, after the lapse of twelve years, and in a manner the most barbarous, France would desire to ravish from that most precious of all possessions, Liberty (Saunders, 1816, p. 156-7)

It is clear in this passage that Haiti’s long war for independence was a complicated one with an initial goal to be both French and Haitian at its conclusion. The goal was not

simply to cut all ties but to create a relationship of mutual respect. Though Christophe's position on France and its connection to Haiti shifted at times during the revolutionary era, he was resolute that Haiti was not French once he was in power, which was in contrast to L'Ouverture, who called for a Constitutional Assembly to write the 1801 Saint Domingue constitution, just a few years before Haiti's independence was won. The constitution contained the line: "Il ne peut exister d'esclaves sur ce territoire, la servitude y est à jamais abolie. Tous les hommes y naissent, vivent et meurent libres et Français." Those words translate to "there can be no slaves on this territory; servitude has been forever abolished. All men are born, live and die free and French" (Les constitutions d'Haiti, Title 2 art. 1).

In the *Manifesto*, Christophe distinguished his views from L'Ouverture's. Christophe acknowledged the disconnect between Haiti and France and that Haitians had been fooled by "fallacious promises" into "considering themselves French" thinking their country could ever be anything but a slave colony in the eyes of France (Saunders, 1816, pp. 161-162). Christophe's views, which we see shift within the correspondences within the *Papers*, also demonstrate a shift in positioning from *Presence Europeene* to *Presence Africaine* (Hall, 1990), where previously there was an effort to be both. Christophe's conviction in his manifesto also includes the strategic erasure of his back and forth relationship with France, specifically during the revolutionary era when he, after leaving the French army to help lead the revolution, surrendered to the French and rejoined their forces in 1802. Though he later returned to the Haitian side, the omission of his surrender is, like the erasure of Sans Souci the man, a notable silencing in the construction of the Haitian image he was constructing.

Christophe's image

Saunders promoted Christophe extensively, not just as key figure in Haiti's independence but as the father of Haitian independence. Words such as "wise," "valiant," and "courageous" appear throughout the notes and narratives to describe Christophe as the leader and hero against the enemies of an independent Haiti. He describes the Haitian people, as, "blest with a Sovereign, whose sincere desire, and firmly settled purpose, most obviously appears to be the elevations of the characters, and the improvement of the hearts and lives of all of the various classes of society" (Saunders, 1816, p. v-vi). In contrast to the image of Christophe as a hero, there were several jabs toward those in opposition to Christophe, including Pétion, who was referred to as a traitor in Saunders' *Reflections of Editor* (1816): "we enjoin our citizens of the west and southern provinces to have their eyes open to watch Pétion's conduct with that of the white Frenchmen, and not to allow themselves to be deceived by this traitor as before" (p. 196). Painting Pétion in this light is further evidence to Christophe's departure from a French Haiti.

Highlighting and criticizing Pétion's perpetual allegiance to France seems somewhat counter-productive to the message of a unified, or soon-to-be-unified north and south—unless the ease of unification was due in part to Pétion's weakness and inability to hold onto the south against Christophe.

Throughout the *Papers*, Pétion is described as weak. In the *Narrative of the Accession of Their Royal Majesties to the Throne of Haiti* (1818, pp. 55-98), Saunders describes battles won by troops from the north and Christophe's foresight as being paramount to the successes. In contrast, Saunders describes those representing the south as rebels, and in one instance undermines Pétion by stating, "in this affair Pétion

disguised himself in female attire, many women being about the camp, and that thus our troops allowed him to pass on, intent only on pursuing men with arms in their hands” (p. 75). With this statement, Saunders presents an unflattering representation of Pétion and clear indication of his feelings of the synonymous relationship between women and weakness. He describes the effort of the northern causes as similar to that of ancient Spartans demonstrating his bias for the north and his deference toward European examples of strength.

Christophe’s Vision for Haiti ... in English

The campaigns for immigration to Haiti were not just about increasing population numbers and labor force. Christophe also sought to enrich the culture of Haiti and broaden its profile beyond that of an agrarian society. In one of Christophe’s proclamations included in the *Papers*, he outlines the benefits Haiti would gain from the immigration of free foreign blacks, particularly from England and the United States, as a way to strengthen connections with the two powerful nations. While still explicitly endorsing the necessity of agriculture and upholding classes, for Haiti to prosper, Christophe also heralded population growth outside of the realm of agriculture for the continued success of the young nation. Specifically, he advocated a population increase that would come through imported knowledge. He proclaimed that:

[h]istory informs us that all nations, prior to their civilization, were sunk in the darkness of barbarism: it is only after the lapse of considerable time that they civilize themselves by the introduction of knowledge, the effects of instruction and of time. We have sought from abroad for learned professors and skillful artists of every kind, in order to introduce in the kingdom the arts and sciences” (Saunders, 1816, pp. 205-6)

It is evident in this passage that Christophe placed credence in Western thought and knowledge, seeing it as a way to bring civilization to the previously and forcibly barbarous Haiti. Christophe walked a fine line with this notion. It is both an admission of a Haiti in need of Western influence after independence from Western colonization, and a stance against previous colonial thought that the former slaves that made up Haiti's population were incapable of civilization. Christophe was adamant about disproving previous thoughts of the limitations of men due to the color of their skin. "Let them dispute, if they please, the existence of our intellectual faculties, our little or no aptness for the arts and sciences, whilst we reply to these irresistible arguments, and prove to the impious, by facts and by examples, that the blacks, like the whites, are men, and like them are the works of a Divine Omnipotence!" (Saunders, 1816, p. 211).

Christophe's vision of increasing the Haitian population through immigration included the welcome of diversity. He seemed open to the contribution difference would bring to Haiti and in the same proclamation commanded not only tolerance of difference but protection of it:

The professors and artists who shall establish themselves here for the purpose of undertaking the instruction of youth, shall be particularly encouraged and protected; they will experience the utmost toleration, difference of nation and religion will be no ground of exclusion: we shall pay respect to merit and talents alone. The virtuous man, without any regard to the country that may have given him birth, or the faith in which he may have been brought up, shall always meet a kind reception, and shall enjoy advantages of protection and security which our laws impart to strangers of all nations who inhabit this kingdom (Saunders, 1816, p. 205-206)

Christophe was not interested in new additions to the population getting lost in or being completely consumed by Haitian culture. It is, instead, clear that he had great regard for the benefits of cultural additions to Haiti and sought acculturation.

Nation pride and image under the weight of European standard and approval

In the introduction of the collection, Saunders demonstrates reverence for European opinion through the use of an extensive quote from Bryan Edwards, an historian and wealthy, white Jamaican planter of British decent, who wrote *An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo*, originally published in 1797. In the quoted passage, Edwards states that the idea of a civilized black population in Haiti is one of fantasy. Saunders used the quote to tell a story about how Europeans would have thought about Haiti before its transformation from a barbarous slave colony to a sovereign nation with a civilized black population—so much so that he engages in a fictional dialogue with Edwards. In the imagined dialogue, Saunders posited that had Edwards been alive to see Haiti under Christophe's rule he would have referred to Haitian people as embodying that which would have formerly been an unrealistic fantasy.

The inclusion of Edwards' words—both real and imagined—shows that Saunders was vested in Western opinion and attempting to persuade Western thought into recognizing Haiti as a sovereign nation, worthy of the global respect. It also shows that he agreed with the idea that people of African descent were barbarous and in need of civilization. Where he departs from popular Western thought of the time was that he believed in the potential for civilization in people of African descent. While working toward promoting the modernity of Haiti and its people, Saunders also lent credence to the paternal relationship that the West had historically with the black "Other."

Further evidence of the postcolonial mark the West had on Saunders' opinion was his use of Africa as a site of barbarism. He seemed to embrace the idea that those of African descent were barbarous, one of the hallmarks of slavery and inequality between

the two races. Essentially, Saunders maintained the colonial assumption of the savagery of Africa/black but was an advocate for the potential and right to civilize. Despite this internalization of Western thought, Saunders challenged it as well. Saunders acknowledged the barbarous nature of *both* races and in a further departure from popular Western thought, believed in the ability of both races to be civilized. His African brethren could be civilized through education, and his white counterparts could rise from barbarism by accepting that blacks were capable of civilization. Throughout the collection and his public speaking engagements, Saunders identified four groups in an era of a binary system: barbarous whites, who stifle freedom and endorse slavery; enlightened whites, those against slavery; barbarous Africa, which is naturally primitive; and enlightened Africa, of which Haiti was a prime example.

Our Brethren, the Spanish Haitians

Saunders also acknowledged that there were people who existed outside of the African race and white race binary. In the *Papers*, there was language of inclusion for people who perhaps in present-day context do not fit within these categories. While the targeted audience may have been American and British, black and white, there was a message for the eastern side of Hispaniola as well. In the “Narrative” Saunders states, “The skillful policy of the President took advantage of the happy moment of the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy in Europe to draw closer the ties of amity with those in Hayti. He had long conceived that, as inhabitants of the same soil, a similarity of wants ought to unite us with our brethren, the Spanish Haytians, when the same enemies menace our existence. (p. 77-78). It is clear throughout the *Papers* and speaking events, that there was a perceived connection between disparate groups, free and enslaved

blacks; people from the United States, Britain, and France; blacks and whites; and those who inhabited the eastern and western side of Hispaniola. United by a common enemy, with little regard for race or language, there was a connection between all those who were opposed to oppression.

Through *The Haytian Papers*, Christophe and Saunders created an image of a unified Haiti with a strong unwavering leader that led the republic to independence. This was achieved by the strategic inclusion of documents that when presented without the full context, as they are in this collection, exaggerate Christophe's role in the revolution and Haiti's stance as a strong, harmonious, independent nation—a perfect refuge for blacks around the world. The messages that were present in the official documents were then reinforced by Saunders's words of deference toward Christophe and flowery language to describe Haiti. The image of Haiti and its king were further reinforced by the erasure of some of the realities of Haiti through the absence of the documents not included in the collection. Furthermore, in his speaking engagements, Saunders deemphasized several connections between independent Haiti and colonial St. Domingue that were present in the collection, such as remnants of slavery in the country's laws, persistent racial tension between the varying shades of black, and the divide between northern and southern Haiti.

Through the analysis of this collection, I was also able to highlight examples of Western influences in the messages that were present in this nation image construction effort, such as the monarchical structure of the government that was laid out in this, the prominent edition. Western influence was also present in several of the laws Christophe imposed that replicated some of the trappings of slavery. These examples show the difficulties in trying to build a strong black independent nation from the ashes of slavery

and colonialism with only a white colonial blueprint. This demonstrates the complicated relationship between Haiti and the West that was present in the early messages put forth by Henri Christophe in order to create a strong nation image. Through analysis of these documents with some of their historical contexts, I have shown that silencing played a significant role in the creation of *The Haytian Papers* and the accompanying promulgating efforts much in the same way a modern day marketing and destination branding campaign would.

CHAPTER 2/TRUJILLO'S DR: PROMOTING THE COLOR OF THE LAND COLUMBUS LOVED MOST

More than a century after Haiti's independence and early nation image construction, its neighbor to the west, the Dominican Republic, began its own efforts at nation image construction. Like Haiti, the Dominican Republic has to grapple with balancing Western influence and uniqueness, as well as the issue of race. Unlike Haiti, the Dominican Republic's image construction did not gain footing immediately after its independence in 1844; instead it was deferred due to U.S. occupation (1916-1924). It was shortly after the U.S. Marines left the Dominican Republic that President Rafael Trujillo took on the task of carving out a nation image and distinct nation brand for the Dominican Republic. Furthermore, in the decades between Haiti and the Dominican Republic's campaigns, there were significant developments in communication, namely that organized advertising, marketing, and public relations began in the 19th century. It is argued that the Industrial Revolution brought among other things "urbanization, which would be a fertile environment for the mass circulation press and thus mass advertising; and a transportation infrastructure, which would move goods to new markets and create a market for advertising at the same time" (Vos, 2003, p. 453). These new developments would provide a ripe environment for the reception of agent efforts when the Dominican Republic was actively promoting itself in a way that would not have been possible in the era in which Haiti was first promoting its national image. Essentially, in the era in which the Dominican Republic was promoting its image, there was a more receptive market in the media because there was a defined space for it.

Rafael Trujillo and his Era

Rafael Trujillo became the authoritarian leader of the Dominican Republic in 1930, just six years after the U.S. occupation ended. The Trujillo era is considered to run from 1930 to 1961, when he was assassinated. He was not officially president for the entire duration of his rule. Instead, he was president for two non-consecutive terms (1935-1938 and 1942-1952) and ruled behind puppet presidents¹³ under other titles in between those terms, becoming an unelected dictator after 1952. Prior to his first inauguration, Trujillo was open about his Haitian roots, the result of having a Haitian grandmother. However, once in power, he ceased acknowledging that heritage and rendered it invisible by lightening his face with makeup. He also had official documents altered to certify that both sides of his family were “pure French” and “pure Spanish,” erasing his Haitian roots (Atkins & Curtis, 1998). During his inauguration address he did not mention Haiti or any ancestral link, instead claiming, as the place of his roots as the border town of Capotillo—a significant choice as that is where the Dominican national independence movement against Spanish annexation began. He used Spain as the source of inspiration for his regime’s modernization of a racial and cultural identity that was both anti-Haitian and anti-black (Paulino, 2016, p. 38).

In 1937, Rafael Trujillo was quoted as saying, “the solution must continue” (Wucker, 1999, p. 48) in regard to ridding the Dominican Republic of Haitians. Like America, his Dominican Republic had a perceived “black problem,” specifically a “Haitian problem,” addressed through often-violent means, including forced deportation/evacuation and mass murder. The most infamous example was the Parsley

¹³ President Jacinto Peynado (1938-1940) and Manuel de Jesús Troncoso de la Concha (1940-1942).

Massacre along the northern border that separates the two nations. The Massacre River was the site of an estimated 12,000 to 15,000 murders (Moya Pons, 2010; Roorda, 1998-a; Wucker, 1999) of Haitians in late 1937. Under the orders of Trujillo, Dominican soldiers killed thousands of Haitian men, women, and children, using machetes to make the massacre appear to be the work of local farmers. The massacre proved to be a publicity disaster for the Trujillo administration, one that it tried to recover from through various efforts like strategically timed donations to United Military or opening Dominican borders to European refugees that will be discussed in chapters four and five.

The United States occupied the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924, when Trujillo was just a young man, and it is this occupation that would influence Trujillo as a soldier, shape the dictator he was to become, and in almost every way seal the Dominican Republic's destiny under his 31 years in power. Of this Roorda (1998-a) writes, "Trujillo's control of the army made him the master of Dominican politics by 1930 and transformed the force from surrogate for Marine occupation to an agent of Dominican nationalism," (p 22). In other words, Trujillo was not only an imaginer of the Dominican Republic image, he was in fact a product of U.S. imperialism, who gave action to an idea put in place during the U.S. occupation. Baud (2005) states that within the context of Caribbean people and race, "while ethnic and racial identities may in part be socially created instruments employed to confirm differences (which may be emphasized or ignored depending on the circumstances), they are also cultural and socio-psychological realities which impose themselves on individuals and groups and from which there is little chance of escape," (p. 122).

During the Trujillo era, the Dominican Republic was actively publicized by its government. It was promulgated as an ideal tourist destination, an example of modernity, and a model partner for the United States and the Pan American movement, an effort to promote corporation between the United States and the Latin American countries¹⁴.

Unlike Haiti during its early nation identity forming years in the 19th century, the Dominican Republic had the advantage of multiple media, provided by twentieth century technology, through which it was able to promote its national identity.

In his book, *The Dictator Next Door* (1998), Dominican Scholar Eric Paul Roorda, outlined some of Trujillo's publicity efforts that began even before his first inauguration. He wrote that in the 1930s, during the earliest tourism efforts, the Dominican Republic published several highly favorable publications, such as *Santo Domingo* and *Dominican Republic Actually* (later renamed *Dominican Republic*), and a special supplement for the *Washington Herald* titled *Santo Domingo*, written by American journalists hired by Trujillo. The one-time *Santo Domingo* included articles by Sumner Welles, who began a seven-year term as under secretary of state for the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration just a year after the articles were published. One of the articles he authored was, "Santo Domingo, an Ideal Winter Resort for the American Tourist," an indication of his own interest in promoting United States tourism to the Dominican Republic. The original title of *Dominican Republic Actually*, strongly suggests that there were misconceptions that Trujillo wanted corrected. In addition to the advantages of technologies available in the 20th century, the Dominican Republic also benefitted from the advent of organized publicity, the early entries of the public relations

¹⁴ The effort was spearheaded by the Pan American Union which was formed in 1890. It was later reconstituted as the Organization of American States (OAS).

and marketing we know today. The commissioned *Washington Herald* supplement, resulted in the hiring of one of the journalists in the official capacity of publicist (Roorda, 1998). The journalist, turned publicist, Laurence de Besault, also wrote a biography, *President Trujillo: His Work and the Dominican Republic*, which Oswald Garrison Villard referred to as “the most nauseating, bootlicking performance I have ever read” (1937, p.323). Villard was the editor of the *New York Evening Post* and a regular contributor to *The Nation*, both of which his family owned. He was also a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Villard, in the opening of the same article, wrote of Trujillo, “Like Hitler he has done away with his political enemies and made his political party the only party. Many of those who opposed him are dead by his will or in exile” (p. 323). Through highly orchestrated press, censorship, and a disappearing opposition (by exile and government ordered murder), Trujillo was able to portray a highly curated image of the Dominican Republic.

The propaganda distributed by Trujillo’s government is well documented (see Derby, 2003 and Roorda, 1998-a) and much of it, including the above-mentioned publications falls outside of the timeframe included in this research. However, it is important to note its existence because it is an example of Trujillo’s level of control over the Dominican Republic’s nation image. It also lays the foundation for my contribution to this heavily researched and documented area of Dominican Republic history, which is to examine some of the imagery used to create a nation image for the Dominican Republic that inadvertently brought Haiti into the picture while trying to make it invisible. In this research I will highlight late 1930s and early 1940s Dominican ephemera in order to stay

within what I have identified as the time Trujillo was most dedicated to the constructing a nation image for the Dominican Republic.

In this chapter I will analyze promotional material distributed at the 1939 New York World's Fair and a commemorative stamp released in 1941 in order to address research question one regarding what messages the Dominican Republic was distributing to a global audience to publicize the Dominican Republic. The pamphlet offers an intentionally curated vision of the Dominican Republic, with the world as its intended audience, as dictated by the venue for which it was created and at which it was distributed. The analysis of the pamphlet in particular also offers answers to research question 2 in regard to Western influence because the topics and categories chosen for the pamphlet explicitly highlight parts of the Dominican Republic that would have been attractive to the West, particularly the U.S., as potential business opportunities.

Both historical and media studies research have at times drawn useful understanding about a culture or era from the analysis of a single cultural artifact. Cultural artifacts, like the Dominican Republic's World's Fair pamphlet and the 1941 stamp, are significant because they offer a snap shot of the time and a window into that culture. For example in a study on memory and photography, using just one photo, scholars of rhetoric and public culture Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites (2003) argued that:

the public sphere depends on visual rhetorics to maintain not only its play of deliberative "voices," but also its more fundamental constitution of public identity. Because the public is a discursively organized body of strangers constituted solely by the acts of being addressed and paying attention, it can only acquire self-awareness and historical agency if individual auditors "see themselves" in the collective representations that are the materials of public culture. Visual practices in the public media play an important role at precisely this point (p. 36)

The stamp, a very small everyday object, might be seen by thousands of people and as Latin American studies scholar Jack Child has explained, such products of a culture can be packed with meaning. He wrote: “Though a stamp is small, it is a cultural artifact of its time and from a semiotic approach is a unique kind of sign, with the ability to convey a number of messages in a very confined space” (2005, p. 108).

Christopher Columbus: A Beacon for the Americas

An important part of the nation image Trujillo was constructing for the Dominican Republic relied on the story of its inception. The hero was Christopher Columbus or Cristóbal Colón, the “discoverer” of the “New World.” The significance of Columbus is apparent in the presence of several memorials to the Spaniard that remain throughout the country today. In contrast, Haiti, where Columbus first “discovered” the new world and which was the site of his first ultimately failed colony, was also home to a Columbus monument. However, having a different memory of the Spaniard, Haiti has not held him as a hero. A statue of Columbus in Port-au-Prince was toppled and thrown into the sea in 1986 in protest¹⁵. The government recovered the statue but never it was never reinstalled (Viala, 2014).

A great source of pride for the Dominican Republic is that it is the (contested) home of Columbus’s remains. The location of Columbus’s remains is steeped in controversy. Columbus died in 1506 in Valladolid, Spain, where his body was initially buried. In 1509 and 1523 his body was moved throughout Spain. In 1541, Columbus’s body was moved to the Dominican Republic. However, once Spain lost control of the

¹⁵ In a 1986 *New York Times* article about unrest in Haiti with a looming threat of a return of the Duvaliers, it was reported that a note was left on the pedestal where the statue had stood. The note, written on a piece of cardboard read, “Foreigners out of Haiti” (Simons, 1986, p. A2).

DR, Spain moved the body to Havana, Cuba and later back to Seville, Spain. The controversy developed in 1877 when workers were refurbishing the cathedral in Santo Domingo that had housed Columbus's body centuries earlier. They uncovered a box of bones labelled "Illustrious and distinguished male, don Cristobal Colon." The theory was that in their haste, the Spaniards looking to move the remains when France took over, took the wrong ones. The controversy is still alive today. Genetic testing as late as the early 2000s has been inconclusive, in part because the Dominican Republic, unlike Spain, which also claims to have the remains, has not agreed to grant access to the bones for testing, perhaps in an effort to protect a vital part of the Dominican Republic narrative and nation image (Dugard, 2005). The remains in Santo Domingo were later entombed in the Columbus Memorial Lighthouse in Santo Domingo.¹⁶

The plan for a Columbus lighthouse was introduced in 1928 when the Pan American Union held an architectural competition for the design. Architectural historian Robert Alexander Gonzalez asserts that the lighthouse planning was part of the Pan American Union efforts to create ties and an "imaginary heritage" between the United States and Latin America, the "gateways to America" or the "far south" (2014). The competition was won by a Scottish architect J.L. Gleave in October 1931. The lighthouse, however, was not completed until 1992, just in time for 500th anniversary of the Columbus landing on Hispaniola (Roorda, 1998). The importance of Columbus in the Dominican national image lies in the historical connection or imaginary heritage shared between the Dominican Republic and the United States. He symbolizes the connection

¹⁶ From 1936-1961 Santo Domingo was called Trujillo City. "He (Trujillo) pretends that Congress spontaneously changed the name of this historic city after he had declined the honor, but as nothing happens here without his consent he could hardly have remonstrated very vigorously" (Villard, 1937, p. 323).

between the “old and new worlds” and places the Dominican Republic in a position of gateway. The shared imaginary heritage that Columbus represents was used to help create the story of race in the Dominican Republic, a theme that resonates in the documents analyzed in this chapter.

Commemorating Columbus and Anacaona

On May 11, 1941, *The New York Times* ran an explanation, issued by the Pan American Union, of the scene depicted on a new stamp from the Dominican Republic:



On April 15, 1502, Nicolas de Ovando, at the direction of King Ferdinand of Spain, assumed charge of the isle then called Española and with a ruthless determination undertook to subjugate the natives. The Indians of the Jaragua (Xaraguá) district were invited to attend a military fiesta. After being awed by the inspiring spectacle of arms, a trumpet signaled the infantry to open fire. All the natives who failed to reach the shelter of the forests were murdered. Anacaona, their Queen, alone was spared. She pleaded for mercy to her people and is thus depicted on the new stamps, supplicating to the spirit of the race, at the base of the statue (of Columbus) (Dominican issue recalls, p. xx8).

Figure 1: Picture of Dominican Republic 1941 stamp

In his study on Latin American stamps, Child demonstrated the significance of the humble stamp in the history of the relationship between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. In 1900, the Dominican Republic issued a stamp with a map of Hispaniola that expanded the size of the Dominican side by placing the border line more westerly, based on an 18th century treaty between Spain and France. That border had been changed over the years, expanding the Haitian side of the island—but not without contest. When Haitians pointed out the discrepancy, the stamp was recalled—but not before Dominican

troops were sent to claim the disputed zone. After another similar stamp was released in 1928, the border issue was ultimately resolved in 1929. The resolution prompted both nations to issue stamps in commemoration of the agreement, but without depiction of any maps (Child, p. 128). This story demonstrates not only the power of the stamp but also the impact it has had in the representation and relationship between the two sides of Hispaniola.

The statue, Cristóbal Colón, illustrated on the stamp above, has stood in Santo Domingo since the nineteenth century, with a plaque touting Christopher Columbus as the great admiral who discovered the “new world.” The statue and stamp show the native Queen Anacaona in the midst of writing on the perch on which Columbus is standing. Showing her writing demonstrates an acceptance and eagerness to adapt to the colonizer. Anacaona’s position at Columbus’s feet also shows striking deference to the white Spaniards. The scene of a queen at the feet of a commoner shows a hierarchy where even those in the highest positions on the island were still beneath a white commoner. In this story line, the natives acquiesced to the Spaniards and ultimately the two races mixed and populated the island, creating the varied hues that colored the Dominican population Trujillo presided over, and that of the 21st century. The reality of the romantic picture of Anacaona and Columbus is somewhat discredited by the explanation issued by the Pan American Union, but still much of the story remained hidden. It is true that the military did kill Anacaona’s people, but in order for the story behind the Dominican race to continue, the truth behind the statue needed to be selectively recalled, which is why the statue exists and why the scene is depicted on the stamp.

Columbus first encountered the Taíno people in 1492. According to novelist and Columbus biographer, Washington Irving (1849), Columbus was first succeeded by Frances de Bobadilla, who enslaved the natives, and then Nicolás de Ovando, who set them free. Ovando, while following the Queen Isabella of Spain's command to free the native people, was also given the authority to convert the native populations to Catholicism and employ them under conditions that were essentially still slavery, improved only by wages that were insufficient for survival. As a result, "twelve years had not elapsed since the discovery of the island, and several hundred thousands of its native inhabitants had perished, miserable victims of the grasping avarice of the white men" (Irving, p. 428). The interactions between the Spaniards and the Taíno were devastating to the native population in several ways. In addition to the cruelties intentionally brought on the Taíno people, the Spaniards also brought diseases that contributed to the decline of the native population.

In a comprehensive study of the social structures within Caribbean chiefdoms, historical anthropologist Samuel M. Wilson (1990), noted that the whites brought with them diseases, and an appetite for crops that was unsustainable. As a result, in addition to the forced labor and other cruelties, 90 percent of the Taíno population was eradicated within the first 25 years after its first contact with the Spaniards. Sixteenth-century colonist and historian Bartolomé de Las Casas's, earlier account from 1542 (originally published in 1552) presented an even bleaker number, "but the Massacre of these Wretches, whom they have so inhumanely and barbarously butcher'd (sic) and harrass'd (sic) with several kinds of Torments, never before known, or heard that of Three Millions of Persons, which lived in Hispaniola itself, there is at present but the inconsiderable

remnant of scarce Three Hundred” (2014, p.7). de Las Casas, a Spanish Friar in the Dominican and a loyal servant to the crown noted, however, that:

the desolation of the Isles and Provinces took beginning since the decease of the most Serene Queen Isabella, about the year 1504, for that time very few of the Provinces situated in that island were oppressed or spoiled with unjust Wars, or violated with general devastation as after they were, and most if not all these things were concealed and masked from the Queens knowledge (p. 18)

The separation of the barbarous acts of the Spanish in Hispaniola and Spain is a theme that would continue centuries later in a continued effort to elevate Spain and celebrate its’ conquests without acknowledging the means by which those conquests were won.

The amicable relationship that is memorialized in the statute of Columbus and Anacaona is a depiction loosely based on very early interactions between the Spanish and the Taíno and not indicative of the remaining majority of their interactions under Columbus and, later, Ovando. When Ovando arranged the meeting with Anacaona and the people of her province, there was already a plan in place to complete the genocide of the native population. Ovando ordered his soldiers to attack and kill the unarmed group, which included several caciques (Taíno leaders). Anacaona was captured, tried, and hanged in 1503 (de la Casas, 2014; Irving, 1892; Saunders, 2005). Xaraguá was the last of the five chiefdoms¹⁷ on Hispaniola to be destroyed. To commemorate the relationship between Anacaona and Columbus with a statue and stamp is a strategic omission of what the relationship between the native peoples of Hispaniola and Spain ultimately devolved into. It is, however, not the only part of Anacaona’s history that was omitted. Anacaona’s connection to Haiti was also made invisible.

¹⁷ There is conflicting research on whether there were five or six chiefdoms that divided Hispaniola, although all agree that they all interacted and at times joined through marriage. There is also consensus that Xaraguá or Jaragua was the last one to be destroyed (de Las Casas, 2014, Torres-Saillant, 2006; Wilson, 1990).

Remembering Anacaona, Facts and Fiction

In the introduction to *Walking on Fire: Haitian Women's Stories of Survival and Resistance*, activist and expert on Haitian social movements, Beverley Bell (2001), included the following story as told by Josie, one of the women of Millet Mountain:

You know Haiti was peopled by Indians before the Spanish came. There were several zones, with a king for each zone. Anacaona was the wife of one of those kings. Near Leogane, close to here. ... From Anacaona we are born. When you take our history—the struggle against the invaders, the war of independence, and everything that came after—there were women there standing strong, right next to the men (p. 1)

Anacaona, while used as a symbol of the natives of what would be the Dominican Republic, embracing the Spanish, is also a Haitian hero and symbol of resistance to the colonizers. The depiction of Anacaona in the Dominican statue, in a submissive role, is the opposite of her likeness in a Haitian sculpture that was dedicated in 2005 and stands at the Place d'Armes de Leogane, a coastal town in southern Haiti near Port-au-Prince, previously Xaraguá or Jaragua, where Anacaona was born. In the Haitian statue she is standing alone and tall with a staff and large headdress; she is depicted as a queen and a warrior.

In addition to being memorialized in statues, Anacaona's differing histories are told and disputed in songs, theatre, poetry, and children's books throughout Latin America. Though these outlets offer more creative license than historical accounts, there is significance in how she is portrayed in fiction. In reality, particularly because of the time of her life and story, any account would have elements of fiction and creative subjectivity. It is the combination of historical accounts and fiction, already married, that enters the social imaginary. In particular, the telling of Anacaona's story in children's books is essentially a Western modern continuation of the oral tradition, prevalent in

older and more traditional societies and can shape generations' perspectives by continuing or challenging perspectives.

Maria Christina Fumagalli (2015), literature scholar and author of *On the edge: Writing the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic*, noted that in the children's book *Anacaona: Golden Flower*, famed Haitian novelist and activist Edwidge Danticat (2005), claims Anacaona as Haitian by writing that she is from Haiti and not Ayiti, the native name for the whole island at the time of Anacaona's life. Though this form of protest occurs in a children's book, it demonstrates the struggle of ownership of this shared hero, celebrated for conflicting memories of heroism. The shared history between Haiti and the Dominican Republic is often lost because of different victors on each side of the island; the French colonized Haiti and the Spanish colonized the Dominican Republic. However, the reality is that when the Spanish landed on the island, it was one island divided by provinces ruled by related native tribes. Anacaona's province was located on the modern-day Haiti and, more importantly, that is distinction and a border that did not exist at the time.

Regardless of the geography of today, the real point of interest in Anacaona is that her story ends, in Dominican history, when she embraces Columbus and the Spaniards, which makes her a hero. In Haitian history, her story of heroism begins with her resistance to the Spaniards, which led to her death. She is the same person, honored in two ways that support the different nation narratives. Haiti's narrative stresses strength through the active breaking of ties with colonizers, first the Spanish and then the French. In contrast, the Dominican narrative stresses a strong tie with its colonial roots, which is why its race is dependent on natives coming together with the

Spanish, omitting any role slavery may have had on the race of the population. Furthermore, the story and message of Anacaona in the Dominican Republic emphasizes an embrace of the West at the very inception of the colony and the New World.

In the Dominican Republic narrative, Christopher Columbus, not being directly connected with Ovando's massacre of the Taíno people, gets the credit of "discovering" the Taíno, with exemption from any part in their demise. As Dominican scholar Silvio Torres-Saillant (2006) points out in his critique of the famous poem *Anacaona* by Salomé Ureña, published in 1880, this separation is echoed in fiction. He states that although the poem celebrates Taíno resistance:

Ureña felt too deep a sense of kinship with the Hispanic heritage that nineteenth-century society boasted to launch a really radical indictment of Spanish violence. A mulatto who occupied a place of distinction among the country's literati, she harbored too much admiration for Spain's legacy in the New World to take issue with the colonial transaction systematically. The poem depicts the carnage as a deviation (2006, p. 208)

Torres-Saillant adds that a later play, titled *Anacaona*, by Haitian poet and playwright Jean Métellus connects the actions on the island with the commands of Spain, asserting that the Spanish were trying to avoid the strength in numbers the Taíno would have if they joined with the newly brought-in African slaves, who began arriving on the island in 1502 (p. 209).

Narratives in fiction are afforded creative licenses that are not always applied to historical accounts, as seen by the two conflicting accounts of *Anacaona* in the poem and play from either side of Hispaniola. However, there are two important impacts of fiction. The first is that they are often a reflection of cultural interpretations and understandings, in this case the Dominican and Haitian dueling

perspectives of colonization. Second, in addition to representations of cultural understandings they also perpetuate perspectives. Last, in this dissertation I argue that nation identity is combination of fact and fiction, visibility and invisibility of facts, therefore a poem, particularly a celebrated poem, is a piece of nation identity worth similar weight of any material produced as part of nation publicity.

In the case of Dominican narratives about Anacaona, Columbus, and colonization, on either side of the fuzzy line between fact and fiction, strategic omissions and the use of norms as deviations allow Christopher Columbus and Spain to remain heroes. It also continues the romantic notion of Columbus and the Dominican Republic as the amiable connection between the old world and the native world in addition to the connection between the old world and the new world, a message which was exemplified in the 1941 commemorative stamp and stressed in the Dominican marketing and at the 1939 World's Fair.

The Dominican Republic at the 1939 New York World's Fair

The slogan for the 1939 New York World's Fair was "Dawn of a New Day," and the Dominican Republic, which had a pavilion located in the "Hall of Nations" section of the fair, embraced the theme. The Dominican pavilion was divided into three sections: past, present, and future. Each section highlighted key points of the nation image. The pamphlet that was distributed at the fair also stayed on the theme, highlighting key aspects of the past, present, and future of the Dominican Republic. The 31-page pamphlet was in both Spanish and English, with each section displayed in both languages side by side.

The Past

The cover of the pamphlet shows a detail from Italian painter Sebastiano del Piombo's portrait of Christopher Columbus, painted 13 years after his death, over a rendering of the proposed Columbus lighthouse, with an outline of the eastern part of Hispaniola (labelled) above his head. It looks as though Columbus is coming out of the structure, perhaps to represent that his remains were to be entombed there once the lighthouse was constructed. The remains were referenced several times in the pamphlet, often referred to as the "authentic remains," likely in response to Spain also claiming to be Columbus's true final resting place. The pamphlet states that Columbus's remains, referred to as precious treasure, are "beloved and revered by the Dominican people only second to their independence" (p. 7). Having Columbus seemingly rising from the lighthouse also marries the past with the future, which sets the tone for content that stresses a connection among the Dominican Republic, Columbus, and the New World. The slogan on the cover reads, "The land Columbus loved most...The Dominican Republic." The slogan is saying that the Dominican Republic was more loved by Columbus than his own Spain, a claim that can be backed by the actions taken by Columbus. He was born in Spain and served the crown but chose the Dominican Republic as his final resting place.

In the first nine pages of the pamphlet there are several photographs of historic buildings that mark several firsts for the Americas. This includes photos and corresponding captions of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo; the oldest cathedral in America; the old Church and Monastery of San Francisco, the first monastery in the New World; the ruins of the Church of St. Nicholas de Bari, the first stone church

constructed by Spaniards in the Americas. Showcasing these firsts seems like an effort to bolster the claims of the Dominican Republic's role being integral in the beginnings of the New World. Also, by highlighting the Spanish architecture there is an assertion of "Spanish-ness" and "Western-ness" that separates the Republic from the rest of the Caribbean. In the pamphlet the Dominican Republic is positioned as different from the rest of the Caribbean, at least in terms of its significance in the New World. The pamphlet states, "Center of civilization in the New World, Santo Domingo was, in fact, during the period of Spanish colonization, the connecting link in the vast zone of the Caribbean Sea" (p.5). I read this as the Dominican Republic positioning itself as a link between the new world and "the Other."

The Invisible Past

The opening text of the pamphlet begins with this description:

The Dominican Republic is an independent country of Spanish origin. Its first step towards attaining independence was taken on December 1, 1821, but it was not until February 27, 1844 that complete independence was finally achieved (p. 5)

This is the first example of the story of a complicated past being told with strategic omissions designed to make the ties between the Dominican Republic and Haiti invisible. In 1821, the first step toward independence was when the colony declared independence from Spain (Roorda, 1998 a and b). Haiti occupied the Dominican Republic shortly thereafter and held it from 1822 until 1844, when the Dominican Republic became independent once again. This is the independence the Republic celebrates. The details are missing from the pamphlet because it is an inconvenient story that puts Dominican "Spanish-ness" in jeopardy in two ways, but to be Spanish and assert independence from Spain has inherent contradiction. Dominicans are

Spanish in race and language, which is necessary to be distinct from Haiti and the rest of most of the Caribbean. However, autonomy from Spain is necessary to be part of the Americas.

Another inconvenient truth is that independence from Spain was in part sought after because of a desire for freedom from slavery. This part of the history of the Dominican Republic is an admission to a black population that was consistently made invisible in the nation's history. Second, the reality of the story of its independence, having happened twice (first from Spain and then from Haiti), aside from its part in the Atlantic slave trade, shows a *black* break in the chain which doesn't fit in the narrative. To have been part of Haiti, opens the doors to more theories of darkness and blackness in the Dominican population.

Haiti is mentioned once in the pamphlet and only in terms of the geography. "The island of Santo Domingo is divided into two Republics; on the east covering two-thirds of the area, we have the Dominican Republic, of Spanish origin. The western part, covering one-third of the area, is the Republic of Haiti, of different origin" (p. 11). Here is the clearest example of intensions to create a distinct separation between the Dominican Republic and the country with which it shares an island. From that point on any attributes that are shared by or span the two nations are ambiguously attributed to the island, rather than the two countries. For example, the pamphlet boasts that the island is the second-largest in the Greater Antilles and is home to the "the highest mountains in the system of mountain ranges of the West Indies" (p. 13). Clearly when publicizing one's country it is not necessary to note that which is exceptional yet in common with its neighbor. However, the pamphlet is

publicizing attributes that would not be exceptional were it not for them being shared. In other words, both sides of Hispaniola combined make it the second-largest island in the Caribbean, and the mountain ranges in the two nations combined make them the largest in the region.

The division of the island into the two thirds and third that designate Dominican and Haitian sides was not in place when Columbus arrived. The native people who inhabited the island before Columbus arrived were all connected, with shared and overlapping cultures. The island was, however, divided into five chiefdoms (Law & Tate, 2015). There is some scholarly debate, however, about the notion that in addition to the five provinces, the island was divided into two sides that mirror the division between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Caribbean historian David Geggus (1997) outlines the debate in “The Naming of Haiti” and concluded that Haiti was, in fact, the name for the entire island and that the idea that the natives had already divided the island into two sides prior to Columbus’s arrival was backlash to the Haitian occupation. He writes, “After the Haitian occupation of Santo Domingo during the period 1822-1844, an interesting reaction took place among scholars in the neighboring Hispanic population. Until the Haitian invasion of 1822, Spanish writers had freely accepted “Haiti” as an indigenous term for Hispaniola. There- after, “Quisqueya” became the preferred term, and some claimed that in pre-Columbian times it had referred specifically to the eastern end of the island” (p.56). Quisqueya became part of the story of the Dominican Republic and created a historical separation between it and Haiti, erasing more ties between the two nations. The pamphlet states that Columbus settled on the eastern side of the island, which the natives called Quisqueya, meaning “Mother of

the Earth.” It is important to note again that Columbus’s first colony was located on what is now the Haitian side of Hispaniola. Columbus left Navidad shortly after it was established in 1492. Upon his return the following year, Columbus found the settlement burnt and its Spanish inhabitants dead (Wilson, 1990)

The Present

In addition to highlighting the position of the Republic as essentially the birthplace of the New World, the pamphlet also positioned the nation as an example of modernity. The pamphlet highlighted the Republic’s healthcare, including pictures of five hospitals. The Dominican Republic was able to boast that the nation was free from contagious and fatal diseases like the bubonic plague, yellow fever, and cholera, all typically associated with tropical climes. To reiterate the point, a quote from an unnamed American commission was included: “It is possible to enjoy, when properly selecting the locality, an exquisite climate in which no pulmonary diseases, scarlet fever or other contagious diseases are to be feared, as in the case in the northern countries and furthermore, without any risk of yellow fever” (p. 19). The use of the quote seems to be to have an American voice state that the Dominican Republic is safe for Americans to visit because it is like the northern countries and unlike the other southern countries of the region.

There was also great attention paid to the industries on the island, such as the manufacturing of furniture, alcoholic beverages, clothing, soap, cigars, and yucca flour. The greatest amount of space in the pamphlet dedicated to production was given to the sugar industry, which at the time was responsible for 66% of the country’s exports. With agriculture being the cornerstone of the economy, education

in that field was also highlighted. Primary school was made mandatory as was a “practical agricultural course designed to keep the country people devoted to the land” (p.28). This initiative and the publicizing of it at the World’s Fair in New York, was an effort to offer assurance that with all of the modern advances in the nation, there would still be a working class available to sustain the current industries and support new ones. There were also portions of the pamphlet dedicated to the modern infrastructure throughout the country—including 1,895 kilometers (1,177 miles) of highway, 24 steel bridges, and 109 concrete bridges (p.30)—all architectural feats that showcase a modern society and one with ample means to transport goods from all sections of the island to the numerous natural and artificial ports and bays equipped with piers for passengers and cargo. The overarching message was that the Dominican Republic could cater to Western, specifically U.S. needs.

Not all of the marks of modernity noted were physical. In the pamphlet, the Republic’s government was also touted as “essentially like that of the United States” (p. 28). In addition to the free and mandatory education for the entire population, the government also provided free healthcare, free land for the poor, and freedom of religion. “The religion of the State is the Roman Apostolic Catholic faith because it is the religion of practically all the Dominican people. However, absolute liberty of worship prevails, and the followers of other religions, although they may be few in number, may worship as they please without any obstacle whatsoever” (p. 28). There are a lot of nuances in this excerpt. There is the fact that Roman Catholic was the dominant religion in the country but also a vague acknowledgement that other religions were practiced as well. There were then (and are in the 21st century)

variations of Voudou and other African-based religions practiced within the Dominican Republic and other Latin American countries. “Variants of African-derived religious societies (so-called “cult religions”) of Afro-Latin American and Caribbean folk Catholicism. That is, they are practiced by those who self-identify as Catholics” (Davis, 2007, p. 76). Perhaps the text is alluding to this fact. The assertion that there is freedom of religion could also be an assurance that the Jewish refugees who were being offered refuge in the Dominican Republic would have the freedom to maintain faith without obstacle.

The Invisible Present

The examples, throughout the pamphlet, of the modern advances and progressive principles in the Dominican Republic were attributed to the Trujillo administration, which would have been in power during the planning and construction of them. Quotes were provided from several U.S. government officials, including Representative Hamilton Fish of New York (later governor of the state) who was quoted as saying, “All of this proves what can be done under intelligent guidance like that of General Trujillo during his administration” (p.9). During the time of the World’s Fair in New York, Jacinto Peynado was president of the Dominican Republic. However, he was noticeably missing from the content in the pamphlet. The only hints that there was anyone in charge other than Trujillo were in quotes from Senator Theodore Francis Green of Rhode Island and Rep. Matthew J. Merritt of New York, neither of whom named the sitting president. Green referred only to “the Government” and Merritt referred to a “paternal government, under the inspiration of Trujillo” (p. 9).

Peynado was not the only person missing from the pamphlet; Dominicans as a whole, were all but invisible in the publication. There are 34 photographs in the pamphlet only six include people, mostly at a great distance, where they are little more than a silhouette. The only faces that are shown in the pamphlet are those of Columbus on the cover and the three white U.S. officials pictured visiting the site of the proposed Columbus memorial. The only Dominicans pictured are photographed from a distance, so much so that they are barely more than silhouettes in scenic photos. This includes the people in the photos of Ramfis Park, described as “the finest children’s park in the western hemisphere” (p. 22). It is shown empty with the exception of silhouettes of two people in the four photos included. There were no people in the pictures of the state-of-the art hospital ward, or those of the two new school buildings. There is a silhouette of a pedestrian walking down George Washington Avenue in Santo Domingo in the one of the three photos of the main drag that runs along westward shore of the city. The noticeable absence of people in pictures in the pamphlet strongly suggests a strategic omission to make race/brownness invisible to potential visitors.

Dominicans were missing from the written text as well. In all the ways in which the Dominican Republic was described, none focused on the people. Reinforcing the invisibility of Dominican people in the pamphlet was the high visibility of white American people. All of the quotes in the text were exclusively from white U.S. officials and were used to give credit to sometimes false or unverified claims. For example a second quote from U.S. Sen. Theodore Francis Green reads, “I shall always be grateful for having had the privilege of taking part in

the ceremony of the opening the casket of *the Great Discoverer* (italics in original)” (p. 31). His voice is used as if an authority on the authenticity of the remains, though it seems unlikely that he actually saw Columbus’s remains. Furthermore, it was reported that though there were plans to open the casket for the visitors, ultimately it was not opened because of “technical difficulties” (NYT, Congress Members at Columbus’s Tomb, March 20, 1939, AP story, p. 14).

The Future

The pamphlet highlighted the country’s strengths and modern advancements and its striking natural beauty and resources, all of which supported the third category and message. The Dominican Republic was portrayed as a land of opportunity. “Visitors to the Dominican Republic can find there not only many reasons for enjoyment but also excellent opportunities for the investment of capital” (p. 7). Although there was some space in the pamphlet dedicated to some of the leisurely attributes of the Dominican Republic— such as hunting, fishing, and pleasant climate— this statement shows that the focus on tourism of the early 1930s was gone and that the new focus was capital and an increase in economic intercourse between the Dominican Republic and the United States. From the aforementioned attention paid to the variety of transportation options around and out of the country to the assurance that there were no diseases to be feared by U.S. immigrants, the open-for-business message was woven through the majority of the sections into which the pamphlet was organized.

There were also very explicit invitations for future ventures. The section on minerals opens, “This phase of the country’s wealth merits the most careful

consideration on the part of scientists and capitalists. Although it has been stated that the country is essentially a mining country, up to the present time it is not yet known from that point of view” (p. 25). The text goes on to describe the mineral wealth found in the soils, such as amber, iron, copper, graphite, and granite. The entire section is devoted to the idea of the future exploitation of these natural resources.

In terms of agriculture, at the time the mainstay of the Republic’s economy, expansion was the goal, expansion that was dependent, in part, on the United States. In the climate section of the pamphlet, the final paragraph boasts that the abundant rainfall that waters the majority of the country results in fertile soil and agriculture with a “wonderful future” (p. 15) and noted that areas with less rainfall would soon benefit from government-planned “irrigation canals, so that even those lands which up to the present have been desolate will be converted into fertile fields” (p.15). It was also noted later in the text, under the Government and Administration section, that there were “large areas of virgin land available at low prices” (p. 29).

By far the section most ardently devoted to the future of agriculture in the Dominican Republic, which was dedicated to the sugar industry, was directed toward the United States government. After a description of the state of the industry, which at the time accounted for almost 70% of the total Dominican government revenues, the focus shifted to the limitations that tariffs imposed on industry growth. “There is an abundance of virgin lands available for production of sugar cane, the only obstacle to further development being the present restricted markets” (p. 27). The passage went into detail about the capacity not being reached due to the “very limited quota permitted by the United States” (p.27). Essentially, the pamphlet argued, that the

market was being stifled by foreign limitations, despite the potential found in the abundance of land and capital opportunity. The text positioned the nation as a victim: “The Dominican Republic being one of the few countries of the world not enjoying tariff preferences for its sugar in any foreign market, Dominican sugar, naturally has to compete with that of the other producing countries whose governments provide generous subsidies to the producers, or whose sugar has the benefit of favorable tariff treatment in special markets” (p. 27).

The angle of the plea for looser regulations on exports was fraternity:

The Dominican Republic being so closely related geographically, commercially and by ties of spiritual affinity to the United States there would seem to be no good reason why reciprocity in trade relations with friendly countries, which is an essential part in the present foreign policy of the United States should not in due course result in the access to the United States market, with the benefit of preferential tariff treatment, of a substantial percentage of the sugar which it produces, thus resulting in a consequent material, commercial and economic advantage to both of these countries (p.27)

The stance is a culmination of the messages in the pamphlet. The Dominican Republic is like the United States: clean, modern, ripe with opportunity... American. A country of such stature should be afforded the same benefits as its peers.

Conclusion

The third section of the Dominican pavilion at the World’s Fair was dedicated to the Columbus Memorial Lighthouse. The pamphlet did not follow the three-section format of the exhibit; instead, the three sections were intertwined throughout the content. However, the concluding page of the pamphlet did, like the pavilion, end with the proposed memorial lighthouse that was ultimately completed as part of the 500th anniversary of Columbus’s arrival in Hispaniola in 1992. Essentially it

concluded the way it began, by putting a spotlight on Christopher Columbus, a symbol of the ties between the old and new worlds, between the countries of America. Ties that necessitated the strategic omission of some and highlighting the existence of others. The last line of text reads, "Through this tribute the nations of America will have an unparalleled opportunity to express their gratitude to the Discoverer of the New World and to realize the symbol of American fraternity" (p. 31). The push for fraternity between the Dominican Republic and the modern countries of the Americas, particularly the United States, had an unmistakable racial undertone.

CHAPTER 3/ PROMOTING RACE AND RECRUITING IN HAITI AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The governments of Haiti and the Dominican Republic tried to strategically highlight their strengths when creating images for their young nations. For both sides of Hispaniola that meant, among other things, bolstering population, in numbers and perceived “quality.” For Haiti, that amounted to a campaign to promote a strong, independent black nation and bolster its population by inviting free blacks to participate and benefit in a free black republic. In the Dominican Republic, the government sought to increase the population by inviting people from other nations to come to the Dominican Republic and sought to improve the “quality” of the population by ensuring that all new immigrants were white.

This chapter will address research question one in regard to recruiting specific demographics to change or enhance the populations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic through the analysis of correspondence regarding two vastly different strategic immigration programs the two nations implemented with the corporation of the U.S. government. I have also included letters from refugees who were relocated to Hispaniola, which demonstrate some of the realities of these recruitment efforts.

Recruiting race in Haiti

In 1825, *The North American Review*, at the time the foremost magazine in the U.S., read by the nation’s most elite and influential classes, published “Reports of cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts” by Octavius Pickering. Pickering, a lawyer trained at Harvard University’s law school, was the Reporter of Decisions for the Supreme Judicial Court from 1822-1839. In his January

1825 report he pushed for a campaign to send free American blacks to Africa and Haiti, “The subject of devising means for relieving the United States of the burden of its colored population, must be deemed by every patriot, and every friend of humanity, as one of deep interest to the nation” (Pickering, 1825, p. 192). Pickering expressed a preference for sending blacks back to Africa over Haiti but wrote “there seems no good reason why success should not be wished to both of them, since the ultimate purpose of each, as far as the United States are concerned, is the same” (p. 125). Pickering’s inclusion of the efforts to relocate blacks from the United States to Africa and Haiti, was due to what he referred to as already “ample discussion” in the Annual Review surrounding the work of the American Colonization Society (ACS), which was responsible for a colony of American blacks in Liberia (Sherwood, 1917) with conflicting reports of its success.

The ACS was a U.S. organization of largely white elite members, with varying motives for relocating free blacks from America in the wake of the gradual abolishment of slavery. The ACS was founded in 1816 by Reverend Robert Finley, a Presbyterian minister from Basking Ridge, New Jersey. The Society’s first president was Bushrod Washington, George Washington’s nephew. Other prominent founding members included U.S. Senators Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. Other public supporters were former U.S. Presidents Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and James Madison.

In Haiti, one of the legacies of the Jean Pierre Boyer presidency was the active recruitment of free black people to immigrate to Haiti. Furthering Christophe’s message of equality and dignity for all men, Boyer worked with the American Colonization Society to set up a system, which ran from 1824 to 1826, under which free black

Americans could come to Haiti and prosper in a free black nation unlike their own. Sympathetic to both the sub-rights and living conditions of blacks in the land of their birth (America) and the difficulties of “returning” to a homeland (Africa) that was completely foreign in every way, Boyer offered Haiti as a happy medium.

Loring D. Dewey, a Presbyterian minister from New York, compiled, annotated, and published the early correspondence in regard to the emigration of the U.S. black population to Haiti under the title *Correspondence relative to the emigration to Hayti of the free people of colour(sic) in the U.S.* This correspondence is important to analyze in the context of this dissertation because the negotiations between Boyer and the ASC in regard to the proposed emigration constitute what would be considered part of a publicity plan. In first part of this chapter I analyze the correspondence between Boyer and the American Colonization Society, which was forming Liberia on the western coast of Africa, as it negotiated the terms under which American blacks were to come and stay in Haiti.

Boyer sent Jonathas Granville as the agent of Haiti to ensure that the agreement and plan was put into motion. Granville was a Haitian-born, French-educated man who had served in the French armed forces before returning to Haiti to serve both the Pétion and Boyer administrations. He was tasked with negotiating aspects of the plan with the ACS and promoting it to African American leaders to encourage the emigration movement, much like Saunders did for Christophe before him (Pamphile, 2001).

Haiti’s leadership promoted its independence by publicizing the nation and inviting others to participate in its unprecedented success. President Jean-Pierre Boyer, like Henri Christophe before him, sought to use Haiti’s success as an example of what

could happen under black leadership. Additionally, in an effort to further the nation's progress and the success of the black race, Boyer actively recruited other blacks to enhance the population, first by the occupation/unification of the Dominican Republic and then through recruitment from the United States.

Active recruitment by Haiti lit fire to U.S. fear that the free black nation would inspire America's black population to seek power within its borders. Fearing a revolution, the United States worked with Boyer on the Haiti project and efforts to promote emigration to Liberia, to encourage free American blacks to emigrate to avoid "uncomfortable" integration among the United States' historically separate populations.

In his initial correspondence with Boyer, Dewey, acting as an agent for the American Colonization Society¹⁸, referred to the uncomfortable integration this way:

There are many whites who truly lament their unhappy lot, mourn over their wrongs and would gladly do anything to redress them; but they find that such is their degradation, and public opinion towards the coloured (sic) people, that it is next to impossible to elevate them in this country. The abolition laws passed in this state and others, have only tended to diminish their numbers and their means of support without giving them any real advantage in their moral or civil condition. I speak of the mass (Dewey, 1824, p. 5)

This excerpt from Dewey's letter is a polite description of the conditions of the black condition after slavery in the United States. Reference to the diminished support glosses over the conditions under which slaves were "taken care of" by their owners and the state. Furthermore, the excerpt removes blame from whites in the United States for the conditions under which blacks, enslaved and free, were forced to live. It also masks some

¹⁸ Dewey was reprimanded by the ACS for engaging in negotiations with the Haitian government about the emigration project. As a result in the introduction of his publication of the correspondences about the project he wrote, "I will add, that perhaps I did not write so explicitly as to leave no room for doubt, whether I wrote as the agent, and at the direction of the American Colonization Society, or not; yet, if more explicitness, (and the want of it was unintentional,) had prevented the reply of the President, few, probably will regret that the delinquency occurred, even though they may not excuse the delinquent" L.D. Dewey, New York, June 15, 1824.

of the motivation for encouraging blacks to move to Haiti. The tone of quality of life improvements for American blacks, veils the desire for “the mass” to get rid of a free black population that, proponents argued, had no place in civilized U.S. society.

Philanthropic motives with Financial Gains

Both sides of the U.S. supporters of emigration were interested in getting rid of at least a portion of the U.S. black population. Abolitionists were interested in getting rid of free blacks to create all-white society and/or see that blacks were able to live comfortably. Those in support of maintaining slavery were more interested in sending free blacks off of U.S. shores to avoid inspiring or empowering the enslaved. Boyer, like his U.S. counterparts, presented his motivations as philanthropic. In the negotiations he explicitly stated that his motivations were not to increase Haiti’s population but instead to simply raise all of the children of Africa to civility and prosperity. Regardless of the extent to which he wanted to help his fellow children of Africa, the reality was that he also needed to continue to build Haiti and he needed people to do so. In order to maintain and grow Haiti’s commercial success, Boyer needed to ensure that it remained an export-rich nation. However, like Christophe before him, he governed a population resistant to resume work in a system similar to that which had enslaved them. Both nations had multiple motivations for promoting the movement of the U.S. black population, and a major incentive on both sides was financial.

In his first letter, Dewey—supposedly on behalf of the American Colonization Society—laid out eight questions about the specifics of the potential mass emigration of U.S. free blacks to Haiti, which Boyer addressed point by point in his initial response.

Question 1: Were a number of families to migrate to Hayti, would your government defray any part of the expenses of the voyage, assign them land to cultivate, and aid them to stock their farms? (Dewey, 1824, p. 4).

Boyer's initial response loosely outlined the idea that the cost of emigration would be shared between Haiti and the ACS, and that Haiti would provide land, tools, and other necessities. In Article XII of his instructions to Granville, the agent he sent to New York to represent Haiti in the negotiations, Boyer explicitly stated that immigrants should bring their own tools when possible. If they could not afford to, Boyer placed the responsibility for correcting that shortfall on the ACS, through donations, thus placing more of the financial responsibility on the U.S. side.

Both sides danced around motivations for the desired emigration, stating philanthropic incentives, like improving the quality of life for the population that they wanted to relocate, but noting that there would be a cost, which was explicitly negotiated, and a return on investment that came up subliminally. In response to the veiled motivations expressed through Dewey on behalf of the ACS, Boyer, perhaps facetiously, wrote of potential emigrants, "During the happy days which await them here, they will preserve the memory of your devotion to their cause; they will bless your name, and the happiness they will enjoy will be your sweetest reward" (p. 14). Here, Boyer seems to be asserting that once the necessary transactions to get free American blacks to Haiti were complete, transactions between the emigrated population and the United States would also be complete, and they would no longer be connected with the United States, except in memory. In terms of further transactions between the United States and Haiti, he was asserting boundaries. He further wrote, "The United States will find their commerce with Haiti enlarged by the frequent intercourse which these new Haytians will naturally hold

with the country they left” (p. 16-17). Here he is staking claim; those that come to Haiti from the United States are Haitian, no longer citizens or property of the United States.

Finances were brought up throughout the correspondence, most directly in question 2.

Question 2: To what extent would your government encourage emigration—how much allow to each family for expense of passage—how much land to each family—and to how many families or individuals would all tis assistance be given? (Dewey, 1824, p. 4)

Boyer’s response in its entirety was this:

No matter what number of emigrants; all those who will come with the intention to submit themselves to the laws of the country, shall be received. The price of passage and other expenses shall be discussed by agents to obtain the most advantageous conditions. The quantity of ground shall be as much as each family can cultivate. For the rest, the utmost good-will to the new-comers shall be the basis of the arrangements (Dewey, 1824, p. 9)

Boyer stating that “the utmost good-will to the new-comers shall be the basis of the arrangements” is misleading at best. Negotiations between the two countries may have considered the well-being of the emigrants, but it would be foolish to believe that potential emigrants’ fate was deciding factor in those financial negotiations. The finances needed to be explicitly negotiated. Both sides had a vested interest in the cost of such a potentially large emigration effort and the return on investment. The “frequent intercourse” between the two nations that Boyer mentioned would benefit U.S. commerce and, in fact, be a potential mutually beneficial consequence of the emigration. However, before the return on investment, the initial cost would be significant. Boyer’s commitment to pay for a portion of the cost began with him sending 50,000 pounds of coffee to New York to add to Haiti’s account on the matter, and led to the introduction of Charles Collins.

Quakers and Haiti

Collins, a prominent Quaker in New York and a grocer, was the recipient of the third letter included in Dewey's collection. In it, Boyer referred to Collins with seeming reverence and acknowledged his dedication to the cause of free black emigration. He wrote, "You have, Sir, for a long time consecrated your waking hours to the means of alleviating the sufferings of a portion of the human species, against whom prepossession and prejudice act with pitiless rigour [*sic*], so that I do not doubt you will seize the present occasion to render your efforts, and those of your friends successful" (Dewey, 1824, p. 16). Collins' motivations seemed to have been to elevate the quality of life of black people.

In addition to his support of the Haiti emigration project, he was an advocate for commerce based on products produced without slave labor. Collins' grocery store exclusively sold such products, including the 50,000 pounds of coffee Boyer sent to finance the emigration effort. Granville was instructed to get the money from those sales (Article XVI) in order to finance the emigration efforts when he was in New York, and Collins hosted Granville when he was in New York (Fanning, 2015). It is unclear whether Boyer's mention of Collins' friends was in regard to him being Quaker or whether Boyer was referring to Collins as white, but Collins' religious background was a factor in his support of the rights of free blacks.

Collins was in contact with fellow Quaker and early abolitionist Elias Hicks (Fanning, 2015), a vocal and controversial traveling minister who supported emigration. Hicks wrote three editions of his essay, *Observations on the slavery of the Africans and their decedents and on the use of the produce of their labour* (*sic*). *Recommended to the*

serious perusal, and impartial consideration of the citizens of the United States of America, and others concerned (1811, 1814, 1823). It seems likely that Hicks and Collins would have known of each other and shared ideas that were circulating in Quaker and abolitionist circles along with Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker and ardent abolitionist who published the newspaper *The Genius of Universal Emigration* (1821-1839), which Hicks helped support. In his *Observations*, Hicks decried the system of slavery and argued that slavery and any participation in it, including reaping the benefits of its spoils, was a crime. He wrote:

[T]hey may hold it to our lips, steeped in the blood of our fellow creatures, but they cannot compel us to accept the loathsome potion. With us it rests, either to receive it and be partners in the crime, or to exonerate ourselves from guilt, by spurning from us the temptation. For let us not think, that the crimes rests alone with those who conduct the traffic, or the Legislature by which it is protected. If we purchase the commodity we participate in the crime. The slave dealer the slave holder, and the slave driver, are virtually the agents of the consumer, and may be considered as employed and hired by him, to procure the commodity, For by holding out the temptation, he is the original cause, the first mover in the horrid process; and every distinction is done away by moral maxim, that whatever we do by another, we do ourselves. (p. 15)

The sentiments of this doctrine evince the motivation of some of the white people involved early on in handling the finances for the Haitian emigration project. It also demonstrates the strong Quaker presence in the U.S. abolition movement and Quaker support for emigration to Haiti.

U.S. Colony in Haiti

Another motivation for support in the United States toward the relocation of its black population would be to expand the power and influence of the United States on Haiti, which would be aided by the presence of a U.S. colony, hinted at in question 4.

Question 4: Though no assistance were given, would the opportunity to come and settle in your Island, to any and all who might choose to migrate there, be given in the same unrestricted manner in which our government gives it to all emigrants from other countries—what would be the cost of lands to such, and could they obtain in large quantities, so that numbers could settle down in the same neighborhood? (Dewey, 1824, p. 4)

This question seems to hint at the possibility of a U.S. colony in Haiti through individual land ownership of like-minded immigrants. Again, Boyer asserted in his response that those who came must submit to the laws of the state and thus would be afforded the rights of being Haitian while being held to the same legal standards as Haitians, something he reiterates in the instructions he sent with agent Granville. In his answer he emphasized that the free black emigrants from the United States would be considered Haitian, and would be granted citizenship after one year of residence. As citizens they would be entitled to all of the freedoms of their Haitian born peers, including the right to own land and freedom of religion. Boyer did however stipulate in multiple instances, that these rights were contingent on the new emigrants not disrupting the tranquility and prosperity of the nation, but he does not explicitly state a consequence. However, in his direct response to this question, he states that they would be “distributed in the most advantageous manner and those who may desire it, shall be placed in neighbourhood (*sic*) of each other” (p, 2). Boyer’s interesting compromise, perhaps an effort to avoid squelching any of the freedoms he was offering to the incoming population, included the possibility for them to live together, as long as they were to do so within the designated areas he selected for the immigrants to populate, which I explore in greater detail, in the analysis of the instructions Boyer laid out for the agent he sent to New York.

Dewey explicitly brings up the idea of a U.S. colony in question 8:

Question 8: Would your government allow the Society to plant a colony in your island, having its own laws, courts, and legislature, *in all* respects like one of the States of the United States, and *connected with* and *subject* to the government of Hayti, only as each states is without our general government; and would land be furnished for such a colony? (all italics in original) (Dewey, 1824, p. 4)

This is an important point in the negotiations, as it is an explicit mention of a colony that had been only hinted previously. As a new nation run by blacks, fighting for global recognition, Haiti was still very much under threat of recolonization. Boyer needed to balance the need to represent Haiti as a strong independent nation while treading lightly in a tumultuous environment where black rule was young, under-recognized, feared, and challenged in the Western world.

In his counter to question eight, Boyer wrote, “That cannot be. The laws of the Republic are general—and no particular laws can exist. Those who come, being children of Africa, shall be Haytiens [*sic*] as soon as they put their feet upon the soil of Hayti; they will enjoy happiness, security, tranquility, such as we ourselves possess, however our defamers declare the contrary” (Dewey, 1824, p. 10).

This is a strong stance on the idea of a proposed “United States colony” on Haitian soil. In the constant fight to maintain Haitian independence it was important to protect its borders while leaving them open for its fellow black people. It also, not only explicitly denies the request, but goes on to imply that as children of Africa, the black population was never *of* the United States and that it, like people born in Haiti, would prosper in Haiti, *despite* what defamers, namely white populations throughout the West, believed was reality.

Haiti and Liberia, alternative solutions for black problem

The ACS and its constituents had varying motivations for wanting to relocate the U.S. black population. The ACS was composed of both pro- and anti-slavery members. Both sides, with varying motivations, had the common goal of creating an all-white United States. Where to send and what to do about the relocated population was a point of contention. The leading forces of the Society were very much opposed to the Haiti emigration project, preferring the failed/failing project in Liberia, which by 1824 had only seen just over 300 emigrants from the United States (Wing Shick, 1970)¹⁹. After the correspondence was initiated between Boyer and the ACS, and after Granville was already in New York, there was an official break. According to a note, by Dewey, included in the *Correspondence* publication, the ASC decided to separate the efforts of emigration to Haiti and Liberia. The ACS was to continue its mission to relocate blacks to Africa and a separate organization, The Society for promoting the Emigration of Free Persons of Colour to Hayti, would handle the Haiti project. The new Society was formed on June 18, 1824, at a meeting in New York, at which Granville was present and spoke.

The failed Liberia effort reveals several things about the general idea of moving children of Africa from the United States. One, the African Diaspora was and is diverse, due to geography, time, and circumstance, and in many contexts not necessarily harmonious. This is illustrated by a letter a Rev. Bacon in Sierra Leone in the *African Intelligencer*, an ACS publication.²⁰ He wrote, “I am struck with wonder at the

¹⁹ The U.S. continued to send people to populate the colony until 1843 at which time 4571 black Americans had moved to Liberia. However, by 1843 only 1,819 remained. The low population number was attributed to 11% leaving and the rest dying of varying causes, 21% dying within the first year of their arrival (Wing Shick, 1970).

²⁰ In July 1820, the ACS published *The African Intelligencer*, edited by Jehudi Ashmun (1794–1828), a young teacher who hoped to become a missionary to Africa. Its thirty-two pages contained articles on the slave trade, African geography, the expedition of the Elizabeth (the ship that carried the first group of colonists to Liberia), and the ACS constitution. Upset by the expense and the lack of public support for the journal, ACS managers canceled

appearance of native Africans. The sickly and depressed countenance of a Philadelphia coloured [*sic*] man is not to be seen amongst them. A noble aspect, a dignified mien, a frank and open, and wild man's demeanour [*sic*]!" (1820, p. 9). His statements as a white man, with an inherited hand in slavery and the degradation of the black race in the United States, is evidence of the lack of acknowledgement of responsibility for the effects of slavery by certain sectors of the white population. He was admiring the untouched brethren of the people of his own country, who had been degraded by decades of slavery and mistreatment. It is a stark example of denial in the participation of the degradation of the black race.

The single issue of *The African Intelligencer* was filled with accounts that praised the ACS and its colony efforts in western Africa. However, the black American colony did not integrate into neighboring populations, nor did they experience peaceful coexistence with their new neighbors or new environment. In addition to hostile encounters with indigenous people, the new black population fell victim to what was known as the "African fever," what we now know as malaria. Another example of the diversity within the African Diaspora is evident in the devastation caused by disease within the new colony. Some African-Americans in the 19th century, and today, still have the biological defenses (namely the sickle-cell trait) that provides resistance to malaria. Generations away from Africa or similar environments, along with racial mixing, had bred out the immunity for many of the blacks who immigrated to Liberia, thus making them susceptible to the many symptoms of malaria, including death (Clegg, 2009).

the monthly journal after one issue. Ashmun went to Africa in 1822, where he became an early leader of the Liberian colony before dying from a fever in 1828 (Ham, n.d.).

In terms of motivation, favor for Liberia over Haiti in the ACS reiterates further colonization as a strong motivation for promoting black emigration from the United States, as demonstrated by an article from the *Genius of Universal Emigration*²¹:

When the very liberal propositions of President Boyer were made known among us, they were strenuously opposed on the flimsy pretext that the emigration to Hayti would interfere with the plan of colonizing in Africa; by which means, they tell us, that quarter of the globe is to be Christianized and the slave trade abolished. ... The opposition to this measure, appears to be principally confined to those who wish to hold their fellow men in bondage, and to live at ease upon the production of their labour [*sic*]. ... In the course of my observations, I have remarked that the best informed among the advocates of Universal Emancipation, are, generally, in favour [*sic*] of the removal of our coloured [*sic*] population to Hayti” (Lundy, 1825, p. 52)

Boyer was particularly sympathetic to the plight of U.S. blacks sent to Africa. He like, much of the Western world, thought of Africa as a savage land. He believed that his brethren would be unable to adapt to life in Africa after life in the civilized world, and was happy to offer Haiti as a civilized alternative. He wrote:

I considered the colonization of barbarous regions with men accustomed to life in the midst of civilized people, as a thing impracticable, to say nothing more ... although Africa be the cradle of their fathers, what a frightful prospect is it to see themselves exiled to insalubrious climes, after having inhaled the breezes of the land of their birth!” (Dewey, 1824, p. 7)

Boyer mentions Africa in two interesting ways throughout the correspondence in reference to emigration from the United States to Haiti. First, he draws a direct connection between Africa and blacks, stating multiple times that blacks are the children of Africa, a nod to the African Diaspora that scholars refer to today, referencing a strong and direct ancestral bond that connected all black people (Gliroy, 1993; Palmer, 2000).

However, there is also a clear colonial sentiment in Boyer’s statements in that he refers to

²¹ *The Genius of Universal Emigration* (1821-1839) was a newspaper published by Benjamin Lundy. Lundy was a Quaker from New Jersey and an ardent abolitionist.

Africa as barbarous and unfit for civilized people, even those whose ancestry is African. While an advocate for the idea of equality and equal potential of black people—which is in contrast to the ideas of slavery and ideas of the diminished capacity of black people—Boyer still subscribed to the idea of a savage Africa. He both tried to elevate blacks to the ranks of whites and maintained a distinct “Other” within his own race, which presents itself throughout the negotiations of the Haiti emigration proposal.

Maintaining culture in relocation

It is likely that Dewey did not see a distinction between the African Other and the Haitian Other, which may have informed his concern about religion which he expressed in question 5.

Question 5: How far is toleration extended to different religions? (Dewey, 1824, p. 4)

Religion has historically played a strong role in colonization, particularly as tool to “civilize” others (Said, 1993). One of the burdens of the West has been to rid the world of savagery and to its greatest, albeit limited capacity, civilize the other through religion (Vásquez & Marquardt, 2003). Haiti, where Christianity already had a strong hold, was also known and feared for its Voodoo or Voudou, which in many ways represented the savage. Vodou is a complex belief system that is a by-product of Catholicism and traditional religions from Africa that developed in slave communities in Haiti (Experience Haiti, n.d.).

Implanting Christians, in this case with black skin, could have been used as a tool to further infiltrate Haitian culture and replace what remained of Voudou with Christianity. Boyer, seemingly in an attempt to both placate the U.S. side while

protecting his own, responded that “they shall not be meddled with in their domestic habits, nor in their religious belief, provided they do not seek to make proselytes, or trouble those who profess another faith than their own” (Dewey, 1824, p. 10). One could also argue that in building a strong nation of formerly oppressed people, all demands for freedoms, including that of religion needed to be met, if not, at least entertained.

The remainder of Dewey’s questions also reveal motivations for a desire for continuity of U.S. culture in Haiti and concern about possible influence on Haitian culture. Questions 3, 6, and 7 (Dewey, 1824, p. 4) refer to the fate of skilled labor, freedom to own land, marriage, and schools:

Question 3: What encouragement would be offered to mechanics and merchants?

Question 6: What are your laws in reference to marriage, and what is the state of society in this respect?

Question 7: How far are schools supported?

Certainly, such questions could be seen as an attempt to ensure that the best interests of U.S. blacks were taken into account or that Haiti needed to be seen as an attractive place for the possible emigrants to ensure their departure. The latter possible motivation for the line of questions is embedded in these words from Dewey: “Although, their condition here, is, in most, lamentable; yet, being long accustomed to it, and it a great degree ignorant, uneducated, even the nominally free, they are not aware of how bad it is, and therefore must have some very obvious advantages to gain, before they will change it” (Dewey, 1824, p. 5). Such questions could also be an effort to further ensure that American culture is maintained within the new nation.

Boyer’s responses to these questions demonstrate a desire to accommodate the incoming “new” Haitians while protecting Haiti as an independent nation. Skilled

laborers would be permitted to practice their professions and benefit from exemption from the law of patent for one year²²; marriage would be encouraged and honored as in other civilized countries. In regard to schools, Dewey asked simply if they were supported, and Boyer assured him that they were everywhere the population was large enough.

Instructions from President Boyer to Agent Granville

In addition to the correspondence between Dewey and himself, Boyer also sent an agent, Granville, with detailed instructions, to ensure that the emigration plan was implemented to his liking. Dewey included a translation of the instructions, divided into 19 articles, that President Boyer sent with Granville, who was to handle the negotiations in New York on behalf of Haiti. Boyer did not mince his words in his instructions to Granville, describing the conditions of blacks in the United States as a

system so outrageous to humanity, some of them in despair have deprived themselves of a wretched existence; others debased by ignorance, and exacerbated by misfortune, have become turbulent and dangerous, and that a great number deprived of the means of exercising an honest industry, either rural or mechanical, are forced to live in idleness and vagrancy (Dewey, 1824, p. 18)

This statement demonstrates Boyer's sympathy for the black people of the United States, and understanding that the unflattering reputation associated with them was as a result of the conditions under which they were forced to live. To that end, Boyer instructed Granville in Article II to inform himself of the ways of the land while visiting New York and to "conform to them and act accordingly" (p. 21). No doubt this article was to ensure

²² Boyer instituted a patent law where Haitian workers were charged 150-330 gourdes (Haitian dollars) to work in Haiti. Foreigners were often charged more, sometimes thousands of dollars. The only exemptions, prior to Boyer's deal with Dewey, were farmers, public or military employees, and hired day laborers or domestic workers (Fanning, 2008, p. 124).

Granville's safety as well as the make sure negotiations went smoothly. Later in the instructions in the final Article XIX, Boyer also dictated that Granville was to "travel to the interior of the Northern States wherever you are permitted to go , and where you think your presence will determine those to emigrate who are disposed and at liberty to do so" (p. 23). The geographic constraint of the northern states that Boyer placed on Granville is evidence of Boyer's knowledge of and acceptance of the difference in race relations between the north and south of the United States. The Southern states still supported and were reliant on slavery during these negotiations while the Northern states were phasing slavery out. Furthermore, Boyer's instructions clearly show that the offer of Haiti was for those who were already free in the eyes of the law. The emigration program was not to be used as a tool for runaway slaves.

Granville's mission was to recruit 6,000 free black people from the United States and to manage their safe passage to Haiti by the end of 1824. He was given authority to pay for their passage and provisions for the trip. If they were unable to get to ports of departure, he was authorized to pay for them to get there, though this fee would have to be repaid within six months of the immigrants' arrival in Haiti. He was also given permission to charter ships if it would save money. The potential emigrants were divided into three categories, which determined specific stipulations of their relocation and the costs Haiti would incur for them.

The first category of emigrant was "heads of households who can unite twelve people able to work" (Dewey, 1824, p. 22). These groups would be given at least 36 acres of land to work to grow coffee, cotton, maize, peas, and other vegetables. The article then instructs that "after they have well improved the said quality of land ... the government

will give perpetual title to the said land to these twelve people, their heirs and assigns” (Dewey, 1824, p. 22). In addition to passage and travel provisions, Boyer also wrote that they would be given enough resources to sustain themselves for four months while they established the land. For this category of emigrant, “nothing will be required of them for what may have been paid for their passage and subsistence, which is a donation made to them by the Republic” (p. 23). The relocation package for this group was by far the most generous of those offered by Boyer, perhaps because of the value they would have for Haiti working in agriculture.

The second category of emigrants identified in Boyer’s instructions was “those who wish to come to Hayti, to engage in commercial or mechanical pursuits” and those who come to buy, rent, or till in shares, lands cultivated, or to be cultivated, or who come to engage themselves as servants, workmen, or labourers” (Dewey, 1824, p. 24). This group would also be granted the rights of citizenship but would be required to pay back the expenses from their travel to Haiti within six months of their arrival in the country.

A third category of people, those with ship-building skills, for example were designated to be sent to Samana, on Dominican Republic side of the island, which at the time was occupied by Haiti. Samana was and is located within a bay and would have been an ideal port for export at the time. This was the only location allocated for the emigrants that was given separate attention. This third category of persons were those with the skills to build ships like carpenters, wood-sawyers, blacksmiths, caulkers, and rope makers.

Emigrant distribution

In addition to the designation of Samana as the place for new immigrants with skills related to ship building, Boyer dictated that there were only certain parts of Haiti that the immigrants would be permitted to inhabit. He stated, “the places, where I desire the emigrants to locate themselves, at the commencement of the enterprize (sic), and until the end of the present year, both for their own advantage and the agricultural interests of the country are” (Dewey, 1824, p. 27). Below is scan of the document Boyer sent that outlined where the new immigrants were to be go, with specific numbers of people allocated to each city. The chart also includes attributes of each city such as the crops grown in the area.

27

1. Port-au-Prince District, at Mirebalais, culture of fine cotton, and all kinds of produce, a fertile quarter, - - - persons,				500
Idem, for the quarter of Lescaobe, Lamatte, and Hinche, the culture of Coffee and provisions, - - - - -				300
Idem, for the quarter of Orangers, Crochus, and Arcahaie, the culture of Coffee, -				200
Total,				1000
2. Cape Haytien, for Grand Riviere, Dondon, Marmelade, Limbe, Plaisance, Borgne and Port Margot,—coffee, - - -				1000
3. Porte Plate, for Altamire, St. Yague, Moca, Macoris, and Lavega,—coffee, tobacco, and cocoa, - - - - -				1000
4. Samana,—coffee and provisions - - -				200
5. St. Domingo, for Seybo, Higoey, Monteplate, Boya, Bayaguana, Los Llanos, St. Christophe, Bany,—coffee, cocoa, and sugarcane,				1200
6. Jacquemel, for Marigot, Neybe, and Baynet,—coffee and provisions, - - -				600
7. Les Cayes and Jeremie,—coffee - - -				500
8. Gonaïves,—cotton, - - - - -				500
Total,				6000

ARTICLE XVIII.

You will not fail to observe that this population of 6000 souls, emigrating this year to Hayti, will be placed in a situation to free themselves by their own industry, from misery and care ; for they will find cleared lands, civilized and habitable regions, the resources of life,

Figure 2: Chart denoting immigrant allocation (Dewey, 1824, p. 27)

Most of the costs associated with the emigration were being handled through donation from the Republic of Haiti or fell on the shoulders of the potential emigrants as startup debt. In the instructions, Boyer only laid out one area where the United States would be financially responsible. Boyer required that the cultivators should bring their own farming tools when they came to Haiti. The latter part of Article XV reads, “if the

societies for colonization are disposed to make donations to the emigrants, the amount of then can be employed by their agents, in the purchase of provisions or farming utensils, such as hoes, axes, scythes, ploughs, harrows, &c. (Dewey, 1824, p 26).

Despite the rigid instructions, Boyer did leave some discretion to Granville in Article XVII, in order to ensure the project's successful launch:

To the end I propose, being in favour [*sic*] the emigration to Hayti, of those who are able to become, by our laws, citizens of this country, you ought not to fail to consult all persons devoted to the cause of humanity, who are capable of giving you good advice, and after obtaining their written and well digested opinion, you are authorized to consent to little expenses I may not have foreseen, and of which there is urgent necessity, and such as shall facilitate the execution of the enterprise (Dewey, 1824, p 26)

Limited success toward the creation of a Haitian haven

Despite Boyer's enthusiasm for the project, which ran for only two years, its ultimate scale and success were limited. The exact number of people who emigrated was not well documented, though Granville's sons, authors of his biography, estimated the number to be 6,000 (Son Fils, 1839). Benjamin Hunt (1859), a white abolitionist who wrote on the conditions of the emigrants years later, estimated that 13,000 people left the United States for Haiti as part of the project, with limited success. "Of all Boyer's thirteen thousand American immigrants of 1824-1827," he wrote, "I never found nor heard of one who, after 1836, was living on the land assigned him by government on his arrival. A considerable number of these immigrants, and probably some of the best of them, and those who had means, returned to the United States" (p. 11).

Those that did go to Haiti were met with a social hierarchical system that favored those with lighter skin and/or those with money, something familiar to them from experience within the U.S. and yet hidden when they were sold the idea of immigrating to

Haiti. Many of these more fortunate immigrants were not familiar with nor interested in agriculture, roles that were left almost exclusively for the poorer darker hued immigrants (Dain, 2002). The omission of the realities of Haiti could be to blame for the lack of success of the program and the retreat of the immigrants in significant numbers back to the United States. Boyer was also dissatisfied with the program since the influx of immigrants did not fill the hole in agricultural labor nor did they remain in the areas he'd designated. As a result the Haitian government stopped funding the program and it dissolved, although some immigration did continue (Mackenzie, 1830).

Recruiting Race in the Dominican Republic

Over a century later, in the Dominican Republic, the Trujillo administration also focused on immigration as integral part to the nation image he was constructing. Although the Dominican Republic had a largely light (mixed race) or white population, there was still a darker (also mixed race), if not black, part of the population. In addition to the genocidal efforts against Haitians, Trujillo devoted energy to trying to breed out the darkness that was undeniably Dominican. To achieve this, the Trujillo regime actively recruited immigrants from other countries, such as Germany and Puerto Rico (Roorda, 1998). This strategy served to bring in more white bodies to continue to lighten the Dominican population through intermarriage and reproduction (Metz, 1990). It also served as an effort to rebuild the Dominican Republic's reputation in the wake of the massacre on the Haitian/Dominican border. One of the most interesting parts of this effort involved European Jews. At a 1938 Intergovernmental Committee Conference in France, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked for governments to volunteer to take in thousands of Jewish refugees, but only one government stepped up (Symanski & Burley,

1973). Trujillo opened the Dominican border to Jewish refugees when no other nation would take them. The Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA) was formed, and in 1940 what was to be the first wave of Jewish refugees was resettled in the Dominican town of Sosua. In this second part of the chapter I analyze documents in relation to the DORSA project and the Dominican Republic's recruitment efforts.

In many ways, race in the Dominican Republic, as we know it in the 21st century, began with the end of its occupation by/unification with Haiti under Boyer's presidency. The separation is marked as the Dominican Republic's official Independence Day, February 27, 1844. As part of developing as a nation independent from its former colonizers and occupiers, the Dominican Republic, like any new nation, was in need of a nation image, and in this case race played integral role. As scholar Silvio Torres-Saillant (1998) notes, "As the newly created Caribbean republic sought to insert itself into an economic order dominated by Western powers, among which 'the racial imagination' had long since taken a firm hold, the race of Dominicans quickly became an issue of concern" (p. 127). An example of how race in the Dominican Republic existed in the racial imagination can be found in a 1937 article from the *New York Times*. While summarizing the century-long conflict between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, reporter Harwood Hull stated that Haiti is black and many Dominicans are white, evidence of Western participation in the Dominican racial imaginary. In the same article however, there is some evidence of mistrust and inconsistency of the imaginary as Hull wrote, "the black blood which flows in the veins of Dominicans is traced by them to the time of the Haitian invasion rather than to any intermingling of races at an earlier day when the Spanish conquistadores brought in thousands of African slaves. The blood mark which Haiti left

in the Santo Domingo a century ago has made the Haitians hated” (December 12, 1937, p. 81). According to Hull, the story of blackness from the Dominican Republic was that it was a relatively new part of the nation’s history that came long after colonialism.

In “Tribulations of Blackness: Stages in Dominican Racial Identity,” Torres-Saillant (1998), a prominent scholar in Latin American studies, noted that the Dominican Republic became the site of the start of the black experience in the Western Hemisphere when, after Christopher Columbus landed on Hispaniola in 1492, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain appointed Fray Nicolas de Ovando governor of Santo Domingo and authorized him to bring blacks slaves to the colony. By the time independence was won, the population of the Dominican Republic could not be defined in terms of just black and white due to decades of racial mixing and a departure from race being dictated by physical markers, which Torres-Saillant discusses as a split between biological blackness and social blackness. However, despite the fluid and fuzzy racial lines, there was still very much an anti-black sentiment, particularly in the context of creating an image of a new independent nation.

Decades of racial tension and a racial hierarchy borne from colonization and Western ideals led to a multi-hued nation spending the better part of a century defining, negotiating, and distinguishing its own race. However, the racial tribulations became paramount in the Trujillo era. In his book, *Tropical Zion: General Trujillo, FDR, and the Jews of Sosua*,²³ Allen Wells (2009), an historian and the son of a former Sosua settler in the Dominican Republic, wrote that “(r)ace had been a persistent preoccupation of elites

²³ *Tropical Zion: General Trujillo, FDR, and the Jews of Sosua* is an extensive study of the Sosua settlement.

before Trujillo, but it was under his rule that it became a pliable and effective tool to foment nationalism, cultural homogeneity, and a new Dominican identity” (p. xxiii).

Philanthropy and public image

One of the more publicized efforts by the Trujillo administration to manipulate race in the Dominican Republic was the welcoming of European Jewish refugees and the creation of the Sosua colony. The unlikely project was made public in the wake of the massacre of 15,000 Haitians along the border of Haiti and the Dominican Republic under Trujillo’s orders. Following the 1937 carnage, Trujillo found himself with an image problem. An opportunity for some good publicity and a chance to replenish the agricultural population arose in July 1938 at the Evian Conference in Évian-les-Bains, France. In 1938, five years after the start of the Holocaust in Germany, hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees were in need of places to go. After years of trickling out to safety to countries such as France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, many more found themselves with nowhere to go. Many countries, the U.S. included, were not interested in an influx of immigrants and were using existing immigration quota laws as a means to stop the refugees from entering their countries. As a result, President Franklin D. Roosevelt invited 32 countries²⁴ to the Evian Conference to figure out what could be done. The conference amounted essentially to a consensus between the nations that someone needed to do something, but all but one nation refused to be the one to open its borders. The Dominican Republic was the exception (Kaplan, 2008; and Wells, 2009).

²⁴ Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Columbia, Cost Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Ireland, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Virgilio Trujillo Molina, special envoy and Rafael Trujillo's brother, offered the following:

The Dominican government, which for many years has been encouraging and promoting the development of agriculture by appropriate measures and which gives ample immigration facilities to agriculturalists who wish to settle in the country as colonists, would be prepared to make its contribution by granting specially advantageous concessions to Austrian and German exiles, agriculturalists with an unimpeachable record who satisfy the conditions laid down by the Dominican legislation on immigration" (Wells, 2009)

The generous offer was laden with hypocrisy. First, to state that the Dominican Republic had been encouraging the immigration for agriculture is a blatant omission of the fact that there was a population of people who were willing to tend and had been tending the country's agriculture. The thousands of Haitians who were deported or murdered under the Trujillo administration were mostly farmers. However, it was clear by the offer at the Evian conference that there were desirable and undesirable immigrants. Haitians fell into the latter category.

The second cruel twist of irony is that a dictator accused of genocidal acts was offering refuge to those escaping a dictator successfully enacting genocide. The parallels between Trujillo and Hitler were striking, as Ronda (1996) writes:

Trujillo's mimicry of Hitler's style of leadership was an alarming development; he had begun wearing a greatcoat and jackboots (unusual attire for the tropics) and had recently mandated that members of the Partido Dominicano, the only legal political party, greet one another with a kind of 'Sieg Heil' salute instead of the usual handshake (p. 307)

Nonetheless, the refugees were not the target of Trujillo's disdain, and they needed somewhere to go. The dichotomy was not lost on the international Jewish organizations bound by the immigration laws of their respective governments (Kaplan, 2008), however, at the time Trujillo's offer presented a solution to an egregious life-or-death problem. It

was also an opportunity for prominent Jewish organizations in the United States to demonstrate the value of Jewish immigrants and inspire other nations to open their borders to more refugees. Touting the promise of the Sosua project, James N. Rosenberg, an American Jew and eventual president of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA), said:

Many of the rich countries of the Western World need man power, as much as this country of ours did 100 years ago. Today they hesitate to accept large scale immigration. It is for us to wipe away those doubts by proving that those victims of oppression, torn and tortured by insensate hate and persecution, can become rich assets to the Dominican Republic (Town Hall notes, p. 14)

Fixing race

There were many potential motivations for the Dominican Republic's offer to take in 100,000 Jewish refugees, but one was explicitly highlighted by President Trujillo. In his address at the official contract signing on January 30, 1940, Trujillo declared that agriculture and culture were the sacred theme of his patriotic conviction and that:

Furthermore, at one and the same time we can achieve the realization of the purposes which strive for an intensification of the cultures of our lands, and follow also, by an indirect route, a favorable way for the betterment of our ethnical problem, because these immigrational(sic) currents bring to our soil racial elements both capable and desirable. (From address of Generalissimo Trujillo, JDC ARCHIVES)

In this excerpt, Trujillo conjures up a racial imaginary and a desire to create a race more like the image he was promulgating. When he talked about the intensification of Dominican culture he essentially was talking about the white part of the nation's culture, which would be "intensified" by the influx of white immigrants. This sentiment over-emphasizes the amount of whiteness that was present in the population at the time and makes the black presence invisible. In addition, his only acknowledgement of the black presence in the Dominican Republic was to allude to it as an "ethnical problem" that

white immigration would fix. Stating that this immigration current would bring capable and desirable racial elements was essentially saying that previous black²⁵ or Haitian immigrants were both incapable and undesirable.

In addition to the need for image repair and a desired race shift in the population, the Dominican Republic needed to grow its population, particularly in terms of agricultural hands. Jewish scholar Marion Kaplan²⁶ explores several possible motivations for Trujillo's offer to aid Jewish refugees in addition to race and image damage control. Already underpopulated relative to the rest of the Caribbean, the Dominican Republic created a population void with its systematic removal of Haitians, which is why the offer to refugees was explicitly for agriculturalists. Interestingly, Wells (2009) points out that in contrast to the stipulations of the agreement, many of the Jewish refugees would not have been suited for agricultural work in the Dominican Republic due to lack of experience, specifically in a tropical climate. There was some doubt in the scientific community of the time whether white settlers could prosper in the warmer climates of the tropics. In addition, Kaplan noted that in taking in the refugees, Trujillo may have hoped to not only gain favor with the United States, but also increase trade. Lastly, Kaplan (2008) noted that Trujillo's daughter was not socially accepted at her school in France, but found refuge in a friendship with a German Jewish girl named Lucy Kahn. In gratitude, the Trujillo family brought her and husband to the Dominican Republic, prior to the agreement, when they fled Germany in 1937.

²⁵ Black immigrants from around the Caribbean did come to the Dominican Republic for work, but the majority of labor immigration was from Haiti (Kaplan, 2008)

²⁶ *Dominican Haven: The Jewish Refugee Settlement in Sosua, 1940-1945* (2008) is an extensive study of the Sosua settlement in the Dominican Republic.

U.S. Stake in Trujillo's Image

It is also important to note that the United States probably had motivations for supporting the Dominican settlement. The massacre on the Dominican/Haiti border was cause for concern and perhaps created a want to step outside of the parameters of the U.S. Good Neighbor Policy which was a foreign policy from President Franklin D. Roosevelt that called for non-intervention strategies in Latin America.²⁷ Being bound by his own policy, Roosevelt needed a way to calm the dictator or at least make him look better to justify the lack of assertive intervention and the perpetuation of business and trade between the United States and the Dominican Republic.

The Contract

A Meeting at the Town Hall Club in New York City on February 15, 1940, brought together many of the major players from the U.S. side involved in the Sosua program. The published meeting notes, titled "Concerning Refugee Settlement in the Dominican Republic" included the contract in its entirety. Also included in the published meeting notes are remarks from Rosenberg, who explained the connections and organizations of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), which was formed in 1924, and DORSA, which was formed in 1939. In Rosenberg's remarks he explained that from the JDC came the Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation (Agro-Joint), which under his leadership and that of Dr. Joseph A. Rosen (as chairman) successfully formed the

²⁷ In March 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Good Neighbor Policy toward Latin America, drawing on a statement from his first inaugural address: "In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of agreements in and with a world of neighbors. We now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take, but must give as well." It was under this policy that the U.S. Marines pulled out of Nicaragua and Haiti and ended the military occupations.

Crimea settlement in Russia. Riding on the success of the Russia settlement, the new program in the Dominican Republic was proposed and accepted, and the Agro-Joint allocated \$200,000 of its funds to the project. DORSA was then formed to manage the project with Rosenberg as president and Rosen as vice-president.

The agreement was divided into six articles. The first, titled Rights for Settlers, briefly outlined that all settlers would be afforded religious, economic, and civil rights. In its entirety, the Article reads:

The Republic, in conformity with its Constitution and laws, hereby guarantees to the settlers and their descendants full opportunity to continue their lives and occupations free from molestation, discrimination or persecution, with full freedom of religion and religious ceremonials, with equality of opportunities and of civil, legal and economic rights, as well as all other rights, inherent to human beings (p. 22)

The final phrase, “all other rights inherent to human beings” is cause for pause given that part of the possible motivation for the Dominican Republic to host this project was to distract from Trujillo’s refusal to grant Haitians inherent human rights. The wording in itself seems to elevate the status of the incoming white refugees well above that of the blacks who preceded them, who were deemed not worthy of the rights inherent to human beings.

The second article explains that the refugees could be Jewish or non-Jewish and that the number of settlers would be increased gradually. At the start of the enactment of the agreement, the \$200,000 was to provide enough funds for the 500 families that would be the start of the program; Trujillo’s commitment was for 100,000 refugees to eventually settle in the Dominican Republic. The article also briefly mentions that the Dominican Republic would be where the settlers would make their permanent homes and acquire citizenship. Perhaps this rather subtle inclusion was to ward off any ideas that the DR

would simply be a stopover between Germany and the United States. The rather short article also outlined the financial responsibilities of the Dominican Republic: “It is understood that the Republic shall not be responsible either to the Association or any other institution whatsoever for any of the financial obligations of the settlers to the Association or for payment to the Association of any disbursements in which it may incur” (Town Hall Notes, p. 22).

Article II also stipulated that the Association had the right to “select the settlers who will be chosen in accordance with their fitness and technical ability for agriculture, industry, manufacture, and trades”—selections that the Dominican Republic would need to approve before issuing visas, free of taxes and fees. The remaining Articles also plainly spell out the financial aspects of the program. Article III stated that settlers would be exempt from all duty associated with their relocation, including bringing over personal effects and tools for their trades, provided they were for personal use and not for sale. It also included an exemption from all charges associated with transportation to the republic.

Article IV, entitled “Rights and Obligation of the Association,” seemingly gave DORSA carte blanche rights in the Dominican Republic. It stated that the Association would have an in-country office where the employees would “receive from the Republic suitable documents enabling them freely and effectively to perform their duties, including travel within, to and from the Republic” and that it “shall not be subject to the payment of any tax on property, or other duties or contributions on the transactions or any other acts incidental thereto which refer exclusively to the fulfilment of the essential purpose of transporting and establishing within the territory of the Republic the settlers referred to in

this agreement, or to be carrying out of projects of general interest in the establishment of said settlers, provided they do not imply competition with other similar activities open to private initiative” (Town Hall Notes, p. 23). The openness of this agreement speaks to Trujillo’s desire to ensure that the program came to successful fruition. Outside of participation in the settler selection process, the government was giving the program free reign.

The Dominican government was also stepping further back from any financial responsibility in respect to the Sosua settlement. Section (d) of Article IV stated that the Association would be responsible for all funds connected to transportation, disembarkation, and needs of the settlers when on the island. The Dominican government’s exemption from financial responsibility was reiterated at the start of Article 5: “[t]he Republic shall by all means in its power, except of a monetary nature, facilitate the efforts of the Association for the selection, construction and maintenance of adequate living quarters and other building which will so far as feasible be built with material existing within Dominican territory, and shall cooperate with the Association insofar as feasible for the proper employment of settlers in agricultural enterprises, construction of highways and other similar activities” (Town Hall Notes, p. 25). This section is of particular interest because it is the first portion of the agreement that seems to mention tangible potential benefits of the program to the Dominican Republic. Up until this section the contract read as an open invitation for this particular group of immigrants to populate a somewhat self-sustaining piece of the Dominican Republic. The mention of building highways is the only hint of integration with the rest of the Dominican Republic and the potential realization of a whiter Dominican Republic.

Trujillo's Sosua

The site of the settlement had been determined prior to the signing of the contract. Sosua was a small piece of property located on the northern coast of the Dominican Republic and owned by Trujillo, who donated the 26,000 acres to the cause. According to Rosenberg, Trujillo's donation was the only context in which Trujillo and the Association did not immediately agree. It took some persuasion for Trujillo to accept any compensation for the land, which was eventually settled with Trujillo accepting stock in the Settlement Corporation (Town Hall notes, p. 10). The selection of Sosua as the site for the settlement was not without controversy. Wells (2009) suggests that perhaps Sosua not being the most fertile land was overlooked, with agricultural concerns superseded by concerns about the possible ramifications of not taking Trujillo's offer.

The disadvantages of Sosua were touched on in a July 10, 1940, letter to Rosenberg from Atherton Lee, director of the Puerto Rico Agricultural Experiment Station of the United States Department of Agriculture, buried among text that read like brochure copy. In the letter, sent just weeks after the first settlers reached the Republic, Lee wrote, "The soils at the Sosua colony in large areas appear but average in fertility, and in some cases even below average. On the other hand, there are considerable areas of soils of more than average productivity. The administration at Sosua is aware of the differences in soil fertility and is developing its plans accordingly. It would seem evident that the advantages of the climate, nearness to shipping points, and the political conditions involved, easily outweigh the disadvantages of some of the poor soils in the selection of the Sosua estate for the colonization project (Lee, p. 2).

In the letter, Lee goes into great detail about what crops would be best suited for the settlers to cultivate and, more important, export. One of the sections of the letter was titled, “The United States is the Best Market for Dominican Products.” He wrote, “Because of the proximity of Santo Domingo to the United States and the steamship and airplane schedules, it is most logical to develop all agricultural policies with the view that the United States will be the principal market for export products” (Lee, 1940, p. 6). Such a statement from the U.S. Department of Agriculture is proof of the multiple benefits the Dominican Republic stood to receive from the Sosua settlement.

Lee also indirectly predicted a tourism-heavy future for Sosua. In talking about the quality of life for the settlers, he noted the potential for a rich recreational life: “With time to accumulate some reserve and prosperity, one can visualize the colonists of Sosua on Saturday afternoons with their colored beach umbrellas on the bathing beaches comparable to those of Miami. The colonists, after their nine holes of golf or other recreation, will be able to take in a good movie. In my conception Sosua can afford much pleasanter opportunities for good living conditions than many of the small towns of central Europe, England, or even the interior parts of the United States” (p. 19). Later he wrote that “the misconceptions concerning the tropics are largely the result of an unconscious fear of the unknown and lack of knowledge and a lack of experience of living in the tropics” (p. 19).

Although Lee referred to actually living in the tropics, the Dominican Republic in particular, rather than merely visiting, his description of Sosua’s potential then is a description of Sosua today. Although not the most touristy portion of the Dominican Republic, Sosua is a tourist destination. Ironically, after conducting interviews with

several former Sosua settlers, Wells (2009) wrote, “Even those children who have gone back recently to reconnect with their roots are appalled at how tourism, crime, and the influx of Dominican migrants and foreign expatriates have transformed this quite seaside community. On this they are in complete agreement with those who stayed behind” (Wells, p. 347).

Publicizing Sosua

All the participants in the Sosua arrangement were set to benefit from not only its success but also from publicizing the project before any success could be realized. Trujillo’s had made other attempts to open Dominican borders to (white) immigrants, one of Trujillo’s earlier immigration efforts was in 1938 when he brought in thousands of Spanish refugees living in exile in France. As with the later offer for Jewish refugees, Trujillo provided land and seed for agricultural pursuits. However, the Spanish settlers had no agricultural experience, and all but 100 left the republic within a decade of the program being established (Wells, 2009). Another effort was to recruit white immigrants from Puerto Rico, an offer Trujillo put forth to Roosevelt that was ultimately declined just a month before the Haitian massacre (Roorda, 1998). After these failed humanitarian attempts and the massacre, the notorious dictator, needed some good publicity.

Rosenberg took it upon himself to step into the role of press agent for not just DORSA, but also Trujillo in a February 17, 1940, letter to Trujillo. In it he wrote, “It is now extremely important that the action of your Congress in approving the contract and in passing general laws be properly presented in the American press. In order to accomplish this, it is in my opinion absolutely essential that the publicity should come not from me in New York but from the appropriate person in Ciudad Trujillo”

(Rosenberg, 1940). Not only did Rosenberg encourage Trujillo to publicize the program and the contract between the Dominican Republic and DORSA, but he also included draft copy that he suggested should be distributed to *The New York Times*, the *Associated Press*, the *United Press*, and *The Washington Post*. Both parties stood to benefit from press outreach. For DORSA, publicity for the program would have encouraged increased donations, which would be an advantage to both sides in the agreement. Furthermore, with the project being in part a publicity stunt for Trujillo himself, press coverage would be beneficial for the dictator's image.

Sosua Realized

According to Wells (2009), the last influx of Jewish refugees was in the 1940 and by the 1960s most of the settlement had dispersed. Many had left for the United States and other countries. Others integrated and married into the rest of the Dominican population, although there are a few older members of the settlement there today—not quite the racial impact Trujillo might have hoped the program would deliver. The Sosua settlement never reached the envisioned 100,000 inhabitants; it became home to roughly 500 settlers, although it may have helped thousands others. Of this Kaplan wrote, “the Dominicans may have saved over 3,000 lives, if one includes those living in the capital and those possibly saved as a result of holding Dominican visas, but who did not reach Sosua” (p. 3). Though the actual numbers are far more modest than the proposed 100,000, the significance is great.

The Talmud, Sanhedrin 37a states:

For this reason was man created alone to teach thee that whosoever destroys a single soul ... Scripture imputes [guilt] to him as through he had destroyed a complete world; and whosoever preserves a single soul. ... Scripture ascribes [merit] to him as though he had preserved a complete world

The significance of saving just a single life is a marker not just in the Jewish faith but within humanity in general, which is why Haiti should be acknowledged for the 150 Jewish refugees who found sanctuary there between 1939 and 1944.

Jewish Refugees in Haiti

According to unpublished notes from the JDC archives, Jewish refugee immigration into Haiti began in March 1938 and ended roughly when World War II broke out in 1939. The JDC had a presence in Port au Prince, in the form of the Joint Relief Committee Haiti (JRC), from 1939 through December 31, 1941. Of the 150 refugees who arrived in Haiti, 40 left for other countries, and the rest seemed to remain only very reluctantly, according to letters and reports in the collection. The archives include several letters from refugees requesting assistance to leave Haiti as soon as possible, complaining of undesirable conditions. One such letter from Salomon Friedmann exemplifies the challenges and displeasure common in the correspondences between the refugees and U.S.-based refugee organizations. In the letter Friedman wrote that he was unable to support his family because he did not speak the language, he was forced to send his kids to Catholic school, and that he was without a support system of friends or family when the little money he arrived with inevitably ran out.

T r a n s l a t i o n

Salomon Friedmann
chez Raoul Lemoine
Avenue Ducoste
Port-au-Prince
Haiti

October 4, 1938
Rec'd October 11

I was born in Radymno, Poland, on July 16, 1899. I have been living in Berlin since 1918. I have a wife and two children, a boy, 8, and a girl, 15, all born in Germany.

Last year I had to leave Germany and I went to Paris with my family where I lived on my own money until August 10, 1938.

My uncle Hermann Gold, c/o H. Gold & Sons, 302-308 East 4th St., New York City, sent me an affidavit which was not sufficient. Before my uncle could send the amended papers, I was ordered to leave France, which country we left on August 10, 1938. I paid the tickets, but the Committee in Paris gave me \$200 as a general subvention.

We arrived here on August 29. We are in a dreadful situation,

- (1) because I do not speak the language of the country
- (2) because I cannot support my family
- (3) because I am forced to send my children to the Catholic school.
- (4) because I have no relatives or friend who will assist us once we have used up the few dollars which we have left.

Even if my uncle would send me the affidavit to Haiti I would have to stay two years until I get a Polish quota number, and we simply cannot hold out as long.

Please send me to some other country where I can live among Jews and support my family. I cannot expect any help from my uncle, who is not a wealthy man.

Figure 3: Digitized but unpublished records from Haiti. American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and Georgette Bennett and Leonard Polonsky Digitized JDC Text Archive.

Many of the challenges outlined in the letters from refugees desperate to leave Haiti were subverted in the Dominican Republic because of the organization of the Sosua settlement prior to an influx of immigrants and the fact that it was organized as a self-sustaining colony. The very small Jewish community (10 families of Syrian origin) that existed in Haiti prior to the arrival of the refugees stayed clear of the new refugees who were dependent on the JRC, which would also account for the isolation Mr. Friedmann expressed in his letter.

Letters dated after the JDC became a presence in Haiti address the language barrier with requests for materials to educate the refugees in English so that they may prepare to leave and go to the United States. Other letters, in response to refugees' pleas for relocation to the United States often read as sympathetic but unhelpful in terms of circumventing the immigration quotas that made visas to the U.S. greatly desired and limited for Jewish refugees.

According to a 1942 field audit conducted by Loeb & Troper Certified Public Accountants based in New York City, the JDC was fairly informal in terms of financing its efforts in Haiti. From its inception through September 1941 there was no bank account associated with the JRC, which instead operated in cash. Limited donations, cash-based accounting, and war declarations resulted in the bank account only being open from September to December 1941 when the JRC dissolved.

Hiding Race and Publicizing Nation on Hispaniola

Haiti and the Dominican Republic had myriad motivations for actively seeking immigrants to their opposite sides of Hispaniola. Both stood to benefit from publicizing their nations as well as the financial benefits of increased populations and work forces.

However, it seems clear that race was a major motivator for both Boyer and Trujillo, who both enacted campaigns that highlighted inaccurate racial images of their nations.

Boyer's campaign rested on the idea of strengthening and uplifting the black race and hid or made invisible the existing racial tensions in Haiti and chauvinistic patriotism.

Trujillo's campaign rested on the idea of strengthening the white or lighter race of the Dominican Republic through the influx of white immigrants while denying the existence of a black Dominican Republic.

CHAPTER 4/ RECEIVING THE MESSAGE; PERCEPTIONS OF NATIONS

It is difficult to quantify the impact of promotional messages because of the multidirectional and reciprocal nature of messages and influences. However indications of audience response in the 19th and 20th centuries, can be used as an imprecise measure, which in the context of Haiti and the Dominican Republic is evident in travel narratives and media coverage of the two nations. In this chapter I address research question three to uncover how the nations and their promotional and recruitment efforts were received, through the analysis of media response and travel writings during the times of early nation-promoting efforts.

In a perfect model, a strategically constructed nation image is most successful if the constructed image is mirrored, or closely reflected in audience perception, but this relies on the image being constructed and received in a vacuum, which was impossible even in the early independence eras of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, which had limited outside noise. Too much variation from the constructed image and perception is essentially an ineffective campaign. There are several ways to measure the success of campaigns. In modern times success can be measured in social media hits, sales numbers, tourism numbers, and press coverage. During the time of early nation image construction and promulgation for the Dominican Republic and Haiti, the most telling measures of success were media coverage and foreign government response, because although these early promotional efforts were before brand marketing and any official tourism industry, there are parallels between, including goals to increase traffic, albeit through immigration instead of tourism; and increase foreign business interest. Engaging with Clare Gunn's *Vacationscape* (1972) in which it is argued that tourist images are either organic (non-

tourism media such as children's books and news reports) or induced (conscious promotion and advertising), geography scholar Robert A. Britton (1979) argues that in "Third World tourism the induced image might be more prominent because poor countries historically have been underrepresented in the Western media, and because organic images might be jumbled by the conflict between information sent during the colonial era and that dispatched by newly independent states (these nations frequently forward information to correct falsehood and counteract stereotypes advanced before independence)" (p. 320). In the context of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in their respective early ventures into nation image production, both were counting on the ability of the induced image to shape a new image and counter colonial era images. However, I argue that although Gunn places news reports in the organic category, media coverage of any kind with its goal of objectivity but inherent subjectivity would fall into the induced category in many contexts, including coverage of the two sides of Hispaniola because in the eras of these early national image constructions both sides employed agency in publicizing the respective countries. I acknowledge that the complexity of the relationship between publicity and media has a lot of room for not just an action (publicity) and reaction (media coverage). In fact nation image is also very much a multi-tiered construction of publicized image, media coverage (which in the 21st century includes social media coverage and its complexities), lived experienced in the destination, constructed tourist experience at the destination, and the co-constructions in between. That said, to Britton's point, Haiti and the Dominican Republic's induced images are dominant over the organic images, thus media response to the nations' publicity tactics is a measure of the success of those efforts.

During the early inceptions of their nation images, both nations had image problems that needed to be made invisible, or replaced with more positive images. The Dominican Republic's most significant image problem centered on race and revolved around its leader, Rafael Trujillo. First, the Dominican Republic needed a nation image distinct from Haiti's in as many ways as possible, most notably distinctly different racially. This created a need to highlight white and make the black invisible in its nation image. Second, Trujillo's actions to make the country's race problem disappear, at times violently, created an image problem for the dictator that reflected badly on the nation itself. Both image problems had potential to be a detriment in international relations, specifically with the United States.

Haiti's image was also plagued by race problems. First, Haiti's image was stained with misconceptions around the black race, namely that it was an inferior race and thus incapable of successfully sustaining an independent nation. Second, and ironically, another problem facing Haiti's image was its success. There was fear from the Western power nations, particularly the United States that Haiti's success would inspire its own black population and incite revolution on its own soil. The complexities and contradictions that surrounded the promotion of these two nation images meant that Haiti and the Dominican Republic needed to walk a fine line between visibility and invisibility on the issue of race. In this chapter I take a look at how the nations' efforts were reflected in the press during their early nation image campaigns. While culling through the coverage I kept the following question in mind: In terms of invisibility and visibility, how much replacement or diverting attention/distraction can be detected in the coverage? Are image restoration efforts or stunts detectable in coverage?

The Press

In lieu of interviews from the two eras covered in this research, the press offers a snap shot of a public's perception. It is by no means a perfect reflection of public opinion but is a tool that influences it (Entman, 1993). My rationale is this: if the press has an impact on public opinion as scholars have contended (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McCombs, 2018), then looking back at press coverage gives an indication of what public opinion might have been at the time. The press coverage is, of course, nothing more than an indication, because it is limiting to assume that the relationship between media and the public is that precise or only goes in one direction, since media influences the public as much as it is influenced by the public. In this case the press coverage also gives a glimpse, and only a glimpse, into how the governments were interacting with each other, at least in the public view.

In terms of selecting what press to incorporate in this research there were challenges, particularly in light of the fact that I am making comparisons between two eras a century apart. *The New York Times* (1851-present) is often used as a source of data when talking about press coverage and is something of a research standard. However, the *Times* was not yet published during the time period in Haiti's history in this study, though it was in print during the portion of the Dominican Republic's history considered in this research. Its status as a research standard alone is not why it was chosen as a source of data for the Dominican portion of this chapter. *The New York Times* comes from New York, a city at the center of the history of slavery, abolition, and race relations, which is relevant to this research. Furthermore, in the context of including press coverage of Haiti during its early nation image construction, New York was also the birthplace of the first

African-American newspaper, *Freedom's Journal* (1827-1829), which is one source of the data used in this research. The other source, *The Coloured American* (1838-1841), also hailed from New York City. Although published years later, *The Coloured American* offered significant coverage of emigration to Haiti years after Christophe's and Boyer's initial efforts and, in fact, covered a resurgence of the project that occurred under the latter part of Boyer's presidency. Together the subscription numbers were a match for other mainstream presses in New York (Yingling, 2013).

Beyond the confines of influence in one city, major or not, all three publications were distributed throughout the United States, spreading the coverage and opinions of its articles. According to Yingling:

The newspapers (*Freedom's Journal* and *Coloured American*) collectively circulated widely, including places such as Michigan, Maine, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Maryland, Massachusetts, Washington, D.C., Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Virginia, Canada, Britain, Jamaica, and Haiti. The number of eyes perusing the pages of these newspapers, and of ears hearing their words read aloud, gave these writers a substantial audience both in New York City's black community and across the Atlantic (p. 315)

The New York Times was also a leading newspaper, circulating nationally and internationally in the period that is the focus of the research on the Dominican Republic. The main limitation in using the *Times* coverage of the Dominican Republic in this study lies in the breadth of coverage during the Trujillo era and particularly the early nation image construction period. To combat that obstacle, the coverage examined was limited to 1937 through 1944. This period encompasses the Parsley Massacre, which was the first tangible newsworthy event in the Dominican's nation image construction, and the height of the Dominican Republic's European recruitment efforts.

As African-American newspapers, *Coloured American* and *Freedom's Journal* represented an underrepresented voice in media. Additionally, *Freedom's Journal* often reprinted articles from other publications, which demonstrated opposing views to that of the *Journal*, adding diversity to the voices unique to publications of that time. And last, *The Coloured American* published letters from Haiti that offer invaluable first-hand accounts that served essentially as travel logs. Included among the letters was a series *Coloured American* ran in 1839 titled "Letters on Hayti." The series was four letters written by Zephaniah Kingsley Jr., a Southern planter and slave owner living in Haiti²⁸, to George H. Evans, editor of *The Working Man's Advocate*, where the letters were originally published in 1835. Without the restrictions of press ethics and the need for objectivity, the letters offer a unique look into some of the perceptions of Haiti. The audiences of these two newspapers also uniquely represent the audiences that Boyer and Christophe sought in their nation image campaigns. While both leaders negotiated with populations of power in the U.S., which were dominated by white men, the goals of their nation-promoting efforts were to demonstrate black competence and success to white detractors and invite their black brethren to participate. To that purpose, Christophe and Boyer sent their agents to gatherings of U.S. blacks to promote Haiti. Last, although both publications were in print only during Boyer's presidency, coverage included mentions of Henri Christophe and even some historical pieces that paid homage to Toussaint L'Ouverture.

²⁸ Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. married several of his slaves which resulted in nine children. Though not interested in the abolition of slavery, he advocated for a form of slavery that would allow slaves to buy their own freedom and have the right to own property. His interest in the subject was directly influenced by his children, whom he wanted to enjoy all facets of freedom. Unable to ensure equality for his family in the U.S., he emigrated to Haiti with his family and several slaves (Fleszar, 2012).

Consequences of a bad image: What was there to lose?

In the cases of Haiti and the Dominican Republic the old adage “all press is good press,” had varying levels of truth. If we take a cynical look at the two nations’ recruitment efforts as stunts, this is easy to demonstrate. Haiti’s recruitment stunt needed to work because there was an inherent racially-based bad image attached to the nation. Under both Christophe and Boyer, Haiti was battling against the image of the incompetent black (man). Any project undertaken by the nation, such as recruitment within the U.S. free black population, needed to work in order to disprove the assumption of an inability of a black nation to succeed. A failure would also mean that Haiti was unable to help the U.S. with its own race problem, namely removing the issue of uncomfortable integration of whites and free blacks as well. Success of the stunt and positive coverage of the efforts were paramount in the perception of the nation and reception of the nation image.

In contrast, Haiti’s already-established success as a free black republic was attached to the fear that it would be a bad influence on enslaved black populations throughout Western nations and colonies. Failure would prove naysayers correct and diminish their role and positive influence within the black republic.

The Dominican Republic’s bad image, countered through the DORSA stunt, had much potential for benefit with or without the success of the recruitment effort. The Dominican Republic’s image problem leading up to the resettlement effort was centered on the Parsley Massacre, which exemplified Trujillo’s violent dictatorship and disdain for Haitians. However, simply the effort to save European lives was enough to counter the image of taking other lives, presumably because of the lower value placed on black lives

in that particular point in history in the United States. Public outrage in the United States over the massacre was covered in the press; however as we will see, it was quickly replaced by coverage of Trujillo's philanthropic endeavors, such as opening the DR's borders to European refugees. Whether the project succeeded or failed, Trujillo and DR's negative image was already replaced with a positive one. The analysis of the coverage will show that the United States had a vested interest in having a working relationship with the Dominican Republic, which provides a probable explanation for how the Dominican Republic's bad image was so easily forgotten and replaced in the media coverage.

Haiti and the Dominican Republic both received good and bad press coverage, but the potential uses of each of these nations, and their races, impacted how quickly image problems were corrected. In this research the success of the two nation image campaigns will be qualitatively assessed by looking at the images reflected in the press coverage.

Haiti in the Press

In the columns of the leading black newspapers of the time six themes emerged in the reception of Haiti's early nation image

- Debunking misconceptions;
- Peace and unrest;
- Emigration;
- Independence;
- Haiti & the Dominican Republic
- Racial inequality

Debunking Misconceptions

During the early years of Haiti's history as an independent nation, the young country and its government were in a battle with the negative image associated with all black people of the time. The government had a vested interest in debunking the negative stereotypes about the limited morals, intelligence, and civility of black people. The black population in the United States shared that interest, which certainly influenced the type of coverage received in *Freedom's Journal (FJ)* and *The Coloured American (CA)*. In the inaugural edition of *Freedom's Journal*, the editors included the following:

Our readers may depend on our columns, as we shall never insert any news whatever, of a doubtful nature, concerning that island. We caution the dissatisfied and envious in this country, who are continually forging "News from Hayti," to desist from their unmanly attacks upon a brave and hospitable people. Were our readers as well acquainted with their motives for venting their spleen as we are, they would give as little credit to their fabrications (By late arrival, 1827, p. 3)

As part of the above intentions of the editors, the *FJ* often included articles from other (white) publications that demonstrated the popular opinion of the Western world that was being challenged, in addition to stories with evidence to the contrary.

Haiti's failure as an independent nation was critical to the perpetuation of the idea of the black man (and woman) as an unintelligent being. A successful black republic would be evidence to the contrary, which is why positive coverage of Haiti from white publications was included and qualified in the pages of the *Freedom's Journal* and the *Coloured American*. By noting the author's race and/or position on slavery and the author's preconceived notions of blacks, *FJ* was able to demonstrate the falsity and bias of the previous impressions. The same trend was present in some of the letters/travel logs from Haiti by white authors, who noted their own race to demonstrate a contrast between

impression and reality. An early example from *FJ* is a reprint of a story about Toussaint L'Ouverture. The story originally ran in the *Catskill Recorder* (1805-1951), a weekly newspaper out of upstate New York:

And the subsequent transactions in that Island have presented the most incontestible (sic) proofs, that the negro is not, in general, wanting in the higher qualifications of the mind; and that, with the same advantages of liberty, independence and education, as their white brethren of Europe and America, the race would not be found deficient in hearts pregnant with heroic energies, and hands capable of wielding the sword of war, or swaying the rod of empire ... The reader will bear in mind, that the narrative was drawn up by one who is politically and nationally opposed to the doctrines which influenced the members of the French Republic (Toussaint L'Ouverture, 1827, p. 30)

The inclusion of an anti-black voice forced to convey a positive image of Haiti and blacks in general, shows the commitment in *FJ* to not over-romanticize the notion of Haiti based on nation promotion from the source or simply because the publishers shared hue with most Haitians. The *Freedom's Journal* also included examples of liberal white voices holding their anti-black peers accountable. From the *Columbian Centinel* (1790-1840) out of Boston:

the following remark made by the Editor of the N. York Enquirer, from whom better things were expected: - "The Americans who have visited Port-au-Prince, (a mistake, as she always resided at the Cape) in her time, will remember that she is a fat, greasy wench, as black as the ace of spades, and one who would find it difficult to get a place as a Cook in this city. So much for royal taste." We are induced, from a personal acquaintance with Madame Christophe for many years previous to and after she was elevated to the rank of Queen of Hayti, to bear testimony against the above illiberal and unjust representation. We do not hesitate to say, that no just person acquainted with the Ex-Queen could have thus characterized her; and that there are many Americans who will unite with us in this declaration (Madame Christophe, 1827, p. 34)

The *Coloured American* also included different views from white voices in its pages, such was the case in the "Letters on Hayti." Kingsley, a southern planter living in Haiti, had a dichotomous life with many contradictions. He was a slave owner who

openly married black women and fathered mixed-race children, for whom he sought equality, while continuing to support slavery, albeit with a desire to alter it slightly. His support of slavery is an indication of some feeling toward a lower standing of black people, and yet he offered the following as evidence to the contrary: “I will take this opportunity to say, that I have never before, in any country, seen such general indication of personal cleanliness and taste in dress, as I have observed among those Haytien women, amongst whom the eastern customs of ablution, handed down from their African ancestors, are religiously observed” (Kingsley, 1838, p. 1). Not only does he not attribute this mark of civility to white intervention and civilization, but he credits Africa.

The papers did not further editorialize but ran pieces like these untouched. This could be interpreted as showing deference to white voices and authority or it could instead show the intent to protect against bias. Yet another possibility for the extensive inclusion of reprinted articles from other populations is to create access for black readers, who would otherwise not have read white newspapers. There is also the convenience factor. For a young newspaper with limited funding, it stands to reason that it was cheaper and easier to borrow and reprint content than to generate, particularly in regard to international coverage. The black voices, both internal and external, did appear on newspapers’ pages, particularly in regard to Haiti as an inspiration and ultimate destination for emigration.

Haiti as an inspiration

Haiti, as a successful independent nation, was an inspiration for many black Americans who wanted that level of freedom for the black population in the United States. That was a cause for fear among some parts of the U.S. white population which

worried that revolution would be contagious and spread to the black population of the United States. That fear can be seen realized in the words of Nathaniel Paul, pastor of the African Baptist Society in Albany, New York. *Freedom's Journal* printed an extract of his speech that he delivered at the celebration of the abolition of slavery in the state of New York was on July 5, 1827:

The indefatigable exertions of the philanthropists in England to have it abolished in their West India Islands, the recent revolutions in South America, the catastrophe and exchange of power in the Isle of Hayti, the restless disposition of both master and slave in the southern states, the constitution of our government, the effects of literary and moral instruction, the generous feelings of the pious and benevolent, the influence and spread of the holy religion of the cross of Christ, and the irrevocable decrees of Almighty God, all combine their efforts and with united voice declare, that the power of tyranny must be subdued, the captive must be liberated, the oppressed go free, and slavery must revert back to its original chaos of darkness, and be forever annihilated from the earth (Paul, 1827, p. 85)

Haiti and its leaders were used time and time again, in *Freedom's Journal* as an example of black potential and excellence. Its independence was indisputably used a point of inspiration for FJ's readers and at times a point of debate.

Emigration: Haiti for Freedom

While for some Haiti served as an inspiration for the possibility of freedom and equality, for others Haiti represented an escape from the lack of progress in the U.S. Years after Christophe's *Haytien Papers* and Boyer's initial negotiations with the American Colonization Society, many people in the U.S. black population were engaged in debate about emigration and whether it was the best solution to the inequality suffered in the United States. At its start, *FJ's* official position was anti-emigration; however, points from many sides of the debate appeared on the *Journal's* pages (Bacon, 2007). Despite the *Journal's* official anti-colonization stance, one of the *Journal's* editors, John

B. Russwurm, had planned to emigrate to Haiti just one year before starting the newspaper (Foner, 1969). Ultimately his plans did not come to fruition. He started the *Journal* instead and ultimately emigrated to Liberia when the it folded.

From Liberia to Haiti and back again

One of the factors in the debate on whether emigration to Haiti was the solution to black woes in the U.S. was agency. In 1827, *Freedom's Journal* ran a pro-colonization article about the American Colonization Society, written by John H. Kennedy, a white Philadelphian. In it Kennedy lamented the early failures of the Liberian colonization project and assured readers that those obstacles had disappeared. In response to emigrant deaths early in their arrival to Liberia he wrote, "Can it be doubted, whether or not the climate of Africa is congenial to her own descendants! The site the colony now occupies, is one of the most eligible and healthful on the continent. ...When emigrants now arrive at Liberia, they are comfortably provided for" (Kennedy, 1827, p. 114). And then, quoting a letter received from a black man who emigrated to Liberia, Kennedy went on: "The sun does not, as at first, smite them by day and the moon by night" (p. 114).

Despite the failures in Liberia, the ACS backed the project over emigration to Haiti. Supporters, like Kennedy, attempted to make the troubles in Liberia disappear from the public narrative and attempted to highlight those in Haiti. This as the case in Kennedy's essay where he wrote of Liberia that "wages are high, industry is general, commerce already begins to thrive, education diffused, morality and religion predominate, every circumstance betokens a healthful state and rapid growth. We hear of no dissatisfaction; none re-embark as they did from Hayti" (1827, p. 114).

The ACS preference for Liberia over Haiti brought suspicion about the motives of the project. The following extract from a letter to the editors written by a self-proclaimed coloured (sic) Baltimorean, demonstrates the point:

But there is another objectionable feature in the plan of this society, well calculated, as we think to corroborate our suspicions of the motives of its founders. Its members hold out the anti-Christian doctrine, that justice cannot be done to us while we remain in this land of civilization and gospel light. They tell us, we can never enjoy the unalienable rights of man in this "land of the free, and home of the brave;" - that if we desire the privileges of freemen, we must seek them elsewhere; not in Hayti, on account of its proximity to this country, but on the burning sands of Africa, where, say they, "being permanently fixed, a mighty ocean will forever intervene as a barrier between us and them." Now, permit me to ask, why this strong aversion to being united to us, even by soil and climate? Why this desire to be so remotely alienated from us? (1827, p. 66)

The sentiment that the ACS wanted to rid the US of its black population by sending it "back" to Africa made Haiti a more attractive alternative. The Haitian emigration project was an invitation that was initiated by Haiti. Furthermore, much of the negotiations were happening with black leaders in the U.S., with the recruiting happening in black communities, not through the U.S. government. Emigration to Haiti was an exercise of choice and agency; Liberia colonization was whites moving blacks. The *Freedom's Journal* also included stories that demonstrated other white motivations for supporting relocation of the black population in the United States. Extracts from *The Genius of Universal Emigration* were included that mentioned a philanthropic slave owner who voluntarily took his slaves to Haiti for their freedom (More genuine philanthropy, 1829, p. 329), and other extracts mentioned white abolitionists who believed relocation was the only chance blacks had at equality. *Freedom's Journal* also included black voices responding to other press that supported colonization as a means to rid the country of

blacks, a sentiment which they described as “a secret that the Colonizationist (sic) have ever kept buried” (Webb et al, 1828, p. 140). *Freedom’s Journal* itself, maintained an anti-colonization stance until a sudden shift in the official position on February 14, 1829, when the editors issued the following statement:

As our former sentiments have always been in direct opposition to the plan of colonizing us on the coast of Africa: perhaps, so favourable (sic) an opportunity may not occur, for us to inform our readers, in an open and candid manner, that our views are materially altered. We have always said, that when convinced of our error, we should hasten to acknowledge it - that period has now arrived. The change which has taken place, has not been the hasty conclusion of a moment: we have pondered much on this interesting subject, and read every article within our reach, both for and against the society, and we come on from the examination, a decided supporter of the American Colonization Society (Liberia, p. 362)

The statement only reflected the changed opinion of Russwurm, and not his co-editor, Sam Cornish (Bacon, 2007). Cornish stepped down as co-editor shortly after this editorial position shift, although he remained active with the *Freedom’s Journal*. He later founded the *Coloured American*, which continued to cover colonization.

Although Boyer’s initial 1824 push for a large scale emigration had fizzled, Haiti’s invitation for free blacks remained open and a welcomed option for many members of the African American community. In the introduction to the “Letters on Hayti” series in the *Coloured American*, editors wrote:

They have not only many moral and political institutions for the benefit of their own citizens, but they have a respectable society, organized for the express purpose, of promoting the cause of humanity throughout the world, and especially for the amelioration of the condition of their oppressed brethren, in this country. The noble minded Haytians, having met all the conditions of, and achieved their own independence, - stand forth on solid basis, in all the glory of an INDEPENDENT NATION (capitalization in original), and are acknowledged as such, by the leading Courts of Europe. They now have leisure, and are ready to manifest their sympathy, for oppressed humanity in other countries. (Republic of Hayti, 1837, p. 3)

Letter IV from the series was a translated interview between B. Ingenac²⁹ and Boyer on the topic of emigration. In the interview Boyer echoed similar sentiments for emigrants that had been part of the early negotiations with the ACS. However, the language of “brethren” was missing from the translated responses from Boyer, instead referring to the potential immigrants as Africans or descendants of Africans.

Against Emigration

Another side of the debate was against emigration completely and instead advocated for blacks to stay in the United States. Another letter to the editors in the *Freedom's Journal*, which ran on February 15, 1828 stated: “what prevents a union of abilities and efforts, in preparing them for usefulness somewhere? The prime object is to give elevation and happiness to our coloured(sic) population: not as citizens of the United States; not as emigrants to Hayti; not as Colonists for Liberia, but as a race of human beings, as our neighbours, according to the liberal interpretation of the Gospel (African Education, p. 187). This side of the debate was ultimately the argument that was most reflected in the actual number of blacks that emigrated to Liberia or Haiti. Though the different arguments given space in the *Freedom's Journal* tried to make invisible the harsher realities of relocation such as different climates, disease, language barriers, and cultural differences, just to name a few, ultimately the return of so many of those that decided to emigrate brought reality into view.

²⁹ According to the signature line of a letter published in “An essay on the causes of the revolution and civil wars of Hayti” by Pompée-Valentin Baron de Vastey (1823), B. Igenac was commander of a squadron, and secretary in the Haitian army.

Haiti's Independence

Though large-scale emigration to Haiti never took off, a relationship between Haiti and the black population of the United States continued. As the first free black republic in the Western hemisphere and a close neighbor to the U.S., Haiti remained steadily in the pages of both the *Journal* and the *Coloured American*. Despite the return of most of the would-be emigrants and the negative image of Haiti that would have returned with them, both papers highlighted Haiti's strengths and its value as an example, making invisible its failure as host to free American blacks.

Although Haiti had won its independence from France in 1804, the trials and tribulations of being recognized by the rest of the world were covered by the African-American press, which represented a people officially free but without official recognition. *Freedom's Journal* covered even the small successes as when it reprinted the following blurb (extracted here) from the *National Gazette* (July 25, 1828):

The Haytien brig Telegraph of Aux Cayes, which sailed from New Orleans in April last, was compelled from stress of weather, to put into Havana to repair. The Spanish Governor would not permit her to enter the port, under pretext that the nation whose colours(sic) she carried was not recognized. The French Consul General, however, induced him to recede from his refusal, by insisting that, the French government having recognized the Haytiens (sic) as a nation, other powers ought to acknowledge them as such (House of Balguerie, p. 138)

A decade later, on April 12, 1838, the *Coloured American* published a letter that described the indemnity agreement between the Haitian and French governments favorably, as if the payment was the last step—and an easy one—to cement Haiti's global recognition as an independent nation. This is an example of the dedication the African American press had to continuing to tell Haiti's story and following its evolution as an

independent nation. It is also evidence of the long uphill battle the nation had to wage for recognition of its independence (Extract of letter, p. 46).

Haiti's Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic was all but invisible in the pages of the African-American press in the 1820s and 30s, because it did not yet exist as an independent nation. Haiti occupied the Dominican Republic from February 9, 1822 to February 27, 1844. There was only one mention of the Dominican Republic, using the pre-occupation name of Santo Domingo, in the *Freedom's Journal* run. In response to "Reports concerning the cession of the *late Spanish part of the Republic* to Spain" (Hayti, 1828), the *Journal* ran a piece denoting the reports as absurd, going so far as to say that, "(t)he Republic is indivisible. ...Hayti is safe, the friends of civil liberty need feel but little concern, that she ever will permit the establishment of a foreign government within her borders" (p. 291). The article, in addition to giving the false impression of a perfectly unified island, ignores the differences between Haiti and the "late Spanish" side. Later, the "Letters on Hayti" series in the *Coloured American* would shed more light on the differences.

Race in Hispaniola

On October 12, 1835 southern planter Kingsley wrote in the second of four letters from Hayti:

In that part formerly Spanish, that language is still retained, though the French is generally understood, and must soon predominate, as the law requires that all records and public documents shall be kept in French. A great tendency to white is also observable in the complexions of the people, which seem to be changing very fast by intermixture with color. Soon after crossing the river Massacre, the French language predominates, or rather the Creole, for both are spoken, and generally understood. The complexions of the inhabitants are generally darker, indicating a greater predominancy (sic) of African blood, but no general color

can be said to characterize any section. The extremes of white and black when divested of all legal preference as in Haiti, are more commonly found in conjugal union than otherwise, and as no distinctive predilection of color has yet manifested itself, the national complexion is continually changing, and must finally depend upon the sources of population from whence the color is derived (Letters on Haiti (II), p. 33)

Kingsley was describing several important points in terms of race, color, and culture on Hispaniola. He pointed out the differences in race, color, and language and the inevitability of the further blurring of those distinctions that would come as the island became fully acclimated to being one nation, which of course did not happen. Though the Dominican Republic would not regain independence until 1844, Spanish remained the dominant language throughout the occupation. Though he described the former Spanish side's inhabitants as having complexions with a tendency to white, he fell short of describing the population as white, which hints that there was some color there. Furthermore, his mention of a great predominance of African blood on the French side of the island also hints that there was an African presence on the Spanish side as well, just not as great as on the Haitian side, which he also described as mixed.

Aside from noting the racial differences between sides, Kingsley also made note of the fluidity of race on the island, in the presence of a variety of hues and their irrelevance in interaction. He attributed the cordial co-existence of the various hues on the island to a lack of law dictating hate when confronted with difference. This, he was surprised to discover, was a courtesy extended to whites.

Racial inequality in Haiti: Safety for all, Equality for Some

Throughout the correspondences from Haiti, Kingsley described the island and people as civil, moral, kind, and lacking vulgarity. Despite these observations, he seemed to anticipate less- than-hospitable interactions personally, because of his race:

I naturally expected that a white person, and especially a stranger from the United States, would experience, from the lower order of people at least, who were colored or black, and living under a colored government, some small slight by their resentment, for I naturally felt conscious of the persecution and open war now carrying on against them in the United States, which I had just left; but I must confess that I felt humbled and ashamed at the undeserved respect and deference with which I, as a white man, was everywhere treated and received (Letters on Hayti (III), 1835, p. 33)

Kingsley's surprise in the lack of social prejudice against whites speaks to two important points. One, it further puts his description of the former Spanish side's inhabitants in perspective. Though they had a "tendency towards white," he did not see them as truly white, which could be indicator of his own prejudices or that they were light, not white. Two, it also speaks to his perspective as a plantation owner on the former Spanish side of Hispaniola. There he enjoyed the benefits of Haiti's labor laws under the Rural Code³⁰ which dictated agriculture as the occupation for the majority of the population (Fleszar, 2012) while skirting some of the laws that would have applied to him if he were on the original Haitian side of the island, where law was followed to the letter. Perhaps the laws were not yet fully enforced on the eastern side of the island, because on the west side, whites were not allowed to own land.

Kingsley's relatively liberal stance on slavery and equality did not extend outside of his mixed-race family. Under the guise of philanthropy and providing upward mobility for blacks, Kingsley promoted emigration to Haiti to fill his fields and take care of his family. There was no scrutiny of his motives in the *Coloured American* when the letters ran, which made invisible some of the laws in Haiti that would tarnish the romantic

³⁰ The Rural Code of Haiti, signed by Boyer in 1826, not only reinstated many of the unpopular aspects of Code Henri that so resembled slavery, but it also borrowed ideas of laws and punishment from Jamaica's slave code and forced most of the Haitian population into agriculture under slave-like conditions. The code also put the mostly Mulatto government and military as the ruling bodies. Under the code, a laborer was bound to their employer and assigned area of the country and could be let go without notice when no longer deemed useful (Dayan, 2004).

image of the free black nation the letters were promoting. The letters made invisible the reinstatement of laws that were similar to slavery as well as Haiti's motives. "Boyer's rural code ... looked forward to the invention of "criminality" in the southern United States in the guise of apprentice, vagrant and contract regulations that ushered in the "forced labor" of "convict lease" (Dayan, 2004, p. 161).

The *Coloured American*, in its dedication to sharing multiple views, also included those that were anti-Haitian emigration. In a letter to the editor, William H. Burnley, another white plantation owner, wrote, "Even in Haiti, the white man is excluded by an impolitic law, which shuts out at the same time capital and employment, and keeps the colored population in poverty; whilst the Catholic religion is supported as the predominant one. In Trinidad all religion and all colors are equal. The principle upon which the society is founded in this. That a man may worship God as he pleases - and that, without regard to color or complexion, his conduct and talent alone shall elevate him to distinction" (Burnley, 1839, p. 3). Burnley's anti-Haiti view shared similarities with that of Kingsley. Burnley pointed out the racial inequality in Haiti that worked against the interests of whites, which he stated would ultimately have a negative impact on the black population. As an advocate for black emigration to the English Caribbean, Burnley promoted Trinidad, where he owned several plantations and where whites were free to own property and "employ" black laborers (Kale, 1998). The inclusion of Burnley's letter is evidence to scrutiny on the part of the *CA* editors of the motivations behind white support of black emigration. To that end, Cornish published his own response to Burnley's letter in which he stated that there were certain misrepresentations by the government of Trinidad in terms of the nature of employment, namely the required

commitment to labor expected of the immigrants, which he evinced by invoking anecdotal evidence from a few who had attempted immigration to the island. He noted that it was clear that Trinidad was not interested in those not willing to work as agricultural labor and not all potential immigrants were willing to be bound to such labor. He concluded, “therefore we repeat—‘BRETHREN BEWARE;’ and we add to the Government of Trinidad” (Cornish, 1839, p. 3).

There was no perfect solution for the racial tension in the United States, in or outside of its borders. The colonization options were fraught with challenges for potential black emigrants who faced discrimination even in other lands of their brethren. Haiti was often targeted as a less attractive option by the U.S. white population, who were interested in maintaining some of the hierarchical structures that placed blacks at the bottom. The Haiti colonization projects were designed to ensure that, that couldn’t happen. Boyer’s invitations to Haiti offered liberty and rights as Haitian citizens to their African brethren, and other descendants of Africa, with no mention of white people. This omission highlights when he was inviting and makes invisible who was not invited. This is evident with Boyer but not Christophe, who was more inclusive in who he felt would elevate Haiti. It also evident, through the rural code, that while Boyer, as a mulatto himself, was less welcoming to a new white population in Haiti, he was more supportive of a lighter ruling class.

The Dominican Republic in *The New York Times*

By the time of the Dominican Republic’s nation image construction during the Trujillo era, Haiti’s nation image had already gone through a heavy construction period under Christophe and Boyer, as well as a century’s worth of a bad image under the trope

of a failed state. The image of Haiti as a failed state and a black one at that may have been part of the reason the Dominican Republic seemed so adamant about separating from Haiti, which is evident in the coverage of Trujillo's efforts a century later.

One hundred and sixty-one articles were retrieved from a search for "Dominican Republic" and "Rafael Trujillo" in *NY Times* ProQuest database from 1937 through 1944. Within those articles five themes of note emerged:

- Trujillo's Presidency/Rule;
- Opposition;
- Trujillo and Hitler;
- Dominican Republic and Haiti;
- Philanthropy (Stunts).

One of the earliest themes to emerge in the *Times* coverage of the Dominican Republic centered on Trujillo's role as leader of the republic.

Trujillo's Presidency/Rule

The "Trujillo Era" spanned thirty-one years, from 1930 to 1961. In that time Trujillo served as president of the Dominican Republic for only eighteen years, in two stints, 1930-1938 and 1942-1952. In between and after these two periods Trujillo still ran the Dominican Republic, hiding behind puppet presidents. The first time he did this, less than a year after the Parsley Massacre, was an obvious publicity stunt toward image repair.

On January 9, 1938, then-President Rafael Trujillo publicly announced his intended retirement and threw his support behind his then-Vice President Jacinto B. Peynado to be his successor. One day after Trujillo's announcement, the *Times* ran an

article that expressed a common theory about the young president's retirement (Dominican president with minister, 1938). In it, University of Puerto Rico International Law Professor, Guaros Velazquez, head of Trujillo's exiled opposition, is quoted as referring to the retirement announcement as a "subterfuge forced by the Haitian border trouble and that the attempt to name a successor was the act of a dictator." Velazquez goes on to say that Peynado would be a "mere puppet" (p. 5). If there is any doubt to the potential accuracy of such accusations, evidence to their weight can be found along the path to Peynado's inauguration.

Peynado ran unopposed, which guaranteed victory for Trujillo's candidate. He won with 92% of the vote. According to the *Times* article (Trujillo Candidate, 1938), only members of the Dominican Party (345,174 people out of a population of almost 1.5 million) were permitted to vote. In the same article, it was noted that Trujillo stated that he would "continue to serve his country as a private citizen" (p. 6). The *Times* ran a cable on August 17, 1938 that summarized portions of Peynado's acceptance speech: "President Peynado promised to safeguard the interests of the country not only with his own ability but with the help and guidance of Senor Trujillo" (Cardenas's Party Favors 2d Term, 1938, p. 6). President Peynado retained all government and military officials who had served under Trujillo. The only changes were that he would be president and Trujillo would be commander in chief of the Dominican Army.

Facing international backlash from the Parsley Massacre, Trujillo needed to maintain a positive working relationship with the United States (Kluckhohn, 1937). A change in leadership in the Dominican Republic, or rather the appearance of a change in leadership, would give the impression of tides of change or a departure from former

violent dictatorship, which allowed the United States to continue to do business with the Dominican Republic. The negative image of a violent Trujillo and nation was replaced by a new face and an impression of change. Despite the changing of the guard, and impression of change, the *Times* coverage still included Trujillo in virtually every article about the Dominican Republic that ran when Peynado was president. This was because in his role as commander in chief of the Dominican army, Trujillo was still credited with all major decisions associated with the Republic and continued to make all of the appearances typically made by a nation's president. In all subsequent coverage during the Peynado presidency, Trujillo was referred to as Former Dominican President Trujillo. In 1940 President Peynado died and was succeeded by Vice President Manuel de Jesús Troncoso de la Concha, who completed the Peynado's term. In 1942 Rafael Trujillo was "urged" to run again and take seat prematurely because the country needed him. Trujillo became president of the Dominican Republic once again in February 1942.

Opposition to Trujillo

Trujillo's violent reputation and tyrannical rule was at times glossed over, like the constant coverage of the "former President" without directly addressing the fact that the former president was performing the duties that should have been handled by his successor. However, there was public opposition and it did receive ink in the *Times*. The most notable and organized opposition to Trujillo, the Committee for Dominican Democracy (DDC), was composed primarily of Dominican exiles. The existence of exiles in itself is evidence of the regime's efforts to remove opposition from within its own borders, in other words to make domestic opposition disappear. However, those exiled became visible once again when it came to international relations.

Trujillo's first trip to the United States occurred just two months after his successor was sworn in as president of the Dominican Republic. General Trujillo, with his entourage of government officials, was greeted with a display of pomp and circumstance worthy of a sitting president. The ceremony included a guard of honor and a drum bugle corps. Prior to the presidential welcome, William Loeb, DDC secretary, sent a telegram to President Roosevelt urging him not to give Trujillo the welcome rumored to be in the works, which ultimately came to fruition. The *Times* ran the text of the telegram in its entirety. In it Loeb wrote, "In view of the nature of the regime conducted by Trujillo during his Presidency, 1930-38, and the fact that though he is popularly styled 'the Dominican dictator' (quotes in original) he is no longer in Presidential office, it hardly seems necessary to tender him an official reception" (Trujillo Arrives, 1939, p. 2). The telegram continued, offering evidence of the frequency at which Trujillo's tyranny had been documented in reports and news coverage, and Loeb went on to argue that, "It would appear that the good neighbors in both South and North America would not welcome the unnecessary endorsement of an unfortunately home-grown dictator while condemning the European variety" (p. 2). The veiled comparison of Trujillo to Hitler was not a novel idea. In fact, comparisons and a suspected relationship between the two dictators and their nations had been a persistent challenge to the image of the Dominican Republic in the American press. It came to the forefront in three other distinctly unrelated circumstances in the press within the time frame of this research.

Trujillo and Hitler in the Press

Libel case

In May 1937, a Puerto Rican author, Francisco Girona, published *The Misdeeds of the Bandit Trujillo*, for which he was charged with libel by the Puerto Rican Department of Justice. The *Times* reported that, “Unofficially, the Justice Department (of Puerto Rico) acted on the theory that to permit Senor Girona’s charges to go unchallenged would be an acceptance of the truth of his statements” (Guilty of Libeling, 1938, p. 8).

Although, perhaps letting the book go unchallenged would have been a sign of its validity, what the case did do was help bring to light more of the tyranny that was happening within the borders of the Dominican Republic under Trujillo’s rule. According to the *Times*, in his defense, Girona’s lawyer stated that Girona was not as critical of Trujillo as Fiorello La Guardia (then mayor of New York) was of Adolf Hitler, suggesting that Trujillo was worthy of the same level of critique as Hitler. Again, we see a comparison between the two dictators. Girona was found guilty and sentenced to three years in prison and fined \$100³¹.

German Submarines in Dominican Waters

On September 19, 1939, the *Times* ran an article titled, “Trujillo proposes unity of Americas” (p. 22), with a second subtitle read, “Comes on freighter, with his private yacht, filled with refugees, trailing ship.” The article detailed, based on an interview with Trujillo, his experience in war-torn Europe. In the interview, Trujillo pushed the idea of a unified America, both ideologically and physically, in order to ward off any potential aggression from Europe. According to the article, when he docked in the United States,

³¹ In 1974 Puerto Rico enacted a criminal defamation statute, making libel a criminal offense. In 2013 the statute was ruled unconstitutional (*Mangual v. Roiger Sabat*, 2003).

he brought with him, in addition to his crew, on his Yacht Ramfis (named after his son, General Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Martínez, aka Ramfis), five Americans and nineteen Dominican people who presumably had been stuck in Europe due to the war. He stated that he sent orders to the Dominican Republic to begin patrolling its coasts and was quoted as saying, “I believe there are submarines in the Caribbean area now. I believe there are submarines in New York. Where are they getting oil for such long cruises?”(p. 22).

In October 1939, the *Times* ran two stories on consecutive days about a Dominican Coast Guard cutter sinking off the coast of Samana Bay in the Dominican Republic. The sinking was shrouded with controversy. Unnamed sources cited in the October 3rd article were credited as providing information about a French cruiser catching the cutter fueling German submarines and sinking when the French cruiser was firing at the German U-boats (Dominican Cutter Seen, 1939). Also according to the article, the French and British governments had suspected that German ships were receiving aid from the Dominican Republic. Other confidentially sourced information was also seeping through heavy Dominican censorship that “land bases had been set up for repairs to German submarines in addition to the contacts for refueling at sea” (p. 5). Other suspicions were fueled by a sighting of a German ship by a U.S. destroyer the year before. The veil over the suspicions throughout the article was removed in its closing paragraph, which read, “The Dominican Republic, on the island with Haiti, is ruled by General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, who has long been considered a dictator of the most ruthless type. There have been previous reports of deals between him and Nazi Germany” (p 5).

The second article, which ran on October 4, 1939, covered the rebuttal from the Dominican government, which stated that all of the accusations were false and denied that the sinking had happened at all. Andres Pastoriza, Dominican minister to the United States, was quoted as saying, "I can authoritatively state that Captain Alsina and his crew are at present aboard Cutter 3 in Samana Bay on patrol duty with other Coast Guard vessels. ...these rumors are absolutely false and can only be explained as emanating from a source desirous to tarnish the attitude of true Pan-Americanism of the Dominican Government. The Dominican Republic has declared a strict neutrality with regard to the European conflict and has ordered the patrol of its coasts as well as the observance of all the rules of this neutrality, among which is the patrol of the strategically situated Samana Bay" (Dominicans deny sinking, p. 8). The patrol to which he referred, he said, was as a result of General Trujillo's direct instructions to "prevent craft from belligerent nations from refueling" (p.8).

Alsina's statement is a dismissal of all accusations as false and offers no explanation or even acknowledgement of some of the intelligence that had come out about German ships being spotted in Dominican waters. The statement also pushes the message of the Dominican Republic's dedication to democracy and Pan-Americanism. Alsina's mention of Trujillo's instructions and lack of any mention of President Peynado also lent credence to the idea that Trujillo was really running the republic and made clear who the players were in regard to rumors about a relationship between the Dominican Republic and Nazi Germany.

Fish Controversy, Trujillo Impact on U.S. Congress

In August 1942 U.S. Rep. Hamilton Fish Jr., a New York Republican, sought re-nomination for his seat in Congress. Though the *Times* noted that his backers were optimistic his chances for re-election (Country watching, 1942), it also pointed out threats to victory. In addition to being accused of a friendship with a jailed Nazi agent and of employing another man accused of cavorting with Nazi agents, Fish was also accused of receiving \$25,000 from Rafael Trujillo in 1939. The payment Fish said, was in return for oil speculations for which he was acting as an agent (Fish expected to win, 1942). A connection to Trujillo put the re-election of the 22-year incumbent in jeopardy. “Accepting Mr. Fish’s explanation that he did not know his old acquaintance Viereck was a Nazi agent, and that the money that passed between him and General Trujillo represented only some very bad investment counsel on his part, the episodes cast a fatal discredit upon the man who is the ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee” (Mr. Fish Faces the Voters, 1942, p. 18). Fish’s alleged cavorting with Nazis and dictators may have discredited his reputation but proved less than fatal over all; he won the Republican nomination and the 1942 election. That Trujillo’s image was brought up in the company of alleged relationships with Nazis gives credence to the idea that it was highly negative and connected to that of a Nazi dictator.

The Dominican Republic and Haiti: Covering Genocide

Trujillo’s reputation as a violent dictator was earned through years of tyrannical rule over the Dominican Republic and its people. His reputation became a more public, global concern when the violence started to affect those “outside” of the Dominican Republic he was creating, particularly the war he waged against Haitians and those of

Haitian descent. Trujillo and the Dominican Republic's long history with Haiti has always been fraught with tension and at times violence. It became more than simply a running theme in October 1937, when thousands of Haitians, and those of Haitian decent, were killed along the northern border.

Coverage of what came to be known as the Parsley Massacre trickled out slowly, in part due to the media censorship by the government that prevented information from leaving either side of Hispaniola. As a result, initial reports underestimated the number of deaths at between one thousand and three thousand. Furthermore, with accounts coming from varying sources, there were several conflicting narratives, particularly in regard to the nature of the conflict. The first report in the *Times* was a wire story out of Havana, Cuba, that ran in the *Times* on November 10, 1937, a full month after the killings began. The article described "open fighting between the civilian population of Dominican provinces and Haitians" (Phillips, 1937, p. 18). The fighting began, according to the article, because of tension that had mounted since an influx of Haitian laborers began crossing the Dominican border for work, threatening the livelihoods of local laborers. The article was rife with bias. It described "penniless Haitians" and the "fertile lands of the Dominican Republic" in the wake of mass deportations of Haitians from Cuba. It did, however, mention that, "a racial feeling is also a factor in the situation" (p. 18).

Another wire service article, subtitled "Roosevelt Gets Haiti's View," introduced an official's angle to the story. According to the piece, in a meeting with President Roosevelt and acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles, the foreign secretary of Haiti, George Leger, denied Dominican reports that claimed the killings were between Dominican and Haitian farmers. Leger also stated that the toll was as high as 5,000

Haitian deaths. The meeting sparked U.S. intervention but did little to ignite a flurry of coverage in the *Times*. A blurb in the “Abroad” section on November 14th described tension between what was described as French and Patois-speaking Negroes and mulattos of Haiti and the Spanish-speaking mestizo or white Dominicans as “an armed conflict that broke out between Dominican landowners, assisted by soldiers, and Haitian “squatters” (quotes in original)” (Tension in Hispaniola, 1939, p. 65). It goes on: “A thousand or more Haitians were killed. Survivors crawled home through jungle and brush, bearing stories that aroused public resentment. The Haitian Government of President Stenio Vincent demanded an investigation; The Dominican Government of President Rafael Trujillo minimized the incident” (p. 65). The tone of this earliest coverage of the conflict minimizes it and follows the Dominican constructed narrative of a small conflict between Haitians and Dominican farmers essentially defending their land, although it lends some weight to Haitian claims that there was government involvement by adding that the Dominican farmers were aided by soldiers. Continued coverage on December 1, 1939, included an article about unrest in Haiti in response to government reaction to the violence. The wire story, “Haiti unrest reported,” (*New York Times*, 1939, p. 9) again out of Havana, reported on demonstrations in Haiti against President Vincent for what protestors believed was a passive response to the incident and possible collusion with President Trujillo.

Dominican Republic: Gracious Nation

Eventually, framing of the Dominican Republic as a gracious participant in the investigation of the conflict began to develop and overshadow the allegations that it was the aggressor. On December 19, 1939, the *Times* published an article headlined,

“Dominicans Agree to Peace Meeting” (p. 28). It noted that Haiti had invoked the Gondra³² and the Convention of American Conciliation³³ treaties in order to resolve the issues surrounding the murders that began in early October of the same year. Although Haiti was the instigator of a peaceful and diplomatic resolution, the story (and headline) focused on the Dominican Republic’s willingness to participate, although “(n)o details were given in the message as to whether the acceptance was complete or qualified or as to how speedily the Dominican Republic would send its representative” (p. 28). Two days later, the *Times* ran two telegrams in their entirety, one from Trujillo to Roosevelt agreeing to participate in the peace procedure, the other from Roosevelt to Trujillo in which the U.S. president thanked Trujillo for his pending participation. “Permit me further to express my gratification by reason of your Excellency’s statement that the Government of the Dominican Republic will not give the slightest ground for a disturbance of the peace of America, in the preservation of which all of the peoples of the New World have so great an legitimate interest” (Roosevelt praises Dominican stand, 1939, p. 17). The same piece included a Haitian voice through the inclusion of information that was part of a communiqué issued by the Haitian Legation. In it, the Haitian Legation stated that the death toll was at 12,168 and charged that the Dominican government was not honoring its agreement for an investigation into the killings. The communiqué was paraphrased, but the article included a quote that read, “The facts,

³² “The Gondra Treaty is an ‘inter-American pact (that) was designed with the object of preventing a bloody conflict between American States by instituting a compulsory recourse to a system of investigation and conciliation, and by stipulating that, during a period necessary for such conciliatory process, the contending States have to refrain from any military act or preparation’ (Galeano, 1929, p. 1).

³³ The convention was signed to promote the development of a system of methods to settle differences among countries within the Americas without war. Governments of Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Peru, Honduras, Guatemala, Haiti, Ecuador, Columbia, Brazil, Panama, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Mexico, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and the United States were participants.

supported by references which will be submitted to the impartial consideration of the investigating commissions organized by inter-American treaties, reveal that mass killings of Haitians have taken place in more than sixty-five Dominican localities, almost simultaneously, as if at a given signal” (p. 17). The accusation is clear; that the attacks were coordinated and by the command of Trujillo. The juxtaposition of the accusation with the content of the telegrams between Roosevelt and Trujillo in this article demonstrates the politics at play. It shows the U.S. government’s support of the Dominican Republic and convenient blindness to the acts of a dictator, thus endorsing the false image of a democratic leader and Dominican Republic as a champion of inter-American peace.

“The Dominicans Agree to Peace Meeting” (1939, p. 28) article, supplemented by another Associated Press wire story, sheds more light on the severity of the circumstance, stating that “in the mountainous frontier country, Haitians and Dominicans continued killing each other with crude weapons, just as they’ve been doing every week since the first of October” (p. 28). Despite the mention of both sides killing each other, the number of deaths included in the article was only that of Haitians. Only the Haitian government was providing data; it reported 8,000 Haitian deaths at that point. The Dominican government, perhaps in an effort to continue to downplay the conflict, was not issuing statistics. Another possible explanation would be that reporting a significantly smaller number of Dominican casualties could lend fire to theories that it was an organized armed attack by soldiers on unarmed people. The article included several competing theories for the conflict, which it stated was referred to as a “mass murder” by the Haitian president and a “local incident” by Trujillo, “strong man of the West Indies.” The article suggested

that the conflict could have been the result of a Dominican desire to annex Haiti, a local conflict over jobs and property (the Dominican rhetoric), or an attempt by Trujillo to distract his population from revolution. Ultimately the most attention was given to what was deemed the most likely cause: traditional hatred and economic rivalry between “Dominicans (who) are white, and proudly, they consider Haiti a black republic whose forefathers were brought from Africa as slaves” (p. 28). Despite this description of the difference between the two, which reflects the Dominican ideal, the reporter concludes the piece with this:

Slowly but surely the toll of the primitive warfare is mounting back in the dark, shadowy hills, along tiny tropical rivers. It has none of the trimmings of modern warfare, but the death it deals is just as final” (p. 28)

This close demonstrates an important failure in international acceptance of the nation images for both of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Despite noting the racial differences that were important parts of the both nations’ constructed images, the distinction is lost when the image of two primitive peoples fighting in a jungle is invoked. The perception of both nations, in this case is not a reflection of the constructed nation images promulgated; it is a reflection of old Western perceptions of other.

Misdirection: Welcoming Refugees and other Philanthropic Stunts

Although stepping down from the presidency was one of Trujillo’s more drastic stunts to distance himself from alleged crimes against Haiti and associations with Nazis and totalitarianism, it was not his only stunt, nor was it the most covered in the press. Trujillo and the Dominican Republic garnered press coverage through several philanthropic acts and donations. In 1937, in the wake of flooding along the Ohio River

that killed almost 400³⁴, Trujillo made a \$20,000 donation for relief efforts (Sends \$20,000 to Flood Relief, 1937). In that same year, Trujillo gifted a family of Solenodonts (a rodent native to the Dominican Republic) to Mayor La Guardia and the Bronx Zoo (Rare Animals Reach Bronx Zoo, 1937). Before leaving office, Trujillo promised to ensure women's suffrage (Trujillo Promises, 1938), which came to fruition when women voted for the first time in 1942, when Trujillo officially re-entered office as president (Women cast Dominican vote, 1942).

Awards from the Dominican Republic

Awards and ceremonies were also among the philanthropic stunts from the Trujillo administration. At the dedication of the Dominican Pavilion at the New York World's Fair in 1939, the establishment of the Trujillo Peace Prize was announced (Dominicans reveal peace, 1939). The annual award was to honor outstanding contributions to the re-establishment of peace among nations and would reward the chosen organization or individual with \$50,000; an award the *Times* stated rivaled that of the Nobel Peace Prize. One of the most notable aspects of the award, in addition to the obvious hypocrisy of its origin and existence, were the talking points surrounding the award, which was named after Trujillo because of his "great accomplishments on behalf of world peace" (p. 38).

The Dominican minister to Washington, Don Andres Pastoriza, made the announcement about the award. In his speech he referred to the Dominican Republic as the gateway to democracy and said that, "its geographical position in the very center of the Western Hemisphere make this beautiful phrase entirely fitting and justified. ...not

³⁴ The Ohio River flooded in late January into February of 1937. It left almost 400 dead and a million homeless in the Ohio and Illinois.

only materially but spiritually also, fortunately that our country is cognizant of its heritage and its present and future responsibilities” (Dominicans reveal peace, 1939, p 38). If there was any confusion as to the heritage to which Pastoriza was referring, it was clarified by Charles H. Wanzer, the Dominican commissioner general to the fair and acting chairman of the ceremonies, who said that the Dominican Republic’s participation in the Fair was that “of the oldest white civilization of the Western Hemisphere” (p. 38).

Another talking point on the pride in race of the Dominican Republic was reinforced by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler³⁵, president of Columbia University. His contribution to the dedication ceremony was to talk about the projected Christopher Columbus memorial lighthouse in Trujillo City, Dominican Republic. Columbus, a national hero for both the Dominican Republic and the United States, represented what Pastoriza described as a “link to the Old and New Worlds, so that mankind may live in peace, in friendship and in mutual understanding (p.38). Ironically, Butler stated, “It will stand through the centuries as a monument not only to the memory of Columbus, but to the common purpose and the common ideals of all the American democracies” (p. 38). This romanticized view of Columbus perpetuates in modern times and omits the violent reality of what his voyage really did in terms of linking the old and new worlds. Essentially, it violently smashed the two worlds together, eliminated entire races of people, and opened the passage for the trans-Atlantic slave trade, all under the guise of discovery and the betterment of (certain sects) of mankind. The Dominican Republic and the United States were continuing the Columbus legacy.

³⁵ The Dominican Republic had a strong relationship with Columbia University that was in part reinforced through donations from the Trujillo administration. See “Trujillo donates scholarship here” (1941) and “Columbia awards journalism prizes” (1942).

Philanthropy, the U.S. Military and the Roosevelts

Trujillo's generosity toward the U.S. extended to the military. In 1942 Col. James Roosevelt, the president's son, was awarded the Order of Military Merit, first class, the Dominican Republic's highest honor (Honors James Roosevelt, 1942). James Roosevelt had an already established relationship with the Dominican Republic. Years earlier in 1938, Roosevelt's participation (as an observer) in a war game attack was delayed because he was "besieged with hospitality in the Dominican Republic and could not report for duty" (War game attack, 1938).

In addition to the personal ties between Trujillo and the U.S. military, there were two transactions with the U.S. Navy. In 1940, a \$3 million loan was authorized by the Dominican Republic to the U.S. Navy to develop a harbor and all necessary complementary components in the Dominican Republic's Samana Bay, the area where the DR was suspected of lending aid to Nazi ships the previous year. The value of the Bay was in its location in Mona Passage, one of the major north-south ocean ways in the Caribbean (Dominican loan, 1940). It seems as though this stunt was a good way to replace suspicions of Nazi activity in that area, by placing an actual U.S. naval base in the bay. In 1942, Trujillo also sold a yacht from his fleet to the Navy (General Trujillo sells his yacht, 1942). The yacht, Ramfis, on which Trujillo rescued refugees from Europe in 1939, became U.S.S. Marcasite.

Opening DR Borders to Refugees

The most significant publicity stunt or cluster of stunts orchestrated by Trujillo's republic, would have to be its welcome of refugees. I argued in a previous chapter that the active acceptance and recruitment of European refugees was an act with several

purposes, including promoting and perpetuating a stronger, lighter, whiter race in the Dominican population and strengthening relations with the United States. The media coverage demonstrates a press emphasis on the latter goal and a successful campaign on the part of the Trujillo administration to distract from its genocidal attacks on Haitians and replace them with an image of a philanthropic nation and leader.

The idea to send Jewish refugees to the Dominican Republic in order to flee war-torn Europe is often said to have begun at the 1938 Evian Conference (Gigliotti, 2006; Wischnitzer, 1942) but that was simply when the offer was officially made by the Dominican government. The idea was being studied by the Dominican government and private U.S. Jewish citizens and organizations, as a possibility, 10 months before the Haitian killings and at least eighteen months prior to the official offer made by the Dominican Republic in July 1938. The *Times* first covered the budding concept of the Jewish settlement in the Dominican Republic on January 19, 1937 (Huge new colony, p. 26). The timing suggests that the timing of the public offer was a strategic publicity move.

Early coverage of the Evian conference lumped the Dominican Republic with Mexico Peru, Australia, the Philippines, and other countries that had made offers of asylum and opportunities to anywhere from 1,000 to 100,000 (DR's offer) refugees. The Dominican Republic didn't receive much individual coverage from the *Times* on the topic until it, and the Philippines, were selected by the Evian Intergovernmental Committee as countries where German refugees would be permanently settled (Dominicans Open Doors, 1939). That coverage of the new refugee settlement peaked in 1940, with a page-one article headlined, "Dominican haven set up for exiles" (1940). The article

demonstrates almost point by point, many of the image problems Trujillo was able to make invisible through philanthropic stunts:

The proposal to receive up to 100,000 selected European refugees as colonists was made first in London on behalf of Rafael Trujillo, who was known as the dictator of the Dominican Republic until his congress conferred on him the title of Benefactor because, even his opponents admit, he has put the backward Dominican Republic in the front rank of Latin-American countries during the ten years since he seized power. Meting out imprisonment, death or at least exile to those who opposed him, he established schools through an illiterate country, hospitals, public works and generally raised the health and living standards of the Dominican Republic” (p.7)

The article goes on to mention that Trujillo decided to step down from president to “benefactor” by conducting elections that his chosen successor won, and that “by law the Benefactor is co-equal with the President and, in fact, he continues to conduct all the important business of the Republic” which was why he was there at the agreement signing. This excerpt demonstrates how easily Trujillo was able to make insignificant the violence, like imprisonment and death, he had enacted on the Dominican Republic when he “seized power,” by replacing those acts with acts that are part of the job of nation’s leader, such as promoting health and education for the population. It also shows how flippantly the media covered his stepping down as president only to replace himself with a puppet. The article also demonstrates Haiti’s invisibility in terms of its relationship with the Dominican Republic. It was mentioned only as an island neighbor—with no mention of the massacre of which Trujillo was accused or any other tensions. The article did highlight the Dominican Republic’s generosity in offering its land to Jewish and non-Jewish refugees from Europe and waving the expected \$500 per person charge, “because of the desirability of getting new industries and the accompanying money and new energy, as well as trade, technical and professional groups” (p. 7).

For the next few months, the coverage on the settlement, in its anticipation, focused on the planning and nuts and bolts of the operation until the first 36 advance settlers arrived in May 1940, which was marked by four articles on consecutive days. Two of the articles show evidence of Dominican motivation for settlement. The first said as much: “One need not argue that the Dominican Republic, or Senor Trujillo, is animated solely by generosity. ... It is taking them in because it believes that they will make good, useful and productive citizens and that their decedents will be a desirable element in the Dominican stock” (Pioneers, 1940, p. 21). Just days later, on May 12, 1940, another *Times* article stressed that the settlers from this project were not in the Dominican Republic temporarily but that instead DORSA hoped for integration “into Dominican economics” that would eventually allow the association to dissolve (Exiled Europeans reach, 1940). There are several complementary motives here with distinct differences. The motives of both the Dominican Republic and DORSA were to ensure a sustainable and permanent presence for the economic benefit of both the nation and the settlers. The distinction is in the parameters of the integration. One article, seemingly echoing the Dominican voice eludes to integration of the native and settling populations. The second article, expressing DORSA’s sentiments called for economic integration.

Trujillo was open in his expression of the racial motivations for opening the Dominican borders to European refugees. In a statement to the *Times*, he said that the motivation was humanitarian but that he was also aware of the benefits an influx of new people would have on in the sparsely populated Dominican Republic. In the statement he also said:

In our country men of all races and of all religious and creeds live side by side, in absolute social and political equality and in perfect brotherhood. For reasons

only too evident to those who judge us impartially, we naturally prefer the immigration of people coming from the same racial origin which constitute the historical basis for our population. It is for this reason that official protection favors white immigration or that of native born Americans; but we have never excluded, as has been done elsewhere, immigrants of other races (Italian action strands, 1940, p. 27)

Trujillo was hinting here at accusations of racism and selective generosity based on the race of the recipients. He was also reinforcing the racial imaginary of the Dominican Republic by explaining the darker hue as a result of white and native mixing. Sparse but continued coverage throughout the remainder of the year provided updates as more and more small groups of refugees, from various—countries such as France, Austria, and Germany—made their way to the Dominican haven. At the end of the year, Trujillo's economic motivations came out as the *Times* covered a winter trip to New York, where he said, "I hope the immigration of European refugees to the Dominican Republic will stimulate the progress of our country and will intensify the development of our natural resources, as well as our industries" (Trujillo on way here, 1940).

Coverage waned over the years, but through 1942 updates on other arriving groups, additions to Trujillo and the Dominican Republic's generosity, and praise for the two, speckled the paper every few months. Though the project never reached the expected 100,000 settlers, it was celebrated as a success and example of a potential model for future colonization projects in the Caribbean (Dominican haven praised as model, 1942). The Brookings Institute blamed limited industrial opportunities for the project not reaching the expectation of the 100,000 refugees (Dominican haven praised, 1942).

In an interview at which Haitian Minister Andre Chevallier was present, Trujillo talked to the *Times* about the Dominican Republic's offer to take in 100,000 refugees. He blamed the project's shortcoming on a lack of transportation. In the same interview he

said that relations between Haiti and the Dominican were fine and that, “I was successful in obtaining definite demarcation of the boundary line between the two countries and I desire now to Dominicanize [sic] our frontier regions. To realize this I have established agricultural colonies and redoubled patrol services to avoid smuggling and illegal infiltrations” (Packard, 1942, p. 11). The real story, however was that Trujillo seemed to make the ugliness between the Dominican Republic and Haiti disappear and replace any tarnish on his and the DR’s image with an image of a democratic inclusive, modern, American republic. Blacks/Haitians were not included in any part of that Dominican image. In fact Trujillo he made them invisible in the press, by highlighting who he was letting in, and omitting who he was keeping out.

Uses for Haiti and the Dominican Republic: Shaping press coverage

In *Freedom’s Journal* and *Coloured American*, Haiti was used an example of what blacks could be. Its independence showed how wrong white colonizers, slave owners, and racists were. It was a success story that could serve as a best practice for blacks in the United States. For that reason, the image had to stay intact. Showing Haiti in a negative light would give credence to what whites had been saying about blacks for generations. For that reason, much of the coverage of Haiti in the African-American newspapers examined here, very closely reflected the nation image it was constructing and promulgating. Haiti was needed by the African-American community as an inspiration, not as a precautionary tale. As a result these African-American newspapers printed their own favorable ideas of Haiti and included curated outside coverage that reinforced those opinions. The Dominican Republic was also needed by a particular community in the United States, the government, because of Roosevelt’s dedication to

peace in Latin America, and because of its location in the Caribbean Sea that offered trade and military advantages. Coverage of the Dominican Republic thus showed the democratic white nation it was promoting itself to be, in order to justify the growing relationship between it and the United States. Both nations benefitted from their uses for the United States in terms of favorable press coverage. *The New York Times*, *Freedom's Journal* and *the Coloured American* highlighted the positives of the Dominican Republic and Haiti while keeping the negatives that detracted from the optimal narratives, off of their pages and invisible.

In this chapter I addressed research question 3, which asked how the West, represented by the U.S., received Haiti and the Dominican Republic's early promotional efforts. Essentially the receptions from the specific audiences that were being addressed and represented in the choice of media outlets in this analysis were positive and reflected the images each nation was trying to present. Haiti, in its efforts to present itself as a strong black republic and a viable place for free blacks to emigrate, received warm reception from the African-American community as reflected by the coverage in the leading African-American newspapers of the time. The inclusion of Haiti in the Dominican Republic coverage of the 20th century in more main stream white media, demonstrated a far less favorable perception of Haiti and a departure from the image the nation tried to construct a century earlier. The 20th century mentions of Haiti and implied perceptions were far more in line with tropes of Haiti as a failed state from which the Dominican Republic needed to create distinction. The media reception of the Dominican Republic in *The New York Times* while inclusive of the controversies around the nation and Trujillo, ultimately provided favorable coverage of the nation and reflected the

republic's efforts to divert attention from the negatives to the positives and an acceptance of the Dominican racial imagination.

CHAPTER 5/ DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND HAITI BRANDS IN MODERN TOURISM

Today, centuries and decades after Haiti and the Dominican Republic became independent nations, they are still at the mercy of Western perceptions. This is because large portions of their economies are dependent on the West, largely through trade and tourism. Other factors that are reliant on Western impression include immigration and aid. In this chapter I address research question four, identifying some of the messages being put forth in tourism and marketing efforts for these two countries in the same decade of the 21st century through an analysis of the tourism websites <http://www.godominicanrepublic.com> and <http://www.experiencehaiti.org/>. The national identity constructions of Haiti and the Dominican Republic at their inceptions as sovereign nations left legacies on the nation brands of today. Race continues to play an important role in how the two brands, Haiti and the Dominican Republic, are presented in modern times. The analysis in this chapter illuminates a connection between strategic use of visibility/invisibility in the representation of these two nations in their efforts to carve out a unique spaces as different brands and tourist destinations.

Tourism Today

According to Richard Sealy, former chairman of the Caribbean Tourism Organization, the Caribbean is the most tourism-dependent region in the world, the Caribbean (Sustainable tourism key, 2015) of which Haiti and the Dominican Republic are a part. Although tourists from all over the world feed the tourism economy in the Caribbean, the United States accounts for the majority of visitors to the region, at over 50% of the market share (CTO, 2016). There are many differences in tourism

performance between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, not the least of which is the number of visitors to the two sides of Hispaniola. The Dominican Republic, the top performing destination in the Caribbean in 2016, had 5,959,340 air travel visitors, 35% of whom were from the United States.

Haiti had a total of 393,507 air travel visitors in 2016, 76% of whom were from the United States (CTO, 2016). In terms of cruise passengers, Haiti outperformed the Dominican Republic with 1,655,559 cruise passengers, compared with 809,286 for the Dominican Republic. According to the 2016 Caribbean Tourism Organization (CTO) Statistical Report, although Haiti saw an increase in cruise ship passengers of 5.1% between 2015 and 2016, overall tourist arrivals³⁶ declined by 23.7 % in the same time period. In contrast, the Dominican Republic saw increases in every category and almost every major market³⁷ for the 14th year in a row, with an overall increase of 6.4% from 2015 to 2016. The Dominican Republic accounts for 14% of tourist arrivals in the Caribbean,³⁸ which is third in the top seven destinations that make up all but 22% of the tourist arrivals in the region. Reasons for visiting the two sides of Hispaniola vary greatly. Only 31% of the visitors to Haiti in 2016 sited recreation as their reason for the trip; 18% sited business and 51% sited other. In contrast, 97.2% of travelers to the Dominican Republic were there for vacation.

The CTO defines the purposes of visits as follows:

³⁶ Tourist arrivals are counted as visitors who stay at least one night. It is the number of arrivals, not people, so a person can be counted as more than one arrival if they return for another overnight stay.

³⁷ Italy was the only major market country with a decline. Visits from Italy fell 5.7% (CTO, 2016).

³⁸ The main Caribbean destinations in 2016 were Puerto Rico (22%), Cancun, Mexico (15%), DR (14%), Jamaica (10%), Bahamas (8%), United States Virgin Islands (5%), and Aruba (4%). Although Mexico is not a Caribbean country, what is referred to as “The Mexican Caribbean” (Cancun, Cozumel, Riviera Maya) is included in Caribbean tourism statistics (CTO, 2016).

Purpose of Visit	Type of Activity
Leisure and visiting friends and relatives	Recreation, holiday, shopping, sports and cultural events, visit family/friends,
Business	Mission, meeting, paid study & research
Other	Health and medical treatment, religious pilgrimage, educational courses for less than a year,

Figure 4: Purpose of visit categories used by CTO. Figure taken from CTO Statistical Report 2016, p. 2

Tourist Profiles: Dominican Republic

There are marked differences in the impact of these categories in terms of tourism. Seventy-seven percent of travelers visiting the Dominican Republic for recreation stay at hotels and resorts, tourists visiting the Dominican Republic are less likely to stay in short term rentals through sites like Airb&b (CTO, 2016). This results in revenue going to hotels and their corporations instead of individuals. In the Dominican Republic, visitors are most likely to stay in all-inclusive resorts that create very carefully curated, insular cultural experiences and hide some of the realities of the Dominican Republic from resort guests. The all-inclusive experience in the Dominican Republic provides visitors with all they want within the walls of the resort with no need to leave. In fact visitors are often deterred from exploring the nation independently, except through the windows of the vehicles that shuttle them to and from the airports or organized tours. Even the staff are often housed close to or on property, going home only on their days off, which can be weeks apart. Text from the Santo Domingo destination page on godominicanrepublic.com offers evidence of the prevalence of the resort model. It says “Every first time traveler is advised to leave the comfort of their resort, for at least a day,” which may also speak to competition among the resorts and other tourist attractions

on the island. The resort model is one way that foreign money stays within the hotels and is not spread to smaller businesses outside of the resorts. The monopolizing of tourism money is part of the reason for the stark contrast between the rich, luxurious resorts that tourists see and the poverty that affects 30 percent of the population (World Bank, 2016), which is hidden by walls. Other visitors stay in private/unregistered venues such as personal homes, when they are returning nationals (those who were born or have a family tie to the country they are visiting); or accommodations provided by the organization with which they are working or volunteering.

Tourist Profiles: Haiti

The almost 1.7 million annual cruise ship visitors to Haiti spend their time at Labadee, the gated man-made paradise, or Tortuga, a small island off of Haiti often marketed as an independent island, instead of part of Haiti. Both locations make not only the realities of Haiti invisible, but also the country itself. Many visitors to Labadee are unaware that they are in Haiti, under the impression that they are on a Royal Caribbean private island (Wilkinson, 2006). An internet search for Tortuga or Tortuga Island, also demonstrates the invisibility of Haiti, in that Tortuga is presented as a separate unrelated entity. These circumstances create a marked difference between the experience of the air travelers and cruise passengers who visit Haiti. Not only does the money generated from cruise passengers go almost exclusively to private foreign entities such as Royal Caribbean, but many of those travelers can't even attribute their luxurious vacation to the country they've visited. Air travelers are more likely to be intentionally going to Haiti.

According the CTO Report (2016), only 37.1% of air travel visitors to Haiti stayed at hotels, which could be explained in part by the fact that 69% of visitors came

for reasons other than recreation. Most of the visitors (62.9%) stayed in private/unregistered accommodations, which are likely volunteer compounds and private homes of family members of returning nationals. Though not as isolating as all-inclusive resorts, even volunteer compounds often provide the basics that prevent volunteer foreign dollars from entering the local economy. Furthermore, like the resorts of the Dominican Republic, many of the volunteer organizations are foreign-based, private non-governmental organizations, so the money that funds their presence doesn't circulate into the Haitian economy. They have also proven to be a detriment to the nation's development.

The current profile of many of the visitors to Haiti is a direct result of the hardships the nation has faced. Many of its visitors are aid workers with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or voluntourism travelers, those seeking a tourist experience that will also benefit the country they are visiting (Wearing, 2001). But the visitor who comes with the goal of helping is not as valuable as one who comes for recreation, in part because volunteering takes jobs away rather than creating them. According to Haitian-American scholar Alex Dupuy, "These groups (NGOs), which work independently of the Haitian government, reinforce the country's dependence on foreign aid and further sap the capacity and responsibility of the government to meet the basic needs of its citizens" (2011). Not only does the money these organizations bring stay within the organizations, but the work that they do undermines local work and the self-sustainability of Haiti. Critiques of other "travel to help" groups include characterizing the voluntourism industry as a form of neocolonialism, where "The use of volunteers, who often have little knowledge or experience of the work they are

undertaking (an attraction for the volunteers), also calls into question their effectiveness and raises the spectre (sic) of neo-colonialism in the tacit assumption that even ignorant Westerners can improve the lot of people in the South” (Brown & Hall, 2008, p. 845).

The differences between the Dominican Republic and Haiti in tourism and tourist profiles in the 21st century are a direct result of their vastly different histories in tourism and beyond. Persistent negative images associated with Haiti, the realities of poverty and the health concerns that come with it, and natural disasters have contributed to its poor performance in tourism today. Haiti has also had a longer history with tourism, which has lent itself to various different iterations of tourists. The Dominican Republic has a much newer relationship with tourism and its tourist profile has remained consistent, by design.

Dominican Republic History with Tourism

Though it is the top performing tourist destination in the Caribbean today, the Dominican Republic had humble beginnings as a vacation destination. Even though tourism was somewhat of a focus during the Trujillo era, decades later in the 1970s, when neighboring Haiti was enjoying the fruits of tourism, the Dominican Republic was still not a tourist hotspot. A 1975 study on tourism in the republic began, “the Dominican Republic, while tropical and attractive in amenity offerings and virtually first in western hemisphere historical precedents, is an outstanding example of a country that has benefitted little from tourism” (Symanski & Burley, 1975, p. 20). The article continued to site second-rate service and lack of English-speaking staff as contributing factors to the lack of tourism success and outlined plans set out by the government to change the course of tourism in the Dominican Republic, including identifying specific sections of the

country to dedicate to the industry,³⁹ as well as a specific target market. The government targeted the “blue-collar” traveler which “which will not be in serious competition with its near Caribbean neighbors whose facilities are generally aimed at a more affluent traveler” (Symanski & Burley, 1975, p. 22).

The government’s investment in tourism in Samana, Santo Domingo, Punta Cana, and other areas of the Dominican Republic proved effective and resulted in a tourism boom in the 1970s and 1980s, including an annual increase of 17% of tourist arrivals between 1984 and 1988 (Davenport, 1990). Tourism growth only continued from there. The Dominican Republic in 2018 is a tropical paradise filled with all-inclusive gated resorts that discourages guests from leaving the property unless it is to head to the airport. Within the walls of any given resort are perfectly manicured lawns, constantly sprayed with pesticides to keep the insects away; attractive staff, bilingual in Spanish and English and often multilingual; restaurants that offer a variety of foods from around the world; mini room fridges constantly restocked with bottled water (the water in DR isn’t potable); and the occasional non-native animal, such as a peacock, roaming the property. The high walls and nature of an all-inclusive resort serves to create a highly curated tropical getaway for tourists and make invisible the darker sides of nation. However, while the walls preserve the image of a pristine vacation paradise, they have not been able to truly separate from some of the less publicized aspects of the Dominican Republic. For instance, the republic is notoriously associated with sex tourism. The Dominican sex

³⁹ One plan of note included the destruction of the town of Samana. Samana became home to 32 black American families who emigrated there during Boyer’s recruitment of free blacks to Haiti during the time of his rule over the western part of Hispaniola. Unlike other pockets of American immigrants who made their way to either side of the island, the community in Samana was geographically isolated and thus didn’t integrate into the rest of the population, thus maintaining much of the culture came with, including the English language (Hoetnick, 1962; Symansky & Burley, 1975). The plan never came to fruition.

tourism industry has been studied through many overlapping lenses such as sex work as a continuation of colonialism; the feminist lens, where there is continued debate about agency of the workers; male and female sex workers participating in heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual exchanges; AIDS; and the economics of the industry (Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2004 and 2009; de Moya & Garcia, 1996; Dewey, 2012; Padilla, 2007).

Though the association between the Dominican Republic and sex tourism likely attracts some visitors, it is partly a result of the all-inclusive resort model, it also mars the nation's image. Media and cultural studies scholar Amalia Cabezas (2004), argues that the all-inclusive resort model has forced many Dominicans from the hospitality sector into sex work because, "many of the hospitality workers who in the past counted on gratuities to complement their meager wage and to earn foreign exchange are now pushed into the sex sector to replace lost earnings" (p. 997).

Not only has the resort model forced many into sex work, it has also created a space where the informal part of the Dominican tourism industry overlaps with the formal sector. Outside of the brothels and other institutionalized spaces for sex for money exists a "sexual economy that operates within the heavily guarded resort compounds" (Cabezas, 2004, p. 997). However, sex work in the Dominican Republic is not just about short-term money exchange, those who participate often pursue relationships with tourists as a means to marriage/migration, recreational travel, leisure activities, and long-term long-distance relationships with regular money exchange (Brennan, 2004; Cabezas, 2004, 2009; Padilla, 2007).

History of Tourism in Haiti

Haiti has experienced marked highs and lows since its tourism industry began. According to historian Brenda Gayle Plummer (1990), in 1939 Haiti's National Tourist Office was opened. This new focus and investment on tourism created an early short-lived tourism boom. The timing of a focus on Haitian tourism, or rather what made its success a reality, was the end of the U.S. military occupation (1915-1934):

The propaganda needs of a would-be tourist mecca clearly do not resemble those of a military protectorate. Continued occupation of Haiti had required rationalization on the grounds of present danger, as well as the putative primitiveness and incompetence of the natives, qualities hardly reassuring to fastidious vacation travelers. The removal of these ascriptions by substituting Haitianization (sic) for a permanent American military presence was the first prerequisite to any alteration of the Haitian image (Plummer, 1990, p. 54)

Plummer goes on to argue, however, that though the military occupation was officially over, the intent and uses for Haiti remained the same "Haiti would earn some foreign exchange, but would do so within the confines of a travel industry thoroughly dominated by American investors and consumers. The task of acculturation that failed at the hands of Marines with bayonets would be undertaken by tourists with cameras" (Plummer, 1990, p. 6). As in the days of its early independence, Haiti was defined by the Western ideas left over from the colonialism.

In 1900 Hesketh Prichard, a white British adventurer, wrote *Where Black Rules White*, an extensive travelogue of his experiences in Haiti the previous year. In it he wrote:

At first sight Port-au-Price looks fair enough to be worth travelling 5,000 miles to see; once you enter it, and your next impulse is to travel 5,000 miles to get away again. Passing through the streets, the life around seems a strange graft of Parisianism (sic) and savagery. Here is an idolatry of fashion, an insistent

militarism, and an exuberance of speech all verging on the grotesque—a distended caricature of the original (p. 28).

As suggested in the title and excerpt, Prichard, was not supportive of a nation ruled by blacks, nor was he a fan of what he referred to as the “Africanization” or “Blackening” of European culture that created the Haitian culture. Though it was decades later that Haiti saw its first tourism boom, just after the war, opinions like Prichard’s shaped impressions the West would have of Haiti, and those perceptions persisted. The nature of the travelogue and the period of its peak popularity demands it. In 1900, when Prichard’s travelogue was published, his word on Haiti would have been one of the few if not the only first-hand accounts of the nation available for much of the Western population for whom it was published. The genre offers an invaluable peek into history, both as a record of what was seen and of the context in which the author penned the work. The latter, which is blatant because of the lack of a standard of objectivity, is also a limitation of the genre that negatively impacts the subject. The relatively limited body of work available about Haiti from that time would therefore have a strong hold on the impressions in 1900 and those impressions likely would have persisted.

Another travelogue published in 1926, *Black Haiti*, by novelist and travel writer Blair Niles, demonstrates how those impressions affected Haitians. Blair noticed a young boy reading and requested that her photographer capture the moment. They were stopped by a man whom she quoted as saying, “I will not have the child put on a post card and labelled a ‘monkey’! That is why you want the picture. And I will not have it!” (p. 10). Though her travel to Haiti was not to reinforce racist observations and impressions of travelogues past, Blair was seen as any other white traveler, observing and recording the

spectacle of Haiti. The negative Western impressions had clearly circled back to the subject.

Impressions or assumptions can be undetectable until challenged. Decades after Prichard's account of Haiti, on March 30, 1941, in the midst of a Haitian tourism boom, the New York Times ran an article "Drama on Haiti's Citadel," which opened with the following:

You meet a lot of surprising people when you travel, as they say. To many Caribbean tourists Louis Mercier, the native guide who takes boatloads of people on the long, exciting horseback ride to Christophe's citadel, is the biggest surprise of them all" (Hughes, p. xx8)

In the case of Louis Mercier, he was in contrast to a previously held impression of a Haitian. "He is handsome, the color of coffee with much milk in it. He speaks polished French and English and a little German, besides his native creole French...He studied law for two years in Paris and got his degree...his gestures are courtly" (p.xx8). That he could be handsome, educated, and articulate—and Haitian—was a surprise. Perhaps "much milk" in his coffee-colored skin was also a surprise for those expecting a homogenous dark population. The surprise speaks to the lasting impressions of colonialism.

Another surprise, it seems, was the history lesson bestowed on the tourists by Mercier. "By the time he is done with the historical part of his lecture he has convinced the tourists that Haiti is as important in the development of democracy as is their own country (USA), that Haiti's fight for freedom against France at the time of Napoleon was even more dramatic than our own war for independence" (p.xx8). The tone that the tourists were convinced implies that what he was saying was more than new information, but in contrast to what they already knew. This speaks of silencing, on which Haitian scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1997) wrote:

The silencing of Saint Domingue/Haiti was strengthened by the fate of Haiti itself. Ostracized for the better part of the nineteenth century, the country declined both economically and politically, in part as a result of the ostracism. As Haiti faded, the revolution itself became for most Westerners a consequence of yellow fever, an effect of French miscalculations or British interference, if not a non-event” (p 54)

The dismissal as a non-event made invisible the revolutionary fight for independence that had global impact and direct influence on United States history, including but not limited to the Louisiana Purchase. According to Dubois, Haiti’s refusal to submit to Napoleon dismantled his plans for French power in the Americas, which diminished his interest in Louisiana, opening a path for it to be sold to the United States in 1803 (Dubois, 2005 and 2007).

The 1940s tourism boom came to an end due to new political unrest in the country, in the form of President-for-life Francois “Papa Doc” Duvalier⁴⁰. According to Plummer(1990), tourism was used as a bargaining chip the U.S. government was trying to play against Duvalier, “The travel industry nevertheless was not large and lucrative enough to counter other options that remained to the dictator and ultimately was a casualty in the war he waged against his country” (p. 18). The industry rebounded decades later in the 1970s under the rule of Papa Doc’s successor and son, Jean Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier. Until Baby Doc’s ousting, Haiti was once again a vacation hotspot for American tourists. President Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton famously honeymooned in Haiti in 1975. Haiti also became famous for quickie divorces from the early 1970s through the mid-1980s. So popular were the 24-hour divorce vacation packages that they inspired the song, “Haitian Divorce” by Steely Dan. However, Haiti’s

⁴⁰ Francois Duvalier was a dictator who placed the well-being of himself and family over the needs of his country. He was elected president in 1957 and remained in power until his death in 1971 (Nicholls, 2004).

second tourism boom was all but over in 1986 when Baby Doc was forced to step down because of revolts against the administration. After his Baby Doc's departure, increased crimes rates dragged tourism development to a halt (Séraphin, 2014). Tourism scholar Hughes Séraphin argues that it was during the last years of Baby Doc's administration lost its status as tourist destination, and remained that way until 2010 (Séraphin, 2015).

Unfortunately, also during the Baby Doc era, Haiti gained notoriety for AIDS and illegal immigration. Images of "boat people" in the 1980s, desperately trying to reach the shores of the United States to escape Duvalier's reign and being met by unwelcoming immigration policies, stained the image of Haiti and her people. Haiti as a source of unwanted immigrants has continued to be a persistent problem for the nation's image. It was reported that in 2018, President Donald Trump, in conversations about immigration, questioned why America would want people from Haiti, describing it as a "shithole country" (Davis et al., 2018). Haiti and disease are regular adversaries. Haiti, having been blamed early on for the AIDS epidemic that began in the 1980s (Farmer, 1992), remains unable to shed the false association. Most recently, in 2017, the U.S. President Donald Trump accused all Haitians of having AIDS (Davis et al., 2018).

Disease and natural disasters have often impacted the number of visitors in the past and present. Most recently, cases of Zika⁴¹ throughout the Caribbean and other tropical countries prompted the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Gersham et al., 2018) to issue travel warnings that negatively impacted tourism in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, along with the rest of the region. Natural disasters, such as

⁴¹ Zika is a virus spread by mosquitoes, perinatal transmission, sexual contact, and possible transfusion transmission. Women infected during pregnancy have had babies with Microcephaly or suffered fetal losses. Microcephaly is a neurological condition that effects fetal brain development (Chen, Staples, & Fischer, 2017).

hurricanes, which disproportionally impact Haiti because it is without infrastructure able to withstand a hurricane, also change the tourism landscape. Subsequent sanitation issues and cholera outbreaks often follow such disasters, which also hurts tourism. In addition to impacting the number of visitors, such misfortunes have also changed the visitor profile from leisure tourist to aid.

Problems with Aid

A combination of factors has changed the visitor profile for Haiti from the rich and famous to the volunteer. While both types were drawn by uses of Haiti, it is the volunteer whose use of Haiti is the greatest detriment to the nation today. The volunteer traveler is not harmful because of reasons like the latest scandals involving prostitution, which is demonstrably not a detriment to tourism success as seen through the example of the Dominican Republic. The volunteer, or rather the NGO that brings that person, undermines local efforts and secondarily perpetuates the image of Haiti needing help, instead of Haiti as a leisure destination.

There have also been instances where volunteer behavior has been less than philanthropic and caused problems for and scandal in Haiti. In 2010 Haiti was faced with a cholera epidemic that killed thousands of people. After years of denial, the United Nations admitted that it was its own peacekeepers who started the epidemic because of improper human waste disposal (Katz, 2016). During the Clinton administration, President Bill Clinton championed policies that provided free and inexpensive rice that destroyed Haiti's rice production. More recently, in 2018, British-based charity OXFAM released its 2011 report, which included accusations that organization employees in Haiti

had been investigated for threats of intimidation and accusations of misconduct, including hiring prostitutes on the organization's property (Pérez-Peña, 2018).

History, Nation Image, and Nation Brand

It is clear that though the Dominican Republic and Haiti share an island and have intertwining histories, their paths have led to vastly different nations today. Though Haiti had grand early successes, the setbacks were greater, resulting in its distinction as the poorest country in the Western hemisphere. In contrast, the Dominican Republic had quieter successes and overcame its setbacks to become not the richest nation in the Western hemisphere or even in the Caribbean region, but one that successfully projects prosperity and that dominates in the tourism industry, on which the region is dependent. In this chapter I analyze image representation on the tourism websites today.

There are many definitions of destination image, but the best is provided by Mackay & Fesenmaier (1997) who call it a “compilation of beliefs and impressions based on information processing from a variety of sources over time, resulting in an internally accepted mental construct” (p. 538). In tourism research it is commonly believed that destination image is important to destination marketing (Tasci & Gartner, 2007) and, in varying degrees, impacts traveler choice and ultimately, destination success in tourism (Baloglu, & McCleary, 1999; Tasci & Gartner, 2007). In the preceding chapters I have teased out some of the early nation image construction that went on in the histories of the Dominican Republic and Haiti. In analyzing current tourism websites my aim is to see what connections are present between those early nation images and the current nation brands.

Image is not everything

There are many contributing factors, aside from image, that have led to the disparate levels of success between Haiti and the Dominican Republic in tourism and other arenas. Haiti has seen setbacks in large part due to its own government, which has had inconsistent focus on tourism and suffered various scandals and corruption has been responsible for crime rate spikes that deterred tourism (S raphin, 2014). According to tourism scholar S raphin (2015), Haiti's tourism industry was revitalized when Stephanie Balmir-Villedrouin was appointed Ministry of Tourism in 2011. Balmir-Villedrouin was charged with restoring the tourism industry after decades of dormancy and in the wake of the 2010 earthquake. Under her leadership from 2011 to 2016, large hotel brands Marriot and Best Western built properties in Haiti and Hilton committed to doing the same. In the two years since Balmir-Villedrouin's departure in 2016 there have been three successors in the Minister of Tourism seat, Guy Didier Hyppolite (2016-2017), Colombe Emilie Jessy (2017-2018) and Marie-Christine Stephenson (2018-). The quick turnovers suggest some instability in the leadership of the recently restored industry.

In addition to the current issues with continuity, historically the Haitian government has been bogged down by corruption which peaked during the Duvalier dynasty when the Duvalier family funneled public funds toward their own private interests, ultimately retreating with millions of dollars when ousted. The misappropriation of funds through several administrations also resulted in little to no money going toward critical infrastructures like proper sewage management and clean water which has devastating impacts on health (Gelting, Bliss, et al., 2013) for both the native population and visitors. Haiti is also lacking in proper garbage disposal which also negative impacts

the quality of life for its native population and its tourists (Byrd, 2014). Furthermore, Haiti lacks clear traffic laws and infrastructure for modern public transportation systems which leads to traffic-related injuries and deaths, as well as stunted accessibility to medical care (McLaughlin & Rogers, 2013). The U.S. Embassy in Haiti warns about ground travel in Haiti and cites poor road conditions, the absence of traffic laws, and lack of government resources that make travel within Haiti “chaotic,” “difficult and dangerous” (Information for Travelers, n.d.).

The Dominican Republic has circumvented many of the same bureaucratic obstacles that have held Haiti back, by keeping the tourism industry largely in the private sector. Wealthy Dominican families partnered with the government and were given concessions that made this possible. For example, Punta Cana Airport, a commercial airport, is the second-busiest airport in the Caribbean and claims to be the first privately owned international airport in the world (Olmsted, 2018) Many of the resorts are also privately-owned and thus not susceptible to government interference. This includes several international brands such as Sandals Resorts (Jamaica) and Melia Hotels International (Spain) as well as those owned by the local Grupo PUNTACANA, the same group that owns Punta Cana International Airport.

It can also be argued that part of the successes and failures of the two nations was impacted by the types of tourists that were sought—and drawn to—the two destinations. At its tourism peak, Haiti was known as the playground for the rich and famous. From early on, the Dominican Republic targeted the untapped “blue-collar” market (Symmanski & Burley, 1975, p. 22). Haiti went out of vogue and has yet to bounce back, although it can be argued that the volunteer tourists are likely well off since volunteering

is a luxury often afforded to those who can afford to work unpaid. The Dominican Republic continues to offer a value for money that has proved more successful than its regional competitors. Though the impact of these tangibles are undeniable, I argue here that image has not only influenced these tangible realities, but also contributed to the differences in the success of these two nations.

Destination Representation on the Dominican and Haitian Websites

In order to compare and contrast the tourism websites for Haiti and the Dominican Republic, I employed content analysis. The tourism websites for the Dominican Republic and Haiti have marked design differences, which presented challenges in comparing the content, because of this I looked through all of pages on the two sites to identify those that covered the same or similar topics in order to select parts of the website to compare. Due to the dynamic nature of websites, I took screen grabs of those pages in order to capture them in the same week (February 28, 2018-March 6, 2018) and analyze their content over five weeks. In this chapter I analyze some of the differences I noted in the design and organization of the websites; images throughout the website; and the text from the following sections:

- Homepage
- About
- FAQs
- Pages that answered the “why this destination?” question

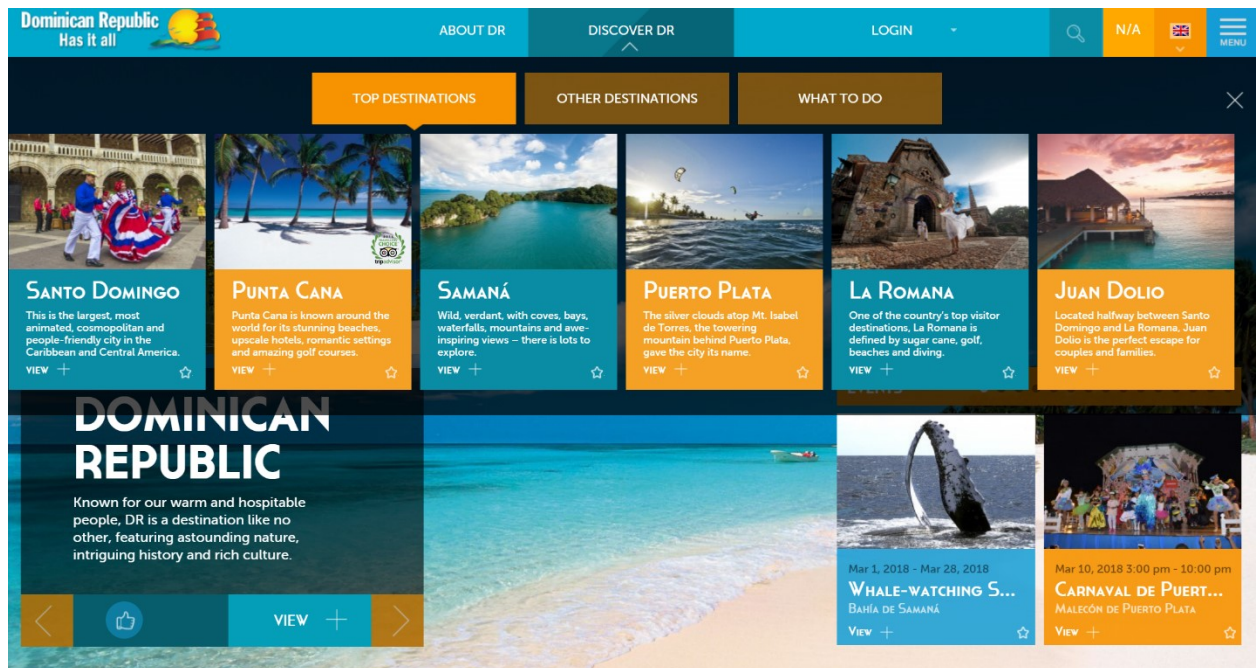





Figure 5: Screen grab of Dominican Republic tourism destination dropdown menu on February 28, 2018

The Dominican site is organized by destination, each destination with its own drop-down menu highlighting its features. The Haitian website is organized in a way that treats the Republic more as a single destination, with interspersed features. On the “itineraries” page the only suggested itinerary was nine days long and outlines travel among the tourist hotspots in the country.



[HOME](#)
[WHY HAITI](#)
[THINGS TO DO](#)
[HOW TO GET HERE](#)
[ACCOMMODATION](#)
[GALLERY](#)
[HEADLINES](#)
[FAQ](#)
[ITINERARIES](#)
[CONTACT US](#)






[ITINERARIES](#)

[Click Here To View The Map Of Haiti](#)


There are a series of different ways of experiencing Haiti, and no right way or wrong way, but it is always nice to have a plan to make sure you don't miss out on the best bits of this lovely nation. Below, see a general idea of how to make the most of your time in Haiti:

✓ Day 1




Arrive at Port-au-Prince International Airport (PAP). Spend the evening discovering the Capital and checking into your hotel. Enjoy a delicious meal at a local restaurant, or choose to eat at your hotel restaurant.

✓ Day 2




Spend a day walking around Port-au-Prince, see the Iron Market, embrace the noise and colours and check out the incredible Haitian art. In the afternoon after lunch, make sure to take a tour to see the famous Gingerbread houses of Port-au-Prince.

✓ Day 3




Leave Port-au-Prince and travel to Jacmel. It is only about an hour along the coast by car. Once arrived in Jacmel, settle in and walk around the rugged streets of Jacmel. Take in the atmosphere.

✓ Day 4




Walk to Hassin Ifeu with a group. Don't forget to pack your swimming costume as the water is irresistible! This will take up most of the day but will be completely worth it. Upon return to Jacmel, you'll want to relax. Maybe walk down to the beaches to watch the sunset, and/or enjoy a delicious meal and an award winning Prestige beer or rum.

✓ Day 5




After a quiet morning, travel back to Port-au-Prince and go to the MUPANAH museum - it has an extensive artillery collection and has been voted one of the most impressive museums in the world. Stay a night at the Oloffson hotel, made famous by Graham Green's novel, The Comedians, and if you're there on the right night, you'll get to see the hotel manager's band, RAM, perform some excellent music.

✓ Day 6




Next stop: Cap-Haitien. This can be done by road in less than 4 hours, traffic permitting, or alternatively can be done by domestic flight ([click here to find out more](#)). Make sure to visit the Cathedral in the centre of town, and spend an afternoon lazing on the beach, or walking around exploring.

✓ Day 7




Visit one of Haiti's most prized locations: the Citadelle la Ferriere. This is a full day excursion, so make sure you've had enough rest the night before and are up ready for some walking (as well as outstanding views!). The walk up can be done from Mistral in about an hour, or you can also go up on horseback, which takes around 20 minutes. There's no need for prior experience for this! You will be blown away by the Citadelle's views and architecture. Bear in mind that it was built in 1804 and is still the largest fortress in the western hemisphere.

✓ Day 8








On the way back to Port-au-Prince from Cap-Haitien, stop at Cote des Arcadins. There are beautiful beach hotels here and lots of water sports activities to take part in. Make sure your last full day in Haiti is one of relaxation and reflection.


✓ Day 9



Travel back to Port-au-Prince and catch the flight home. You will have to stop along the way at either New York, Miami, or Paris (most commonly), so maybe even consider a small break at these places if you're not quite ready to get back to reality.

SEE BELOW FOR SOME UK BASED TOUR OPERATORS THAT SELL TRIPS TO HAITI
 (both group and tailor made)












Figure 6: Screen grab of Haiti tourism website itineraries page on March 6, 2018

The design differences could be in part due to how each country encourages its visitors to enjoy their trip. The Dominican Republic's model is based on all-inclusive resorts, which by design discourages travel beyond the walls of the resort and in-country exploration.

The assumption seems to be that a tourist picks a destination within in the country and that is all they will see on that trip. In contrast, Haiti does not adhere to a resort model, instead relying on traditional hotels and encouraging more exploration, especially interesting in light of the lack of public transportation and ground travel infrastructures.

First Impressions

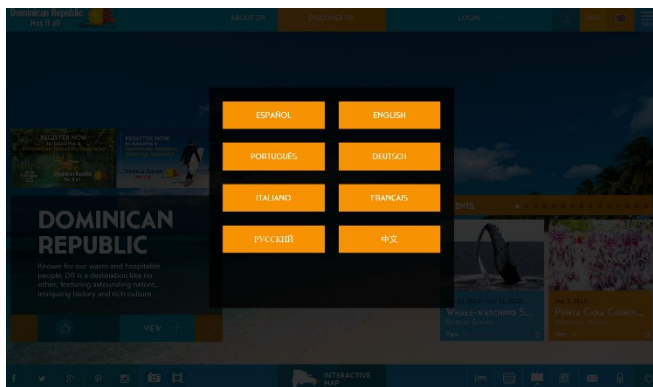


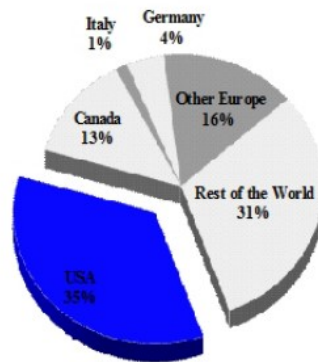
Figure 7 Screen grab of Dominican Republic tourism website language options on February 28, 2018.

The first thing that you see when visiting the Dominican Republic's website is a page asking in what language you want to read the website, offering eight options; English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, Italian, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese.

The number of choices could be a reflection of the diversity of potential travelers that visit the website or that are being sought after by the tourism industry (see figure 8). It could also be result of access to funds in terms of the costs of having a website available in so many different languages. Haiti's tourism website opens immediately in English with no options for other languages. This could be as a result of the cookies identifying my computer as being in the U.S. or it could be the result of the demographic of their target market (see figure 4) or budget.

Tourist Arrivals by Main Market

Dominican Republic



Haiti

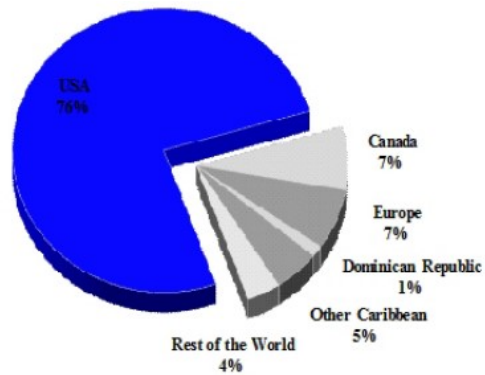


Figure 8: Main market breakdowns for Haiti and the Dominican Republic, taken from CTO Annual Report 2016.

Homepages

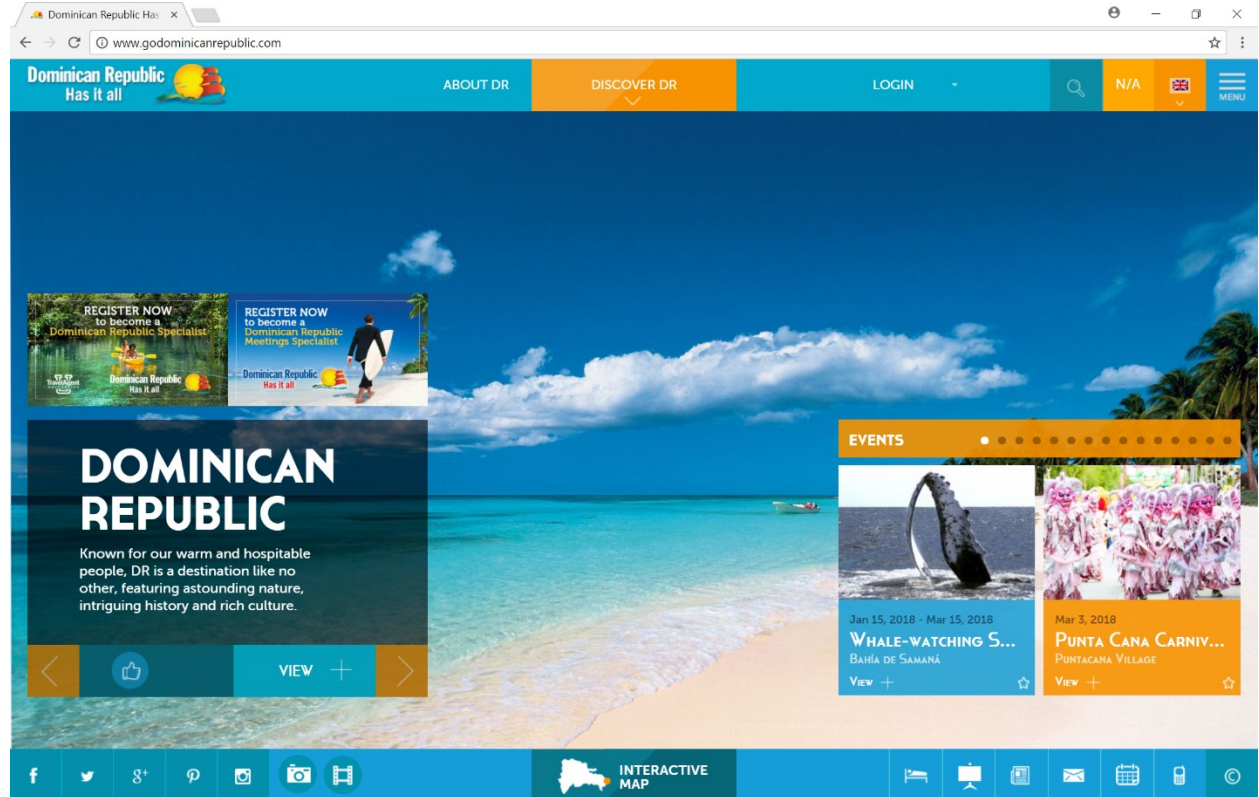


Figure 9: Screen grab of Dominican Republic tourism website homepage, February 28, 2018

The Dominican homepage highlights the nation's beauty with a picture of blue skies, white sand, crystal-clear blue water as both the background and focal point of the page. An image-dominant events calendar on the bottom right corner of the page offers scrollable dynamic content that features current and upcoming events. The events range from concerts and festivals to whale-watching. The main text on the page boasts that the Dominican Republic is "Known for our warm and hospitable people, DR is a destination like no other, featuring astounding nature, intriguing history and rich culture."

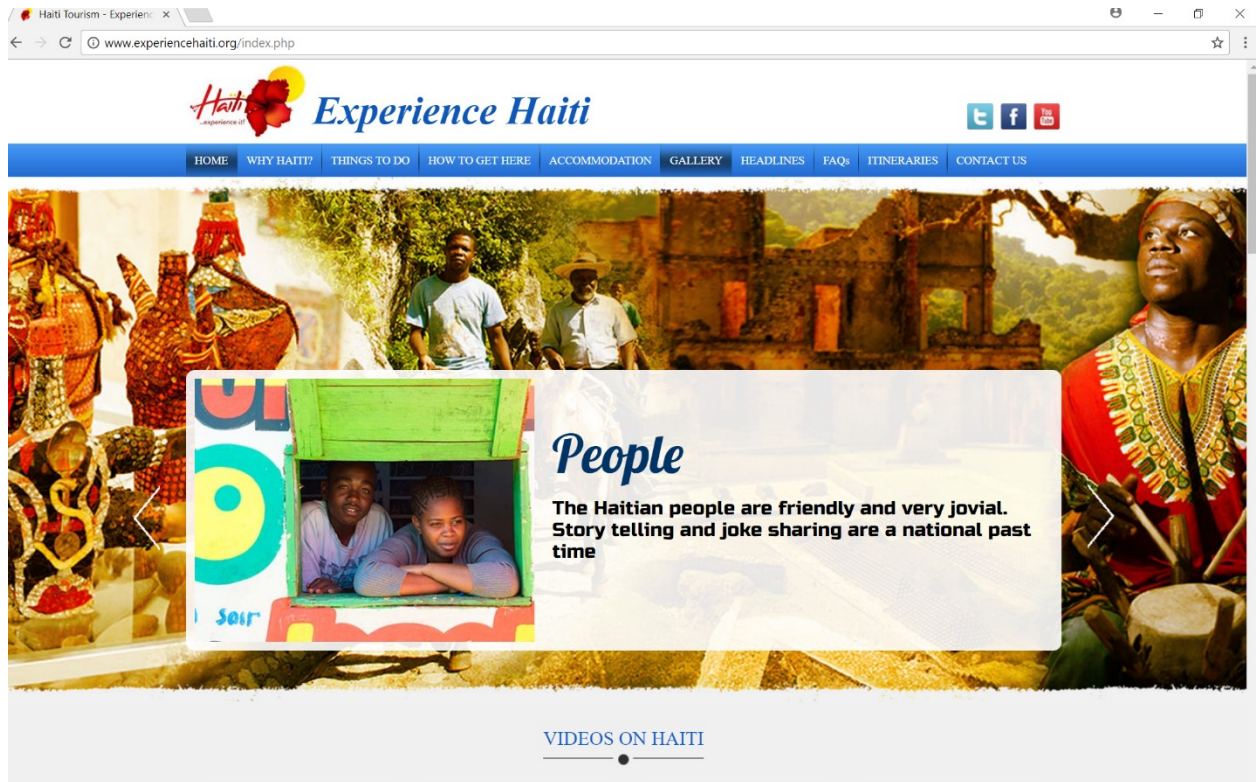


Figure 10: Screen grab of Haiti tourism website homepage, March 6, 2018

The static images on the Haiti homepage focus more on the history of the country and on its people. Other of the country's features are showcased on the homepage through an image slider that highlights the Citadel, Sans Souci Palace, Haiti's mountains, and Haitian art, among other features. You must scroll down to see the rest of the homepage, which becomes increasingly text heavy, including a 259-word "About Haiti" section, which provides an overview of the nation's history, flanked by out-of-date RSS feeds that feature past events and old tweets. Further scrolling reveals a sea of logos under the heading "Tour operators selling Haiti." The outdated information on the homepage is not only a sign of poor upkeep of the website but perhaps an indicator of a lack of focus on the tourism website and perhaps tourism as a whole, which could be the result of having three Ministers of Tourism between 2016 and 2018.

About Hispaniola

The opening line of the “About Haiti” section touts the country’s history as its strength and main lure for visitors: “If you like history, culture, adventure and you want to be stimulated by the new and the different, it’s time to EXPERIENCE HAITI.” In contrast, the about section of the Dominican Republic opened by boasting about the Dominican Republic’s size as “the second largest and most diverse Caribbean country,” the diversity of the topography claim is disputable and the size claim is simply not true. As was the case when the Republic published this claim in its 1939 World’s Fair brochure, it is a nation that shares the second-largest island in Caribbean. The largest country in the Caribbean is Cuba, the second-largest single-nation island is Jamaica. Neither country mentions its proximity to the other or sharing of Hispaniola, but it is a more obvious omission on the Dominican Republic site, which goes into great detail about the country’s location by including distance from New York and Europe as well as saying the country is being surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean Sea.

The Dominican text complements the tagline “Dominican Republic Has it All” by highlighting amenities such as Dominican food, ecotourism, designer golf courses, art, and festivals. It is not bogged down with historical facts or fictions. Other than a mention of exploring ancient relics of centuries past, the section includes only one line about history: “discovered in 1492 by Christopher Columbus, the country overflows with fascinating history.” This brief nod to history demonstrates the coherence with a Western colonial narrative, where the Dominican Republic was “discovered” by a white Spaniard. There is no mention of what or who he would have encountered when he got there. Though part of the Dominican racial imaginary relies on the existence of the Taíno

people, they were oddly missing from the main narrative presented on the website. The only mentions of the Taíno people were deep in the website, in descriptions of museums that exhibits specifically on the indigenous population. Throughout the website, history was absent from the general text. It is instead included in the designated “History and Culture” sections of each destination in the descriptions of specific attractions, such as the Museo del Hombre Dominicano in Santo Domingo.

The information about Museo del Hombre Dominicano, four clicks away from the home page, in the Santo Domingo section under history and culture, reads as follows:

Museum of Dominican Man tells the history of the island from the days of the Taínos, to the Spanish colonizers and insights into African heritage. It is the place to go to understand Dominican roots. Displays teach and explain about the early Indian settlers, African slaves and Spanish conquistadors

Though the text includes a mention of an African heritage in the Dominican culture, the inclusion of that part of the Dominican history is limited in the museum exhibits. Ginetta E. B. Candelario, scholar in race in the Dominican Republic, in 2007, dedicated a chapter in her book, *Black Behind the Ears*, that offers a detailed critique of the museum’s permanent exhibit. She notes that the exhibit had limited inclusion or what she referred to as a “disappeared” African heritage in Dominican history and current culture and an overrepresentation of Taíno or Indo-Hispanicity (sic) connections. She concluded that, “the exhibit forms part of a larger discursively mediated racial project that elides blackness into indigeneity” (2007, p. 128).

Like the Dominican “About” text, the Haiti “About” section includes a mention of Christopher Columbus; “Ayiti means mountainous land in Taíno language, a community who lived in Haiti for 700 years before the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492.”

The Haiti text pays homage to the people who lived on the island before Columbus,

despite the lack of continuity their history and the history of 21st century Haitians today. The Taíno and Columbus mentions are just a part of the history portion of the “About Haiti” section. Including only two sentences about tourist attractions in Haiti, such as the verdant mountains and spectacular waterfalls, the section goes on to lament the height of Haitian tourism in the 1970s. It explains the sudden decline in (and yet recovered) tourism industry with the departure of Baby Doc and subsequent embargoes. The last paragraph offered more recent history, noting that Hurricane Mathew had affected only some of the tourist areas in the country. However, this more recent history, from 2016, was presented in 2018 as if it were current, though it took place two years prior. This is another indication that the website is being neglected and further suggest that there is little emphasis is being put toward tourism in Haiti in 2018. There is, however, an indication of a strategy to change the tourist profile from “voluntourist” to leisure tourist. The section closes with this, “The best way to help is to travel and spend your money in Haiti. Alternatively, buy Haitian art as a way to help stimulate trade or find a charity to donate through by visiting (www.why-haiti.org).” Though there is a call to action to experience Haiti, it is undermined by the undercurrent of Haiti needing help. Highlighting a weakness, such as damage from a hurricane, is counterproductive in shifting the rhetoric of a failed state and a far cry from the history of Haiti presenting a nation image of strength and independence at its inception.

The “About Dominican Republic” section on the Dominican Republic site is far more in line with early nation promotion messaging after the country’s independence. The text boasts all of the luxuries and marks of modernity that the DR has to offer, like the eight international airports, and reinforces certain sources of pride in the Dominican

culture, such as being the site of Christopher Columbus's first "discovery" in the new world. There is also a strong message of the Dominican Republic being "open for business," which is reminiscent of early nation image construction from the Trujillo era. "Many world class-resorts and hotels also cater to meetings and incentive groups who flock to Dominican Republic for excellent, friendly service and dynamic meeting venues." So in line with messaging from the Trujillo era, like the World's Fair brochure, this text has noticeable omissions, such as the existence of the Taíno people and the title of second-largest Caribbean island being a shared one.

Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs)

Website Frequently Asked Question section, or FAQs, are no doubt informed by questions often received, as suggested by the title contain a curated collection of questions chosen to include yet downplay concerns and negative impressions. Frequently asked questions sections allow for less glamorous, albeit useful information, to be readily available. As is the case for Haiti and the Dominican Republic, it is common for such sections for tourist destinations to include somewhat mundane questions about language, travel to and within the country, and questions about accommodations. It is also often in this section where questions of safety are addressed.

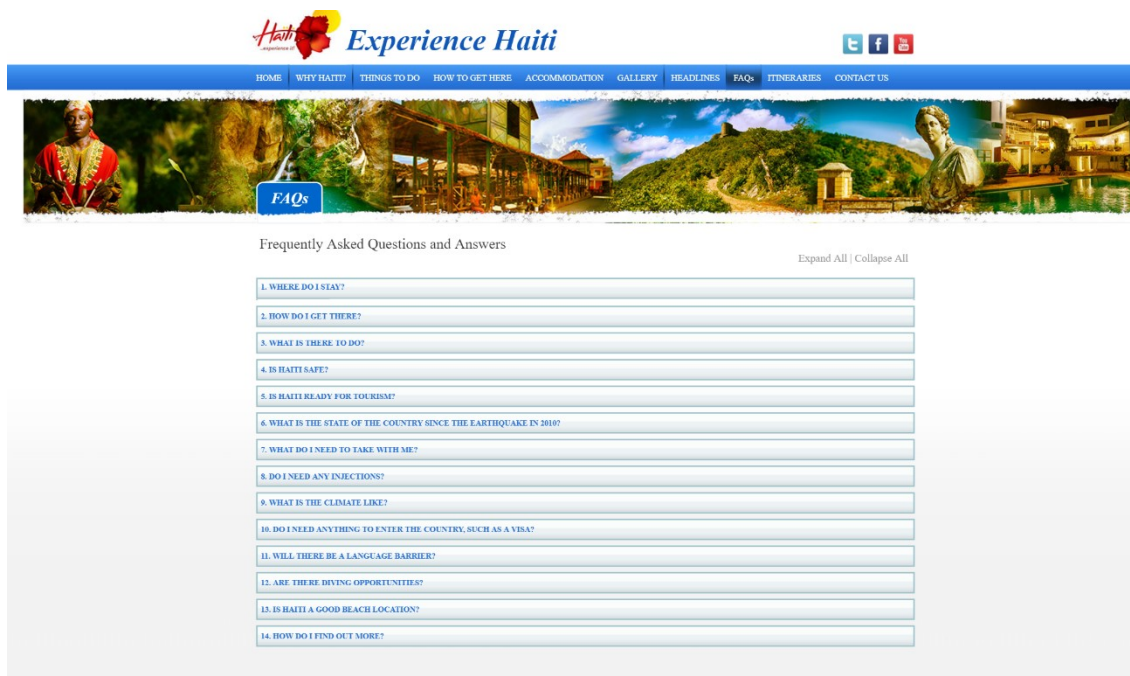


Figure 11: Screen grab of Haiti tourism website FAQ page, March 6, 2018

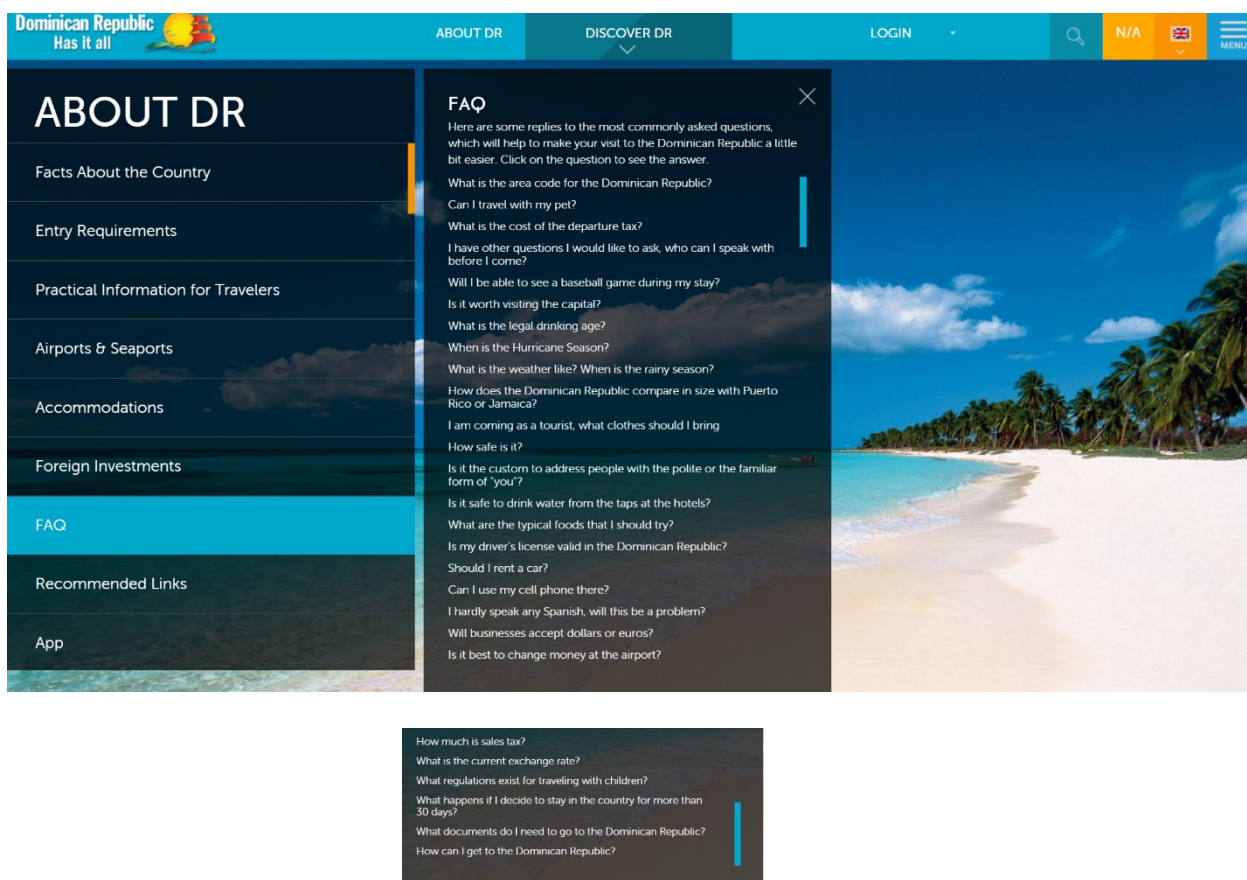


Figure 12: Screen grab of Dominican Republic tourism website FAQ page, February 28, 2018

Is it safe?

On the official tourism websites for the countries on both side of Hispaniola, questions of safety are addressed with boilerplate language essentially stating that crime rates are low and that common sense precautions are necessary there as anywhere else. Haiti also includes a U.S.-produced YouTube video that addresses safety concerns. In addition, it used interviews with non-native residents who offered a conspiracy theory that foreign ambassadors enjoy Haiti's amenities and perpetuate messages about how dangerous Haiti is in order to keep it their own private paradise. It is interesting that the video is being used to give credence to claims of Haiti's safety. It is produced and narrated by an American and features only two Haitians as voices of authority, the then-minister of tourism, Stephanie Villedrouin, and an unnamed police officer. The other perspectives in the film are from non-natives.

Though the answer to the "is it safe" question on the Dominican page is short, there are other mentions of safety in responses not directly related. One of the questions in the DR FAQs section addresses concerns about changing money. At the end of the answer, which provided general information about bank and ATM locations, it is stated, "For security reasons it is best to use the exchange services as you go along." The Haitian site also has safety tips buried in the answers to other questions. In the response to "What to do I need to take with me?" the recommendation of a money belt is included as a "useful and a discreet way of carrying your money, cards, and passport."

In addition to questions of crime and safety, there are questions about health and natural disasters. Neither country has potable running water, but the concern is addressed only on the Dominican site. On the Haiti site, there is a question about vaccinations, for

which there is no need, although the response includes precautions about malaria and recommended preventative medications. Though there is a possibility of getting malaria in the Dominican Republic as well, according to reports from the CDC (Gersham et al, 2018), but the chances are low and concentrated around towns bordering Haiti. Both sites recommend insect repellent and prevention of mosquito bites whenever possible.

The Dominican Republic and Haiti are both susceptible to hurricanes due to their location in the northern Caribbean, however it was addressed only on the Dominican FAQs. The devastation caused in Haiti by Hurricane Matthew in 2016, was instead highlighted on Haiti's homepage. The Dominican FAQ response notably included that because the Dominican Republic is such a large country, a hurricane can affect some areas while leaving others unaffected and open for business. Despite the devastations suffered from hurricanes, Haiti is more notoriously connected to earthquakes, which is reflected in the FAQ question, "What is the state of the country in the wake of the earthquake in 2010?" The response was as follows:

The country has been undergoing incredible amounts of rebuilding and renovation since the earthquake hit in January 2010 and this has been helped by a lot of foreign aid. She is growing from strength to strength and drawing in a lot of international business due to this. It would be impossible to deny that there is still a way to go after the 7.0 'quake shook the country (the epicenter not far from the built up capital, Port-au-Prince), but the efforts should be recognized

The response mentions ongoing efforts to restore the parts of Haiti that were damaged and destroyed by the earthquake and, more importantly, alludes to the lack of progress in terms of a full recovery. The response also points out the role of aid in the restoration, hinting at the dependency Haiti has on foreign money. Though there is evidence that the information on the website is not regularly updated, the reality is that much of Haiti that

was affected by the earthquake has yet to be restored as of 2018 including the presidential palace in Port-au-Prince⁴².

In November 2017, the Trump administration announced that by July 2019 it would end the Temporary Protected Status (TPS)⁴³ granted to Haitians affected by the January 12, 2010, earthquake. The TPS designation was granted by the United States under President Barak Obama on January 21, 2010 which allowed Haitian affected by the earthquake to live in the United States until Haiti recovered enough from the earthquake to handle their return. Without the protection of the TPS, the affected Haitians are expected to leave the United States or seek other means to stay in the country legally, by the 2019 deadline. According to CNN (2018) this would impact 58,700 recipients in the U.S., making them instantly illegal immigrants if they do not comply. Though the Temporary Protected Status was not designed to create a permanent sanctuary for its recipients, critics argue that as of 2018 Haiti had not recovered from the earthquake adequately enough to justify the end of the status. In January 2018, the NAACP filed a lawsuit against the United States Department of Homeland Security, then U.S. deputy secretary of homeland security Elaine Costanzo Duke and U.S. secretary of homeland security Kirstjen Neilson in the United States Court for the District of Maryland. In the preliminary statement, the NAACP argues that the “DHS’s November 2017 decision to rescind Temporary Protective Status (“TPS”) for Haitian immigrants, as it reflects an egregious departure from the TPS statute’s requirements and an intent to discriminate on

⁴² In February 2017 Haitian President Jovenel Moise, announced plans to rebuild the palace (Haiti to rebuild, 2017)

⁴³ The Secretary of Homeland Security may designate a foreign country for TPS due to conditions in the country that temporarily prevent the country's nationals from returning safely, or in certain circumstances, where the country is unable to handle the return of its nationals adequately. USCIS may grant TPS to eligible nationals of certain countries (or parts of countries), who are already in the United States. Eligible individuals without nationality who last resided in the designated country may also be granted TPS. (taken from: <https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/temporary-protected-status>).

the basis of race and/or ethnicity” (Case file, p. 1). The complaint includes claims that there is evidence of overt bias against immigrants of color in the Trump administration, including from the president himself (case file, p. 26).

Another question that is addressed on the Haiti tourism site, and not on the Dominican Republic site, is whether the country is ready for tourism. That the question is asked speaks to the trope of a failed state in which Haiti is often discussed. Like the text on the homepage, the response mentions Haiti’s 1970s tourism success and offers it as proof that the nation has been successful in tourism before and is ready to do it again.

Why Haiti?

The message for why someone should visit Haiti is less clear on the official tourism website. The overarching theme seems to be that it is a nation rich in history that should be discovered first-hand, with a culture that visitor should immerse themselves in, hence the tagline, “Experience Haiti.” However the subliminal message shines through brighter than the official tag. Although the website highlights the rich history, it also highlights many of the more recent tough parts of Haiti’s history that have impeded its progress, such as the most recent natural disasters. While the Dominican Republic highlights its vibrant present, Haiti’s website is focused on a need for help and debunking misconceptions that have tainted its reputation for centuries. The Haiti website is focused on recapturing a vibrant past. Which is perhaps why there is a need on the website for a page titled, “Why Haiti?”

The “Why Haiti?” page opens with a brief history of Haiti from Columbus’s first landing on Hispaniola and his encounter with the Taíno people, to French colonization and ultimately Haiti’s independence and status as the first free black republic.

Complementing the introductory paragraph is a trailer for a documentary about the Citadel that ends by noting it will be released in 2014, though I could not find the documentary in 2018. Under the heading “Haitian Culture” there are subheadings and short paragraphs that offer answers to the why Haiti question. The subheads are: Language, Religion, Food, Art/Architecture, Music/Carnival, and Cockfighting. Haiti’s official languages are French and Haitian Creole, which is described on the page as an amalgamation of African languages, French, Spanish, English and Taíno. The page also describes Christianity and Vodou as the main religious practices of the island and offers a portrayal of Vodou that contrasts to the scary voodoo of Western portrayal that at times has been an area of fear and at other times a point of intrigue. The food, music, art, and architecture are also painted in a positive light and offered as unique to Haiti.

Haitian Sport: Cockfighting

The page also describes a pastime—cockfighting—that is special in the Haitian culture and controversial in many others. The subhead begins with saying what it is not, “Cockfighting in Haiti is not violent or abusive, as it is in many countries” an immediate defense of the Haitian sport and an attempt to refute negative images of it. In Haiti, the text argues, the experience of a cockfight is more to observe the human spectacle of animated interaction between the people who raise and bet on the birds rather than the short fairly non-violent avian confrontation. That cockfighting is a significant pastime and source of entertainment in Haiti it is an indication of the poverty of the nation. The cockfighting arenas can be small and makeshift, although larger, more official arenas exist. Cockfights can be inexpensively hosted, and the money exchanged through gambling is often minimal. The birds do not have any blades attached to them, which is

common in other countries that are known for cockfighting. They are not actually given the time or opportunity to injure themselves because of the value of the bird itself. The pastime is just that, something to pass the time with little economic investment (Wucker, 1999).

Why the Dominican Republic?

The tag line “Dominican Republic has it all” is enforced throughout the tourism website. Each section of the site demonstrates that the republic indeed has it all, from spectacular beaches ideal for romantic getaways and destination weddings to exciting nightlife, and vibrant cultural experiences such as annual festivals, and world-class shopping, which the website notes is due in part to a free trade agreement with Europe. The site also touts Punta Cana as a golfer’s destination. The overarching message is clear: that no matter what kind of vacation a traveler is looking for, the Dominican Republic has it.

DR’s Pastime

There is also a significant amount of attention paid, on the website, to Dominican baseball. The Dominican Republic is known for baseball, which is touted as an attraction that can be enjoyed at ballparks throughout the country. The opening line of the page dedicated to the sport reads, “As they say in the Dominican Republic, baseball is much more than a game.” In addition to the contributions the Dominican Republic has made to the international baseball world in terms of several famous Dominicans in Major League Baseball (MLB) in North America, roughly 10% (Lagesse, 2016), the nation is also part of the Caribbean baseball series, an offshoot of the MLB. The other nations involved in the series are Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico and Venezuela. The embrace of “America’s

pastime” in these Spanish-speaking countries and the notable absence of Caribbean countries that speak other languages in the Caribbean series has several implications. Researchers have long argued that it is evidence of a long-standing relationship of cultural colonialism or imperialism between the United States and Latin America (Klein, 1991). It demonstrates a use of Latin America as a source of talent, historically “in the cheap” compared with their American counterparts, as well as a possibility for economic mobility for the players themselves (Regalado, 2000). The tradition in the Dominican Republic lends itself to the idea of an embrace or claim to “being American” or Western and shows evidence of the strong grip of imperialism.

Past vs Present in Hispaniola brands

By highlighting the present, the Dominican Republic’s website makes the nation’s tumultuous past invisible. The stories told through the images on the website emphasize the natural beauty of the country and the modern advances and luxuries within. The fact that appearances of people are limited in the images, makes invisible the race(s) of the nation. There is little focus on history in the general message of the website with the exception of including museums and historical sites to visit, that highlight Columbus and the Spanish-ness of the nation like Faro a Colon and first world firsts such as Convento de los Dominicos, the first university in the Americas.

Haiti’s website highlights its history, which was promoted as a black history during its inception, and currently is undeniably black. Unfortunately the message of strength and independence in the first black republic is now gone. By highlighting more recent history in addition to the grand history of Haiti’s beginnings, the website undermines the historical successes and firsts. Additionally, placing a spotlight on the

trials of recent history, the website makes Haiti invisible as a leisure destination. Though there is a general call to visit Haiti, because the website is focused on tourism, the overall message is that Haiti is a place in need of help—far cry from the early promotion of the nation.

The two websites for these neighboring destinations offer vastly different approaches to promotion. The Dominican Republic's site highlights the nation's many attributes and throughout its content reinforces the tag line that the Dominican Republic has it all. Haiti's website tagline asks the visitor to experience Haiti but the content of the site reinforces an image of a country in need and highlights past triumph instead of present, stagnancy and regression instead of progression. The tagline may ask for the potential tourist to experience Haiti but the content asks for help.

CHAPTER 6/ CONCLUSIONS: CONNECTING THE PAST AND PRESENT

Haiti and the Dominican Republic are two vastly different nations that share a relatively small island in the Caribbean. Despite their geographic proximity, the nations' histories have led to divergent presents and subsequent tensions between the two republics. My goal in this dissertation was to add to the discussions about not only the differences between the nations but also the similarities between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. More specifically, I wanted to examine how those overlaps and divergences have been used in varying degrees of visibility and invisibility, to highlight and at times create, differences between the two nations, particularly on the issue of race.

The different constructions of the histories of Haiti and the Dominican Republic have contributed to the vastly different nation brands today and continue to contribute to their tumultuous relationship. The research in this dissertation adds to the existing research that explores the historical foundations that can begin to explain the states of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the 21st century. Specifically, the contribution of this research is to add to the discussion of the role that race has played in the construction of these two nations, their nation brands and their relationship as neighbors on Hispaniola.

Arriving at the Inquiry

In 1991, organizational behavior scholar Mary Reis Louis wrote, "I am an instrument of my inquiry: and the inquiry is inseparable from who I am" (p. 365), which is true in the research I have presented in this dissertation. I am from Barbados, a Caribbean nation. I am black, non-Hispanic, with an American accent. My father, who has worked in Caribbean tourism for almost 40 years, has always stressed that the fact

that I was born in Barbados affords me the privilege of being not just Barbadian but also Caribbean. Throughout my travels in the Caribbean and the rest of the world, I have always felt a connection with my fellow Caribbean people regardless of which nation they were from or the color of their skin. We all seemed to have cultural overlaps in food, music, or our experiences with people from other parts of the world. With those experiences in mind, I visited the Dominican Republic and Haiti on separate trips in 2010 and 2012 (see appendix A).

When I arrived in the Dominican Republic and Haiti for my trips, I was not surprised by the instances when I was assumed to be Dominican in the Dominican Republic or Haitian in Haiti, I've been assumed to be a variety of racial mixes (black or black and something) before. But as I dug deeper into the histories of these two nations in order to develop a research direction, my assumed "Haitian-ness" or "Dominican-ness" on corresponding sides of Hispaniola began to inform my research inquiry. If Haitians and Dominicans are so different racially, how can I be both, depending on what side of the border I was on? It was from there that I began to form the research questions in this dissertation. The first four have been addressed in previous chapters.

The first research question asked: **What messages were shared with the global audience by the governments of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in their early efforts to publicize the two nations in both crafted messages and actions such as recruitment of specific populations?** As this research has demonstrated, Haiti and the Dominican Republic publicized vastly different countries in their nation promotion efforts. Haiti was proud of its fight for independence and its victory over the French. The documents in the *Haytian Papers*, analyzed in Chapter 1, not only served to begin to

define the new nation as independent but also condemned the actions of the French. As a whole, the *Papers* served to create an image of Haiti that highlighted its strength and its independence, despite the negative associations with blackness and the West's resistance to acknowledge a black nation as an equal. In Haiti's early promulgation efforts, it acknowledged the tumultuous nature of the relationship between black and white in the Western world and because of that actively recruited black Americans in an effort to elevate them to the level of freedom and dignity that only a free black nation could provide in the 19th century under both Christophe and Boyer.

During the Dominican Republic's early nation publicity efforts in the 20th century, analyzed in Chapter 2, blackness was still seen as a negative, as it had been in the 19th century. It remained an asset to not be black, which I have demonstrated in the resulted in publicity efforts that emphasized how "not black" the nation was and how "not Haitian" it was. During the Trujillo era, publicity centered on the pride the Dominican Republic had in being the gateway to the New World, where the West began its triumphant takeover of the world. Publicity efforts surrounding the 1939 World's Fair in New York emphasized how modern and Spanish the Dominican Republic was and made invisible any blackness or darkness in the population excluding people from any publicity materials. Any acknowledgement of darkness was explained by the melding of the old world with the new when the Taíno acquiesced to the Spanish.

The recruitment efforts during the Trujillo era, discussed in Chapter 3, were a continued effort to make the darkness invisible by breeding it out. However, the effort to open Dominican borders to European refugees did more than offer the potential for lightening the population. It also served as an image-repair campaign for Trujillo. The

campaign, which occurred in the wake of the Parsley Massacre and the closing of the borders that the Dominican Republic shared with Haiti, was a distraction from the violence happening against Haitians in the Dominican Republic, so that the nation could still present itself as a good neighbor and a worthy partner for the United States.

The second research question asked: What **Western influences were present in those messages?** The Western influences in Haiti's and the Dominican Republic's early nation image campaigns are demonstrated in opposite ways, as discussed in Chapters 1 through 3. Haiti's embrace of its blackness was an acknowledgement of Western thoughts on blacks and a blatant affront to those ideals. Like its fight for independence, its embrace of blackness was an act of rebellion. The influence present in the Dominican Republic's messages was the acceptance of the Western racial hierarchy and evidence of an attempt to fit into it. These opposite uses of Western influence received vastly different receptions from the West, which was evident in the coverage Haiti and the Dominican Republic received, which I addressed in Chapter 4.

That chapter addressed the third research question: **How were Haiti and the Dominican Republic perceived by the West, and how were the promotional efforts received during their nation image formations?** The receptions to Haiti's image formation efforts were mixed, and the lines seemed to be drawn along racial borders. The black voices in the *Freedom's Journal* and *Coloured American*, whether for or against migration to Haiti, were accepting of Haiti's strong independent black nation image, however, anti-black sentiments seemed to influence reception of Haiti's image in white media, particularly in the later coverage of the Dominican Republic.

The Dominican Republic's early publicity efforts were well received by the United States, as demonstrated through *The New York Times* coverage of the era. Though the *Times* never referred to the Dominican Republic as a white nation, the coverage that included race gave the country a gray sort of space, portraying it as not white but also not black like its Haitian neighbors. *The New York Times* coverage also demonstrated the achievement of the Dominican Republic's 1930s recruitment campaign, which was not a success in terms of how many Jewish lives were saved but was a success in terms of diverting attention from the violence happening by Trujillo's orders and the Nazi ties that kept surfacing around the Dominican Republic. The coverage in the *Times* also showed the success of the Dominican Republic's campaign to win favor as a partner with the U.S. in coverage of Roosevelt's support of Trujillo and the Dominican Republic.

The fifth chapter turned to the present day, to answer the fourth research question: **What are the messages being put forth in tourism and marketing efforts for these two countries in the 21st century?** The 21st century marketing efforts for Haiti and the Dominican Republic reflect their different relationships with race and with their histories. The Haitian efforts ask the potential visitor to "experience Haiti" and highlight the nation's history with a focus on monuments of its independence. Unfortunately, the marketing efforts on the nation's tourism website also highlight some of Haiti's more modern history, which has been filled with more challenges than victories. In the 20th and 21st centuries, Haiti's strong independent nation image was undermined by Western resistance to accepting the nation as a partner, natural disasters, and decades of government corruption—all of which chipped away at Haiti's ability to build a self-sustaining nation. The image of a strong, independent nation that it tries to maintain in its

21st century tourism website rests on past triumphs—its successful rebellion in 1804 or, more recently, its tourism success in the 20th century—and is undermined by pleas for donations. Issues in the government also present themselves in its 21st century marketing efforts, with the lack of upkeep of its online tourism presence suggesting a lack of attention to the very industry that could be the saving grace for the nation.

In contrast, the Dominican Republic's 21st century tourism marketing efforts highlight its strengths and its advancements since its independence, while maintaining many of the messages that were part of Trujillo's early campaigns. Race in the Dominican Republic is still a point of contention, as is its relationship with Haiti, but these controversies didn't make it onto their tourism website in 2018. Instead, the message is that the Dominican Republic has it all, modern luxuries, rich Spanish culture, and anything else a visitor could want.

This brings us to the fifth and final research question: **What are the connections between the past and present?** Though Haiti and the Dominican Republic have similar histories, particularly with Western powers, during colonization and later military occupations, their histories are told and remembered differently, which was evident in the early years of their independences in the 19th and 20th centuries as well as in the 21st century.

Writing Histories

The different treatments of similar histories is demonstrated throughout this research through examples like that of Anacaona, statues and monuments, and celebrations of independence. In all of these cases, Haiti celebrates emancipation from colonialism and oppressions from whites. Anacaona is a national hero in Haiti because

she gave her life to stand up to the Spanish. The statue of Anacaona in Haiti memorializes the Taíno princess as a warrior standing tall in chief's apparel. In the Dominican Republic, the same woman is celebrated as a hero who acquiesced to the Spanish, symbolized by the statue of her at the feet of Columbus.

Many other statues celebrate history throughout both sides of Hispaniola. Christopher Columbus is memorialized in the Dominican Republic in several statues and monuments. His ubiquitous representation as a hero of the Dominican Republic and the New World demonstrates reverence for a hero who was a villain. In Haiti, his statue was removed because there, he is not a symbol to be celebrated, but one to be decried. Many, if not all, of the statues that decorate the Haitian side of Hispaniola celebrate people who resemble most of the population. Many, like Henri Christophe, are not without controversy, but did their part toward creating the first independent black republic.

The heroes of these two nations differ in part because the perceived villains are different. For Haiti, independence is marked by the overthrow of the French, former colonizers, and the rise of black power in the nation. In the Dominican Republic, the Spanish are remembered as ancestors more than colonizers. The adversary to Dominican freedom was black, in the form of Haiti, which is why the Dominican Republic's independence marks the reclaiming of the nation from Haiti's occupation.

The different interpretations of history that nurtured a divide between Haiti and the Dominican Republic also received different treatments by outside audiences. Much of this research compares parts of Haitian and Dominican histories during different eras, except in part of the recruitment research, when both Haiti and the Dominican Republic offered refuge to European Jewish refugees. Though the Dominican Republic's planned

efforts were grander, both nations created havens for a small number of refugees. Neither side successfully recruited, in any significant numbers, the people or race that they were trying to entice, but the efforts demonstrate the vastly different visions for the nation identities carved out by their early governments. In terms of Western perception, however, though both nations saved lives, only one received credit. Both nations offered unfamiliar climates and other challenges, but it is the Dominican Republic that is remembered as a haven and documented as such.

Race in Hispaniola

This dissertation, situated at the intersection of history and media studies, demonstrates the importance of looking at the foundations of nation development for clues about the current states of countries. In the case of race impacting the relationship between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, this work reveals some of the many layers that lie in between what is much more than a black and white issue. It is also demonstrates that although the U.S. racial landscape is often discussed in binaries, it too, is complex as is demonstrated when the relationships between the U.S. and other countries are explored. Such is the case of the potential uses of the Dominican Republic for the United States, that allowed an acceptance of the Dominican racial imaginary within the U.S. government.

Race has demonstrably been a factor in the strategic construction of the nation images of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Haiti's early nation brand, which was centered on the idea of the capability and strength of the black race, faced opposition from the start, because it was in direct contrast to the ideologies of the reigning global powers. Not only did Haiti have to build a brand, but it also had to dismantle the negative

images associated with blackness in general. Though faced with other hardships, such as natural disasters, race continues to be an issue in the current brand of Haiti because it was considered a weakness during the foundational times of its nation image construction.

The Dominican battle with race in its nation image was not to dismantle negative associations, but instead to get rid of the association with the black race all together.

The racial foundation of the Dominican Republic is still prevalent in the structure of the country's brand today and has contributed to its success. It continues to impact the relationship between the Dominican Republic and Haiti as evinced by the changes in citizenship definitions, the resulting repatriating, and border tensions in the 21st century. The fight against blackness in the optics of the brand continues, as does the real fight against blackness manifested in the racial discrimination against black people in the country. The Dominican Republic was able to hide the stain of Trujillo, while maintaining many of the ideologies that inspired his tyrannical reign, because his actions, though socially unacceptable, were toward a common ideology of the Global North. Haiti is unable to hide its stains because they were largely race-based, and Haitians will always be black.

The visible blackness of Haiti and the fight to keep the blackness of the Dominican Republic invisible, will continue to feed the division between the two sides of Hispaniola. It is a mark left by colonial times, not just in Hispaniola. Racial divides and hierarchies, place black at the bottom around the world. Though the Dominican Republic is still part of the Global South, the highlighting of its whiteness and the cloaking of its blackness continues to be beneficial to the brand and its success.

Future Research

The study of race and representation in the Caribbean is of particular interest because of how it differs from the racial binary in the United States and the dependency the region has on the United States. The close ties between the U.S. and the Caribbean result in differing notions of race colliding, not only when Caribbean people immigrate to the United States, but also when Caribbean nations tailor their racial representations in order to facilitate a relationship with the United States, and when they don't. Future research on this topic should include examinations of internal impressions of the race relations between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, comparing the thoughts of the people with the actions of the governments. I would be particularly interested in the opinions of the populations of border towns, where the two cultures are heavily intertwined and where many of those impacted by the new citizenship laws and deportations reside. An ethnographic investigation into the families affected by current immigration laws is also a point of interest. With so much influence from either side, how Haitian/Dominican are they? I would also be interested in studying how race has impacted standards of beauty in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Contexts such as the Miss Universe competition and domestic and international advertising would be interesting sites of investigation, not only as implications of standards of beauty but also representation of beauty and nation brand.

This dissertation is situated at the intersection of the fields of media studies, which often examines culture by looking at key texts, sometimes every day or ephemeral, and history, which seeks a broader view. The texts examined here helped illuminate specific historical culture and contemporary realities of Haiti and the Dominican

Republic. Future research might consider other texts such as brochures, posters, billboards, commercials, and print ads produced for and by the destinations throughout their promotional histories.

One of the limitations of this research was language. Most of the data and research cited was in English and came from English speakers, which is not the national language of either Haiti or the Dominican Republic. Future research should incorporate more sources in Spanish, French, and Haitian Creole. Investigations into the negotiation of race when dealing with the United States or other representatives of the west is not a route exclusive to the Caribbean. The inquiries in this dissertation can be used as background in future research in other parts of the world that have different and equally complex definitions and uses of race, and how those uses impact global relations. Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and Asia would be interesting sites of investigation.

Conclusion

The Haiti and the Dominican Republic brands of today have different foundations because they were created with different visions. The actions of the current governments are also tied to the past as they reflect the centuries of race-based tensions between the two nations as they continue to carve out nation identities and brands. As was the case following its independence, Haiti continues to fight against the stigma of a nation unable to be self-sufficient; Western interventions and involvements that do little more than undermine local power. Haiti also continues to suffer from a relationship with the United States where its usefulness outweighs its value as a partner. Haiti has changed drastically from the days of its early independence, from example that challenged the ideas of blackness as a limitation to an example of the negative impressions it was fighting.

Though a prosperous Haiti has existed, the current state is far from the visions of its early independence. This could explain the over reliance on the past in its current tourism efforts. And although there is evidence that tourism can still be a saving grace for the nation, the example of Labadee indicates that the invisibility of Haiti is a key to success even in Haitian tourism. The Dominican Republic has also changed since its early independence, from humble beginnings and a tenuous relationship with the United States during the Trujillo era, to the top-performing tourist destination in the most tourist-dependent region of the world. Though the nation has changed, the brand message has not. It is still proud of its Spanish roots and its position as the beginning of the New World, and it still makes its dark side invisible, by highlighting those Spanish roots.

What I sought to do in this research was not only contribute to the existing discussion of race and tensions between the nations of Hispaniola, but to add another angle as it pertains to Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic, its people, its government, its institutions, are often critiqued for denying blackness. However, the history of race in the Dominican Republic is far too complex to simply critique solely as a history of denial. Race in the Dominican Republic is more about strategic use and manipulation. It is an opportunity to investigate where the similarities and differences lie in the racial history of Hispaniola and to acknowledge that in the strategic use of race on either side of the island, the nations' futures and brands were forged. In addition to the physical realities of race, race in Hispaniola is a constructed story that demonstrates relationships among race, power, and success.

The Caribbean region is a network of mostly independent nations of varying colors and complex racial landscapes. However, the Caribbean economies are linked to

the west and thus the rules of the west often apply. Global success, particularly in the western hemisphere is greatly influenced by the United States. In the Caribbean, relationships with the United States and the impressions held by the US impact trade, aid, immigration and tourism.

A contributing factor to Haiti's downfall was its blackness, also a source of great pride. As the first free black republic, it served as a source of inspiration for some and a threat for others. It represented a challenge to the Western idea of blackness and its equation of blackness with lack of capability and mobility. The United States and other powers were not interested in a challenge to racist ideas on the global scale and certainly not domestically. Rather than accept the challenges to those ideals, they fought to make Haiti's success invisible by shunning the young nation and dismantling everything for which it stood. In contrast, through its own construction, the Dominican Republic represents a hybrid of exotic and modern. An acceptable other. Not white enough to erase its place as a useful resource but not black enough to interfere with the ideals and hierarchies that dictate success in the United States.

It is no wonder that continued adoption of this hierarchy in the Dominican Republic has resulted in its success, especially in comparison to the lesser success of Haiti. Haiti cannot adopt the hierarchy in part because of the racial makeup of its population and in part because it would be an affront to the foundation of the nation's pride. Would the Dominican Republic have risen to the success it has had if it not strategically made its population white, or at least not black? Would Haiti have been doomed to be the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere had it not fought off the

French and become the first free black republic? Though no one can answer these questions with certainty, there is evidence that the answer to both could be no.

The current border tensions are a continuation of a Dominican need (perceived or otherwise) to disassociate from Haiti, the black, failed neighbor state and to make invisible any ties and highlight and create differences. Although the tensions along the border that divides Hispaniola have fallen out of the Western news loop, they are still very much an active issue. On June 20, 2018, *La Prensa*, a Latin American news agency out of Cuba, published an article about armed Dominican forces rounding up people who were in the Dominican Republic illegally. The closing line of the article read, “the main detainees are Haitians but also citizens of other nations who reside illegally in the Dominican Republic” (Huge operation, 2018). However, with new and changing laws in the Dominican Republic, the definition of those illegally residing is unclear, unjust, and targets Haitian and/or black people. The continuation of the racial divides between Haiti and the Dominican Republic seem indefinite.

APPENDIX A

Auto ethnography is “a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context. It is both a method and a text ... [and] can be done by either an anthropologist who is doing “home” or “native” ethnography or by a non-anthropologist/ethnographer. It can also be done by an autobiographer who places the story of his or her life within a story of the social context in which it occurs (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 9)

My Dominican Experience of It All

My first and only trip to the Dominican Republic so far, was in 2010 for a friend’s wedding. The wedding and the festivities leading up to the big day were to happen at an all-inclusive resort in Punta Cana. I missed my flight to Punta Cana Airport and ended up having to fly into Santo Domingo, the nation’s capital (hours away via taxi). From the time I arrived, I was assumed to be Dominican (I am black, with a mixed-race background, and from Barbados), until I spoke and it became obvious that I knew little to no Spanish. I was able to secure a taxi ride from Santo Domingo to Punta Cana. The ride was hot and bumpy, but included some narration from the driver. He spoke Spanish, so I understood very little of what he was saying. We drove through busy towns and cities that were packed with people, broken up by swaths of relatively empty landscape.

When we were in populated areas, they were very densely populated. Traffic was intense, as vehicles of all sizes, filled to capacity, fought for space on the road. I would later learn that seeing entire families travelling on mopeds with livestock and sometimes a piece of furniture, is common throughout both sides of the island. After roughly four hours on the road (we stopped for lunch along the way), the scene started to change. The towns of tiny houses and bustling roads and downtowns, gave way to long paved roads with manicured lawns that led to high walls and guarded gates. We turned into a long driveway through a guarded gate into the Melia Resort.

Once in the resort I was issued a wristband and told not to lose it, and not to leave the resort as they had everything I needed. There were pools, bars, nightclubs, and restaurants with several different cuisines all within the resort. All of the staff spoke English. Many spoke other languages as well, although several would start in Spanish until they realized I only spoke English. All week we enjoyed the amazing weather and nonstop partying that the resort had to offer, never having to strain ourselves by even attempting to speak the native language.

Though we were warned to stay on the property, the wedding group made one excursion off the property, for the bachelor party. One of our favorite bartenders connected the best man with a guide outside of the resort's official employ, to facilitate an off-property bachelor celebration. Two vans came to pick us up and take us to a brothel. There was some concern about my presence there, but the drivers were assured that I knew where we were going and was fine with hanging out while not fully participating in all of the bachelor party exploits, nor was there a need for any special accommodations for me. It was an outdoor space with folding chairs and tables and galvanized roof, with a DJ and an informal bar. Most of the people there were speaking Spanish including the female sex workers dancing and socializing with potential customers. Some of them seemed to know certain words and phrases in English, but were not fluent. The only people speaking English fluently were obviously tourists—all men, except for me.

Shortly after we arrived, the DJ stopped the music, and a cake was brought out. Everyone began singing "Happy Birthday" to me. I turned 28 that day. When the song was over and the cake was cut and distributed, business was back to usual. Every once in

a while a vehicle would be loaded with some of the women and customers to take them to a nearby motel. When they would return the women often continued to socialize with the men they had left with—especially if the men were tourists—having, it seemed the intention of developing some type of relationship that could continue beyond that evening. Some of the bachelor party guests confirmed that they were asked for their contact information at the end of the night.

My Haiti Experience

The tag line for Haiti's tourism is "Experience Haiti," which I did for the first time from June through August 2012 as a volunteer⁴⁴ teaching an English class for nurses at Hôpital Sacré Coeur, the largest private hospital in northern Haiti. The nurses, who had varying levels of English proficiency, were expected to take the class in order to expand their vocabulary so they could better communicate with the volunteer, mostly American, doctors who cycled through the hospital.⁴⁵

The news that I was going to Haiti was met with mixed reviews from family and friends. The sentiments ranged from excitement for the opportunity I was being given to fear for my safety. I stayed in the northern town of Milot, home of Christophe's citadel and Sans Souci palace. A couple of weeks into my stay, I chose to take the guided hike up to the Citadel on foot and in Haitian Creole. My guide was a friend I'd made early on in my trip, so he insisted that I do the tour in Creole because it would be good practice, especially with the added stress of the strenuous hike.

⁴⁴ Volunteers for the organization were expected to pay for room and board. I was technically an employee because I was paid a small stipend and my room and board was included. However for all intents and purposes I considered myself a volunteer.

⁴⁵ The previous teacher was an English nun who still worked for Hôpital Sacré Coeur and lived on the property, I was brought in to replace her because the nurses wanted to learn English with an American accent.

During my daily walks through town I was audibly identified as “mulat,” believed to be a mixture of black and white, because I had slightly lighter complexion than the residents or the other black American volunteer in town. Other volunteers I met were all white and were referred to as “blancs,” a term I would later learn was used to identify foreigners, usually Americans, and was not really exclusive to white people. The other black volunteer, who was darker skinned than me, was also referred to as blanc, it seemed as though “mulat” was something of a separate distinction in town. I’m not sure why, but the people in town separated me as a “mulat” but included all but one of the other volunteers under the blanket “blanc” category. There was another volunteer who came with students from an U.S. university who was Canadian of Chinese decent. She was called “Chinoise,” French for Chinese, though no one ever asked her what her background was.

Volunteers were discouraged from leaving the residence compound except to walk the short distance to the hospital. On the compound we were given three meals a day—prepared by a Haitian cook—and granted access to unlimited filtered drinking water and a fridge full of cold beer that was restocked daily. We were not encouraged to explore the town of Milot, except on official tours of the Citadel and Sans Souci Palace. Leaving the compound at night was strongly discouraged, as was patronizing local businesses, especially food vendors. I ignored these warnings, having gone to Haiti to experience it.

As I got acclimated, I started to notice that all of the foreigners I met in Milot and nearby Cap Haitien (the second-largest city in the country) were there to work or volunteer with NGOs. Even when I would venture to a hotel in Cap Haitien to enjoy

some air-conditioning, the guests I met were all volunteer tourists, who largely socialized only with their peers. I would also often see United Nations trucks and vehicles and occasionally run into groups of UN workers hanging out at hotels on their days off. In Milot and Cap, I became aware of what is called the “blanc tax,” the generally accepted practice of charging foreigners more than Haitians for the same service or goods. The “blanc tax” was on a sliding scale. Being not white and having some ability to communicate in Haitian Creole I often received a better deal than some of my white friends, but not as good a deal as my Haitian friends got. I am not sure why this is a practice in Haiti; it could be because of local perceptions about relative incomes.

On a few occasions I got the opportunity to visit other parts of northern Haiti, like Gonaives and Labadee (both the small fishing village and the Royal Caribbean private port). A friend’s cousin allowed us onto the private property, which was closed because there were no ships docked. We were allowed to tour the area, but not to touch anything or go in the water. Afterwards we took a water taxi to the fishing village and ultimately to a tiny beach with a little restaurant patronized almost exclusively by Haitians.

I also got the chance to travel further south a few times, to Port au Prince (a 45-minute flight away) and a few surrounding areas. In the south, because of the diversity in hues of people I was assumed to be Haitian, until I spoke. I never heard the term “mulat” when I was there. My first night in the city I was on a tap tap (a form of public transportation) when a young man became sick and started vomiting out of the back. All of the passengers started yelling “Cholera!” The driver stopped the vehicle and the passengers pushed the young man out. After I got to my stop, some friends took me on a walking tour of the city. We saw police blocking a street, which was causing a traffic

jam. A driver lost his patience and tried to get around the block. He was stopped and beaten by the police. My friends were concerned but not surprised. Unfazed, we spent the rest of our evening at a fancy restaurant/club filled almost entirely (with the exception of my friends) with American and Canadian volunteers. I stayed at a friend's apartment during my first trip to Port au Prince, it was a beautiful one-bed one-bath apartment—with no running water. I slept on an old mattress on the veranda in the cool night air (there was no air-conditioning or fans inside).

I spent my 30th birthday back in Milot. My local and fellow volunteer friends threw a barbecue for me and Ian, another volunteer (whom I would later marry), who shared the same birthday. They made two cakes and slaughtered six chickens for the barbecue. Afterward, we all walked into town in search of a nightclub. The nightclubs in town were often only open as long as there was interest and diesel for the generator, since much of Milot was without regular electricity. On that night they opened one up just for us, not so much because it was a birthday celebration as that there were a bunch of Americans with money wanting to spend it on beer at their establishment. By the end of the night Ian and I were alone walking through town back to the complex where all of the volunteers stayed. Walking in the pitch black on an unpaved road, we started to hear growling. We discovered that we were being followed by a pack of dogs. They began nipping at our calves, until Ian turned around and barked at them, which scared them off, a somewhat scary conclusion to the birthday.

Returning to Hispaniola

As of 2018, I have not returned to the Dominican Republic, but I have been back to Haiti, once. In 2015 I went with a group of electrician volunteers I'd met on my first

trip. I helped them with the administration side of another project they had at the same Hôpital Sacré Coeur in Milot. They were looking for someone who was familiar with the town, the hospital and the language. Though many of the electricians had been to Haiti several times by that point, their trips were short and separated by months which impeded their acquisition of the creole language. Although it had been four years since my first trip, because of the length of that stay I was able to pick up and maintain some Creole.

Though it had been years since I'd first been to Haiti and Milot, many of the people in town remembered me by name, embarrassingly far more than I remembered. Though much remained the same since my previous trip I noticed signs that bore the new Haiti logo all over the Cap Haitien airport. Once I got to Milot, the most significant change was the fact that the main road through town had been paved. The hospital had gone through some significant renovations but everything else in town seemed unchanged.

It was a short trip, just two weeks long which prevented any further exploration of other parts of Haiti. I was simply a volunteer at the hospital, possibly taking a job away from a Haitian who was as proficient—if not more than I—in English, Creole, and electrical jargon. For my next trip to Haiti, I look forward to going as a tourist, not as a volunteer, with my husband Ian, and our two children, Keira and Aidan.

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