

Notes

Abbreviations

AGI	Archivo General de Indias (Spain)
AGN-RD	Archivo General de la Nación–República Dominicana
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AMAE	Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Madrid
ANC	Archivo Nacional de Cuba
Anexión	Fondo Anexión
AP	Asuntos Políticos
<i>BAGN</i>	<i>Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación</i>
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
BNJM	Biblioteca Nacional José Martí (Cuba)
CH	Colección Herrera
Clío	<i>Revista Clío, Órgano de la Academia Dominicana de la Historia</i>
CO	Colonial Office
Copiador	Índice General de Libros Copiadores de la Sección RREE, AGN-RD
Cuba	Papeles de Cuba
FO	Foreign Office
NARA	National Archives (U.S.)
RREE	Relaciones Exteriores
SD	Santo Domingo
s/f	sin fecha
SHM	Servicio Histórico Militar, Madrid
TNA	The National Archives, Kew (U.K.)

Introduction

1. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 144; Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 198. Some Dominican scholars refer to the period of Unification (1822–44) as “occupation” (e.g., Núñez Grullón, *Evolución constitucional dominicana*, 17). More recent studies limit “occupation” to the first weeks of unification between the two territories during which—despite obvious support from citizens in a number of Dominican towns and a pacific reception of the transition generally—a large number of Haitian troops were present to realize the change in flag (Lora Hugi, *Transición*, 47).
2. Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 197–98.
3. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 236. Spanish troops occupied San Lorenzo de los Mina and built new guard posts in Pajarito (Villa Duarte) and San Carlos.
4. José Francisco Pichardo, “A la palma de la libertad: Indignamente derribada en la noche del 9 de mayo de 1864,” in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 342 (emphasis in original).
5. “Hispaniola” comes from the moniker that Columbus gave the island, “La Española.” The etymology of “Quisqueya,” reportedly an Arawak word for “mother of all lands,” is more controversial, first reported by Italian historian Peter Martyr d’Anghiera, who had never traveled to the island; some emphasize that its popularity is a result of an aversion to using “Haiti” (San Miguel, *Crónicas de un embrujo*, 76). Haiti or Ayiti, conversely, was widely recorded as an Arawak name for the island meaning “mountainous land.” Furthermore, it had a vibrant place in the nineteenth-century island political lexicon after its deliberate adoption by statemakers in the west in 1804 (Geggus, “Naming of Haiti”). Dominican independentists of late 1821 hoped to create “Spanish Haiti” in the east; the whole island was Haiti for a time, from 1822 to 1844. After Dominican separation, Dominican use of “Haiti” to refer to the whole island subsided, but rebels revived it during anti-Spanish fighting. Poet Manuel Rodríguez Objio pointedly gestured to a breadth of invocations, imagining, “Your former inhabitants, in patriotic cry, sometimes they called it Quisqueya, sometimes they called it Haiti” (qtd. in Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 291–92). I will use “Hispaniola,” as it is the most commonly used name for the island in English. Although it lends particular credence to the imperial record, invoking that aggression is perhaps appropriate to recount the events that transpired. Where its interlocutors invoked it, I will also use “Haiti.”
6. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations*, 132–33; Casimir, *La culture opprimée*; González, *De esclavos a campesinos*; González, “War on Sugar.” Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, interprets the early 1800s as an accelerating imperial transition, rather than a lull.

7. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 160.
8. Narratives of conflict with Haiti had multiple uses. As in Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil, willful print propagandists hoped to foment popular mobilization and national allegiance, in addition to making appeals to outside powers simultaneously (Huner, “Toikove Ñane Retã!”).
9. Plaza, “God and Federation,” 140.
10. In the case of Nicaragua, for example, see Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream*; Wolfe, *Everyday Nation-State*; in Mexico, see, e.g., Paní, *El segundo imperio*; Ibsen, *Maximilian, Mexico, and the Invention of Empire*.
11. Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery*; Giusti-Cordero, “Beyond Sugar Revolutions,” 58–83; Cromwell, “More Than Slaves and Sugar,” 770–83.
12. Ferrer, *Freedom’s Mirror*; Schneider, *Occupation of Havana*.
13. González, *De esclavos a campesinos*; Moya Pons, *Historia colonial de Santo Domingo*.
14. Dubois and Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, 36; Ferrer, *Freedom’s Mirror*; Cordero Michel, *La revolucion haitiana y Santo Domingo*; Nessler, *Island-Wide Struggle for Freedom*; Yingling, “Colonialism Unraveling”; Madiou, *Histoire d’Haïti*.
15. Nessler, “‘The Shame of the Nation.’”
16. Adelman, “Age of Imperial Revolution,” 336.
17. Sánchez Ramírez, *Diario de la Reconquista*.
18. Paredes Vera, “La Constitución de 1812,” 110; Lora Hugi, “El sonido de la libertad,” 127; Eller, “‘All Would Be Equal in the Effort,’” 128, 132.
19. Pierrot and McIntosh, “Henry/Nehri.”
20. Dajabón, Monte Cristi, Santiago de los Caballeros, Las Caobas, Las Matas de Farfán, San Juan, Neiba, Azua, La Vega, Bánica, Hinchá, and the northern port city of Puerto Plata all issued proclamations in support of the pending unification (Lora Hugi, *Transición*, 46–49; Paredes Vera, “La Constitución de 1812,” 136; Janvier, *Haïti et ses visiteurs*, 601). In fact residents raised the Haitian flag in Monte Cristi, Dajabón, and Beler in November 1821, two weeks before the Colombian one was (briefly) raised in the south (Mackenzie, *Notes on Haïti*, 235).
21. Alemar, *Escritos*, 185. As a successor to Pétion, Boyer was a known entity to political observers in the Dominican capital. Fledgling periodical *El Duende* looked admiringly on Boyer’s leadership skills (*El Duende*, no. 1, 15 April 1821, 1; no. 8, 3 June 1821, 1).
22. Lora Hugi, *Transición*, 46.
23. Lora Hugi, *Transición*, 73.
24. McGraw, *Work of Recognition*, 6–7.
25. Francisco Brenes qtd. in Castro Ventura, *Duarte en la proa*, 48.
26. Lora Hugi, *Transición*, 46; Jimenes Grullón, *La República Dominicana*, 132. Tobacco production nearly quadrupled in the Cibao, although farming

technology remained fairly primitive; wood exports increased significantly as well (Betances, “Agrarian Transformation,” 61). Contemporary observers attested that the east-to-west cattle trade increased and that commerce from Cap, Gonaïves, Saint Marc, Port-au-Prince, and Jacmel spread to some centers of the east (“American Intrigues in St. Domingo, II,” *The Anti-slavery Reporter* 7, no. 2 [1859]: 29–31).

27. Scott, “Public Rights and Private Commerce.”
28. Ferrer, “Haiti, Free Soil, and Antislavery.”
29. Harris, “Summer on the Borders,” 152.
30. Lockward, *Documentos*, 222.
31. See, among many others, Pompée-Valentin baron de Vastey, *Colonial System Unveiled*; Bissette, *Réfutation du livre de M. V. Schoelcher*; Bongie, *Friends and Enemies*; Nicholls, “Work of Combat”; Daut, “‘Alpha and Omega’ of Haitian Literature.”
32. Prominent Dominican political figures explicitly condemned 1830s Spanish missions to reclaim the territory and dubbed Boyer “an angel of peace”; others penned poetry in praise of Boyer’s regime (Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 167; de Granda, “Un caso de planeamiento lingüístico frustrado,” 209). Many pro-Boyer texts may have later been destroyed (Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed*, 181).
33. Puig Ortíz, *Emigración*; Hidalgo, “From North America to Hispaniola”; Hoetink, “Americans in Samaná”; Fleszar, “‘My Laborers in Haiti Are Not Slaves’”; Fanning, *Caribbean Crossing*.
34. Qtd. in Sheller, “Army of Sufferers,” 43–44.
35. Lockward, *La Constitución Haitiano-Dominicana*.
36. “La union constituye la fuerza,” *El Dominicano*, no. 1, 29 June 1855, 1; “La Historia de El Duende,” *El Progreso*, no. 17, 12 June 1853, 6.
37. Pani, *El segundo imperio*, 104; Soto, *La conspiración monárquica en México 1845–6*; Andrés, “Colonial Crisis and Spanish Diplomacy,” 328.
38. Índice General de Libros Copiadores de la Sección RREE, AGN-RD (hereafter cited as Copiador), 13 June 1848.
39. A small sampling of the flourishing scholarship on the immediate impact of the Haitian Revolution includes James, *Black Jacobins*; Scott, “Common Wind”; Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*; Geggus, *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution*; Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens*; Garraway, *Tree of Liberty*; Ferrer, *Freedom’s Mirror*; Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War*; White, *Encountering Revolution*; Johnson, *Slavery’s Metropolis*.
40. Spieler, “Legal Structure of Colonial Rule during the French Revolution.”
41. Brown, *Reaper’s Garden*; Schmidt-Nowara, *Slavery, Freedom, and Abolition*. Planters wrote of the necessity of slavery: “For proof, look to Jamaica, San Domingo, Hayti” (“Negro Slavery,” *Southern Cultivator* 20, nos. 5–6 [May–June 1862]: 110.
42. Lightfoot, *Troubling Freedom*; Besson, *Martha Brae’s Two Histories*.
43. Paton, “Revisiting No Bond but the Law.”

44. Among the very rich body of works, see these texts: Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*; Holt, “‘Empire over the Mind’ ” and *Problem of Freedom*; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Rugemer, *Problem of Emancipation*; Newton, *Children of Africa*; Kazanjian, *Brink of Freedom*.
45. Hall, “Nation Within and Without.”
46. Lambert, *Mastering the Niger*; for similar discourses about Liberia, see Kazanjian, *Brink of Freedom*.
47. Breen, *St. Lucia*, 240–59.
48. See, for example, Hall, *Civilising Subjects*; Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*.
49. Peabody, “France’s Two Emancipations,” 34.
50. Holt, *Problem of Freedom*.
51. Karp, “The World the Slaveholders Craved,” 418. Pro-slavery voices praised the new cotton projects using indentured labor in Guiana, Trinidad, and other sites (Elliott, *Cotton Is King*, 144).
52. De Barros, *Reproducing the British Caribbean*, 28; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 22, 48; Rugemer, *Problem of Emancipation*, 263.
53. Ferrer, *Freedom’s Mirror*; Tomich, “Wealth of Empire,” 5–6.
54. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 17–18.
55. Figueroa, *Sugar, Slavery, and Freedom*, 167; Picó, *Al filo del poder*, 52.
56. Laviña, “Puerto Rico,” 103.
57. Figueroa, *Sugar, Slavery, and Freedom*, 36.
58. Reid-Vazquez, *Year of the Lash*; Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion*.
59. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba*, 153; see also Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Anti-slavery*.
60. Philadelphia, “Friends’ Intelligencer,” no. 13, 13 September 1856, 408.
61. Puerto Rican governor Rafael Aristegui to Spanish minister of state, 15 November 1844, qtd. in Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 80; Ruffin, *Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, 291.
62. Candler, *Brief Notices of Hayti*, 121; Rugemer, *Problem of Emancipation*.
63. Putnam, “Ideología racial, práctica social y estado liberal en Costa Rica”; Bassi, *An Aqueous Territory*. Mainland Caribbean areas—coastal Venezuela and Colombia, for example—further erased Caribbean regional connections in favor of a continental Latin American identification (Gómez, “Entwining the Revolutions”).
64. Gobat, “Invention of Latin America,” 1363.
65. Harris, “Summer on the Borders.”
66. Dewey and Boyer, *Correspondence Relative to the Emigration to Hayti*, 11.
67. B. F. Rojas, “A los dominicanos,” 11 June 1865, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 394.
68. Henríquez Ureña, *Panorama histórico de la literatura dominicana*, 69. On the durability of these narratives, see, for example, Torres-Saillant, “Blackness and Meaning in Studying Hispaniola.”

69. Wolfe, *Everyday Nation-State*, 171–72.
70. “Exclusivism . . . isolated from humanity,” Dominican president Báez inveighed in 1850 (Lockward, *Documentos*, 133). For a contextualizing of these isolation narratives in a slightly earlier period, see Gaffield, *Haitian Connections*.
71. Out of direct imperial interests and an irrepressible urge to excoriate Haiti, outside travelers and eager capital city elites argued for flagrant contrasts on the island along multiple tacks: that there was no racism in the republic, that Dominicans were white-identifying, and that good Dominican patriots hated Haiti (Candelario, *Black behind the Ears*, chap. 1; Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 41–42; Eller, “Awful Pirates and Hordes of Jackals”). Their preoccupation continued unabated for decades. One author pleaded that the United States remain neutral in any island conflict, for example, but only because the story of “130,000 white Dominicans” was a “pious fraud” (Clark, *Remarks upon United States Intervention in Hayti*).
72. “Al Público,” *El Dominicano*, no. 1, 19 September 1845, 1.
73. This literature often separates the annexationism of the small group in power (e.g., Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial*, 11, 33; Betances, “Social Classes,” 23) from another undercurrent in the Cibao valley, less systematically discussed (e.g., Marte, *Correspondencia*, 63), or even from pro-U.S. annexation sentiment in the far eastern province of Higüey (Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic*, 18). It also tends to exaggerate the differences between politicians of the south and the Cibao, discussed more in chapter 1 (Landolfi, *Evolución cultural dominicana*).
74. Larson, *Trials of Nation Making*, 6.
75. Rojas, *Cuba Mexicana*.
76. Martínez-Fernández, “Caudillos,” 574; Escolano Giménez, *La rivaldad internacional*, 68.
77. Dhormoys, *Une visite chez Soulouque*, 147.
78. Brown, “Global History of Latin America”; Sartorius, *Ever Faithful*; Schmidt-Nowara, “La España ultramarina”; Thomson, *Birth of Modern Politics in Spain*; Morillo-Alicea, “‘Aquel laberinto de oficinas.’”
79. Hall, “Nation Within and Without,” 181; Peabody, “France’s Two Emancipations,” 31.
80. Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, *Unsettling Settler Societies*, 275; Razack, *Race, Space and the Law*, 55.
81. E.g., Colombia’s 1863 Rionegro Constitution (Andrés, “Colonial Crisis,” 335).
82. Escolano Giménez, “La organización de la provincia de Santo Domingo,” 340; Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 372.
83. Dorsey, “Seamy Sides of Abolition.”
84. Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*; Dubois, *Avengers*.

85. McGuinness, "Searching for 'Latin America,'" 102; Luis-Brown, *Waves of Decolonization*, 247; Gobat, "Invention of Latin America," 1346.
86. Sanders, *Vanguard of the Atlantic World*, 4; Thomson, "Garibaldi and the Legacy of the Revolutions of 1848"; Peyrou, "Harmonic Utopia of Spanish Republicanism."
87. Coviello, *Intimacy in America*, 4.
88. McGuinness, "Searching for 'Latin America,'" 101.
89. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier*.
90. May, "Lobbyists for Commercial Empire," 408.
91. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 65; Hauch, "The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations," 98.
92. R. Edwardes to Lord J. Russell, Madrid, 22 April 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 6, p. 17.
93. Fontecha Pedraza and González Calleja, *Una cuestión de honor*, 5, 9, 51; Álvarez Junco, "Spanish National Identity," 321.
94. Schomburgk, "Peninsula and Bay of Samaná," 283.
95. Eusebio Soler to Gob. Superior Civil, SD, 4 July 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 16, Expte. 1, doc. 3.
96. Qtd. in Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 224.
97. Eusebio Soler to Gob. Superior Civil, SD, 4 July 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 16, Expte. 1, doc. 3.
98. Francisco Serrano to Min. de Guerra, Havana, 6 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 2, doc 2.
99. *Hispaniola, Hayti*, 87.
100. Harris, "Summer on the Borders," 80.
101. Qtd. in "Nouvelles étrangères," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 27, 8 June 1861, 3.
102. González, "Ideología del progreso y campesinado," 34; González, "La figura social del montero," 79.
103. Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*; Lasso, *Myths of Harmony*; McGraw, *Work of Recognition*; Grandin, "Liberal Traditions in the Americas."
104. Min. de RREE to Cornelio G. Holff, RD Agente Comercial in NYC, Copiador, 4 March 1860.
105. Fr. Consul to Min. de RREE, Copiador, 4 February 1861.
106. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Relaciones dominicoespañolas*, 352; Marte, *Correspondencia*, 42.
107. Marte, "La oralidad sobre el pasado insular," 7.
108. Escolano Giménez, "La insurrección dominicana," 73. Ranches make notoriously difficult historiographical subjects, authors observe (Giusti-Cordero, "Beyond Sugar Revolutions," 67). Considering the issues of evidence about black ranching societies throughout the Atlantic World, see Sluyter, *Black Ranching Frontiers*.
109. Cross-Beras, *Sociedad y desarrollo en la República dominicana*, 54.

110. Turits, *Foundations of Despotism*.
111. González, *De esclavos a campesinos*.
112. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Papeles de Pedro F. Bonó*, 192.
113. Putnam, "To Study the Fragments/Whole," 619.
114. Vinson, "African (Black) Diaspora History, Latin American History."
115. There has been a profusion of valuable monographs about the Restoration War within this paradigm that focus, instead, on other aspects of the annexation and rebellion. One scholar writes that there was "no discrimination" during the First Republic (Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 102); others disregard elite racism more obliquely, in the tendency to mystify annexationist tendencies as "backward," rather than interrogating the common goals (of indenture, of profit, or of self-preservation versus a rural majority) that an important sector of Dominican annexationists had in common with elites throughout the Caribbean (for an overview, see Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," chap. 2). Scholars tend to mention the importance of fears of reenslavement to the rebels without further contextualization outside of the immediate antagonism of the occupation (i.e., the regional context or long-term domestic discussions of emancipation and racism). At different moments, authors have used the nationalist frame, furthermore, specifically as a vehicle of liberation. Professor, intellectual, and revolutionary Juan Bosch published his classic study of the popular rebellion, with an essay about U.S. intervention wreaking havoc on the territory, one hundred years later. "To reach the category of hero, men and women do not need to be *letrados*; what they need is the capacity to create acts," he urges, pointedly (Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 125).
116. Mimi Sheller refers to this as a "peasant democratic ideology" (*Democracy after Slavery*, 5).
117. On the concept of articulation of solidarities in the African diaspora, see Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations."
118. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs*.
119. Carlos Helm to Francisco Serrano, 5 March 1862, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 16.
120. Luperón, *Notas autobiográficas*, 99; Ayuso, *Historia pendiente*, 9, 94.
121. Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *El alzamiento de Neiba*, 29.
122. Qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 77.
123. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 90.
124. On discussions of warnings of reenslavement in other contexts, see, e.g., Hahn, "'Extravagant Expectations' of Freedom."
125. Jimenes Grullón, *Sociología política dominicana*, 131.
126. Finch, *Rethinking Slave Rebellion*, 171.
127. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 201–2; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 20. The Haitian president, Fabre Nicholas Geffrard, predicted the struggle. "Dominicans and Haitians are the two most indomitable peoples of the new world, and . . . the most resolute,"

- he warned the Spanish. “Call Dominicans . . . , and ask each one what they have done for their country (*Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 12, 23 February 1861, 3).
128. Martínez, *Diccionario*, 514.
 129. Sanders, *Vanguard of the Atlantic World*, 26; Smith, *Roots of Conservatism*, 79.
 130. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 375.
 131. *Boletín Oficial*, 18 December 1864, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 249.
 132. Fusté, “Possible Republics,” 3.
 133. Bermúdez de Castro y O’Lawlor, *Cuestión de Santo Domingo*, 39, 47–49.
 134. Adelman, “Iberian Passages,” 59.
 135. Amid a valuable body of works that consider how Caribbean activists confronted constant tension between the insistent “racelessness” of republican national projects and the immediate menace of racism at home and abroad, see Fusté, “Possible Republics”; Stephens, *Black Empire*; Reyes-Santos, *Our Caribbean Kin*; Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic*; Scott, “Public Rights”; Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*.
 136. Johnson, *Fear of French Negroes*, 2; Reyes-Santos, *Our Caribbean Kin*, 8; Chaar-Pérez, “ ‘Revolution of Love.’ ”
 137. Sheller, *Citizenship*, 102.
 138. He continued, wryly: “In the great Confederation there will be the French of Guadeloupe and Martinique, whom I don’t know; the Haitians, whom I know too well; the Cubans, whom I am getting to know, as I am seeing them in the work of destruction, which they will most probably continue after emancipation; the English of Jamaica and the rest of the British isles; and us. . . . Superb elements, of course, to construct a mixed society that ought to serve as a barrier to the aspirations and invasions of the Anglo-Saxon raza!” (*Españat y Quiñones, Escritos*, 269).
 139. Hepburn, *Haiti as It Is*, 11.
 140. Kachun, “ ‘Our Platform Is as Broad as Humanity,’ ” 2; Hepburn, *Haiti as It Is*, 16.
 141. Gómez, “Entwining the Revolutions.”
 142. Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 2:192; Haitian heads of state engaged in similar “salvation diplomacy” (Adam, *Une crise haïtienne 1867–1869*, 42).
 143. Dubois, *Haiti*, 169.
 144. Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*. Duarte was in exile after the first six months of Separation. He wrote mournfully of the battles that raged from exile in near-total anonymity (Castro Ventura, *Duarte en la proa de historia*, 252).
 145. Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 34, 38, 54.
 146. Hagemann and Rendall, “Introduction,” 28. On archetypes of Dominican women in the nineteenth century, see Lora Hugi, “Las mujeres anónimas,” 84.

147. Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 301.
148. Rodríguez de Tió, *Mi libro de Cuba*, vii.
149. Among works that consider the nineteenth century specifically, see Cordero Michel, *La revolución haitiana*; Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*; Torres-Saillant, “Tribulations of Blackness”; Mayes, *The Mulatto Republic*; Nessler, *An Island-Wide Struggle for Freedom*; Martínez, “Not a Cockfight”; Franco, “Remanentes ideológicos.”
150. Torres-Saillant, “Tribulations of Blackness,” 132.
151. “Convulsiones de los pueblos,” *La Regeneración*, no. 2, 3 September 1865, 3.

1. Life by Steam

1. “Haiti,” *El Dominicano*, no. 21, 5 September 1846, 81.
2. “Continuación,” *El Dominicano*, no. 7, 13 November 1845, 17–18.
3. “Clamor Público,” *El Dominicano*, no. 21, 5 September 1846, 83.
4. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 1:164.
5. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:12, 17.
6. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 1:59; these caudillo-led troops or party militias were known elsewhere as *montoneras* (Holden, *Armies without Nations*, 38).
7. Aluma-Cazorla, “Caudillo as the Post-bandit.”
8. Pérez Memén, *El Pensamiento dominicano*, 25; Campillo Pérez, *Historia electoral dominicana*; Franks, “Transforming Property,” 90.
9. Salvatore, *Wandering Paysanos*, 1, 398.
10. To propose to cross the island by land, “people seemed to think a man must either be crazy, or that he expected to derive some mysterious benefit from such a trip,” one traveler remarked in 1870 (Hazard, *Santo Domingo, Past and Present*, 274).
11. François-Xavier Guerra qtd. in Knöbl, “State Building in Western Europe and the Americas,” 72.
12. Marte, “La oralidad sobre el pasado insular,” 41.
13. Marte, “La oralidad sobre el pasado insular,” 34. “Spaniards” was also commonly used in Haiti at the popular level; Emperor Soulouque often simply referred to “the eastern part” (Pablo de Urrutia to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 6 November 1858, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 13). Other scholars emphasize that leaders invoked terms of political consensus (“copatriots,” *con-patriotas*) precisely because the idea of territorial unity was so weak (Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 216).
14. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 333.
15. Lora Hugí, *Transición*, 130; San Miguel, *Los campesinos del Cibao*, 44.
16. After 1824, only state documents were in French, and French secretaries (*greffiers*) appeared only in the Dominican capital (de Granda, “Un caso de planeamiento lingüístico frustrado,” 193, 199–201, 203; Lora Hugí, *Transición*,

- 48–49). In nearly all of the “Sentencias Penales de la Época Haitiana,” republished in the Dominican National Archive’s *Boletín General de la Nación*, nos. 79–87 (1953–55), the cases are conducted in Spanish; the only exceptions are defendants with French/Haitian surnames.
17. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 139. He was also a prolific poet in favor of Boyer’s regime; e.g., de Granda, “Un caso de planeamiento lingüístico frustrado,” 209.
 18. Pablo Ali’s 31st Regiment, known as the “Batallón de los Morenos,” was composed of “two Black companies that existed . . . before the emancipation of 1822.” Boyer created the 32nd Regiment for the newly manumitted after 1822, and it was composed of “Africans and youth from the town” (Madiou, *Histoire d’Haïti*, 95; Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 200–201). There was another specifically black regiment in San Cristóbal (Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 199).
 19. Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 28.
 20. Lora Hugí, *Transición*, 46; Jimenes Grullón, *La República Dominicana*, 132. Tobacco production nearly quadrupled in the Cibao, although farming technology remained fairly primitive; wood exports increased significantly as well (Betances, “Agrarian Transformation,” 61). Contemporary observers attested that the east-to-west cattle trade increased and that commerce from Cap, Gonaïves, Saint Marc, Port-au-Prince, and Jacmel spread to some centers of the east (“American Intrigues in St. Domingo, II,” *The Anti-slavery Reporter* 7, no. 2 [1859]: 29–31).
 21. Traditional narratives stress the impact of Boyer’s 1826 Rural Code, arguing it had widespread, onerous effects (Moya Pons, “The Land Question in Haiti and Santo Domingo”). Again, Lora Hugí’s study of Higüey is instructive. In Higüey, months passed before new officials were sworn in, and Boyer never traveled to the province. Lora Hugí demonstrates that authorities did not enforce vagrancy codes, travel passes were few, and communal land practices continued without interruption (Lora Hugí, *Transición*, 55–56, 73, 128, 130, 143). In one collection of dozens of cases from the capital, just one vagrancy prosecution emerges, in the aggravating instance of a robbery (“Causa contra Pedro Manuel,” *BAGN*, no. 83 [1954], 402–4).
 22. Schoelcher, *Abolition de l’esclavage*.
 23. The indemnity provoked immediate domestic and international complications. By decree in April 1826, each commune was to furnish 3 million gourdes, an amount soon reduced by a third. Higüey’s special commission, not convened until the following summer, gathered just several hundred pesos in voluntary donations; it is not immediately evident how much more was levied through taxes or tariffs. Citizens were exempted from individual taxation in 1828 (although it seems this was reinstated in 1829). Numerous adjustments highlight the pragmatic, political, and economic impossibility of paying such a sum (Lora Hugí, *Transición*, 122–24).

24. "Reflecciones Políticas sobre la cuestión de Haiti," *El Dominicano*, no. 4, 1 November 1845, 13. In the west, one traveler noted in 1837 that guards often overstepped their daily authority. A "dangerous military spirit" that was antidemocratic and a "fearful engine of any government" prevailed (Brown, *History and Present Condition of St. Domingo*, 2:268).
25. "Reflecciones Políticas sobre la cuestión de Haiti," *El Dominicano*, no. 4, 1 November 1845, 14.
26. Nouel, "El terremoto de 1842," 99–100.
27. Illás, "El terremoto del 7 de mayo," 67.
28. *Hispaniola, Hayti*, 24.
29. *Hispaniola, Hayti*, 30.
30. Fiallo Billini, "La construcción antillanista," n.p.
31. Espinal Hernández, "Familiaridad y consanguinidad." The group had disbanded before Separation was even realized (Guerrero, "El Pensamiento conservador," 114).
32. Pedro Bonó qtd. in Castro Ventura, *Duarte en la proa*, 47).
33. They drafted the Praslin Manifesto, named for the property of Charles Hérard outside of Les Cayes (Sheller, "Army of Sufferers," 42).
34. Qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Invasiones haitianas*, 302.
35. "Informe del General Charles Hérard aine," in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Invasiones haitianas*, 285. Fifteen delegates from Puerto Plata and other towns of the east were in attendance (Lockward, *La Constitución Haitiano-Dominicana*, 17; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Invasiones haitianas*, 286). Large landowning representatives, like future Dominican caudillo president Buenaventura Báez, lobbied hard about the limitations of landowning and citizenship; historian Franklin Franco Pichardo observes that he was preoccupying himself with the concerns of about 5 percent of the east's elite, former slave owners who had extensive property, and that the debate was therefore necessarily a "delicate issue" (*El pensamiento dominicano*, 97; on property and citizenship, see also Venator Santiago, "Race, Nation-Building and Legal Transculturation"). Other scholars argue that discontent was more widespread, and that "Boyer's repression generally and the marginalization of the east" ensured the popularity of Separation (Venator Santiago, "Race, the East, and Haitian Revolutionary Ideology," 112).
36. Sheller, "Army of Sufferers," 42.
37. John Baur claims that Soulouque sought their alliance in years subsequent but was unable to satisfy the demands of "sixty arpents of land each . . . and town-houses for their officers" (Baur, "Faustin Soulouque," 136).
38. Courlander, *Treasury of Afro-American Folklore*, 47.
39. "Continuación . . . ," *El Dominicano*, no. 7, 13 November 1845, 17.
40. "Haiti," *El Dominicano*, no. 2, 8 October 1845, 2. He was "the most ridiculous, the most despotic, the most barbarous" of all of the leaders, the paper complained.

41. Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 68.
42. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:83.
43. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 136.
44. Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 185. For Dominicans fighting on the Unification side, see Santana's speculative letter to that effect, qtd. in Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 68–69.
45. Copiador, 1 January 1845; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 55.
46. The French consul, André-Nicolas Levasseur, reported that a small group of Haitian politicians appealed to him at exactly the same time (Brière, *Haïti et la France*, 292–94).
47. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 74, 100.
48. Guerra Sosa, "Familias Haitianas al Servicio de Nuestra Independencia"; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 161–62.
49. Madiou, *Histoire d'Haïti*, 99, 103.
50. Despite apocryphal (and widely variant) estimates of the number of men involved in these and other encounters, Haitian forces, gathered by conscription, were in decline and had been for some years (Candler, *Brief Notices of Hayti*, 93; Bird, *Black Man*, 187, 284; Cap. Cayetano Pilon to the Queen, Puerto Rico, 4 February 1845, AMAE: Política Exterior: RD 2373, Expte. s/n.; on varying estimates, compare, e.g., Rodríguez Demorizi, *Guerra dominico-haitiana*, 22, and Robles-Muñoz, *Paz en Santo Domingo*, 66). Roads across the island were often impassable for carriages and, after a rain, impassable even on foot, much less by groups of forces traveling long distances who may have been feeding themselves (Brown, *History and Present Condition of St. Domingo*, 2:266; Raybaud, *Soulouque et son empire*, 274, 308; Baur, "Faustin Soulouque," 142). Dominican reports were frank about the exceedingly small numbers of individuals involved in most incidents (even as they exaggerated tales of heroism and cowardice). Even Santana's famous 19 March 1844 battle at Azua involved just "a handful of patriots," *El Dominicano* acknowledged (no. 11, 28 November 1846, 43).
51. Courlander, *Treasury of Afro-American Folklore*, 47.
52. For more on the Haitian exile community in Jamaica, see Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile*.
53. Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 58.
54. Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 153.
55. Franco Pichardo, "Remanentes ideológicos," 83. The traveling emissary was Dr. José María Caminero, born in Santiago de Cuba, who had served as an interpreter and a politician during Unification (Martínez, *Diccionario*, 98; Lockward, *Documentos*, xlv; Logan, *Diplomatic Relations*, 238).
56. Franco Pichardo, "Remanentes ideológicos," 83.
57. Caminero attempted negotiations with the United States for a commercial treaty that also sought to attract white immigrants to the island (Sang Ben, *La Política Exterior Dominicana, 1844–1961*, 37).

58. Franco Pichardo, "Remanentes ideológicos," 85; Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 191–92.
59. Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 152.
60. Franklin Franco, *Los negros*, 161; Madiou, *Histoire d'Haïti*, 99.
61. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 114, 116, 135, 138.
62. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 142, 145.
63. Vega Boyrie, "La labor legislativa," 206.
64. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:39.
65. Lizardo, *Cultura Africana en Santo Domingo*, 68.
66. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:15, 21, 28.
67. "Comunicado," *El Dominicano*, no. 12, 15 February 1846, 46. Lieutenant Colonel Simon had sailed to Saint Thomas in order to defect, but he was later captured at Puerto Plata and condemned to die by a special military commission.
68. Garrido, *Los Puello*, 87, 93.
69. Lockward, *La Constitución Haitiano-Dominicana*, 16.
70. Lora Hugi, "Las mujeres anónimas," 90; Martínez-Fernández, "The Sword and the Crucifix," 74. The prominent men involved in Separation seemed to have taken the matter of women's legal recognition, recently afforded across the island, as a direct affront, a point of agreement they shared with town Catholic officials (who were fully one-fourth of the Separation manifesto's signatories). Upon his divorce from his wife, Guadalupe Heredia, José María Caminero became enraged that Haitian authorities were "partial" to her in the settlement proceedings (Lockward, *Documentos*, xlv). Subsequent Dominican administrations targeted civil marriages on four separate occasions (Lockward, *Documentos*, xlv, 135; Martínez-Fernández, "The Sword and the Crucifix," 76, 79, 82).
71. Hoetink, *Dominican People*, 89.
72. F. M. Delmonte, "Canto de un Desterrado," *El Dominicano*, no. 1, 19 September 1845, 4.
73. Mariano Álvarez to Secretario de Estado, Havana, 12 November 1860, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 2, doc. s/n). Santana's party was "simply a gigantic group of 'friends' of the caudillo," historian Campillo Pérez observes (*Historia electoral dominicana*, 47); Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 108.
74. *El Dominicano*, no. 21, 5 September 1846, 82; *El Dominicano*, no. 14, 18 March 1846, 55.
75. Martínez-Fernández, "The Sword and the Crucifix," 73. Portes's tyrannical inclinations extended to the persecution of Protestants on the island. He ordered that only Catholics should be able to use church bells, pursued critical missionaries, and opposed a treaty with the British that would establish religious tolerance. The British consul in Santo Domingo, Robert Schomburgk, called Portes "a Vicar General, a Jesuit, and [a] blind bigot" (Martínez-Fernández, "The Sword and the Crucifix," 73).

76. Conde de [Spiculot?] to Ramón María Narváez, Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Guerra, Puerto Rico, 18 January 1845, SHM: Ultramar 5646, Expte. s/n.
77. "Haiti," *El Dominicano*, no. 2, 8 October 1845, 6.
78. "Soneta: La Batalla de Beler: Dedicado a los heroicos habitantes del Cibao," *El Dominicano*, no. 7, 13 November 1845, 28.
79. "Discurso de Presbítero Sr. Andres Rosón," *El Dominicano*, no. 9, 1 January 1846, 33.
80. "Al Público," *El Dominicano*, no. 1, 19 September 1845, 1.
81. "Al Público," *El Dominicano*, no. 1, 19 September 1845, 1; "Mas Sobre Haiti," *El Dominicano*, no. 5, 13 November 1845, 19.
82. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Guerra dominico-haitiana*, 16, 18.
83. Even the vitriolic *El Dominicano* quieted down about its neighbor by late spring 1846, filling its pages instead with questions of financial reform, agriculture, and politics. Observing that political disturbances were constant, they mocked the neighboring government as "moribund" (*El Dominicano*, no. 3, 28 October 1845, 9; *El Dominicano*, no. 15, 11 April 1846, 57).
84. *El Dominicano*, no. 11, 28 January 1846, 42.
85. A. Monfleury, "De l'industrie en Haïti: Réponse a M. Ed. Paul," *L'Opinion Nationale*, nos. 10 and 11, 15 March 1862, 1; Nicholls, *Economic Dependence and Political Autonomy*, 11. Boyer himself may have pondered abrogating Article 7, which prevented foreign land ownership, despite popular opposition (Sheller, "Army of Sufferers," 38).
86. Blanco Díaz, *Alejandro Ángulo Guridí*, 2:12; Pani, "Ciudadanos precarios."
87. Britannicus (Heneken), *Dominican Republic and the Emperor Soulouque*, 26; Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 19. These restrictions were despite the fact that Báez and others had pushed for nationalization reform since the late Unification period (Hauch, "The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations," 41).
88. Moya Pons, *Manual de historia dominicana*, 363.
89. They left them at 1838 levels, to be paid half in Spanish pesos fuertes, half in Dominican paper money (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 151, 212).
90. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 93.
91. Mariano Álvarez, "Memoria: Santo Domingo o la República Dominicana," SD, 20 April 1860, AHN: Ultramar 2775, Expte. 16.
92. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 15.
93. *La Razón*, no. 7, 15 June 1862, 1.
94. Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 177; Martínez-Fernández, "The Sword and the Crucifix."
95. Martínez-Fernández, "The Sword and the Crucifix," 73; Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 234.
96. Dhormoys, *Une visite chez Soulouque*, 72, 112.
97. On Báez's hair, see Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 197.

98. Juan Pablo Duarte's most famous poem expresses this desire explicitly (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 331–32), although scholars argue convincingly that he may have written it during the Restoration War (Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 145).
99. Vallejo, *Las madres de la patria*, 75.
100. Fabens, Montgomery (pseudonym), and Kimball, *In the Tropics*, 17, 101, 181. E.g., the Alfau's property holding (Martínez, *Diccionario*, 24; Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 28).
101. Wipfler, "The Catholic Church and the State," 193.
102. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 216.
103. Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 27.
104. Penson, *Reseña histórico-crítica*, 272.
105. McGraw, *Work of Recognition*, 9, 10; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 197.
106. Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 290.
107. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 95, 177; Kinsbruner, *Not of Pure Blood*, 32.
108. *El Dominicano*, no. 14, 6 October 1855, 55. Determining the date of another vitriolic snippet, directed against a black woman, is difficult (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 201).
109. "Poesía: Canción Dominicana," *El Dominicano*, no. 11, 28 January 1846, 44.
110. "Al Público," *El Dominicano*, no. 1, 19 September 1845, 1. Debates of the Spanish matriculation scheme provoked ample refutation of imprecise usage of "Spanish" within the Dominican press ("La Matrícula Española," *La República*, no. 1, 19 August 1856, 1–2).
111. López Morillo, *Memorias sobre la segunda reincorporación de Santo Domingo*, 259.
112. Advertisement of Monsieur Perrot, *El Oasis*, no. 12, 16 September 1855, 48.
113. "Costumbres," *El Oasis*, no. 1, 26 November 1854, 3.
114. Matibag, *Haitian-Dominican Counterpoint*, 117.
115. Rodríguez Silva, *Silencing Race*.
116. Authors issued a fifteen-point colonization plan the following year ("Inmigración," *El Dominicano*, no. 7, 13 November 1845, 26; *El Dominicano*, no. 19, 24 July 1846, 74).
117. Copiador, 13 October 1848, 3 April 1860, 4 February 1861.
118. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:161.
119. Logan, *Diplomatic Relations*, 238.
120. Antonio Alfau to Serrano, 21 July 1860, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 1, doc. s/n.
121. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 122.
122. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 42, 89. These terms are in use from the beginning of the nineteenth century (García, *Compendio*, 1:313).
123. France was an enduring, favored partner. Petitioners also made entreaties to Spain and authorities in its Caribbean possessions in 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846,

- 1848, 1850, 1851, a yearlong mission to Madrid in 1853–54, 1857, 1858, and all of 1859–60 (Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 310).
124. “Don Cameleón,” *El Dominicano*, no. 16, 2 May 1846, 62; Marte, “La oralidad sobre el pasado insular,” 2, 5, 7.
125. A. J. Bautista Romane, “Fragmentos,” *El Oasis*, no. 19, 4 November 1855, 75. “Mañesa is a nickname we use for our neighbors of the east,” the author explained after an asterisk to his public. The editor of *El Dominicano*, the first paper after Separation, ran a regular column, “Political Reflections on the Haitian Question,” in which the journal would mention or parody, and then didactically refute, articles from the Haitian press (e.g., “Al Público,” *El Dominicano*, no. 1, 19 September 1845, 1; *El Dominicano*, no. 5, 13 November 1845, 19).
126. *El Dominicano*, 1845–46.
127. “The Nineteenth Century,” *El Oasis*, no. 19, 8 April 1855, 75.
128. On class analyses of anti-Haitianism, see, e.g., Cordero Michel, *La revolución haitiana*, 141; Matibag, *Haitian-Dominican Counterpoint*, 18; Franco Pichardo, *Sobre racismo y antihaitianismo*; Mayes, *Mulatto Republic*; Sagás, *Race and Politics*.
129. “Continua el artículo sobre la Inmigración,” *El Dominicano*, no. 6, 27 November 1845, 23; “Amor al Trabajo,” *El Dominicano*, no. 23, 8 December 1855, 91; “La Obediencia pasiva del soldado,” *El Porvenir*, no. 4, 29 October 1854, 3.
130. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 19.
131. Franks, “Transforming Property,” 54.
132. “Inmigración,” *El Dominicano*, no. 14, 6 October 1855, 53–54.
133. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, nos. 26–27, 12 June 1858, 2.
134. Ismenes, “Cuatro preguntas a Ingenuo,” *El Oasis*, no. 6, 31 December 1854, 24; Ingenuo, “Al Amigo Ismenes,” *El Oasis*, no. 7, 7 January 1855, 28; Emmanuel (Galván), “Quejas de la Tumba contra el Merengue,” *El Oasis*, no. 8, 14 January 1855, 30.
135. “Costumbres,” *El Oasis*, no. 1, 26 November 1854, 3–4.
136. I.e., a *wanga* or *ouanga*, which Boyer had also banned in the west (“Haitiana-parla,” *El Dominicano*, no. 25, 22 December 1855; “Variedades,” *El Dominicano*, no. 26, 29 December 1855, 99–100, 103; Ramsey, *Spirits and the Law*, 58).
137. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 185.
138. Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 25–26.
139. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 186.
140. Keim, *San Domingo*, 25–27.
141. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 36; also *The Royal Standard*, 1 September 1866, clipping in TNA: CO 301/44/269, n.p.
142. Johnson, *Fear of French Negroes*, 71–73.
143. The poem vividly describes righting racist injustices: “Algún día llegará / que la tortilla se vuelva, / que los negros coman pan / y los blancos coman mierda” (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 17). Another popular

- poem pointedly responded to prejudice, “Being black is not shameful, the church wears black on [Maundy] Thursday and Holy Friday . . . on its sacred altar, and to rise up to heaven, we are all of us equal” (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 179).
144. Lora Hugi, *Transición*, 96; Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 22; Consul Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 21 April 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 10, p. 28.
145. Guerrero Cano, *Disciplina y laxitud*, 68.
146. Lockward, *Documentos*, 222.
147. Gage, “The Market Woman of San Domingo,” 717.
148. Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 219.
149. St. John, *Hayti*, 85; Lora Hugi, “Las mujeres anónimas,” 106.
150. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 231.
151. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 229.
152. Logan, *Diplomatic Relations*, 281.
153. *El Telégrafo Constitucional*, no. 2, 12 April 1821, 12; others reached the eastern province of Higüey by small craft, like twenty-year-old Viviana Morales and her infant daughter (Certificación de Declaración, 13 April 1837, AGN-RD: Archivo Real de Higüey 1700123 Leg. 18 Azul, Expte. 96; I am grateful to Andrew Walker for this source).
154. Consul Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 21 April 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 10, p. 28.
155. Juan Fello to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 7 December 1842, ANC: AP 137, Expte. 13.
156. Suárez Díaz, *El Antillano*, 28.
157. “Criminal contra el coronel de las Reservas Provinciales D. Juan Rondón . . .,” April 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 11 (AGI: Cuba 1014B). San Carlos also had a large Canary Islander population.
158. López Morillo, *Memorias sobre la segunda reincorporación de Santo Domingo*, 221.
159. López Morillo, *Memorias sobre la segunda reincorporación de Santo Domingo*, 221.
160. De la Rosa Garabito, *San Cristobal en la historia dominicana*, 12; Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 185.
161. Tejeda Ortíz, “El cimarronaje,” 281.
162. Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 74.
163. Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 109.
164. Brown, *History and Present Condition of St. Domingo*, 2:286; Lockward, *Documentos*, 62–63; Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 205. On the eagerness of foreign sources to echo these pronouncements, either to instantiate their claims of whiteness for the whole Dominican territory or to parody Dominicans’ thinking about identity, see Eller, “Awful Pirates and Hordes of Jackals.”
165. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic, 186–87*; Landolfi, *Evolución cultural dominicana*, 69.
166. González, “Bonó, un crítico del liberalismo,” 473.
167. Baud, “Patrons, Peasants, and Tobacco,” 220–21.

168. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 234, 236.
169. Johnson, *Fear of French Negroes*, 83–90; Raymundo González, “The ‘People Eater,’” in Roorda, Derby, and González, *Dominican Republic Reader*, 102–8.
170. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 157, 13. Ships left “daily” in earlier decades (Montulé, *A Voyage to North America, and the West Indies*, 24).
171. “Las Provincias del Cibao,” *La Regeneración*, no. 5, 24 September 1865, 1.
172. Harry Hoetink suggests that Masonic brothers referred to each other as “frecitos” (an amalgamation of French *frère* and the Spanish diminutive suffix—*ito*), suggesting the influence of either Haitian or French sources on Dominican Masonic practices (*Dominican People*, 170).
173. Scholars have traditionally drawn a stark contrast between “liberal Cibao” and the traditional, “semi-feudal south” (Landolfi, *Evolución cultural dominicana*, 54). Several observations temper this dichotomy, however. The first is that many southern commentators desired the very same reforms—financial reform, agricultural development, fiscal reform, “a pro-business constitution,” and so on—as they, too, were shut out of power (*El Orden*, no. 6, 18 February 1854). The second is simply the observation that many of the Cibao elites, probably an “ample majority,” were themselves markedly conservative (Jimenes Grullón, *Sociología política dominicana*, 138).
174. Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 22.
175. Hoetink, *Dominican People*, 175. Some elites supported land enclosure, but they did so in measured tones that reflected their relatively isolated position (Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 234, 236); see Franks, “Transforming Property,” 55–56, for titling and survey practices.
176. Main, *Tobacco Colony*, 38.
177. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:104; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 154; Hazard, *Santo Domingo, Past and Present*, 186.
178. Hazard, *Santo Domingo, Past and Present*, 181.
179. “Puerto de Plata Estado del movimiento marítimo . . .,” *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 54, 30 January 1862, 3.
180. GB Consul a Min. of Foreign Affairs, 1 October 1860, AGN-RD: RREE 14, Expte. 7.12.
181. See, e.g., “Estado nominativo de los individuos llegados a este puerto desde el 1 de Octubre 1851 hasta el 1 de Julio de 1852,” Puerto Plata, July 1852, AGN-RD: RREE A441, Expte. 7; Puig Ortíz, *Emigración de libertos*, 25–26; Hazard, *Santo Domingo, Past and Present*, 175, 181, 201. One report suggests that African American migrants arrived first in the 1820s, followed by migrants from the British Caribbean in the next decade (Meriño, “Expte. reservado para tratar de la aplicación . . .,” 26 September 1862, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 20).
182. Faye, “Commodore Aury”; Grégory Pierrot, personal communication, 29 April 2016.
183. Harris, “Summer on the Borders,” 89; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Samaná*, 333; Vega, *Breve historia de Samaná*, 28.

184. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 187; Herrera R., *Montecristi entre campeche y bananos*, 36.
185. Theresa Smith to Cap. Gen., 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 12, Expte. 56, doc. s/n.
186. Enrique Llansó y Oriol to Cap. Gen., Samaná, 4 Nov. 1864, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 212, p. 26 (originally 36).
187. Hidalgo, "From North America to Hispaniola," 146; Fanning, *Caribbean Crossing*, 85.
188. Keim, *San Domingo*, 110.
189. Tejada Ortíz, *Cultura y folklore de Samaná*, 75.
190. Tejada Ortíz, *Cultura y folklore de Samaná*, 76. See also Davis, "La historia de los inmigrantes afro-americanos."
191. "Santo Domingo, Feb. 20: Seizure of a Portuguese Slaver by the Dominican Republic," *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, 22 April 1853, 1.
192. "Who Would Like to Do Some Good in Hayti?," *Christian Advocate and Journal* 29, no. 23 (8 June 1854): 91.
193. Pierrot, "The Samaná Affair."
194. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 62; Lockward, *Documentos*, 59.
195. Keim, *San Domingo*, 119.
196. "Proceso contra varios individuos acusados de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata," September 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24 (AGI: Cuba 1014A), Expte. 211.
197. Lockward, *Documentos*, 233.
198. Mariano Álvarez, "Memoria: Santo Domingo o la República Dominicana," SD, 20 April 1860, AHN: Ultramar 2775, Expte. 16.
199. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 90. Some contemporary estimates suggest about 260,000 in the territory (Ministers to the Queen, January 1865, AHN: Ultramar 2775, Expte. 17).
200. Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 15. Pedro Francisco Bonó would comment, decades later: "Those around town are paths; those in the savanna are cattle-trails. . . . Every old Dominican who finds himself obligated to make a journey spends the evening before agitated as if it were one preceding a battle" (qtd. in Hoetink, *Dominican People*, 47).
201. Rubén Silié, "The Hato and the Conuco: The Emergence of Creole Culture," in Vega and Castillo Pichardo, *Dominican Cultures*, 140.
202. Gaspar, *Bondsmen and Rebels*.
203. Hall, *History of Race in Muslim West Africa*, 22.
204. Mamdani, *Define and Rule*.
205. González, "Ideología del progreso y campesinado," 34. On incipient labor divisions in the wood industry, see Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 19.
206. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 236.
207. Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 19–21.

208. Landolfi, *Evolución cultural dominicana*, 55.
209. Harris, "Summer on the Borders," 93; Vallejo, *Las madres de la Patria*, 48; González, "Ideología del progreso y campesinado," 30–31. For similar constructs in Haitian rural life, see N'Zengou-Tayo, "'Famn Se Poto Mitan,'" 121–22.
210. Franks, "Transforming Property," 57.
211. González, "Ideología del progreso y campesinado"; San Miguel, *Los Campesinos del Cibao*; Cassá, *Historia social y económica*; Franks, "Transforming Property"; Turits, *Foundations of Despotism*, chap. 1.
212. Hoetink asserts that metal-tipped plows were not introduced to the Cibao valley until 1898; peasants worked with wooden tools called *coas* (*Dominican People*, 5).
213. Figueroa, *Sugar, Slavery and Freedom*, 171.
214. De la Fuente, *Children of Facundo*, 191.
215. De la Fuente, *Children of Facundo*, 31, 123.
216. Smith, *The Oracle and the Curse*; Reuben Zahler, *Ambitious Rebels*.
217. Blanco Díaz, *Alejandro Ángulo Guridi*, 1:24, 131; others concurred (Marte, *Correspondencia*, 95).
218. Rodríguez, "Encroachment of Creole Culture," 116.
219. Declaración del testigo paisano Fermín Vázquez, in "Sumaria Instruido contra el paisano Manuel de Arias acusado de Sospechoso," SD, July 1864, AGI: Cuba 1012A, "Sumarias," 5v.
220. Marte, "La oralidad sobre el pasado insular," 21; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 17, 36, 70.
221. De la Rosa Garabito, *San Cristobal en la historia dominicana*, 12.
222. On reciprocity norms elsewhere in the rural greater Caribbean, see, e.g., Williams, *Stains on My Name*.
223. Macleod, "Narratives of Belonging and Identity," 97–114. This model would be similar to recognition of the original founder (*premye mèt bitayson*) of a *lakou* in the west (Ramsey, *Spirits and the Law*, 68).
224. Larrazábal Blanco, *Los negros y la esclavitud*, 170. On semi-anthropomorphized beings and shapeshifting in Dominican wooded spaces of the center island, see Derby, "Male Heroism."
225. Excerpt of *El Grito de la Frontera*, spring 1857, in Sáez, *Documentos inéditos de Fernando A. de Meriño*, 70.
226. Moya Pons, "Las ocho fronteras de Haití y la República Dominicana," 441–46; García Tamayo, "Cultura campesina en la frontera norte."
227. José Malo de Molina to Cap. Gen. Francisco Serrano, 4 September 1861 (15 July 1861), AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 1, doc. 2, pp. 17, 39, 43 (hereafter cited as Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria").
228. Fabens, Montgomery, and Kimball, *In the Tropics*, 162.
229. José Núñez de Cáceres to Secretario de Estado, SD, 18 February 1811, AGI: Audiencia de SD 1016, Expte. s/n.

230. Francisco Serrano, *Informe de la visita a SD*, SD, 5 September 1861, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 245.
231. Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria," 17; Pérez Memén, *El Pensamiento Dominicano*, 31.
232. Lockward, *Documentos*, 214; Keim, *San Domingo*, 223.
233. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Cuentos de política criolla*, 36.
234. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 93; Franks, "Transforming Property," 103. A young secret agent reported to Puerto Rican authorities that soldiers never saw pay, as public funds were "the vomit of thousands of paper bills" (Conde de [Spiculot] to Ramón María Narváez, Sec'y de Estado y del Despacho de la Guerra, Puerto Rico, 18 January 1845, SHM: Ultramar 5646, Expte. 4, "Asuntos: Operaciones de Campaña . . . 1843-1857").
235. Franks, "Transforming Property," 90; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Del vocabulario dominicano*, 20, 40.
236. Porter, *Diario de una misión secreta*, 15.
237. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 232; Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 294; Neici Zeller, personal communication, 19 August 2015.
238. Michez to Director General del Ramo de la Guerra, Seybo, 16 July 1861, AGN-RD: Coleccion Herrera Leg. 21, Expte. 174, 17.
239. Hoetink refers to the salience of military status in community prestige as a "heroic ideology" (*Dominican People*, 166).
240. Samet, *Willing Obedience*; "La obediencia pasiva del soldado," *El Porvenir*, no. 4, 29 October 1854, 3.
241. "Varias reflexiones sobre cual debe ser el espíritu publico para salvar la situación que atravesemos," *El Porvenir*, no. 2, 15 October 1854, 1.
242. *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 18, 23 November 1856, 1.
243. Martínez-Fernández, "The Sword and the Crucifix," 70.
244. Robin Derby, personal communication, 11 August 2015.
245. Díaz-Stevens, "Saving Grace," 60-78.
246. The Cofradía del Espíritu Santo in the San Juan valley is another example (Robin Derby, personal communication, 11 August 2015).
247. "Romerías a Higüey," *El Oasis*, no. 18, 28 October 1855, 70-71.
248. Paton, *No Bond but the Law*, 184.
249. Nessler, "'The Shame of the Nation,'" 5-28.
250. Janvier, *Haïti et ses visiteurs*, 603.
251. Throughout the colonial period and unification, some Haitian faithful traveled all the way to Higüey for the annual Altagracia pilgrimage (Ramsey, *Spirits and the Law*, 6-7; Franklin, *Present State of Hayti*, 297-98; Rey, "Toward an Ethnohistory"). In western vodou, or Ginen, Erzulie Freda of the rada pantheon is identified with Altagracia; in Santo Domingo she is sometimes identified with Ezili Aïla (Alaïla) (Deive, *Vodú*, 227).
252. Austerlitz, *Merengue*, 25.
253. Guerrero Cano, *Disciplina y laxitud*, 67.

254. “Bando,” in *Colección de leyes*, 150.
255. Vásquez de Díaz, *Antiguallas de Neyba*, 116; Ubiñas Renville, *Historias y leyendas afro-dominicanas*, 91; Brendan Thornton, personal communication, 4 July 2015.
256. Larrazábal Blanco, *Los negros y la esclavitud*, 190.
257. Derby, “Haitians, Magic, and Money,” 520.
258. Krug, “Healing Politics and the Politics of Healing.”
259. Besson, *Martha Brae’s Two Histories*, 257; Davis, “Afro-Dominican Religious Brotherhoods.”
260. Vásquez de Díaz, *Antiguallas de Neyba*, 322.
261. Martínez, “Not a Cockfight,” 92; Vásquez de Díaz, *Antiguallas de Neyba*, 153.
262. José del Carmen Rodríguez to Cap. Gen., Santiago, 21 January 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 12, Expte. 56, doc. s/n.
263. Gob. Militar de Santiago to José Hungria, Santiago, 7 November 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 12, Expte. 56, doc. s/n. Other passport applicants were vague about their motives, citing only “personal reasons” (*asuntos particulares*).
264. José María Sánchez to Cap. Gen., s/f, probably 1862–63, AGI: Cuba 1025A, Expte. “Declaraciones recibidas,” doc. s/n.
265. Anna María LaPlace to Cap. Gen., Puerto Plata, 15 January 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 12, Expte. 56, doc. s/n.
266. E.g., Madame Beazley and Madame Gustave Ducastro (*Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 14, 9 March 1861, 1; *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 15, 16 March 1861, 1).
267. Théodat, *Haïti et la République Dominicaine*, 217.
268. Referring to French national Mme. Rosette in Yuna (Copiador, 7 March 1848); for statistics on wood selling in this period, which peaked in the 1830s, see Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 17–19.
269. Raybaud, *Soulouque et son empire*, 277; Copiador, 6 May 1857.
270. José María Sánchez to Cap. Gen., s/f, probably 1862–63, AGI: Cuba 1025A, Expte. “Declaraciones recibidas,” doc. s/n. *El Dominicano* complained of foreign interests in Hinchá, writing, “Who doesn’t know that [almost all] of this industry is foreign, covered with the name of some Haitian?” (no. 8, 24 November 1845, 29).
271. On the “contradictory axes” of identity construction and the idea of “copresence” in center-island regions in later decades, see Derby, “Haitians, Magic, and Money,” 490, 495.
272. Vásquez de Díaz, *Antiguallas de Neyba*, 321–26.
273. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 185. Lauren Derby observes that the prevalence of these west-going networks—and relative lack of infrastructure connecting the region to the Dominican capital—endured into the twentieth century (“Haitians, Magic, and Money,” 488–526).
274. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:22.
275. *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 26, 1 February 1857, 101.

276. Other witnesses, including Spanish authorities, supported these claims (Philantrope Noël to Brig. Buceta, Dajabon, 15 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 99, Anexo 6; López Morillo, *Memorias sobre la segunda reincorporación de Santo Domingo*, 82).
277. Copiador, 26 July 1850.
278. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 97.
279. Crawford, "Politics of Belonging to a Caribbean Borderland."
280. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 96.
281. "Formally recognizing the independence of Santo Domingo . . . is not necessary, and besides, it is convenient to reserve the weapon of recognition," one diplomat cynically observed (qtd. in Martínez-Fernández, "Caudillos," 576). A number of recent works have ably described the strong-arm diplomacy of foreign powers toward the nations of the island in this period, as well as the rabidly annexationist efforts of many Dominican elites (Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión"; Martínez-Fernández, "Caudillos"; Robles-Muñoz, *Paz en Santo Domingo*; Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*).
282. F. W. Chesson, "American Intrigues in Santo Domingo," 15 December 1858, *The Anti-slavery Reporter* 7, no. 3 (1859): 7–8.
283. Lockward, *Documentos*, xix.
284. Copiador, 21 January 1856. The government's arrest and imprisonment of U.S. agent Edward Root was far from the first incident of exasperation at U.S. officials' behavior: Francisco Harrison was remonstrated in 1847, Abner Burbank in 1847 and 1848, Jonathan Elliot in 1848, suspected spy Cheri Brocard in 1850, Jacob Pereira in 1856, Elliot again in 1857, an unnamed vice-agent in 1859, and so on.
285. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 190; Hauch, "The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations," 59.
286. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:198; Tansill, *The United States and Santo Domingo*, 131.
287. Baur, "Faustin Soulouque," 135.
288. Lockward, *Documentos*, 144.
289. "[The *Moniteur Haïtien*] and other Haitian periodicals treat us like a handful of rebels who need to be subjugated again," a journalist observed (*El Dominicano*, no. 27, 5 January 1856, 105).
290. Garrido, *Los Puello*, 85.
291. Soulouque, "Carta dirigida a los habitantes del este," Port-au-Prince, 24 November 1848, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *La Marina de Guerra dominicana*, 75.
292. A. J. Bautista Romane, "Fragmentos," *El Oasis*, no. 19, 4 November 1855, 75.
293. As with the Separation campaigns, traditional accounts exaggerate the size of these encounters, and the absence of surviving newspapers from 1849 to 1850 makes rectification difficult. Several years later, just five pro-Santana officers and their supporters easily took the town, for example, despite Azua being a traditional opposition stronghold (Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*,

- 44–45). A Dominican minister later dismissed Soulouque’s mobilizations as “piratic and impotent” (Núñez de Arce, *Santo Domingo*, 48).
294. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:370; “The feeling of the great mass of the Haytian people towards the Spaniards of their own island, is perfectly friendly,” an English man observed from Haiti, noting that Soulouque had to mobilize in secret (Bird, *Black Man*, 294, 308).
295. Hauch, “The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations,” 87; Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 316.
296. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:40; Copiador, 9 June 1852.
297. Lockward, *Documentos*, 144.
298. The Dominican foreign minister wrote to the consuls of Britain and France and the U.S. commercial agent about a “pack” (*pelotón*) of Haitian soldiers, for example, or about incidents involving a single individual (Copiador, 26 July 1850, 5 February 1855). Mostly Dominican reports involved cattle theft in the center of the island. However, it seems that Dominican soldiers (or perhaps simple residents) shared responsibility. Occasionally, officials admitted that “stray” Dominican soldiers had wandered into Haitian territory and taken cattle, and sometimes Dominican officers admitted guilt, too (Copiador, 25 August 1852, 19 August 1853, 26 April 1854, 13 November 1855). Nevertheless, Dominican ministers stayed firmly on-narrative. The foreign minister complained to the British consulate that the injury of one individual was a “new aggression” that proved “the eternal predisposition of the enemy,” Haiti (11 December 1851). Meanwhile, the French authorities, particularly, never stopped provoking the Haitian and Dominican heads of state in the name of “mediation,” goading Dominican officials about imagined threats well into periods of indiscutible peace (French consul to For. Min., 21 November 1860, AGN-RD: RREE 14, Expte. 6, doc. 23).
299. *El Oasis*, no. 6, 5 August 1855, 23; *El Oasis*, no. 10, 2 September 1855, 37.
300. “Manifiesto de Santana contra Báez,” *El Progreso*, no. 20, 10 July 1853; *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 7, 7 September 1856, 25; *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 20, 7 December 1856, 77.
301. “En que país vivimos!!,” *El Progreso*, no. 17, 12 June 1853, 1.
302. *La Acusación*, no. 1, 12 November 1856, 1; Martínez Paulino, *Publicaciones periódicas dominicanas*, 27.
303. “Mi vecino Don Cameleón,” *El Dominicano*, no. 17, 27 May 1846, 48.
304. “Las conspiraciones vistas de un lado,” *El Oasis*, no. 7, 12 August 1855, 26.
305. “La Pueri-Cracia,” *El Oasis*, no. 23, 2 December 1855, 89–92.
306. French consul to Cap. Gens. of Puerto Rico and Cuba, 14 September 1852, ANC: AP 47, Expte. 15.
307. French consul to Cap. Gens. of Puerto Rico and Cuba, 14 September 1852, ANC: AP 47, Expte. 15.
308. Cap. Gen. of Cuba to Cap. Gen. of Puerto Rico, 25 October 1852, ANC: AP 47, Expte. 15, 78.

309. Min. de RREE to J. B. Camoin, 29 January 1853, AGN-RD: RREE A441 [7/008374], Expte. 8.
310. "The Dominican Republic—The Grand Plot," *National Era*, 2 November 1854, 1.
311. May, "'Plenipotentiary in Petticoats,'" 27.
312. Juan Abril to D. José de la Concha, Cap. Gen. of Cuba, SD, 25 November 1854, AGI: Cuba 984C.
313. A Spanish observer commented snidely that he assumed a Dominican ship sailing to Baltimore to conduct treaty organizations with "a mulatto owner and a black crew" had been detained and its crew arrested (Juan Abril to Don Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, Ministro de SMC en Washington, 23 July 1854, AMAE: Política Exterior: RD 2374, Expte. s/n). Apparently the French consul was so opposed to the treaty (for the Samaná concessions it presented, not for stipulations of racism) that he managed to have pro-treaty *El Porvenir* shuttered (Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 45).
314. William Cazneau, "Remitido," *El Porvenir*, no. 3, 22 October 1854, 3. Dominican officials republished his claims.
315. "Our Failure in the Dominican Matter," *New York Times*, 24 January 1855, 4.
316. Juan Abril to Cap. Gen. of Puerto Rico, SD, 6 November 1854, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. s/n; Juan Abril to Cap. Gen. of Puerto Rico, SD, 28 November 1854, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. s/n.
317. Hauch, "The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations," 124; Dubois, *Avengers*, 147.
318. Baur, "Faustin Soulouque," 154.
319. *El Oasis*, no. 33, 17 February 1856, 131.
320. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 198.
321. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Guerra dominico-haitiana*, 23.
322. *El Dominicano*, no. 27, 5 January 1856, 105. For descriptions of the failed 1855–56 campaign, see, e.g., Bird, *Black Man*, 294; *El Oasis*, no. 31, 27 January 1856, 123–24.
323. *El Oasis*, no. 33, 17 February 1856, 131.
324. Baur, "Faustin Soulouque," 154. The expeditionary groups were poorly supplied, and Soulouque also often used conscription as political punishment for towns that opposed him (142). French Consul Maxime Raybaud—the very same who provoked Soulouque on numerous occasions—concurred, admitting under a pseudonym that the conflicts were "profoundly disagreeable to nineteen-twentieths of Haitians (Raybaud, *Soulouque et son empire*, 190).
325. *El Oasis*, no. 29, 13 January 1856, 115; "Vade Retro," *El Dominicano*, no. 24, 15 December 1855, 24.
326. Dubois, *Haiti*, 150.
327. "Los filibusteros," *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 1, 27 July 1856, 3; "Revista exterior," *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 27, 8 February 1857, 105; "Exterieur," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*,

- no. 5, 8 January 1859, 4; “Nouvelles étrangères,” *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 47, 27 October 1860, 4; “Nouvelles étrangères,” *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 27, 8 June 1861, 3.
328. Hauch, “The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations,” 124, 128–30; Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 175.
329. “Programa Gubernativa,” *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 2, 3 August 1856, 7.
330. Eduardo San Justo to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, SD, 7 March 1855, AGI: Cuba 984C.
331. Félix María del Monte, “El General Antonio Duvergé o las víctimas del once de abril,” qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 115.
332. Martínez-Fernández, “The Sword and the Crucifix,” 77.
333. Qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 155.
334. *El Oasis*, no. 46, 18 May 1856, 183.
335. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 93.
336. Pérez Memén, *El Pensamiento Dominicano*, 325.
337. “Otro Pirata,” *El Dominicano*, no. 33, 16 February 1856, 131.
338. Consul Martin Hood to Minister Delmonte, SD, 24 April 1858, AGN-RD: RREE 11, Expte. 6, doc. 7.
339. To worsen matters, fake pesos occasionally arrived from New York and Boston (Copiador, 12 February 1855; AGN-RD: RREE 12, Expte. 19.3, 15 June 1859).
340. “La Tirania Comercial,” *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 30, 15 March 1857, 118.
341. “REVOLUCION! CONSPIRACION!,” *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 36, 10 May 1857, 141.
342. Núñez Grullón, *Evolución constitucional dominicana*, 34–37.
343. Franks, “Transforming Property,” 97; Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 28.
344. Báez, Decreto, 6 November 1857, ANC: AP 50, Expte. 22; Copiador, 21 December 1857.
345. “Extrait d’une lettre de Sto.-Domingo du 1er. mai,” *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, nos. 26–27, 12 June 1858, 2.
346. Buenaventura Báez, 12 June 1858, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 4, doc. 2.
347. Landolfi, *Evolución cultural dominicana*, 87. Báez sought help from Spanish authorities in Puerto Rico on the pretext that rebellion against him was “pro-American” and annexationist (Martínez-Fernández, “Caudillos,” 586).
348. “Mania de la epoca,” *El Dominicano*, no. 1, 29 June 1855, 3.
349. “Matrícula de Segovia II,” *La República*, no. 4, 30 September 1856, 2.
350. “Matricula Española,” *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 2, 3 August 1856, 6–7.
351. “Matricula Española,” *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 1, 27 July 1856, 2.
352. Arminio, “Espiritu de la Epoca,” *El Oasis*, no. 7, 7 January 1855, 27–28.
353. Nisidas, “Epigram,” *El Dominicano*, no. 8, 25 August 1855, 31. Manola means “gal from Madrid.”
354. Copiador, 5 May 1857; Copiador, 25–26 October 1857 and December 1857; Jonathan Elliot to Felix María Delmonte, 25 October 1857, AGN-RD: Leg. 7/008370, Expte. 22, doc. 9.

355. M. McIntosh, Flag Officer, Commander-in-Chief, Home Squadron to President Buenaventura Báez, U.S. Flag Ship “Colorado” off SD City, 1 June 1858, AGN-RD: Leg. 11 (7/008371), Expte. 2, p. 7.
356. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 201–2. In April 1858 a crew from Baltimore, including fifty enslaved men, landed and tried to claim Navaza Island.
357. Lockward, *Documentos*, 339.
358. “Colonia Agrícola,” *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 23, 11 January 1857, 91.
359. *Traité entre la République Dominicaine et B. Bullot*, 30 April 1857, AGN-RD: RREE A441, Expte. 11, p. 9; Copiador, 26 October 1857.
360. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 8, 30 January 1858, 1. At any rate, the eastern republic was in the midst of being wracked by a regional civil war; the *Moniteur* concluded, with satisfaction, “Civil war is in a way the normal state [for] Dominicans, and nothing indicates that these matters will conclude anytime soon.”
361. Lockward, *Documentos*, 348.
362. Min. RREE to Ministro Alfau, Copiador, 21 August 1860.
363. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 20 June 1860, AGI: Cuba 2261, Pieza 1.
364. Lockward, *Documentos*, 349; Ministro de Guerra y Ultramar to Ministerio de Marina, 24 August 1860, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 1, pp. 9–10.
365. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 198; AGN-RD: RREE 12 (7/008375), Exptes. 2, 5.
366. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 199.
367. Lockward, *Documentos*, 324–25.
368. Copiador, 9 March 1857, 1 June 1860.
369. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 45.
370. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 260.
371. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 267.
372. Copiador, 5 December 1860.
373. Pablo de Urrutia to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Port-au-Prince, 6 November 1858, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 13; St. John, *Hayti*, 97.
374. González Tablas, *Historia de la dominación*, 41 (emphasis in original); beyond the support of high-profile generals like Sánchez, prisoner lists in the capital (e.g., *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, nos. 39–40, 9 September 1858, 1) substantiate his observation.
375. Pablo de Urrutia to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Port-au-Prince, 10 January 1859, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 13; Copiador, 22 January 1859; St. John, *Hayti*, 97.
376. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, nos. 6–7, 22 January 1859, 3.
377. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 9 May 1862, SHM Leg. 5645, Expte. “Sobre operaciones militares in Santo Domingo . . . ,” doc. s/n.
378. “Discours prononcé par le Comité central des Gonaïves de l’anniversaire de l’indépendance de rer. janvier 1859,” *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, nos. 6–7, 22 January 1859, 3 (emphasis in original).
379. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, nos. 39–40, 9 September 1858, 1–2.

380. Copiador, 22 January 1861. Dominican officials sought help in his surveillance (Felipe Alfau to Min. de RREE, Madrid, 20 February 1861, AGN: RREE 14/15/16 (7/008378), Expte. 6, doc. 5.
381. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 12, 23 February 1861, 3.
382. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 12, 23 February 1861, 3.
383. Ministro de RREE a los Cónsules de Inglaterra y Francia, 23 June 1860, AGN: RREE 14, Expte. 2, pp. 6–10v; Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 201.
384. S. Chedeville au Ministre des relations étrangères, 2 May 1853, AGN: RREE 6–7, Expte. 7; Copiador, 19 August 1853.
385. Without the full foreign relations log, much of the communication about events on the border remains lost. The British authorities asked to send emissaries to the “revolutionary encampment of Alejandro Gregor,” for example, but no further information is recorded (Copiador, 27 September 1857). Evidently Ramírez had been given an official position in the Haitian army in the month prior and was receiving instructions from Alcantara (M. Hood to Min. de RREE, SD, 24 June 1860, AGN-RD: RREE 14/15/16 (7/008378), Expte. 1, p. 22. Alcantara had sworn allegiance to the west at least since 1850 (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Correspondencia*, 2:350).
386. “Orden del día del General de División Domingo Ramírez,” Given in the General Barracks of Cercado, 12 June 18[60], AGN: RREE 14/15/16 (7/008378), Expte. 1, p. 1.
387. Ministro de RREE a los Cónsules de Inglaterra y Francia, 23 June 1860, AGN-RD: RREE 14, Expte. 2. The document cites several Dominican officials (Alcantara, Ramírez, the commander of las Caobas) and only one Haitian officer, Colonel Joseph Chateau. Nevertheless, the Dominican minister demanded 400,000 pesos fuertes.
388. M. Lavastida, “Memoria que dirige el Ministro de Guerra y Marina a S.E. el Presidente de la República,” 27 February 1861, AGN-RD: Leg. DE/1371 (1861–1913), Expte. s/n. Evidently Ramírez was totally defeated, although many took refuge in Haiti (Abram Coën to Min. de RREE, Curaçao, 11 Julio 1860, AGN-RD: RREE 14/15/16 [7/008378], Leg. 15, Expte. 2, p. 19).
389. Min. de Marina to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 24 August 1860, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 1.
390. Copiador, 14 September 1860.
391. Martínez-Fernández, “Caudillos,” 571.

2. Soon It Will Be Mexico's Turn

1. Manuel de Cruzat to Felipe Ribero (passed on to the Queen), SD, 15 August 1862, ANC: Audiencia de la Habana Leg. 245, Expte. 2; Consul Hood to Russell, 21 March 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/0093, Expte. 1, p. 1. The flag was lowered the following day and not raised again for some time.
2. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 157.
3. Pani, “Dreaming of a Mexican Empire.”

4. Pani, "Dreaming of a Mexican Empire," 28.
5. In Ecuador, for example, President José María Urvina Viterí offered territorial cessions to pay for British debt in 1854; five years later, Gabriel García Moreno hoped for a French protectorate not only to secure Ecuador's borders from partition by Colombia and Peru but also to forestall U.S. aggression. In 1861, a new plan to establish a monarchy in Ecuador with French help (and some territorial cessions) also never materialized, in part because Napoleon III was already involved in Mexico (Pineo, *Ecuador and the United States*, 42; Lauderbaugh, *History of Ecuador*, 57).
6. "What then is the citizen-king? . . . That is what we want, what all Brazilians want: a strong monarch who curbs the ambitions of the discontented and suppresses the fanaticism of the masses," Brazilian chroniclers proclaimed (Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, ix). Emperor Soulouque, too, sought the "esteem and sympathy of civilized peoples" through "empire . . . as the signal of rebirth and order" ("PROCLAMATION. Faustin Ier, Empereur d'Haïti, au peuple et à l'armée," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 5, 8 January 1859, 1). Opponents of Napoleon III accused him of *soulouquerie* even as they praised Dom Pedro II (Dubois, *Haïti*, 146; Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 160).
7. Burdiel, "The Queen, the Woman, and the Middle Class."
8. "Astounding Intelligence," *New York Times*, 30 March 1861, 1; "Spanish Designs on the American Continent," *Chicago Tribune*, 3 April 1861, 1.
9. Spain's 1812 constitution proposed the transformation of the American colonies into representative provinces, albeit with unequal representation. Even though it excluded men of African ancestry from citizenship, Cuban planters had opposed it, associating constitutionalism with abolitionism. Implementation stalled, anyway, as independence vitiating the empire. In 1837, Caribbean representatives were expelled from Madrid's Cortes altogether. The overseas territories were ruled in a state of exception for the next several decades, despite the promise of "special laws" to bring the colonies back under constitutional rule (Fradera, "Why Were Spain's Special Overseas Laws Never Enacted?," 338, 348; Marquese and Parron, "Atlantic Constitutionalism," 184; Fradera, "Reading Imperial Transitions," 57; Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Anti-slavery*, 25).
10. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 152.
11. Centeno, "Critical Debates," 154.
12. Morillo-Alicea, "Uncharted Landscapes of 'Latin America,'" 31.
13. Powelson, "Nineteenth-Century Latin American Imperialism," 827–43.
14. McGuinness, "Searching for 'Latin America'"; Gobat, "Invention of Latin America."
15. Álvarez Junco, "Spanish National Identity," 321; Febres-Cordillo Carrillo, "La anexión," 101; Malamud, *Ruptura y reconciliación*, 2.
16. Delutis-Eichenberger, "National Consciousness and Shared Americanism," 10.

17. Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Anti-slavery*, 105; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 34–42.
18. Mariano Álvarez to Francisco Serrano, SD, 20 July 1860, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 1.
19. *La Epoca*, 11 July 1860, qtd. in Fontecha Pedraza and González Calleja, *Una cuestión de honor*, 45 (hereafter cited as *Cuestión*).
20. Cubano-Iguina, “Visions of Empire,” 89.
21. *Cuestión*, 20.
22. May, *Slavery, Race, and Conquest in the Tropics*.
23. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 22–23.
24. L. A. de Cueto to 1r Secretary of State, Washington, DC, 25 October 1851, AMAE: Política Exterior: RD 2374, Expte. s/n.
25. Qtd. in “La América,” *El Eco del Pueblo*, no. 35, 3 May 1857, 137.
26. Puerto Rican governor Rafael Aristegui to Spanish Minister of State, 15 November 1844, qtd. in Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 80–81.
27. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 92, 93; Cap. Gen. of Puerto Rico to Secretary of State and Despacho de la Guerra, Puerto Rico, 20 April 1843, SHM: Ultramar 5646, Expte. 4, “Operaciones de campaña.”
28. Febres-Cordillo Carrillo, “La anexión,” 109.
29. On the African-British plot, see Juan de la Peruela to Ministro de la Guerra, Puerto Rico, 5 November 1849, SHM: Ultramar 5639, Expte. “Esclavitud/ Esclavos 1849–1862.” On a supposed gathering force of forty thousand, see Fernando de Norzagaray to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 23 August 1852, ANC: AP 47, Expte. 15, p. 2.
30. Febres-Cordillo Carrillo, “La anexión,” 115, 118.
31. Febres-Cordillo Carrillo, “La anexión,” 137.
32. Sartorius, “My Vassals.”
33. Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 23, 27.
34. Febres-Cordillo Carrillo, “La anexión,” 125; Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 9.
35. Felipe Fernández de Castro to Ministro de Ultramar, Madrid, 3 October 1822, AGI: Audiencia de SD 970, Expte. s/n.; Felipe Fernández de Castro to Ministro de Ultramar, 26 November 1824, AGI: Estado Leg. 4, Expte. 7; Real Orden of 24 August 1829, ANC: AP 34, Expte. 16.
36. Felipe Fernández de Castro to Intendente General de Cuba, 10 February 1830, ANC: AP 120, Expte. 124. For mention of the plans for continuing negotiations, see ANC: AP 34, Expte. 39; Leg. 36, Expte. 7.
37. Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 311; *Cuestión*, 24.
38. Cuba, 1843: AGN-RD: “Misión en Cuba 1.” Puerto Rico, 1845: Cayetano Pilón to the Queen, AMAE: Política Exterior: RD 2373, Expte. s/n, doc. s/n. Puerto Rico, 1846: Febres-Cordillo Carrillo, “La anexión,” 102–3.
39. Fernando de Norzagaray to Gov. of Cuba, Puerto Rico, 14 September 1852, ANC: AP 47, Expte. 15. Another report claimed that as many as five thousand

- armed volunteers from Kentucky and Georgia were attempting to enter the republic under the pretext of fighting Emperor Soulouque, and that they would then quickly turn their attentions to Cuba (Expte. of the Secretary of State, 25 September 1852, AMAE: Política Exterior: RD 2373, doc. s/n).
40. Expte. of the Secretary of State, 10 November 1852, AMAE: Política Exterior: RD 2373, doc. s/n.
 41. J. M. Pando to Cap. Gen. of la Habana, Curaçao, 17 November 1850, ANC: AP 44, Expte. 15, doc. 1.
 42. Expte. of the Secretary of State, 6 Dic. 1852, AMAE: Política Exterior: RD 2373.
 43. Mariano Torrente, "Segunda memoria sobre el Imperio de Haití," Havana, 14 January 1853, AMAE: Política Exterior: Haití 2523, Expte. 1, p. 49.
 44. J. M. Pando to Cap. Gen. of la Habana, Curaçao, 17 November 1850, ANC: AP 44, Expte. 15, doc. 1; J. M. Pando to Cap. Gen. of la Habana, Curaçao, 6 December 1850, ANC: AP 44, Expte. 15, doc. 6.
 45. J. M. Pando to Capitan General de la Habana, Curaçao, 17 November 1850, ANC: AP 44, Expte. 15, doc. 1.
 46. Min. de State to Consul gral. de España en Haití, Madrid, 1 November 1855, AGI: Cuba, Expte. "que comprende las instrucciones dadas al Cónsul de SM en Haití, por el Gobierno Supremo . . . ," doc. s/n.
 47. Her nom de plume was Cora Montgomery. Eyal, *Young America Movement*, 159; May, "Lobbyists for Commercial Empire," 383–90.
 48. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 225; Caughfield, *True Women and Westward Expansion*, 132.
 49. Febres-Cordillo Carrillo, "La anexión," 123.
 50. Eduardo San Just to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, SD, 7 March 1855, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. s/n (last in box), doc. s/n.
 51. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 170.
 52. Eduardo San Just to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, SD, 7 March 1855, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. s/n (emphasis in original).
 53. Copiador, 7 May 1855.
 54. Manuel Cruzat to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Port-au-Prince, 20 August 1855, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "que comprende las instrucciones dadas al Cónsul de SM en Haití, por el Gobierno Supremo . . . ," doc. s/n.
 55. Manuel Cruzat to L. Dufrière, Port-au-Prince, 13 August 1855, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "que comprende las instrucciones dadas al Cónsul de SM en Haití, por el Gobierno Supremo . . . ," doc. s/n.
 56. "Qui moun ça, sacré foutu blanc qui veut pas saluer mon palais!" Manuel Cruzat to L. Dufrière, Port-au-Prince, 13 August 1855, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "que comprende las instrucciones dadas al Cónsul de SM en Haití . . . ," doc. s/n.
 57. Manuel Cruzat to [unclear], August 1855, AMAE: Política Exterior: Haiti 2523, Expte. 4.

58. Joaquin Francisco Pacheco to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Madrid, 18 November 1854, Expte. “que comprende las instrucciones dadas al Cónsul de SM en Haití . . . ,” doc. s/n; Juan de Zabala to Eugenio Villevalaix (Haitian commissioner in Paris), Madrid, 4 October 1855, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. “que comprende las instrucciones dadas al Cónsul de SM en Haití, por el Gobierno Supremo . . . ,” doc. s/n.
59. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 56.
60. Sp. Foreign Minister to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Paris, 16 September 1859, ANC: AP 51, Expte. 9.
61. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 250.
62. “La República y el Sr. Segovia,” *La República*, no. 4, 30 September 1856, 3.
63. Francisco Serrano to Santiago governor Carlos de Vargas, Havana, 10 April 1859, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 14.
64. Cap. Gen. of Cuba to Ministro de Estado, Havana, 12 May 1859, AMAE: Política Exterior: Haiti 2523, Expte. 1; Spanish Consul Pablo de Urrutia to Minister of Foreign Relations of Haiti, Port-au-Prince, 25 April 1859, AMAE: Política Exterior: Haiti 2523, Expte. s/n.
65. Mariano Álvarez, “Memoria: Santo Domingo o la República Dominicana,” 20 April 1860, AHN: Ultramar 2275, Expte. 16 and 3526, Expte. 2.
66. Mariano Álvarez, “Memoria: Santo Domingo o la República Dominicana,” 20 April 1860, AHN: Ultramar 2275, Expte. 16.
67. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 20 July 1860, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 1.
68. Mariano Álvarez to Secretary of State, 12 November 1860, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 2.
69. Ministro de Guerra y Ultramar to Ministerio de Marina, 24 August 1860, Passing on the Comandante General del Apostadero de la Havana’s 10 July report, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 1, pp. 25–26.
70. Qtd. in Núñez de Arce, *Santo Domingo*, 55.
71. Hernández Flores, *Pedro Santana*, 18.
72. Hernández Flores, *Pedro Santana*, 26.
73. Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, 9; Marte, *Correspondencia*, 63.
74. “The Dominican Republic—The Grand Plot,” *National Era*, 2 November 1854, 1 (emphasis in original).
75. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 267.
76. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 11, 19 February 1859, 1.
77. Pablo de Urrutia to Gob. Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Port-au-Prince, 10 July 1860, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 1.
78. Pedro Santana to the Queen, SD, 18 March 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 14, p. 62.
79. Ministro de Guerra y Ultramar to Ministerio de Marina, 24 August 1860, Passing on the Comandante General del Apostadero de la Havana’s 10 July report, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 1, pp. 9–10.

80. Mariano Álvarez, “Memoria: Santo Domingo o la República Dominicana,” 20 April 1860, AHN: Ultramar 2775 Expte. 16. Incidentally, U.S. boosterism that year returned to these same convictions. Dominicans were “Spaniards, Spanish creoles, and some Africans and people of color,” one insisted (Courtney, *Gold Fields of Santo Domingo*, 132 [emphasis in original]).
81. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 211; Álvarez to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 24 August 1860, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 1.
82. Mariano Álvarez to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar and Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 24 August 1860, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 1. He admitted that he had been lobbied that very day by Vice President Alfau, who had “explicitly manifested” that version of events.
83. Mariano Álvarez, “Memoria: Santo Domingo o la República Dominicana,” 20 April 1860, AHN: Ultramar 2275, Expte. 16 and 3526, Expte. 2.
84. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 20 and 21 July 1860, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 1.
85. Ministro de Guerra y Ultramar to Ministerio de Marina, 24 August 1860, Passing on the Comandante General del Aposterdo de la Havana’s 10 July report, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 1, pp. 9–10.
86. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 191.
87. Memoria of Antonio Peláez y Campomanes to Gob. Serrano, Havana, 8 November 1860, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 2, doc. 2 (hereafter cited as Memoria of Antonio Peláez y Campomanes).
88. Memoria of Antonio Peláez y Campomanes.
89. Memoria of Antonio Peláez y Campomanes.
90. In fact, due to Santo Domingo’s relatively capital- and sugar-poor nature, its plantations relied on island-born slaves much more than did its profitable neighbor.
91. Memoria of Antonio Peláez y Campomanes.
92. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 200.
93. Eduardo San Justo to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, SD, 7 March 1855, AGI: Cuba 984C.
94. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 9 August 1860, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 1.
95. Mariano Álvarez to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar and Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 24 August 1860, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 1.
96. Min. de Marina to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 24 August 1860, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 1.
97. Pedro Santana, 18 March 1861, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 2, doc. s/n
98. Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Anti-slavery*, 26–27.
99. Hostos, *La Peregrinación*; Alonso, “Fiction,” 149.
100. Álvarez Junco, “Spanish National Identity,” 320.
101. De Bona, *Cuba, Santo Domingo y Puerto-Rico*, 5.
102. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba*, 132.

103. Francisco Serrano to the Ministro de Guerra y Ultramar, 6 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 2, doc. 2 (hereafter cited as Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*), 28.
104. Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 31.
105. Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 29.
106. Torrente, *Política ultramarina*.
107. Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 162; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 219.
108. Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 144 (emphasis added).
109. “We should be sensitive to the illustrious Dominican general Mella” (who conducted a five-month European mission seeking annexation in 1854), Torrente urges (*Política ultramarina*, 344).
110. Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 342.
111. Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 345.
112. Dorsey, “Seamy Sides of Abolition,” 112, 114. Planters and the enslaved and their families protested cabotage vigorously, but their attempts to seek legal redress were almost never successful (Dorsey, “Seamy Sides of Abolition,” 109, 116). Indenture projects were proposed on the island through the 1860s but never realized (Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Anti-slavery*, 42).
113. Picó, *Libertad y servidumbre*.
114. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 111; Santiago-Valles, “‘Forcing Them to Work,’” 123–68.
115. Reid-Vazquez, *Year of the Lash*, 146.
116. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba*, 29. Just at the moment of annexation, British authorities tried to restrict the indenture trade to Cuba (López, *Chinese Cubans*, 24).
117. Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 144, 148, 170. He proposed forty thousand be contracted immediately (237). For his critique of the slave trade, see esp. pp. 274–76.
118. Torrente, *Política ultramarina*, 336–37.
119. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 189.
120. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 186.
121. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 193.
122. Collected in Núñez de Arce, *Santo Domingo*, 76–106.
123. Núñez de Arce, *Santo Domingo*, 104.
124. Joaquin María del Monte to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Puerto Rico, 27 March 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 1, doc. 1.
125. Raphael Echagüe to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Mayagüez, 1 April 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 1, doc. 2.
126. Serrano to Min. de Estado, Reservado, 26 March 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 198, p. 11.
127. José Malo de Molina to Cap. Gen. Francisco Serrano, 4 September 1861 (15 July 1861), AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 1, doc. 2 (hereafter cited as Malo de Molina to Serrano, “Memoria”).

128. Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria," 70–71.
129. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 180.
130. Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria," 17–18.
131. Ferrer de Couto, *Reincorporación de Santo Domingo a España*, 30.
132. Royal Order, Reservada, 5 April 1859, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 6, doc. s/n.
133. Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria," 18.
134. Emphasis in original. "¿Es dable establecer, por ejemplo, una legislación personal que admite la pena de azotes para una raza, la ley que la escluye de toda participación en los negocios públicos, las que suponen con todas sus consecuencias, en un país de cuyo diccionario social se ha borrado la palabra servidumbre, y en el que hay una nivelación perfecta y absoluta entre sus naturales, sea el que quiera su origen?" (Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 12).
135. Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 10–11.
136. Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria," 23, 25.
137. Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 14.
138. Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 17–18.
139. Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 32.
140. Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 33.
141. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 200–201.
142. The Cuban government considered an abortive, small-scale resettlement scheme to serve labor "contracts" in Bioko not long thereafter, but Cuban planters pressured the state to ban emigration and retain the individuals for sugar harvest (Sundiata, *From Slaving to Neoslavery*, 52–53). In the absence of any significant Spanish population, Spanish missionaries hoped that conversion would bring local fidelity to Spain (Castillo-Rodríguez, "The First Missionary Linguistics in Fernando Po," 84). Epigraph to this section qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 245.
143. In the latter part, see, e.g., "The Growing Insolence of Spain," *New York Times*, 8 November 1861, 4.
144. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 188.
145. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 192.
146. Qtd. in Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 111.
147. Qtd. in Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 111.
148. Qtd. in *Cuestión*, 23.
149. *Cuestión*, 41.
150. *Cuestión*, 65, 66.
151. *El Contemporáneo*, 20 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 65–66. *La América* echoed their concern; "the lack of explanations and insufficient time . . . do not permit us either to assess what to do or to ensure a safe outcome," they fretted (*La América*, 24 May 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 65).
152. *Cuestión*, 69.
153. *Cuestión*, 69.

154. *La España*, 17 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 69–70. “If Mexico or any other of the *regiones desprendidas* of what was Spain, came to offer themselves in the same terms that Santo Domingo did, I think all the thinking men would thank them for their offer but would not accept; we would be *desgraciados*, if for sterile pride and vanity we sacrificed our real future without having learned anything from days gone by,” one editorial argued (*La España*, 7 July 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 75). *El Contemporáneo* accused the O’Donnell government of working secretly with annexation agents in the Dominican Republic and of fostering Spanish immigration there.
155. *El Clamor Público*, 23 May 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 74.
156. *El Clamor Público*, 10 May 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 73.
157. *La Discusión*, 20 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 70.
158. *La Época*, 24 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 78.
159. *La Época*, 24 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 80.
160. *Correspondiente de España*, 22 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 80.
161. *La Discusión*, 21 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 78.
162. *La Discusión*, 23 May 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 80–81.
163. *La Discusión*, 23 May 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 85; *La Discusión*, 17 May 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 86.
164. *Las Novedades*, 18 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 86.
165. *Cuestión*, 87.
166. *La España*, 15 August 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 88.
167. *El Contemporáneo*, 27 April 1861, qtd. in Núñez de Arce, *Santo Domingo*, 20.
168. *El Contemporáneo*, 14 April 1861, qtd. in Núñez de Arce, *Santo Domingo*, 72.
169. *Cuestión*, 67.
170. *El Contemporáneo*, 14 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 72; *El Contemporáneo*, 18 April 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 57.
171. *Cuestión*, 58.
172. *La América*, 8 May 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 79.
173. The “War of Africa” was Spain’s brief military campaign in the northern tip of Morocco in 1859–60. Under the pretext of skirmishes near Ceuta, a Spanish holding since the days of al-Andalus, the Spanish Crown declared war against Morocco in October 1859. Heading up Spanish forces of more than thirty-five thousand was Prime Minister Leopoldo O’Donnell himself. After some to-and-fro, Spanish troops won a victory at Tétouan, also just across the Gibraltar Strait, about twenty miles down the coast from Ceuta. Peace negotiations won Spain some 20 million piastres in indemnity, an enlargement of Ceuta’s borders as a Spanish enclave, and negotiations for another territorial cession, which secured Spanish holdings in nearby Melilla. Most significantly, the campaign piqued imperialist discourse on the national stage. O’Donnell was awarded the title of “Duke of Tetuan” for his exploits.
174. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 146.

175. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 146.
176. *El Pensamiento Español*, 20 May 1861, qtd. in *Cuestión*, 55.
177. Francisco J. Sarmientos y Quiñoes to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 5 December 1859, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 20, n.p.
178. Martín de Arredondo y Oléa to Cáp. Gen. of Cuba, Havana, 24 February 1860, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 1.
179. Juntas, Barcelona, Imprenta de F. Sánchez, 1860, AGI: Cuba 970B, Expte. 248, doc. s/n.
180. Qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 155.
181. "España y el siglo XIX," *La Razón*, no. 13, 1 July 1861, 1. A *contradanza* entitled "La expedición de Marruecos" celebrated Spain's North African imperial exploits (Manuel, "Cuba: From *Contradanza* to *Danzón*," 73).
182. Min. de Guerra y Ultramar to Min. de Estado, 22 May 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 2, doc. 1. It seems Serrano first wrote on 26 March.
183. Min. de Estado (sub-secretario) to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Palacio, 22 May 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 2, doc. 1, p. 3.
184. Min. de Estado (sub-secretario) to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Palacio, 22 May 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 2, doc. 1, p. 3.
185. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 147–48.
186. *Cuestión*, 90, 92, 96.
187. AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 3, 7 October 1861.
188. Min. de Estado (sub-secretario) to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Palacio, 22 May 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 2, doc. 1.
189. Pedro Santana to Capitán General de Cuba, Francisco Serrano, 6 August 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 2, doc. 3.
190. Santana to Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 2.
191. Eduardo A. Colmenares to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 8 January 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 8, doc. 2.
192. De Bona, *Cuba, Santo Domingo y Puerto-Rico*, 2.
193. De Bona, *Cuba, Santo Domingo y Puerto-Rico*, 2.
194. De Bona, *Cuba, Santo Domingo y Puerto-Rico*, 3.
195. De Bona, *Cuba Santo Domingo y Puerto-Rico*, 42.
196. De Bona, *Cuba, Santo Domingo y Puerto-Rico*, 41.
197. De Bona, *Cuba, Santo Domingo y Puerto-Rico*, 41.
198. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 12, 23 February 1861, 3.
199. Qtd. in *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 12, 23 February 1861, 4.
200. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 20, 20 April 1861, 2–3.
201. Qtd. in *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 25, 25 May 1861, 3–4.
202. "Questions de l'Est," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 22, 4 May 1861, 3–4.
203. *La Correspondencia*, Madrid, 20 April 1861, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 154.
204. Qtd. in "Nouvelles étrangères," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 27, 8 June 1861, 3.
205. "The Revival of Spain," *Quarterly Review* 3 (1862): 147–75, 172.

206. Qtd. in *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 25, 25 May 1861, 4.
207. [Mariano Álvarez] to Min. de Estado, 19 March 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 198, p. 4.
208. Fabens, *Facts about Santo Domingo*, 30–31.
209. Consul Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 21 March 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 1, p. 1.
210. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 72.
211. Consul Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 21 April 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 9, p. 27; Consul Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 21 April 1861, AGN-RD Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 10, p. 28.
212. Hauch, “Attitudes of Foreign Governments,” 256.
213. Hauch, “Attitudes of Foreign Governments,” 256.
214. Informa a S.E. sobre el estado de la Unión, Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, New York, 5 April 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 198, pp. 51–52.
215. For example, “Spanish Filibustering in Santo Domingo,” *Chicago Tribune*, 30 March 1861, 1; “Astounding Intelligence: Aggressive Designs of Spain in the West Indies,” *New York Times*, 30 March 1861, 1.
216. Qtd. in *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 31, 6 July 1861, 2–4. The *Moniteur* reported that on 11 April the Boston legislature passed a resolution against annexation (*Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 25, 25 May 1861, 4).
217. “Rehabilitation of Spain,” *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1862, 360.
218. “Rehabilitation of Spain,” 362–63.
219. Consul Thomas Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 21 April 1861, AGN-RD: DE/000933 (“Papeles relativos a la Anexión de la parte oriental”), Expte. s/n.
220. Lord Russell to R. Edwardes, Foreign Office, 7 July 1861, AGN-RD: DE/000933, s/n.
221. Lord J. Russell to R. Edwardes, Foreign Office, 14 May 1861, AGN-RD: DE/000933, s/n.
222. Lord Russell to R. Edwardes, Foreign Office, 14 May 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 11, pp. 30–31.
223. “Revival of Spain,” 158, 170.
224. “Revival of Spain,” 170. “The military enterprise recently undertaken by Spain against Morocco is understood to have been forced upon the Government by public opinion. . . . We must, however, state our opinion that the harsh and onerous terms she imposed upon a brave but unmilitary enemy were unworthy of her generosity; and the desire evinced to acquire additional territory in Morocco is as much opposed to her true interests as it is inconsistent with the declarations made before the commencement of the war.”
225. “Revival of Spain,” 172. The article echoes the assertion that a plebiscite was taken (173).
226. “Revival of Spain,” 174.
227. “Revival of Spain,” 171.

228. *Gaceta de la Habana*, 30 March 1861, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. s/n.
229. José Lemery to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Manila, 19 July 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5185, Expte. 24.
230. Borges, “Competencia y Anexión,” 53.
231. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 220.
232. *La Discusión*, 10 April 1861, qtd. in Núñez de Arce, *Santo Domingo*, 151.

3. Destined to Occupy This Island

1. Rubalcava qtd. in *Colección de leyes*, 101.
2. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 200.
3. Director del Archivo General de Indias to Ministro de Ultramar, Sevilla, 9 April 1862, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 26, doc. 2. They also requested that pre-1821 documents that had been sent to Cuba be returned to Santo Domingo (24 November 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3537, Expte. 7), while Santana sent on copies of some of the extinguished republic’s treaties to Spain (Santana to Min. de Guerra, 2 January 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 14).
4. Comandante de armas interino de Barahona Angel Féliz to Cap. Gen. of SD, Barahona, 29 April 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 173, pp. 23–24.
5. Minuta de Real Orden (reservada), from Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar to Teniente General D. Felipe Rivero, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 14.
6. Adriano López Morillo, *Memorias sobre la segunda reincorporación de Santo Domingo a España*, vol. 1 (Santo Domingo: Editora Corripio, 1983), excerpted in Cordero Michel, *La ciudad de Santo Domingo*, 255.
7. Ministro de Ultramar to Primera Secretaria de Estado, Madrid, 2 December 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, doc. 109.
8. Francisco Serrano, *Informe de la visita a SD*, SD, 5 September 1861, in Rodríguez-Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 245.
9. Cruzat to Felipe Rivero, SD, 15 August 1862, ANC: Audiencia de la Habana 245, Expte. 2.
10. Barry, “Hegemony on a Shoestring.”
11. Serrano to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Havana, 5 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 16, doc. 1, p. 4.
12. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*. In the first half of the nineteenth century, European markets were a “global cotton-growing countryside . . . grown by slave labor” (226).
13. The doubling of the price of raw cotton from 1848 to 1857 had driven Manchester merchants to look to new supplies and become somewhat less enamored with *laissez-faire* dicta generally. Joint-stock companies to fund cotton in other parts of the empire sprang up. Ventures in West Africa included a failed cotton project in Senegal in earlier decades, an uptick of intervention in Dahomey and southwestern Nigeria, and other projects of

- so-called legitimate commerce, as missionaries and imperial adventurers bedecked their ventures with a cloying humanitarian veneer. Small-scale production of cotton in West Africa dated to antiquity, but the tide of imperial imports impeded proto-industrialization; by 1850, British merchants flooded West African markets with thirty times more finished cotton goods than in previous decades (Ratcliffe, "Cotton Imperialism," 87, 91; Inikori, "English versus Indian Cotton Textiles," 89; Hopkins, *Economic History of West Africa*, 128, 137–38).
14. In Jamaica, the British Cotton Company, Jamaica Cotton Company, Clarendon Company, Manchioneal Company, and Kingston Cotton Company all "speedily formed" (Watts, *Cotton Supply Association*, 94). None were successful. In Cuba, see Watts, *Cotton Supply Association*, 93.
 15. F. Jn. Joseph, Secretary of State of Interior and Agriculture, "Rapport," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 37, 18 July 1860, 1–4.
 16. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 10, 9 February 1861, 3.
 17. Geffrard, "Circulaire aux généraux commandant les arrondissements de la République," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 12, 23 February 1861, 1; Geffrard, "Arrêté," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 13, 3 March 1860, 1.
 18. St. John, *Hayti*, 367.
 19. Watts, *Cotton Supply Association*, 96. The British Cotton Supply Association collaborated with the Union government to disseminate seeds and machinery to the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Palestine, and other locations (Calhoun, "Seeds of Destruction").
 20. Ratcliffe, "Cotton Imperialism," 87.
 21. Kale, *Fragments of Empire*, 1; López, *Chinese Cubans*, 22; David Northrup, "Indentured Indians in the French Antilles"; Renault, *Libération d'esclaves et nouvelle servitude*. My thanks to Kate Marsh for her clarification of French Caribbean statistics.
 22. Marsh, "'Rights of the Individual,'" 225.
 23. Works include Schuler, "Alas, Alas Kongo"; Rodney, *History of the Guyanese Working People*; Jung, *Coolies and Cane*; López, *Chinese Cubans*.
 24. Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 17. They were, on some plantations, "treated no better and even worse than negro slaves," the U.S. consul reported from Havana in 1855 (22).
 25. Internal markets of crops like ginger, arrowroot, and banana grew incrementally alongside older cash crops, as did emancipated communities' consumption and standard of living (Thompson, *Haunting Past*, 122).
 26. In 1863, nearly three thousand Barbadians left the island as indentured laborers to multiple sites; in an attempt to prevent future migrations, planters opposed political federation with the other British Islands in the next decade (Brown, "Experiments in Indenture," 44; Levy, *Emancipation, Sugar, and Federalism*). On the case of Antigua, see Lightfoot, *Troubling Freedom*.

27. F. Jn. Joseph, Secretary of State of Interior and Agriculture, "Rapport," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 37, 18 July 1860, 1–4. Specifically, they were to settle in a number of regions where land was not already subdivided into small plots.
28. Geffrard gave Redpath \$20,000 to open an emigration bureau in Boston; it was decked with "mahogany splendor," probably from the island itself (Alexander, "'Black Republic,'" 70–75). See also Dixon, *African America and Haiti*.
29. Alexander, "'Black Republic,'" 75.
30. Capitalist Bernard Kock, who had been leasing Ile-à-Vache, sought fifty dollars per person for up to fifty thousand émigrés. Privately, the Haitian minister in Washington, DC, was instructed to avoid any such massive-scale migration, although he need not have worried. Smallpox, mismanagement, and corruption crippled, then ended, the project (Logan, *Diplomatic Relations*, 308–10).
31. Geffrard, "Circulaire aux généraux commandant les arrondissements de la Republique," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 12, 23 February 1861, 1. He exhorted that rural Haitians increase domestic food staple production simultaneously, to free the country from a reliance on imports.
32. Nicholls, *Economic Dependence and Political Autonomy*, 15; A. Monfleury, "Fabrication du Sucre," *L'Opinion Nationale*, no. 6, 8 February 1862, 1.
33. See map 3.1. Clarifications are as follows. Costa Rica and Nicaragua: Robinson, "Chinese of Central America," 107, 113. Panama: Meagher, *The Coolie Trade*, 272. Although abolition legislation was passed in Colombia in 1851, the legislation took effect in early 1852; the *concierto* system of apprenticeship was abolished simultaneously (Jason McGraw, personal communication, 7 November 2015). Trinidad and Tobago: Roberts and Byrne, "Summary Statistics on Indenture," 127. The earliest contract schemes under British rule date to 1806 (Allen, "Slaves, Convicts, Abolitionism," 6). Jamaica: Roberts and Byrne, "Summary Statistics on Indenture," 127; Schuler, "Alas, Alas Kongo"; Anderson, "The Diaspora of Sierra Leone's Liberated Africans," 117–18. British Guiana: Roberts and Byrne, "Summary Statistics on Indenture," 127. Some regional migrants arrived without contracts (pre-1846 and in 1864) (Richardson, "Freedom and Migration"; Brown, "Experiments in Indenture," 48). Barbados was a site of indenture emigration briefly (Brown, "Experiments in Indenture," 44). Saint Vincent, Grenada, Dominica, and British Honduras: Roberts and Byrne, "Summary Statistics on Indenture," 127; Robinson, "Chinese of Central America," 108. Antigua: the long dates reflect Madeiran migration more than smaller numbers from other places, which occurred in the early 1860s (Brown, "Experiments in Indenture," 42; Roberts and Byrne, "Summary Statistics on Indenture," 127; Robinson, "Chinese of Central America," 108; Lightfoot, *Troubling Freedom*, 172). Saint Kitts: 1860–65 is the period of Indian indentured migration (Vertovek, "Indian Indentured Migration," 59); Madeira Island and African migration may have been longer (Roberts and Byrne, "Summary Statistics on Indenture,"

- 127). The Turks and Caicos: dates refer to changes in the salt rights system after emancipation that resulted in the predominance of truck system payments and bonded debt labor through the early twentieth century (*Laws of the Turks and Caicos Islands* [London: Saunders, Otley and Co., 1862], 85–86, 415–16, 438; <http://tcmuseum.org/slavery/emancipation-beyond/>, accessed June 2015). Saint Croix, indenture and Labour Act restrictions: Roopnarine, “The First and Only Crossing”; Roopnarine, “Comparative Analysis of Two Failed Indenture Experiences,” 207. Martinique and Guadeloupe: Marsh, “‘Rights of the Individual.’” Saint Lucia, Guyane: Vertovek, “Indian Indentured Migration to the Caribbean,” 59. Suriname: the 1931 date refers to the end of penal sanction (Hoefté, “Labour in the Caribbean,” 259, 262; Hoefté, personal communication, 3 January 2016). Puerto Rico: dates refer to *libreta* controls; indenture projects were popular proposals in the 1860s but never materialized (Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Anti-slavery*, 38; Figueroa, *Sugar, Slavery and Freedom*, 166–69). Brazil: the various dates refer to fragmented indenture schemes targeting liberated African and Chinese individuals (Mamigonian, “To Be a Liberated African in Brazil”). In 1855, Bahian sugar planters sent an emissary to China; one boatload of laborers arrived in 1855 (Meagher, *Coolie Trade*, 146, 266). In 1883, short-lived renewed Chinese indenture plans fizzled (Meagher, *Coolie Trade*, 269). United States: end dates refer to the end of the convict lease system in Alabama and may well be extended forward (for more on convict labor, see LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence*). Mexico: the 1870 date refers to debt labor in Yucatán, although there is considerable debate as to whether this constituted indenture (Levy, *The Making of a Market*, 48). Peru: Meagher, *Coolie Trade*, 40. Ecuador: Townsend, “In Search of Liberty,” and Camilla Townsend, personal communication, 3 January 2016. Haiti’s dates refer to the projects of *caporalisme agraire* of the earliest days of independence as well as King Henri Christophe’s militarized labor control in his northern kingdom, but they do not extend to subsequent rural codes, as land distribution and flight from plantations were extensive (see, e.g., Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier*, 68; González, *War on Sugar*).
34. May, “Lobbyists for Commercial Empire,” 406.
35. Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 2 February 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3542, Expte. 1, Doc. 4.
36. Minuta de Real Orden (reservada), from Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar to Teniente Gral D. Felipe Rivero, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 14.
37. Paton, *No Bond but the Law*, 149.
38. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, nos. 26–27, 12 June 1858, 2. Police were to verify the travel pass (*permis de route*) of any individual in the interior (*Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 24, 21 May 1859, 2).
39. Geffrard, “Haïtiens!,” *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 11, 19 February 1859, 1.
40. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, “La anexión,” 83.
41. Breen, *St. Lucia*, 306; Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Anti-slavery*, 33, 42.

42. Dalby, “‘Such a Mass of Disgusting and Revolting Cases’”; Fryar, “Moral Politics of Cholera.”
43. Ramsey, *Spirits and the Law*, 83–90.
44. “Le secretaire d’Etat au département de l’interieur et de l’agriculture, aux inspecteurs et sous-inspecteurs de culture de la République,” *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 27, 11 June 1859, 6.
45. Geffrard, “Adresse au peuple et à l’armée,” *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 25, 20 May 1865, 1.
46. Serrano to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Havana, 16 August 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 14, doc. 1, p. 4. “Every day they are happier to be part of the big Spanish family,” he reported.
47. “Industria,” *El Dominicano*, no. 1, 29 June 1855, 4; *El Oasis*, no. 2, 4 December 1854, 5.
48. Juan B. Zafra to Santana, 17 November 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 21. Land privatization support: “Artículo Primero,” *El Dominicano*, no. 11, 15 September 1855, 41; “División de propiedad,” *El Dominicano*, no. 13, 29 September 1855, 49.
49. Eduardo Alonso y Colmenares (Regente de la RA de SD) to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 8 January 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 8, doc. 2.
50. Manuel de Jesús Galván to Cap. Gen., 20 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 40, doc. 2.
51. Pedro Valverde to Gob. Sup. Civil, 8 Feb 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 26, Expte. 23.
52. Gob. Sup. Civil, to Pedro Valverde, 5 September 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 23 (000149), Expte. 11.
53. Mariano Álvarez, “Memoria: Santo Domingo o la República Dominicana,” SD, 20 April 1860, AHN: Ultramar 2775, Expte. 16, p. 4.
54. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 238.
55. Fontecha Pedraza and González Calleja, *Una cuestión de honor*, 75, 87.
56. Noel Henriquez to the Queen, London, 9 November 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 25, Expte. 10.
57. *Les intérêts français et européens à Santo Domingo* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1861).
58. Consul Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 8 April 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 5, p. 16; Consul Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 21 April 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 9, p. 27.
59. The budget of the colonial state in Cuba and Puerto Rico “ballooned . . . to pay a bloated bureaucratic corps” from 1840 to 1860. Cuban and Puerto Rican taxes were high—in Cuba, as much as four times what the average peninsular resident paid (Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 62).
60. Qtd. in Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 61.
61. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 63.
62. Eduardo Alonso y Colmenares to Min. de Ultramar, SD, 16 February 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3545, Expte. 1, doc. 12.

63. José Malo de Molina to Cap. Gen. Francisco Serrano, 4 September 1861 (15 July 1861), AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 1, doc. 2 (hereafter cited as Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria"), p. 15. Interestingly, he suggests that the Dominican government might have chosen to continue with the French codes after separation from Haiti in 1844 because they were timorous of Spanish reoccupation and slavery (14), although just one page later, he suggests that the very reason for annexation was that the populace was eager to introduce the Spanish code in 1861.
64. Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 5.
65. Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria," 17.
66. Real Orden of 7 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 24.
67. Real Orden of 6 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 3; *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 92, 12 June 1862, 1; Alonso y Colmenares to Gob. Sub. Civil, SD, 14 June 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 8, Expte. 29.
68. Expte. sobre organización y regimen municipales, 1 September 1861–14 November 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3535, Expte. 3.
69. "Organización y planta de los gobiernos, comandancias militares y de armas de la Isla de Santo Domingo," Ministro de Guerra, 26 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3527, Expte. 51, doc. 9. These were the five extant provinces (Santo Domingo, Santiago, Azua, la Vega, Seibo) and a new one, the commercial coast of Puerto Plata.
70. Felipe Rivero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 6 July 1862, AHN: Ultramar 2785, Expte. 8, doc. 1.
71. Ministerio de Estado to Serrano, 24 April 1861, in Núñez de Arce, *Santo Domingo*, 56–60.
72. Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria," 64; Serrano, *Resultado de viaje*, 51–56.
73. Other founding members included José María Morilia, a lawyer (Spanish, practicing in Havana), and Ramón de la Torre Trassiera (ex-mayor in Philippines). Real Orden of 6 October 1861, in *Gaceta del Notariado Español* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Ramón Campuzano, 1861), 3:637.
74. Serrano to Min. de Guerra, Havana, 1 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 3; Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra*, 78.
75. Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria," 17, 45–47, 50; AHN: Ultramar Anexo 3 (3532.1 Expte. 1, doc. 5); Santana to Min. de Guerra, 7 July 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3540, Expte. 19. The mayor of Santo Domingo, making an estimated \$20 a month at the time of annexation (\$240 yearly) would have made \$3,500 annually, according to his plan, for example.
76. Malo de Molina to Serrano, "Memoria," 51.
77. Pedro Ricart Torres to el Comisario (Joaquín Manuel de Alba), SD, 20 November 1861, qtd. in Lugo Lovatón, "La junta económica anexionista de 1861," n.p.

78. Joaquín Manuel de Alba. Convocatoria del Comisario Regio Don Manuel Joaquín de Alba, SD, 19 November 1861, qtd. in Lugo Lovatón. "La junta económica anexionista de 1861," III.
79. Ramón Blanco to Brig. Peláez (and to Cap. Gen. of Cuba), SD, April 1861, AGI: Cuba 1006B, in AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 172, 1 May 1861, p. 19.
80. Mariano Álvarez, "Memoria: Santo Domingo o la República Dominicana," SD, 20 April 1860, AHN: Ultramar 2775, Expte. 16, p. 4.
81. Ramón Blanco to Brig. Peláez (and to Cap. Gen. of Cuba), SD, April 1861, AGI: Cuba 1006B, in AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 172, 1 May 1861, p. 20.
82. Expte. del Gobierno Político, 1 September 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión I (DE/1378), Expte. s/n (old #46).
83. Dhormys, *Une visite chez Soulouque*, 90.
84. Landolfi, *Evolución cultural dominicana*, 93.
85. Santana to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 15 June 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro), p. 108.
86. Anónimo to Gob. Militar de SD Antonio Peláez, s/f (passed on to Santana, 21 October 1861), AGI: Cuba 945, Expte. 24 (Anónimos), doc. s/n.
87. Felipe Rivero to Gob. Militar de Samaná, Reservado, SD, 10 September 1862, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21 (1702432), Expte. 169, p. 36.
88. Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 229.
89. For discussion of these militia, see Reid, "Protesting Service"; Sartorius, "My Vassals."
90. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 232.
91. Antonio Peláez to Cap. Gen., 19 August 1861, AGI: Cuba 953, Expte. "Desertores de 1861-3."
92. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 101.
93. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 233.
94. Serrano to Min. de Guerra, Havana, 25 July 1861, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. "Asuntos operaciones de campaña," doc. s/n.
95. Serrano to Brigadier Don Antonio Peláez Campomanes, SD, 5 August 1861, AGI: Cuba 1006B, in AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 172, p. 3.
96. "Sumaria instruida contra Enrique Padilla," Azua, 12 November 1861, AGI: Cuba 1013B, pp. 4-8.
97. Coronel Comandante de Armas Angel Félix to Gobernador Político y Militar de la provincia de Azua, 2 September 1861, AGI: Cuba 1022A, in AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 173, p. 6.
98. Libro Gral de Actas de las Sesiones celebradas por la Junta de Clasificación de los Señores Generales Gefes y Oficiales del antiguo Ejercito Dominicano, 19 September 1861, AGI: Cuba 1018, libro 16, p. 1.
99. Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra*, 83.
100. Registro de Expedientes para la Clasificación de Generales Gefes y oficiales del antiguo ejercito dominicano, Fall-Spring 1861-1862, AGI: Cuba 1017, libro 15.

101. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 235.
102. Pedro Santana, “Relación nominal de los Generales y Gefes del Ejercito Dominicano que al acto de la incorporación de SD a la Monarquía Española ejercían los cargos de Gobernadores y Comandantes de armas . . . ,” SD, 20 December 1861, SHM Ultramar 5645, Expte. “Asunto operaciones de campaña . . . ,” doc. s/n.
103. Santana to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 8 August 1861, AGI: Cuba 2267, Expte. “Sobre la iglesia Dominicana.”
104. Catholic instruction and rites posed potential costs and unwanted influence. Rather than pay for a Christian burial for enslaved men and women, sugar plantation owners found loopholes that permitted their own cemeteries; rather than church instruction for their slaves, owners managed to be named officially responsible for local religious instruction, through legislation like the Good Government Laws of 1842.
105. Demoticus Philalethes, *Yankee Travels through the Island of Cuba* (New York, 1856), qtd. in Brandon, *Santería from Africa to the New World*, 63.
106. Eduardo Alonso y Colmenares to Min. de Ultramar, SD, 16 February 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3545, Expte. 1, doc. 12. Vacant: Montecristi, Bonaó, los Alcarrizos, San Lorenzo de los Mina, las Matas de Farfán. Only Puerto Plata, Santiago, and San Cristobal had their own authorities.
107. Sáez, *Documentos inéditos de Fernando A. de Meriño*, 80.
108. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 223; Guerrero Cano, *Disciplina y laxitud*, 59–60; Martínez-Fernández, “The Sword and the Crucifix,” 83, 85.
109. Guridi, *La campana del higo*.
110. Sáez, *Documentos inéditos de Fernando A. de Meriño*, 100.
111. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 215; Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 282.
112. Lavastida to Cap. Gen., 20 July 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 36.
113. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 258.
114. Keim, *San Domingo*, 145, 155.
115. Keim, *San Domingo*, 224.
116. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 229.
117. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 230.
118. Martínez-Fernández, “The Sword and the Crucifix,” 83.
119. Meriño, “Expte. reservado para tratar de la aplicación . . . ,” 26 September 1862, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 20.
120. Hidalgo, “From North America to Hispaniola,” 161.
121. Meriño, “Expte. reservado para tratar de la aplicación . . . ,” 26 September 1862, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 20.
122. Meriño, “Expte. reservado para tratar de la aplicación . . . ,” 26 September 1862, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 20.
123. Felipe Rivero to Regente de la Real Audiencia, 6 October 1862, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 20.

124. Leopoldo O'Donnell to Rivero, 21 December 1882, AGN-RD: Anexión 4 (DE/1383), Expte. 11; Alcalde de Puerto Plata to Regente de la RA de SD, 31 March 1863, ANC: AP 53, 20.
125. *Colección de leyes*; Martínez-Fernández, "The Sword and the Crucifix," 83.
126. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra*, 224.
127. E.g., AHN: Ultramar 3529, Exptes. 12–20.
128. Expte. sobre arreglo y dotación del clero, 30 April 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3545, Expte. 1, doc. 19. A few did not want to leave their Santiago de Cuba posts (doc. 20).
129. E.g., Juan Bautista Zafra to Gob. Superior Civil, 24 December 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 15. At no time did these documents mention the skin color of either party (though their titles suggest they were prominent citizens).
130. Martínez-Fernández, "The Sword and the Crucifix," 82. He approved of "spontaneous" marriages occurring at the behest of arriving priests in rural areas (Extracto—Informando sobre las cuestiones que abraza la RO de 10 de Noviembre de 1864," de la Gándara to Min. de Guerra, 9 January 1865, ANC: AP 225, Expte. 2, doc. s/n).
131. *La Razón*, no. 7, 15 June 1862, 1.
132. *Colección de leyes*, 134–36.
133. Teniente Gobernador de Neyba to Cura Párroco de Neyba, 28 April 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 27, Expte. 18, p. 2v.
134. Mariano Álvarez, "Memoria: Santo Domingo o la República Dominicana," SD, 20 April 1860, AHN: Ultramar 2775, Expte. 16, p. 4.
135. Serrano, *Informe de la visita a SD*, 245.
136. Memoria of Antonio Peláez y Campomanes to Gob. Serrano, Havana, 8 November 1860, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 2, doc. 2.
137. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 84.
138. The customs rules were changed to Puerto Rican (from Cuban) standards, for example (Manuel de Alba to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 9 January 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3528.7; approved by royal order, 12 March 1862). While treasury oversight was delegated to Cuban officials, it was determined that merchants could pay in installments, as per Puerto Rican guidelines, for example (AHN: Ultramar 3528.6, 8). Taxes: Comisario Regio de Hacienda to Min. de Ultramar, 19 February 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3528, Expte. 30. The popular Cuban lottery was introduced as an additional revenue measure (Superintendente Delegado de Hacienda de SD to Serrano, 16 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3528, Expte. 2).
139. Cap. Gen. of Puerto Rico to Min. de Ultramar, 12 June 1861, AHN: Ultramar 1128, Expte. 30.
140. Serrano to Santana, SD, 8 August 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3527, Expte. 4, doc. 3.
141. AHN: Ultramar online 1128:45.

142. Santana to Min. de Guerra, 28 November 1861, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro), p. 3; "Secretaria del Gobierno," *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 50, 4 January 1862, 1.
143. "De Oficio," *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 51, 11 January 1862, 1.
144. Expte. 119 de la Junta Superior de Medicina, Cirujía y Farmacia, 18 February 1863–1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 29, Expte. 37; *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 56, 6 February 1862, 1.
145. Min. de Guerra to Joaquín Mauel del Alba, Madrid, 7 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3527, Expte. 57.
146. AHN: Ultramar 3529, Exptes. 13, 14, 15, June–October 1861. Pensions: e.g., AHN: Ultramar 1122, Exptes. 37–38.
147. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 20 July 1861, AGI: Cuba 2266, Pieza 1, n.p.
148. Secretaria de Estado to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 4 April 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3540, Expte. 16.
149. Minuta de Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 5 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3540, Expte. 5; Minuta de Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 29 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3540, doc. 10; Felipe Rivero to Min. de Ultramar, 4 February 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3540, Expte. 8; Cap. Gen. of SD to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 21 December 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 28.
150. Gob. Superior Civil to Min. de Guerra, SD, 30 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 34; AHN: Ultramar online 79, Expte. 23; Manuel del J. Galván (Expte. del Gob. Sup. Civil), SD, 19 August 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 37; Noel Henriques to Min. de Ultramar, 29 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3540, Expte. 4.
151. Manuel de Jesús Galván to Gob. Superior Civil, 14 December 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 1 (DE/1378), Expte. 31.
152. Pedro Valverde to Gob. Superior Civil, 13 October 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 26 (DE/000152), Expte. 15. A wealthy Venezuelan immigrant initiated the Dominican Republic's rum industry in 1852 (Edwin Rafael Espinal Hernández, "Los apellidos del ron: Bermúdez," *Hoy* [Sección Sabatina: Cápsulas Genealógicas], 29 August 2009, <http://www.idg.org.do/capsulas/agosto2009/agosto200929.htm>, accessed 18 September 2009). For further discussion of rum, see *Chez Checo, El ron en la historia Dominicana*.
153. E.g., Pedro Santana to Sr. Intendente Gral. de Ejercito y Hacienda, SD, 23 August 1861, AHN: Ultramar 6160, Expte. 26; Ministerio de Guerra y Ultramar to Comisario Regio de SD, 7 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 2785, Expte. 16.
154. Real Decreto de 12 Octubre de 1862, Anexión 26 (DE/000152), Expte. 13.
155. Expediente . . . del Cédula de privilegio a Don Juan A. Cohen, September–October 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 1 (DE/1378), Expte. 16; Expte. del Gobierno Superior Civil, 13 May 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 10, Expte. 41. Various government inquests about cotton continued (e.g., Gob. de SD to Min. de Ultramar, May 1862–September 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3542, Expte. 1, docs. 1–8).

156. Jose Rocas to Comisario Regio, 15 April 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 24 (000150), Expte. 13.
157. Real Orden of 27 September 1863, 22 February 1864, in AGN-RD: Anexión 26, Expte. 23.
158. Don Francisco de Olazarra to Cáp. Gen. of SD, 11 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 40.
159. From Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 15.
160. Don Francisco de Olazarra to Cáp. General de SD, 11 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 40.
161. [R. Caymare] to Ministro de Ultramar, 30 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 4 (DE/1383), Expte. 20, doc. 1. The proposal, like many others of its kind, demonstrated a total unwillingness to acknowledge the other state of the island, referring instead to the “island of Santo Domingo,” “bringing prosperity to the island,” and so forth.
162. Eusebio Soler to Gob. Superior Civil, SD, 4 July 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 16, Expte. 1, doc. 3.
163. Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 15.
164. Cuba had a “Junta de Población Blanca” since 1817, although the numbers were somewhat small in the 1850s and 1860s. Dirección de Armamentos del Ministerio de Marina to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, San Ildefonso, 19 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 4; Serrano to Min. de Guerra, Havana, 7 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3625, Expte. 6.
165. Manuel de Cruzat to Felipe Rivero (passed on to the Queen), SD, 15 August 1862, ANC: Audiencia de la Habana Leg. 245, Expte. 2.
166. Min. de Guerra y Ultramar to Santana, Madrid, 1 August 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 11.
167. William Cazneau and Joseph Fabens to Ministro de Ultramar, 2 January 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 4 (DE/1383), Expte. 20, doc. 2. See also AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 42, doc. 2 (a copy); Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 217.
168. E.g., Luís Ramírez to Min. de Guerra, Madrid, 6 July 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3527, Expte. 3.
169. From Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 15.
170. Pedro Valverde to Gob. Sup. Civil, 28 August 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 23 (000149), Expte. 11.
171. “Bando de Policia y Gobernación,” in *Colección de leyes*, 150.
172. Pedro Valverde to Gob. Sup. Civil, 28 August 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 23 (000149), Expte. 11.
173. Gob Sup. Civil to Pedro Valverde, 5 September 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 23 (000149), Expte. 11.

174. Pedro Santana, Bando de 29 de Agosto de 1861, AGI: Cuba 948, "Bandos," doc. s/n. The low-level local administrators called *alcaldes pedáneos* were responsible for supplying the information to their superiors. The edict borrowed directly from such strict legislation as Puerto Rico's 1849 "Bando de Policía y Buen Gobierno," which restricted travel, nighttime activities, and other security measures (Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 66).
175. Real Audiencia to the Queen, SD, 8 January 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 10.
176. "Bando de Policia y Gobernación," in *Colección de leyes*, 149; Lizardo, *Cultura Africana en Santo Domingo*, 69.
177. "Bando de Policia y Gobernación," in *Colección de leyes*, 161.
178. "Bando de Policia y Gobernación," in *Colección de leyes*, 150.
179. Expte. "Relativo a las exámenes que deben de sufrir las mugeres . . . ," 24 June 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 29, Expte. 2.
180. "Bando de Policia y Gobernación," in *Colección de leyes*, 147.
181. Benito Cuadron to Gob. Político de SD, 22 April 1863, and José Leyba to Gob. Político de SD, 26 June 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 28, Expte. 6. Each was armed with a pistol, a light, and a whistle. Authorities instructed them to listen for insults against authority (*Colección de leyes*, 163–65).
182. Santana to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 15 June 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018, p. 108.
183. Eduardo Alonso y Colmenares to Cap. Gen., SD, 10 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 1 (DE/1378), Expte. 12.
184. Santana to Superintendente Gral. de Ejército y Real Hacienda, 10 December 1861, AHN: Ultramar 2785, Expte. 24, Doc. 3. A soldier from the Crown Regiment, serving a ten-year sentence in Santiago de los Caballeros and without any family to send food, was among the prisoners so poor that Santana feared he would die of hunger, despite his begging for money during street cleaning.
185. Comisaria Regia de SD Joaquin M de Alba, to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, 12 July 1862, AHN: Ultramar 2785, Expte. 4.
186. Santana to Min. de Guerra, 30 April 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 33; Real Orden of 19 August 1862, AGI: Cuba 974A.
187. Joaquín Manuel del Alba to Min. de Guerra, 10 March 1862, AHN: Ultramar 2784, Expte. 42; "Expte promovido por el Regentde de la RA relativo a la mala alimentación que se da a los presos de la Real Carcel de esta Capital," Fall 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 27, Expte. 9.
188. Consul Hood to Cap. Gen. Felipe Rivero, 7 October 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 4 (DE/1383), Expte. 26.
189. Serrano to Min. de Guerra, 25 July 1861, AGN-RD: Colección Herrera Leg. 21, Expte. 169, p. 20; Min. de Guerra to Cap. Gen. of SD, AHN: Ultramar 3527, Expte. 15.
190. Expte. de Ministro de Guerra, 17 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3626, Expte. 11, doc. 11.

191. Expediente formado para la plaza de Ministro de Justicia de Santo Domingo, August 1861–26 February 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 15.
192. Min. de Guerra to Santana, 6 March 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3626, Expte. 11, doc. 13.
193. Santana to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 5 February 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018, p. 36.
194. Santana to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 5 February 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018, p. 35.
195. “Sumaria Instruida en averiguación de la fuga del confinado José Poce Camboy,” October 1862, AGI: Cuba 1012B; José Hungria to Cap. Gen., 5 September 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 28, Expte. 9.
196. Pedro Valverde to Gob. Sup. Civil, 8 January 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 26, Expte. 33; Pedro Valverde to Gob. Sup. Civil. 28 January 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 29, Expte. 16.
197. Cap. Gen. of Puerto Rico to Min. de Guerra, Puerto Rico, 13 November 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3626, Expte. 11, doc. 16.
198. The *Gaceta* republished Eduardo Alonso Colmenares’s opening speech at the inauguration of the Real Audiencia de Santo Domingo, for example (*Gaceta*, no. 50, 4 January 1862, 1, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. s/n); state imprenta: Expte. del Gobierno Superior Civil, 9 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 4 (DE/1383), Expte. 22.
199. This began with *Gaceta*, no. 92, 12 June 1862, and continued through the end of the year (1863 has been lost).
200. Expte. del Gob. Sup. Civil sobre *La Razón*, 1861–64, AGN-RD: Anexión 1 (DE/1378), Expte. 8a.
201. “La Situación pasada y el presente IV,” *La Razón*, no. 6, 6 June 1861, 1.
202. “No Oficial,” *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 77, 21 April 1862, 3.
203. José Hungria to Cap. Gen., 30 July 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 28, Expte. 4.
204. Manuel de Jesús Garcia to Gob. Sup. Civil, 14 June 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 2.
205. *La Razón*, no. 19, 22 July 1861, 2–3; “España y el siglo XIX,” *La Razón*, no. 13, 1 July 1861, 1.
206. José Mompou, “Presente y porvenir de Haiti,” *La Razón*, no. 9, 17 June 1861, 1.
207. Mompou, “Presente y porvenir de Haiti,” 1.
208. “La Situación pasada y el presente IV,” *La Razón*, no. 6, 6 June 1861, 1.
209. Hauch, “Attitudes of Foreign Governments,” 251. Although this statement was reported secondhand by the British consul—who might, perhaps, have had reason to stir up abolitionist anxieties—it was reportedly said by none other than Manuel Cruzat, the famously racist and difficult former ambassador to Haiti who had almost brought the country to the brink of diplomatic disaster there in the 1850s.
210. Regente de la audiencia, Don Eduardo Alonso y Colmenares to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, s/f (spring 1862), AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 13, doc. 4.

211. El *Télegrafo Constitucional*, no. 2, 12 April 1821; Lora Hugi, *Transición*, 127; Asaka, “‘Our Brethren in the West Indies’”; Kerr-Ritchie, *Freedom’s Seekers*.
212. Real Orden of 24 June 1861 (reservado), AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 6.
213. Pedro Santana to Min. de Guerra, 18 February 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5639, Expte. “Esclavitud/Esclavos 1849–1862,” doc. s/n.
214. Lower-ranking officers often brought their families, even when embarking from as far away as Madrid. Min. de Guerra to Min. de Ultramar, 30 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 8, Expte. 23.
215. Regente de la audiencia, Don Eduardo Alonso y Colmenares to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, s/f (spring 1862), AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 13, doc. 4.
216. Regente de la audiencia, Don Eduardo Alonso y Colmenares to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, s/f (spring 1862), AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 13, doc. 3.
217. Pedro Santana to Min. de Guerra, 18 February 1862, SHM Ultramar 5639, Expte. “Esclavitud/Esclavos 1849–1862,” doc. s/n.
218. The Valverdes were a prominent family in Santo Domingo. Valverde had continued in the position since the republic; he is referred to in other Spanish documents as a “persona de buenas circunstancias” and was on the list of prominent men to be rewarded with *gracias* and *cruces* after the annexation (Serrano to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Havana, 1 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 3, doc. 2; Serrano to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 7 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 10, doc. 5).
219. Gob. Sup. Civil to Pedro Valverde, SD, 19 February 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 27, doc. 1.
220. Gob. Superior Civil de Puerto Rico to Cap. Gen. of SD, 27 November 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 27, Expte. 25.
221. Molina to Serrano, *Memoria*, 63–65.
222. Serrano, *Informe de la visita*, 245.
223. From Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 15.

4. The Haitians or the Whites?

1. News reached the Dominican capital within days (Copiador, 22 January 1861).
2. José Mompou, *La Razón*, no. 14, 4 July 1861, 1.
3. José de Villar to Ministerio de Ultramar, SD, 13 October 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3526 Expte. 17, doc. 10.
4. *La Razón*, no. 39, 25 January 1863, 1.
5. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 238.
6. D. Claudio Morales to the Queen, SD, 22 December 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3543, Expte. 26. These documents are few, but they demonstrate how some urban Dominican families, probably among the more prominent (given that both parents were formally married), embraced Spanish marriage policy.

7. *La Razón*, no. 34, 21 December 1862, 3.
8. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 176.
9. Even in the capital, the ceremony had started two hours late, and the flag was removed for a time after flying just one day (Consul Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 21 March 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 1, p. 1).
10. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 53; García, *Compendio*, 1:376. There was also open opposition in the small town of San Pedro de Macorís.
11. Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 118, 120.
12. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 72; Finke "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 121.
13. Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 123.
14. López Morillo, *Memorias sobre la segunda reincorporación*, 222.
15. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 60.
16. Tejeda Ortiz, *Cultura y folklore*, 79; Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 122.
17. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 197; de la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 285.
18. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 192.
19. Vallejo, *Las madres de la Patria*, 58; Marte, "La oralidad sobre el pasado insular," 61.
20. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 193.
21. Qtd. in Matibag, *Haitian-Dominican Counterpoint*, 111.
22. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 18, 6 April 1861, 5.
23. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 19, 13 April 1861, 3.
24. "Brochure Dominicaine contre Santana," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 27, 8 June 1861, 1–2. The author was probably Manuel María Gautier.
25. Santana to Min. de Guerra, SD, 5 March 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. "Asuntos operaciones de campaña," doc. s/n.
26. Qtd. in Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 60.
27. V.F., "Quelques mots d'une patriote sur la question de l'Est d'Haïti," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 27, 8 June 1861, 2–3.
28. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 101.
29. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 160. Cabral's words reached the *New York Times*, possibly through the advocacy of Alejandro Ángulo Guridi ("Will Spain Be Able to Retain Dominica?," *New York Times*, 3 June 1861, 4).
30. Written in the margin of Rubalcalva to Brig. Peláez (and to Cap. Gen. of Cuba), SD, April 1861, AGI: Cuba 1006B, in AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 172, 1 May 1861, p. 24; Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 212.
31. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 191; Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 67. All of the executed were Dominican except for an American, William Morris, longtime resident of the Dominican capital (Marte, *Correspondencia*, 90). Santana's parody of military justice and horrific execu-

- tion amounted to “a disgusting and indefensible tyranny,” de la Gándara wrote (*Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 205).
32. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 198.
 33. Spanish senator Ríos Rosas called the event a “barbarous catastrophe of extermination . . . a deplorable start to the Spanish Government in Santo Domingo (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 213). “A horrible event [that] produced a deep and terrible sensation throughout the country,” a Madrid paper lamented (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 223).
 34. “The rebels had widespread support in the towns, settlements, and outposts of the frontier regions; many of the inhabitants there joined the expeditionaries,” Luis Álvarez López writes. “The majority of government troops also supported the rebels and joined their lines” (*Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 65). Consuls reported that center-island residents called on Haiti in early March and openly supported Geffrard (Marte, *Correspondencia*, 63; Joaquín Rubalcaba to Brig. Peláez, 1 May 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 172, p. 23). Some of the Haitian soldiers may have been from Geffrard’s guard of *tirailleurs* (Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l’indépendance dominicaine*, 34–35).
 35. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 90; Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 57.
 36. Expte. promovida por la Señora Ramona Recio,” Neyba, 15 August 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión I (DE/1378), Expte. 18.
 37. General Eusebio Puello to [Cap. Gen.], San Juan (Las Matas), 12 June 1861, AGI: Cuba 1025A, Expte. “Declaraciones recibidas,” n.p.
 38. M. Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 16 April 1862, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 30, doc. s/n (see Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 208).
 39. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l’indépendance dominicaine*, 34–35.
 40. Eusebio Puello to Cap. Gen. Azua, 2 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión (DE/1381) 2, Expte. 1.2, doc. 1. Others, like Altagracia Douval, Colonel Gabino Simonó (or Simoneau), and Major José Pierre, likewise bore prototypically Spanish given names and French or Haitian surnames. Both men were with Sánchez and Cabral in spring 1861, and Simoneau was executed alongside Sánchez that July (Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 102; Lugo Lovatón, “Tomás Bobadilla Briones,” 303).
 41. “Nota de los individuos y familias que han salido de la parte de Haiti y se encuentran en sus hogares y establecimientos” and “Relación de los individuos procedentes de Haytí que pertenecieron a los pueblos de las Matas Cercado y Sabana Mula y se marcharon en esta última invasión de 1861,” 11 October 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión (DE/1381) 2, Expte. 1, doc. s/n.
 42. Jose Hungria to Cap. Gen. Santiago, 3 May 1862, and reply Cap. Gen. to Hungria, 23 May 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión (DE/1381) 2, Expte. 1.2, docs. s/n. He may well have been long established in the country, actually, as with the Beliards of Puerto Plata (Puig Ortíz, *Emigración de libertos*, 74).

43. Real Orden minuta, Ministro de Guerra y Ultramar to Min. de Estado, Madrid, 12 July 1861, AHN: Ultramar, Expte. 8, doc. 2.
44. "Huyeron los haitianos!," *La Razón*, no. 10, 20 June 1861, 1.
45. José Mompou, "A El Eco Hispano-Americano," *La Razón*, no. 11, 23 June 1861, 1.
46. José Mompou, "¡Admite disculpa la agresión haitiana!," *La Razón*, no. 13, 1 July 1861, 2.
47. *La Razón*, no. 13, 1 July 1861, 2. This story was republished in Madrid papers. See Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 221.
48. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 176, 218.
49. "Huyeron los haitianos!," *La Razón*, no. 10, 20 June 1861, 1.
50. Manuel de Jesús Galván, "Francia y Haití," *La Razón*, no. 14, 4 July 1861, 1.
51. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 192–93.
52. Santana, "DOMINICANOS," *La Razón*, no. 10, 20 June 1861, 4; and *La Razón*, no. 12, 27 June 1861, 1.
53. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 213; Hernández Flores, *Luperón, alma y héroe*, 101.
54. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 215. Documents do in fact substantiate that the Spanish military intended to attack Port-au-Prince's defenses "to do as much damage as possible," before potentially doing the same in Jacmel and Cap-Haïtien (de la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 212).
55. Joseph Lewis to Seward, Port-au-Prince, 15 July 1861, NARA Reg. 84, Vol. 30, 1849–60, n.p.
56. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 220. The consuls urged Spanish authorities not to attack, arguing that fatal riots would ensue; Spanish authorities agreed that it amounted to attacking a defenseless town.
57. Real Orden of 12 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 15. That sum may have been reduced (St. John, *Hayti*, 105), although evidence is contradictory. The Haitian government completed payment by March of the next year (Expte. de Secretario del Estado, Madrid, 24 March 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3527, Expte. 35.)
58. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 212.
59. Joseph Lewis to Seward, Port-au-Prince, 15 July 1861, NARA Reg. 84, Vol. 30, 1849–60, n.p.
60. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 34, 27 July 1861, 2; *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 35, 3 August 1861, 2.
61. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 47, 26 October 1861, 1.
62. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 51, 23 November 1861, 1.
63. M. Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 2 March 1862, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 30, doc. s/n; Fabrè Geffrard, "Loi," *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 11, 15 February 1862, 1.
64. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 95.
65. Qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 258.

66. Qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 258.
67. Santana to Sp. Consul in Haiti, 18 April 1862, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 175, p. 64.
68. Serrano to Min. de Guerra, Reservada, 6 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 1.
69. Santana to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 8 August 1861, AGI: Cuba 2267, Expte. "Sobre la iglesia Dominicana."
70. Serrano to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 6 November 1861, AGI: Cuba 2267, Expte. "Sobre la iglesia Dominicana."
71. Regente de la audiencia, Don Eduardo Alonso y Colmenares to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Reservada, 5 March 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 13, docs. 1 and 2 (26 May 1862).
72. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 175.
73. Minuta de RO de Min. de Guerra y Ultramar to Gob. Santana, Madrid, 7 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 20.
74. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 142.
75. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 276.
76. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 261.
77. Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 89.
78. From Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 15.
79. José Malo de Molina to Cap. Gen. Francisco Serrano, 4 September 1861 (15 July 1861), AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 1, doc. 2, pp. 56–57.
80. Exptes. sobre Don Benito Alejandro Pérez et al., January–May 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3529, Expte. 20, docs. 1–8. Some of Santana's appointments to municipal posts were vetoed because the candidate was not qualified as a *letrado*.
81. March–August 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3529, Expte. 42–48.
82. Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 86 (he suggests that this process sped up further still after 1863, to the point that it "seems to have affected the most enthusiastic collaborators of Santana in the annexation process"); *Colección de leyes*, 184.
83. Rather than name Ricart y Torres to the Tribunal de Cuentas, the accounts were passed on to Cuba (Manuel del Alba to Min. de Guerra, 30 August 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3528, Expte. 6).
84. Escolano Giménez, "La organización de la provincia de Santo Domingo," 346, 348.
85. Delayed payment frustrated many. Others asked for additional funds to feed their families (e.g., Michez to Director General del Ramo de la Guerra, Seybo, 16 July 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 174; Secretario de la Junta Municipal de la Vega, 6 October 1862, AGN: Anexión II [DE/1800], Expte. 24).

86. "Contra los paisanos Juan Isidro Rodríguez . . . ," 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 2025, pp. 15, 79.
87. Comisario Regio to Min. de Guerra, 1861–63, AHN: Ultramar 3527, Expte. 44; 3528, Expte. 15; 2785, Expte. 1; 2785, Expte. 2.
88. Real Orden de Min. de Ultramar, Madrid, 29 October 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 7.
89. Expte. de Real Audiencia de SD, 30 April 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3542, Expte. 4.
90. Joaquín María de Alba to Cap. Gen., SD, 28 November 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 2 (DE/1381), Expte. 19, doc. 1.
91. Manuel del Alba to Min. de Ultramar, 2 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 2785, Expte. 20.
92. Manuel del Alba to Don Augusto Ulloa, 20 April 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3543, Expte. 27.
93. Colmenares to Cap. Gen., 25 April 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 37, Expte. 25.
94. Min. de Guerra to Santana, 16 August 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 21.
95. From Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 15; Manuel María Reyes to Cap. Gen., 16 September 1862, Anexión 37 (000163), Expte. 15.
96. Expediente formado para la plaza de Ministro de Justicia de Santo Domingo, August 1861–26 February 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 15.
97. Colmenares to Min. de Guerra, 9 September 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3533, Expte. 2.
98. Colmenares to the Queen, SD, 16 May 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3533, Expte. 5.
99. J. Obijo to Cap. Gen. of Santo Domingo, Azua, 20 August 1861, AGI: Cuba 852, Expte. "Cuarteles," doc. s/n.
100. Serrano to Min. de Guerra, Havana, 25 July 1861, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. "Asuntos operaciones de campaña," doc. s/n.
101. Serrano to Min. de Guerra, 27 July 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 43; Pedro Valverde to Gob. Sup. Civil, 9 May 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 2 (DE/1381), Expte. 11, doc. s/n; 11 February 1861, AGN-RD: RREE 14/15/16, Expte. 6, doc. 4.
102. Expediente de la Real Audiencia de SD, SD, 17 November 1862, ANC: Audiencia de la Habana Leg. 245, Expte. 2; Comisario Regio to Min. de Guerra, 31 May 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 44.
103. Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 15.
104. Febres-Cordero Carrillo, "La anexión," 232.
105. Junta Clasificadora (Blas. De Castro) to Cap. Gen., SD, 9 December 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 2 (DE/1381), Expte. 10.2, doc. s/n.
106. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 68.
107. Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 90.

108. Pedro Santana to Min. de Guerra, SD, 29 April 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5656, Expte. 2. "In my opinion this is nothing other than a pretext for opportunists and opponents of the current Government to disturb the peace and achieve purely personal gains," Santana wrote dismissively.
109. "Reasons for the current uprising" [anonymous, s/f, probably late 1863–64], AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 128.
110. Consul Hood to Lord J. Russell, SD, 21 April 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión DE/000933, Expte. 9, p. 27.
111. From Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 9 June 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3540, Expte. 9; Rivero to O'Donnell, 16 December 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 4, Expte. 9.
112. Felipe Rivero to Superintendencia de Cuba, 18 August 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3528, Expte. 18.
113. Real Orden of 5 October 1861, Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, AHN: Ultramar 3531, Expte. 27.
114. From Felipe Rivero to Min. de la Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 19 June 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 15.
115. U.S. commercial agent William Jaeger estimated that his 50 percent pay was still \$6,000 a year.
116. Manuel del Alba to don Augusto Ulloa, 20 April 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3543, Expte. 27.
117. "Dominicanos!," *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 102, 21 July 1862, 3.
118. Spending grew from 174,832 pesos in the first summer of occupation to 527,026 just two years later (Contaduría General de Hacienda, Cuaderno de la recaudación e inversión general de fondos, July 1861 and July 1863, BNE, Mss 12813, n.p.). As soon as sustained fighting began, expenditures ballooned to nearly 4,500,000 pesos in 1864 (Martínez Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 214).
119. Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 92.
120. Martínez Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 62.
121. These low-level officials were instructed to maintain order, arrest any troublemakers and remit them to *alcaldes ordinarios*, prevent games and cockfighting, impede liquor sales, enforce licenses to sell animals, prevent entry without a passport, enforce cleanliness, and so forth (Victoriano García Paredes to Gob. Político de Azua, SD, 11 February 1863, AGI: Cuba 1025A, Expte. "Instrucciones a los Alcaldes Pedáneos," doc. s/n).
122. Blanco Díaz, *Alejandro Ángulo Guridi*, 1:11.
123. Alejandro Ángulo Guridi to Cap. Gen., Santiago, 17 July 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 69.
124. Even Santana had his own qualms about abusive Buceta, reporting that he was "inconsiderate and violent." Writing to the Spanish Ministry of War, the Dominican general minced no words: "The outrages committed by him . . . [make] him a tyrant in every sense of the word, provoking the honorable

- inhabitants of the Cibao, accustomed to liberal treatment, with insults unworthy of his station. What Buceta has done in the Santiago province has no precedent in the history of Christian pueblos" (Pedro Santana to Min. de Guerra, 10 October 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 10).
125. Antonio Castillo y Mígel de los Santos to Gob. Sup. Civil, Guerra, 14 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 2 (DE/1381), Expte. 9, docs. s/n.
126. E.g., Mígel de los Santos to Gob. Sup. Civil, Guerra, 15 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 2 (DE/1381), Expte. 9, doc. s/n.
127. Miguel de los Santos to Gob. Sup. Civil, Guerra, 29 January 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 2 (DE/1381), Expte. 9, doc. s/n.
128. Passports generated a tremendous amount of paperwork. See, e.g., AGN-RD: Anexión 33, Expte. 37; Antonio Peláez to Gob. Sup. Civil, 12 October 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 1 (DE/1378), Expte. 27.
129. Santana to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 6 February 1862, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 24; [no sig.] to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, SD, 21 October 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión (DE/1381) 2, Expte. 1, doc. s/n; Pedro Santana to Gob. Sup. Civil, 8 October 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 2 (DE/1381), Expte. 1, doc. s/n.
130. Ana Maduro to Cap. Gen., 11 Oct 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 30, Expte. 5, doc. s/n.
131. "Nota de los individuos y familias que han salido de la parte de Haiti y se encuentran en sus hogares y establecimientos" and "Relación de los individuos procedentes de Haytí que pertenecieron a los pueblos de las Matas Cercado y Sabana Mula y se marcharon en esta última invasión de 1861," 11 October 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 2 (DE/1381), Expte. 1, doc. s/n.
132. "Reasons for the current uprising" [anonymous, s/f, probably late 1863–64], AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 128.
133. "Sumaria en averiguación de ciertos hechos que denuncia el comandante militar de San Cristóbal . . . ," 15 February 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas."
134. Juan Crisostomo de Rojas to Cap. Gen., 3 June 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 28, Expte. 1, doc. 2.
135. "Extracto—Informando sobre las cuestiones que abraza la RO de 10 de Noviembre de 1864," de la Gándara to Min. de Guerra, 9 January 1865, ANC: AP 225, Expte. 2, doc. s/n.
136. Antonio Subirá to Cap. Gen., SD, 20 July 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 18, Expte. 17; *Colección de leyes*.
137. Apolinario de Castro to Real Audiencia de SD, 13 May 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 29, Expte. 41.
138. [Unsigned] to Cap. Gen., 13 March 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 44.
139. Memoria informativa de las razones que ha tenido la Sección de Gobierno para alterar, modificar y aun suprimir algunas de las disposiciones del anterior Bando de Policía y

- Gobernación, y para establecer una que otra nueva prescripción, SD, 13 July 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 17, doc. 3.
140. Augusto Ulloa to Cap. Gen., 2 June 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 4, Expte. 14.
141. “Expte. reservado para tratar de la aplicación . . . ,” 8 April 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 20.
142. Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 242.
143. Martin J. Hood to Peter Vanderhurst, SD, 5 April 1863, in “Espediente instruido en averiguación de las circunstancias que concurren en el paysano Pedro Richardson Vanderhorst, procedente del campo enemigo,” Samaná, April 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A, 20.
144. Juan Zafra to Gob. Sup. Civil, September 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 8, Expte. 37.
145. Juan B. Zafra to Cap. Gen., 3 November 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 17, Expte. 4.
146. Welles, *Naboth's Vineyard*, 241.
147. “Extracto—Informando sobre las cuestiones que abraza la RO de 10 de Noviembre de 1864,” de la Gándara to Min. de Guerra, 9 January 1865, ANC: AP 225, Expte. 2, doc. s/n.
148. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 80.
149. Teniente Gobernador de Neyba to Cura Párroco de Neyba, 28 April 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 27, Expte. 18, p. 2v.
150. José Barrosla to Teniente Gobernador de Neyba, s/f, AGN-RD: Anexión 27, Expte. 18.
151. Juan B. Zafra to Cap. Gen., 4 July 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 17, Expte. 16.
152. The priest in Sabaneta even convinced the local municipal government to collect the fees for him, as he found the task too unpleasant. “Contra los paisanos Juan Isidro Rodríguez . . . ,” 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 205, p. 14. He eventually fled ([Unclear] to Cap. Gen., SD, 7 April 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 18, Expte. 9).
153. “Extracto—Informando sobre las cuestiones que abraza la RO de 10 de Noviembre de 1864,” de la Gándara to Min. de Guerra, 9 January 1865, ANC: AP 225, Expte. 2, doc. s/n; de la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 258.
154. Sáez, *Documentos inéditos de Fernando A. de Meriño*. 28. Meriño's name is sometimes recorded as Fernando Arturo de Meriño (for discussion, see Mella, *Los espejos de Duarte*, 233).
155. Paton, *No Bond but the Law*, 6.
156. Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *El alzamiento de Neiba*, 17.
157. Expte. “Relativo a las exámenes que deben de sufrir las mugeres . . . ,” 24 June 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 29, Expte. 2.
158. Memoria informativa de las razones que ha tenido la Sección de Gobierno para alterar, modificar y aun suprimir algunas de las disposiciones del anterior Bando de Policía y Gobernación, y para establecer una que otra nueva prescripción, SD, 13 July 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 17, doc. 3.

159. François, "Laundering Identities in the Americas."
160. Declaración de Josefa Debra, "Relación nominal de los desertores que han tenido los Cuerpos de la guarnición de esta Plaza [SD] . . . ," SD, 23 February 1865, AGI: Cuba 1015A, "Sumarias," 35. Josepha had been raised from an early age by one Madame Richard in Puerto Plata, perhaps a member of one of the families who had moved from Haiti during the Unification period.
161. Declaración de Guadeloupe Rodríguez, "Relación nominal de los desertores que han tenido los Cuerpos de la guarnición de esta Plaza [SD] . . . ," SD, 23 February 1865, AGI: Cuba 1015A, "Sumarias," 31.
162. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 200.
163. Makeshift hospital from a borrowed house: Ramón Blanco to Brig. Peláez and Cap. Gen. of Cuba, SD, 1 May 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 172, p. 19.
164. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 192.
165. "Testimonio de la Sumaria en aberiguación de si en algunas reuniones . . . hubo indisciplina," Case 256, May 1863, AGI: Cuba 1015A, "Sumarias."
166. Pedro Valverde to Gob. Superior Civil, 22 March 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 33, Expte. 36.
167. Causa formada a 7 individuos de los Batallones de San Marcial, Vitoria y Taragona por encontrarse merodeando en los afueras de esta Ciudad, October 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas."
168. "Copia testimoniada del Testimonio de la Causa instruida contra los Subtenientes D. Pedro Obanos y Alcalde, y D. Pedro García Maquina y varios individuos de la clan de tropa y carabineros de Hacienda pública . . . 18 de Agosto de 1862," Plaza de la Havana, 1867, AGI: Cuba 1015A.
169. José E. Rocas to Cap. Gen., La Vega, 5 April 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas."
170. José P. Mayo to Cap. Gen., SD, 11 June 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas."
171. "Sumaria Instruida en aberiguacion de unos golpes inferidos al niño (Pedro) de Doña Dolores Bernal de Valverde . . . ," SD, May 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011B.
172. "Testimonio sacado de la causa seguida Contra el Soldado de la 3^o Compañía del Batallón Infantería de San Marcial José Puga Martínez . . . ," June 1863, AGI: Cuba 1012A, "Sumarias."
173. Expte. sobre Don. Tomas Botello, Manuel del Jesús Galván, SD, 3 November 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 11 (DE/1800), Expte. 38.
174. "Contra el soldado de la Compañía de Cazadores del Batallón de San Marcial José Birrete," SD, October 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011B.
175. "Testimonio Contra el Soldado de la 5^a compañía José Cabrera y López acusado por haber pegado un tiro con un Cachorrillo del que resultó muerto el paisano Don Manuel Meta . . . ," SD, August 1863, AGI: Cuba 1012A, "Sumarias."
176. "Sumaria instruida contra los paisanos del Batallón de Voluntarios de esta Plaza Manuel Martínez y Enrique Iglesias . . . ," November 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas."

177. Ramón Blanco to Brig. Peláez and Cap. Gen. of Cuba, SD, 1 May 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 172, pp. 6–7. Large and well-constructed buildings existed—constructed “in the time of Spanish domination,” the officer noted—but they had gone without repair and been burned during various sieges until they were mostly “fallen, dismantled, and converted into a mountain of rubble” (18).
178. Marcos Adon to Antonio Alfau, 19 February 1864, AGI: Cuba 952, Expte. 98, “Correspondencia,” doc. s/n.
179. “Reasons for the current uprising” [anonymous, s/f, probably late 1863–64], AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 128.
180. It is unclear whether Evangelista was declassified because of limited literacy or not; he did manage to sign his court papers. His signature was shaky; “M” and “E” were the clearest letters, perhaps studied.
181. “Sumaria del General Don Marcos Evangelista acusado de haber proferido palabras suversivas . . .,” March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A. Also in AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 174.
182. “Relación Nominal de los Señores Gefes y Oficiales de las reservas provinciales en situación pasiva . . .,” in “Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo,” 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza.
183. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 76.
184. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 238.
185. “Sumaria formada . . . en averiguación de la conducta de . . . Don Pedro Obanos,” Case 265, AGI: Cuba 1015A, “Sumarias,” 21.
186. Mariano Álvarez to Primera Secretaria de Estado (I), Port-au-Prince, 25 March 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. “Asuntos operaciones de campaña,” doc. s/n.
187. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of SD (II), Port-au-Prince, 8 April 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. “Asuntos operaciones de campaña,” doc. s/n.
188. Mariano Álvarez to Primera Secretaria de Estado (II), Port-au-Prince, 25 March 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. “Asuntos operaciones de campaña,” doc. s/n.
189. Unable to assimilate the fact of the Haitian independence, he suggested that a 1795 treaty offered Spain “the right by which the white race can assert possession of the west side of Hispaniola” as well. “And with such precedent, who can dissent against the reclamation that I have just proposed?” he demanded (Mariano Álvarez to Primera Secretaria de Estado [II], Port-au-Prince, 25 March 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. “Asuntos operaciones de campaña,” doc. s/n).
190. Milans del Bosch to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Port-au-Prince, 24 June 1863, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. “Sobre la sublevación de SD en 1863,” doc. s/n.
191. M. Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 16 April 1862, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 30, doc. s/n; M. Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 9 May

- 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5645, “Expte sobre operaciones militares en SD sobre la frontera . . . ,” doc. s/n.
192. Geffrard, “Proclamation,” *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 9, 1 February 1862, 1.
193. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 22 January 1863, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. “Sobre la sublevación de SD en 1863,” doc. s/n.
194. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of SD, 24 April 1862, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 175, 26.
195. M. Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 2 March 1862, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 30, doc. s/n.
196. Bonneau, Haïti.
197. Felipe Rivero to Min. de Guerra, 4 February 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3534, Expte. 9.
198. Santana to Min. de Guerra, SD, 5 March 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. “Asuntos operaciones de campaña,” doc. s/n.
199. Milans del Bosch to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Port-au-Prince, 19 June 1863, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. “Sobre la sublevación de SD en 1863,” doc. s/n.
200. Felipe Rivero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 14 December 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro).
201. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 210–12.
202. Comandante de armas Angel Feliz to Gob. interino de Azua, San Juan, 28 September 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 173, p. 5; Bobadilla to Comandante de Armas Angel Feliz, Barahona, 25 December 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 173, p. 9. Other officials worried that a certain Ponsin Rondon was in Las Matas, causing considerable disorder (Santiago Suero to Gob. Militar de Azua, San Juan, 28 December 1861, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 173, p. 4).
203. Teniente Gob. de Guayabin, Santiago [unclear] to Cap. Gen. of SD, 20 October 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión 1 (DE/1378), Expte. 6.
204. F. Sosa to Santana, 14 June 1861, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. “promovido a consecuencia de la invasión . . . por los Haitianos.”
205. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 273.
206. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, alma y héroe*, 106.
207. M. Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 16 April 1862, ANC: AP 224, Expte. 30, doc. s/n. (see Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 208).
208. “Sumaria instruida en averiguación del tráfico y comunicaciones que con los haitianos tuvieron los paisanos Pedro Curro, Venancio Gil, Soten Sambra, Manuel Sanjuanaro, José Ramírez, Norverto Cueva, José Sánchez y José Ignacio,” October 1862, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 202 (AGI: 1013B).

5. You Promised to Die of Hunger

1. Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *El alzamiento de Neiba*, 46.
2. Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *El alzamiento de Neiba*, 28; “Sumaria Contra Don Nicolás de Mesa, SubT de las milicias provinciales, los paysanos

- Manuel Chiquito, Cayetano Velázquez . . . ,” Neiba, February 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011B, p. 99.
3. Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *Los alzamientos de Guayubín*, 31. Earlier on in February, a man in Guayubín could not contain his disdain for Spanish soldiers in the town. When one greeted him as a “countryman” (paisano), he replied, “Countryman of yours? . . . within five days you’ll see what’s coming for you” (Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 86).
 4. Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *Los alzamientos de Guayubín*, 37.
 5. Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *Los alzamientos de Guayubín*, 8; Monción, “De capotillo a Santiago,” 13.
 6. Manuel Buceta to Felipe Ribero, Santiago, 8 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 27, doc. 2; Felipe Ribero to Min. de Ultramar, 18 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 26, doc. 2.
 7. Gil, *Orígenes y proyecciones de la revolución restauradora*, 82.
 8. Hernández Flores, *Luperón*, 56, 68.
 9. Pérez Dionisio, “Santiago de Cuba y la Guerra de la Restauración,” 113.
 10. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 290, 344, 347.
 11. “Contra los paisanos Juan Isidro Rodríguez . . . ,” 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 2025, pp. 15, 79.
 12. “Reasons for the current uprising” [anonymous, s/f, probably late 1863–64], AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 128.
 13. Qtd. in Comisión Permanente de Efemérides Patrias, *Proclamas* (hereafter cited as *Proclamas*), 18.
 14. “Sumaria [sobre Hato Mayor] . . . ,” October 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21 (AGI: Cuba 1014A), Expte. 176, 7.
 15. Real Orden of 26 February 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 17.
 16. White, *Speaking with Vampires*, 82.
 17. Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *El alzamiento de Neiba*, 29.
 18. Vallejo, *Las madres de la Patria*, 47; Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *El alzamiento de Neiba*, 19.
 19. Hahn, “‘Extravagant Expectations’ of Freedom,” 128.
 20. Finke, “Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora,” 126.
 21. Finch, “Insurgency at the Crossroads,” 143. Historians have gestured to Dominican women’s roles as “ignored heroes” of the fighting (Jimenes Grullón, *Sociología política dominicana*, 141).
 22. Camp, “‘I Could Not Stay There,’” 3; Camp, *Closer to Freedom*, chap. 5.
 23. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*, 78.
 24. Martínez, *Diccionario*, 237.
 25. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 238.
 26. Blanco Díaz, *Alejandro Ángulo Guridi*, 2:201.
 27. “Reasons for the current uprising” [anonymous, s/f, probably late winter 1863–64], AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 128.

28. “Ya se fueron los blancos / de Yamasá, ¡ay palisa! / Ya se fueron los españoles / con su banderita en popa.” A “cantar de la época,” anonymous, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Poesía popular dominicana*, 89.
29. Hauch, “The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations,” 163.
30. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 187.
31. Santana, “DOMINICANOS,” *La Razón*, no. 10, 20 June 1861, 4; *La Razón*, no. 12, 27 June 1861, 1.
32. Ministro de Estado (Tomas de Ligués) to Ministro de Guerra y Ultramar, Palacio, 28 June 1861, AHN: Ultramar, Expte. 8, doc. 1.
33. Santiago Pichardo, “Al Pueblo,” Santiago, 20 June 1861, SHM: Ultramar 5645, Expte. “Asuntos operaciones de campaña,” doc. s/n. Santana was “the indefatigable caudillo of our holy cause,” he concluded. He admonished, “Our cause is just, God protects it, and if it were necessary, the neighboring islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico would give us abundant reinforcements of all kinds.”
34. [No sig.] to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, SD, 21 October 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión (DE/1381) 2, Expte. 1, doc. s/n.
35. *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 110, 14 August 1862, 1.
36. Domingo Lasala to “Gefe de la frontera haitiana,” Neyba, 18 September 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión (DE/1381) 2, Expte. 1, doc. s/n; Gob. de Azua to [unclear], 16 December 1861, AGN-RD: Anexión (DE/1381) 2, Expte. 1, doc. s/n; Santana to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, SD, 6 February 1862, AHN: Ultramar 5485, Expte. 24.
37. For example, Eusebio Puello to Cap. Gen., Azua, 20 February 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión (DE/1381) 2, Expte. 1.2, doc. s/n.
38. Santana to Min. de Ultramar, 19 February 1862, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 175, p. 1.
39. Eduardo Alonso Colmenares to Min. de Guerra, 21 January 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3532, Expte. 12. Other individuals—like British sailor Jaime Barret, suspected of a murder of another British subject—also languished without trial. British Consul Martin J. Hood to Cap. Gen. Felipe Ribero, SD, 7 October 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 4 (DE/1383), Expte. 26, doc. 1.
40. Felipe Ribero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 9 December 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro).
41. Felipe Ribero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 9 December 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro).
42. Felipe Ribero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 14 December 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro).
43. “Le Grand Meeting,” *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 26, 1 June 1861, 1–4.
44. Jung, *Coolies and Cane*, 74; *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 12, 23 February 1861, 2–3; Hauch, “Attitudes of Foreign Governments,” 267.
45. Pedro Santana to Min. de Guerra, 5 March 1862, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 175, p. 11.

46. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 196.
47. Copiador, 14 September 1860; Felipe Ribero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 14 December 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro).
48. Joaquín de Rubalcalva, Comandancia Gral. de Marina, to Gob. Sup. Civil., 15 February 1863, ANC: AP 225, Expte. 1.
49. Pedro Santana to Min. de Guerra, 18 February 1862, SHM: Ultramar 5639, Expte. "Esclavitud/Esclavos 1849-1862," doc. s/n.
50. Bando, Achilles Michel, 25 February 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 19 (AGI: Cuba 1004B), p. 27.
51. Bando, 28 February 1863, AGI: Cuba 984C.
52. "Proceso instruido contra Don Ramón Almonte, Don Isidro Jimenez, Don Manuel Tejada, Don Manuel de Jesus Vargas (presente), Don Juan Antonio Alis, . . . y Don Domingo Curiel, Oficiales de las reservas de esta isla . . . ," Santiago de los Caballeros, March-May 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 11 (AGI: Cuba 1015A), 75.
53. "Contra los paisanos Juan Isidro Rodríguez . . . ," 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 205, p. 103.
54. "Proceso Instruida contra D. Álvaro Fernández, D. José Vidal Pichardo, D. Juan de la Cruz Ureña, D. José Cepeda, D. Ambrosio de la Cruz . . . ," Santiago, March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1014A.
55. Ribero to Min. de Guerra, 26 April 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018.
56. Ribero to Min. de Guerra, 16 March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018.
57. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 132.
58. Declaración de D. Rafael Leandro García in "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza, 87.
59. Real Audiencia de SD to Min. de Ultramar (copia), Madrid, 20 October 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 30.
60. Ribero to Min. de Guerra, 19 March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018.
61. Abreu Cardet and Sintés Gómez, *Los alzamientos de Guayubín*, 42.
62. Achilles Michel to Cap. Gen., Santiago, 2 March 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 19 (AGI: Cuba 1004B), p. 7.
63. Don Diego Crespo was a day laborer, for example, but he had been educated at some point and was able to sign his testimony clearly ("Causa formada en aberiguación de los hechos que han tenido lugar en la insurrección de Guayubín . . . el día 22 de Febrero," March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n, p. 107).
64. As was the case for Pablo Rodríguez in "Proceso instruido contra el paisano José de la Cruz . . . ," November 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A.
65. "Causa formada en aberiguación de los hechos que han tenido lugar en la insurrección de Guayubín . . . el día 22 de Febrero," March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n, 7v, 11.

66. “Sumaria instruido contra el paisano Manuel de Arias . . . ,” SD, July 1864, AGI: Cuba, 1012A, “Sumarias,” 32v.
67. “Sumaria contra el paisano D. Miguel Valverde, acusado de haber salido de esta plaza para unirse a los insurrectos, SD, 9 September 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A (emphasis added). During his exile in Puerto Rico, interrogators of the rebellious priest Fernando Antonio Meriño were “visibly upset” at his interrogation for similar reasons, and they insisted that neither his speech nor his countenance was Dominican. “Even though [they] did not verbalize it, it is possible they thought that a white, well-dressed man who spoke Spanish well could not be Dominican,” one author concludes (Sáez, *Documentos inéditos de Fernando A. de Meriño*, 28).
68. Granted in May, it reached the Cibao in late June. It extended to those who had been involved not only in the events of the spring but also in prior republican-era discord if the applicant swore loyalty to Her Highness within six months’ time (Real Orden of 27 May 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 25, doc. 1). Governor Rivero urged the public—excluding any ringleaders and members of the Provincial Reserves—not to worry they would be judged as rebels, and he promised amnesty for those returning to their homes within fifteen days (Felipe Ribero, “Dominicanos,” SD, 29 May 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 91).
69. Felipe Ribero, “Dominicanos,” SD, 29 May 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 91.
70. Martin Hood to Cap. Gen., 22 May 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 19, Expte. 8, doc. 2; Marte, *Correspondencia*, 247.
71. Ribero to Min. de Guerra, 17 March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018.
72. Administrador de Rentas al Gob. Gral, 3 March 1863, AHN: Ultramar 6159, Expte. 41.
73. Ribero to Min. de Ultramar, 20 April 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 24.
74. Felipe Ribero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 20 April 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro).
75. Ribero to Min. de Ultramar, 20 April 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 24.
76. Felipe Ribero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 20 April 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro).
77. Min. de Estado to Felipe Ribero, 12 June 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 25.
78. Achilles Michel to Cap. Gen., 1 March 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 19, 1004B, p. 22.
79. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 291.
80. Ribero to Min. de Guerra, 20 May 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018; Felipe Ribero to Min. de Estado, 10 June 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 25.
81. Felipe Ribero to Min. de Estado, 10 June 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 25.
82. Buceta to Cap. Gen., 12 July 1863, AGI: Cuba 963, Expte. 198, doc. s/n.

83. Monción, "De capotillo a Santiago," 14, 26.
84. Ribero to Min. de Guerra, 2 June 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018.
85. Segundo Días Herrera to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 25 August 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 28, doc. s/n.
86. Mariano Álvarez, s/f [June 1863], AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 95, Copia 2.
87. Manuel Buceta to Felipe Ribero, Santiago, 8 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 27, doc. 2; Felipe Ribero to Min. de Ultramar, 18 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 26, doc. 2.
88. Pedro Ezequiel Guerrero to Manuel Buceta, Monte Cristi, 8 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 27, doc. 3.
89. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 155.
90. "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza, 9. The atmosphere was so alarming by late July that when the Havana port commander arrived by steamship with more than six hundred men, he boarded another ship to travel to Santo Domingo immediately, in order to inform the governor of the extremity of the situation (Segundo Días Herrera to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 25 August 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 28, doc. s/n).
91. Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 134.
92. "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza, 4.
93. Martínez, *Diccionario*, 237.
94. Declaración de D. Rafael Leandro García in "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza, 89.
95. Paton, *No Bond but the Law*, 43.
96. José Porrua Valdivia, Circular, Puerto Plata, 31 August 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 3, doc. s/n.
97. Declaración de D. Rafael Leandro García in "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza, 89.
98. José Porrua Valdivia to Regente de Real Audiencia, Puerto Plata, 2 September 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 3, doc. s/n.
99. Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 135–36. It was the second major fire in four months. More than forty buildings, including the customhouse, burned to the ground in July.
100. Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 139.
101. Declaración de D. Rafael Leandro García in "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza, 126.
102. [Sin firma] to Cap. Gen., 23 August 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 79.

103. Abreu Cardet and Sintes Gómez, *El alzamiento de Neiba*, 25.
104. Min. de Ultramar to Gob. Superior Civil, 11 January 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 25, Expte. 7, doc. 3.
105. Román de la Torre to Min. de Ultramar, 8 October 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3533, Expte. 1, doc. 7.
106. Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 127.
107. Cáp. Gen. José de Villar to Min. de Ultramar, SD, 1 September 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3533, Expte. 1, doc. 24.
108. [Sin firma] to Alejandro Guridi, Santiago, 4 August 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 49.
109. "Causa formada en aberiguación de los hechos que han tenido lugar en la insurrección de Guayubín . . . el día 22 de Febrero," March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n.
110. "Causa formada en aberiguación de los hechos que han tenido lugar en la insurrección de Guayubín . . . el día 22 de Febrero," March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n, 6.
111. "Sumaria [sobre Hato Mayor] . . . ," October 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21 (AGI: Cuba 1014A), Expte. 176, pp. 8, 89.
112. "Sumaria [sobre Hato Mayor] . . . ," October 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21 (AGI: Cuba 1014A), Expte. 176, p. 8. The rebels raised the very same flag that had been lowered on the day of annexation. The flag had been on display in the church, intertwined with the Spanish one for a time, and later stored by reserve officers. Evidently the rebels had located and confiscated it to raise it again, and tried to find the Spanish one in order to burn it, but it was saved by the wife of a reservist.
113. [Sin firma], Santiago, 31 August 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 145.
114. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 152.
115. Testimonio de Francisco Mosqueton, 7 February 1864, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 186.
116. Translated by Kak Lam Yip and Lan Jo Wu, who translate "Wu kwai officer" as "black officer." Ah Yeung and Ah Sung to Ah Kun, Wong Yi, and Ah Bong, September or October 1864, ANC: AP 226, Expte. 9, doc. s/n.
117. "Causa Contra el penado asiático Macsimo Segundo por el delito de fugar . . . ," Puerto Plata, February 1864, AGI: Cuba 1012A, "Sumarias."
118. "Sumaria instruida contra el asiático penado 'Roberto,'" 4 May 1864, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas."
119. Bando, 2 March 1863, AGI: Cuba 984C; Rivero to Min. de Guerra, 8 March 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 21.
120. "Proceso Formado contra el SubT de las RP de esta Isla Don Hilarion Puello, con motivo del desorden originado por el, en el pueblo del Cotuy," Santiago, April 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011B, Expte. s/n.
121. Mariano Cappa to Cap. Gen., SD, 25 August 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas."

122. Hauch, "The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations," 161.
123. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 59.
124. Hauch, "The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations," 162.
125. "Chismes," *La Razón*, no. 72, 19 September 1863, 4.
126. Ubiñas Renville, *Historias y leyendas afro-dominicanas*, 91. Los Naranjos was a settlement of maroon families who moved there from the Neiba settlement, at the end of the 1700s (Lora Hugi, "El sonido de la libertad," 111; Yingling, "Maroons of Santo Domingo," 25).
127. Martínez, *Diccionario*, 311.
128. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Reservado, SD, 23 December 1863, SHM: Ultramar 5655, Expte. 2º Periodo Ministerio del General Lersundi, doc. s/n.
129. W. Jaeger to W. H. Seward, 10 January 1864, AGN-RD: "Correspondencia del Agente Comercial de los EEUU No. 43-52," 4.
130. "Sumaria Instruida contra el paisano moreno Manuel Guerrero y Guerrero acusado de sedicioso," SD, August 1864, AGI: Cuba 1014A.
131. "Sumaria en averiguación de los motivos que hubo para prender al moreno paisano Francisco de los Dolores . . .," SD, September 1863, AGI: Cuba 1012A, "Sumarias," IV.
132. Declaración de D. Rafael Leandro García in "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881ª, 1ª Pieza, 89.
133. Sumaria de Nicolas Guzman, March 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A.
134. Carlos de Vargas, "Dominicanos!," 23 October 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 33, doc. 2.
135. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Reservado, SD, 23 December 1863, SHM: Ultramar 5655, Expte. 2º Periodo Ministerio del General Lersundi, doc. s/n.
136. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Reservado, SD, 23 December 1863, SHM: Ultramar 5655, Expte. 2º Periodo Ministerio del General Lersundi, doc. s/n.
137. Juan Suero to Cap. Gen. of SD, Puerto Plata, 24 December 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 240.
138. Archambault, *Historia de la Restauración*, 77. Governor Rivero planned to dismiss Buceta to Havana; both his military tactics and his behavior as governor of Santiago had been "dubious," the governor told Madrid officials, hinting strongly at abuses to authority (Min. de Guerra to Cap. Gen. of SD, Madrid, 26 November 1863, AGI: Cuba 923B, doc. s/n de Expte. "Buceta de Villar, D. Manuel"). Although the order was annulled before Buceta ever received it, the sanctioned officer was absolutely indignant at the prospect of censure, calling the resolution "exceptionally offensive" (Manuel Buceta to Cap. Gen., 2 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 923B, Expte. "Buceta de Villar, D. Manuel," doc. s/n).

139. [Sin firma] to Alejandro Guridi, Santiago, 4 August 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 49; José Porrua to Regente de RA, 6 October 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 3, doc. s/n.
140. José Porrua Valdivia, Puerto Plata, 30 August 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 3, doc. s/n.
141. Martínez, *Diccionario*, 237.
142. A few witnesses in early revolts reported hearing cries of “Viva Báez, Viva la República, Muera España.” Álvarez López, *Dominación colonial y guerra popular*, 55–56. Felipe Ribero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 9 December 1862, AGI: Cuba 1018; Ministro de Estado (Tomas de Ligués) to Ministro de Guerra y Ultramar, Palacio, 28 June 1861, AHN: Ultramar, Expte. 8, doc. 1. Governor Serrano of Cuba had arrived in Santo Domingo determined to declare total amnesty, but he faithfully passed on Santana’s “semiofficial” letter seeking to ban the Báez family, General José María Cabral, and a handful of others, even as he continued to suggest total clemency (Serrano to Min. de Guerra, Reservada, 6 September 1861, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 1). Santana seems to have remained fairly vigilant about not letting in individual political opponents; he denied their entry on a case-by-case basis (Santana to Sp. Consul in Haiti, 18 April 1862, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21, Expte. 175, p. 64). Santana’s successor confirmed the ban on former political opponents, ordering Spanish authorities in Saint Thomas not to issue passports to General Ramón Mella or any other prominent political refugee (Felipe Ribero to Min. de Guerra, 2 October 1862, AHN: Ultramar 3535, Expte. 2).
143. “Báez gained power, not through the sympathies of the people whom he tyrannized and dilapidated, but rather through intrigue and treachery; Santana has always occupied the Presidency based on [legitimate means].” Báez is corrupt, “immoral, cynical and destructive,” argued Galván, the response pamphlet’s author. Báez was wealthy and profited from discord, while Pedro Santana was the worthy political hero—akin to Cincinnati, Napoleon, and George Washington—who lived in poverty, he continued (Galván, “El General don Pedro Santana,” 3, 12).
144. Bando, 16 March 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 22, doc. 3.
145. Galván, “El General don Pedro Santana,” 25.
146. Conclusion Fiscal, “Causa formada en aberiguación de los hechos . . . de Guayubín . . . el día 22 de Febrero,” March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n, p. 224.
147. Editorial, *La Razón*, no. 70, 3 September 1863, 1 (emphasis in original).
148. Felipe Ribero, “Dominicanos!,” SD, 24 August 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 2.
149. Manuel Urbano Sánchez to Cap. Gen., La Vega, 3 September 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 3, doc. s/n.
150. Pedro Santana, “SOLDADOS!,” Monte Plata, 17 September 1863, AGI: Cuba 947B, Expte. 332.

151. Pedro Santana, "SOLDADOS!," Monte Plata, 17 September 1863, AGI: Cuba 947B, Expte. 332.
152. Bando, 16 March 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 22, doc. 3.
153. "Rasgos de generosidad," *La Razón*, no. 73, 26 September 1863, 4.
154. "La Insurrección," *La Razón*, no. 72, 19 September 1863, 4.
155. Carlos de Vargas, Bando, 19 March 1864, AGI: Cuba 948C.
156. "Padrón que se forma de todas las cabezas de familia . . . ," 26 October 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 181.
157. Antonio Alfau to Marcos Adon, 16 February 1864, AGI: Cuba 952, Expte. 98, "Correspondencia," doc. s/n.
158. Felipe Ribero, Bando, 30 September 1863, AGI: Cuba 984C, "Bandos."
159. Carlos de Vargas, "Habitantes de SD," 23 January 1864, AGI: Cuba 948, "Bandos."
160. Felipe Ribero, "Dominicanos!," SD, 24 August 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 2.
161. Bando, 16 March 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 22, doc. 3.
162. "Habitantes de SD," 25 January 1864, AGI: Cuba 948, "Bandos."
163. "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza, 2.
164. Nicolas Pérez to Cap. Gen., 27 November 1863, AGI: Cuba 1001B, "Exptes. en suspenso," doc. s/n.
165. Ayuntamiento del Comun de Azua to Cap. Gen., 3 September 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 2, doc. s/n.
166. Carlos de Vargas, "Habitantes," 20 November 1863, AGI: Cuba 948, "Bandos."
167. José Roca to Cap. Gen., La Vega, 20 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 27, doc. 7; José Roca to Cap. Gen., La Vega, 19 August 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 2.
168. Proclama del Ayuntamiento de la Vega, 27 August 1863, AGI: Cuba 947B, Expte. 332.
169. Testimonio de Francisco Mosqueton, 7 February 1864, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, 186.
170. "Afectuosa y sentida composición poética que dedica al ES Don Carlos de Vargas . . ." and "Contestación a la sentida composición . . . ," in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 317–20.
171. Wm. G. N. Jaeger to William Seward, 25 November 1863, AGN-RD: Libro US Agente Comercial.
172. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Ultramar, Reservado, 24 October 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 149, doc. 1.
173. Carlos de Vargas, "SOLDADOS!," 23 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 947B, Expte. 332.
174. Alejandro Ricart to Cap. Gen., 26 January 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 29, Expte. 15, doc. 6.

175. De la Gándara to Cap. Gen., Azua, 15 December 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, Expte. 77, "Causas," doc. s/n.
176. W. Jaeger to W. H. Seward, 10 January 1864, AGN-RD: "Correspondencia del Agente Comercial de los EEUU No. 43-52," 4.
177. [Unclear] to Cap. Gen., 5 July 1865, AGN-RD: Anexión 32, Expte. 5 (2006).
178. "Reglamenta interina para el régimen de las oficinas administrativas de la Provincia de la parte Española de SD," José de Villar, 22 October 1864, AHN: Ultramar 6160, Expte. 17, doc. 2; Carlos Borrajo to Sr. Admor. de Rentas de Azua, 3 February 1863, AHN: Ultramar 6160, Expte. 17, doc. 4.
179. Declaracion de Teniente Coronel de las Reservas D. Luís Bernal, in "De la sumaria instruida en averiguación de la conducta observada por el Coronel de Infantería D. Bruno Ganoso y Quesada," SD, March 1864, AGI: Cuba, 1012A, "Sumarias," 27.
180. Declaración de Luís Bernal; Declaración de Federico Quisch, in "De la sumaria instruida en averiguación de la conducta observada por el Coronel de Infantería D. Bruno Ganoso y Quesada," SD, March 1864, AGI: Cuba, 1012A, "Sumarias," 27v, 28v. Samaná's authorities moved several times subsequently, first to a healthier spot on the peninsula and later integrating their judiciary with Seibo entirely.
181. Matos Rodríguez, "Street Vendors, Pedlars, Shop-Owners and Domestic," 187–88.
182. "Sumaria Instruida contra el paisano moreno Manuel Guerrero y Guerrero acusado de sedicioso," SD, August 1864, AGI: Cuba 1014A.
183. Hauch, "The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations," 163.
184. "Proceso instruido contra Don Ramón Almonte, [et al.] . . .," Santiago de los Caballeros, March–May 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 11 (AGI: Cuba 1015A), 12; murder of Juana: "Proceso contra varios individuos acusados de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata," September 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24 (AGI: Cuba 1014A), Expte. 211.
185. From Lucas Peña, General en Gefé de las Fronteras, to General de División, Don Antonio Batista, "Causa formada en averiguación de los hechos que han tenido lugar en la insurrección de Guayubín . . .," March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n, 38.
186. "Proceso instruido contra el paisano José de la Cruz acusado de seducción al enemigo, a los soldados del país," November 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A.
187. "Proceso instruido contra Lorenzo Munoz como complicado en la actual rebolucion por conductor de correspondencia enemiga," SD, September 1863–January 1865, AGI: Cuba 1012B.
188. Expte. de Tribunal Supremo de Justicia, 19 September 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 31, doc. 2.
189. "Sumaria [sobre Hato Mayor] . . .," October 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21 (AGI: Cuba 1014A), Expte. 176, 40–42 (but 41 missing).

190. General José María Cabral, "DOMINICANOS!," Las Caobas, 6 April 1861, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "promovido a consecuencia de la invasión de la frontera de SD por los Haitianos," doc. s/n.
191. Proclamas, 62.
192. Ramón Mella, "Dominicanos," 16 January 1864, AGI: Cuba 973B, Expte. "306: Parlamentos," doc. s/n.
193. Ramon Mella and Marcos E. Adon to Gral. Antonio Alfau, s/f (February 1864), AGI: Cuba 952, Expte. 98, "Correspondencia," doc. s/n.
194. "Sumaria [sobre Hato Mayor] . . . ," October 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 21 (AGI: Cuba 1014A), Expte. 176, 62.
195. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Reservado, SD, 23 December 1863, SHM: Ultramar 5655, Expte. 2º Periodo Ministerio del General Ler-sundi, doc. s/n.
196. W. Jaeger to W. H. Seward, 10 January 1864, AGN-RD: "Correspondencia del Agente Comercial de los EEUU No. 43-52," 4.
197. Expte. de Tribunal Supremo de Justicia, 19 September 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 31, doc. 2.
198. Jose Porrúa to Regente de RA de SD, 21 November 1863, ANC: AP 54, 3, doc. s/n.
199. Declaración de D. Rafael Leandro García in "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza, 87.
200. [Sin firma] to Jose Roca, 27 August 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 151.
201. Bando, San Cristobal, 14 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 1003B, Expte. "Documentos cojidos al enemigo y referentes a sus movimientos," doc. s/n.
202. Alcalde Pedáneo Pedro Quintin of Santiago, and D. Juan Lafit, AP of Puerto Plata, were actually suspected of being principal insurgents in the fall of 1863, for example.
203. Bando, San Cristobal, 14 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 1003B, Expte. "Documentos cojidos al enemigo y referentes a sus movimientos," doc. s/n. Just four days later, the town fell back to the Spanish.
204. E.g., "Sumaria Instruida contra el paisano Alpolinar Megia acusado de sospechoso . . . ," Bayaguana, 7 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 1014A.
205. Don Rafael Garrido, Apolinario Megias et al. to Min. de Ultramar, 27 April 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 136.
206. "Sumaria Instruida contra el paisano moreno Manuel Guerrero y Guerrero acusado de sedicioso," SD, August 1864, AGI: Cuba 1014A.
207. "Proceso contra varios individuos acusados de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata," September 1863, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24 (AGI: Cuba 1014A), Expte. 211.
208. Officially, foreign merchants blamed the Spanish for the October 1863 fires in Puerto Plata. Their immediate reclamations—for more than 100,000

- pesos—continued well after Spanish evacuation (1896!). They may simply have been trying to finger a wealthier culprit; Dominican historians suggest that General Gaspar Polanco explicitly ordered arson to reproduce Santiago's calamitous disruption (Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 135). Spanish officers admitted the fires followed the wake of Spanish troops and asserted that they had attempted to extinguish them. The wooden constructions were simply too quickly reduced to ashes, however (En averiguación de si el incendio de Puerto Plata [SD] en Octubre de 1863 fue prendido por las tropas españolas o por los dominicanos, Havana, 1896, AGI: Ultramar 881^a, Expte. s/n).
209. Jose Porrúa to Regente de la RA de SD, 6 October 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 3, doc. s/n.
210. William Jaeger, 4 December 1863, AGN-RD: Libro de Correspondencia del Agente Comercial de los EEUU.
211. Abreu Cardet and Sintes Gómez, *Los alzamientos de Guayubín*, 35.
212. *Proclamas*, 19.
213. "Some of those pardoned have returned to this City. Others have left Porto Rico (where they were imprisoned) and gone to St. Thomas and Curaçao, refusing to return while the Spaniards have possession of this island. The majority of those who returned are closing their business and intend to leave, if the Spaniards remain," the U.S. commercial agent wrote (Wm. G. N. Jaeger to William Seward, 25 November 1863, AGN-RD: Libro US Agente Comercial).
214. Cáp. Gen. José de Villar to Min. de Ultramar, SD, 1 September 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3533, Expte. 1, doc. 24.
215. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Reservado, SD, 23 December 1863, SHM: Ultramar 5655, Expte. 2^o Periodo Ministerio del General Lersundi, doc. s/n.
216. Otero y Pimentel, *Reflejos de la vida militar*, 232.
217. E.g. of a robbery case (Puerto Plata): José de la Gándara to Cap. Gen., Puerto Plata, 30 September 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas." E.g. of a small group of soldiers written up for delinquency (Samaná): Felipe Ribero to Comisario Regio de la Real Audiencia, 15 January 1863, AGN-RD: Anexión 18, Expte. 25. E.g. of a soldier judged guilty of robbery and assault within his own barracks (for which he was sentenced to one month in jail): "Instruido contra el Cabo 2^o de la 2^a Compañía del Batallón Cazadores de Bailen No 1^o Rafael Quintana . . .," SD, 1863, AGI: Cuba 1012A, "Sumarias." One soldier, a laborer from the Canary Islands, even shouted "Nueva España!"—an oblique parallel, perhaps, to conquistador efforts in sixteenth-century Mexico and the campaign in which he found himself—he faced trial for it but was mostly exonerated for drunkenness ("Instruida contra el paisano [español] José Linares y Fernández acusado de haber dado voces de Nueva España," 10 May 1865, AGI: Cuba 1014A, Expte. s/n).

A sample month of the early fighting, November 1863: twenty-one Spanish soldiers were arrested (one for murder of a Dominican man, two for suspected murder, seven for desertion, two for insubordination, three unknown, one for drunkenness, three for robbery, two for riñas with paisanos). That same month, fourteen “paisanos” (Dominican troops) were arrested, two as prisoners of war; one for carrying enemy communication; two for *sospechoso*, seven for deserting Santana’s ranks, one for an argument with his superior (“Relación de los presos y arrestados . . .,” SD, 4 November 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, “Causas”).

218. *Causas contra dos soldados del Batallón de Isabel 2^a*, Francisco Miñarro y Francisco Mesa, por el asesinato del paisano D. Lorenzo Barrera, December 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, “Causas.”
219. “Sumaria En averiguación de los motibos que ocasionó la muerte del Carretero Benito Barreto . . .,” SD, June 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011B.
220. “Sumaria En averiguación de la fuga del soldado del Batallón Cazadores de Bailen José Cabrera de los Calabozos del Hospital Militar . . .,” SD, October 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011B.
221. Libro 3, “Gral. de SD/Estado Mayor/Registro Gral. de Causas, da principio desde 1^o de Nov 1864 Libro 3^o,” AGI: Cuba 1017.
222. E.g., Carlos Gutiérrez to Cap. Gen., Puerto Plata, 7 April 1864; Eusebio Puello to Cap. Gen., Azua, 31 October 1864; Domingo Dulce to Cap. Gen., 29 March 1865, AGI: Cuba 950B.
223. “De la causa instruida en averiguación del autor o autores del robo de una maleta en Guasa . . .,” November 1864, AGI: Cuba 1015A, “Sumarias.”
224. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 156, 164.
225. “Sumaria instruida contra el soldado de las Reservas Juan del Rosario,” March 1864, AGI: Cuba 953b, Expte. 125, “Desertores de 1864–65, Desertores en Reservas Provinciales,” doc. s/n.
226. When Spanish general José María Pérez sent out a soldier in search of a reservist who had deserted to gather plantains, for example, angry townspeople came to the soldier’s defense. Five men—laborers and farmers all—were arrested for their alleged threats to the general and held on trial as prisoners of war (“Proceso instruido contra los paisanos Miguel Rodríguez, Tomas Hidalgo, Juan Culinario y Santiago de la Concepción aprehendidos con las armas en la mano y Julio Marti acusado de insubordinación y seducción, para atentar a la vida del General de las reservas D. José María Pérez,” January 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A).
227. “Sumaria instruida en averiguación de la deserción al enemigo de soldado de las reservas Pedro Alcántara (a) Elías,” SD, 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A.
228. *Proceso instruido contra Saturnino Castillo, acusado de deserción y complicado en la revolución*, SD, January 1864, AGI: Cuba, 1011A. He could not possibly have presented himself to authorities sooner because the rebels had stolen his clothing, he reported.

229. "Proceso instruido al Cáp. Don José Agustín Henríquez por habandono que hizo de la guardia de Pajarito," SD, October 1864, AGI: Cuba, 1012A, "Sumarias," 55.
230. Estanislao Dusablon to Cap. Gen. of SD, San Carlos, 14 July 1864, AGI: Cuba 995B, Expte. s/n. Sometimes mothers interceded for their sons to petition for release from military service, as Candelaria Brunel did, to call them back to support their numerous family (Candelaria Brunel to Cap. Gen., San Carlos, 5 August 1864, AGI: Cuba 995B, Expte. s/n).
231. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Reservado, SD, 23 December 1863, SHM: Ultramar 5655, Expte. 2º Periodo Ministerio del General Lersundi, doc. s/n.
232. "Sumaria Instruida con motivo de la aprehension el espia de los enemigos Daniel Rosario, el dia 14 del mes de Junio de 1864 en el Arroyo del Carreton . . . ," June 1864, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24 (AGI: Cuba 1039B), Expte. 214.
233. Gov. Eyre to Cap. Gen. of SD, 18 May 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, 124; Gov. Eyre to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 18 May 1864, ANC: AP 225:4.
234. Jose de Villar to Gob. Superior Civil, 10 December 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 27, Expte. 15; Gov. Eyre to Cap. Gen. of SD, 18 May 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, 124; Gov. Eyre to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 18 May 1864, ANC: AP 225:4.
235. Martin J. Hood to Peter Vanderhurst, SD, 5 April 1863, in Expediente instruido en averiguación de las circunstancias que concurren en el paysano Pedro Richardson Vanderhorst, procedente del campo enemigo, Samaná, April 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A, 20.
236. Manuel Buceta to Felipe Ribero, Santiago, 8 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 27, doc. 2; Felipe Ribero to Min. de Ultramar, 18 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 26, doc. 2.
237. Segundo Diaz to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Reservado, 28 September 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 28, doc. s/n. For more discussion of U.S. aid, see Espinal Hernández, "Geopolítica y armamentos en la Guerra Restauradora."
238. Felipe Ribero, Bando, 5 October 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 28, doc. s/n.
239. Carlos de Vargas, Bando, 27 January 1864, AGI: Cuba 948C, "Bandos."
240. Ribero to Min. de Guerra, SD, 22 August 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 82.
241. Spanish officials extensively pursued one priest from Los Mina, D. José Páez, suspected of having fled with the rebels, for example. Leaving Los Mina, they looked for him "at a place called Mandingo," but no one there admitted to knowing his whereabouts. They interviewed Maria de los Reyes Rosario, an older woman who washed his clothes, but she also refused to give information to the authorities. Although Paéz was never caught, Spanish authorities embargoed all his worldly goods in absentia ("Sumaria Instruida en averiguación del paradero del Párroco del pueblo de San Lorenzo de las Minas D. José Páez," SD, April 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A).

242. "Proceso instruido contra los paisanos Pedro Hernández y Buenaventura Ureña acusados de haber tratado de atravesar la guardia abanzada sobre el Camino de Santa Cruz," August 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A.
243. "Causa inferida a un niño en San Carlos por uno de los disparos hechos por los centinelas . . . ," San Carlos, 31 March 1864, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas."
244. "Sumaria en haberiguacion de los motivos que ocasionó la desaparición del soldado de la 2ª Compañía del 2º Batallón de Vitoria Sebastián Moreno Beltran . . . ," 20 March 1865, AGI: Cuba 1012B.
245. Frustratingly, the exact source of this poem is not given, although it was evidently written from a pro-Spanish perspective from Puerto Rico. Qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 325.
246. "Sumario En averiguación de los motivos que tuvo el sumariado Pablo Ham-burgo . . . ," SD, June 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011B.
247. "Sumaria Instruida contra el voluntario del Batallón de Baní Nicolás S. Guzmán acusado de delitos . . . y por falta de respecto al Comandante de as reservas D. José Joaquín Sánchez," SD, March 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A.
248. Qtd. in Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 10.
249. Pablo Santana to Cap. Gen., SD, 17 December 1863, AGI: Cuba 953B, Expte. 112, "Deportados," doc. s/n.
250. W. Jaeger to W. H. Seward, 18 December 1863, AGN-RD: "Correspondencia del Agente Comercial de los EEUU No. 43-52," 49.
251. "Sumaria Instruida contra el Cabo 2º de las reservas de Baní, José María Ger-man . . . ," SD, July 1864, AGI: Cuba, 1012A, "Sumarias."
252. "Sumaria Instruida contra el faccioso Ramón Díaz," Azua, June 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A. He received a reduced judgment of two months in prison from a Spanish judge who, perhaps charitably, agreed he was not a rebel.
253. Alerta a los dominicanos, *Boletín Oficial*, no. 9, 14 June 1864, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 129.
254. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 43.

6. The Lava Spread Everywhere

1. Marte, *Correspondencia*, 254; Hauch, "The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations," 169.
2. Hauch, "The Dominican Republic and Its Foreign Relations," 163.
3. Rodríguez Objío (spring 1864) qtd. in Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 335.
4. Gil, *Orígenes y proyecciones de la revolución restauradora*, 80. In a passage of Pedro Francisco Bonó's unfinished novel *En el cantón de Bermejo* (1863), a wealthy Cibaeno offers cattle to the rural rebels; he is thanked "in the name of the nation" (Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 322).
5. "Proceso Instruido contra el Ayuntamiento," Santiago, February 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n.

6. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, Reservado, SD, 23 December 1863, SHM: Ultramar 5655, Expte. 2º Periodo Ministerio del General Lersundi, doc. s/n.
7. Qtd. in Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 277.
8. Sanders, *Vanguard of the Atlantic World*, 6.
9. Ramón Mella, “Dominicanos!,” 16 January 1864, AGI: Cuba 973B, Expte. 306, “Parlamentos,” doc. s/n.
10. On Madrid journalists’ coverage of the conflict as it escalated, see Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*.
11. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 100. One other missive makes a tepid, vague mention of “mixed races” in Santo Domingo, but the allusion is also understood to be about the island’s deep colonial past, ostensibly indigentous (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 228).
12. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Papeles de Pedro F. Bonó*, 120.
13. Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:357.
14. Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:354.
15. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 408.
16. E.g., *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 8, 29 January 1859, 2.
17. Min. de Ultramar to Secretario de Estado, Palacio, 22 February 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 114; Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 127.
18. “Examen de la Anexión. Posición de Haití,” *Boletín Oficial*, no. 2, 20 January 1864, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 86.
19. “A los dominicanos y al mundo entero,” in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 93.
20. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l’indépendance dominicaine*, 117.
21. Deive, *Diccionario de dominicanismos*, 46.
22. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 375.
23. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 72.
24. Carrying the pamphlet was a forty-three-year-old French merchant named Victor George, resident in Bani. The proclamation from President Geffrard was evidently from the very first weeks of annexation. George claimed, probably apocryphally, that he had merely copied it for someone who “couldn’t write well in French,” and that he had ignored its content (“Sumario Instruido contra el paisano D. Víctor George acusado de habersele ocupado en su poder una proclama subversiva,” November 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n).
25. Gran Traición de Santana, qtd. in Galván, “El General don Pedro Santana,” 24.
26. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 331.
27. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 6; Espinal Estévez and Jiménez, *Santiago de los Caballeros*, 101.

28. Proceso Instruido contra el Ayuntamiento . . . sobre los acontecimientos que tubieron lugar . . . en la noche del 21 de febrero último, Santiago, February 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n, 197.
29. Extrato de la causa contra Federico Scheffenberg in “Proceso instruido contra varios individuos acusados de formar parte del Gobierno revolucionario,” October 1863, AGI: Cuba 881^a, 2^a Pieza.
30. Qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 70.
31. Ramón Mella, “Dominicanos,” 16 January 1864, AGI: Cuba 973B, Expte. 306, “Parlamentos,” doc. s/n.
32. General José María Cabral, “DOMINICANOS!,” Las Caobas, 6 April 1861, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. “promovido a consecuencia de la invasión de la frontera de SD por los Haitianos,” doc. s/n.
33. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 64.
34. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 340.
35. “Epitafio de Santana: Aquí yace un gran pollino / despótico cual ninguno / que no entendió su destino / y murió como un cochino, / no habiendo hecho bien alguno,” in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 341.
36. Cabral, “DOMINICANOS!,” Las Caobas, 6 April 1861, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. “promovido a consecuencia de la invasión de la frontera de SD por los Haitianos,” doc. s/n.
37. Qtd. in Comisión Permanente de Efemérides Patrias, *Proclamas* (hereafter cited as *Proclamas*), 62.
38. Luperón qtd. in *Proclamas*, 89.
39. Opposition pamphlet qtd. in Galván, “El General don Pedro Santana,” 18.
40. Ramón Mella, “Dominicanos!,” 16 January 1864, AGI: Cuba 973B, Expte. 306, “Parlamentos,” doc. s/n.
41. *Proclamas*, 68; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 184.
42. *Proclamas*, 87.
43. Luperón qtd. in *Proclamas*, 88.
44. “Epistle, in response to the letter written by Priest Juan de Jesús Ayala y García,” remitted by Coronel Gob. Militar Interino to Cáp. Gen., SD, 25 November 1864, AGI: Cuba 965A, Expte. 213, “Impresos,” doc. s/n.
45. *Proclamas*, 55.
46. Alocución, José de la Gándara, 1 April 1864, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 11.
47. Real Orden of 11 April 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 47.
48. Ulises Espaillat to Primo de Rivera, 15 February 1864, AGI: Cuba 973B, Expte. 306, “Parlamentos,” doc. s/n. Opponents sought international audience from the outset. The firebrand 1861 pamphlet “Santana’s Great Treason” circulated first in Europe; it was intercepted in the customs of the capital city (Galván, “El General don Pedro Santana,” 3).
49. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 84.
50. “To my homeland annexed to Spain,” qtd. in Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 219.
51. *Boletín Oficial*, 1864, qtd. in Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 220.

52. Rodríguez Objío, *Poesías coleccionadas*, 55, 74.
53. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 246.
54. Letter to the queen, 1863, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 40.
55. "Situación de Haití. La libertad de Cuba," *Boletín Oficial*, no. 3, 24 January 1864, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 87.
56. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 88.
57. *Proclamas*, 59 (emphasis added).
58. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 98.
59. "A los Dominicanos y al Mundo entero" (Comisión encargada del Despacho de RREE), 28 January 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 120, doc. 3.
60. *Proclamas*, 59.
61. Rodríguez Objío, "Guerra," 255.
62. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 88.
63. Ramón Mella, "Dominicanos," 16 January 1864, AGI: Cuba 973B, Expte. 306, "Parlamentos," doc. s/n.
64. Carta de Santo Domingo, *Boletín Oficial*, no. 11, 2 July 1864, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 146.
65. 20 January 1861, qtd. in Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 251. See the whole text in Luperón, *Notas autobiográficas*, 1:55–57.
66. Felipe Ribero, "Dominicanos!," SD, 24 August 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 2.
67. Qtd. in Galván, "El General don Pedro Santana," 18 (emphasis in original).
68. Galván, "El General don Pedro Santana," 19.
69. "We don't understand such a line of argument," the response pamphlet announced (Gran Traición de Santana, qtd. in Galván, "El General don Pedro Santana," 17).
70. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 223.
71. "Contra La Razón," *Boletín Oficial*, no. 10, 18 June 1864, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 133.
72. *Boletín Oficial*, no. 1, 10 January 1864, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 77.
73. Gil, *Orígenes y proyecciones de la revolución restauradora*, 78.
74. Pedro Antonio Casimiro to Gral. Antonio Salcedo, 15 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 1003B, Expte. "documentos cojidos . . . ," doc. s/n.
75. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 160.
76. "Proceso Contra varios individuos de complicidad en la sublevación que tubo lugar en Puerto Plata en 27 de Agosto ultimo," 1863, AHN: Ultramar 881^a, 1^a Pieza, 9.
77. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 170.
78. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 145.
79. Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:354.
80. Daringly, he had even stolen a prized black horse from former emperor Soulouque in the contested region of Hinche, for which he had become somewhat infamous.

81. "Criminal contra el coronel de las Reservas Provinciales D. Juan Rondón . . . ," April 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 11 (AGI: Cuba 1014B).
82. Mariano Álvarez to Secretario del Estado y RREE, Port-au-Prince, 25 March 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "relativo a la Guerra de SD/7 Marzo/Año de 1864," doc. s/n.
83. De la Gándara, *Anexión y guerra de Santo Domingo*, 348, 373. By August 1863, de la Gándara reports, "it was a mystery to no one that the vagrants [*merodeadores*] of the frontier were going to convert themselves from one moment to the next into a revolutionary army" (301).
84. Philantrope Noël to Brig. Buceta, Dajabon, 15 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 99, Anexo 6.
85. Mariano Álvarez to Secretario del Estado y RREE, Port-au-Prince, 25 March 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "relativo a la Guerra de SD/7 Marzo/Año de 1864," doc. s/n.
86. Mariano Álvarez to Secretario del Estado y RREE, Port-au-Prince, 25 March 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "relativo a la Guerra de SD/7 Marzo/Año de 1864," doc. s/n. His accomplices were his brother Cheché, Manuel Santana, his son-in-law Clemente Guzmán, and Marcoté.
87. "Sumaria Instruida contra el faccioso Ramón Díaz," Azua, June 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A.
88. Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen., Port-au-Prince, 6 April 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "relativo a la Guerra de SD/7 Marzo/Año de 1864," doc. s/n.
89. In Azua, for example, where he had about five hundred men, he complained that another rebel commander confiscated pillaged goods from troops. They "should be returned to those who had rightfully earned it" (i.e., the soldiers), he argued (Pedro Florentino to Gral. Comandante de Armas de Neyba, Azua, 20 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 1003B, Expte. "documentos cojidos . . . ," doc. s/n). He heartily disagreed with General Angel Félix's delegating *alcaldes pédaneos* to confiscate "whatever little thing [*bobería*] they managed to grab" through looting. "It does not seem just to me to take away from the poor wretches the tiny pillages they committed," he insisted (Pedro Florentino to Gral. Comandante de Armas de Neyba, Azua, 23 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 1003B, Expte. "documentos cojidos . . . ," doc. s/n).
90. Pedro Florentino to Gral. Comandante de Armas de Neyba, Azua, 23 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 1003B, Expte. "documentos cojidos . . . ," doc. s/n.
91. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 46.
92. Martínez, *Gregorio Luperón*, 5.
93. Torres-Saillant, "Before the Diaspora," 258.
94. Gil, *Orígenes y proyecciones de la revolución restauradora*, 80.
95. Martínez, *Gregorio Luperón*, 12.
96. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 126.

97. Martínez, *Diccionario*, 445. There is some dispute about whether his parents were Spanish, or whether he was born in Baracoa, Cuba, or even Monte Cristi (Rodríguez Demorizi, *Próceres de la Restauración*, 306).
98. According to Luperón, they made a “noise of disgust” (Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 215). He wrote, “The belief that most of the people who were around Salcedo were *españolizados* and Spanish spies was proverbial in the countryside, and the president was aware of it, but he didn’t worry about it” (263).
99. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Próceres de la Restauración*, 307.
100. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 71.
101. Álvarez López, *Cinco ensayos*, 82; *Proclamas*, 75; Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:363–64.
102. “Un soldado de Capotillo, al Ejercito Libertador,” Santiago, October 1864, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 180.
103. President Salcedo was definitely in negotiations with General de la Gándara, who tried to intercede for him, probably only throwing his allegiances more into question (Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:364).
104. Jimenes Grullón, *Sociología política dominicana*, 130.
105. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 211.
106. Álvarez López, *Cinco ensayos*, 79.
107. “Democracia,” *Boletín Oficial*, 23, Santiago de los Caballeros, 26 February 1865, SHM: Ultramar 5657, Expte. “Prisioneros 1865.”
108. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 215.
109. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 258.
110. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 231.
111. Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 1:69.
112. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 342, 347. The cartoon was published about a month after Polanco’s administration fell.
113. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 16.
114. “Epistle, in response to the letter written by Priest Juan de Jesús Ayala y García,” Remitted by Coronel Gob. Militar Interino to Cáp. Gen., SD, 25 November 1864, AGI: Cuba 965A, Expte. 213, “Impresos,” doc. s/n (emphasis in original).
115. Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:362.
116. Carlos de Vargas, Bando, 19 March 1864, AGI Cuba 948C; “Sumaria Instru-
ida en averiguación del paradero del Párroco del pueblo de San Lorenzo de las Minas D. José Páez,” SD, April 1864, AGI: Cuba 1011A; Cap. Gen. to Ministro de Ultramar, 18 August 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 34 (DE/160), Expte. 1.
117. Memoria informativa de las razones que ha tenido la Sección de Gobierno para alterar, modificar y aun suprimir algunas de las disposiciones del anterior Bando de Policía y Gobernación, y para establecer una que otra nueva prescripción, SD, 13 July 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 17, doc. 3.

118. José de Villar to Ministerio de Ultramar, SD, 13 October 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 17, doc. 10.
119. Decreto destituyendo a todo militar que abandone las filas de la Revolución, 6 November 1864, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 217.
120. W. Jaeger to W. H. Seward, 10 January 1864, AGN-RD: "Correspondencia del Agente Comercial de los EEUU No. 43-52," 4; Gob. Interino to Gob. Sup. Civil, 31 October 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 34, Expte. 5, doc. 3.
121. "Varios comerciantes" to Cap. Gen., SD, 31 December 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 32, Expte. 13 (*2006). The government had insisted that those defaulting would face full fines (Cap. Gen. to José Méndez de Arcaya, 13 December 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3536, Expte. 26).
122. De la Gándara to Min. de Ultramar, 2 April 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3542, Expte. 12.
123. S. Vicioso et al. to Gob. de Puerto Plata, 15 November 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 175.
124. Eusebio Puello to Cap. Gen. Azua, 19 January 1863, AGI: Cuba 950B, "Causas."
125. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l'indépendance dominicaine*, 117.
126. Eusebio Soler to Gob. Superior Civil, SD, 4 July 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 16, Expte. 1, doc. 3.
127. Álvarez López, *Cinco ensayos*, 78.
128. Álvarez López, *Cinco ensayos*, 78–79; Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 1:223.
129. Gaspar Polanco to Primo de Rivera, Puerto Plata, 8 February 1864, AGI: Cuba 973B, Expte. 306, "Parlamentos," doc. s/n.
130. Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:369; Álvarez López, *Cinco ensayos*, 77; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 246; Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 1:252.
131. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 256.
132. Orden General de Pedro Santana, 15 March 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 8.
133. Secretario de Estado to Min. de Ultramar, Madrid, 2 October 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 99.
134. General Simon Sam received Lucas Peña. Peña's letters to Sam suggest a certain intimacy—he suggested that Sam would "be infinitely happy" at the news of fighting, and asked for five hundred guns. However, Ouanaminthe and Dajabón were quickly changing. The Spanish had ignored Dajabón until the fighting of February, but they quickly moved troops back there. Under pressure, Sam passed on news of his meeting to President Geffrard (evidently not expecting decommission to result). Mariano Álvarez to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 7 March 1863, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "Sobre la sublevación de SD en 1863," doc. s/n. As for Peña, unfazed, he took refuge somewhere in Haiti

- for the summer, returning for the fighting of August (Martínez, *Diccionario*, 375).
135. Primera Secretario de Estado to Min. de Ultramar, Reservado, 19 September 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 97.
 136. Federico Granados to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 18 July 1864, ANC: AP 226, Expte. 7, doc. s/n.
 137. Wm. G. N. Jaeger to William Seward, 25 November 1863, AGN-RD: Libro US Agente Comercial.
 138. Tomas de Ligués Baudaje to Min. de Ultramar, 3 November 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3534, Expte. 26.
 139. Federico Granados to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 18 July 1864, ANC: AP 226, Expte. 7, doc. s/n.
 140. Pedro Ezequiel Guerrero to Manuel Buceta, Monte Cristi, 8 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 27, doc. 3.
 141. Unsigned letter, marked “Comandancia en Gefe del Cuartel de Guayubín,” in “Causa formada en aberiguación de los hechos que han tenido lugar en la insurrección de Guayubín . . . el día 22 de Febrero,” March 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011A, Expte. s/n, p. 35.
 142. “Sumaria instruida en averiguación del tráfico y comunicaciones que con los haitianos tuvieron los paisanos Pedro Curro, Venancio Gil, Soten Sombra, Manuel Sanjuanaro, José Ramírez, Norverto Cueva, José Sánchez y José Ignacio,” October 1862, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 202 (AGI: Cuba 1013B), 5.
 143. M. Álvarez to Secretario de Estado, Port-au-Prince, 6 February 1864, AMAE: Tratados 439; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Antecedentes*, 190.
 144. Antonio Alfau to Marcos Adon, 16 February 1864, AGI: Cuba 952, Expte. 98, “Correspondencia,” doc. s/n.
 145. Mariano Álvarez to Min. de RREE, Port-au-Prince, 3 June 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 125, doc. 3.
 146. Sec. de Estado to Min. de Ultramar, 4 January 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 111, doc. 2.
 147. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 106–7; Martínez, *Diccionario*, 303.
 148. Manuel Buceta to Cap. Gen., 10 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 27, doc. 4.
 149. Ylont L. H. Blot to President Geffrard, 12 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 102, doc. 2.
 150. Primo de Rivera to Cap. Gen., 29 December 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 15.
 151. Carlos de Vargas to Cónsul de SMC en Haití, SD, 26 March 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 125, doc. 2.
 152. Ministro Plenipotenciario de SM en Washington to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Reservado, 29 September 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 28, doc. s/n.
 153. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 229.

154. Pedro Florentino to Comandante de Armas de Neyba, Azua, s/f (1863), AGI: Cuba 1003B, Expte. "Documentos cojidos al enemigo y referentes a sus movimientos," doc. s/n.
155. Juan Suero to Cap. Gen. of SD, Puerto Plata, 24 December 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 240.
156. Carlos de Vargas to Cónsul de SMC en Haití, SD, 26 March 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 125, doc. 2.
157. Academia Dominicana de la Historia, *Homenaje a Mella*, 19. Each serón, or woven basket to transport tobacco, carried about 100 pounds (Richard Hacker, *The Ultimate Cigar Book*, 4th ed. [New York: Skyhorse, 2015], glossary).
158. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 102; Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 228; Espinal Estévez and Jiménez, *Santiago*, 97; Juan Suero to Cap. Gen. of SD, Puerto Plata, 24 December 1863, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, p. 240.
159. [Sin firma] to Mr. Adolphe Grimard, 1864, AGN-RD: RREE 14/15/16 (7/008378), Expte. 2, p. 19.
160. Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile*, 110–11.
161. Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile*, 113–14.
162. Mariano Álvarez to Sec. de Estado, 8 April 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "relativo a la Guerra de SD/7 Marzo/Año de 1864," doc. s/n.
163. Mariano Álvarez to Min. de RREE, Port-au-Prince, 3 June 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 125, doc. 3.
164. "Examen de la Anexión," *Boletín Oficial*, no. 2, 20 January 1864, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 88.
165. "Una palabra a los dominicanos," Santiago, 8 June 1864, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 125.
166. "Proyecto de tratado con Haití," Santiago, (June?) 1864, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 126–27.
167. Ulises Espaillat to Min. de RREE de Haití, Santiago, 30 January 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 120, doc. 2.
168. Ulises Espaillat to Min. de RREE de Haití, Santiago, 30 January 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 120, doc. 2.
169. Qtd. in Auguste Elie al Gobierno Provisional, July 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "relativo a la Guerra de SD/7 Marzo/Año de 1864," doc. s/n.
170. Felipe Ribero to Min. de Ultramar, 18 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 26, doc. 2; Pedro Ezequiel Guerrero to Manuel Buceta, Monte Cristi, 8 August 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 27, doc. 3.
171. Federico Granados to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 18 July 1864, ANC: AP 226, Expte. 7, doc. s/n.
172. Segundo Diaz to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Havana, 16 August 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "relativo a la Guerra de SD/7 Marzo/Año de 1864," doc. s/n.
173. Fede Granados to Cap. Gen. of SD, Port-au-Prince, 23 June 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 127, doc. 2.

174. Segundo Diaz to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, Havana, 16 August 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. “relativo a la Guerra de SD/7 Marzo/Año de 1864,” doc. s/n.
175. Auguste Elie al Gobierno Provisional, July 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. “relativo a la Guerra de SD/7 Marzo/Año de 1864,” doc. s/n.
176. 11 Secretario de Estado to Min. de Ultramar, 20 March 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 120, doc. 1.
177. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 197.
178. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l'indépendance dominicaine*, 41.
179. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l'indépendance dominicaine*, 55.
180. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l'indépendance dominicaine*, 61.
181. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l'indépendance dominicaine*, 70.
182. *Boletín Oficial*, no. 17, 26 November 1864, qtd. in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 212.
183. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l'indépendance dominicaine*, 85–95.
184. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l'indépendance dominicaine*, 100, 107.
185. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l'indépendance dominicaine*, 111, 114.
186. Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 1:259.
187. Hernández Flores, *Luperón, héroe y alma*, 82.
188. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 276.
189. Jimenes Grullón, *Sociología política dominicana*, 140.
190. Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 1:246, 268, 279; Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:367, 371; Álvarez López, *Cinco ensayos*, 91.
191. Jimenes Grullón, *Sociología política dominicana*, 132; Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 369.
192. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 375.
193. Lespinasse, Price-Mars, and Gutiérrez, *Haïti et la restauration de l'indépendance dominicaine*, 72.
194. Cordero Michel, “Gregorio Luperón y Haiti,” 502.
195. Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:373.
196. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 400.

7. Nothing Remains Anymore

1. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 390.
2. Blanco Díaz, *Alejandro Ángulo Gurídi*, 1:35.
3. Expte. de Min. de Ultramar, August 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 143.

4. Jesurum to "Citizen Minister of Foreign Relations, Curaçao, 9 January 1866, AGN-RD: RREE 14/15/16 (7/008378), Expte. 7.
5. Gil, *Orígenes y proyecciones de la revolución restauradora*, 81.
6. *La Razón*, no. 12, 27 June 1861, 2.
7. Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 127, 129.
8. Villar to Min. de Ultramar, 15 September 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3542, Expte. 17.
9. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 238.
10. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 391.
11. Abreu Cardet y Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 230.
12. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 397.
13. Min. de Ultramar to Sec. de Estado, 26 January 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 141.
14. Expte. Ministro de Ultramar, April 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 119 (emphasis in original).
15. Cap. Gen. of Puerto Rico to Min. de Ultramar, September–October 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 51, docs. 1–5; Rafael Hernández de Alba et al. to Cap. Gen. of SD; Gob. Civil de Dep. Oriental de Cuba to Cap. Gen. of SD, 25 and 31 May 1864, ANC: AP 54, Exptes. 12 and 13; Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 195, 202, 383.
16. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 402.
17. "Throw the Dominicans into the arms of the negroes, contributing powerfully to the fact that very soon . . . the European race, the white race, the Spanish race will be destroyed," Senator Ulloa inveighed hysterically (Yuengling, *Highlights in the Debates*, 9).
18. Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 1:259–60.
19. Frazer, "Role of the Lima Congress," 321.
20. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 160.
21. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 403.
22. Fontecha Pedraza and González Calleja, *Una cuestión de honor*, 62.
23. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 232.
24. M. Valverde to Máximo Grullon, 1 July 1864, AGN-RD: RREE 14/15/16 (7/008378), Expte. 2.
25. Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 127.
26. *La Regeneración*, no. 4, 17 September 1865, 2.
27. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Ultramar, 8 March 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 46. Political opposition frustrated his more ambitious diplomatic efforts (Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 1:259–60).
28. Pensón, *Reseña histórico-crítica*, 257.
29. *El Federalista*, *Diario de la Tarde*, Caracas, 21 January 1864, in Min. de Ultramar to Secretario de Estado, Palacio, 27 February 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 116, doc. 3.
30. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 139; *Proclamas*, 63.

31. Finke, "Puerto Plata en la Gesta Restauradora," 141.
32. M. Valverde to Máximo Grullon, Caracas, 23 August 1864, AGN-RD: RREE 14/15/16 (7/008378), Expte. 2 (labeled Expte. 4).
33. The petition left Jamaica by late May and reached London about a month later. *Le Moniteur Haïtien*, no. 34, 27 July 1861, 2.
34. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Ultramar, 10 December 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 38. The *Gazette* dramatized the conflict further: "No one can safely venture a mile beyond the City without hearing the sharp whiz of a rifle ball uncomfortably close to his head—to say nothing worse" ("Santo Domingo," *Royal Standard and Gazette of the Turks and Caicos Islands*, 7 November 1863, 2).
35. [Sin firma] to Regente de RA de SD, 24 December 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 3, doc. s/n; José de la Gándara to Cap. Gen. of Jaimaica (CC to Cap. Gen. of Cuba), 5 June 1864, ANC: AP 226, Expte. 4, doc. s/n.
36. Min. de Estado to Min. de Ultramar, Madrid, 9 August 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 121.
37. El General 2º en Gefe del Ejercito y Gob. Sup. Civil to Governor Eyre, SD, 29 May 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 124, doc. 3.
38. Gov. Eyre to Cap. Gen. of SD, 18 May 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 124.
39. Domingo Dulce to Min. de Ultramar, 14 September 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 75.
40. Domingo Dulce to Min. de Ultramar, 30 September 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 77.
41. Ministro Plenipotenciario de SM en Washington to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 19 October 1863, ANC: AP 53, Expte. 28, doc. s/n (emphasis in original).
42. "Santo Domingo," *El Redactor de Santiago de Cuba*, 10 June 1864, ANC: AP 295, Expte. 26. *El Tiempo* in Havana also claimed that the Spanish were winning (Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 393).
43. Criminal de oficio contra Don Buenaventura Anglada, natural de Cataluña . . . para averiguar su modo de juzgar los sucesos políticos de StoDgo, 17 November 1863, ANC: AP 54, 5.
44. Pérez Dionisio, "Santiago de Cuba y la Guerra de la Restauración de Santo Domingo," 116.
45. Pérez Dionisio, "Santiago de Cuba y la Guerra de la Restauración de Santo Domingo," 114–16.
46. Eugenio López Bustamente to Cap. Gen., SD, 17 June 1862, AGN-RD: Anexión 2 (DE/1381), Expte. 18, doc. s/n.
47. Feliz Maria de Messina to Cap. Gen. of SD, 27 September 1863, AGI: Cuba 953B, Expte. 112, "Deportados," doc. s/n.
48. Cap. Gen. of Puerto Rico to Id. de Cuba, 5 October 1863, ANC: AP 54, Expte. 2, doc. s/n.
49. Rodríguez Demorizi, Blanco, and Durán, *Apuntes de Rosa Duarte*, 26.

50. [No author] to Cap. Gen., 1 November 1864, AGI: Cuba 953, Expte. 112, "Deportados," doc. s/n; Comandante Militar de Higüey [Deogracia Linares] to Cap. Gen., 21 November 1864, AGI: Cuba 852, Expte. 97, doc. s/n.
51. "Proceso . . . de los individuos que tomaron parte en la Rebelión de Puerto Plata," September 1863, AGI: Ultramar 881, 1ª Pieza.
52. Min. de Guerra to Min. de Ultramar, 21 January 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3542, Expte. 24, doc. 26.
53. Min. de Guerra to Min. de Ultramar, 9 August 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 73; Min. de Guerra to Min. de Ultramar, 22 February 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 16.
54. J. F. Cuello and Domingo de León to Cap. Gen. of SD, Real Cárcel de Puerto Rico, 16 March 1864, AGI: Cuba 953, Expte. 112, "Deportados," doc. s/n.
55. José Antonio Pina to Min. de Ultramar, 18 April 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 135.
56. Francisca del Castillo to the Queen, 29 March 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 134, doc. 4.
57. Domingo Dulce to Cap. Gen. of SD, 29 December 1863, AGI: Cuba 953B, Expte. 112, "Deportados," doc. s/n.
58. Apolinario Megía to Min. de Ultramar, 12 February 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 132.
59. Cap. Gen. of Cuba to Min. de Estado, 30 November 1874, AGI: Cuba 2266, Expte. 1874.
60. Ojeda Reyes and Estrade, *Pasión por la libertad*, 33.
61. Santana had even offered him the archbishopric in exchange for his benevolent regard for annexation, but Meriño absolutely could not be moved (Vicioso, *El Freno hatero*, 269).
62. Suárez Díaz, *El Antillano*, 50.
63. Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 129.
64. Suárez Díaz, *El Antillano*, 92.
65. El General 2º en Jefe del Ejército y Gob Sup Civil to Governor Eyre, SD, 29 May 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 124, doc. 3.
66. [Sin firma] to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, s/f [1864], AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. 1864.
67. Manuel del Galván to Gob. Sup. Civil, 29 November 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 25, Expte. 3.
68. Juan Manuel Maciás, *Publicaciones de la Sociedad Demócrata de los Amigos de América* (New York, December 1864), 8, 54.
69. Domingo Dulce to Min. de Ultramar, 28 November 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 81.
70. Decree, 8 August 1864, AGN-RD: RREE 14/15/16 (7/008378), Expte. 2, doc 1.
71. Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 129.
72. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 406.
73. Abreu Cardet and Álvarez-López, *Guerras de liberación*, 127, 129.

74. Gabriel Tassara to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 4 April 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "relativo a la Guerra de SD / 7 Marzo / Año de 1864," doc. s/n.
75. Gabriel Tassara to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 22 October 1864, AGI: Cuba 984C, Expte. "relativo a la Guerra de SD / 7 Marzo / Año de 1864," doc. s/n.
76. William Clark, living in Santiago, for example, had an audience with Seward himself (Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 181).
77. "Abajo los Españoles!," 1864, in Suárez Díaz, *El Antillano*, 60 (emphasis in original). The Puerto Rican governor banned circulation of an eponymous poem praising the rebel cacique exactly ten years prior (Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 128).
78. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 407.
79. "Sección de SD" to [no address], Havana, 29 July 1865, AGI: Cuba 950B, Expte. 77, doc. s/n; Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 286.
80. "Sumaria Contra el Cáp. de las Reservas Don Arquímedes," Azua, February 1865, AGI: Cuba 1013A.
81. "Sumaria instruida contra el paisano Marcos de Jesús . . . ," SD, May 1865, AGI: Cuba 1013A, p. 4.
82. "Sumaria Instruida contra el paisano Sebastián Morcelo . . . ," 27 April 1865, AGI: Cuba 1014A, Expte. 169.
83. "Sumaria Instruida contra el paisano José Ruiz y Doña Socorro Sánchez . . . ," April 1865, AGI: Cuba 1014A (also in AGN-RD: CH Tomo 11).
84. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 166, 156; González Tablas qtd. in Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 158.
85. Ribero to Min. de Guerra, 2 April 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018.
86. De Villar to Min. de Guerra, 4 November 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3546, Expte. 17.
87. Cap. Gen. to Min. de Ultramar, 19 August 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro), n.p.
88. González Tablas, *Historia de la dominación*, 121.
89. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 158.
90. Sheina, *Latin America's Wars*, 348.
91. Carlos de Vargas to Min. de Ultramar, 16 November 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 36.
92. W. Jaeger to W. H. Seward, 10 January 1864, AGN-RD: "Correspondencia del Agente Comercial de los EEUU No. 43-52," 4.
93. Enrique Llansó y Oriol to [Cap. Gen.], Samaná, 4 November 1864, AGN-RD: CH Leg. 24, Expte. 212, pp. 32-33 (originally 42-43).
94. Anonymous to Cap. Gen., Hospital de la Plaza de Armas, 26 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 945, Expte. 24, "Anónimos."
95. "Declaración del Teniente del Batallón de San Quintín Don Miguel Muzas y Franco," 2 May 1865, in "Sumaria formada . . . en averiguación de la conducta de . . . Don Pedro Obanos," no. 265, AGI: Cuba 1015A, "Sumarias," 12v.

96. "Instruido contra el soldado de la 1^a Compañía de 1er Batallón del Regimiento de la Habana Damián Soto Martínez . . . ," December 1863, AGI: Cuba 1011B.
97. Santana to Gral. de Fort Liberté, 10 December 1861, AGI: Cuba 953, Expte. "Desertores de 1861-3"; AGI: Cuba 1017, Libro 3, "Gral. de SD/Estado Mayor/Registro Gral. de Causas, da principio desde 1^o de Nov 1864 Libro 3^o."
98. Felipe Ribero to Min. de Guerra y Ultramar, 20 April 1863, AGI: Cuba 1018 (libro).
99. "Abajo los Españoles!," 1864, in Suárez Díaz, *El Antillano*, 60.
100. "Información: Instruida en averiguación de las causas que hayan podido dar origen a deserciones . . . ," December 1864, AGI: Cuba 1015A, "Sumarias."
101. Roque Quintana to Soldiers of the Fort of Puerto Plata, 14 January 1864, AGN-RD: CH Tomo 15, pp. 198-99.
102. "Carta de un soldado español," *Boletín Oficial*, no. 11, 2 July 1864, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 144.
103. Nicolás Estévez, no title, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 325.
104. "Sumaria en averiguación del escándalo habido en varias casas de esta ciudad, de una a dos de la madrugada del día 2 de Marzo . . . ," March 1865, AGI Cuba 1013A, Expte. s/n.
105. De la Gándara to Min. de Guerra, 8 January 1865, ANC: AP 227, Expte. 6.
106. Cayetano Martín y Oñate, *España y Santo Domingo: Observaciones de simple y racional criterio acerca de lo que interesa a la nación española* (Toledo: Imprenta de Severiano López Fando, 1864).
107. Joaquín Muzquiz y Callejas, *Una idea sobre la cuestión de Santo Domingo* (Madrid: Imprenta Dubrull, 1864), 5, 24.
108. Martínez-Fernández, *Torn between Empires*, 221.
109. Bermúdez de Castro y O'Lawlor, *Cuestión de Santo Domingo*, 7, 14, 26, 33, 41 (emphasis in original).
110. Bermúdez de Castro y O'Lawlor, *Cuestión de Santo Domingo*, 33.
111. Ministers to the Queen, January 1865, AHN: Ultramar 2775, Expte. 17.
112. Ministers to the Queen, January 1865, AHN: Ultramar 2775, Expte. 17.
113. B. F. Rojas, "A los dominicanos," 11 June 1865, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 394.
114. "Exposición dirigida por el Gobierno Provisorio a SMC," 3 January 1865, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 255-56.
115. Monzón to Cap. Gen. of SD, 7 October 1863, AHN: Ultramar 3538, Expte. 10; Blas Esparolini to Cap. Gen. of SD, 26 February 1864, AHN: Ultramar 3540, Expte. 13.
116. De la Gándara to Min. de Ultramar, 27 March 1865, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 18.
117. Antonio Corro to Min. de Ultramar, Madrid, 28 February 1865, AHN: Ultramar 3533, Expte. 1, doc. 27.

118. "Compatriotas," *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 385, 27 April 1865, 1.
119. *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 360, 26 January 1865, 4.
120. De la Gándara to Min. de Ultramar, SD, 20 May 1865, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 151.
121. Expte. sobre León Güilamo. Min. de Ultramar, April 1865, AHN: Ultramar 3525, Expte. 133.
122. Cap. Gen. to President Geffrard, 21 January 1865, ANC: AP 227, 1; "Relación nominal clasificada por clases y Cuerpos de los individuos de este Egercito que siendo prisioneros de guerra en Santo Domingo han sido rescatados," Domingo Dulce to Min. de la Guerra, Havana, 8 January 1866, SHM: Ultramar 5657, Expte. "Prisioneros 1866," doc. s/n. This partial list included 383 troops, 17 officers, and 1 commander.
123. Geffrard to Coronel Francisco Van Halen, Port-au-Prince, 21 January 1865, ANC: AP 227, Expte. 1, doc. s/n.
124. Royal Order of 19 January 1865, ANC: AP 227, Expte. 8, doc. s/n.
125. Cap. Gen. to Gob. Superior Civil, 18 May 1865, AGN-RD: Anexión 33, Expte. 16; de la Gándara to Min. de Guerra, 8 June 1865, ANC: AP 227, Expte. 6.
126. "Relación nominal de los desertores que han tenido los Cuerpos de la guarnición de esta Plaza [SD] . . .," SD, 23 February 1865, AGI: Cuba 1015A, "Sumarias"; AGN-RD: Anexión 30, Expte. 27; Min. de Ultramar to Min. de Guerra, Madrid, 6 July 1865, AHN: Ultramar 3545, Expte. 13.
127. Cap. Gen. Orden General, 23 May 1865, AGI: Cuba 953, Expte. 125, "Desertores de 1864-65, Desertores en Reservas Provinciales," doc. s/n.
128. "De Oficio," *Gaceta de Santo Domingo*, no. 392, 25 May 1865, 1.
129. Josefa Roman to Cap. Gen., SD, 7 February 1865, AGN-RD: Anexión 35, Expte. 3. Women continued to make claims on the Spanish state, for pensions of their deceased sons and husbands and for their own missing effects (e.g., "Sumaria Instriuida en averiguación que abraza una solicitud promovida por Doña Carlota de Sosa . . .," January 1865, AGI: Cuba 1012B; Juana Valeria to Gob. Sup. Civil, 17 May 1865, AGN-RD: Anexión 33, Expte. 9).
130. Juan Caballero to Gob. Político de Azua, 26 September 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 30, Expte. 5, doc. s/n.
131. E.g., Angel Rodriguez to Cap. Gen., AGN-RD: Anexión 40, Expte. 18, doc. 14.
132. "Expte sobre individuos que han sido esclavos en Puerto Rico y piden documentos que acrediten el derecho que les asiste para ser libres al regresar a aquella isla," May 1865, AGN-RD: Anexión 31 (DE/157), Expte. 29 (formerly 21).
133. De la Gándara to Cap. Gen. of Cuba and Puerto Rico, Reservado, 27 February 1865, ANC: AP 227, Expte. 8. "Your Excellencies understand the problems that the presence and dispersal of [Dominicans] could bring to both islands," he wrote. "The men of this country, born in liberty, accustomed to the enjoyment of political and civil rights . . . will bring their habits and

their haughty condition to possessions where there is slavery, serving as a pernicious example to slaves and *libertos* of their own race there. The white inhabitants of those islands, accustomed to look on the dominated race with disdain, cannot grant any consideration to black and *mulato* Dominicans, no matter that they have rank and civil and military posts; whereas these men, for their part, will not want to submit their standing to a situation that would make them extremely violent and intolerable, the cause of conflict . . . and disturbance of public order.”

134. Cap. Gen. to Brig. Comandante Gral. de la Columna de Baní, Reservado, SD, 22 May 1865, ANC: AP 227, Expte. 6, doc. s/n.
135. Dulce to Min. de Ultramar, 4 April 1865, AHN: Ultramar 3534, Expte. 34, doc. 14.
136. “Estado que manifiesta los efectos del Estado que ecsisten en los diversos puntos de esta Isla ocupados por las tropas con expresión de su peso,” s/f (spring 1865), ANC: AP 227, Expte. 4.
137. Ramón Paredes to Cap. Gen., 1864, AGN-RD: Anexión 33, Expte. 10.
138. Declaración de Josefa Debra, “Relación nominal de los desertores que han tenido los Cuerpos de la guarnición de esta Plaza [SD] . . . ,” SD, 23 February 1865, AGI: Cuba 1015A, “Sumarias,” 35v.
139. Sumaria de Cándido Sándara, 18 March 1865, AGN-RD: Anexión 35, Expte. 14.
140. De la Gándara to Min. de Guerra, 8 June 1865, ANC: AP 227, Expte. 6.
141. De la Gándara to Min. de Guerra, 8 June 1865, ANC: AP 227, Expte. 6.
142. No title, in Rodríguez Demorizi, *Santana y los poetas*, 361.
143. “Convulsiones de los pueblos II,” *La Regeneración*, no. 3, 10 September 1865, 4.
144. Cap. Gen. to Min. de Ultramar, 21 July 1865, AHN: Ultramar 3546, Expte. 20.
145. William Jaeger, 4 December 1863, AGN-RD: Libro de Correspondencia del Agente Comercial de los EEUU.
146. De la Gándara to Min. de Ultramar, 27 March 1865, AHN: Ultramar 3526, Expte. 18.
147. For example, Pedro Florentino to Gral. Comandante de Armas de Neyba, Azua, 22 October 1863, AGI: Cuba 1003B, Expte. “documentos cojidos . . . ,” doc. s/n.
148. Bosch, *La Guerra de la Restauración*, 128.
149. Tejada Ortíz, *Cultura y folklore de Samaná*, 73.
150. “Santiago. Oda,” 1864, in Rodríguez Objío, *Poesías coleccionadas*, 35.
151. Guridi, *La campana del higo*, 14.
152. Guridi, *La campana del higo*, 15.
153. Guridi, *La campana del higo*, 25.
154. Guridi, *La campana del higo*, 72.
155. *El Monitor*, 5 September 1865, 4; Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 358.
156. Correspondencia, *La Regeneración*, no. 5, 24 September 1865, 4.

157. *La Regeneración*, no. 4, 17 September 1865, 1.
 158. Garrido, *Los Puello*, 193.
 159. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Papeles dominicanos de Máximo Gómez*, 3.

Epilogue

1. *La Regeneración*, no. 3, 10 September 1865, 1–2.
2. “Hacienda Pública,” *La Regeneración*, no. 2, 3 September 1865, 2.
3. A.S.V. “Pena de Muerte,” *La Regeneración*, no. 5, 24 September 1865, 2.
4. “Las Provincias del Cibao,” *La Regeneración*, no. 5, 24 September 1865, 1.
5. “Logia,” *La Regeneración*, no. 6, 6 October 1865, 3.
6. Leonardo Díaz Jáquez, “Puerto Plata y los censos de 1871, 1875 y 1879,” in *Areíto, Sección sabatina del diario Hoy*, 1 September 2007, <http://www.idg.org.do/capsulas/septiembre2007/septiembre20071.htm>.
7. French Consul en SD to Cap. Gen. of Cuba, 17 July 1874, AGI: Cuba 2266, Expte. 1874.
8. See, e.g., Chaar-Pérez, “‘Revolution of Love.’”
9. “Convulsiones de los pueblos,” *La Regeneración*, no. 2, 3 September 1865, 2 (emphasis added).
10. Suárez Díaz, *El Antillano*, 66, 102.
11. Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Anti-slavery*, 116; Schmidt-Nowara, *Conquest of History*, 26.
12. Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Anti-slavery*, 1.
13. Castro Ventura, *La Guerra Restauradora*, 413.
14. Memorando a los Gobiernos de Inglaterra, Francia, E.U.A. y las Repúblicas Hispano-Americanas (12 February 1864), qtd. in Fiallo Billini, “La construcción antillanista,” n.p.
15. Cubano-Iguina, “Freedom in the Making.”
16. Sartorius, *Ever Faithful*, 101.
17. Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, 48, 59.
18. Sanders, *Vanguard of the Atlantic World*, 4.
19. *El Monitor*, no. 13, 31 October 1865, 2.
20. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 226.
21. *El Monitor*, no. 12, 24 October 1865, 1; Jesurum to Ciudadano Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, Curaçao, 9 January 1866, AGN-RD: RREE 14/15/16 (7/008378), Expte. 7, doc. 1; Nelson, “Crisis of Liberalism,” 24.
22. Franks, “Transforming Property,” 95, 103–4.
23. “They work and conspire in elections, making themselves candidates and withdrawing scandalously, making themselves military officers because they did this or that in the service of someone, using indecorous means to favor someone who is not worthy, someone who was so much of a coward he was a spy for the Cacharros. . . . By devil, where will you stop?” he continued (“Costumbres,” *La Regeneración*, no. 3, 10 September 1865, 4).
24. McGraw, “From a Mulato Caribbean to a Black Pacific,” n.p.

25. Banton, “ ‘More Auspicious Shores’ ”; Banton, “Spatial Shifts and Generational Advancement,” n.p.
26. Brown, “Experiments in Indenture,” 44.
27. Hulme, *Cuba’s Wild East*, 266–67; Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, 81; Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile*.
28. Mariano Álvarez remained so vitriolic that even Spenser St. John found him “severe.” Both predicted the end of independence for the island in the 1880s (St. John, *Hayti*, vii).
29. Martínez-Fernández, “Caudillos,” 592.
30. *La Regeneración*, no. 6, 6 October 1865, 4.
31. “Costumbres,” *La Regeneración*, no. 3, 10 September 1865, 4.
32. Moya Pons, *Dominican Republic*, 228.
33. Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 281.
34. Sang Ben, “Contradicciones en el liberalismo dominicano,” 248.
35. Qtd. in Ojeda Reyes and Estrade, *Pasión por la libertad*, 33.
36. Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 2:162; Ojeda Reyes and Estrade, *Pasion por la libertad*, 37, 192.
37. Cordero Michel, “Gregorio Luperón y Haiti,” 504; Welles, *Naboth’s Vineyard*, 402; Sang Ben, *Buenaventura Báez*, 104. General José María Cabral, strategically allied with Luperón once again, occupied much of San Juan de la Maguana with as many as three thousand men, many among them Haitian citizens (Lundias and Lundahl, *Peasants and Religion*, 432).
38. David Leon to Lord Stanley, 8 January 1868, TNA: FO 23/57, n.p.
39. Qtd. in Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 326.
40. Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:398; Sang Ben, *Buenaventura Báez*, 104; Gaillard, *Le cacocisme bourgeois*, 45.
41. *Royal Standard*, September 1, 1866, clipping in TNA: CO 301/44/269, n.p.
42. Luperón to President Moir, Puerto Plata, 6 October 1866, TNA: CO 301/44/269, n.p.
43. Septimus Rameau, 1 September 1869, qtd. in Rodríguez Objío, *Gregorio Luperón e historia de la Restauración*, 1:371.
44. “Hacienda Pública,” *La Regeneración*, no. 2, 3 September 1865, 2.
45. Martínez, *Diccionario*, 414.
46. Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:182.
47. Qtd. in Vallejo, *Las madres de la patria*, 127; on Salomé’s political engagement, see Zeller, *Discursos y espacios femeninos*, and Ramírez, *At the Navel of the Americas*.
48. Rodríguez Demorizi, *Actos y doctrina*, 401–2.
49. Gaillard, *Le cacocisme bourgeois*, 45; Cassá, *Personajes dominicanos*, 1:396, 429.
50. Candelario, *Black behind the Ears*, 51.
51. “Fronteras del Sur,” *El Tiempo*, no. 4, 28 January 1866, 2.
52. *El Tiempo*, no. 3, 21 January 1866, 1–2.
53. *La Regeneración*, no. 3, 10 September 1865, 1.
54. Rodríguez Objío, qtd. in Vicioso, *El freno hatero*, 338.