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Haitian Entanglements: Émile Nau's *Histoire des caciques d'Haïti* in Manuel de Jesús Galván's *Enriquillo*

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ARTICLES

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This article deconstructs the racially exclusive national narrative presented in the Dominican Manuel de Jesús Galván's 1882 novel, *Enriquillo: leyenda histórica dominicana*, by putting the novel in dialogue with Haitian Émile Nau's 1854 *Histoire des caciques d'Haïti* (*History of the Indigenous Chiefs of Haiti*), considering how the former work simultaneously resists and inscribes itself within the metanarrative of sixteenth century New World antislavery that the latter presents.[1] Although both texts draw on the colonial *crónicas* to tell the story of an Amerindian uprising led by the *cacique* Enrique on the island of Hispaniola during the early sixteenth-century, they deploy that history to different ends: Nau situates the rebellion at the beginning of an anticolonial, antislavery teleology that culminates in the Rebellion of Saint-Domingue of 1791 while Galván eschews references to African chattel slavery and uses Enrique's story to stress the indigenous and (particularly) Hispanic aspects of Dominican national history at the expense of the Afro-New World heritage that Nau exalts.

Both authors construct their narratives in response to the nineteenth-century political realities of their respective countries. As Francophone Caribbean scholar Amy Reinsel explains, Hispaniola's indigenous past was a common theme in Haitian literature of the 1830s. In their effort to produce a national culture, Haitian writers turned to themes that would resonate in both halves of the island, which, at the time, were united under the government in Port-au-Prince. A typical member of the Haitian Generation of 1836, Nau located the country's identity in "a fusion with its own New World origins," such as the subaltern rebellions that had given rise to the nation (Dash, "Before and Beyond" 532). Meanwhile, writing in the aftermath of the Dominican Republic's many attempts to declare independence from the world's first black republic—efforts that would involve temporary reannexation to Spain from 1861 to 1865—Galván, like many of his compatriots, distances himself from the Haitian reading of Enrique's revolt in the context of radical antislavery in order to emphasize the Indo-Hispanic elements of his country's cultural history. While this canonical interpretation of Galván's work importantly draws attention to the rampant anti-Haitian sentiment of

nineteenth-century Dominican lettered culture, by examining *Enriquillo* in the context of the *Histoire*, this article will show that antislavery has not been effaced from the Dominican novel, but, rather, displaced to the work's paratexts.[2] In this way, *Enriquillo*, despite its ostensible Indo-Hispanic focus, inscribes itself within the same antislavery metanarrative as does Nau's *Histoire*—a fact that complicates traditional nationalist views of Dominican culture, which consider the Spanish-speaking country as racially and culturally distinct from the neighboring Haiti.[3]

In order to explain how readings of Haitian antislavery are central to Hispaniola's history—and how they haunt Galván's *Enriquillo*—this study makes use of Sybille Fischer's notion of "disavowal." According to Fischer, "disavowal" of the Rebellion of Saint Domingue is not totally silenced, as historian Michel-Rolphe Trouillot has suggested, but rather manifests itself indirectly through literary slippage. Drawing on concepts elaborated by Sigmund Freud in essays such as "Fetishism" (1928) and "The Splitting of the Ego in the Process of Self Defense" (1938), Fischer explains that "disavowal" functions as "una medida defensiva" employed by the Ego to protect itself from unprocessed trauma (Fischer, "Respuesta" 226). Existing "alongside recognition," the concept of disavowal "requires us to identify what is being disavowed, by whom, and for what reason" (Fischer, *Modernity* 38). Thus, "it is more a strategy (although not necessarily one voluntarily chosen) than a state of mind, and it is productive in that it brings forth further stories, screens, and fantasies that hide from view what must not be seen" (38). For Fischer, "we can understand the political and ideological operations" of texts such as *Enriquillo* "only if we recognize how they both silence and articulate, suppress and memorialize, disavow and assert" (135–6) the cultural and political legacy of the Haitian Revolution.[4]

By reading Galván's *Enriquillo* beside Nau's *Histoire* and under the lens of disavowal, this article will show how—perhaps despite the author's intentions—the Dominican text engages the very history of resistance to African chattel slavery that it seeks to deny. After a brief overview of the history of colonial and nineteenth-century Hispaniola, I will examine how Nau situates Enrique's rebellion as an origin point for struggle against New World slavery. Then I will explain how Galván reframes the story as a celebration of European colonialism on the island before exploring how, despite these efforts, disavowed antislavery discourse seeps into his text through paratextual materials such as the Prologue and Dedication.

Historical Background

Both Nau's and Galván's texts relate Amerindian *cacique* Enrique's 1519 rebellion against the Spanish colonial government of Santo Domingo. The nephew of Anacona, the defeated queen of the Jaragua region of pre-Columbian Hispaniola, Enrique (Guarocuya in his native Taíno) was orphaned in an early battle between the Amerindians and the Spanish and raised in a monastery under the tutelage of

the famous advocate for the indigenous fray Bartolomé de las Casas. Still, Enrique was included in Fernando de Valezuela's *repartimiento* of forced native laborers and later inherited by the conquistador's morally corrupt son, Andrés.[5] Depicted in the *Crónicas* as a docile, acculturated indigenous noble, Enrique's complacency towards Spanish rule changes when Valenzuela attempted to rape the *cacique*'s *mestiza* wife, Mencía. Frustrated when his pleas for justice go unanswered, Enrique leads a group of Taínos into the Bahoruco Mountains to resist Spanish domination on the *repartimientos*.

Inspired by Enrique, in 1522, between two and three thousand enslaved Africans revolted, perhaps with the intention of founding a "black republic" (Moya Pons *Manual* 35; Klein and Vinson 213). Some 300 of these African insurgents joined Enrique in the Bahoruco Mountains (Moya Pons 36), which were fast becoming a popular refuge for maroons (Altman 611). The conflict concluded with a 1533 peace treaty allowing Enrique and his indigenous followers to continue unmolested in the mountains in exchange for their cooperation in remanding the African maroons back into slavery. Thus, "rather than signal the initiation of a period of relative peace on Hispaniola, the peace accord concluded with Enrique instead marked a shift in Spanish concerns away from the remaining indigenous population and towards the African group" and, by 1542, blacks had become a majority on the island, with an enslaved population of between 25,000 and 30,000 people and several maroon communities (611).

This massive presence of African slaves would lead to the 1791 Rebellion of Saint-Domingue on the western part of the island, which had been ceded to France in the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick.[6] Seeing "the territorial contiguity of the insular area"[7] as "the cornerstone of Haitian independence"[8] (Théodat 67), the Haitian army—perhaps acting on fears that an alliance between the Bourbon monarchs of Spain and France would result in the Iberian colony being used as a base to attack the revolutionary black nation (Moya Pons, *La dominación* 23)—entered the East in 1805. Later, after the 1808 Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the East, like much of the Hispanic world, rebelled against France, rejoining the former metropole in 1809 (Price-Mars 74–75).

Frustrated by the inefficiency of the restored colonial government (known as "la España boba"), in 1821, the Dominicans, under the leadership of José Núñez de Cáceres, declared independence from Spain, hoping to annex themselves later to Simón Bolívar's newly formed South American Republic of La Gran Colombia. Concerned about the creoles' lack of commitment to anti-slavery, as well as their alliance with slaveholding Bogotá, the Haitian army entered the eastern part of the island nine weeks later. While the Dominican masses welcomed the Haitian troops, support for unification among the elites began to wane as Haitian president Jean-Pierre Boyer adopted a series of cultural, religious, and economic reforms that threatened the status of the landowning *hatero* elite.[9] Frustrated by their

declining power, in 1844, a group of Dominican creoles known as La Trinitaria took advantage of a Haitian conspiracy to depose Boyer to declare Dominican independence, basing their claims on the East's unique Hispanic heritage. [10]

Appealing to the principles of "Separación, Dios, Patria y Libertad," creole Tomás Bobadilla y Briones's 1844 "Manifiesto de los habitantes de la parte del Este de la isla antes española o de Santo Domingo, sobre las causas de su separación de la República haitiana" accuses the Haitian government of trampling the Dominicans' cultural rights. For Bobadilla y Briones, the Haitian state:

> ha puesto por doquier el sello de la ignominia privándonos, con una verdadera burla del derecho natural, de la única cosa española que nos quedaba: el idioma natal y ha puesto de lado nuestra venerable religión para que desaparezca de nuestros hogares. (n.p.)

By vindicating Dominicans' rights to the Spanish language and the Catholic religion, the unifying forces of the Spanish Empire, Bobadilla y Briones seeks to establish Hispanicity —and not blackness—as the basis of a sovereign Dominican nation-state. This becomes clear when he claims that, during the Haitian occupation,

> si un español se atrevía a hablar contra la opresión y la tiranía, era denunciado como sospechoso, se lo encerraba en un calabozo y muchos padecían aun el suplicio para espantar a los demás y hacer morir, conjuntamente con ellos, los sentimientos heredados de nuestros padres. (n.p.)

By representing the Dominicans as Spaniards and the children of Spaniards, Bobadilla y Briones obviates the memory of the more than twenty years that had transpired since independence from Spain and unification with Haiti. In response to these culturalist claims to Dominican sovereignty, the Haitian army entered and reoccupied the eastern part of the island until 1855 and then again from 1855 to 1856, a situation that, in 1860, would lead the *hatero* ranchers to seek a brief reannexation to Spain—a decision that Galván supported.

Émile Nau's *Histoire des caicques d'Haïti*

An Afro-centric presentation of the colonial history of Hispaniola from Columbus's first voyage to Enrique's rebellion, in many ways, Nau's *Histoire des caciques d'Haïti* represents a response to the cultural nationalist claims put forth by Bobadilla y Briones.[11] Written in French just ten years after the "Manifiesto," the work re-emplots (to use Hayden White's term for the oftentimes ideological construction of historical narrative) Hispaniola's Hispanic history as part of the Haitian national narrative, with the effect of obviating Dominican claims to autonomy on the grounds of cultural and historical difference.[12] If Haitian geographer and historian Jean-Marie Théodat locates the beginning of the postcolonial conflicts between Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the colonial wars between France and Spain, Nau discursively cancels out the "splitting in two

of the island [which] is the foundation of the doubling of insularity"[13] by positing the origin point of his national narrative before those events occurred (Théodat 13).

This reading of the *Histoire* explains Nau's decision to develop what in the Spanish *crónicas* is a relatively minor incident across thirty-five pages appearing at the end of his text in such a way that the *cacique*'s victory over the conquistadors serves as the culmination of the narrative of early colonialism on the island. Borrowing a trope from Baroque Spanish dramas such as Félix Lope de Vega's 1619 *Fuenteovejuna*, in which sexual aggression functions as a synecdoche for the abuse of military power, Nau (uncomfortably for twenty-first century readers) structures the *Histoire* around the interlocking tropes of rape and resistance: first, the Taíno chief Guarionex revolts when his wife is raped by the Spaniards, then another chief, Mayobanex, surrenders when his is taken captive. Finally, Henri (as Nau calls him in French) restores Haitian "honor" when he successfully rebels against colonial authority after Valenzuela attempts to rape his wife, Mencía. These incidents also appear in the *Crónicas* of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1535), Bartolomé de Las Casas (1561/1875), and Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1601). However, the colonial histories, due to their extensive length and geographically expansive content, relate the three incidents in isolation from one another. Shorter and focused entirely on the Spanish conquest and colonization of Santo Domingo, Nau's emplotment of the events in his *Histoire* reveals a trajectory in which Henri vindicates the New World natives after the violation of their bodies, culture, and territory by Europeans, be they from Castile or from France.

In this way, following a trend common in nineteenth-century Haitian discourse, Nau presents the indigenous Taínos as the forbears of his country's Afro-descended population and positions Enrique's 1519 rebellion against Spanish colonialism as a precursor to the 1791 Rebellion of Saint-Domingue. This becomes clear when the text compares the two groups: "The memory of Ovando would be execrated down to the last generation of Haitian aborigines, if they had not all perished, just as that of Rochambeau it to this day odious to the Haitians" (222).[14] If the French inherit the Spanish history of barbarism on Hispaniola, it follows that the nineteenth-century Haitians inherit the indigenous legacy of resistance to that barbarism, transforming the Spanish colonization of the island on which the Dominican separatists base their claims to sovereignty into the prehistory of the Revolution that brings the Haitian state into being.

These genealogical ties become apparent at the end of the *Histoire*, when Nau notes that, "some years after" Henri's death:

> Not an Indian survived him. One no longer finds but rare descendants of those in whom one can just barely glimpse some characteristic traits through the more pronounced mixture of African and European types. These mixed-bloods—whom, up to this day, people persist in calling, in the East, where they are more numerous,

> INDIOS, and, on this side, IGNES (a corruption of the word 'Indian')—, especially the women, are recognized by their symmetrical form, their olive complexion, their beautiful skin, their big black eyes and their long, abundant black hair. (314–5)[15]

Thus, not only did the Taínos initiate the revolutionary process that the nineteenth-century Haitians continue, their legacy still can be seen in the phenotypes of some of the island's inhabitants, despite the predominance of African and European features. For Nau, the Taínos are not simply the predecessors of the nineteenth-century Haitians; rather, through a process of race mixture, they have become the literal ancestors of that population. At the same time, the comparison that the author makes between the language "in the East" and "on this side" through the juxtaposition of the Spanish term "indios" with its Creole cognate "ignes" points to the underlying similarities between East and West (to which he does not refer as separate countries) and suggests that the hybrid republic that Nau imagines will encompass the entire island.[16]

The interest that Nau expresses in pre-Colombian history was not uncommon during his time. Rather, Hispaniola's indigenous past was a popular motif in the nineteenth-century lettered discourse of the country that had famously changed its name from the French "Saint Domingue" to the Taíno "Haiti" after the Revolution; Louis Boisrond-Tonnerre's 1804 Act of Independence is even addressed to the "armée indigène" ("indigenous army"). For Fischer, "indigenism is used as a political rather than a racial, ethnic, or even geographic term, expressive perhaps of the idea that it is the slaves, not the masters, who have a rightful claim to the land" (*Modernity* 242). Historian Laurent Dubois, for his part, claims that Dessalines's use of "indigenous symbolism" was "an attempt to assert a legitimate claim to a land in which a majority of the nation's inhabitants were exiles, having been brought there from Africa against their will." Yet "it also suggested that this claim was based on resistance to, and the ultimate victory over, the brutality of colonialism, something which the enslaved shared with those wiped out by the Spanish centuries before they ever arrived," as Nau takes pains to point out (299).[17] In keeping with the Haitian lettered class's tendency to adopt subaltern revolution as the organizing element of the national narrative, Nau's *Histoire* uses the history of Spanish colonial atrocities on Hispaniola to tell the story of New World slavery and resistance to colonization from the original sins of Contact and Conquest to redemption through the Haitian Revolution. The author makes his intentions in this regard clear when he refers to Father Antonio de Montesinos's famous sermon condemning Spanish abuses of the Amerindian population of Santo Domingo as the beginning of the "process of the abolition of slavery that lasts five centuries" (266).[18]

In narrating this process, Nau pays particular attention to the transition from the *repartimiento* system of Amerindian forced labor to African chattel slavery, noting that the introduction of black slaves in 1501 was the beginning

of a "new era" that proved "fatal for the conquered race" (250)[19] and establishing a relationship between the growth of Hispaniola's African population and the decrease in the indigenous' numbers (261). As this demographic shift occurs, blacks begin to displace Amerindians in importance in Nau's narrative. The author claims that the Africans "excited the natives to insubordination" (249)[20]—the exact opposite of what occurred historically when, in 1521, the African slaves working on Diego Columbus's land rebelled, some of them eventually joining Enrique and his indigenous followers in the mountains—a development that frightened the Spanish and pushed them to negotiate with the Taíno *cacique* before the insurrection became more widespread (288–289). From that point on, Nau correctly notes, slavery on Hispaniola became more a question of Africans and less a question of Amerindians (289). Thus, already prefigured by Nau's demographic discussion of the mixed-race *indios/ignes*, by the end of the *Histoire*, the indigenous inhabitants of Santo Domingo yield demographically to the Afro-descended population, which emerges as the true revolutionary force on the island. The Spanish colonial history that Bobadilla y Briones claims as the mythic foundation of the Dominican *patria* is in this way reappropriated as the pre-national patrimony of the Haitian revolutionary state.[21]

Manuel de Jesús Galván's *Enriquillo*

Galván's *Enriquillo*, on the other hand, far from emplotting the indigenous uprising as an antecessor to the Rebellion of Saint Domingue, disavows the Afro-centric interpretation of events presented by Nau and instead insists on the Hispano-centric nationalism articulated in Bobadilla y Briones's "Manifiesto." Alternatively read as a paragon of the nineteenth-century Spanish American historical novel, an *indianista* text, a foundational romance, and a work of Dominican conservative nationalism, *Enriquillo* traditionally has been praised by critics such as Enrique Anderson Imbert for its fusion of literary art and historical accuracy.[22] More recent scholars, however, have vilified the work for the ahistorical absence of blacks on its pages and the overemphasis of Hispanic culture in a novel that purports to be national, a "leyenda histórica dominicana." In their concise history of Dominican literature, Doris Sommer and Esteban Torres sum up most contemporary readings of the text when they write that "it was thanks to [*Enriquillo*] that the myth of an Indian or mestizo nation was created, at the end of long external and internal race-related wars" resulting from the Dominican Republic's decision to secede from Haiti (Foster 274). "Galván's brilliant solution for assuaging the racism that inhibited political and economic unity was simply to exclude blacks from what would become the national epic, by tracing Dominican roots to noble Spaniards and Indians" (274). This critical view raises important ethical objections to the absence of blackness in Galván's narration of the Dominican nation, yet, a reading of *Enriquillo* beside the *Histoire* shows that Haitian antislavery and New

World blackness have not been completely effaced from the Dominican novel. Rather, disavowed, they are displaced to the work's paratexts.

At first glance, Galván's *Enriquillo* extricates Enrique's rebellion from the metanarrative of radical antislavery on the island into which Nau's *Histoire* had inserted it. Enslaved Africans appear infrequently in the novel, and, then, only in background descriptive passages—never as autonomous speakers or actors. For example, Galván writes that *Enriquillo*'s uprising "aparece como una reacción[,] como el preludio de todas las reacciones que en menos de cuatro siglos han de aniquilar en el Nuevo Mundo el derecho de conquista" and he compares it with other rebellions "en Méjico, en el Perú, en Castilla de Oro," claiming that "en todo el continente iban a realizar épicas proezas muchos de los mismos que salían descalabrados de la sierra del Bahoruco" where the *cacique* and his followers had taken refuge (313). Presenting Enriquillo's rebellion as a "prelude" to all the nineteenth-century Latin American revolutionary movements except the Haitian Revolution—which, not coincidentally, would take place on the same island on which the *cacique* had revolted—, the novel removes the uprising from Nau's metanarrative of anticolonial antislavery and positions Amerindian rebellion as the focal point of the "leyenda histórica dominicana."

In fact, slave revolt is only alluded to once in the body of Galván's novel. The author refers tangentially to "la represión de un levantamiento de esclavos africanos que dieron muerte al mayoral" of an estate belonging to Diego Columbus but, instead of pointing out the larger historical significance of the rebellion in the context of Afro-New World liberation, he limits himself to noting that "los alzados fueron fácilmente vencidos" and that some of the survivors joined forces with Tamayo, another Amerindian who had rebelled against the Spanish Crown (315). There is no mention, as in Nau's *Histoire*, of the increasing importance of African slaves on the island during the period, nor of the growth of maroon colonies in the Bahoruco Mountains in the years following the rebellion. Instead, in the next paragraph, the topic of resistance to African chattel slavery is abandoned and the text once again focuses exclusively on "los alzados indios" (315), thereby displacing the African slave revolt—the origin point of Haitian republican history—onto the indigenous.

A rare reference to African slavery appearing in the "Dedicatoria" to the 1882 edition of the novel, in which the author suggests that he wrote his work as a paean to the former metropole on the occasion of the 1873 abolition of slavery in colonial Puerto Rico, is telling. Following the series of "ruidosos y entusiastas vivas a España" with which "aquella escena sublime" ended, the author claims that:

> A impulsos de la profunda impresión, del júbilo indecible que en mi caso causó tan espléndido triunfo de la justicia sobre una iniquidad secular, recorrí con el rápido vuelo de la imaginación la historia de América, y buscando analogías morales en los primeros días de la conquista, mi mente se fijó complacida en las grandes figuras

> [d]el ilustre filántropo fray Bartolomé de las Casas, y un compatriota mío, Enriquillo, último cacique de la Isla de Haití o Española, hoy Santo Domingo. (n.p.)

The declaration of abolition in Puerto Rico causes Galván to recall the defense of the Amerindians made by Las Casas, who, perhaps not coincidentally, first advocated for the introduction of enslaved Africans into the Americas.[23] Thus, in an inversion of Nau's discursive displacement of the indigenous with blacks in his narrative of New World antislavery, Galván deploys indigeneity to contain the presence of African slavery in his text.

The Dominican's decision to disavow black liberation by rewriting Enrique's revolt—in which enslaved Africans played a vital role—as the story of fray Bartolomé de las Casas's "illustrious philanthropy" towards the Amerindians functions as a response to Nau's interpretation of the same events as a precursor to the Haitian Revolution (an unpleasant memory for nineteenth-century Dominican nationalists) in his *Histoire*. While he never mentions Nau directly in his text, it would have been all but impossible for Galván not to have been thinking about Haiti (if not Nau himself) as he wrote *Enriquillo*, given that the Dominican writer participated in a commission to fix the border between the two countries in 1877, the same year in which he published the first half of his historical novel (Blanco Díaz 26). Even before that, Galván almost certainly would have been aware of Nau's interpretation of the island's past. The *Histoire* was known to nineteenth-century Dominican lettered elites and is even footnoted in *Fantasías indígenas*, a canonical 1877 collection of poems written by José Joaquín Pérez, who also would pen the prologue to the first edition of *Enriquillo*. Importantly, Nau seems to be the only author before Galván to have focused on Enrique's rebellion, which, as I noted earlier, is not a major event in the *Crónicas*, nor does it appear as a theme in the nineteenth-century *indigenista* poetry of Dominican writers such as Salomé Ureña de Henríquez.[24]

Even if Galván were unaware of his Haitian predecessor, he would have been familiar with other framings of Enrique's rebellion in the context of Afro-New World history. While the *Histoire* is conspicuously absent from the list of sources that Galván includes as an appendix to *Enriquillo*, the Spanish *crónicas* that the author does cite refer to the very participation of slaves in Enrique's uprising that Nau describes and that Galván disavows, proving that, despite what the plot of his novel might lead one to believe, the Dominican was familiar with Afro-centric interpretations of Enrique's revolt. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas's *Décadas* (1601), for example, concludes its account of Enrique's rebellion with a discussion of the importation of African slaves into the Spanish colony. The *cronista* goes on to suggest that the practice began in order to limit the damage to the island's economy that would be rendered by the emancipation of Amerindian peons as part of the peace treaty (144–76). In this way, like Nau, Herrera y Tordesillas establishes a causal link between the indigenous uprising and the growth of

Hispaniola's African population. Similarly, though Las Casas does not mention the participation of blacks in Enrique's revolt in his *Historia de las Indias* (1561/1875) (commonly considered to be the most important source for *Enriquillo*), he does, two chapters after his narration of the events, detail the development of sugar mills on the island and lament that he once suggested importing enslaved Africans into Hispaniola in order to replace indigenous forced laborers. Importantly, the friar follows this confession with a condemnation of African slavery (29–31). As in the cases of Herrera y Tordesillas and Nau, then, Las Casas does not present the history of Enrique's revolt as an independent and self-justifying narrative; rather, the Amerindian rebellion functions in the Friar's *Historia* as the background information that explains the arrival of enslaved Africans to the shores of the Americas. Given Galván's well-known attention to historical accuracy and documentation, it is clear that *Enriquillo*'s divorcing of the indigenous uprising from the metanarrative of anticolonial antislavery on Santo Domingo represents an effort to disavow interpretations of Enrique's rebellion as a precursor to the Haitian Revolution such as the one offered by Nau. This strategy serves to distance the Dominican Republic from discourse on New World blackness.

Yet, even as the author denies the place of the Haitian Revolution and blackness in his nation's history, José Joaquín Pérez's brief prologue to *Enriquillo*, as well as Galván's own "Dedicatoria" to the novel, frame the narrative within the Hemispheric anti-slavery tradition. As Gérard Genette explains in his canonical theorization of paratextuality:

> The fringe, always the conveyor of a commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author, constitutes a zone between the text and off-text, a zone not of transition but also of *transaction*: a privileged place of pragmatics and strategy, of an influence on the public. (2)

As is the case of many works dealing with the African diaspora, *Enriquillo*'s paratexts function "centrally as a zone transacting ever-changing modes of white domination and resistance to that domination" (McCoy 156).[25]

In his prologue to the 1882 edition, Pérez claims that *Enriquillo:*

> es el símbolo perfecto de los oprimidos de cuantas generaciones han venido batallando trabajosamente contra ese inmenso océano de tempestades que se llama la vida; es la encarnación de todo ese cúmulo de desgracias que pesa como una maldición del cielo sobre la frente de los desheredados de la tierra. (n.p)

Pérez suggests, through his use of the present and present perfect tenses, a closer link to the international movement to abolish African chattel slavery—still underway at the time of the novel's publication—than to the historical crimes committed against the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean during the Spanish conquest. This becomes even clearer when Pérez compares Galván to transatlantic abolitionists Rafael María de Labra, Victor Schoelcher, Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass, a list that further ties the text of *Enriquillo* to New World abolitionism (n.p.). Later,

he states that, in Spartacus, John Brown, and Lincoln, one finds "reflejado el espíritu que animó al infortunado último cacique de la extinta raza de Haití" (n.p.). While the heroes of the Haitian Revolution are not mentioned, the appearance of the term "Haití" together with the names of various abolitionists has the result of locating Galván in the same antislavery trajectory that Nau employs in his *Histoire* and that the Dominican writer disavows throughout his narrative.

Perhaps not surprisingly, Pérez's prologue, with its allusions to a racial history that the Dominican lettered class might rather forget, was omitted from the 1909 Barcelona edition of the novel that would become required reading in the country's schools (Meléndez 8). In its place appears an 1894 letter from Cuban patriot José Martí congratulating Galván and praising *Enriquillo* as "cosa de toda nuestra América" (5)—a turn of phrase drawn from the Cuban writer's now-canonical 1891 manifesto on Spanish American racial democracy, which, as numerous critics have pointed out, simultaneously includes and excludes blacks from the New World public sphere as it deemphasizes race in the name of Latin American cultural unity.[26] Perhaps this ambivalent message proved more palatable than Pérez's antislavery prologue to Dominican elites of the time, hardly anxious to present themselves to the world as the representatives of a black nation.

Galván's own "Dedicatoria" to the 1882 edition, which I have mentioned previously, features equally suggestive references to antislavery. Even as, as I explained above, the author in his dedication carefully frames his comments on the prohibition of African chattel slavery in Puerto Rico in the context of Amerindian peonage, he dedicates his novel to the "eminente orador y publicista don Rafael María de Labra, Presidente de la Sociedad Abolicionista Española" who had labored to ban black slavery in the Spanish Caribbean colony (n.p.). Importantly, Galván's claim in the Dedication that the idea for *Enriquillo* occurred to him as he witnessed the "espléndido triunfo de la justicia sobre una iniquidad secular" represented by Puerto Rican abolition conflicts with scholar Andrés Blanco Díaz's assertion that the author began drafting the novel during his 1858 stay in Paris. If Blanco Díaz's claim is correct, then, Galván must have intended the anecdote as a poetic truth, the fictive elaboration of which calls attention to itself and, with it, to the national novel's ties to antislavery discourse. Regardless of its veracity, the inclusion of the incident in the introduction unquestionably situates the novel within the metanarrative Afro-New World anticolonialism in which Nau, following Herrera y Tordesillas and Las Casas, locates the story of Enrique's revolt, despite Galván's denial of blackness and slave revolt in the narrative body and documentary appendix to his text. Thus, despite the complaints of critics that *Enriquillo* is a "novela reaccionaria" (Conde 61) aloof from the social, political, and racial realities of the country in which it was written, the disavowed history of New World slavery and emancipation infiltrates the work through its paratexts.

While this paratextual racial reading defies conventional wisdom regarding *Enriquillo*'s supposedly Indo-Hispanic orientation, how else can one explain Pérez's and Galván's decisions to discuss the abolition of African chattel slavery at such length in their respective Prologue and Dedication? Why does Galván not dedicate the novel to his hero las Casas, emblem of Spanish advocacy for the indigenous—the ostensible subjects of his novel—instead of Labra, who fought for the freedom of the enslaved Africans whom Galván appears to ignore?

The paratextual recognition of Afro-Dominicanity that I am suggesting here sits uneasily with the racist anti-Haitianism that Galván is known to have expressed openly in his articles for the periodical *La razón* and with the author's diplomatic efforts to fix the border between the Dominican Republic and the black state of Haiti—that is, to codify Bobadilla y Briones's distinction between the "Hispanic" Dominicans and the Afro-descended Haitians. I am not postulating that Galván knowingly smuggled the Haitian metanarrative of Afro-New World liberation into his seemingly exclusionary text. Rather, what I want to suggest is that, given Hispaniola's central place in worldwide antislavery discourse, it was inevitable that the disavowed topic should make its way into a "leyenda histórica dominicana." Antislavery could not help but appear in the national narrative of the country that Dominicanist Silvo Torres-Salliant has called the "cradle of blackness in the Americas" ("Tribulations" 126)—a work that, despite the author's efforts to the contrary, ultimately tells the story of how Enrique, like the Haitian Dessalines, leads an *armée indigène* against colonial enslavement on Hispaniola.

Notes

[1] In 1982, Editora de Santo Domingo released a Spanish version titled *Historia de los caciques de Haití.*

[2] Dominican anti-Haitianism has been studied by Torres-Saliant; Fischer (*Modernity*); and Sagás, among others.

[3] For theoretical discussions of the role of lettered culture and narrative in nation-building, see Rama, Anderson, Sommer, and Bhabha, ed.

[4] For critiques of Fischer's notion of disavowal, see Clevis R. Headley, "La historia y la idea de la modernidad en *Modernity Disavowed*" and Neil Roberts, "Más allá del silencio y la memoria: El concepto de renegación en la obra de Sybille Fischer."

[5] Following the authors that I discuss, I will use "Enrique" to refer to the historical figure, "Henri" to refer to the personage in Nau's *Histoire*, and "Enriquillo" to refer to the character in Galván's novel.

[6] The Haitian Revolution has inspired a vast bibliography. In addition to the works cited throughout this article, see James, Fick, Dayan, and Scott.

[7] "la continuité teritoriale de l'espace insulaire."

[8] "la pierre angulaire de l'indépendence hatienne."

[9] Written by the elites, Dominican official history understands the events occurring between 1822 and 1844 as a Haitian "occupation" of the eastern part of the island. Interdisciplinary scholar Sara Johnson, on the other hand, has explored the archive of popular sources from the period and proposes that the years be viewed as an "integration" of Hispaniola (90).

[10] Perhaps not surprisingly, the eastern side of the island's mixed-race masses did not side with La Trinitaria, fearful that the creole independentistas might, as they had attempted in 1821, annex the country to Colombia and reinstitute slavery (Moya Pons, *Manual* 268).

[11] Footnotes are from Emile Nau and Eugène Nau's *Histoire Des Caciques D'Haïti.*

[12] For overviews of Haitian literary history, see Fleischman; Dash, *Other* and "Before;" Laroche; and Bellegarde, ed.

[13] "coupure en deux de l'île [qui] est le fondement du dédoublement de l'insularité."

[14] "La mémoire d'Ovando serait exécrée dans la dernière postérité des aborigènes d'Haïti, s'ils n'avaient pas tous péri, autant que celle de Rochambeau est jusqu'à ce jour odieuse aux Hatïens."

[15] "Pas un Indien lui survit. On ne trouve plus que de rares descendants de ceux dont on démêle à peine quelques traits caractéristiques à travers le mélange plus prononcé du type africain et européen. Les femmes surtout de ces sang-mêlées qu'on persiste, jusqu'à ce jour, à appeler dans l'est, où elles sont en plus grand nombre, INDIOS, et de ce côté-ci, IGNES, corruption du mot indien, se reconnaissent à leur forme symétrique, à leur tient olivâtre, à leur belle peau, à leurs grands yeux noirs et à leur chevelure longue, abondante et noire."

[16] For more on the deployment of Hispaniola's Amerindian history by nineteenth-century Haitian writers as a discursive strategy to unite the western and eastern halves of the island, see Dash, "Before" and Reinsel.

[17] David Nicholls, on the other hand, suggests that indigeneity was frequently offered by the cosmopolitan mulattoes of the Generation of 1836 as a cultural anecdote to what many perceived to be President Boyer's excessive Francophilia.

[18] "procès de l'abolition de l'esclavage qui dure depuis cinq siècles."

[19] "fatale pour la race conquise."

[20] "excitaient les naturals à l'insumission."

[21] The reading of Hispaniola's history that Nau proposes would remain controversial into the twentieth century. See Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi's *Invasiones haitianas de 1801, 1805 y 1822* (1955) for an example.

[22] On *Enriquillo* as a historical novel, see Anderson Imbert and Alegría; as an *indianista* text, see Meléndez; as a foundational romance, see Sommer; and as a work of Dominican conservative nationalism, see Conde.

[23] Later recanted, Las Casas's advocacy of the importation of enslaved Africans into the Americas to replace indigenous peons is famously fodder for the (not so legendary) Black Legend of Spanish colonial depravity in the New World.

[24] While Enrique appears briefly as a character in Chapter XLIII of Jean-François Marmontel's 1777 *Les Incas*, the scene focuses on the *cacique*'s visit to fray de las Casas's deathbed, not his rebellion against Spanish colonialism.

[25] For more on paratexutality and literature of and about the African Diaspora, see McCoy.

[26] On the racially exclusive nature of Martí's "nuestra América mestiza," see Duno Gottberg and Martínez-Echazábal.

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