



*Central America:
A Quest for the Progression of
Economic Value.
Bonus-Season V.*

The origin of Central America political-economy.

Period of study: From 1700 to 1900

Episode 7

**Sugar-Sugar America Part 7
The French Sugar Model
Saint-Domingue's Analysis**

Central America: A Quest for the Progression of Economic Value. Season V

From 1700-1900: The origin of Central America political-economy.



Outline Calendar

Season V From January 9th to April 10th, 2026.

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>9-jan-2026 Episode 1 </p> <p>Sugar-Sugar America Part I Brazil </p> | <p>16-jan-2026 Episode 2 </p> <p>Sugar-Sugar America Part II Dutch islands </p> | <p>23-jan-2026 Episode 3 </p> <p>Sugar-Sugar America Part III British West Indies - Production </p> | <p>30-jan-2026 Episode 4 </p> <p>Sugar-Sugar America Part IV British West Indies - Barbados </p> | <p>06-Feb-2026 Episode 5 </p> <p>Sugar-Sugar America Part V British West Indies - Barbados and Jamaica </p> |
| <p>13-feb-2026 Episode 6 </p> <p>Sugar-Sugar America Part VI French Context (St Domingue) </p> | <p>20-feb-2026 Episode 7 </p> <p>Sugar-Sugar America Part VII French Business Model Sugar St Domingue Analysis </p> | <p>27-feb-2026 Episode 8</p> <p>Sugar-Sugar America Part VIII Spanish Context (Cuba) </p> | <p>06-March-2026 Episode 9</p> <p>Sugar-Sugar America Part IX Spanish Model (Cuba) </p> | <p>13-March-2026 Episode 10</p> <p>Cattle, Livestock and other Foodstuff Central America </p> |
| <p>20-mar-2026 Episode 11</p> <p>Banana Republics Central America </p> | <p>27-Mar-2026 Episode 12</p> <p>Summary and Conclusions Seasons I and II </p> | <p>03-April-2026 Episode 13</p> <p>Summary and Conclusions Seasons III, IV and V </p> | <p>10-April-2026 Episode 14</p> <p>Research Agenda for the future </p> | <p>From 11 April to 2 May 2026 Safeguarding Pause</p> <p>Maintenance Break </p> |

Holy Week

Central America: A Quest for the Progression of Economic Value. Season V

A piece of the economic puzzle of Spanish Central America in Four Seasons + Bonus



Big Picture of our Content.

Season V as of January 9th, 2026.

| Season | Start Date | Finish Date | Number of episodes | Historical Timeline to Analyze | Main General themes |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| One (I) Autumn -Winter 2024 | October 4 th , 2024 | December 27 th , 2024 | 13 episodes | 1492-1558 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Historical foundations Castile & Aragon: Discovery of Spanish America, the Holy Roman Empire Charles V Holy Roman Emperor: his local, personal, regional, religious, and international agenda The Spanish Inquisition |
| Two (II) Winter-Spring 2025 | January 24 th , 2025 | May 2 nd , 2025 | 13 episodes | 1492-1700 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spanish America with a Medieval Allure: Conquest and Colonization Understanding the economic philosophy of the Habsburgs Rulers in Central America: Philip II, Philip III, Philip IV, and Charles II. Commodities: Mining extraction of precious metal reserves |
| Three (III) Spring-Summer 2025 | May 23 rd , 2025 | August 29 th , 2025 | 14 episodes | 1700-1900 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School of Salamanca The Bourbon era begins. From Philip V (1683-1746) to Alfonso XIII (1886-1941) The War of Spanish Succession The Jesuit Suppression and Restoration (1773-1814) The meaning of the French Revolution in Spanish America The Why of Napoleon Bonaparte |
| Four (IV) Autumn-Winter 2025 | September 19 th , 2025 | December 31 st , 2025 | 15 episodes | 1700-1900 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Independence Bells of Central America (1800-23) United Provinces of Central America (1823-40) Derailement of violence and inner conflicts Charted Urban vs Forgotten Rural Mining + Agricultural Commodities. Never an Industrial Factory Development. Main agriculture production industries: Cacao, Indigo, coffee, Sugar-Introduction |
| Five (V) BONUS Winter Spring 2026 | January 9 th , 2026 | April 10 th , 2026 | 15 episodes | 1700-1900 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysis of Main Agriculture plantations. Sugar-Sugar America, Bananas, Cattle and Livestock, Foodstuff Summary and Conclusions Research Agenda for the future. |

Past saga: done

Past saga: done

Past saga: Done

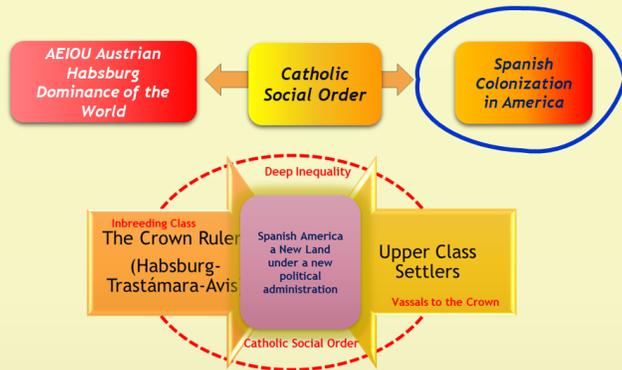
Past saga: Done

We are here

Central America: A Quest for the Progression of Economic Value. Season V. From 1700-1900: The origin of Central America political-economy.



Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint-Domingue Sugar model



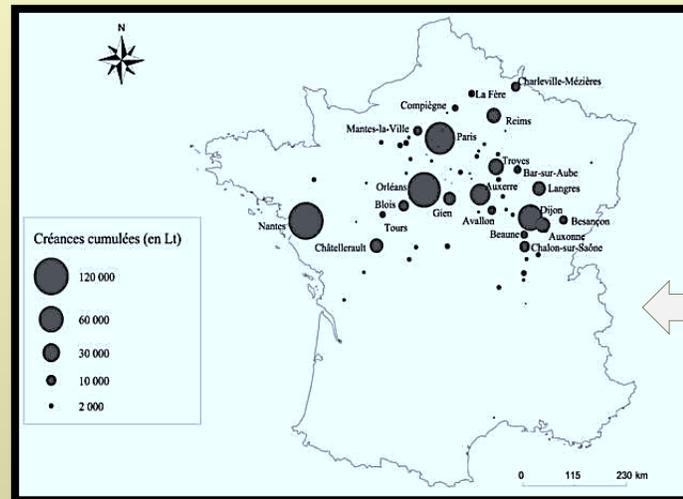
Our agenda for today's master class:

1. The French Bourbon Monarchy was colonizing North America slowly
2. The Saint Domingue Sugar Business: The planters production
3. The French Business of re-exports and refining
4. The Haitian Revolution-The case of Toussaint Louverture and the Breda Plantations
5. The end of Slavery in the Caribbean

No slides for these two last subjects today. Two additional slides will be added to support our reflections on Monday.

“Most of good historians are chroniclers of events. A Chronicler narrates, but doesn't explain the facts. Before proceeding further in our civilization, corporate strategists are obliged to understand the different explanations and interpretations of history. Otherwise, history will repeat under new circumstances”.

Eleonora Escalante Strategy. El Salvador



Carte 9. Les principales villes clientes de la raffinerie Ravot (Orleans) selon leurs créances cumulées de 1778 à 1793 (en livres tournois).

<https://books.openedition.org/pufr/26297?dir=prev>

Central America: A Quest for the Progression of Economic Value. Season V. From 1700-1900: The origin of Central America political-economy.



The French Bourbon Empire was threatened by the English Stuart-Bourbon Dynasty?

Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The French Bourbon Monarchy was exploring North America slowly

The Stuarts of England only held 13 colonies on the Atlantic Coast then

Our global history should be rewritten because it has not been phrased to see the Empires as builders of their new territories in America in unity to Europe geopolitical quarrels. We bet all the royals came concealed to America to fight, conquer and colonize every inch of their new lands.

The French Empire after King William's war (1697)



- Louis XIV was a Bourbon-Habsburg born from Anna María Mauricia Habsburg, the Spanish Princess who was brought from Valladolid to marry Louis XIII Bourbon-Medici. The marriage of Louis XIII with Anna Habsburg tied the knot of France in favor to the Spanish Habsburg agenda.
- Cardinal Richelieu was an anti-Spanish Habsburg. He wanted territories for France in America, and he focused his administration to expand New France (and Guadeloupe-Martinique in the Antilles)
- The “Fronde” was a French aristocratic rebellion effort to keep Louis XIV Bourbon at power, because the next first Minister, after Richelieu, Cardinal Mazarin was too close to Anna, and the royal Bourbon-Medici house saw a disadvantageous potential harm if Anna decided to marry Mazarin. The Fronde was a domestic rebellion from the French nobility that lasted from 1648 to 1653.
- Once the crown was secure in Louis XIV hands, the French Bourbon international agenda continued as it was probably planned by Henry IV and Louis XIII. The Bourbon-Medici wanted to keep their territories in America, those that you can see in blue
- The Royal house of England was in the hands of the Stuart-Bourbon-Medici. Cousins of the French. They were also expanding in North America and the Caribbean, and they used the slave-trade as a foundation for their plantations.
- Official history shows us that the Dutch English king William III Orange Nassau-Solms Braunfels/Stuart Bourbon-Medici (1650-1702) and Queen Anne Stuart Bourbon-Medici (1665-1714), who were also cousins, were opponents to the French Expansion in North America. Quarrels between cousins? Louis XIV Bourbon-Medici Habsburg response was to go into war against England-Low Countries. Louis XIV had already invaded the Netherlands (1670s) and was constantly provoking the Dutch in the frontier of France
- All the period of the end of XVII century and early part of the XVIII century was the period in which the Dutch-Scotts seem to have extended their lands in North America, in detriment to the French.
- However, our question is why would the Bourbon-Medici from France would be fighting against the Stuart-Bourbon-Medici of England and against the Orange Nassau-Bourbon Medici of the Netherlands? All were a big family? It doesn't make sense at all.
- The genuine enemy (apparently) to the Bourbon-Medici (From France, The Netherlands and England) were the Spanish Habsburg already settled in Spanish America, who continued expanding into North America through missionaries along the Mississippi. We believe that was the real issue, and the fact that Charles II Habsburg was a sick man without a heir, and all the relatives wanted Spanish America under their wings.

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The French Bourbon Empire was threatened by the English Stuart-Bourbon Dynasty?

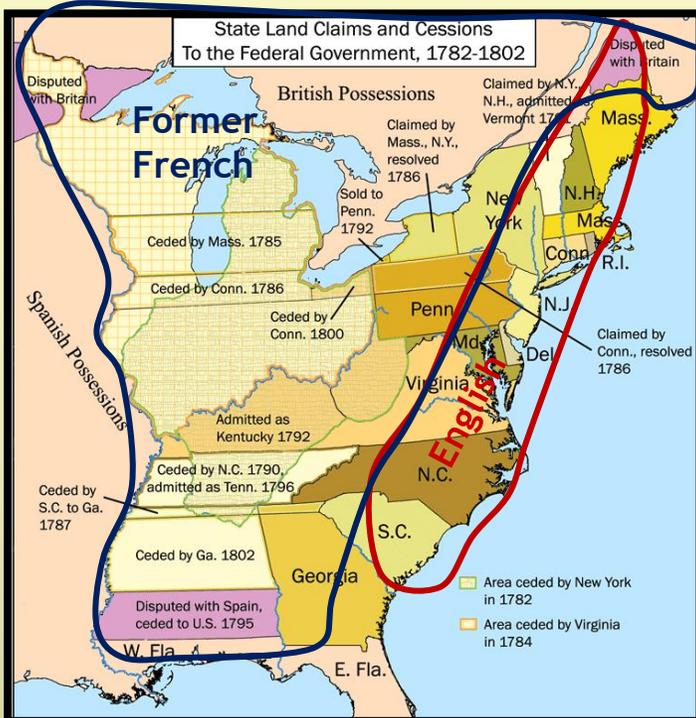
Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The French colonization of America was halted by the American Revolution War (1775-83)

The English colonies were in expansion during the 18th century.

After the treaty of 1783, all the area that was French Bourbon became USA

The French Atlantic colonies of the Caribbean were developed as the “pearl” of the French Empire during the 18th Century. Saint Domingue became the core and most productive center of commodities production for France. The foundation of this economy were the African slaves.



- All the efforts of colonization of France were wiped out by the English Colonists. After the Treaty of Paris in 1783, the French bourbon lands of North America passed to USA (United States of America).
- It is during the 18th century that we see the monarchical strategy of the 13 Britain colonies (bundling migrants from England, Ireland, Scotland and the Netherlands), expanding territories into what belonged to the New France territories of 1697.
- After the War of the American Revolution ended, King Louis XVI was not worried for the restoration of Franch Canada, but his priority were the Spanish Habsburg domains in America. Louis XVI wanted Louisiana from the Spanish Habsburgs then.
- The Jesuits were expelled from all the Spanish, Portuguese, French and American colonies (as of 1759) seizing their properties, before the American Revolution. All the Jesuit mission and colonization efforts for New France were also stopped.
- It is this context of the creation of the United States of America that the French Caribbean sugar industry was being developed in Saint Domingue.
- We suggest that the French profits coming out of St. Domingue' sugar were used to pay the bills for Louis XV and Louis XVI, and to sustain colonization efforts of America. The same applies to the British colonies.
- Regarding the French and British commodities transatlantic system, African Slaves were already transferred and fixed upon all the French and British Colonial System.
- The West Indian sugar plantations of Britain and France were profitable and supported by all the monarchical plans, globally.



Look at all the infrastructure of Forts that was built by the French in New-France and Canada, Pays D´en Haut and Illinois during the 18th century.

Source: <https://levesqueeditur.com/livre/archeologie-de-lamerique-coloniale-francaise/> Page 332

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The French Bourbon Empire was threatened by the English Stuart-Bourbon Dynasty?

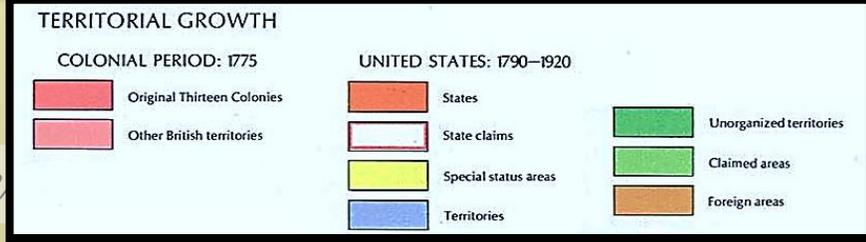
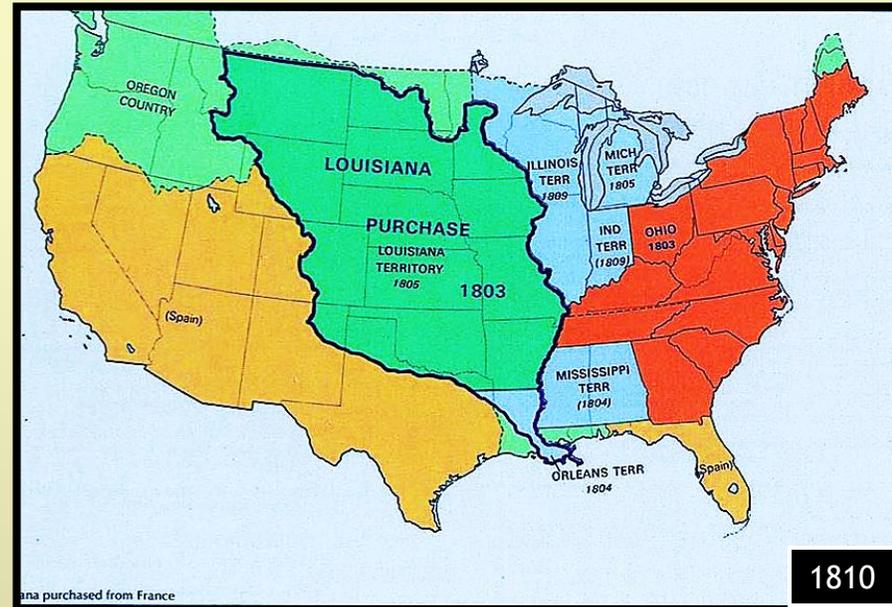
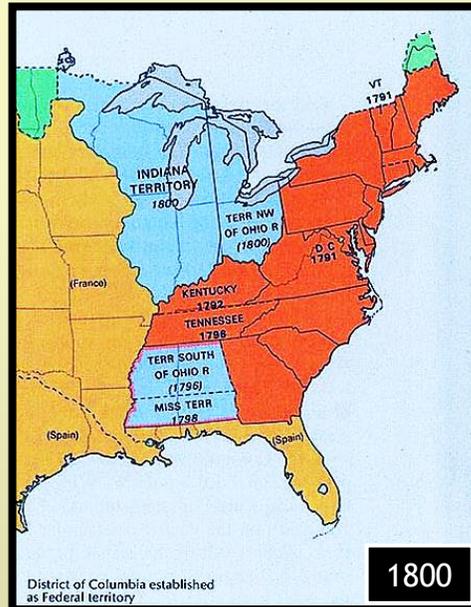
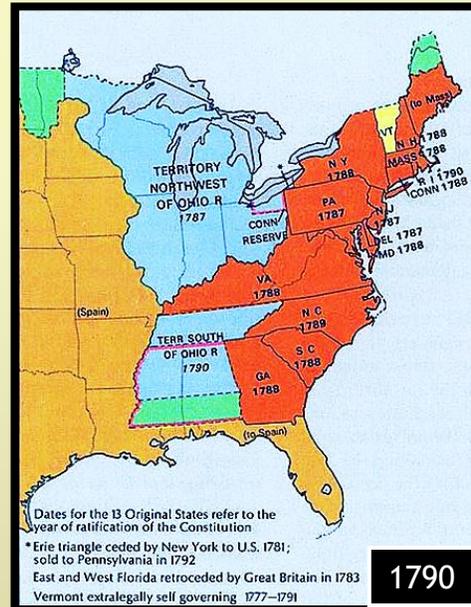
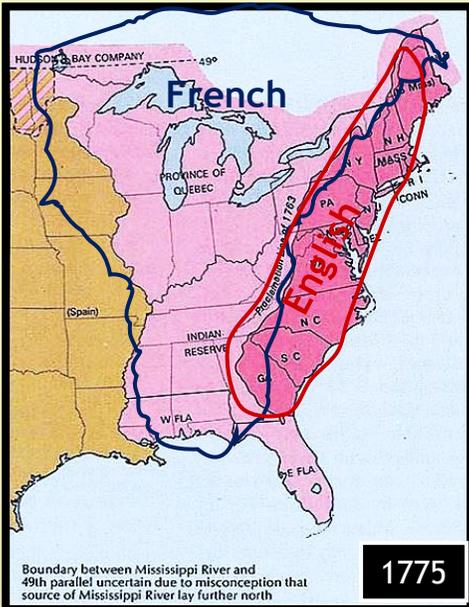
Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

After the treaty of 1783, all the area that was French Bourbon became USA

Let's see the progression of the French Bourbon Territories in North America.

The French original colonization plan of America was halted by the American Revolution War (1775-83)

The French Revolution, the expansion of the USA taking over all the territories of the Native-American Indians and New France, the purchase of Louisiana of 1803, the French Hispaniola revolt are all part of the same conflict between the French Bourbons and the new owners of the USA.



The Revolution in the French Antilles started in 1791 and led to the Independence of Haiti in 1804. This was the exact period in which the USA expanded and took over French Louisiana by purchasing it. Can you see the connection of the Caribbean situation with North America? The mess created with the French Revolution in France was against the Bourbons (Bourbons of Spain, and Bourbons of France) in every front of their territories. It was an intl. conflict against France and Spain for the USA territories. The rebellion of Saint Domingue was also an economic blockage against France.

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From 1700-1900: The origin of Central America political-economy.



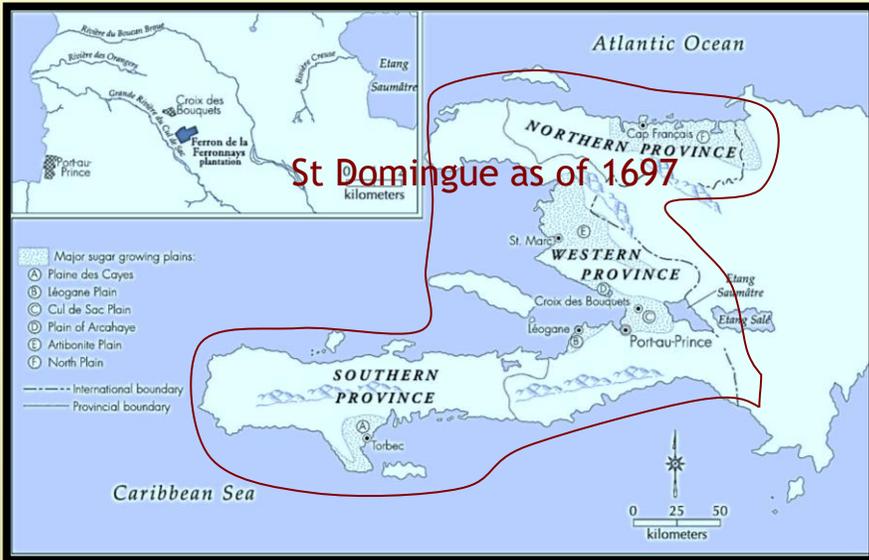
Understanding the Saint-Domingue's sugar production

Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The Saint Domingue Sugar Business

Describing the Colony of Saint Domingue's districts

The Saint Domingue-Company's Land (1698-1720)



Cheney, P. *Cul de Sac. Patrimony, Capitalism and Slavery in French Saint Domingue*. University of Chicago Press, 2017. Page 5.

- After 1697, King Louis XIV created the Compagnie Royal de Saint-Domingue as the responsible for the Saint Domingue's population, exploitation of resources, administration and supervision on behalf of the King.
- Saint Domingue was segmented in three districts:
 1. North Coast area of Cap Francois, Port de Paix, and Island of Tortuga called Northern Province
 2. Cul-de-Sac with settlements in the Gulf of Gonave on the west coast (Léogane and Petit Goave), called Western District
 3. South coast and the Isle a Vache, called Southern District
- By 1681, only 4,336 people resided on Saint-Domingue. It was then a collection of widely scattered settlements without connecting roads. Cap Francois was the largest single settlement.
- The Saint Domingue Company territory was a concession from the King of France to 12 directors, in which the president-Chef and Perpetual Director was the Secretary of State and the Navy of the king of France
- For more information regarding the charter, rules and codes of conduct-law for the colony. Read:
 - <https://archive.org/details/lettrespatesp00fran/page/6/mode/2up>
 - <https://archive.org/details/statutsetregleme00comp/page/n3/mode/2up>

The Saint-Domingue's formation was explicitly for the development of plantations for the profit of the French State and the Royal family.

Table 1.9. Distribution of Population on Saint Domingue, 1681-1730, by Colour

| Year | Blacks 1 | Whites 2 | Coloured 3 | Total 4 | Ratio 1/2 | % 2/4 | Ratio 3/2 + 3 |
|----------|-------------|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------|----------|------------------|
| 1681 | 2,102 | 4,336 | 210 | 6,648 | 0.5 | 65 | 4.6 |
| 1687 | 3,358 | 4,411 | 224 | 7,993 | 0.8 | 55 | 4.8 |
| 1700 (a) | 9,082 | 4,560 | n/a | 13,642 | 2 | 33 | 10.9 |
| 1713 (b) | 24,156 | 4,970 | 1,117 | 30,243 | 4.9 | 16 | 16.4 |
| 1715 (a) | 30,651 | 6,668 | 1,404 | 38,723 | 4.6 | 17 | 17.4 |
| 1720 (b) | 47,077 | 7,956 | 1,573 | 56,606 | 5.9 | 14 | 16.6 |
| 1730 (b) | 79,545 | 10,449 | 2,456 | 92,450 | 7.6 | 11 | 19.0 |

Notes: (a) Excludes the Southern District, which in 1703 held 908 blacks, 409 whites, and 52 coloureds, and in 1715 held 500 white families and 4,800 slaves. (b) Includes the Southern District.
Sources: AN, SOM, 498, no. 59; 509, nos. 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18; Col; C^{9B} 2; and Frostin, *Les Révoltes blanches à Saint-Domingue*, 144-5.

Pritchard, James. *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/in-search-of-empire/CCA06B9BCD454786A719CB7F032642E6> Page 65

By 1730, Saint-Domingue surpassed Martinique as the Most populous French colony in the West Indies, in all French America. The proportion of black slaves to white was 8:1. For each white there were 8 African Slaves.

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From 1700-1900: The origin of Central America political-economy.



Understanding the Saint-Domingue's sugar business

Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The Saint Domingue Sugar Business: The Planters production

By 1788, the colony of Saint Domingue was the world's largest producer of sugar

The foreign destination of the French Fleet (in number of ships and tonnage)

| Year | Unity of analysis | Saint Domingue | Martinique | Guadeloupe | Tobago | French Guiane | Africa | General Subtotal |
|------|------------------------|------------------------|------------|------------|--------|---------------|--------|------------------|
| 1773 | Number ships | 316 | 106 | 48 | | 13 | 60 | 543 |
| | Tonnage tons pounds | 78,994 174,102,776 | 24,782 | 16,672 | | 1,830 | 9,087 | 131,364 |
| 1783 | Number ships | 297 | 77 | 30 | 1 | 8 | 97 | 509 |
| | Tonnage tons pounds | 82,292 181,206,984 | 16,004 | 6,784 | 130 | 1,120 | 20,074 | 126,274 |
| 1788 | Number ships | 465 | 136 | 54 | 13 | 9 | 105 | 782 |
| | Tonnage pounds | 138,624 305,408,520 | 32,736 | 14,867 | 3,096 | 1,430 | 35,227 | 225,980 |

The French government took the sugar business so seriously, that it elaborated a national sugar policy to raise the supremacy of the French Sugar in Europe. The King's administration encouraged the Saint Domingue's production for the re-exports in Europe.



Clayed sugar was done by letting the molasses drip and cleansing it with water after pouring into conical ceramic molds, each made with a bug hole at the apex. The molasses were allowed to drain. There were at least two cleansings with water (20 days). After, the loaves of sugar were removed from the clay molds, placed to dry. Once dried they were sold 50% to 100% higher price than muscovado.

Solow BL, ed. *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*. Cambridge University Press; 1991. Chapter 9. Villiers, P. *The slave and colonial trade in France just before the Revolution*. Pages 222-224

The yields of Saint Domingue 1790 (Source: Stein)

| West Saint-Domingue (year 1790) | North Saint-Domingue (Year 1790) |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Muscovado Sugar: 70 million pounds Out of 203 plantations | Muscovado: 53 million pounds Out of 271 plantations |
| Clayed Sugar: 13 million pounds Out of 148 plantations | Clayed Sugar: 4 million pounds Out of 28 plantations |
| Yield of sugar/plantation state: 350,000 | Yield of sugar/plantation state: 200,000 |

Clayed sugar was exported from Saint Domingue too. Image from https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-031-92769-0_10

By 1788, Saint Domingue colony was the home of

- 30,000 whites
- 25,000 affranchise (free mixed-race people-called colored)
- Between 465,000 to 500,000 African slaves

The ratio of African slaves to White was in the range of 16:1 to 17:1
For each white, there were between 16 to 17 black slaves

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From 1700-1900: The origin of Central America political-economy.



Understanding the Saint-Domingue's sugar business before the Revolution

Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The Saint-Domingue's sugar business: The Planters Production

Saint Domingue produced from 2/3 to 3/4 of all French West Indian sugar, late in the Old Regime of France, right before the French Revolution.

The amount of sugar exported to France (1791)

YEAR 1791: The exports of sugar going to France (extrapolated by R. Stein).

| Plantations exports to France 1791 (Stein Data) TABLE 1 | Weight Pounds | Weight in tons (1 tonne = 2,204 pounds) |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Muscovado Sugar exported to France by 350 muscovado plantations | 163,000,000 | 73,956 |
| Clayed Sugar Converted in equivalent muscovado by 450 clayed sugar plantations | 29,000,000 | 13,158 |
| Total of sugar exported to France year 1791 | 192,000,000 | 87,114 |
| Total Number of Plantations of Saint Domingue (1791) | 800 | 800 |
| Average yield per plantation per year | 240,000 (or 2,400 quintaux) | 108.9 tonnes |

According to Patrick Villiers (Solow, 2009-Chapter 9), the French Fleet leaving 11 ports of France to Saint Domingue was:

Foreign Destination of the French Fleet to Saint Domingue (Villiers's data) TABLE 2

| | | |
|---------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1773 | Tonnage tons pounds | 78,994 174,102,776 |
| 1783 | Tonnage tons pounds | 82,292 181,206,984 |
| 1788 | Tonnage tons pounds | 138,624 305,408,520 |
| Average | Tonnage Pounds | 99,970 220,279,018 |

Ships that left France to Saint Domingue

Total Sugar products
147,471,000-year 1784
96,246,000-year 1785

Table 3. Imports of colonial products to the harbours of Bordeaux, Nantes, Le Havre, Marseille, La Rochelle, and Dunkerque (thousands)
Quantities in thousands of pounds Values in thousands of livres tournois

| | 1774 | | 1775 | | 1784 | | 1785 | |
|-------------|----------|---------|----------|--------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
| | Quantity | Value | Quantity | Value | Quantity | Value | Quantity | Value |
| Raw sugar | 57,409 | 15,116 | 47,749 | 13,423 | 55,256 | 16,768 | 80,318 | 26,418 |
| White sugar | 87,027 | 33,752 | 76,793 | 32,247 | 91,945 | 43,918 | 15,928 | 58,119 |
| Coffee | 61,945 | 31,213 | 64,844 | 29,511 | 65,337 | 50,914 | 72,478 | 58,055 |
| Cotton | 3,455 | 5,537 | 3,743 | 7,479 | 4,692 | 8,487 | 6,923 | 15,345 |
| Indigo | 13,961 | 13,147 | 12,627 | 9,210 | 8,600 | 7,236 | 16,851 | 15,114 |
| Cacao | 1,260 | 1,328 | 1,195 | 1,369 | 1,800 | 1,093 | 2,532 | 1,564 |
| Total | 213,037 | 100,697 | 195,596 | 93,240 | 220,653 | 135,238 | 279,876 | 174,618 |

Ships that arrived to 6 main ports of France from the French West Indies

Stein, R. The French Sugar Business in the 18th Century. Louisiana State University Press Baton Rouge and London. 1988
<https://www.amazon.com/French-Sugar-Business-Eighteenth-Century/dp/0807114340>. Chapter 4.

TABLE 1: The data from Robert Stein has been calculated for the year 1791 as the volume of exports of sugar (in pounds and tons) going to France.

TABLE 2: The data from Villiers is based on the French fleet tonnage leaving 11 ports of France to Saint Domingue in 1773. 1783 and 1788. We calculated an average.

TABLE 3: The imports of colonial products to the Harbours of the 6 main ports of France from the all the French West Indian Colonies (St Domingue, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and French Guiana)

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Understanding the Saint-Domingue's sugar business before the Revolution

Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The Saint-Domingue's sugar business: The planters production

How did the Saint-Domingue's planters make money?

The sugar arriving in France from the French West Indian Colonies was shipped by the merchants

- As we have explored from our last slide, each planter on average, produced around 240,000 pounds per year, that signifies 250 barrels of sugar muscovado (or clayed). Saint-Domingue planters wanted the higher prices available.
- Planters could sell directly to ship captains (outfitted in French ports) or to foreigner ships. When ships were directly going from France to the Antilles, the ship captains used the barter system with the planters: exchanging sugar for flour, wine or manufactured goods from Europe. When ships were sent first to Africa, slaves were exchanged for sugar, with merchants as intermediaries. Foreigner ships were considered smuggling.
- When planters sold to foreign smugglers, those activities were illegal. It was prohibited for French West Indian planters either to sell sugar to foreigners or to purchase sales and most commodities from foreign flag ships.
- However, the south of Saint-Domingue was "the place" for smugglers upon British, American or Dutch. Smugglers played a vital role during warfare. They kept the merchandise flowing in and out of Saint-Domingue. It is estimated that in Guadeloupe anywhere from 17% to 60% of annual sugar crop went to Foreign Smugglers, and in Saint Domingue anywhere between 25% to 33% was traded with smugglers. Where? In the southern part of Saint-Domingue.
- We have prepared the table at your right based on the

estimations of sugar from the French Antilles to France. This table pertains *only to sugar*, the quantity in million pounds, and value in livres tournois.

- In total, all the products moved from the French Colonies, included all the colonial trade with the Antilles, Terre Neuve (the fisheries of Newfoundland) and the East-Indies (Asia), were up to a maximum of 300 millions of livres tournois worth of goods annually before the French Revolution (average annual imports to France from 1784-1790). According to Jean Tarrade, those 300 millions of livres tournois include a 50% to account for smuggling and losses in transit (imports from the colonies were 200 million + 100 million smuggling).
- Colonial imports received by the French Colonies were between 175 to 200 million livres per year (90 million manufactured goods shipped directly from France + 80 million in slaves + the rest from foreign smugglers).
- Colonists operational profit: Exports - Imports: Annual profit of 100 million to 125 million livres tournois.
- This figure must be reduced by commissions of the intermediaries, taxes and interest payments. It is estimated that the percentage of net profit was between 5 to 6% per year.

An anonymous author claims that the French West Indies produced 160 million of pounds of sugar per year, right before the French Revolution. It is approximately what research scholars Stein and Villers have calculated too.

The sugar arriving in France from the French West Indian Colonies (Quantity in million pounds and Value in million livres tournois). Source: Stein.

| Years period | Average (Million weight pounds) | Min | Max | Incr.% over previous period | Value in million Livres tournois (year) currency |
|--------------|---------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1730-35 | 59 | 53 | 64 | | 15 (1730) |
| 1736-43 | 86 | 71 | 100 | +46% | |
| 1749-55 | 114 | 90 | 135 | +33% | 30 (1750) |
| 1764-76 | 138 | 111 | 164 | +21% | 45 (1770) |
| 1784-90 | 178 | 149 | 200 | +29% | 75 (1790) |

Sugar arriving in French Ports (1730-90) Source: Stein



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Understanding the Saint-Domingue's sugar business before the Revolution

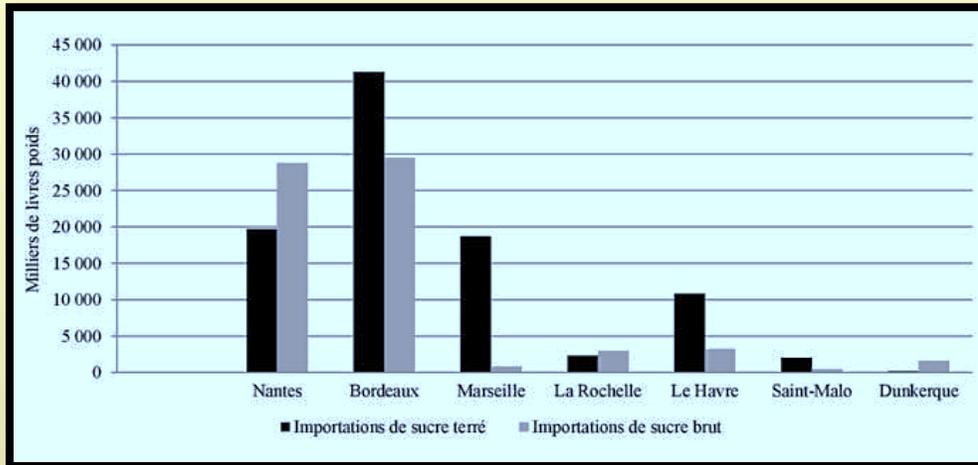
Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The French Business of re-exports and refining

Let's understand what happened with sugar once arrived at the French Ports

Apparently, the merchants of sugar in France were in antagonist conflicts with the Antilles Planters...

The trade of sugar arriving to French Ports was always augmenting during the 18th century, with exception of three main periods of War: The War of the Austrian Succession, The Seven Years War, and the American Revolution. After 1792, the French sugar business was stopped.



Sugar imported to the main ports of France. Year 1775. In thousands of pounds (weight). *Villeret, Maud. Le gout de l'or blanc.*

<https://books.openedition.org/puf/26262>

According to Schnakenberg and Stein, the arrivals of sugar from French colonies tripled every 60 years from 1670 to 1790. It augmented from 22 million pounds (1679) to 180 million pounds (1790).

- The graphic at your right is a comparison between the imports of muscovado sugar (sucre brut) and clayed sugar (sucre terré). Year 1775. From here you can perceive the size of the volume of sugar, and the importance of the clayed sugar (already refined in the French West Indies).
- Each of the ports of France had clearly pre-determined clients to serve: French refineries, immediate re-exports to other North-European ports, or local consumption.
- The duration of the voyage from Saint-Domingue to France took between 6 to 9 weeks, for those ships aller-retour from France to the Antilles and back. This trade was called *commerce en droiture*. For the trade slavers, the voyage took 2 years given the transatlantic triangle and the stopover in Africa to pick the slaves up before arriving to Saint-Domingue or Martinique/Guadeloupe.
- We have already studied the amount of sugar arriving to France on the last two slides. 20% of the sugar weighted in Saint Domingue was lost during the voyage, because the muscovado sugar continued to dry in the ship and it was dripping molasses.
- Once the ship arrived at the port, the collection of taxes and duties followed. The taxes to the Domaine d'Occident represented 3%, and by 1789 was augmented to 4.5%
- The sugar was taken to shore, weighed, and stored in bonded warehouses to be re-exported, or delivered to the merchant's own warehouse for France consumption.



Before the French Revolution, French Merchants received more clayed sugar than muscovado. For Louis XIV, the refining was a priority, to the point that there was prohibition of muscovado re-exports until 1717. This triggered the claying of sugar in the West Indies. Martinique and Guadeloupe were focusing the production of clayed sugar.

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Understanding the priority of sugar for the King of France

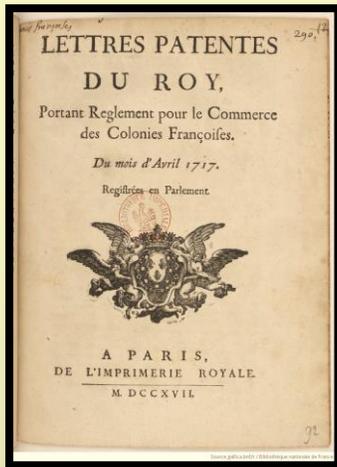
Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The French Business for Re-Exports and refining

French Colonies were obliged to send exports only to French Ports

By law, commercial trade between Saint-Domingue with foreigners was prohibited by law.

The title of Duke of Orléans operated as a premier appanage in the French monarchy, granting the king brother or second son—territorial revenues to sustain their status and deter challenges to the throne, while structured to preserve crown integrity. These appanages reduced fraternal conflicts by allocating domains like Orléans, Chartres, and Valois, yielding up to 5.756 million livres tournois annually by 1789.



- The rules of trade imposed by the king of France through the “Lettres Patentes du roy” of 1717 and later reinforced in 1727 were kept outstanding until the French Revolution.
- These laws were proposed under direct responsibility of the regent of France the Duke of Orleans Philip II Bourbon-Habsburg/Wittelsbach-Hessen Cassel, acting on behalf of Louis XV.
- The duties on sugar were eliminated for re-exports, with exception of the 3% tax of the Domaine D’Occident.
- The document at your right only demonstrates how significant was sugar for the Bourbons of France the production, and more importantly the business of refining sugar for the re-exports. These rules also reflect the importance of its merchant licenses, the legal obligations, fiscal rules and exceptions, operational ports of entrance and re-exports, the punishments if the law was not fulfilled, and the reasons for confiscation.
- The national sugar policy was not only successful, but it also allowed the French West Indian sugar from Saint Domingo to dominate the European market. In less than 100 years (since 1697).
- The French re-exported between 60% to 70% of its sugar mainly to Holland and German; keeping between 30% to 40% for the local consumption. The muscovado sugar from the French colonies was mainly send to Hamburg (a center of refining for Northern Europe

The instructions and guidelines of trading with the French Indies, taxes and French ports used for re-exports was ruled by the King of France. Tax entrance rates were 2 livres 10 sols per cwt for muscovado sugar and 8 livres for cwt of clayed sugar.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86069045/f1.item>

We would like to show you a comparison between France and England imports from the colonies and respective re-exports of sugar:

| Year | 1730 | 1790 | % of growth |
|-------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| France Arrivals of sugar in French Ports | 57.5 million | 187 million | 225% |
| France Re-exports | 32.5 million | 125 million | 285% |
| England arrival of sugar in English Ports | 116 million | 192 million | 66% |
| England Re-exports | 20 million | 36 million | 80% |

Most of the sugar of the French colonies was re-exported by German and Dutch merchants residing in France, who ship them aboard foreign vessels, particularly to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Bremen and Stettin. When the sugar arrived at South French ports, sugar was re-exported to Italy, Spain and the Levant. The Re-Exports was big business for the Royal Crown too. When the sugar was refined in France, those revenues went directly to the royal who owned the Duchy. In the case of Orleans, all the refineries' revenues were going to the Duke of Orleans.

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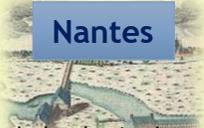
Understanding the distribution of sugar after arrival to French Ports

Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The sugar arriving to the French Ports was mainly re-exported out of France

The three main sugar ports were Nantes, Bordeaux and Marseilles.

Describing the main ports of sugar trade coming from Saint Domingue.



- Nantes was the early leader in the sugar arrivals from the French West Indies. It was displaced by Bourdeaux after the Seven Years War.
- In 1730, Nantes received around 23 million pounds of Sugar. By 1748, 39 million. By 1755: 40 million. Nantes maintained that level of sugar imports during the Seven Years war and the American Revolution, but by 1789, the entrance of sugar raised up to 60 million pounds.
- The sugar arrivals to Nantes were positively correlated to the slave trade. The more slaves were outfitted, the more sugar arrived. Only by selling slaves to the colonist planters, could the local merchants keep the Nantes economy: 1/3 of sugar imports was in payment for slaves and the remaining sugar was sent on consignment to the merchants.
- Nantes slave traders dealt almost exclusively with Saint Domingue and received more muscovado (60-70%) than clayed sugar.
- Nantes supplied muscovado to the refiners, especially Orleans; and the clayed sugar was going to Brittany, Spain, Italy and sometimes Portugal.
- The final destiny of the sugar arrivals to Nantes were re-exports to Holland (in Muscovado format), German cities (in muscovado and clayed format), and Austrian Flanders (Belgium). Minor purchasers were the Danes, Swedes, Russians.



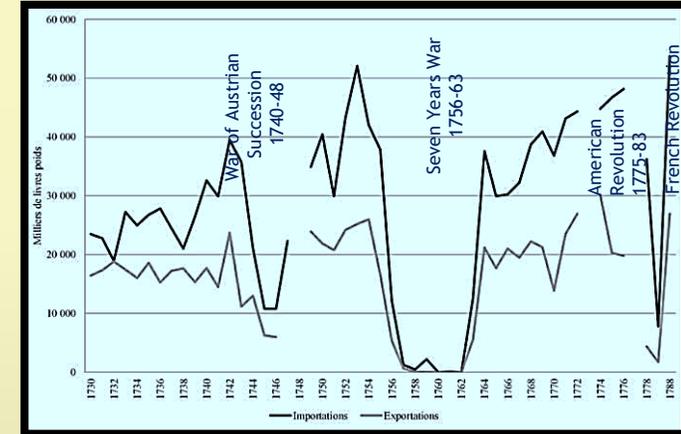
- Bordeaux became the leader in the domination of sugar imports from the west Indies as of 1730s. After the seven years war, Bordeaux received an average of 63 million pounds of sugar.
- Bordeaux port was essentially made for *commerce en droiture*. By 1789, 40% of ships leaving Bordeaux supplied directly Saint Domingue with beef, flour, and wine.
- As of 1750s, Bordeaux shifted from Martinique to Saint Domingue which sent most of all the clayed sugar to Bourdeaux.
- 70 to 80% f clayed sugar was re-exported going to Holland, and northern Germany
- The shipping of clayed sugar from Bordeaux to Germany and Holland was made by other European ships (foreign vessels).
- The rest of sugar arriving to Bordeaux (20-30%) was mainly sold in the Five Great Farms territories of the king. This sugar was sold through *épiceries* (stores) and distributed by wholesalers.
- Sugar arrivals to Nantes: In 1730, 23 million pounds; by 1767-76, 63 Million pounds per year.



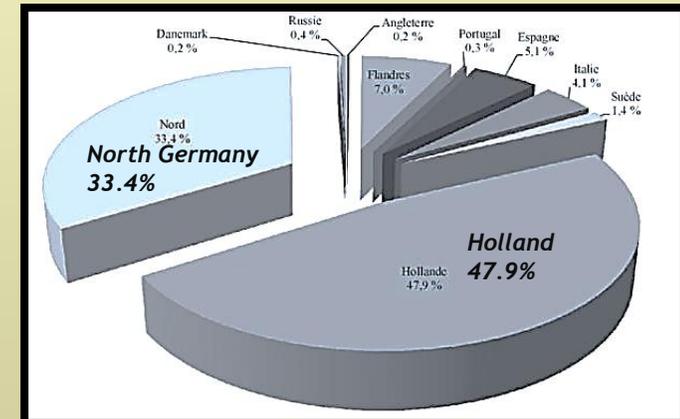
- Marseille sugar business was smaller than Nantes or Bordeaux, but larger than the secondary ports of Le Havre, La Rochelle, Dunkerque and Bayonne.
- The essence of Marseille economy was its traditional trading with the Mediterranean, which was more relevant than trade with the French Colonies of the Atlantic.
- Sugar arrivals to Marseille from the Lesser Islands (clayed sugar mainly): in 1730, 6 million; by 1740, 15 million; by 1756, 17 million; by 1774, 19 million; and by 1783, 25 million pounds.
- Marseille imports of sugar were almost totally sent (8'-90%) to re-exports to Italy, Naples, Sicily, Venice, Genoa, Savoy, Piedmont and even Constantinople, and the Levant.
- Only 2-3 million pounds of sugar remained in France from Marseilles, usually to Provence, Dauphiné, Languedoc and Rousillon.

The Five Great Farms were a region of feudal territories given by the king under concession to nobles-clergy for production/administration: l'Île-de-France, la Picardie, la Champagne, la Bourgogne, la Normandie, et l'Anjou. These lands held a united tax system designed by Colbert.

Final destiny re-exports sugar arriving to Nantes 1730-1779



Final destiny re-exports sugar arriving to Nantes 1730-1779



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Understanding the refining sugar business

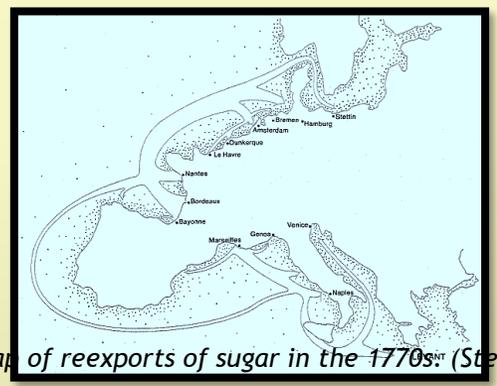
Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The business of refining sugar in France.

Only a small fraction of French West Indian sugar was refined in France,

The sugar arriving to the French Ports was mainly re-exported out of France, but whatever was left in France went to the refineries.

The refined sugar is pure sugar marketed in crystalline form. The goal of a refiner was to clean sugar coming from the West Indies to free from impurities. Although the high-quality clayed sugar from the West Indies was directly distributed to the stores for modest homes, the French refiners made it totally whiter and for a specific market niche: The wealthy royals, nobles and the rich merchants.



Map of reexports of sugar in the 1770s (Stein)

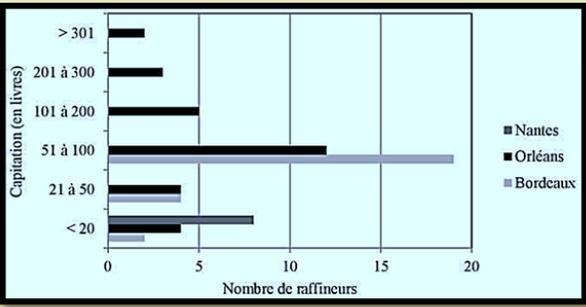
| Origin of the Sugar | Price of Sugar in Amsterdam (en deniers de gros par livre) |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Brésil blanc | 11 à 13 |
| Brésil brun (muscovado) | 7 à 9 |
| Indes orientales | 10 |
| Barbades | 6,5 à 7,5 |
| Saint-Domingue | 5,25 à 6,75 |
| Martinique | 5,25 à 6 |

Source: <https://books.openedition.org/pufr/26267>

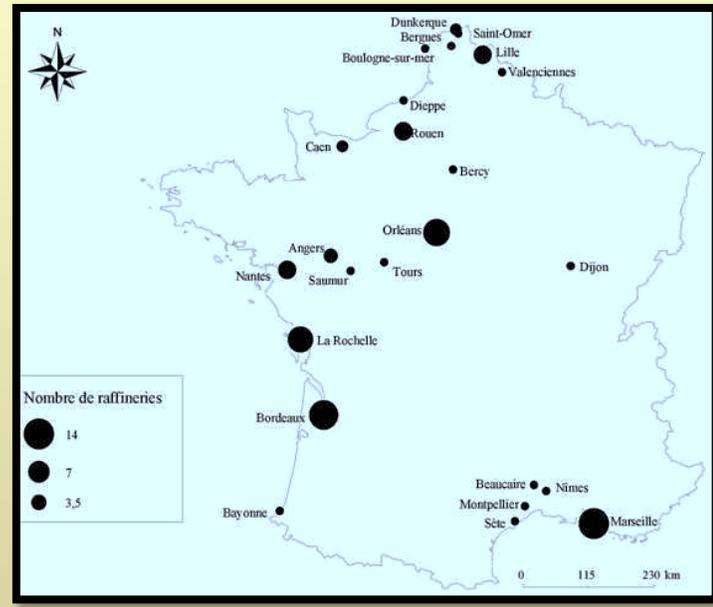
The price of sugar per pound of the Saint-Domingue and Martinique sugar was the cheapest of all in Amsterdam. This is why Dutch and German merchants bought the sugar from the West Indies (mainly in muscovado and was directed to their own refineries).

The sugar that was left for refining in France (20% to 30% of all annual arrivals) was refined mainly in Bordeaux, Orleans, La Rochelle, Rouen, Marseille and Lille. Refining the muscovado sugar in France was a process of 4 steps: cooking in boilers, straining, draining in molds of terracotta and drying. Sugar lost about half its weight while draining, and after 10 days of the first dry stage, the loaf of sugar was removed from the mold, and continued to dry totally. After a week it as ready to sell. The finished loaves were packaged in different colors of paper. The highest quality was the sucre royal, wrapped in blue-violet paper. Poorer quality loaves were wrapped in cheap gray paper. Sucre royal was hyper expensive. It represented only 3% of total sugar refining.

The main refineries of France XVIII century were in Marseille, Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Orleans.



Graphique 10. Les capitations des raffineurs orléanais, nantais et bordelais à la fin du xviii siècle.



Source: <https://books.openedition.org/pufr/26267>

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<https://books.openedition.org/pufr/26297>

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Understanding the refining sugar business

Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The costs of refining sugar in France

How did the refiners of France make profits?

An approximation of the costs of refining sugar...



Pots of ceramique of Terracota from the Refineries of Orleans

<https://archeologie.orleans-metropole.fr/dossiers-thematiques/les-temoins-de-lhistoire/orleans-capitale-francaise-du-raffinage-du-sucre>

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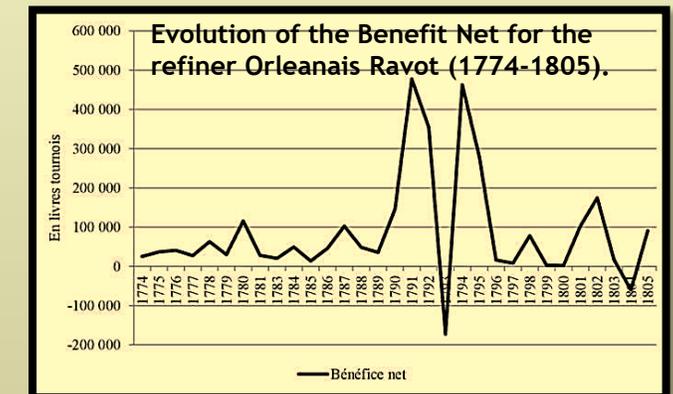
- The yields of refined sugar production were: 225 pounds of muscovado produced 100 pounds of refined of high-quality, and the molasses by products were also sold at a reasonable profit.
- Before the French Revolution, the refined sugar was sold to retailers for 90 livres tournois/cwt while the refined bought each cwt in about 40 livres tournois.
- According to R. Stein, depending on the time, place and size of the establishment, the buildings, utensils and tools needed for refining could cost between 20,000 to 250,000 livres tournois. The size of the refinery affected the value of the buildings (plant-property-equipment). (18th century)
- Artisan small refiners: There were small apothecaries or grocers who produced refined sugar in their own shops.
Large refiners: Ville d'Anvers bought by Jean Perry (1783) processed 1 million pounds of raw sugar per year. Three buildings, one for storing, and the other two for refining. The company of Veuve Ravot of Orleans held refinery buildings of 180,000 livres tournois.
- The cost for utensils (vats for boiling and cooling, basins, filters, tools for skimming off the foamy scum, and other hardware) was between 6 K to 40 K livres tournois, depending on the size of the refinery.
- Inventories of raw muscovado sugar per refinery: Between 75,000 livres tournois to 282,000 livres tournois of sugar. Smaller refineries invested 10K of livres each time.
- Labor cost: Each refiner hired workforce depending on the size of the refinery and its level of production. Output per worker was around 32,000 pounds of sugar per year. In total, the sugar refiners employed between 1,500 to 2,000 men by 1789. The wages were low but varied from 100 livres/year for a boy to 320/year for the foreman. Food was paid by the refiner twice a day. The Cooking master earned 700 livres yearly plus 3% of refinery's profits.
- Other costs were coal, paper, limewater, oxblood, white straining cloths.
- In total the operational costs (for Orleans) were 5.9 livres tournois/cwt, but in La Rochelle, it was double of it. The profits per year for the Ravot refiner were above the rest of refineries in France. See graph at your right.



Was the refining business profitable? According to R. Stein analysis, it depended very much on the CAPEX and the interest expenses, and depreciation. Most of the refiners were barely covering their expenses, by the end of the year 1789.

Model of accounting of the manufacturing refinery of Ravot, Orleans, 1772. Register stock, inventories (input/output).

| Input (Entries) | Output (Exits) |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Initial stock par inventory (1771) (raw materials, buildings PPE, equipment) | Sales or Revenues of stock inventories after the inventory of 1772 |
| Purchases of raw materials and tools | |
| Expenses wages workforce | |
| Expenses for maintenance and reparations | |
| Interests (PPE) and bank payments | Profit (Benefit net) Entries (minus) exits |



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Understanding the sugar refineries of France

Sugar-Sugar. America Part VII. Saint Domingue

The Duc Bourbon of Orleans descendants were actively protecting the Orleans refineries.

There is a special significance of the meaning of appanage.

We suggest the French refineries were all part of royal properties. In the case of Orleans Refineries, the proprietor of the profits might have been the descendants of the Duc Bourbon of Orleans.

The appanage of Philip I Bourbon Medici/Habsburg-Habsburg Duc of Orleans (1640-1701), brother of Louis XIV; and his son Philip II Bourbon-Habsburg/Wittelsbach-Hessen Kassel (1674-1723)

The appanage was given to a prince (junior rank) typically the king's brother or second son as a consolation recognition of territorial revenues to sustain his status and deter challenges to the throne, while structured to preserve crown integrity. Usually, the king waited until the prince had reached adulthood and was about to marry before endowing his house with an *apanage*. The purpose of the appanage was to provide him with an income sufficient to maintain his rank. The appanagist prince was given a certain number of fiefs. He was named as feudal lord owner of the real estate of the fief, as well as owner of feudal and seigniorial rights. According to the "letters patent of 1540", which were copied by subsequent acts, these rights included:

- the right to have vassals do homage
- the right to seize a vassal's fief if he failed in his obligations (saisie féodale, forfaiture)
- a tax on the sale of a vassal's fief, usually 20% (quints, requints)
- a tax on the sale of a tenant's land (lods et ventes)
- the right to confiscate the inheritance of foreigners (aubainages)
- the right to appoint parish priests (collations de bénéfices)
- the right of justice: the local judges (baillis, sénéchaux) were appointed by the appanagist, exercised jurisdiction in his name, and collected fines on his behalf.



Philip II Bourbon Duc of Orleans. The regent.

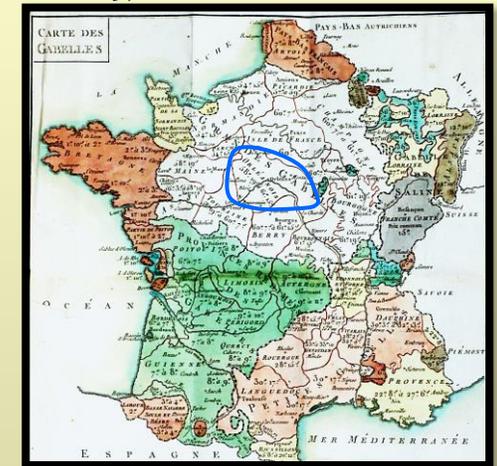
Eleonora Escalante Strategy

State of the Art Corporate Strategy
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The brother of Louis XIV, Philip I Duc of Orleans was the recipient of the Orleans territory. He was the owner of everything in Orleans. The land was in the hands of the royal family, in France and in the French colonies.

The location of Orleans Refineries, next to the Loire River (18th Century).



Source:Carte des Gabelles in *Compte Rendu au Roi* de Necker, Paris 1781
<https://journals.openedition.org/archeopages/18967>

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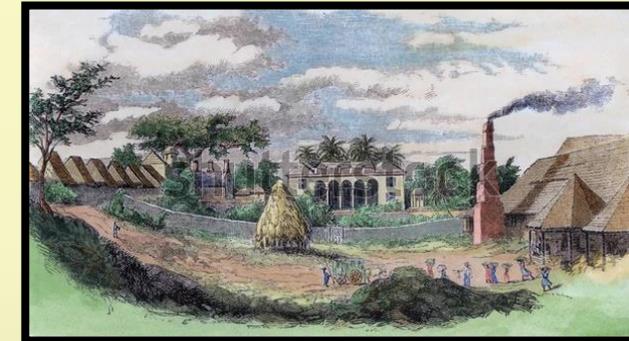


Sugar-Sugar. America Part VI. Saint Domingue

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Our next stopover will be the Spanish model of sugar production in Cuba



A sugar plantation in Cuba showing slave quarters left. The planter owner's house at the center. And the sugar mill at the right.

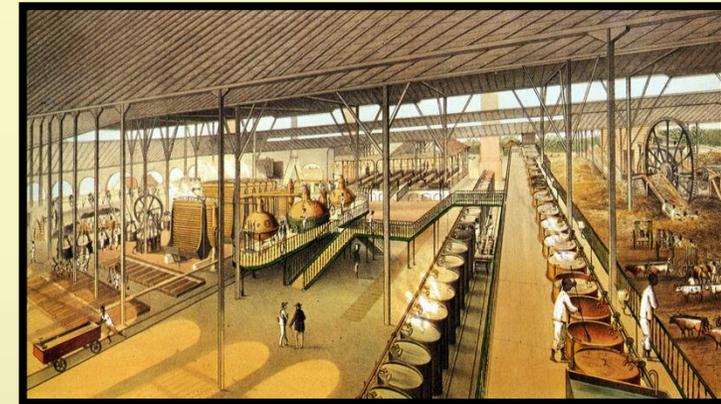
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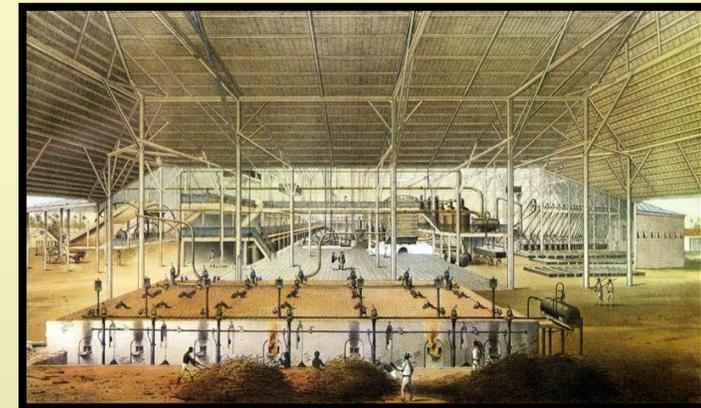
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Sugar sugar in Central America 18th-19th centuries
Photo: Galería Guatecaña.

Thank you

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