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Narrating (Post) Colonial Space: Geographies of Power and Resistance in Martinique and Guadeloupe

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THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

NARRATING (POST) COLONIAL SPACE:

GEOGRAPHIES OF POWER AND RESISTANCE IN MARTINIQUE AND GUADELOUPE

By

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A Dissertation submitted to the
Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Degree Awarded:
Fall Semester, 2012

Randolph Turnbull III defended this dissertation on October 29, 2012.

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For all those who've loved and supported me through this process. A special word of gratitude to Verna Araujo. You were the one who changed my life by instilling in me a love for the French language.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this dissertation is without doubt the single most significant academic accomplishment I have ever achieved. This would not be possible without the love, support, guidance, and patience of many people. Special thanks are extended to Dr. Gomariz, my major professor, and to my other committee members for their patience and words of encouragement during this process. I would like to offer a special word of thanks and love to the family and friends who supported me through this project and especially to my wife Sharisse for her patience during this isolating process.

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ABSTRACT

This work analyzes the intersections between the notions of geography, power, and resistance, specifically focusing on how these concepts produce and are productive of one another within Francophone Caribbean narratives. Focusing on the works of authors such as Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre and Édouard Glissant while drawing upon the insights offered by Michel Foucault's discussion on Power, this project analyzes the role of geography and space, from a colonial and post colonial perspective, in shaping and facilitating the colonial domination and exploitation of subaltern groups for economic gain in plantation society. The study then continues to identify the extent to which particular geographic spaces are represented in the narratives as enabling subaltern groups to resist colonial power structures. These geographies of resistance, as argued in this study, function as the spatial antithesis of the Caribbean plantation. Finally, the study concludes by seeking to understand the manner in which the narratives analyzed here represent geographical space as permitting and approach to equilibrium with regards to the manifestations of the notions of power and resistance.

INTRODUCTION

The concepts of place, geography, power, and resistance occupy a central role in the literature of early missionary settlers and contemporary fiction writers from the French Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Through their multi-volume works, missionaries such as Père Labat (1663-1738) and Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre (1610-1687), and contemporary authors such as Édouard Glissant (1928-2011) and Marie-Noëlle Recoque present these notions as being of considerable significance to the development and evolution of life in these islands societies. It is the purpose of this study to examine how the literary perspective of the colonial authors and post-colonial writers represent the connections between notions of power, resistance, and geography within the plantation societies of the French Caribbean. Each sides of the same coin, the perspectives of colonial and post-colonial authors are valuable in forming a complete understanding of the colonial venture.

A number of works by a variety of researchers have helped to both shape and inform the approach that this research has taken. Richard Phillip's <u>Sex, Politics and Empire: A Postcolonial Geography</u> (2006), for example, elucidated many aspects of French plantation society while suggesting that the connections between geography and post colonialism may be more significant than they appear. Works such as Lucien Pétraud's <u>Slavery in the French Antilles before 1789</u> (1897), Gabriel Debien's <u>Slavery in the French Antilles in the 17th and 18th Centuries</u> (1974), and Robert Stein's <u>The French Sugar Business in the Eighteenth Century</u> (1988), have helped to clearly define the historical context in which plantation societies evolved while offering additional insight into socio-cultural, juridical, religious, and economic factors that impacted that evolution. Richard Price's <u>Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas</u> (1979) provided important research that helped to further link the notions of geography and resistance in a Caribbean colonial context. Pedro Welch's <u>Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown Barbados 1680-1834</u> (2003), though it treats slave society within the British Caribbean, contributed a general framework for understanding the differences between urban and rural contexts of slavery while Anne Perotin-Dumon's <u>Island Cities</u> (2000) narrowed these considerations down to a specifically French Caribbean context.

While this research draws upon the works of the author's mentioned above, it builds on their work by using a multidisciplinary approach in reading colonial and postcolonial

Francophone narratives in order to gain greater insight into the importance of *where* in how the French Caribbean is imagined and conceived. This work draws upon the discipline of Human Geography to the extent that this field provides certain considerations for how to imagine both physical and metaphorical space. It then uses a theoretical framework that reaches across the centuries to combine the insights of Hegel (1770-1831), Foucault (1926-1984), Bentham (1748-1832), and Fanon (1925-1961) in advancing its arguments. French Caribbean space, it is argued, can be seen across the selection of narratives analyzed in this work to correspond to Hegel's notion that life and its various aspects can be understood as either corresponding to the notion of the thesis (the principal or primary), the antithesis (the opposite of the principal), and the synthesis (a union of the two). This research then applies Michel Foucault's insights to establish the notions of power (thesis) and resistance (antithesis) as the distinguishing factors between the French Caribbean geographies of the plantation, forests/mountains, and cities.

This examination of spatial representation will reveal that in both the colonial perspective of missionary settlers and the imagined perspective of postcolonial authors the three categories: plantations, forests/mountains, and island cities are depicted as enabling, producing, and facilitating dynamics of either power or resistance. That is to say, both power and resistance are demonstrated by texts analyzed here to be produced by and productive of geographies. The first chapter of this work will argue that the literature of early settlers and postcolonial fiction writers represent the geographical space of the plantation as the thesis, being produced by, and productive of French colonial power. As a space, the origins of which were intimately connected to the French colonial goal of economic gain, the plantation is definitely a space of power and production. In addition, certain infrastructure and practices that were unique to the plantation served as structures or mechanisms of power; reinforcing French domination and producing the discourse of social superiority of white French settlers over other cultural groups, namely peoples of African descent. The plantation brought into play relationships between groups such as laborers (French *engagés*, Carib/Arawak natives, Africans) and plantation masters/owners and created situations where power was put into action, exercised by some on others.

With regards to the notion of resistance, Foucault explains that understanding what resistance is and how it works is of a considerable importance in providing insight into the notion of power relations. For this reason, the second chapter of this project will argue that this

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collection of literature represents particular geographic regions as places of resistance. These places, also referred to as rebel communities, were primarily the forested and mountainous areas of the islands. The regions were productive of and produced by the resistance of a variety of different groups including outlaws, rebellious French settlers, and runaway slaves. During times of invasion from a foreign national power, these regions served as havens and bases of operations for the entire island and all its inhabitants seeking to resist the outside threat. Forested and mountainous areas were antithetical to the plantation space because unless they were deforested, they presented an obstacle to plantation establishment. Also, groups such as escaped slaves used these areas to struggle against and oppose the forms of domination and exploitation which characterized the plantation. Rebel communities are thus geographically antithetical to plantations as well as the overall system of colonial power that the plantation represented.

Within the Hegelian dialectic, thesis and antithesis are theorized to be followed by a resulting synthesis which blends elements of the two opposing notions into a relative balance. Of the three geographic regions in these early Caribbean colonies that this project examines, island cities will be treated in the third chapter as a geography that allows for an approach to equilibrium of the notions of power and resistance. Elements of domination and power that can be said to characterize plantations, as well as elements of opposition and resistance which distinguish rebel communities can be found within island cities blended in a relatively balanced manner. Power structures such as forts and churches reinforced French military, economic, and religious power, while the relatively large population of inhabitants afforded anonymity to runaway slaves who could hide out in plain sight, pass themselves off as free and escape to another island, or even become self-employed and establish financial stability and economic strength.

This work will thus endeavor to prove that notions of place and space are a central component in colonial narratives and contemporary authors alike. It will also seek to demonstrate that both narrative perspectives: historical/colonial and contemporary/imagined are significant to the overall understanding of the significance of *where* in the development of Francophone Caribbean culture.

CHAPTER ONE

THE GEOGRAPHY OF COLONIAL POWER

The concepts of space, place, and geography occupy central roles in the colonial narratives of early missionary settlers of the French Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, as well as the postcolonial narratives of contemporary authors from these islands. Colonial authors such as Père Labat and Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, and contemporary author's such as Édouard Glissant and Marie-Noëlle Récoque all present these notions as being of considerable significance to the cultural and social evolution of life in these islands. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine how the plantation as a geography of power is represented through the hegemonic discourse of early settler narratives, and the counter hegemonic discourse of contemporary fiction. The notions of space and power as discussed in this chapter will thus be approached from literary, historic, and cultural perspectives.

To the extent that this chapter focuses on power, and the construction of plantation space, the insights offered by the French philosopher Michel Foucault will be used to support this research. Foucault defines power as more than just a force that functions by repression or simply says no, but as one that traverses and *produces* things: a sort of "*productive* network that runs through the whole social body" (*Power*, 120). Power, according to Foucault, designates relationships between groups or individuals and "exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action", creating a subject of the individual or groups who are "subject to someone else by control and dependence" (*Power,* 331). Power, he adds, is reinforced and perpetuated because it is "underpinned by permanent structures" (*Power*, 340). This chapter will seek to identify how plantations, as one of these structures, function as a geographic space that was produced by and productive of power.

The Hegelian dialectic posits a given concept or phenomenon as passing through a first stage, or thesis, within the course of its development (Leitch et al. 626). Plantations represent the colonial thesis, in both connotation and denotation to the extent that the establishment of plantations for the purpose of economic profit was the basis of the French efforts to obtain resources, both natural and human, from their Caribbean colonies, and eventually human labor also from Africa. Additionally, as a space of power, plantation spaces ensured the realization of

this colonial enterprise by ensuring that white masters and settlers would remain in a state of dominance over subaltern groups such as island natives, *engagés* (white indentured servants), and African slaves who would also labor on plantations. The literature of the first missionary settlers illustrates this point clearly.

These first-hand accounts by authors who sojourned in these isles provide valuable accounts of daily life from the master's perspective. They present a number of social situations and circumstances that are central to life in the early French Caribbean. This allows for a greater understanding of the role of space and place in French life through the various descriptions and spatial representations found within each of the literary works. The notions of geography and power and the interconnections between the two, namely, how they are productive of one another, can be seen throughout early missionary narratives.

In his 1640 work entitled <u>Relation de l'establissement des François depuis l'an 1635 en l'isle de la Martinique, l'une des Antilles de l'Amérique, des moeurs des sauvages, de la situation et des autres singularitez de l'île,</u> Jacques Bouton clearly identifies the spatial distribution of the inhabitants of the island of Martinique between 1635-1640. He writes that the island's nearly 1000 French settlers were situated "along the shore, amongst the hills, and even higher up" (41).[1] He adds a few notable details several lines later about the inhabitants situated in the mountains. Bouton notes that "So far, homes are spread out far from each other without any sort of resemblance to a village, this is due as much to the hills separating the homes, as much as it is to the fact that everyone wants to have their own piece of land" (42). The French government made promises of promotion and position to several groups and individuals such as artisans if they were to settle in the islands and practice their trade there for a number of consecutive years (Du Tertre 2:468). For this reason, among the others mentioned, plantations started as private homes and small plots of arable land separated and situated far from each other to provide adequate space for planting crops and avoid competition for land. Unlike the homes and land located next to the shore that were closer in proximity to one another and often shared land for cultivation, these plots of land were not only spread out, but they were often extremely isolated. Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre in volume two of his 1667 work <u>Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les françois</u> also indicates that "a significant portion of the homes are separated from each other by one, and sometimes by two leagues" (422). When one considers that a distance of one to two

leagues is roughly the equivalent of 3-6 miles, the great distance between settler's homes reinforces the notion of isolation and separation as it related to early plantation spaces.

Approximately 85 years after Du Tertre's text was published, the issue of distance between homes and residences was still very much a factor in daily life in the French Caribbean. In volume one of Jean-Baptiste Labat's work, the writer often gives much attention to the traveling he did among hills and between forests as a major obstacle in his administration of "sacraments/spiritual practices" (95). This demonstrates that even after almost a century of having occupied the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, the geography of the islands, specifically the distance between many homes, was still an active participant in the shaping of culture and the social imagining of space.

In order to successfully set up the homes and establish the small plots of arable land that would eventually grow to become plantations, as well as the other buildings and structures needed to engage in successful agricultural endeavors, one of the first major tasks undertaken by the French settlers in the production of space was the act of clearing particular areas of land of its trees in order to make it fit for habitation and cultivation. This process was known as *défrichement.* On the island of Martinique, Du Tertre indicates that *défrichement* was among the main considerations in choosing the individuals who would first settle the island in 1635. Monsieur D'Esnambuc, leader of the expedition to settle Martinique selected as his crew:

> around one hundred seasoned settlers from the island of St. Christopher, trained men, accustomed to the air, to the work, and to the fatigue of the country, and in a word, those who lacked no knowledge about what needed to be done to clear the land, cultivate it, plant crops on it and sustain settlements. (70)

Du Tertre later adds in volume two of his 1667 work that *défrichement* was one of the first responsibilities of settlers upon arrival to the islands. He writes, "When the islands were first being settled, everyone chose his own space, those who came…went to the governor, who freely gave them a wooded area of land to be cleared out" (2 :453). It is clear that within the geographical imagination of the French, this space-producing practice was of a considerable importance for a successful, thriving colony; for without this practice they would be unable to plant crops for nourishment or for profit.

Défrichement was important early on in the settlement of the island of Guadeloupe as well. In his <u>Histoire générale des îles Saint-Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres de l'Amérique</u>, Du Tertre writes about the ordeal of *défrichement* on that island, explaining that :

> It's a marvel that we haven't all collapsed; especially because in addition to all the other duties that we're trying to fulfill with regards to the people, we still had to build our dwellings, and go get wood for our little buildings and carry it ourselves on our shoulder a good half league into the mountains. We also cut the wood for our dwellings without any help, which is not a small task. In addition, we have to cultivate the earth, and plant crops if we expect to have any. (59)

Though Du Tertre characterizes this necessary process as an extremely labor-intensive one employing the word 'nous' (we), it was often French indentured servants and later slaves who would be tasked with this arduous responsibility of felling trees and clearing out plots of land for cultivation and settlement. As one could imagine, the difficulty of this task stemmed from the fact that individuals had to cut down trees, chop the fallen mass of wood into useful segments, transport the wood, and remove the remaining tree stump and root system that tethered the tree to the ground often with the only tool being an axe.

In light of the intense labor involved in this space producing practice of *défrichement*, as well as its great necessity to French colonial efforts in the French Caribbean, regulation was passed to create incentives for settlers to clear land. In 1665 on the island of Martinique, governor de Tracy, under the auspices of the West India Company and by the authority of the king, legislated that those who built sugar mills on land that had already undergone the process of *défrichement* would be granted two years of tax exemption for any and all slaves and *engagés* (Du Tertre 3:183). However, "those who will set up sugar mills on new parcels of land that haven't yet been deforested will be granted three years of the same exemption both for old and new slaves and indentured servants" (Du Tertre 3: 183-184). Legally, individuals were granted an additional year of tax exemption for slaves and indentured servants if they chose to situate their agricultural projects on land that hadn't yet been subject to *défrichement* as opposed to land that already had been. In volume three of his work, Labat also discusses *défrichement* and provides some additional detail into the space producing incentives offered in the islands. He

explains that land grants were often made to settlers who didn't want to, or simply couldn't afford to purchase their own terrain. These grants, however, were made under the condition that, "within three years the owner of the land would clear and inhabit at least a third of the land, under penalty of having that land repossessed and the grant annulled" (3:44). The importance of settling the islands as expeditiously as possible as reflected in these land grants can be attributed in part to the strategic advantage that settlements in the Caribbean offered to the metropolis. Additionally, however, these grants also implicitly reflect the importance of the production of space in the geographical imagination of the French in the early history of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Specifically, one can recognize that the production of a space that was fit for habitation as well as French agricultural exploits was central to the social structure.

Défrichement became a valuable practice not only for the space it produced, but because the wood obtained from felled trees contributed to spatial production as well. Philip Brey suggests in Philosophy and Geography III: Philosophies of Place that "the kinds of activities that a place enables are determined in large part by the *goods*…that a place offers" (241). Brey uses "the term 'good' in its broadest possible sense to include any structure, object, person or event that affords certain human activities or experiences" (241). The 'goods' that were manufactured from trees that were cut down contributed to the development of plantation spaces in that they often became the infrastructure and equipment which facilitated the unique functions carried out there. The most obvious type of infrastructure on plantations spaces were houses. According to volume one of Labat's text, all the houses in the islands were made of wood. In his third volume, he would caution that those who undertake the task of *défrichement* should conserve a few trees on their land in order to have a future supply of wood in anticipation of the future need of additional building materials. This caution would turn out to be accurate as later in the text, reference is made to the emerging practice of using masonry in the construction of private homes around 1715, though it had already been used for structures such as island forts from the first days of settlement.

A principal type of wooden infrastructure that could be found on, and which was essential to plantations included the sugar mill. On the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, sugar mills started to come into existence around the mid to late 1660's. Though there were different types of mills that were used in the process of turning sugar cane into sugar, Labat

reveals that on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, animal-driven mills were the most common. Sugar mills served the purpose of grinding harvested sugar cane to extract its juices, as well as boiling this juice to transform it into granulated sugar. The boiling pots, also known as *chaudières,* were often, but not always situated directly next to the mill and could be housed in a structure made of wood or masonry. Charles de Rochefort's as well as Jean-Baptise Labat's description of this plantation-specific piece of infrastructure reveals the significance of wood in its construction. De Rochefort writes that the sugar mills in the French West Indies were of industrious, elegant construction built with solid, strong wood (332). Labat details the various parts of the mill fabricated from wood, including such aspects as the mechanical gears, the giant roller for crushing harvested cane, and even support beams (3:181). This piece of infrastructure receives a considerable amount of attention in the works of these early settlers because it was, in a very real sense, the mechanical heart of the plantation. The mill was often located within proximity of the fields and was situated at a distance on the plantation where it could be observed from the master's house. True to the plantation's nature as a space that is productive of power, the sugar mill was the primary structure on the plantation that *produced* a profitable commodity (sugar) out of raw, natural resources; thus ensuring economic profit and power for the master.

Wood was not only necessary in the fabrication of the structure and its various parts as such, it was also important in the process of boiling the juice of the sugar cane because it served as the fuel needed to maintain the fires. In an intense process of space production, trees were cut down to serve both as raw material for building infrastructure, as well as the fuel for carrying out the processes that occurred therein.

In addition to settler's homes and sugar mills, the wood from trees also contributed to the manufacture of other items that were specific to the functions of the plantations and thus helped to distinguish the space as a distinctive, unique area. Items such as flooring for the interior of buildings as well as wagons, wheels, axles, were necessary for the effective transport of materials. Barrels were important in the storing and transport of certain crops such as sugar. The wood was also fashioned into traps for catching animals such as crabs for food, or trapping pests such as rats which could have a deleterious impact on crops. Fences were built for demarcating property as well as keeping livestock and other animals contained. Rope was processed from

tree bark and used in various circumstances including packaging and construction. In the absence of coal, blacksmiths would use wood for the ovens when forging and doing other metal work. Gears and other replacement parts for sugar mills as well as wooden dishes and cooking utensils were also fashioned from the trees that were cleared out of a particular parcel of land. Thus, it is important to recognize that *défrichement* was not only the act of producing space, but it was also an act of transformation in the sense that the harvested wood was transformed into the infrastructure and tool that would give this space its distinct identity, thus serving as the very tools and instruments of French settlement and empowerment, producing a space over which, and in which, they could be masters.

In thinking about the plantation as a geographical space that is productive of power, it is important to consider the individuals who occupied this space, and the manner in which they exercised their power, and the influence that this power had on others. One must also think about the evolution of this power in correlation to the evolution of the space itself. Early on in the development of plantations, the exercise of power differed in comparison to later phases of spatial development. In its early stages, plantations were inhabited by four groups of individuals, only one of which wielded power. These groups included the white masters, *engagés*, free and enslaved indigenous peoples, and enslaved Africans.

Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre provides a valuable description of the islands' settlers in his text published in 1654. He writes :

> It's true that our French colonies are populated in much the same way as all other colonies, that is to say, made up of all sorts of people from all over: From all nations of the earth, of all states, of all ages, and all completely different in their religions and customs: I must admit that there are also those who are faithless, atheists, and many libertines…(466)

In volume two of his 1667 work, Du Tertre offers slightly more precision in his description of the islands settlers. He adds :

> There are two types of families in the islands; the first is made up of married individuals, the other is made of groups of young men who live together. This practice is known as *matelotage* in the islands. The young men have equal

authority over the servants in their dwelling, they have everything in common….when one of them marries, they separate and they divide the servants among themselves, both French *engagés* and black slaves. (452-453)

During the initial settlement of the islands, the number of white females was extremely low. As a result, there were more single white men living in *matelotage* than there were married couples with families. This lack of women was so severe that Du Tertre states that the arrival of a group of females to the islands could produce "disorder/unrest" among the settlers (471). As more women were imported to and born on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, there was less difficulty for single males in finding and securing a spouse. A few pages later, Du Tertre offers additional insight into the situation of French settlers that possessed more wealth than most other families, though he suggests that all the wealthy land owners in the islands at some point lived in *matelotage* (2:453). He explains that the plantations owned by these individuals resembled a small village because in addition to the master's house, there were several small buildings all rather close in proximity to each other. All of these buildings shared a common space reminiscent of a village square (2:456). There was also room on the land dedicated to holding pens for livestock. It's important to note that, according to Du Tertre, even for the wealthiest families in the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, the physical layout of the early plantation space did not clearly reflect the dominance of the masters. Later in this space's development, authors like Labat would offer precise instructions on how to organize plantations to facilitate the exercise of power, but at this early point, when one considers the uniform size of the buildings and the shared common area, the texts suggest that though power was clearly exercised by the French masters, the nature of the power relations was not as yet reflected in the physical layout of the space. In fact, for many of the French settlers, the difficulties in setting up the colonies and starting plantations were so great that Du Tertre asserts that many of the wealthiest families used slaves for hunting and fishing to gather food for their families, rather than the agricultural exploits one would normally associate with slavery (2: 458). This assertion, however, is questionable to the extent that using these slaves only to cover subsistence runs counter to the main source of colonial profit: agriculture.

From Du Tertre's description of the French citizens who settled these islands, it becomes clear that there was a wide variety of colonists including atheists, libertines, married individuals,

and those who were single. Even with such variety of people and social situations among the settlers, one fact remained constant: white settlers were the ones wielding power. And as the plantation grows and evolves from its initial state as plots of arable land to a major commercial terrain, it is important to consider the changes that occur with regards to the individuals and groups over whom white settlers wielded power, as well as the methods they used in order to wield this power.

When plantations first began in Martinique and Guadeloupe, they were producing such crops as indigo, tobacco, cotton, ginger, cassia, roücou (a wood used for producing red dye), and sugar (Du Tertre 2:460). Provisions for personal consumption were also a part of the agricultural exploits that were undertaken at this time. Sugar had not yet taken its place as the dominant crop being cultivated in the islands. Once it did, however, plantation sizes would increase, partially because the crop requires extensive tracts of land, and partially because the desire to seek profit would lead settlers to enlarge the amount of land that they had available for cultivation. As the plantation grew from its relatively small size to its increased dimensions, there is a very clear shift in the ethnic groups used to perform labor and work the land. With this shift in human labor sources, the master/servant power/resistance dichotomy becomes more distinct and shows the extent to which white settlers exercised power over other groups, and how the plantation, as a space, facilitated the exercise of that power.

Within the first two and a half decades of colonization of Martinique and Guadeloupe (1635-1660) the geographic spaces that would later be referred to as plantations were significantly different both in appearance, and to a certain degree, in function from the extensive fields of sugar cane that they would eventually become. Though many settlers came to the islands with the goal of becoming wealthy, the reality of the difficulties involved in settling the land made this goal a difficult one to achieve. Wars with Carib natives, civil unrest, tropical climate, and a general lack of supplies made survival in the colonies uncertain for the French, and the potential for making profit became very challenging. The rise of sugar plantations as such was thus a slow process in these two islands taking approximately 35 years. The plantations started as basic plots of arable land with the primary purpose of providing enough food for survival. The lack of basic food supplies in Martinique and Guadeloupe was so extreme that in volume one of his texts, Du Tertre claims that hunger drove many of the French settlers to

eat their own excrement, cannibalize corpses, and even to commit suicide (1:78, 80). The secondary purpose of these gardens was to grow crops that could be traded for items that a person didn't have, or for services that an individual couldn't perform for themselves. Du Tertre explains clearly in the second volume of his work the nature of this type of trade as it occurred in the islands. He writes :

> At this point in the islands currency is not yet in use and all commerce is carried out by barter. French merchants as well as foreign merchants give their merchandise for goods produced here on the island, such as sugar, indigo, tobacco, cassia, senna, ginger, coton, turtles, wood dye and roücou. People only trade with merchants for precisely what they need; to buy that which is necessary for their families. (460)

In addition to using this variety of crops as currency to procure necessary items, many of the government fines, including the payment of taxes and legal penalties were levied in the form of a fixed number of pounds of a given crop such as tobacco. While a variety of different crops were initially grown on these two islands, tobacco reigned as one of the most important crops prior to the advent of sugar cane. As a crop, tobacco was not as physically onerous in its cultivation as was sugar cane. It is for this reason that during the period of time that tobacco was still one of the main crops cultivated on these islands, one does not find the number of imported Africans on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe increasing at a rapid rate; much of the labor of cultivating tobacco could sufficiently be carried out by indentured servants.[2] Once plantations became more sugar-intensive, however, a shift in the nature of the plantation itself, as well as a shift in the ethnic group preferred for plantation labor would occur. This is because a large quantity of slave labor was the most efficient and cost-effective means for cultivating sugar cane. However, before sugar production became the main focus of plantations on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, plantations were smaller in size, power relations existed between white masters and a variety of subaltern groups, these power relations were not clearly evidenced in the physical layout of the plantation, and some of the key infrastructure in processing sugar was lacking. Still, this early agricultural space facilitated the exercise of white masters' power in a variety of ways.

Economic power, vis-à-vis the slaves, was the first type of power that this space allowed masters to exercise. This did not change much once plantations started to function on a larger scale. Cultivated crops provided a source of income that allowed masters to survive by procuring necessary items. Profits allowed them to reinvest and increase the scale of their operations so as to make even more income. The financial assets of the French masters are, in part, one of the main reasons that they were able to exercise power over *engagés*. Unlike slaves, *engagés* earned a considerable sum of payment at the end of their contract duration. The anticipation of this remuneration did much for keeping them faithfully at service in their master's employ. An element of social power was gained by French masters from this plantation space as well because all subaltern groups depended on the master, specifically his resources, in order to meet the basic needs of their own survival (food, shelter, clothing, etc.) while fulfilling their duties as laborers. Additionally, a certain degree of social power was awarded those who owned plantations to the degree that the ability to have a legal voice as a citizen required the payment of specific taxes and other legal fine that were levied primarily in pounds of tobacco, a crop produced on these early plantations. As the plantation space increased in size, the number of subaltern groups forced to labor there, namely island natives and *engagés*, would decrease. As a result, imported Africans would become the main labor source. However, the power that white masters exercised in this early plantation system influenced these groups in different ways.

When one considers the three subaltern cultural groups that could be found on the plantations, the way in which the master exercised power and constrained them to behave and function provides insight into the geographical space of the plantation. Island natives, for example, were the first ethnic group over which masters tried to exercise power through enslavement on early plantations. The two types of autochthonous peoples that became subject to French power were Carib natives, captured as prisoners of war during skirmishes with French settlers, and Arawaks, sold to the French by their Carib enemies.

Authors such as De Rochefort and Du Tertre seem to periodically put forth and reinforce certain stereotypes in their work, depicting and representing Carib natives, for example, as a very rebellious group. This discursive strategy, no doubt, was used to justify the extreme violence used by French settlers to coerce Carib natives to perform labor such as binding them with heavy chains, or even gouging out their eyes (Du Tertre 2:485). Du Tertre as author, slave owner, and

representative of the colonial system seems to justify and excuse this brutality when he explains that it wasn't even enough to subdue the Caribs since "they never grew tired of loitering near the shores in hope of stealing a canoe or seeing one of their nation's Pirogues that could take them back to their home" and would prefer to "let themselves die of sadness and starvation than to live as slaves" (2:485).

Arawak natives, whom the French acquired through trade with the Caribs, were also forced to perform labor on early plantations. The supposed difference in temperament between Caribs and Arawaks as depicted by the early settlers caused the French to use different methods in their attempts to compel each group to perform labor. While early settlers characterized Caribs as aggressive and rebellious to an extent that necessitated the use of extreme acts of violence, the Arawaks were depicted as being relatively more peaceful. According to Du Tertre, violent coercion was not effective when dealing with Arawaks. He describes them as being more effective slaves when not being treated like slaves at all. He writes :

> The loss of freedom and the fear of difficult, harsh labor, which the Arawaks aren't accustomed to, are in my opinion the two sources of anguish and sadness of slaves in these islands. The anguish is so overwhelming that if they aren't made to perform tasks that they find pleasant, rather than tasks that they feel their servitude has imposed upon them, they die of melancholy. That is why, in order to get them to perform labor, they have to be treated as if they were free; because the more they are shown kindness and consideration, the greater their effort in accomplishing the tasks assigned to them. That's why one should never talk about having them hoe gardens, nor digging in the ground to plant Manioc, nor picking tobacco, nor any harsh work; for it would kill them rather than restrain them. (2: 486)

While there may be some truth in the notion that Caribs and Arawaks had different temperaments, one has to question the stereotype of the "good master" who seems to be overly concerned with the impact of issues such as melancholy and sadness on the lifespan of his slaves as presented in this account. For if these issues were truly of any importance, the practice of enslavement would have been discarded. Neverthelss, Du Tertre asserts that slave masters responded to this melancholy and treated Arawaks as though they were free, assigning them only

those tasks that they found relatively more pleasant such as fishing or hunting. He also hints at the preference for the large-scale importation of African labor when he writes that despite the concern and sympathy of masters, Arawaks could not last long as African slaves performing typical agricultural labor on the early plantations. This claim, however, should be seen as part of a larger attempt to justify the large-scale forced migration of African peoples; especially after indigenous peoples either died from forced labor or escaped in large numbers.

The use of island natives as a labor source was a short-lived endeavor. The Carib natives who were not killed during wars with the French were completely driven out of the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe by 1660. Arawaks, who were fewer in number in the islands because of their long history of being attacked by Caribs, experienced a decline in their population in direct correlation to the expansion of French settlements. Evidently, as the French expanded their settlements, they also expanded their exploitation of the Arawaks who eventually ceased being a viable source of labor for French settlers. During the time that these two native groups served as slave labor for the French, however, certain particularities regarding discursive practices and power relations arise.

With regards to the discourse constructed by missionary settlers who depict notions of dominance and power on the early plantations, one is able to recognize a certain hegemonic bias that is applied to the different groups of natives. For example, though extreme violence was used in dealing with Carib natives, the missionary works depict this response as being both needed and appropriate *only* because of the aggressive and rebellious nature of the Caribs. The same would eventually be said about African slaves. Authors such as Du Tetre are careful to represent their actions in other instances, such as when dealing when Arawaks, as good, gentle, and tender; all descriptions that are in direct opposition to the notion of human enslavement. As Roberto Fernández Retamar suggests:

> The colonizer's version explains to us that owing to the Carib's irremediable bestiality, there was no alternative to their extermination. What it does not explain is why even before the Caribs, the peaceful and kindly [Arawaks] were also exterminated. Simply speaking, the two groups suffered jointly one of the greatest ethnocides recorded in history. (7)

Also, the power relations of early French settlers with native populations can be better understood through Foucault's theories on power. For example, Foucault defines a subject as one who is "subject to someone else by control and dependence" (Faubion 331). Carib and Arawak populations were thus the first subjects of French colonial power. Foucault also lists and explains the three main types of opposition that subjects practice, explaining that this opposition is primarily "against forms of domination (ethnic, social, and religious)", and, "forms of exploitation that separate individuals from what they produce" (331). The exercise of power on the part of the French with regards to Islands natives (and the later imported African slaves) corresponds perfectly to the domination and exploitation described by Foucault. Island natives were not the only type of laborers that could be found on the early plantation system, though they were the first group to be subject to and experience French dominance there. White indentured servants known as *engagés* were also among the groups that labored on plantations.

French indentured servants or *engagés* were also a source of labor used on early plantations. *Engagés* were French citizens who came to the islands in search of wealth and prosperity. They were primarily male and in some cases possessed knowledge of a skill or trade such as carpentry that could make them useful as laborers in the islands. In volume two of his three volume collection, Du Tertre reveals that some of the *engagés* even possessed a reasonable amount of education. He explains:

> Families that are a little better off than most, make sure, for the sake of their children, to purchase engagés who know how to read and write so that their children can be taught. It's not that there aren't school teachers, which can be a profitable profession in the islands, but the distance between houses makes it difficult for people to send their children. (460)

Many *engagés* came to the islands by choice, but many were also tricked into servitude by ship captains operating under the auspices of the French West India Company. These captains were able to maliciously achieve profit by deceiving young men and boys into embarking upon the journey to the French Caribbean. Du Tertre describes this profit-making practice thusly :

One of the main businesses that they practice is to get young men down to the islands as *engagés*. Then they sell them to the inhabitants to serve for three years as slaves…but they're sold for much more if they know a trade of some sort. The captains who practice this deplorable business employed people who took the young men every way they could, often beguiling school children and other children, making them believe all sorts of marvelous things about the land where they were going to reduce them to slavery. (464-465)

Du Tertre's characterization of the state of servitude of the *engagé* as slavery is reasonably accurate when one considers the overall nature of the oppression to which they were subjected. Indeed, there were very few differences between the lifestyle of servitude of the *engagé* and that of the imported African on the early plantation system. For example, although imported African slaves and *engagés* both worked on the plantations simultaneously and performed the same kind of labor, *engagés* were contractually obligated to serve their masters in the islands for a period of no more than three years (Du Tertre 2: 454). At the end of an *engagé's* contract, they would normally receive a certain number of pounds of tobacco, enabling them to purchase their own land and start their own plantation if they so chose. In addition to the obvious differences of skin color and title, *engagés*, unlike slaves, could often be in service to up to eight different masters before the end of their contract (Du Tertre 2: 454). Notwithstanding these differences which are central to colonial societies, it is fair to compare the treatment of *engagés* on early plantations on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe to that of imported African slaves. The lifestyle of these two groups was not overwhelmingly different. Aspects of their existence such as diet, work habits, work space, and living space were often the same. In his text, Du Tertre describes lunch preparation for plantation laborers, suggesting that both *engagés* and black slaves participated in the preparation of the meal and even consumed it together. He notes:

In each dwelling an old negro woman, or a pregnant one, or a French engagé is normally chosen to take care of the cooking pot while the others work on the property. When it is lunch time, everyone is summoned… When they are working somewhere far away from the dwelling, the food is taken to the work site, the same way it's done for the grape-pickers in France; and *they all eat together*. (2:514)

The communal nature of both work and rest must not be missed in this particular account. It will be important in helping to highlight certain phenomenon regarding power relations between white masters and *engagés* as it is established that *engagés* were not necessarily treated better than imported Africans. While *engagés* did certainly experience hard labor, their contractual agreements would make the term 'slavery' an inappropriate description of what they endured. There does, however, seem to be evidence to suggest that perhaps *engagés*, at least initially, endured the worst treatment. For Labat, "the situation of engagés in the islands was a very onerous and difficult slavery that only differed from the slavery of the Negroes in that it only lasted three years" (1:109). Du Tertre, however, depicts the situation of servitude in volume two of his three-volume work as being worse for the *engagés*. He notes:

> The harshness with which the majority of people treat the engagés that they
> bought for three years of service is the only thing to me that seems distressing;
> that is because they are forced to work excessively, they are fed poorly, and often
> made to work in the company of their [African] slaves, which afflicts those poor
> souls more than the excessive sorrows that they suffer. There used to be masters
> who were so cruel that they had to be forbidden from ever purchasing any
> engagés. I knew a master like that in Guadeloupe who buried more than 50 on his
> property that he had killed through overwork…This harshness, no doubt, stems
> from the fact that they only have them for three years; as a result they are more
> inclined to spare their Negros than those poor souls (477)…

The insight offered by Labat and Du Tertre into the power relations between white master's and *engagés* must be carefully weighed given the natural inclination for individuals to be sympathetic towards, and perhaps even exaggerate the plight of those who share their culture. Nevertheless, the passages allow us to consider that the ordeal of labor as experienced by the *engagés* was not necessarily less onerous than that experienced by imported Africans next to whom they labored in the field. Since *engagés* served as a labor source for the duration of their contract, white plantation owners recognized that they would experience a definite reduction in their labor source, and so exploited these workers to the fullest in order to maximize production, profitability, and thereby personal property while it was still possible. Consequently, it seems to

be the case that circumstances as it relates to the subjection to power on the early plantation space was very similar in some aspects, if not worse for the *engagés*.

Engagé labor as a profit-making tool for early plantations, however, would eventually completely give way to the labor of imported Africans. Once imported Africans become the main source of labor on the early plantations, they would continue to be the unique labor source used by plantation masters until the end of slavery. This is because although certain expenses such as the cost of medical treatment did not actually vary between *engagés* and imported Africans, there were certain expenses that early plantations owners could reduce, as well as certain advantages the could be obtained by using African slaves as their primary source of labor (Du Tertre 2:469). Jacques Bouton speaks to this point when he writes:

> a black slave is much more useful than a French servant who only serves for three years, needs clothes, and demands wages [at the end of their contract], and isn't accustomed to the island heat; but the blacks are enslaved for life, only need a piece of cloth to cover their shame, have nothing more than their miserable life, are content with eating cassava and peas, and are made for the air and the heat. (99)

During the time that *engagés* were in use as a labor source, however, we are able to observe certain phenomenon as it regards power relations between white masters and white laborers that lead to questions about the notions of power on the early plantation space. (How) is power exercised differently when the subject resembles the one in power? Can the subject who shares the hegemonic culture contribute to power by helping to keep subalterns in check?

An important aspect of consideration in the power relations between plantation masters and *engagés* stems from the fact that they both resembled each other: in culture, in language, in skin color, in home country though not in social status. In these ways, the situation of *engagés* is again uniquely distinct from that of island natives and imported Africans. This leads to the question, (how) is power exercised differently when the individuals being dominated resemble the one who wields the power? It is immediately recognizable that *engagés* did not experience the same violence as were Carib natives, and imported Africans. However, the differences seem to stop there. As Labat and Du Tertre indicate, *engagés* worked just as hard, if not harder than

imported Africans, and lived communally with the slaves. Those who wield power, it seems, when it comes to profit, are blind to any common link; be it language, culture, or heritage that they may have in common with those under their authority.

Moreover, the inquiry still remains; can a subaltern subject, in this case *engagés*, contribute to power by helping to keep other subjects in check? The presence of white laborers among the imported African slaves seems to have done much for preventing violent rebellions toward masters in the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe since they had the same cultural and economic goals. While slaves may have escaped plantations to join maroon communities and coordinated attacks from these forest sanctuaries, there is little indication from the literature that rebellious slave violence towards white masters on plantations existed during the time that *engagés* were among them. Though treated as slaves with regards to the labor they performed and their living conditions, it is possible to surmise that, to the extent that *engagés* contributed to the white population on plantations and depended on the power structures in place to receive payment for their labor, they represented an obstacle to slave rebellions. One can thus conclude that power on the early plantations system was able to use *engagés*, to help keep African slaves in check.

Islands natives, *engagés,* and imported Africans were all important in terms of their service and the labor they provided for early plantations. Though they were all contemporaries on/of the early plantation system in Martinique and Guadeloupe, imported African slaves would eventually become the unique source of labor for later plantations that concentrated on producing sugar. Unlike with Arawak natives, however, the missionary authors do not affirm themselves as having been excessively exigent with African slaves. In fact, the general approach with regards to the treatment of African slaves can best be summed up by the proverb common to all in the islands during this epoch, "to beat a negro is to feed him" (Du Tertre 481). The labor of imported Africans was much like that of *engagés*. Africans labored on early "gardens" planting and harvesting crops, as well as looking after livestock and other animals (Du Tertre 2:486). Unlike *engagés*, though, they were in service for their entire lives and received no pay for the work they completed.

These African slaves were usually imported from various regions of Western and Central Africa including Guinea, Angola, Sénégal, and Cape Verde (Du Tertre 2: 493). A significant

increase of their numbers on the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe is depicted by the literature of the era as having occurred in correlation with the development of sugar as the islands' main crop around the late 1660's. In his 1667 work, Du Tertre describes the population of African slaves, stating that "today they make up a considerable part of the population in the Antilles, exceeding the French in number by a lot" (2:483). Prior to the establishment of sugar's dominance in the islands, a variety of crops were grown, with tobacco as the main crop to be cultivated. In fact, in volume two of his six volume work, Labat dedicates an entire chapter to the tobacco plant, detailing its history from its origins to the different varieties of the plant and its many uses. However, regarding the shift to sugar as the main crop of the islands, Labat gives a brief history on the sugar cane plant in the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe before proceeding to spend some 300 pages focused entirely on the cultivation of sugar cane and the production of sugar. He writes that, for the French :

> a lot of time went by before they [the French] were in a position to think about cultivating sugar ; their focus was mainly on tobacco, then indigo, and then cotton. Sugar started being cultivated in Guadeloupe in 1648 under the guidance of the Dutch seeking refuge after their expulsion from Brazil. Sugar started being cultivated in Martinique a little later than in Guadeloupe…The number of sugar mills is increasing everyday in the islands, & the process of sugar production is continually being perfected. (3:130)

With the rise of sugar as the main cash crop in the islands, a very distinct shift in the evolution of the plantation as a geographical space can be traced in the missionary literature. This shift gave rise to new dynamics in the power relations between the inhabitants of the plantation.

The first major change to the plantations space that can be noted through the literary works of early missionary settlers as a result of sugar becoming the principal crop to be cultivated was the increase in plantation size. This increase primarily resulted from the desire of plantations owners to increase the amount of profit that could be made from growing sugar-cane by increasing the amount of land allotted to its cultivation (Du Tertre 2:483). Consequently, plantation owners needed to increase the amount of imported African labor available to them by purchasing additional slaves, and having additional slave dwellings constructed. An increase in quantities of live stock that could provide valuable food items contributed to larger plantation

size as well. The second major change that resulted in this geographical space as a result of sugar cultivation is the location of provision grounds. Provision grounds were areas of land on plantations consecrated to slaves for the cultivation of their food. Initially, masters provided slaves with the food that they needed to survive. Of course, the amount of food provided by masters was typically insufficient for the type of labor that African slaves undertook (Du Tertre 2: 457). Seeking to decrease expenses incurred in providing slaves with food, plantation owners soon recognized that it was cheaper to let slaves grow their own food than providing it for them. As a result, provision grounds were established for just this purpose, and slaves were given Saturday's free of labor to cultivate their own food and maintain these gardens. In some instances, slaves were even allowed to travel from one area to the next to sell the items they were able to grow on their provision grounds (Labat 2:57). These areas of plantation land, though not centrally located on plantations, were initially located at a considerable distance away from the periphery of the space within proximity of slave dwellings. As plantation sizes increased, however, these provision grounds seemed to be pushed further and further near the periphery of the plantation space, suggesting, spatially, that the importance assigned to the value of the slave existence was less important as their food sources were displaced to the margins of the plantation. Labat, for example, describes this spatial phenomenon in volume two of his six volume work, writing that, "Negroes are given parcels of land in places far away from the dwelling, or close to the woods, to cultivate their tobacco gardens and plant potatoes, yams, millet, island cabbage, and other things, either for consumption or for sale" (57-58). Provision grounds were thus an important part of the later stages of plantation development.

In addition to increased plantation size and the presence of provision grounds, later plantations could also be distinguished from earlier plantations by the presence of specific infrastructure, in particular, the sugar mill. These were often built from wood that was cut down during *défrichement* and would start being constructed, for safety reasons among other concerns, out of masonry in Martinique and Guadeloupe around 1715. This two-part facility contained an area for crushing cane to extract its juices and a series of boilers for crystallizing the cane juice into granulated sugar. This process was extremely wood-intensive and some slaves were tasked uniquely with the responsibility of going into forested areas to find wood for the boilers. According to Labat, at least seven different grades of sugar could be produced based on the particular boiling process that was used. The changes that occurred to the physical layout of the

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plantation space would form a new and permanent identity for this geographical space, for these changes would remain in place for more than a century and a half until the end of slavery in 1848. These physical changes to the plantation space had several important consequences for the identity of the plantations space as such, but also for power relations on the plantation.

The increase in plantation size resulted in a corresponding increase in the number of African slaves who labored on the plantation. Since imported Africans had become the primary labor source on plantations at this time and the white presence in the form of *engagés* had diminished, white masters and white overseers were significantly outnumbered by black slaves on any given plantation. This is one of the most obvious reasons as to why violence and brutality were often the main forms of coercion used on imported Africans (Du Tertre 476). There were, however, other forms of power exercised on this space that masters and overseers relied on to remain in a position of dominance. There was, for example, as mentioned earlier, the use of space to symbolically create the idea of dominance over imported Africans through situating provision grounds on the periphery of the plantation. Also, the placement of the masters dwelling in relation to the slave shacks reinforced this spatial symbolism. To the extent that it was possible, masters would situate their dwelling on, or near the highest point of their plantation to visually, physically, and geographically create and reinforce a sense of superiority and dominance over slaves. This contrasts radically with the practice on early plantations as depicted in Du Tertre's text of having a common area that all dwellings, both that of the master and those of the slaves, had in common. The slave shacks tended to not only be at a lower geographic elevation within the plantation space, but they were significantly smaller than the master's dwelling and though often arranged symmetrically, were bunched together in a small area of land that was insufficient for their numbers. As Gabriel Debien suggest, the slave dwellings were more like early concentration camps (225).

While the physical layout of the plantation space created a symbolism that served an important purpose as a daily reminder of the order of things and had a real influence in reinforcing existing power structures, the physical layout of the plantation space was equally valuable because it made surveillance a possibility. As Du Tertre indicates, "All the inhabitants of the islands are skilled when it comes to the placement of Negros on the plantations…they're normally placed down-wind from the master's house, however, they aren't placed too far away

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so that they can still be observed" (2:517). Here, Du Tertre presents the notion that slave shacks were in a position to be seen and observed from the masters dwelling. Labat reinforces the notion when he writes, "The slave shacks are, for the most part, rather neat. One of the responsibilities of the overseer is to maintain surveillance of this area" (2:56). In their most personal and intimate spaces on the plantation, slaves were still under the watchful eye of the master.

When laboring in the fields, slaves experienced the same dynamic of surveillance that was at work when they were at rest. Labat, a missionary and slave-holder who had several slaves and several plantations under his charge as a result of his ecclesiastical position, advocated and discussed the importance of having an organized, symmetric layout for a field of sugar cane on a plantation. Among the possible advantages such as ease of harvesting, aesthetic value, and faster crop growth as a result of reduction in weeds and other harmful plants and rodents, surveillance of slaves was one of the primary advantages he praises for masters such as himself. He writes:

> with the sugar cane planted neatly in a line….The master or his overseer sees
> from one end of a section of sugar cane what needs to be done, *how the Negroes*
> *are working, and if they haven't abandoned their work so that they can sleep*; it's
> not easy to make these observations when the patches of sugar cane are planted
> haphazardly because they hide each other, and hide both the negligence of the
> workers as well as the negligent workers themselves. (3:145-146)

The goal of surveillance was evidently an important consideration in the layout of plantation fields. Linear crop patterns would make slave laborers more visible and thus more subject to the power of the plantation master. Slaves acknowledged, respected, and understood the power of slave masters as exercised through surveillance and even in their recreation were conscious of, and tried to avoid this all-seeing eye, being careful to distance themselves as much as possible from master's house on the plantation in order to engage in acts such as dancing (Labat 2:52). Paradoxically, masters also placed some of the responsibility of surveillance on the slaves themselves, in particular to defend against theft and other vandalism on the part of maroons. Drawing upon his abundance of experience in running plantations, Labat promotes the

idea of surveillance as a responsibility in which slaves could take part. He develops this idea as he declares :

> The animal pen where the livestock are locked up at night should be positioned next to the slave shacks. This way they are all responsible and have incentive for stopping anyone from stealing any animals at night. It's an almost certain thing that outside Negroes never steal from a plantation without the knowledge and complicity of some of the slaves from that plantation who receive a share of the goods. (3: 452-453)

To a certain extent, it is reasonable to equate the plantation space to that of a primitive Panopticon, for conceptually, they are both the same. Notions of observation and surveillance created a "power of mind over mind" (1) in the early plantation the same way it is theorized to do in Bentham's model: "In the panopticon, we are seen without seeing the one who sees us…The panopticon is governed by a gaze" (11). Similarly, slaves on the plantation were represented as being subject to the master's power as a result of the master's gaze from his central "pillar" which allowed him to observe slaves at work and at rest. The all-seeing nature of the master's gaze imbued plantation surveillance with divine attributes that went far in helping to keep slave resistance in check; for in the same way that a divine entity knows all and sees all, the master, in theory, was able to know all *because* he could see all. Bentham originally described his panopticon as being applicable, "without exception, to all establishments whatsoever, in which, within a space…a number of persons are meant to be kept under inspection" (33-34). Examples he offers include "*prisons for confinement* before trial, or *penitentiary-houses*, or *houses of correction*, or *work-houses*, or *manufactories*, or *mad-houses*, or *hospitals*, or *schools*" (34). The purpose for which the panopticon was designed seems to correspond perfectly well to the practices that were undertaken on later plantations.

Another element of plantation power relations in addition to surveillance that seems to have been unique to this later phase of plantation development was the psychological element of acculturation that was used to lessen slave resistance. To help acclimate slaves to life on the plantation and ensure that they would be effective, compliant workers, masters employed very specific strategies. For example, slave owners made sure that from a very young age slave children were obligated to perform tasks on plantations that corresponded to their age and ability.

It was not uncommon to see slave children performing less onerous plantation work such as taking care of livestock (Labat 3:431). This type of approach where slaves were gradually introduced to labor from a young age helped to create the perception of labor being a natural part of life for the African rather than a foreign state of existence imposed by an outside power. For newly arrived slaves who were not born on the plantation, however, a variety of methods outside of violent coercion was at the master's disposal in order to maintain power. One of the most important methods of acculturation for new slaves was the practice of pairing them with a seasoned slave to act as sort of a mentor and help speed the process of acclimation. Labat comments on this phenomenon stating that:

> In order to better train them, teach them, and get them used to how things work on the plantation, it's good to lodge the new negroes in the shacks of the older slaves….they [the older slaves] consider it an honor that the negro assigned to them be better cared for, better instructed, and in better health than the negro of one of their neighbors. (2:48)

One can immediately grasp both the irony and sadness of this situation were these slave mentors, as it were, compete with one another for the prestige of having the mentee most acclimated to a life of service on the plantation and thus contributing to deculturation. It seems that power in this later form of the plantation power, was not beyond using the subaltern subject to create more subjects.

Methods of acculturation that were employed so that slaves were less rebellious to plantation authority included the imposing of skills onto the slave in order to make them more productive in their labor. The missionary texts represent slaves as not only being taught methods of cultivation and sugar production by their masters, but with the reduction in the use of *engagé* labor, slaves started to acquire trade skills in manual labor that previously belonged to white indentured servants. Slaves learned such skills as architecture, masonry, barrel making, metal working and carpentry. By imposing a set of skills on their slaves to be used on the plantation, plantation owners could ensure themselves of additional profit through a readily available source of valuable expertise, but more importantly, they could be sure that the slaves would be likely to see their value as being uniquely *in relation* to this space, and thus be less hostile to it and its power structures. Similarly, slave masters were also able to take advantage of familial and

affective bonds to reinforce their power over African slaves through threats of violence to a family member. Familial bonds also increased the likelihood that slaves would remain on the plantation since separation from family was emotionally burdensome. Though masters primarily arranged slave couplings in order to ensure that they would have a steady supply of slave labor over the long-term, these familial ties often kept slaves bound in subjection to the plantation space. Slaves were less likely to escape and live as maroons if they were married and had a family because the danger of absconding in large numbers increased the risk of being caught. It was also more challenging to prepare necessary provisions for escape for several people as opposed to just one individual. Also, escaping with children was more difficult because the ordeal tended to be physically overwhelming for them. The risk of punishment, such as flogging or dismemberment, was one that slaves were willing to take upon themselves, but not one to which they were often willing to subject their families. Thus, the establishment of the slave family functioned both as a profit making tool and influenced power relations by serving as an anchor to keep slaves bound to the plantation space and subject to the authority of the slave master. However, it is important to note that a family structure provided a certain slave solidarity which could be a potential threat to a master's power. Thus, slave families were not always kept intact and many family members were separated from each other; "dissolved by the unilateral and unappealable decision of the master to sell, give up, transfer, or move one or more slaves in a group" (Fraginal, 12). To a certain extent, a "family unit within a plantation was like a naturally rejected foreign body" (12). Once can thus observe that slave masters were able to exercise power over African slaves in a variety of ways on the plantation.

It is important to consider that the plantation space, not only produced power in the various ways mentioned above, it was also productive of legislative power that legally and socially established plantation owner's dominance over slaves. This legislation of course came in the form of the Code Noir, a 1685 legislation that "served as the legal charter for the French West Indian slave system, and…reflected official thinking about slavery" (Stein 51). The evolution of the plantation space from that of smaller farms, and the subsequent changes *produced* the need for this regulation; a need that may have otherwise existed. As Stein points out:

The first export crop on the French islands was tobacco, which was usually planted on small farms requiring few workers. When tobacco quickly proved unprofitable, it was replaced by sugar cane. The small farms were themselves replaced by large plantations, and the labor needs of the islands consequently soared. This required the creation of an organized French slave trade in the late seventeenth century. (19)

The organization of a French slave trade, in turn, required a system for governing the slaves (Code Noir) and keeping power in the hands of masters. Thus one can see that the evolution of the plantation space was instrumental in producing the power offered to white settlers by Code Noir legislation.

The historical evolution of plantations as a geographical space in Martinique and Guadeloupe started with the exercise of colonial power in settling the islands and clearing out parcels of land for agricultural exploitation. This process, known as *défrichement* quite literally produced the space that would be an important part of French society and economy in the Caribbean. In its earliest form, plantations were scattered across the islands and separated from one another by great distances of space and wooded areas. There was a variety of laborers on these early plantations including island natives (Carib and Arawaks), indentured French servants (*engagés*), and imported African slaves. Though power relations between French masters and these different laborers always kept French masters in a position of dominance, the specifics in regards to the exercise of this power varied among the groups. These laborers worked to cultivate crops such as tobacco, cotton, and various dyes and other food items for consumption as well as trade. However, when sugar became the main crop cultivated on plantations, a shift in plantation labor occurred and imported Africans became the main source of labor. With this evolution in the plantation labor source and the crops being cultivated on the plantation, there came a change in physical layout of the space that influenced the exercise of power between the white masters and the African slaves and allowed the plantation system to continue for more than another century and a half. It is thus very clear that the historical construction of the plantation space identifies it as a space that was produced by and productive of power.

Colonial narratives provide a perspective of the construction and development of the plantation which is, in and of itself valuable and significant. However, one cannot overlook the

construction of the space as represented within the framework of postcolonial narratives. Both the colonial and the postcolonial perspectives are quintessential in offering a complete picture of the geographical imagination of the French Caribbean for they are different sides of the same coin. The representations of the space as found in the works of these early missionary slave-owners provide a viewpoint that is, colonial, panoramic, first-hand, and hegemonic. This approach is complemented by including the analysis of fiction which offers a perspective that is contemporary, post-colonial, distinctive, imagined, and gives a voice to the subaltern. Set in French Caribbean islands, and written by island natives from Guadeloupe and Martinique, the contemporary works of postcolonial fiction that that will be discussed are <u>Débouya Pa Péché</u> by Marie-Noëlle Recoque and <u>Le Quatrième Siècle</u> by Édouard Glissant.

Author of <u>Le Quatrième Siècle</u>(1964), Martinican Edouard Glissant treats the notions of Caribbean slavery in this frame narrative that interacts with the past and present in such a manner as to challenge the linear nature of time and memory. The novel is set on the island of Martinique and the story unfolds as Papa Longoué recounts the history that both he and Mathieu Béluse share through the slavery of their ancestors. Papa Longoué's account centers on the lives of two slaves, Béluse and Longoué, who, respectively, are sold to plantation owners Senglis and La Roche. Longoué escapes the plantation immediately, and becomes a maroon, establishing for himself a mountain settlement. Béluse, however, remains on the plantation of his master Senglis. Papa Longoué's chronicle juxtaposes both the slaves Béluse and Longoué as unique and different individuals, as well as the lives that these two slaves lead in their respective space. Through this juxtaposition and treatment of space, one can observe a definite geographical significance as it relates to the plantation as space of power, that is to say, produce by and productive of power.

In addition to the protagonists of this work, the plantation is perhaps one of the most important of Glissant's characters. When compared to the texts of the early missionary settlers, it becomes obvious though, that Glissant does not place an emphasis on certain aspects of the plantation that are, to a considerable degree, emphasized by missionary settlers. For example, <u>Le Quatrième Siècle</u> does not present the plantation as a dynamic space. The plantation, though it has very unique characteristics that make it a *living* space, is not really portrayed as an *evolving* one since the work presents this space to the reader at a particular point in its development. It is

represented in the text as remaining very consistent in size and labor source. There is not much discussion about increase in plantation territory, nor is there much discussion about the augmentation of the number of crops planted or fields harvested. *Défrichement* is briefly mentioned only a few rare occasions, and the variety of laborers such as Carib natives, Arawaks, and Engagés discussed by authors like DuTertre is limited in Glissant's work to imported Africans. Moreover, some of the methods of slave acculturation that helped to ensure the dominance of the white planters, such as older slaves mentoring young/new slaves, do not factor into the experience of life on the plantation in Glissant's text. While some of these differences are simply the result of the author's choice, the fact that Glissant's work is set in a post 1788 era may help to explain some of the differences. During the epoch in which Bouton, Du Tertre, and other settlers are writing, the plantation as a geographical space, and slave labor as a system in French Caribbean islands such as Martinique and Guadeloupe was still developing. It would need approximately 70 years before it would finish evolving into the structure whereby it is currently recognized, that is, the big plantation. In fact, during the course of its evolution, early island settlers simply referred to these plots of cultivated land as "gardens". The differences in the works aside, many similarities exist between Le Quatrième Siècle and the texts of early missionary settlers regarding the dynamics of power within the geographical space of the plantation. These similarities include the notions of spatial opposition, exercise of power as reflected in the physical layout of space, surveillance, and a variety of other methods which all are of considerable importance to the production of plantation power in this work.

In Le Quatrième Siècle, the notion of spatial opposition, that is to say, the juxtaposition of one geographic space with another, specifically the plantations with wooded areas, is used by Glissant in several instances to further establish the identity of each space as autonomous and significant. In treating the geographical spaces that separate the two slave patriarchs Béluse and Longoué, the narrator explains, that Béluse was aborting his life on the Senglis plantation while Longoué was far away "in the forest on the mountains" (38). It is later revealed in the work that Papa Longoué, the narrator who recounts the story of the two slave patriarchs to Mathieu Béluse, recounts the story from a very particular location. The space that the two men occupy during the telling of the account is eventually revealed in the text to be the exact spot in the forest on the mountains where some 150 years ago the slave Longoué established a maroon settlement after

escaping from the plantation *Acajou*. The narration contrasts this space from the area below where the plantations were originally established. The text reveals:

> They were no longer skylights, but *bays of sunlight in the foliage* for these two men who were observing the plain *from up above*. They saw through the openings in the branches, the outlined, red earth *far off*, with its large plots of cultivated land which seemed to caress the very beginnings of the slope of the mountain. There was practically *a battle* between this sea of earth, and the shore of dark trees (43).

A number of contrasting techniques are used in this passage to distinguish and differentiate the wooded/mountainous region from the flat plains where the plantations were located. First, the lighting on the mountain top is described as penetrating the foliage. This suggests a thick canopy of leaves that renders the wooded region a place of relative darkness when compared to the plains of the plantation. Additionally, the openings in the branches that allow the two men to gaze at the plains, is comparable to the windows in a wall that provide exterior visibility. This wall of trees furthers the separation between the two spaces. Moreover, the height of mountain (up above) and its proximity to the plain (far off) serve as additional distinguishing characteristics that reinforce each space as separate and unique. In fact, as the plot of the novel shifts back and forth between the era of slavery and the era of Papa Longoué and Mathieu Béluse, one notes the regular use of the phrase "from down below" to describe both people and things originating in the plains (132). Likewise, the portrayal of the plain as relatively organized (outlined, cultivated) contrasts with the implicit disorganization of the forest. One plantation owner, in addressing himself to a maroon recently caught trespassing on a plantation accuses the maroon of an affront against the "clean and ordered universe of the plain" (162). This owner suggests that the forest and the plantation are in fact worlds apart. This assertion is perhaps true to the extent that the plantation is a cultivated, designed space whereas the forest and mountains are the untamed manifestations of nature. Furthermore, the spatial opposition is also highlighted by the notion of "battle" between the two geographic spaces through the transformative, geographic metaphor of the ocean and shore. In addition to "battle", the fields would later be described as "gnawing on the forest" (95).

A final contrast can be observed between the two spaces as it regards the influence of these spaces on the lives of imported African slaves. The *Acajou* plantation, for example, is referred to as a "place of damnation for slaves…a terrifying physical damnation" (101). In the woods, however, shortly after having escaped from the very same plantation, the text indicates that Longoué felt "less burdened, and absence of danger, a brand new feeling of safety" (84). Thus, even in their impact on the slave body, these two spaces are distinguishable from one another. The spatial opposition between the plantation and the forest is reinforced in a variety of ways throughout Glissant's work to help further the notion that these spaces function differently as it regards the notions of power and resistance. As Ian Howard states in the collection of essays edited by Andrew Light and Jonathan Smith, "personal identity is often sought in terms of place...", and "[t]he history of human conflict" such as the conflict between slave-owners on plantations and maroon slaves in rebel communities "speaks volumes about how personal identity is bound up with place…" (149,150). The plantation, of course, represents a geography of power, possessing particular characteristics that facilitate domination and control, while the forests and mountains represent a space of resistance.

The exercise of power as reflected in the physical layout of the space is also an important factor to take into account when considering the power dynamics that exist on the plantation in this work. As indicated in the texts of the early missionary settlers, the plantation was often located in a flat region, and the notion of territoriality was a significant consideration in establishing this space. Johnston offers a definition of territoriality as "[t]he attempt by an individual or group to influence or establish control over a clearly demarcated territory which is made distinctive and considered at least partially exclusive by its inhabitants or those who define its bounds" (Questions, 188). In considering the connections between territoriality and the exercise of power, Johnston supplements the previous definition. He adds that territoriality, when linked to the exercise of power, becomes "the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence or control *people*, phenomena and *relationships*, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area" (Questions, 188). This notion of the exercise of power as being intimately linked with asserting control over a geographic area is evident on the plantations of Glissant's work.

Within its borders, the distribution of buildings, crops, and other infrastructure was such that the master's house was often centrally located and on the highest point within the space while the slave quarters were located near the periphery of the property. This spatial symbolism reinforced the notion of the master as primary, important, and central while it contrasted with the slaves as secondary, insignificant, and marginal. The text, for example, indicates that the path to the master required one to "go up towards the big house" (68). Conversely, the path to the slave quarters required a descent to the slave "shacks", were the slaves are characterized as "invisible" and "silent" (69). Both the slope of the path and the size of the dwellings are significant in this work. The slope connotes and denotes the superiority of the master, and the size of the slave shack, which is described in the work as being a strange extension of the cramped interior space of the slave ship, reinforces the notions of dominance, control, and power of the master over the slave (71). Because the slaves were primarily used as a source of field labor, their mobility throughout the plantation was also a function of the slave master's dominance. The text refers to the existence of different sectors within the plantation, and particular emphasis is given to the slave zone, characterized as "separated", "lower down", and "sterile" where the mobility of the slaves consisted of going "from the shacks to the field and from the field to the shacks" (113-114). For slaves whose responsibility involved activities such as the processing of sugar cane, Glissant's work indicates that La Roche, master of the *Acajou* plantation, generally kept his slaves "in the immediate area of his facilities and workshops" once again limiting and controlling their mobility (131).

In addition to the physical layout of the plantation space, the notion of surveillance plays a very important role in this work as helping to establish and maintain the plantation as geography of power. As recognized earlier, the physical layout of the space and the significance of observation and surveillance to the successful management of the plantation liken the plantation to a primitive Panopticon. The master's house becomes the central pillar which seems to "shoot out from among the slave shacks", the slaves become the prisoners, and surveillance the mechanism by which the power is obtained and exercised (61). In elaborating on the orientation of the buildings on the plantation of Monsieur Senglis, Glissant's work explains that the slave shacks were "organized on three sides into a rectangle, with the fourth side opening towards the incline at the top of which the master's house could be seen. Without doubt, the master's house resembled a fortified palace elevated above the group of shacks" (60). The

elevation and orientation of these structures in relation to one another facilitates the task of surveillance for the slave master and offers an intimidating presence, that of a fortified palace, to solidify the master's influence and control over the slaves. The work goes on to describe that Monsieur Senglis and his wife "ruled the property by their mere presence in a room constantly kept smoky by the candlelight, and *even more effectively* than if they actively brandished the whip and iron shackles all around" (100). Foucault describes this type of phenomenon as a "real subjection produced mechanically from a fictitious relationship, such that it's not necessary to use actual violence/force to constrain the prisoner to good behavior…[or] the worker to his work…" (Surveiller, 204). That is to say, as long as the central pillar of this primitive plantation panopticon is visible, it "creates within the subject a constant state of awareness that he is being watched, which automatically ensures the working of power" (Surveiller, 202).

The imagery created from the above passages of a tall, imposing, palace-type structure with light emanating from its interior and which stood in opposition to the slave shacks is evocative of a panopticon-like central pillar, or watch tower, from which the subject could be monitored and observed. This structure did much for assuring the dominance of the master on the plantation through the notion of the gaze. The importance of the master's gaze in the dynamics of power on the plantation is best described by Béluse, a plantation slave who realizes from his very first day on the plantation of Monsieur Senglis that "the master *only* existed at the moment when he was watching (observing) you…that the master lost strength/power when he would turn his back to you" (68). Béluse's rightly concludes that the source of his master's power is his ability to successfully engage in surveillance. The central location of the master's house was often the solution for turning his back to his slaves since it maximized the power of his gaze while reducing the effort needed to observe slaves.

The importance of surveillance to this geography of power is also seen at a moment in the text when Longoué, the maroon, decides to infiltrate the plantation to kidnap his future mate. An objective such as this one, where an escaped slave returns to a geography of power, is considerably risky. The novel reveals, however, that Longoué took certain precautions in undertaking this aim, all of which served to counteract/nullify the possibility of surveillance. First, it is explained that the time of day that Longoué chooses to place himself within this space of power was the moment of the day when visibility was at its worse; "*of course*, it was already

night time" (87). He noiselessly traversed the property as a "visitor of the night that *the night protected*" (87). The language used in the above passages to characterize this kidnapping is very revelatory. The words "of course" hint at the impossibility and inconceivability of this type of transgression occurring at any other time of the day where visibility would have been better. The night itself is described as a protector; and to the extent that it precludes surveillance, functions as an effective tool of resistance on this geography of power. The correlation between Longoué's efforts at avoiding surveillance and his success at taking another slave from the plantation proves that indeed the night was an excellent protector.

Within the plantation space of Le Quatrième Siècle, power was exercised and maintained in a variety of other ways in addition to those mentioned above. These other methods of maintaining power were birthed primarily from the converging of a set of factors and circumstances unique to the plantation space. Among these internal barriers to keep slaves in check and ensure that dominance remain in the hands of white masters, language was a tool of substantial import. As a tool of power, language is used in Le Quatrième Siècle primarily to prevent solidarity and coordination of resistance among slave subjects. The text explains :

> When everything is going well on a plantation they buy new [slaves] in the same region. Yes. That facilitates the work, which means that more work gets done more quickly. When there are problems on a plantation, slaves from the region aren't wanted at all. They bring a bad spirit and so must not be able to communicate with the older slaves. This way they *forget their desire to rebel while learning the language*, and by the time they know the language, they've already been domesticated (61).

As one can recognize from this passage, the language barrier on the plantations of this work was very useful to the degree that it served in quelling rebellion and opposition to the existing power structures. It eliminated, or at the very least, reduced the solidarity amongst slaves that would be necessary to form a substantial body of resistance against plantation power structures.

Additionally, the control exerted by slave masters in Glissant's work with regards to slave sexuality is evidenced to have contributed to the dynamics of power that tilt the balance of

control in the master's favor. Of course, domination of the slave body was one of the main manifestations of power that resulted from the sexual exploitation of the slaves. The text explains, however, that an element of financial and psychological power for white masters resulted as well. Financially, to limit costs associated with running a plantation and still increase the amount of labor available, slave masters would breed or impregnate slaves and then sell the offspring or use it as an additional source of labor. Madame de Senglis, for example, looks at the slave Béluse and simply refers to him as "an excellent 'reproducer'" (97). La Roche, proprietor of the *Acajou* plantation, explains that this practice provided him with about fifteen additional slaves citing the lack of "additional cost" as one of the main advantages of this type of domination (50). The second advantage which is also a manifestation of the psychological power masters obtain from this practice is that slaves procured in this manner "have forgotten their origins" as a result of being born into slavery (50). Because of this lack of knowledge about their origins, La Roche exclaims, "Only I have power here [on the plantation], yes, I alone" (51). Having never experienced Africa, born into slavery without ever having known freedom, slaves born on the plantation were not *introduced* to the system of control and exploitation that the plantation represented, they were *produced* by it. This fact made them relatively easier to control, as La Roche suggests, and reduced the likelihood of revolt against the plantation. Thus, in a very real sense, the control over slave sexuality exerted by slave masters of Glissant's work reinforced the notion of the plantation as a space productive of power.

Also, another important method of control used on the plantation to help maintain it as a geography of power is the act of (re)naming slaves. The work makes a clear distinction between plantations and wooded areas that maroons occupied based on the act of naming. Whereas plantation slaves were given their names, maroons "chose their names" (167). The naming of an individual is a method of conferring upon them an identity. For plantation slaves, an identity that was intimately linked and specifically connected with their existence as laborers of the plantation and subjects of its power was imposed upon them. Maroon slaves however, are represented in the text as naming "themselves before anyone could name them. In other words, they baptized themselves" (167). Baptism, as a rite, is a symbol of one's entering in to the Christian flock under the authority of God the omnipotent. In the same sense, the "baptism" by naming as experienced by imported Africans was a symbol of them entering into the flock of plantation slaves under the authority of the all-seeing, omnipotent plantation master. To name a slave was

not just to assign a title, it was to a process of inculcating his identity as a subject of plantation power.

In the work, Débouya Pa Péché by Marie-Noëlle Recoque, issues of slavery, space, and power are found to be among the most important themes. This work, which primarily takes place on a coffee plantation in Guadeloupe in 1847, follows the lives of the slaves and the issues of power and conflict that they deal with on a day to day basis. Like Glissant's Le Quatrième Siècle, and the works of early missionary settlers, this work of fiction presents the notion of power as being connected to the plantation as a geographic space, and further elaborates on how the notions of spatial opposition, exercise of power as reflected in the physical orientation of a space, surveillance, and other factors affect the dynamics of power within this space.

Like Glissant's work this text differs from that of the early missionary settlers in its focus on particular elements of plantation life. The space-producing practice of *défrichement* which played a relatively minor role in the over-all plot of Le Quatrième Siècle is practically absent in Recoque's work. Also, unlike the early missionary settler's treatment of the evolution of the plantation, there is no change in the size of the plantation space through Débouya pa péché. This is most likely attributable to the fact that Recoque's work is set in 1847, one year before the abolition of slavery when *défrichement* and increasing plantation size were least likely to occur as the institution of slavery neared its collapse. Nevertheless, Débouya Pa Péché is very similar to the work of Glissant and the texts of the early missionary settlers in that they all place a similar emphasis on the physical orientation of the plantation space as a main factor contributing to the dominance of white masters over slaves, and the idea of surveillance as contributing to white power.

The primary space discussed in Débouya Pa Péché is the plantation. It is true that the city and the woods are addressed as well; however their presence is relatively minor. And in keeping with the trend that can be observed in the works analyzed thus far, the plantation is represented in Recoque's work as a space of power. The physical layout of the space; that is to say, its geographic features as well as the nature and orientation of its infrastructure, are portrayed as greatly influencing power relations.

Early on in the work, one is able to observe a clear distinction between the master's house and the dwelling of the slaves. The master's house is constantly referred to as the "big house" and is often juxtaposed with the shacks that the slaves inhabit (22). A detailed description of the master's house and its surrounding area reveal it to be more like a fortress or strong tower than a home. The text explains that, "The ground floor was constructed out of large stones…and was overhung by the floor above….Large balconies with amazingly sculpted handrails and friezes surrounded the house. There was also a vast structure, a shed of sorts, overlooking the slope of the property" (139). Several interesting details can be gleaned from the above description of the masters house a symbol of dominance and control. First, the massive size and number of floors of the big house allow it to create an imposing presence on the plantation. Second, the balconies surrounding the property create, in a sense, an artificial border designating the master's house as unique and separate. This idea is more evident when one considers that the French verb "ceinturaient" which is used in the text, describes the roll fulfilled by a belt: surrounding, enclosing, and uplifting. Third, the large stones used in construction of the ground-floor promote the idea of strength and power; of something that can't easily be penetrated. The house is also described as possessing a type of shed; however, the French word "munie" which is used, shares its root with the word "munition", and implies that the house was "armed" with a sort of shed. This language, of course, suggests violence and combat. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we are told that the master's house is situated on the highest point of the plantation since it overlooks the slope of the property. This structure, in a very real sense contributes to the notion of surveillance as a "method of defining the relationship of power within the daily life of men [plantation slaves]…a method of making power relations work" (Surveiller, 207, 208). As such it is a significant factor in establishing the plantation as a geography of power.

In one part of the text, we are told that "the masters' big house which, with its mass of stone, seemed to *crush* the slaves' miserable huts made of plaited branches" (23). The reader is also made aware of "the wall overhanging the slave quarters" and the perplexed curiosity of Dotha, when she finds Édoé, a field slave, closer to the master's house than was acceptable (188, 145). The violence implied by the word "crush", the difference in strength between the building materials of stone and branch, and the cloistering of the slave quarter behind a wall at a lower slope than the mater's house are all evidence pointing to how the physical layout of the

plantation space, its structures and geography, create a symbolism of dominance and power on behalf of the slave masters. As the end of the novel demonstrates, it's not until the master's house is severely damaged by a fire, when this symbol of power is devastated, that the slaves on the plantation ever truly feel free (302).

In addition to the physical layout of the plantation space, the idea of surveillance as contributing to the plantation being a space of power is also presented by Recoque in Débouya Pa Péché. As mentioned earlier, the master's house, a large, multi-story structure, was located on the highest point of the plantation, and in all likelihood was the center point of the space. These characteristics lend to the idea of the master's house as being comparable to a primitive panopticon that would facilitate surveillance. This thought is reinforced when one considers the relationship of the slaves to this structure. The narration, for example, explains that "The slaves were speaking more often about freedom, but they did it amongst themselves and always in hushed voices, in the privacy of their shacks or under the coffee trees; in the complicit shadows of the foliage" (33). Some of the slaves even left the plantation at night to gather in cleared areas of the mountain forests at a considerable distance from the plantation, being sure to return their shacks right before sunrise (244, 249). Exercising such secrecy and prudence, especially to discuss a topic as weighted as freedom while avoiding surveillance, follows the caution of Man Héloïse when she states, "I'm warning you, make sure you don't attract the *attention* of the whites…" (45).

Man Héloïse, the caretaker of the novel's protagonist, is described as being a slave who was very adept at going unnoticed on the plantation. The work describes her thusly:

> She knew how to be extremely polite in front of the masters and not attract their attention. That was, according to Héloïse, the only way that the slaves, given their circumstances, could experience freedom. Never get noticed, flatter the whites in everything they do and pretend: pretend to be stupid, pretend to be respectful, pretend to be submissive…(125)

Man Héloïse, like Béluse of Le Quatrième Siècle, obviously understood, to a greater or lesser extent, how power on the plantation was exercised and the mechanisms involved in domination and control, for it was her primary focus to avoid the gaze of the masters.

Other instances of the gaze as an instrument of power are found in Recoque's text when one considers the attention given in this work to the responsibility of the slave overseer and the masters. The overseer often interacts more directly with the slaves than the master does, especially in this novel, and is the individual responsible after the master for the maintaining of order on the plantation. It is interesting to note, however, that they both relied on the power of the gaze as a tool of domination. The role of overseer in this work is always characterized as being held by a very stern and violent individual, an individual who "persecuted the slaves" with a "brutality" such that "the sound of his voice paralyzed with terror, those whom he had not yet punished" (86). We also learn that the overseer, in this case the character Odilon, " liked to strike poses designed to demonstrate his *power*: his body stiff in his clothing made of fine cloth, legs spread, hands behind his back grasping a leather whip, *he shot his hard gaze at everyone with his chin pointing out front, like a rifle…*" (86). It is no coincidence that the gaze, here depicted as a rifle, is connected with the pose of power. Interestingly, this instrument of power is equally relied upon throughout this work by plantation owners as well. François, master of the Morne-Savon plantation, is cited as often being in his house, on the terrace that "overlooked the slave quarters" (98). During a dinner held on François' plantation when invited guest, neighbor, and fellow plantation owner Mrs. Georgette Soudard explains why her husband was unable to attend, the lack of a suitable overseer was cited as the primary reason. This meant that Mr. Soudard had to "stay to watch over the slaves" (112). No doubt the use of the gaze and the notion of surveillance factors among the important tools that help to categorize the plantation as a space of power and allow the idea to be put forth in this novel that "the colonizer, no matter who he is, has *total power* over the men that he owns" (84).

Unlike Glissant's <u>Le Quatrième Siècle</u>, <u>Débouya Pa Péché</u> presents the notion of slaves as themselves being a part of the surveillance mechanism on the plantation, suggesting that the subject can indeed become an instrument of power. Laurencin and his replacement Césaire, both overseers of the plantation Morne-Savon, enlist the services of one of the slaves as a spy. This spy provides valuable information about the things occurring on the plantation that would normally be kept secret and withheld from those in power. Thanks to this additional pair of eyes and ears, the overseer's ability to be proactive and reactive vis-à-vis the shifting moods and temperaments of the slaves increases tremendously. Thanks to the information provided by the spy, Césaire was able to learn of an imminent attack by maroons on the plantation (219). Not

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only was the information provided by the spy helpful to the maintaining of power on the plantation, but the very existence of a spy among their numbers did much for destabilizing the solidarity amongst the slaves and making it less likely that they would unify against the power structures dominating them on the plantation. As soon as they learn that there is a spy among them, the seeds of mistrust start to spread rapidly, even amongst those who share relatively strong bonds. Statements such as "I never trusted him", "he felt guilty for having trusted the young girl", and "should we distrust everyone?", increase in frequency (192, 217). This work thus shows that surveillance doesn't always have to be conducted by overseers or masters personally. The subject can in fact be the instrument of surveillance that contributes to existing power structures.

Though other internal barriers to keeping slaves subject to plantation power such as naming, language, and sexuality were present in Glissant's Le Quatrième Siècle, Débouya pa Péché presents the reader with a variety of other interesting methods and techniques designed to reinforce and maintain plantation power structures. Like the texts of early missionary settlers, Recoque's novel illustrates slave mentoring as a useful and important method of control. Ironically, Recoque's work differs from the texts of early settlers in that Recoque places more emphasis on the role of religion on the plantation to maintain power over slaves than the early missionaries do. Finally, division among the slaves themselves is portrayed as being significant in ensuring the master's dominance.

The notion of slave mentoring is depicted in this work by the relationship that exists between Man Héloïse and the protagonist Léanette. Man Héloïse becomes Léanette's caretaker from the earliest days of Léanette's life when Léanette was taken from her mother who died from a severe beating. Man Héloïse's character constantly warns and admonishes Léanette and the other slaves to conform to the master's wishes while hoping for freedom. Her character accepts the system of slavery and doesn't seek to oppose it violently, but to work through the system to gain her emancipation. Often, when Léanette experiences moments of despair and frustration with her plight as a slave, Man Héloïse encourages a submission to the power and brutality of the master tempered with prayers for strength and deliverance. When Zélie, the daughter of the slave mistress, smacks Léanette violently, Man Héloïse counsels "Patiently accept the bad that's done to you….I keep telling you that the whites were put on earth to give us worries and we

can't do anything about it. The young mistress will soon tire of pestering you. Just wait a while and try to forget….Little one, ask God to make the young mistress leave you alone" (162). Given Man Héloïse's demeanor and attitude towards the control and authority exercised by the master, it's no doubt that when a new slave girl arrived on the plantation needing to be lodged, the mistress of the plantation says of Héloïse, " I'm going to entrust her with a little girl to train…" (259). Masters knew that slaves who were acculturated to the system of slavery and life on the plantation were amongst the most effective means for influencing newly arrived Africans and stymieing resistance to the power of the masters.

Man Héloïse's devotion to prayer and trust in God works in conjunction with the attempts made on the part of the masters to control their slaves by instilling the fear of God into them. Obviously, slaves who felt that their condition was of divine appointment were least likely to rebel and more likely to accept their condition as slaves since rebellion against their masters would be akin to rebellion against God and His ordained will. For this reason, Hortense and François invite a priest to come to the plantation and give a sermon to the slaves. At the moment that the sermon is being given, the scene described in the novel is reminiscent of a dictator or monarch addressing those under his authority. Much attention is paid to the priest's preparation and in particular to his attempts to coordinate his voice with the gestures of his priestly robes. As the text indicates, "He tried to find the most shocking imagery, the most persuasive exhortations, and in front of the large mobile mirror that decorated his room, he practiced his hand gestures" (117). The work continues, "He discretely tried a few singing exercises : he tried to match the inflection of his voice to the different gestures that would accompany his sermon; whether they were consoling, mystical, forewarning, or threatening " in order to influence the gathering of slaves and reaffirm the power of the plantation owners through the use of the spiritual (118). Furthermore, the elevated position of the preacher on the 2nd floor balcony of a very solidly built and imposing structure, which is itself located on the highest point of the plantation, symbolically positions him higher up and closer to the heavens than the slaves, lending credence and legitimacy, by means of spatial associations, to his words. After the priest delivers his "fiery sermon", Edoé, one of the slaves in the audience, retorts, "No doubt, God is on their side" (120).

Equally important in the attempt and maintaining the plantation as a space of power for the white masters was the creation of division among the slave populations that resulted, perhaps accidentally, by the necessary dividing of work among the field slaves and house slaves. This separation of labor in Recoque's text is evidenced to be primarily based on gender; female slaves did the cooking and acted as servants in the big house, while males were primarily the ones in the fields and workshops. Working within the "central pillar" made the house slaves privy to conversations and other information discussed by their owners. While field slaves were responsible for the aspects of plantation life that would increase profit for slave masters, the house slaves were burdened with the responsibility of meeting the master's needs directly and making sure that the house, one of the main power structures on the plantation, functioned harmoniously. It was the house slaves that maintained and sustained the main instrument of plantation power. Thus, house slaves became directly associated with this oppressive apparatus of power and in many ways were often considered extensions of it. In the text, when it is time for slaves to receive their rations of food, this responsibility is placed primarily in the hand of the house slaves. The field slaves, "touched by the significance of this task", become "jealous" and want nothing more than to "deliver a fury of blows that would smash their [the house-slaves'] heads in" (183). The sense of inferiority on the part of the field slaves relative to their in-door counterparts engenders feelings of jealousy and violence; feelings that culminate when, near the end of the text, a mob of angry slaves tries to attack Dotha, a house slaves, in lieu of the white masters. Evidently, sowing the seeds of division among subjects can be an affective mechanism for preventing resistance to power structures, especially if certain subjects seem to benefit from or belong to the power structures more than others do.

The works of Glissant and Recoque provide insight into the plantation as a geographic space of power, as well as furnish additional perspectives with regards to the dynamics of power at work within this space. Though similar to the narratives of early missionary settlers through their focus on the physical layout of space, its infrastructure, and the notion of surveillance, Glissant and Recoque provide additional elements of plantation life that elucidate the complexity of the power relations. The collection of works discussed in this chapter all reinforce and support the notion of the plantation as a geography that was productive of and produced by power.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHY OF RESISTANCE

The literature of early missionary settlers of the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe represents the concept of resistance as being closely tied to the notion of space. Through the narratives of authors such as Du Tertre, and Labat, one is able to recognize that resistance was as an integral part of early life in the nascent colonies and was practiced by a variety of groups (such as criminals and slaves among others) with the aim of either resisting power structures or outright rebelling against them. There is a certain intertextuality which exists between colonial narratives and the postcolonial fiction of Glissant's *Le Quatrième Siècle* (1964) and *Ormerod* (2003) whereby notions of resistance are represented across the works as being a function of geographic space. This chapter compares the hegemonic constructions of space and resistance as represented in the missionary narratives, with the postcolonial fiction of Édouard Glissant and the insights of Michel Foucault to discuss, diachronically, the nature of forested/mountainous areas as spaces of resistance. Within the framework of the Hegelian dialectic, a confrontation occurs between any thesis and its opposite: the antithesis (Leitch, 627). While plantations function within the context of this analysis as the thesis (geography of power), forests/mountain regions function as the antithesis (geography of resistance) of plantations.

Resistance against domination and exploitation and its connection to the notions of place as represented by the narratives discussed here is the primary focus of this chapter. In his discussion on power, Foucault suggests that investigating forms of resistance is important to grasping the overall dynamics involved in power relations. He defines resistance as the "attempts made to dissociate these relations", "to attack not so much such-or-such institution of power…but, rather, a technique, a form of power" (Power, 329, 331). Foucault continues to categorize resistance into three main categories, two of which are most relevant to this discussion. He explains that resistance can occur, "against forms of domination (ethnic, social, and religious)", as well as "against forms of exploitation that separate individuals from what they produce" (Power, 331).

Forested areas were fundamentally unlike, and at odds with plantation. This is because not only did forested areas contribute to and facilitate resistance, but also because they were

considered wilderness and, for the most part, did not need to be cultivated. The opposition between wilderness and civilization as manifested in these spaces would contribute to the opposition between dominant cultural groups which occupied the cultivated areas, and resistance groups which, to varying degrees, occupied the wilderness. As Jonothan Maskit writes:

> Wilderness, it seems clear, carries with it connotations of wildness. It suggests a nature untrammeled by humanity: pristine, apart, uncultured and uncivilized. Crops do not grow in the wilderness; production for human purposes forms no part of what it is all about. Wilderness, in this sense, functions as *the other of culture.* (Place, 267)

The natural state of dense forestry presented an obstacle to the cultivation and development of plantations. This is why the practice of *défrichement* is represented by authors such as Bouton, Labat, and Du Tertre as being singularly important to the thesis of French colonial exploits in Martinique and Guadeloupe. The forests functioned as the plantation's other for the two spaces are represented as being fundamentally at odds with one another in more ways than one. First, this opposition can be recognized in their economic nature. Plantations existed as a profit-generating system. Forested areas provided a base of operations for those (such as maroon slaves) who challenged this system either by escaping from it, or directly attacking it. Second, the nature of power relations within these spaces evidences conflict. While white masters and settlers were the dominant cultural group on the plantations and wielded power through physical constraints and surveillance over the slave, forested areas precluded surveillance and limited the power of white owners. Third, as places of power and resistance respectively, the conflict between the plantation (thesis) and the wooded areas (antithesis) manifests itself through space itself, as they both competed for territory within each island. To the extent that the amoeba-like plantations increased in number and size, they consumed the forested areas and the amount of wooded regions within the islands decreased. There is thus a sort of spatial heteroglossia that existed between forests and plantations where, in reading the Caribbean landscape, conflicting voices of spatial discourse between the plantations and forests are present.

Ironically, though spatial antagonism existed between these two island regions, the cultivation of plantations actually did much for establishing the binary opposition that helped to reinforce the association between forested regions and rebel communities. Plantations were,

after all, the main source of maroon rebels. The majority of slaves who fled to the woods when committing *marronage* absconded primarily to escape the harsh labor conditions and abusive overseers who ran the plantation. Thus, in the case of African slaves, rebel communities were populated with those who originally labored for the plantation systems. Additionally, the establishment of plantations helped to shape perception of forests/mountain areas as spaces of resistance by serving as the standard against which they were considered. In a sense, the creation of plantations gave the forests new life and legitimated its importance as a place of resistance by establishing a binary opposition between the two geographic spaces.

The spatial antagonism that existed between plantations and forests as depicted in colonial and postcolonial narratives, served as both a backdrop and a vehicle for the interactions of the inhabitants of these spaces. Though colonial cities primarily developed along the edges of the islands because of their relationship to the shore, it is important to note that issues of rebellion and resistance that started in the early colonial cities of Martinique and Guadeloupe often found the momentum to function and exist as a result of the islands' forested areas. This is because forested areas more than any other island region, served the purposes of resistance and rebellion by precluding surveillance. That is to say, while the narratives discussed in the previous chapter represent the plantation primarily as a space of power because, like a primitive Panopticon, it enabled surveillance, these narratives portray the forests and mountainous regions as spaces of resistance because their dense foliage and accessibility were a considerable barrier to the surveillance needed for the master to enforce his power.

The narratives of the missionary settlers depict four different groups of island inhabitants who engaged in acts of resistance and rebellion that were to varying degrees facilitated by forests. These groups, several of which were comprised of individuals belonging to the colonizing culture, are each represented uniquely by the hegemonic discourse of the missionary settlers. In Martinique and Guadeloupe, the four different groups that engaged in resistance and relied on forested and mountainous regions to escape power structures were colonists who committed crimes (such as theft or murder), French citizens rebelling against the Company of American Islands, imported African slaves, and the islands in their entirety when the habitus of British invasion drew all cultural groups into a collective resistance-identity.

Prior to the establishment of the Code Noir in 1685, Martinique and Guadeloupe were governed by a series of local laws that regulated such social issues as church attendance, medical care for slaves and *engagés*, marriages, inheritance, and criminal activity. The punishment for violating these different laws varied, and was often levied in the form of a fine of a given number of pounds of tobacco and in rare instances would involve the detention or execution of the guilty party. As it relates to the prisons and places of detention, Du Tertre writes in volume two of his 1667 text:

> The islands have been without prisons for a long time, and there was never any talk at that time of jailers or of putting someone behind bars. When someone had committed a crime worthy of punishment, the judge would have them bound and shackled in the guardroom and an officer would be responsible for the individual. As a result, a soldier was assigned whose responsibility it was to *never take his eyes off of the criminal*. But now there are prisons and dungeons on several islands. (446, emphasis added)

This representation offered by Du Tertre on the nature of incarceration in the early phases of island settlement is valuable for its implications with regards to power and resistance. First, as it relates to power, it is important to note that prior to the establishment of prisons as an institution and structure of power in the islands, citizens themselves functioned as instruments of power. Second, the successful exercise of power by means of the human instrument was made possible through surveillance as it was the main responsibility of the soldier to keep the transgressor under tight observation (*never take his eyes off of the criminal*). The successful exercise of power over the criminal element through the use of surveillance is seen in Du Tertre's text to function in direct contrast to successful resistance which precluded surveillance. Du Tertre's discourse reinforces this contrast between power and resistance by describing the importance of place, particularly wooded areas, in successful attempts to escape the reach of power. He explains that the death penalty, though rarely enforced in Martinique for fear of decimating the population, was relied upon more heavily on the island of Guadeloupe where "The executioner is normally a slave" (2: 446). He represents things in Martinique as being such that:

> we often changed the death penalty into banishment to other islands, from which they were able to soon return. But in Guadeloupe, Monsieur Houel rarely spared

the lives of his subjects. A criminal could save himself *easily* by escaping to the woods when he did something terrible. And after *hiding* there for some time, it's *easy* for him to, with the help of some friends, make his way onto the first available ships. (2:446-447, emphasis added)

This passage is significant for its demonstration of how and to what extent white colonists who committed crimes and resisted power structures were successful in their attempts. Du Tertre characterizes the rebellious act of escape into the woods as a transgression committed easily. Leaving the island and fleeing to a neighboring territory with the aid of a friend is also described as an act with a low degree of difficulty. The emphasis on ease and facility with regards to committing this type of rebellious act is demonstrated in this missionary narrative as being a direct result of the ability to preclude surveillance by hiding one's self in the woods.

Central to Du Tertre's passage is also the fact that, for the criminal element within the islands, escape to the woods was not an end in itself. While it offered freedom from colonial power, in some instances it also served as an intermediary place; a stepping stone to a second type of marronage known as marine marronage. In committing marine marronage, individuals would attempt to steal a boat or illegally secure passage on one in order to escape to another island. For the criminal subculture, it was possible, after a period of time in the woods, to furtively reintegrate themselves back into society when they were no longer facing the risk of immediate punishment. In these instances, the woods would serve as a space of temporary resistance. However, as it relates to those for whom remaining on the island was not a viable option, the forested areas were just a part of a greater marronage system, a link in the chain of resistance. While successful marine marronage would serve the purpose of ultimately and definitively *separating* an individual from the power structures on a given island, marronage in the woods served the purpose of making the individual(s) resisting this power *invisible* to island power structures: for if the plantation is a geography of power drawing upon the notion of the gaze/surveillance to reinforce its power as a primitive Panopticon, then forest/mountain regions are geographies of resistance because the dense foliage and relative inaccessibility of these regions nullify the gaze and make surveillance impossible. Thus, Du Tertre represents rebel communities vis-à-vis crime and criminal activity as being unique spaces that can function in

unique ways; as a direct means of freedom and reintegration into society, or as one phase of an overall greater marronage system.

In addition to functioning as a safe haven for those colonists who committed crime such as theft or murder, the forested areas as a space of resistance in the literature of early missionary settlers represents an additional group as confronting colonial power while relying on this rebel space to shield them from the reach of colonial power structures. This group was composed of French citizens rebelling against the Company of the islands of America, later renamed The West India Company. The Company of the islands of America (La Compagnie des îles de l'Amérique) was a charter company set up in 1635 by cardinal of France Richelieu and was tasked with colonizing a series of islands in the Caribbean, including Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Christophe (St. Kitts). The company would officially be dissolved in 1651, but until that time it was, under the auspices of the French crown, the governing body of these American territories, appointing those who would serve as governor on each island (Crouse, 2). Though author's such as Du Tertre participate in shaping the dialogue of the colonial experience from the master perspective, missionary accounts of the Company's business practices are nonetheless revelatory.

In volume one of his narrative, Du Tertre discusses a severe famine that afflicted Guadeloupe just two months after settling the island. Among the various factors that contributed to this difficulty, he notes:

> One can say that the misfortunes of this colony began on the ship that brought us here. The meat and the cod were all spoiled, and so little cider had been stocked, that in the middle of the voyage we had to fill the containers halfway with sea water; which impacted all the passengers' health by causing a violent heat in the bowels that many died from as soon as we made land fall. This terrible lack was the result of the greed and selfish desires for gain on the part of Merchants and the Clerk of the ships, who, only thinking about profit, only stock the ships with cheap items. This causes most of the French who come to the islands to die since this terrible food destroys their blood and the fatigue and misfortunes of such a long trip cause them to die as soon as the set foot on land. (1:78)

Du Terte's representation of the conditions in which French settlers found themselves can be seen as serving a dual purpose. First, this depiction represents an attempt at shaping colonial discourse and influencing reader perception to curry sympathy for colonists and colonial endeavors. A second and perhaps unintended consequence of such a passage is that it reveals, to some extent, the profit motive behind colonial endeavors. Ironically, the same motives which lead to the exploitation of islands natives and imported Africans are represented here as being the primary cause of suffering for many colonists. And in the same way that this practice caused French citizen to rebel against colonial structures, it influenced slave rebellion as well.

In addition to increasing company profit by not providing citizens with sufficient quantities of nourishing food and other important resources throughout the history of settlement, the company illegally charged French settlers taxes on items imported from France, and committed various abuses of power that had French citizens in an overall state of rebellion and discontent. Du Tertre summarizes the exploitation thusly, "the poor settlers were deceived by those who wanted to be their masters and become wealthy at their expense; one doesn't have to look any further than that to find the source of these uprisings… " (3: 242). He also mentions specifically a "Mister Planson, one of the Company clerks of whom the settlers were constantly complaining " and highlights the "aversion" of the "insurrectionists" (3: 232, 242, 241). In other parts of his work, he uses terms such as "seditious" and "discontent" to describe those who demonstrated any dissatisfaction with or aggression towards the Company of the islands of America and its representatives (3:230). The general sentiment of rebellion towards the company grew to such an extent that the rebels, according to Du Tertre, envisioned their obligation to engage in resistance as being divine in nature; "a sacrifice to God, a service to the King, and a charity to the public (3:238)."

The narrative strategies used by Du Tertre in representing of the seditious French settlers in his work suggests that these colonists did indeed view their rebellion against their wealthier, fellow citizens to be, without a doubt, a question of social status and oppression. Du Tertre, however, definitely places his allegiance, as a representative of the French crown, with the Company of the Islands of America. In his discourse, one can observe the contrasts he establishes when discussing those who engaged in rebellion and those who didn't. His narrative strategies include drawing distinctions between the two groups, using terminology such as "the

most honest settlers" versus "suspicious ones" (3:238). He also contrasts "rebels/scum" with "good, honorable, refined settlers" (3:241). His rather negative depictions of these individuals is understandable and perhaps expected when one considers the threat that they represented to the power structures of which Du Tertre, as a missionary, was beneficiary. Rebel discontent manifested itself in a few ways in the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Rebel acts ranged from behavior such as throwing rocks at company officials and shooting firearms in the sky, to ransacking company store houses and seizing goods (Du Tertre 3: 188, 225). The rebel momentum had increased and become such a challenge to the colonial establishment that forts, which initially served the purpose of defending the islands from external threats as well as storehouses for imported/exported products, soon were being built with the express purpose of protecting governor's and company officials from seditious settlers (Du Tertre 3: 221). Du Tertre's work indicates that the threat of rebellion had grown to such a state after the death of governor Du Parquet that the former governor's son had to be hidden away "in the mountains…for fear that the rebels may have seized him and taken advantage of his presence to cause the whole island to revolt" (3: 189). The response of the colonial power structures to resistance and rebellion, however, was not primarily one of escape and avoidance. The colonial power structures of the era were often swift and brutal in their response to rebellion. Nevertheless, the period of unrest and resistance that characterized early French settlement in Martinique and Guadeloupe lasted as long as it did as a direct result of the escape from colonial power structures that the wooded/mountainous regions offered to rebels.

In volume three of his narrative, Du Tertre dedicates several pages to the theme of unrest in the colonies, indicating that typically, those who engaged in sedition were "condemned to the gallows" (233). However, those who represented the greatest threat of resistance to power structures, the rebel leaders, "were hanged…their heads placed on stakes and planted *in front of the storehouse* that they had tried to pillage" (233). Particular focus is given in this narrative to the failed efforts of a French settler by the name of Rodomon. Du Tertre's description of Rodomon's influence and the particular rebellion he started is described thusly: "one could say that overall rebellion on all the islands, the downfall of the Company and perhaps of the whole country depended on the outcome of that rebellion" (3:192). Of course, one can expect and identify some author bias in this perhaps extreme representation of the deleterious impact of civil unrest on colonial society. The author, after all, is both a representative and beneficiary of the

power structures being resisted against in this account. At one point he even admits to "the considerable interest that I have in the Company" (3:234). Rodomon's ultimately unsuccessful attempt at resistance leads to his being condemned "to be hung and strangled, his head placed on a pole at *the place* where the sedition occurred" (3:191).

It is noteworthy to consider that the above passages are important primarily because they highlight the significance of place in power relations. Rebel groups often targeted places with connections to power such as Company storehouses and other infrastructure valuable to colonial commerce. By attacking and pillaging these areas, rebels effectively challenged the economic power that this infrastructure represented as well as the economic raison d'être of colonialism. The violent response of those in power was often decapitation of the rebel leader, and the placing of the severed head at the place of sedition. The reappropriation of the rebel body, specifically the head, served a dual role. First, it was a symbol of failed resistance. Second, the *head* of the rebellion, both in denotation and connotation, took on a semiotic significance as a symbol of power, reaffirming the space where the failed sedition occurred as one of hegemonic power. An analysis of Du Tertre's narrative reveals that, typically, the failure of rebellions and revolts began at the moment when rebel leaders and participants abandoned the forest/mountain regions in which they sought refuge. While in the safety of the woods, those involved in sedition were able to resist power structures and avoid the repercussions and consequences of resistance. Upon leaving this sanctuary that precluded the surveillance which made power structures effectual, imprisonment, banishment, death by hanging, and/or even decapitation were the punishments that waited them. In fact Du Tertre suggests that, even a verbal threat of retaliation by those in power was sufficient to cause rebels to flee to the woods. He writes, for example:

> Mister Valmeniere who had been so busy persuading the rebels to put an end to their rebellion… said to them: *Well then, since you want to fight, go ahead and fight, you'll have just what you've been waiting for. Here comes the governor with his soldiers to give you what exactly you want*: he didn't need to say any more than that to make them head for the woods. (3:228)

These colonists who were engaged in resistance instantly and instinctively understood the dangers that confronting power structures represented and recognized the woods as the only true

haven from the repercussions of their actions; as the only geographical space that could make power structures ineffectual.

With the woods as a safe haven, French colonists who engaged in resistance were often untouchable by the authorities. The governors of the islands and those authorities responsible for maintaining order in the island societies by confronting rebel groups recognized this phenomenon of safety in regards to the woods as well and understood that for their power to be effectual against rebel groups, they had to first get them to leave the woods. To this end, Du Tertre provides an account of the then governor of Martinique Monsieur de Clodoré who used a local priest to spread the message that rebels who turned themselves in would be forgiven and pardoned. The text, however, reveals that this was just a ruse to lure rebel leaders out of their forest haven, for the idea of pardon was "far removed from the intentions of the Governor" (3:229). The governor was simply relying on the local priest to give an air of veracity and validity to his claim of pardon. And as the text reveals :

> The words of the good priest reassured those who fled to the woods out of fear, and even the most guilty (except for two) returned to their homes in complete assurance; but a sergeant of the company from the area, having gotten caught up in this unfortunate event, received pardon on the condition that he capture the two rebel leaders still hiding out in the woods. He was able to capture them a few days later, and all the other leaders were arrested and put in chains. (3:229)

As portrayed by this passage, the extent to which those in power went in order to overpower rebel resistance speaks to the importance and value of the wooded/mountainous regions as a geographical space of resistance. The irony of using deceit by the mouth of a priest to provide false assurance to rebels suggests that, as a space, the wooded/mountainous regions were so difficult to penetrate, so geographically conducive to resistance, and so antithetical to colonial power and control, that such extremes as the manipulation of clergy were really the most effective means of dealing with resistance. As the excerpt reveals, it was at the moment of leaving the woods that rebel leaders found themselves on the punishing end of colonial power.

Both criminals as well as seditious French citizens were two of the important groups that often resisted colonial power in the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. A third group of

individuals who often engaged in resistance and relied on forested/mountainous regions to facilitate their resistance were imported African slaves. Taken from various countries along the western coast of Africa, imported African slaves became the main source of labor in the French Caribbean within a couple decades of colonization. While their labor was also valuable within early colonial cities, these Africans were primarily forced to labor on plantations and it was principally against plantation slavery they rebelled. Fanon characterizes the nature of their resistance in his work when he writes:

> For the Negro who works on a sugar plantation…there is only one solution: to fight. He will embark on this struggle and he will pursue it, not as the result of a Marxist or idealistic analysis but quite simply because he cannot conceive of life otherwise than in the form of a battle [resistance] against exploitation, misery, and hunger. (224)

Although wooded regions were vital to slave resistance efforts, it is ironic and noteworthy that colonial narratives represent slaves as, throughout their entire experience on the plantation, having very regular interaction with the woods.

Since plantations were areas of land that had underwent *défrichement,* it is important to recognize that they were often within proximity of forested areas. Labat, for example, in talking about his own home, makes mention of "a place in the woods…about 1500 feet from the house" (2:72). Situating a plantation within proximity of an available supply of wood such as the forest was of extreme importance since wood was needed not only in the maintenance and construction of infrastructure, but in the construction of machinery such as the sugar mill, and the replacing of machinery parts such as tires and axles for carts. Most importantly, a steady source of woods was necessary because the boiling of sugar cane to produce crystallized sugar required that fires be constantly lit. For this reason, slaves often and regularly spent time in forested areas obtaining the wood that was necessary for plantation processes. It is ironic that to successfully fulfill their responsibilities on the plantation, slaves would have to spend significant amounts of time in a space that was antithetical to the plantation. To this end, Labat writes in his work:

> At 11 o'clock they return to the house to eat…When they come to the house to eat at 11, they return to work at 1 o'clock in the afternoon…except when they work

in the woods or other faraway places where they would lose a portion of their time in the coming and going. So we make sure to tell those slaves to take their lunch with them. (3:213-214)

Later on in his work, Labat indicates that it is important during the off season of planting, "When sugar is not being made…that *all* slaves are occupied cutting wood to be burned [as fuel for the sugar mill]" (3:422). Here, Labat's account is valuable in establishing the relationship that slaves who were not maroons (still subject to the colonial power of the plantation) had with the woods.   African slaves are depicted as spending considerable portions of the day in the woods working, without supervision, having packed a lunch to prevent having to return to the plantations. Furthermore, he advocated that *all* slaves be engaged in the task of harvesting woods for sugar mills during the off-season of planting, representing the need for wood as integral to the proper function of the plantation. The reasons that explain why these slaves who labored in forests did not abscond in larger numbers despite the obvious temptation that their work conditions presented will be discussed later. However, one can safely conclude that the isolation and distance of the work carried out in the forest, at the very least, planted a seed in the mind of slaves suggesting that escape might be a possibility.

While colonial narratives depict French settlers in Martinique and Guadeloupe as not being disturbed or bothered by the time slaves spent in the woods completing their tasks for the plantation, these settlers are represented as being perturbed by the potential for rebellion that slave feeding practices enabled. Often slave owners provided their slaves with rations of food. Du Tertre gives insight into the quantity of food slaves received when he writes, "The master of the house makes his provision of meat when the ships arrive and purchases as many barrels of beef or pork as he needs for his stock. He distributes a certain quantity each week to his slaves, but the amount doesn't exceed a half-pound per slave per day" (2:457). Though the quantity of food rations often depended on the nature of the plantation master, Du Tertre notes that overall, imported African slaves were "all terribly undernourished" (2:513).

Some slave masters, not wanting to accept the additional responsibility of having to provide food for their slaves, provided them with small portions of land known as provision grounds so that they could grow their own food and raise small animals such as chickens and pigs. Often, the masters would give their slaves Sundays and holidays away from the labor of

the fields to go to market and trade or attempt to sell these items in exchange for other items that were needed (Du Tertre 2:520). Colonial narratives reference a particular variation on this practice of assigning provision grounds to slaves that the missionary authors seem to refer to simply as the Brazilian. Du Tertre discusses this practice when he notes that certain colonists, "in Guadeloupe and in Martinique govern their slaves using the Brazilian method, not giving them any food, water, clothes, or anything at all. But they do let them have Saturdays free each week to work for themselves" (2:515). These Saturdays "off" became problematic for some plantation owners because of the mobility and free circulation it offered to slaves. They would often, going from plantation to plantation, home to home, attempting to sell the crops and small animals they had grown in order to procure other items they needed such as clothing, fabric, or particular kinds of food items that were not readily available to them. Some slaves even rented themselves out to other settlers and provided labor in return for food or a agreed upon quantities of tobacco which was practically the main source of currency in the islands at the time (Du Tertre 2:515).

Du Tertre characterizes this slave commerce with the words "they traffic" (2:515). Curiously, Père Labat uses the exact same term in his third volume (3:442). The French word "trafiquer" that the authors use in the original language connotes illegal, suspicious activity and is evocative of other terms such as "conspire" and "scheme". The hegemonic perspective of the master discourse as evidenced in the language used to disparage the commerce of a countercultural group is thus reinforced and supported by the intertextual nature of these colonial narratives. Du Tertre continues to assert that many slaves who were unsuccessful in their attempts to trade for the items they needed, would resort to theft or simply engage in marronage and that this "is why the settlers of Martinique want this Brazilian custom to be abolished, because it gives too much freedom to the slaves" (2:520).

While French settlers were mainly concerned about the mobility granted to slaves whose masters relied on the Brazilian technique, it was not the mobility that this practice encouraged that lead to slave rebellion and resistance. This practice encouraged rebellion because it was an insufficient means of providing for the needs of the slaves; it was the potential of starvation that often lead imported Africans to commit marronage. In addition to lack of food, the extreme nature of the plantation labor, and the often harsh treatment of slaves by the masters is cited by

colonial narratives as additional reasons for slave rebellion (Du Tertre 2:536). Père Labat writes for example, that "the fear of punishment forces them [slaves] often to flee to the woods and become maroons; and once they've tasted this lifestyle, it takes all the effort in the world to get them to break the habit" (2:51).

Though escape to the woods and other mountainous regions was often the best option for slaves seeking to engage in resistance, it was often impossible for slaves to flee the plantation at will. Successful resistance through escape involved a variety of factors that had to be taken into consideration. This is why although various aspects of the sugar-producing process often caused slaves to be isolated and in the woods for extended periods of time on a daily basis, they did not simply run away. In fact, for slaves contemplating escape, there were two options that were available to them: *petit marronage* and *grand marronage* (Price, 107). For slaves engaging in *petit marronage,* or a temporary period of escape lasting on average no more than a week, fewer preparations in terms of food and arrangements for family members had to be made. Additionally, the punishment for returning to the plantation after a short absence was less severe. For those slaves engaging in *grand marronage,* escape spanning several months that often became permanent, much more planning and effort was required. In addition, should they have returned to the plantation for any reason after an extended absence, punishments were more severe and including floggings, branding, and even dismemberment. Du Tertre, in his second volume discusses the distinction between both types of marronage and the types of slaves who practice each. He explains:

> After having thought deeply about it, I think it is important to distinguish between those who recently arrived in the islands, and those who have already been here a long time because the reasons that each group decides to run away are different. The intensity of the labor that they are forced to do and which they never experienced in their own country overwhelms them and causes them to run away from the masters, fleeing to the woods, hoping there to find the path that would lead them back to their homes. But the reasons that the others escape is usually because of the terrible treatment of their masters or overseer, and the lack of food.

It is hard to say to what extent this first group of slaves suffers in the woods,
since they only live off of wild fruit, frogs, sea crabs, and land crabs that they eat
completely raw. They endure so much suffering that several of them return of
their own will as soon as they can find the path back. The rest die of hunger or of
diseases that they catch.

The second group, which is more accustomed to this country, never engages
in marronage without making the necessary preparations. They take iron tools
such as billhooks, axes, and knives. They take with them their clothing as well as
provisions of millet, and they camp in the highest, most inaccessible places of the
mountains… (535-536)

Although Du Tertre represents *petit marronage* as being practiced by newly arrived slaves, it is
important to point out that seasoned slaves as well would leave the plantations for short periods
of time for various reasons. These reasons could include but were not limited to; visiting a
romantic interest on another plantation, avoiding a particular punishment, or simply to have an
extra day or two of rest and avoid the taxing labor on the plantation. Nevertheless, Du Tertre's
description of *marronage* as having both a short-term and a long-term aspect is important for
shaping the way one looks at resistance. It demonstrates that, for imported Africans, the woods
as a geographic space, allowed for varying degrees of resistance. While it was transgressive in
and of itself for African slaves to leave the plantation without prior, written consent, an absence
of several days, depending on plantation size, would not have a major impact on overall crop
production and the master's profit margins. Short-term marronage or *petit marronage* was more
of a nuisance than anything else to slave masters. For the plantation system of Martinique and
Guadeloupe, *grand marronage* was the form of resistance most feared by plantation masters for
it posed the biggest threat to a thriving, successful, and profitable plantation. Because it was
long-term in nature, *grand marronage* in many instances required significant preparation to be
successful. Of course, *marronage* was considered an act of resistance and transgression because
slaves disobeyed the orders of their master (and the law of the land as represented by the Codes
noirs) by refusing to work and leaving the plantation without consent. Additionally, the
preparation and effort that slaves invested into this long-term form of *marronage* were in and of
themselves forms of resistance and rebellion not only because they perpetuated the slaves' state

of escape, but because the endeavor to prepare for and sustain life in the woods often resulted in various negative consequences for plantations.

As indicated in the passages above, provisions of food as well as iron tools such as axes, knives, and billhooks were often arranged prior to a slave's leaving the plantation. These items were often stolen furtively and stored aside until the moment of departure. Since such tools were necessary to the cultivation of crops and the repairing of other plantation items and infrastructure, these acts of theft had a deleterious impact on the plantation systems ability to run efficiently. Furthermore, once these slaves made it to the wooded/mountainous regions, their long term survival required that they establish their own food sources; a responsibility that Bush in her work attributes primarily to slave women.[3] Though many slaves were able to take advantage of the resources found in nature, they often still needed to plant their own crops and supplemented these provisions by stealing from plantations. Both Du Tertre and Père Labat give an account of this type of spatial interaction in their respective works. Labat writes in his first volume that some of "Fugitive slaves…hiding in the woods, in the cliffs, or other isolated places…*only come out at night* to take manioc, potatoes, or other fruit. When they can, they steal livestock and fowl…" (132). There were other groups of maroon slaves, writes Labat :

> …who live years at a time in the woods and in the mountains in the middle of the island…they find an abundance of things to live off of such as yams and wild island cabbage…They fish by hand in the rivers, they catch iguanas, crabs…to their heart's content. And in the islands of Grenada and Guadeloupe, there is no lack of particular animals…(1:33)

Du Tertre offers a very similar representation of the connections between maroons, plantations, and the woods in the second volume of his text. He writes that many of the maroon slaves engaging in *grand marronage*, hiding in the wooded and mountainous regions:

> cut down trees, plant gardens of manioc and yams, and while they wait for these crops to ripen, they descend to the edges of the forest *at night*, where the other slaves provide them with items to eat. When it is not possible to be helped by other slaves, they go boldly at night into homes and take whatever they find.

There have even been some who have stolen the sword and rifle of their master. (536)

Though both authors speak to how the efforts at sustaining long-term marronage were also forms of resistance in that they resulted in negative consequences for the plantation system (crop loss, loss of livestock, loss of tools, loss of materials, etc.); one element of this practice that appears in Du Tertre's account which seems to be missing in Labat's is the loss of slave labor. That is to say, maroons not only stole materials from plantations, but they "stole" other slaves as well. Du Tertre explains, "As soon as the crops that they planted are ripe, the husband goes to get his wife and his children. Some of the maroons go to lure away other slaves so that they can have company (2:536). A few lines later he adds, "…there are still some in Martinique that are reproducing and increasing their numbers with their wives…" (2:537). The returning of maroon slaves to the plantation to seek family members and in some cases friends, impacted plantations more than another type of resistance that maroons could perpetrate. The very soul of the plantation system, its labor source, was being depleted as a direct result of *grand marronage*. Conversely, this reconciliation of families and friends solidified and strengthened the rebel communities in the woods and mountainous regions by increasing the number of individuals available to help it thrive and accumulate necessary resources.

When considering the woods and mountains as a space of resistance, it becomes clear that it is the Hegelian antithesis to the plantation thesis. These communities rivaled plantations to the extent that occupation of the woods made it difficult to successfully engage in *défrichement* in order to clear more plantation space for crop growth. Additionally, whereas many slaves lost their lives at the hands of white masters and overseers on plantations due to the terrible conditions and inhumane treatment, maroon slaves would sometimes violently attack plantations and attempt to take the lives of masters and other French settlers. Also, slaves who escaped from the plantations often in their leaving, took with them many resources (such as their own labor), that weakened the plantation while simultaneously being put to use in sustaining and building a thriving community in the woods. The series of inverse relationships that resulted from these spatial exchanges should not be missed; as plantations lost slaves, labor, tools, crops, livestock and suffered violence due to the efforts of maroon slaves, rebel communities saw a corresponding increase in these same items. The spatial exchanges that occurred between the

plantations and rebel communities were rarely without impact. For the most part, they were transactions that resulted in a net gain or net loss for the respective spaces.

While the plantation as a space was productive of power because it enabled surveillance, the antithetical rebel community was just the opposite to the extent that it enabled resistance primarily by precluding the surveillance of white colonists. Foucault describes the effectiveness of the Panopticon as stemming from the fact that it places the imprisoned "in a conscious and permanent state of visibility [surveillance] which assures the automatic working of power" (Surveiller, 202). He goes on to describe the Panopticon as a "laboratory of power" where "thanks to its mechanisms of observation" it can exert considerable influence over the comportment of individuals (Surveiller, 206). Within the forests, however, the dense tapestry of trees was a space of resistance by making these mechanisms of observation ineffectual. It was thus difficult for escaped slaves to be discovered and thus subjected to the power of the French. Both the accounts of Labat and Du Tertre suggest that the importance of surveillance and remaining hidden was at the forefront of the slave geographic consciousness. Labat, for example, writes that when it came to leaving the woods, maroon slaves "only come out at night" (1:132). Du Tertre writes that though efforts were made to pursue escaped salves, "we have never been able to find them because they are intelligent enough to not light fires during the day, to avoid having the smoke signal the location of their hiding place" (2:537). Both authors thus suggest that remaining unseen, that is to say, avoiding surveillance, was one of the most important factors for slaves attempting to successfully resist power structures through *marronage*. In this sense, the rebel communities functioned similarly for escaped criminals, French settlers rebelling against the Company of American Islands, as well as escaped slaves. However, the primary difference between these groups and their connection to wooded areas is that slaves were the only group to see this space as a long-term solution to their circumstances. Both criminals and rebellious French settlers hoped to ultimately escape the reach of power by fleeing to a neighboring island, or to reinsert themselves quietly back into society. This was not the case for many maroon slaves.

Though some slaves did commit *marronage* using the forests simply as an intermediary step in order to escape to other islands in hopes of receiving better treatment there, the colonial narratives of early settlers in Martinique and Guadeloupe imply that most escaped slaves did not

seek to leave the islands; rather they established long-term settlements in these rebel spaces. Theses Caribbean islands, after all, were home to many of these slaves and the added difficulty of access to ships made leaving the island a considerable obstacle for slaves. Relying on what they could steal from the plantation to supplement their food supplies and lifestyle, these escaped slaves often returned to the plantations from which they escaped to liberate their family members or friends. In some instances, they returned to liberate a spouse. Though this type of resistance was facilitated by the forested and mountainous geographical spaces, it is important to note that the corollary is also true: resistance produced these rebel spaces. That is to say, the mountains and wooded areas, as such, were not entirely conducive to resistance. They lacked shelter and a food source that was instantly and readily available for consumption. It was the craft and cultivating skills of the maroon slaves in establishing admittedly rough habitations and planting gardens of their own crops, through interacting with the space in such a way to bend it towards their needs, purposes, and goals, that the efforts of escaped slaves *enabled* these geographic regions to *be*come geographies of resistance. Du Tertre comments on the ability of resistance to transform a space when he discusses the habitation of one of the maroon slaves who had been caught in the woods. He writes:

> In fact, the maroon-chasers of Martinique discovered the shack of a fugitive slave in 1657. There, they found Cassava, potatoes, and two large calabashes filled with salted snakes that had had their heads cut off. There were other calabashes full of water, and a fire that was still lit. Some escaped slaves have lived five or six years in this state. (2:536-537)

While the text doesn't explicitly state why this particular raid was successful (perhaps it was the smoke from the lit fire that gave away this maroon's position), it is important to note that this particular slave had transformed the space he occupied into one that could perpetuate the act of resistance that his escape itself represented. In addition to the seclusion offered by the forest, shelter, food from animals that were caught and crops that were planted, fresh water, and fire, resources all brought together and arranged by this maroon slave, evidence the manner in which forested and mountainous areas were transformed so that they were not only productive of resistance, but, as such, were produced by resistance.

French colonists in the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe experienced tremendous difficulty at times in not only preventing slaves from engaging in *marronage*, but in recapturing them once they had left the plantation. In fact, the missionary texts often presents the use of imported Africans as the most effective means for capturing maroons. French settlers are typically represented as being unable to navigate the treacherous cliffs and the steep mountains, as falling victim to venomous snakes, and as being more concerned with their own crops falling into disarray on their plantation while they hunted maroons (Du Tertre 3:202-203). Du Tertre offers an account of a maroon slave in Martinique named Francisque Fabulé who was leader of approximately 300-400 maroon slaves. In exchange for his freedom, and other forms of compensation, Fabulé was required by the governor of Martinique to bring back "as many slaves as he possibly could" (3:203). While he only was only able to bring back about seven slaves over what is presented as a short period of time, this amount was still, according to Du Tertre's account, more than entire armed companies of the French were able to capture in Martinique over the period of one month (3:202). Because maroons were not captured on a regular and consistent basis, the punishing of those who were caught presented an important opportunity for slave masters.

Slaves could be punished in a variety of ways for any type of insubordination, real or imagined. The insubordination represented by engaging in *marronage*, however, was met with very particular repercussions designed to dampen the allure of escape and reinforce plantation power. In some instances, slaves were flogged until their flesh was torn, then a solution of pepper and citrus juice was applied to the wound. This was done primarily to avoid gangrene, but it added an incredible amount of pain to the already suffering slave. For repeat offenders, this punishment was repeated "once or twice a week for a month" (Du Tertre 2:532). Such a punishment was considered merciful on the part of the masters. More severe punishments for engaging in *marronage* included hanging, followed by the burning of the body of the dead slave, and dismemberment by quartering (Du Tertre 2:533). The most noteworthy, and perhaps most disturbing aspect about the punishments inflicted for slaves who had engaged in *marronage* is the notion of spectacle involved in these punishments. Du Tertre writes:

> the slave masters in the neighborhood where the execution is taking place are
> required to send all their slaves ; man and woman, boys and girls, even the

children, to attend the punishment of the rebels. This is so that the pain they observe being inflicted for these kinds of crimes may serve to discourage them from following the same path. If it is mandated that the bodies of those condemned to death are burned after being hung, all the slaves are forced to carry a log of wood to build the fire. But when they are exempt from fire, the bodies are quartered and the body parts are displayed in the avenues of *public places* except for the head which is always given to the master to be put on *a pole in the middle of his dwelling* to instill more fear into his slaves. (2:533)

This passage, through its emphasis on violence not only demonstrates the cruelty involved in slave punishments and highlights the use of violence as a measure of the extent to which rebel communities in the woods were perceived as a threat by French colonial power, but it reveals an important link between the concepts of space and power. The placing of body parts of dismembered slaves in public places transforms the slave body, which in this case represents a failed attempt at resistance, into a sort of human border demarcating and reinforcing certain places as spaces of power. Additionally, the placing of the head of the slave is quite significant. The head was placed on the plantation, on a pole, in a central location. It is important to consider that this is characteristically reminiscent of the Panopticon. Slave masters thus tried to regain the power lost through *marronage* by reappropriating the rebellious body as an instrument of power.

Forested areas were a space of considerable significance as it regards the efforts of escaped slaves to successfully and continually rebel. These areas offered escape from surveillance, and in some instances resources that allowed slaves to sustain and build a community. In this sense, escaped slaves interacted with spaces of resistance differently than the criminal element or the seditious French settlers, for these other groups saw these regions as merely an intermediary step to their ultimate goal. The literature of the early missionary settlers continues to depict an important spatial dynamic as it relates to spaces of resistance that involves not any one particular socio-cultural group, but the entire island population as one social unit.

In the second volume of his six-volume work first published in 1724, Père Labat relates his experiences on the island of Guadeloupe in 1703 during an invasion attempt by the British as a part of the war of the Spanish succession (Crouse, 270).[4] This British invasion was ultimately unsuccessful because reinforcements from the island of Martinique did much for tipping the

balance in favor of the French. Forces invading from the outside, however, did much to change the social dynamics of the island society. During the many skirmishes that occurred, some along coastal areas and some within neighborhoods, the breakdown of cultural borders and taboos is readily notable in Labat's work as both French citizens and slaves were armed and took to the woods and mountains to resist the external threat. Relying in many instances on guerrilla tactics during incursions with the English, French settlers and slave populations used forested and mountainous regions as a sort of a base of operations. Labat writes that during the invasion, "Our settlers put their wives, their kids, the elderly, and the invalids in far away difficult to access places, and those who were armed guarded the entrance to the woods" (2:413). He then gives a clear picture of the tactical value of this position when he describes a British attack a page later. He notes, "The British who were at the bottom of the hill ascended…as far as the woods, but they didn't dare enter because they started taking sniper fire from different places, and weren't even sure where the shots would be coming from if they were to advance. They retreated and set fire to our sugar cane and our buildings" (2:414).

From these passages, one can identify a series of reversals of great import that resulted from the threat of British invasion. First, there is a reversal of roles whereby French power is no longer the uncontested, dominant force and is instead transformed into military defense. Second, there is a spatial reversal that takes place, situating the woods as the primary dwelling space of French settlers rather than plantations or cities. Third, one observes the destruction of a plantation, its sugar cane and buildings, while the woods were protected and preserved. Fourth, the space which French settlers initially viewed as a threat because of its connection with escaped slaves is now represented as a necessary haven or sanctuary worthy of being protected by armed guards. The irony of these shifts and reversals help to demonstrate the importance of geography, that is to say, place, in shaping and influencing social interactions and power dynamics.

Another significant change in the social dynamics of the island of Guadeloupe during the invasion of the British was that whereas slaves were important to the economy of the islands, they now became a vital part of the island's defense. Slaves were armed with muskets and swords, and were deployed in various areas throughout the island via the woods and mountains to resist against British forces. Labat highlights the role of one of the more effective slave

companies during this conflict. As one of the companies under the leadership of a Monsieur Le Févre, these armed slaves "had no fixed position because their task was to *always* be in the *country-side* harassing enemies, taking prisoners, and encouraging defectors" (2:410). This company of armed slaves was so effective at relying on the wooded, mountainous regions of the island country-side in performing their duties, that on various occasions Labat talks about the British and "the fear that they had of running into the armed slaves" (2:414,439). Though they were now resisting against the British instead of French slave masters and overseers, the slaves are presented as being extremely effective and efficient in their ability to use the wooded regions to offer resistance. The French settlers are not presented in Labat's text as being as feared by the British as the slave companies were. However, French settlers, though outnumbered, still contributed significantly to resisting the invading British until reinforcements from Martinique arrived to help completely drive them out. The inhabitants of the island of Guadeloupe, both settler and slave, owe their ability to successfully resist to the forested and mountainous regions.

In the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, space played a significant role in the shaping of daily life. Rebel spaces such as the wooded and mountainous island regions contributed significantly to the ability of individuals to engage in resistance. Of the many island inhabitants, there are four groups that relied on this space to engage in resistance; criminals, rebels, maroons, and finally, the entire island as one, collective unit facing an outside threat. Labat and Du Tertre seem to represent these rebel groups as depending tremendously upon the spaces they occupied in order to be successful in resisting. Maroon slaves, however, were the only group of island inhabitants, who developed long-term settlements in the woods. Other groups often used the forests as an intermediary step in their attempts at resistance. Among other considerations, rebel spaces functioned as antithetical to plantations because while plantations enabled power through surveillance, rebel spaces precluded surveillance and thus made power structures less effectual. Forests and mountains were thus geographically unique because they were not only produced by resistance, they were productive of resistance.

While the colonial construction and representation of space and resistance as offered by colonial narratives so far is valuable and significant, the additional perspective that postcolonial narratives add to this discussion are noteworthy as well. These two viewpoints are essential in offering a complete picture of the geographical imagination of French Caribbean societies vis-à-

vis the notion of resistance. Two works of literary fiction that address the notions of resistance, rebel communities, and space within a French Caribbean context are Le Quatrième Siècle (1964) and Ormerod (2003) by Édouard Glissant. These works explore the unique relationship between geography, opposition to power structures, and how one enables or produces the other. Both Glissant's Le Quatrième Siècle (1964) and Ormerod (2003) treat the notions of resistance and space through the perspective of a group of maroon slaves seeking to establish their own independent existence and unique way of life.

Le Quatrième Siècle, like the colonial narratives before it, represents the rebel communities of the forests and mountains as the antithesis to the plantations. Whereas plantations function primarily as a space of power (economic, social, sexual, etc.) through, among other things, the use of surveillance, the antithetical rebel communities allow slaves a space from which to engage in resistance against colonial power and regain a sense of autonomy and independence through its preclusion of surveillance. Early missionary settlers, however, seem to place an emphasis on particular elements of resistance and rebellion that are absent throughout Glissant's work. Whereas early colonial authors such as Du Tertre and Labat present a number of different groups as engaging in resistance and rebellion to varying degrees, Le Quatrième Siècle treatment of resistance centers on one rebellious group: maroon slaves. This difference aside, a significant textual similarity that exists between the colonial texts and Glissant's novel is the importance of marronage to the notion of resistance, and the notion of resistance itself as being productive of and produced by geography.

The opening scenes of Glissant's novel reveal that the work is in fact a frame narrative; that is to say, a story within a story. Papa Longoué recounts the events of the past to the young Mathieu Béluse while the two are seated in a very unique location, amidst the forest, atop a mountain. This location is revealed to be the exact spot to which the maroon slave of Papa Longoué's narrative escaped, and where he established a maroon camp. This geographic space is thus significant on several levels. First, it is a space which is productive of resistance, having enabled the escaped slave Longoué to flee the power structures of the plantation and establish his own independent existence. Second, it is a space produced by resistance, given the efforts of Longoué and other maroons to make the space habitable by such acts as constructing dwellings and planting crops. This space as one that is productive of and produced by resistance will be discussed later on in more detail. Third, it is significant as a "place of memory": a geographical

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space that is evocative of and connected to significant past events. It is primarily here, after all, in this forest clearing, where the events of the past are discussed by Papa Longoué.[5] Fourth, Papa Longoué's *retelling* of the past and the exploits of the maroon ancestor takes *place* in the very spot where much of that same past occurred. Thus, in a very real sense, the notion of time within this space of resistance is nonlinear. Whereas time functions in a linear, undisturbed flow within geographies of power such as the plantation, geographies of resistance such as the mountain region presented in this text evidence an interaction with the past and present that combines, juxtaposes, overlaps, and intersects them. Wilbert Roget affirms this idea when he states, "Glissant...establishes a close affiliation between space, time, land, legend…" (627). Finally, this forest sanctuary is significant not only because it is productive of resistance, but because spaces of resistance such as this one can also be productive of a historical identity and cultural legacy; for the (his)story of existence atop this mountain is lived, constructed, narrated, and stored within the geographical memory of the subaltern as opposed to just being a product of the hegemonic discourse.[6] The novel elucidates this notion when, commenting on the nature of Papa Longoué's narration, Mathieu Béluse states:

> I can understand why the story follows him [Longoué] first, that's okay…I can understand why the story always goes back to him (he did escape to the woods) since he's your great grandfather and since he fled to this very spot where you are now. I can understand that Béluse isn't important enough. The story strays from him each time because he doesn't compel us to focus on him. I've noticed *that he doesn't even speak*… (74-75)

Béluse's presence throughout Papa Longoué's narrative is intermittent and is of less overall significance than that of the maroon Longoué. In fact, as Mathieu points out, Béluse, having remained on the plantation under the authority and influence of the master, can have no voice in his (his)story. Longoué, however, whose acts of resistance produced both a place where and an opportunity for the subaltern to speak of and remember their history is the main focus of Papa Longoué's narrative.

As alluded to earlier, the notion of resistance is primarily represented in Le Quatrième Siècle as occurring through the practice of marronage. The reasons that slaves engage in this practice of resistance vary across the selection of texts presented in this analysis. Within the works of missionary settlers, reasons such as hunger, fear of punishment, a desire for freedom, or

romantic interests are all offered as reasons why slaves would flee from plantations. Glissant, though, presents no other reason in his work for Longoué's escape to the forest than a pure, unadulterated desire, drive, and determination to resist slavery. The text simply states, "From the very first day he rebelled" (71).

It is important to note that the relationship between maroon slaves and those who chose to remain on the plantation is represented differently throughout the works being considered here. Authors such as Du Tertre and Labat characterize plantation slaves as being complicit in acts of thievery and other types of vandalism that were perpetrated by maroon slaves. The only real difference between the two groups of slaves that one can observe based on early settler accounts is that one group left the plantation while the other group stayed behind. The two groups, however, are represented as sharing similar attitudes and motives. In the works of Recoque and Glissant this portrayal is quite different. These works depict a very unique relationship between plantation slaves and maroon slaves. In Débouya pa péché the plantation slaves seem, to a certain degree, to look down upon maroons. Only one or two slaves, throughout the entire work actually engage in marronage, and when a neighboring plantation is attacked by a group of maroons, those slaves come to the support and aid of their master rather than assisting the rebels.

In Le Quatrième Siècle, the dynamic is slightly more complicated. The maroon slaves in Glissant's novel seem to look disdainfully upon plantation slaves. Longoué, for example, having attacked a series of plantations in hopes of galvanizing plantation slaves into rebellion, is disappointed by the slaves' lack of resistance and considers them "unworthy" of his help (94). He asks himself in what seems to be a perplexed manner "*Why weren't they all trying to escape*" (94)? Plantation slaves, however, looked with fear and trepidation upon maroons. The text discusses the fear that maroons stirred up, "not only in the masters, but in the slaves and in the freed blacks as well; even in the mulattos" (129). This fear, apparently, was so far-reaching that "It was the custom to threaten children with being abducted by a maroon because maroons were, for everybody, the personification of the devil: he who rebels" (129).

The characterization of maroons as the devil is a very noteworthy one for two main reasons. First, it corresponds with Fanon's assertion of the European perception whereby "the black man is the symbol of Evil" (Black Skin, 188). Fanon elaborates further upon this notion stating that:

The torturer is the black man, Satan is black, one talks of shadows, when one is dirty one is black—whether one is thinking of physical dirtiness or of moral dirtiness. It would be astonishing, if the trouble were taken to bring them all together, to see the vast number of expressions that make the black man the equivalent of sin. (Black Skin, 189)

Secondly, the allusion made to the Christian faith in which the devil is held as having brought sin into the world by rebelling against the reign and throne of God posits a unique relationship between those wielding power and those who are resisting. For if the maroon is the devil for his rebellion against colonial power as represented by the plantation system, then the plantation must be heaven, the master of the plantation must be God; and the rebel communities of the mountains and forests a sort of hell into which the maroon chooses to flee. One can here see that Glissant's representation of the rebel communities in his work has spiritual baring and cultural-religious significance. But more importantly, one can ascertain that power structures of French colonialism were so far-reaching and pervasive that to all the populations, including plantation slaves, maroons were almost seen as rebelling against a God-given authority, in much the same way that Satan is percieved. Glissant's work thus suggests strongly that a subject's perceptions of place (valid/heaven vs. invalid/hell) can influence their behavior (both in thought and action) towards power structures. This explains, at least in part, why there seems to be as much antagonism in the work as there is between plantation slaves and maroon slaves.

Moreover, the texts of early settlers present three specific types of marronage upon which those seeking to resist power structures would typically rely: marine, *petit*(short-term), and *grand*(long-term). Marine marronage does not factor into Glissant's work. Short-term (*petit*) marronage and long-term (*grand*) marronage, however, have the most notable presence with grand marronage being the more important of the two. It is valuable to consider these different types of marronage, because not only do they offer, by their very nature, the opportunity to engage in resistance, but they offer the ability to resist power structures on different levels. In other words, geographies of resistance offer the possibility of varying degrees of resistance.

Anne, for example, is one of the slaves on the Senglis plantation. Son of Béluse, Anne is born into slavery and leads the typical life of a plantation slave except for the fact that he secretly frequents the woods, going there to play with his friends Liberté and an unnamed slave girl who herself periodically fled her master's plantation to join the two young men. Anne engages in

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petit marronage, finding himself "torn between…two worlds", "the fields and…the forest" (143). Whereas missionary settlers portray *petit marronage* as being committed primarily by newly imported slaves, Glissant represents this type of resistance as one that has a unique correlation with age, specifically, a correlation with youth. Anne's periodic trips to this forest space where he meets with his maroon friend reveals recreation and leisure to be a valuable dimension of (spaces of) resistance, for there was very little recreation within the plantation. And much of what leisure slaves did have on the plantation was often kept under close surveillance in order to detect and eliminate the threat of rebellion and resistance as soon as it arose. The importance of leisure and recreation to geographies of resistance cannot be missed because, throughout the course of this entire novel, it is only within the realm of the rebel communities that slaves are ever described as being "cheerful" and "excited" (132). The act of resistance in this text is therefore shown to be productive; producing a series of positive emotions that afforded imported African laborers a very rare yet very essential sense of freedom and humanity.

Anne's exploits in the forest as he engages in *petit marronage* also reveals another aspect of the productive power of resistance; namely, its ability to produce romantic interests between individuals. This dynamic can also be seen at work later when Longoué procures himself a wife from the *Acajou* plantation; however, it is also evident within the context of Anne and his excursions into the woods. On the plantation, slaving couplings occur primarily under the will of the slave master, as was the case with Anne's father, Béluse. In a very real sense, Anne is living proof of the productive nature of plantation power, since he is a product of the exercise of power over the slave body. Geographies of resistance, however, allow for the exercise of individual volition and the possibility of choice since slave sexuality is no longer subject to the labor needs of the plantation, but rather to the individual desire for sex, romance, and procreation. Anne's declaration of love to the unnamed slave girl when they find themselves alone together in the forest is of great import to this notion. Anne romantically declares, in a way that would never occur on a plantation where slave couplings are arranged:

> that he was happy with her, that he could work as hard as anybody else, that he had so many new tools, that it didn't cost anything to feed Man Béluse [his mother], that he was strong and could run for four hours in a row with hardly any effort…that he couldn't sleep at night because he thought about her too much, that

constantly thinking about her distracted him from his work (which was a complete

lie), the she would be as happy as a lady of high society (which was impossible)

and that he would hunt for wild goat so that they could have meat. (141)

This ability to express emotion and to choose and pursue one's romantic interest was an element of freedom within this geographic space that was totally absent on the plantations of Glissant's text. After expressing his feelings to the unnamed slave girl, Anne recognizes immediately that "the idea seemed to peak her interest" (141). Thus, a new relationship based on the freedom of choice and consent of both parties is established within the forests. Within moments of the establishment of this new relationship the text indicates that "Anne marooned even higher in the woods: after all, there was nothing else he could've done. The girl belonged to La Roche; she wasn't free to make decisions for herself. Anne belonged to Senglis" (141). As the text indicates and as Anne himself realizes, the success of this romance is so directly and immediately linked to issues of space and geography that, at least initially, the response of the couple was to move deeper into the woods and higher up in the mountains. In order to eliminate any doubt with regards to Anne's real motives for penetrating deeper into this geography of resistance, Glissant's work makes it clear; "his attempt at marronage…was the result…of his *desire* for a woman"; a desire that within the plantation would have been a transgression were it ever brought to fruition (142). However, it was made possible in/by the forests and was effectively an act of resistance.

Whereas Anne's leisure activities and romantic interests were a direct result of his engaging in *petit marronage*, *grand marronage* is also presented as a form of resistance that was practiced by escaped slaves in Le Quatrième Siècle, and in particular by the Longoué family. Forests as geographies of resistance were antithetical to plantations because while plantation power was tied to surveillance and the gaze, forests, by their very nature precluded observation. It is this fact that made g*rand maronnage* such an effective act of resistance. If one considers, for example, the evening of Longoué's escape from the plantation, the advantages of a lack of surveillance for a maroon slave becomes evident. Longoué escapes from the plantations and flees towards the acacia woods while being pursued by his master, several other individuals, and a series of hunting dogs. Upon successfully entering the woods, Longoué disappears into the foliage and his pursuers come to a halt in front of the forest, which the text describes as "the giant black wall" (45). Faced with an obstacle such as this, the work explains that both men and

dogs become immobile and eventually realize that "there was nothing that could be done"; for this maroon had escaped to "the *only place* where the dogs would *never* be able to track him" (45). In his ardor to reacquire his property, La Roche desires to push forward and penetrate into the acacia woods; however, the men accompanying him, understanding that their power would count for naught in this space, argue "that it was crazy to want to go into the woods" (46). At a later point in Glissant's work, La Roche would attempt to cut down the forests in an attempt to catch the escaped slave though this effort would ultimately prove fruitless (110). This geography of resistance which precluded surveillance was so central to the slave experience of resistance that maroon slaves are eventually referred to in the text as the "owners of the forest" (94). Equally significant, one can observe later in the text that the forest is referred to as "the *supreme sanctuary* where organized maroons dictated their own law" (93). The use of the words "supreme" and "sanctuary" reinforces the notions of resistance, safety, and even strength that are all linked to this geographic space. In fact, the maroon slaves in this text were so confident in the safety offered by their sanctuary that one reads: "The maroons were at peace in their place of refuge. They were being hunted now mainly on principle: the exercise of the right to do so; a right which, to be honest, none of the plantation owners personally cared about" (129). Several pages later, during a discussion between slave owners, one of them states, "With thirty dogs and a group of men you wouldn't dare go up there [to the forests]" (164). The indifference and even fear on the part of the plantation owners that are highlighted in these passages, as well as the pursuit of maroons simply being an exercise in futility, combined with the notion of the maroons being at peace in the forests all speak to the forests as an effective geography of resistance; a space that is intensely antithetical to the geography of power represented by the control and domination of the plantation.

While the forest as a space of resistance can be identified and evaluated based on its ability to preclude surveillance and its enabling of *petit marronage*, the act of *grand marronage* is demonstrated in Glissant's text as being an extremely important aspect of resistance that is also linked to the forest community. *Grand marronage*, more than just an act of resistance that allows one to escape surveillance or separate themselves from a geography of power such as the plantation, was an act of resistance that was *productive*. Specifically, the effort expended on the part of escaped slaves to make the forest habitable for long-term marronage (planting crops, building dwellings, clearing trees, etc.) transformed the forests, and in a very real sense,

produced a space of resistance.

In addition to producing space, *grand-marronage* was productive in a second sense. It produced a unique resistance culture and rebel community; for maroon slaves had their own identity and forged their own unique existence which differed wildly from the plantation lifestyle. As stated in Glissant's work, "The maroons…had practically stopped being a monstrous exception and became a sort of small population tacitly accepted by everyone" (129). Several elements of the lifestyle lead by the maroons within Le Quatrième Siècle clearly represent the extent to which *grand-marronage* produced a unique population as well as a unique resistance culture.

First, this act of resistance, more than any other, gave escaped slaves a sense of belonging to a greater body of rebels; it allowed them to look beyond themselves and their immediate situation to consider that they were an integral part of an overall greater community of rebels fighting against the same power structures within the Caribbean archipelago. Shortly after stealing his future wife from the *Acajou* plantation, Longoué discusses with her the possibility of committing marine marronage in order to join with the slaves of Saint-Domingue. Their discussion goes in part, "there, the maroons are united, they have leaders, and they are organized. There has been a lot of talk about Saint-Domingue. We have got to make it there! Let's trust the sea to guide us! " (93). This is the first inclination of escaped slaves looking beyond themselves to a collective geographic imagination as found in the Caribbean archipelago.

Next, as part of the resistance culture produced by *grand-marronage*, serious acts of violence were perpetrated against the plantation. Slaves who engaged in *grand-marronage* were more likely than slaves engaging in other forms of rebellion to do extreme damage to plantations. This is because slaves who had not yet escaped or were practicing *petit-marronage* still depended in some way upon the plantation for their survival. Slaves who had completely abandoned the plantation space, however, could be, and often were more brutal in their attacks and the destruction that they caused. Longoué and his band of maroons, for example, "burned several plantations" and "massacred this many and that many men and women" (94). This extreme violence and brutality were products of a resistance culture where slaves, no longer having any connection to the plantation (having already liberated family members, etc.) released the full brunt of their aggression.

Moreover, this form of long term resistance required that escaped slaves obtain the

resources necessary to perpetuate their independence by producing and sustaining families. The construction of a dwelling, the gathering, planting, and harvesting of agricultural products, as well as the freedom to choose one's life partner all contributed to this end (104, 128). Whereas on the plantation the act of having a significant other was imposed by the domination of the master with the offspring being a product of plantation power that would serve as a labor source, one can note the difference with regards to the maroons. Melchior, son of Longoué, *chooses* the maroon girl who would become the mother of his children. He also *chooses*, rather fittingly, to name his daughter Liberté (Liberty/Freedom). As a maroon child, Liberté and all those who came before her epitomize the productive nature of geography to the extent that they are all *products* of the resistance that this space enabled. After all, it is the unique relationship of their parents with the forest that is primarily responsible for their existence.

An additional aspect of the unique resistance culture that was created by *grand-marronage* can be found within the act of naming one's self. From the earliest pages of this work, one is able to recognize that the two slave patriarchs of the narrative, Béluse and Longoué, had their names imposed upon them by their masters. The imposing of a name upon a slave was a unique method of bestowing them with an identity that was linked to and indicative of their status of subjects of plantation power. The naming of self as it occurred in the forests was representative of their status as rebels, and linked to geographic space they inhabited. Man-Louise exclaims at the birth of her first son, "I want to give him a name! This is the day I've been waiting for. After today, no other day matters!" (94) Her son, Melchior is thus named after an African king. Notwithstanding his mother naming him Melchior, amongst those of the maroon community he was typically referred to as Ti-Lapointe. Growing tired of this sobriquet, Melchior names himself, announcing, "Man-Louise, from this day forth I am not Ti-Lapointe. My name is Longoué. Melchior Longoué" (133). The character Longoué, to cite another example, is called Monsieur-la-Pointe, or Lapointe, by those in the maroon community despite being named Longoué by his former master.[7] The act of naming was an important element that distinguished the plantation as a geography of power from the forests as a geography of resistance. As the work sums it up: "down below [on the plantations]…they gave you the name that they wanted you to have…The people from the more elevated areas [in the mountains /forests] chose their names and let everyone know: 'This is my name.' You see, there is a

difference" (167). This difference, as the passage indicates, is primarily a factor of the space occupied by the individuals.

In Le Quatrième Siècle, one is able to observe that issues of space and identity are among the most central and the most important. The text provides us with number of instances in which the notion of geography and resistance are demonstrated to be intimately linked. As Alain Baudot and Marianne Holder point out in their article, "Glissant, historian, juggler of Time and History…is just as much geographer…"(585). This same notion of space and resistance can be observed to be equally central in Ormerod another one of Glissant's works that focuses to a considerable extent on the life of a group of maroon slaves. Though this text also deals with the events of the failed revolution in Grenada in 1983 as well as the personal lives of Nestor'o, Apocal, and Orestile, the maroon community lead by the valiant Flore Gaillard is of the most relevance to this discussion.

Set in 1793 Saint Lucia when it was still a colony of the French, Glissant's narrative follows the exploits of Flore Gaillard and her struggles against both the plantation system and the invading English. This narrative, which focuses on the life of the community of maroons lead by Flore, differs in certain respects from the texts of missionary settlers and from Glissant's previous work Le Quatrième Siècle. The primary difference amongst these works is that in Ormerod, *grand-marronage* is the only type of marronage that is presented. That is to say that Flore and the maroons under her control have fled their plantation home permanently and have made the forests and mountains their new place of dwelling.

Another difference in this work that seems to be lacking in the others, is that emphasis is placed on the Caribbean archipelago as both possessing and being united by a unique resistance identity. For example, though set in Saint-Lucia, this text makes reference to Martinique, Guadeloupe, Haiti, Dominica, and even Cuba in their roles as allies to the overall goal of the abolition of slavery. In fact, Alvarès, one of Flore's sergeants and lovers, though of Cuban origin, is evidenced to have been very active in emancipation efforts throughout the French Caribbean islands. When Alvarès is first introduced in the narrative, he is described as:

> a native of the Spanish colony of Cuba who adopted the principles of the
> Revolution…Sent to Guadeloupe, he took pleasure in organizing, with a
> mathematical competence, the beheading of the majority of the island's
> plantation owners in the town square of Pointe-à-Pitre [the island's

capital]. (21)

After his efforts in Guadeloupe, the sergeant arrives in Saint-Lucia with the mandate to "incite the plantation slaves to rebellion and encourage the mulattos and free blacks to take part…The whole point of his efforts was to return the islands to the Republic after taking it back from the [invading] English" (21). Thus, in none of the other texts discussed in this project is Glissant's notion of *Antillanité,* the notion of a single West Indian archipelagic identity forged from a diversity of ethnic and cultural components, as evident as in this one.

Ormerod, like the other works discussed here, presents a very clear opposition between the forests/mountains, and the plantations/areas of lower elevation. The forests that the maroon community inhabits are located at the summit of a mountain which, in various ways, contributed to successful acts of resistance and rebellion aimed at weakening the power of the invading English, and ultimately bringing an end to slavery.[8] One of the most important acts of resistance of which this geography was productive was the enabling of Flore Gaillard to establish an army. In order to maximize the effectiveness of her soldiers and use the terrain to their advantage, we learn that "Flore Gaillard chose those who were the best marksmen, those who were the most skilled with a cutlass, and those with the most agility for hand to hand combat. She established a group of spies for reconnaissance, a detachment of rapid couriers, and placed leaders over different groups. She invented an army" (25).

Not only was Flore able to create an army within this space, the geography of the rebel communities also proved to be an effective tool of resistance as the maroons were able to light signal fires that could be seen from large distances so as to coordinate acts of resistance and troop movement (21). In fact, one of these signal fires was pivotal in carrying out an attack against the Lovenblade plantation. Recognizing that much of plantation power was based on surveillance, Flore orders her soldiers to light a huge fire atop a mountain near the plantation so as to avert the gaze of the plantation owners from the true threat. While the attention of the plantation owners was attracted elsewhere, Flore and her soldiers approached the plantation from the opposite side undetected, meeting with no opposition. This strategy, which resulted in the successful capturing of the plantation, the death of the plantation's owner, overseers, and house slaves, owes its success to the geographical considerations of the maroon slaves. Additionally, the maroons in this work used fires in conjunction with geography to mislead, misdirect, and disorient colonial powers. The text explains, for example, that those engaging in resistance in

the woods would light fires to "defy the colonists down below" which they would hastily leave, "departing in the most improbable directions" (23).

Moreover, the geography of the mountains is represented in this work as having contributed to resistance efforts in a rather important way. During the battle of Rabot, the attacking English underestimated the maroon ability to navigate the geography of the islands, and as a result, the maroon soldiers were able to maneuver into flanking positions and obtain tactical advantage. But most importantly, the maroon soldiers were able to agitate their enemy into disarray by positioning the symbol of their resistance (a guillotine) at the summit of the highest hill near the battlefield in plain sight of the enemy. The sight of this symbol drove the English soldiers into a fury, causing them to break ranks, disobey orders, and eventually suffer tremendous casualties during this skirmish. The maroon soldiers' use of a symbol of resistance, combined with the geography of resistance, ultimately resulted in a very successful military exchange.

Furthermore, one can observe in this work that not only did the geography of the island enable resistance in the ways mentioned above, but the act of resistance as represented by *grand-marronage* was productive of space in much the same way as discussed in <u>Le Quatrième Siècle</u>. That is to say, in <u>Ormerod</u>, long-term marronage resulted in a unique and transformative relationship between Flore, her maroon soldiers, and the forests/mountains which not only created a space of resistance/existence that was antithetical to the plantation, but also established an area in which the maroons could forge their own resistance community and resistance culture. Within this resistance culture, the significance of names and naming played a very important role. Flore and her troops, for example, bore geographic references in their names. Flore "Forest" Gaillard and her Bandits of the Woods was the nomenclature used to refer to this rebel community (83, 89). After meeting another group of marooned slaves in the forest, the Bandits of the Woods introduce themselves and exchange their names. This seemingly insignificant act of social etiquette is revealed as being the utmost significance within this geographic space, for the names that these maroons exchanged were the names that they gave *themselves*. It was thus in the exchanging of identities that they conferred upon themselves in their new roles as rebels that "they began to establish a half-family, half-tribal community" (115).

It is important to consider that, as in any normal community, this family of maroons was rather adept at producing the goods needed for any social group to thrive and perpetuate their existence. Glissant describes the industry of the maroon slaves thusly:

> They built a forge and made tools and weapons…They made spears, knives, hoes, spades, cutlasses…They worked the woods with persistent diligence and also *produced* a large quantity of objects made from straw or plaited fabric, trapped large quantities of canaries, made cooking pots of baked clay that were also constructed and decorated for daily use. (113-114)

As this passage reveals, resistance, in a very real sense, was not only productive of space. It was also productive of the goods and items needed to make a given space inhabitable and sustain human life therein.

Among the many valuable considerations with regards to geography and resistance that can be observed in this text, the notion of gender plays a significant role within Ormerod that seems to be absent in Glissant's Le Quatrième Siècle. The role of women in the rebel communities of this work is demonstrated to be central and significant. Le Quatrième Siècle depicts its rebel women as generally passive and responsible for fulfilling the stereotypical roles of women such as cooking and child rearing. Within the early missionary texts, the construction of the rebel space is one where women maroons were typically subservient to their male counterparts and not directly responsible for acts of violence committed against plantations. Ormerod, however, depicts a different picture of maroon women. Within the forests and mountains, resistance seems to transcend gender as woman have a more central and active role in resistance culture and rebel life. In fact, women seem to be *the* dominant group within the work.

Flore Gaillard, for example, is the leader of the group of maroons on whom this narrative is centered. When Flore's group meets up with other maroon camps in the forests, we learn that all of the maroons functioned "under the *authority* of the women" (113). Though the work does mention three young men who factor in among the seven leaders of the maroons, the main emphasis of the work seems to fall on the other four; "four older women whose pipes indicated their *authority*" (118). The tight connection between women and authority in this rebel community is noteworthy for it demonstrates that the act of resistance has the potential for destabilizing gender roles. Though women in this work do undertake familiar responsibilities

such as healers who tend to the sick and wounded, the destabilizing nature of the geographies of resistance with regards to gender roles evidences itself once again in the notion of sexuality.

Whereas typical gender associations include men being the sexually dominant and aggressive gender while women act as the more passive recipient, this gender framework is completely discarded in Ormerod. Flore Gaillard is depicted as extremely sexually aggressive, rewarding her soldiers for particular combat accomplishments with time in the "furnace"; a euphemism for the special area in the forest where Flore was sexually active with her soldiers (19). Indeed, the very first time that Flore is introduced to the reader, she is situated in this lust-laden space. Throughout the work she is sexually active with individuals such as sergeant Alvarès, Makondji, and even stirs up desire and provokes envy on the part of Gros-Zinc, another soldier who covets Flore but is never accepted into the place of burning passion that is the furnace. This type of sexual liberty is also observed among two other women in the work, Fior and Fiora, "Flore Gaillard's cousins as it were" (117). When these two maroon women meet the soldiers from Flore's camp, they make overt sexual advances to Abel and Laroufle, even going as far as to state that if the men wanted to, they could switch girls to try one another out sexually. After a sexual trial-period, both Abel and Laroufle choose one of the women based solely on the nature of the women's sexual conduct before and during orgasm: "Speaking that culminates in a gasp…", chose Abel (117). "Silence that culminates in a loud shout…", confirmed Laroufle (117). This overtly sexual, almost Hedonistic behavior is epitomized when Flore, almost bragging about how much sperm she can contain in her body states, "my body can devour more than three times three seminal discharges from a white man" (24). The uninhibited sexual conduct of these women is in a strange but sure way an act of resistance. Typically subject to the sexual control and dominance of white slave planters (such as Flore herself who was raped by her former master), these women, now situated within geography of resistance, experience a sexual liberation that was hereunto unknown. The resistance culture within the rebel communities thus allowed individuals, and particularly women, to reclaim the control of their sexuality, allowing them to wield it not just for the production of slave labor or their master's pleasure (which would be the case on the plantation), but to control it for their own purposes and pleasure.

The connections between geography and resistance as represented in the colonial and post colonial narratives discussed here not only compliment the discussion of power found in the

previous chapter, but contribute a new perspective to this discussion by helping to situate and define the notion of power in relation to resistance. Thorough analysis of these narratives reveals that in same way that power can be geographically determined, there is also a spatial element to resistance that cannot be overlooked in attempting to understand how it is produced, and how it is productive.

CHAPTER THREE

POWER AND RESISTANCE: URBAN GEOGRAPHY IN THE CARIBBEAN

Cities are among the unique geographical spaces that are depicted in colonial and postcolonial narratives as playing a significant role in the constitution of life in the early history of the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. This geographical space is uniquely distinct from the plantation or forested regions to the extent that island cities were typically located on the margins of islands within proximity to the shore. Island cities were larger than plantations and often stretched for several miles along the island's coast functioning as a nerve center for a variety of socio-economic activities. Whereas plantations fulfilled the role of Hegelian thesis by functioning as a space of power, and rebel communities fulfill the role of antithesis by functioning as a space of resistance, island cities represent the third element in the Hegelian framework, enabling, in a tenuous way, an encounter between both power and resistance that allows for these antagonistic elements to coexist in greater degrees and to a greater extent than in plantations or rebel communities. Synthesis, within the scope of this research then, is not to be understood as a perfectly balanced, transcendental recombination of opposing constituent elements in such a manner as to make the new completely and easily distinguishable from its constituent parts, but as more of a complex *approach* to equilibrium arising from the combination and cohabitation of the antagonistic elements that form the new.

Among the characteristics that distinguish island cities as a unique geographic space, the representations offered in colonial narratives give particular attention to four main elements. The first is the proximity of these urban centers to the beaches and coastal areas. The second is the establishment of a military/civil power manifested by the presence of a fort or other stronghold. Third, the presence of religion, in particular churches/houses of worship, was culturally and spatially significant. Finally, population density will prove to be of central importance to this discussion.

Island shores were a significant aspect and identifying mark of early cities. From a practical point of view, shores were the very first geographical feature that early French colonists

came in contact with as it was the unique means by which they could access the islands. Bouton speaks to this fact in his work when he writes that among the factors that lead the French to occupy the portion of the island that was initially under their control, they had to consider "the docking of ships" and choose an area where there was a "very good harbor" (29). As a result, cities originated in areas of the islands where shores could most effectively and efficiently ensure the export and import of goods, colonists, and eventually slaves. In fact, trade with early Carib natives is described by Bouton as primarily occurring on the shore (106). Thus, shores were connected to commerce even from the earliest days of French colonization.

Moreover, early colonial narratives indicated that difficulties with navigating rough terrain caused many early colonists to remain near the shore. As it regards the difficult terrain, Bouton explains that the French colonists "occupied nine or ten leagues of coastline in such a harsh country because of the mountains" (98). Labat, whose text is published in 1742, more than a century after settlement, emphasizes that the notion of the terrain and the difficulties involved traversing it was still very much an issue. Labat speaks of a free black by the name of Louis Galere who established a business ferrying individuals to different parts of Martinique in his canoe (1:195). According to Labat, this business was profitable enough to earn Galere "a small fortune" because when travelling by land, "the path is very difficult and very tiresome, since, being made up mainly of mountains, one has to constantly climb and descend when traveling on the island" (1:195). As this passage demonstrates, the shore was an important place in the geographical imagination of early French colonists as well as an important place in the development of early cities because the terrain made travel and settlement easier to a certain degree.

In describing some of the very first sea-side neighborhoods and towns that would eventually grow into colonial cities, Du Tertre provides descriptions that help to identify the early phases of urban development in the French Caribbean. He describes these sea-side settlements as having, "a few rows of shops and storehouses built of stone and wood where foreign merchants and traders sell their products. Artisans such as tailors, carpenters, and the like also practice their trades there so that they are easily accessible to the public" (2:449). Du Tertre displays some hesitance in using terms such as city and burg to describe the collective nature of these early sea-side settlements. This is because, for him, Paris represents the ultimate

city; a city to which the islands can only aspire but never quite compare (2:449-450). Nevertheless, his descriptions of the buildings found in this region are indicative of the importance of things such as trade, commerce, and artisanship. In fact, in addition to its proximity to the shore, early shops and storehouse were so central to the identity of emerging cities that Anne Pérotin-Dumon suggests in her work on early cities in the French Caribbean that "storehouses were most commonly found in burgs, and for this reason it is the most urban type of infrastructure there is" (101).

In the works of other authors such as Labat, the shore is described as being central to the identity of early cities. His descriptions of cities in Martinique place emphasis on such things as the port, as well as the "sixty to eighty houses…built in a curving pattern, to match the shape of the shore" (334-335). He later goes on to add that this area, because of its enclosed port that offered some protection from hurricanes, attracted a number of merchants and traders who in turn attracted a number of settlers who preferred to "buy the things they needed in this place that was already next to where they lived rather than have to travel across the island" (335). The notion of easy access to trade products and goods made the shore an attractive space for many settlers. Of course, shops and goods were not the only identifying marks of this space. Early cities, in addition to their proximity to the shore, could be identified by the presence of a fort.

The commercial and settlement issues addressed so far shed light on the nature of the sea shore as a space of commerce and habitation. This commerce, of course, served as a mechanism of colonial power that reinforced economic gain and domination through the exploitation of the subaltern. The presence of colonial forts, however, seems to be equally central to the development of colonial Caribbean cities. Often constructed by *engagé* and slave labor, island forts were a type of infrastructure that was specific to the shore in much the same way that the sugar-mill was specific to the plantation (Du Tertre 3:222). Though considered the "center of both defense and political authority", forts were closely linked to commerce to the extent that they were frequently used for storing crops, sometimes slaves, and other goods that were imported to and exported from the islands (Pérotin-Dumon, 74). Forts possessed a double significance in that in addition to their role in the exercise of economic power, these structures also served to underpin the military aspects of colonial power as well.

In addressing their conception, construction, and purpose, colonial narratives speak of forts as important and almost ubiquitous to the society. Within five years of settling in the French Caribbean, Bouton writes that the French had already established three forts in Martinique, "armed with canons" that were successfully used to repel Spanish forces (41). Du Tertre chronicles in his 1654 work the fact upon first setting foot in Martinique, Monsieur d'Esnambuc, leader of the 1635 expedition to settle the island, "immediately had a fort built on the sea shore that he armed with canons and with all that was necessary for defense" (71). Perhaps what is more significant than the immediate construction of the fort itself, was the fact that D'Esnambuc had the fort constructed before work on his private residence even began (71).

Forts were not only linked to cities as bastion of defense and safety from external threats, they also served an important function of providing internal safety for the island communities and settlements as well. Internal threats, as represented by attacks and conflict with native settlers were among the reasons that forts were immediately necessary for the French colonial exploits in the Caribbean. As a result, these forts were, as described by Du Tertre, often situated within a distance of one or two leagues from the sea-side settlements and storehouses from which early cities sprang (3:226). Protection for island governors and other representatives of colonial power is also cited by Du Tertre as an internal purpose for which forts were used. French settlers who rebelled against the corrupt practices of the French West India Company often targeted symbols of the company's power such as its store-houses or representatives. Consequently, many governors and island leaders relied upon forts for protection from seditious French settlers (3:222). Labat sums up the circumstances that surround such an internal threat and the necessity of forts when he writes in volume one of his work:

> The burg or city of Saint Pierre gets its name from a fort that was built in 1665 by Monsieur de Clodoré, governor of Martinique. He received his authority from the king and the second company [French West India Company] which was owner of all the islands. It [the fort] was built *mainly* for repressing the frequent rebellions of the settlers of the company more so than to resist against an invading enemy army. It's a long square with one of its longer sides on the sea-shore. (74)

As this passage indicates, it was internal safety more than external safety that served as the impetus for the construction of this particular fort. Its proximity to the shore is immediately

noticeable, and its existence is of such import to the city in which it is located that the city was named after the fort. As demonstrated above, proximity to the ocean as well as the presence of forts were two significant features that distinguished cities from other colonial Caribbean spaces. Both of these were essential to the exercise of colonial power; the shore to facilitate economic domination and the fort to reinforce military control. In addition to these, the presence of churches or places of worship was another element in the early urban development.

It is no surprise that places of worship played a significant role in the colonization of many of the French Caribbean islands since most of the first colonists, including many of the authors discussed in this research, were in fact missionaries. Like forts, a number of churches were established as early as the very first days of settlement. Bouton indicates that these two types of infrastructure were often located very close to one another (42, 97). These places of worship were generally situated near the shore and, in conjunction with forts, provided colonizers with a focal point around which to base their developing settlements. Du Tertre's description of the settlement of Guadeloupe in volume one of his 1667 work highlights the importance of places to worship within the colonial imagination of French colonizers. Du Tertre writes that the French first set foot in Guadeloupe on June 28, 1635, "the day before the festival of Saint Peter and Saint Paul" (78). He continues to assert that "the next day the missionaries put up a cross and built a little chapel out of reeds reinforced by pitchforks. Inside of the chapel, an altar was built and they celebrated the holy mass" (78). It would appear that a place of worship was quite literally the first thing constructed on the sea-shore when Guadeloupe was settled by the French. The establishment of churches and places of worship was central to colonizing and Empire building efforts primarily because religion and the spreading of the gospel was the alledged legitimate face of the colonial commercial endeavor to exploit land, resources, and people. Du Tertre is very careful in his crafting of the mission statement used to describe the purposes for which the French settled these Caribbean islands when he writes in the third volume of his 1667 work:

> Since we consider the settlement of these colonies to be principally for the glory
> of God by assuring the salvation of the Indians and Savages to whom we shall
> make the real religion known, the Company presently known as the French West
> India Company will be obligated to bring to the islands the number of clergymen

necessary to preach the Holy Gospel, and instruct these people in the beliefs of

the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion. Also, it will have to build churches,

train priests and clerics…to lead the divine service at regular days and times, and

administer the sacraments to the colonists… (47)

The above passage both evokes and legitimizes Fanon's comments on the nature of exploitation and colonization in a number of ways. First, the assertion of needing to make know the 'real' religion to the 'savages' correlates with Fanon's analysis of the colonizer's condescension towards non-Christian practices. Fanon states, "Black magic, primitive mentality, animism and animal eroticism…All this typifies people who have not kept pace with the evolution of humanity. Or, if you prefer, they constitute third-rate humanity (105). Second, the use of religion a tool of exploitation as evidenced by the above passage is an assertion that Fanon makes explicitly in his work when he declares:

All forms of exploitation are alike. They all seek to justify their existence by

citing some *biblical decree*. All forms of exploitation are identical, since they

apply to the same "object": man. By considering the structure of such and such

an exploitation from an abstract point of view we are closing our eyes to the

fundamentally important problem of restoring man to his rightful place. (69,

emphasis added)

Of course, the economic reasons for colonization trumped this façade of spirituality that colonial narratives often tried to portray. Even many of the very missionaries who were sent to these islands to spread the gospel and ensure the salvation of the natives were slave owners and ran plantations. In another act of hegemony, many of the islands churches were actually built using slave labor rather than through the efforts of French missionaries (Labat 2:37). It is very clear that colonial religion proved absolutely fatal to both island natives and imported Africans.

Moreover, when one considers the manner in which urban regions were organized and divided into districts, it is revealed that not only were a church and fort usually present, but church attendance actually was quite an obstacle for particular groups of colonizers. Specifically, it was an obstacle for those who did not remain close to the sea-shore, but ventured towards the islands interior in order to establish their own plots of arable land and eventually run

a plantation. The journey to churches located on the islands' margins was challenging because these settlers would have to endure the terrain of the mountainous islands (Du Tertre 2:422). For clerics who attempted to travel to these areas in order to administer sacraments and conduct other spiritual exercises such as slave-baptism, the journey is frequently represented as an arduous one due to the thick forests and many hills (Labat 1:95). To address this problem, legislation mandating church attendance for *engagés* and slaves was passed. Failure to comply with this legislation would result in a fine of 120 pounds of tobacco (Du Tertre 3:71). Eventually, however, the geographic challenges involved with the journey from margin to center would decline as more burgs and districts were planned, and the number of churches increased.

As island cities developed and became more distinct, the populations and ethnic groups that could be found there began to reflect the unique nature of that space. For example, with the exception of moments of trade and violent conflict between the two groups, island natives and white settlers did not simultaneously occupy space on the sea-shore. The indigenous populations were practically absent there. White colonists, a cultural group that was comprised of a combination of *engagés* and free settlers, constituted the majority of the inhabitants in this area. Many were merchants and artisans looking to secure a profit in this overseas venture. Some were representatives of the French crown such as missionaries. Imported Africans were also present in this space; however, the disparity between the number of whites and Africans was not as great in the city as it was on plantations where white masters and overseers where overwhelmingly outnumbered by their salves. Within the urban population of Africans, there were both slaves and free blacks. It is important to note that free blacks, also known as *affranchis*, often relocated to island cities upon obtaining their freedom since it was there that they would be most likely to participate in commerce through access to the markets and earn economic freedom in addition to their physical freedom. Many either started their own business, or sold their labor in order to earn a reasonable wage. As Moitt suggest in his text, prostitution was among the many profitable endeavors in which free black women engaged in early colonial Caribbean cities. Not only does he speak to the economic benefits of this practice, but he cites it as a form of resistance.

As stated previously, cities represent a sort of *approach* to the synthesis phase within the Hegelian dialectic. Though it did not allow for a complete balance between the elements of

power and resistance, this geographic space allowed them to cohabitate in the same space and created an encounter between the two that allowed them to coexist in greater degrees and to a greater extent than either plantations or rebel communities. As it regards the notion of power, urban infrastructure such as forts, storehouses, and churches contributed to the domination of the subject and the exercise of military, economic, and religious power.

Colonial construction in the French Caribbean was accomplished primarily by the use of *engagé* and African slave labor. These groups quite literally built colonial cities one fort at a time and one church at a time.[9] In the act of construction alone, one witnesses the exercise of colonial power and the exploitation that accompanies it; for these groups were exploited to construct buildings that not only served as power structures to facilitate colonial endeavors, but which also served to perpetuate their own subjection. Forts, for example, offered protection from outside threats, but were also used for the safe storage of slaves to prevent their escape until they were sold (though sometimes entirely separate storage facilities were constructed and used for this purpose).[10] Churches contributed to the exploitation as well to the extent that religion was often used to encourage docility and obedience on the part of slaves towards their owners.

Moreover, the regulation of slave mobility was another aspect of urban existence in which the exercise of power was evident. Similar to the manner in which slave owners on plantations coordinated and governed slave movements on the plantation according to a production path, slave movements in urban areas were closely monitored. In volume 3 of his 1667 work, Du Tertre describes the system that was established for just this purpose when he writes:

> All negroes that come to sell at the market…without a letter of permission from the Master specifying what the items are that they have for sale, whether it be beast or poultry…will be declared guilty of having stolen the items and receive a fine of 30 pounds of tobacco for the first infringement, payable to the Church. For the second and third infringement, the fine will be 60 pounds of tobacco and 100 pounds of tobacco respectively. (Du Tertre, 74)

The control exerted by slave masters as evidenced by this passage, as well as the potential penalties for violation of these mandates, demonstrates the manner in which slave mobility was subject to the whim of the slave master.

In addition to being subject to power through exploitation for labor and the regulation of mobility, imported African slaves experienced subjection in city spaces in another way. They were subject to domination through the notion of the gaze. Newly arrived slaves who were brought to the sea shore as they disembarked form the slave ship to be sold were often put on display so that potential buyers could choose slaves for purchase. The trafficking of human beings in this manner created a situation where imported African slaves were subject to domination "through the gaze, the exchange of money, and bodily evaluations" (McKittrick, 66). Labat speaks to this situation, and specifically to the notion of bodily evaluations, when he counsels:

> It is wise on the part of those who want to buy slaves to either inspect them
> personally or have them inspected by someone with the necessary expertise, to
> see if they have any flaws. Although they are completely naked, their flaws are
> often skillfully hidden, and it is indecent to perform such a detailed inspection
> one's self. Normally, this task is assigned to the house surgeon. (2:48)

This method of domination clearly reflects the white master's conception of the slave, not as a human being, but as an object or commodity to be evaluated, purchased, used, consumed, and replaced as a function of the income and personal economic goals and needs. As a geographic space, early cities and their proximity to the shore facilitated domination and power on the part of French colonists through a variety of ways. Nevertheless, this space is not one that is completely productive of power. Elements of resistance can be seen to emerge throughout this region as well.

When compared to the notions of power that were present in this space, it becomes evident that Caribbean colonial cities also facilitated resistance on the part of imported African slaves. Though not facilitated to the same extent as power and domination, resistance did find room to thrive within the urban setting, arguably, to an even greater extent than in rebel communities. Within these early cities, the phenomenon of marronage was a significant aspect of

the ability of imported African slaves to engage in resistance. The most immediate and obvious form of marronage that this space facilitated was of course marine marronage: the act of procuring a ship or sneaking aboard a vessel to escape from a given island. Sea-side spaces, however, were also very important in contributing to *grand marronage*; the establishment of long-term settlements within the island's wooded, mountainous regions. René Belenus highlights the importance of the sea-side cities and markets to the development of long-term maroon settlements when he elaborates on the fact that through forging fake permission papers, maroon slaves often, "descend with impunity into the cities to sell their goods and purchase their provisions, then return to the woods" (69). Maroon slaves were thus able to obtain necessary items to sustain their settlements both from raiding plantations, as well as through trade in the early colonial cities. Their excursions into these urban centers were clearly an essential part in the maroon resistance economy.

Moreover, the percentages of blacks and whites were relatively more equal in the cities. Often, white masters and overseers were severely outnumbered on plantations where the need for slave-labor resulted in a disproportionate percentage of slaves and whites. Outnumbered, white plantation masters typically resorted to violent coercion to ensure their power, domination, and safety. In the cities, however, a more balanced demographic (when compared to the larger slave population of the plantations) resulted in a decrease in the perception of slaves as a potential threat, and the use of violent coercion was considerably less in cities than on plantations. This decrease in violent coercion did, to a lesser extent, make resistance more likely. Also, the presence of free blacks in these urban centers facilitated resistance and the avoidance of surveillance to the extent that free blacks often aided and sheltered fugitive slaves seeking to escape slavery. These two factors, combined with the urban anonymity that cities offered due to the "impossibility of distinguishing in the markets, in the streets or in the pathways, a slave who is escaping or doesn't have his master's permission to be out and about", can be understood to have contributed significantly to slave resistance by neutralizing the effectiveness of one of the key elements in the exercise of power: surveillance (Belenus, 69). In his work on slave society in the city, Pedro Welch offers a valuable look at the manner in which the urban slave experience differed from the rural slave experience. In so doing, he reveals some of the characteristics that help to categorize urban spaces as geographies of resistance. He writes:

The rhythm of urban occupational life was removed from the regimentation characteristics of the rural field slaves. Skilled slaves, domestic slaves and those involved in self-hire and marketing/selling, all found an ambience which offered 'room to manoeuvre' options. Within the broad categories of urban occupations slaves handled their owners' money and their own; they acquired skills which offered them some autonomy on the job; they nursed their owners' children and created intimacies which could result in manumission with property; they were often in occupations which required unsupervised absences from the masters/mistresses' residence. These were all factors in an evolving urban identity… (157)

Welch's descriptions offer valuable insight into the nature of urban spaces and how they differed from plantations sheds light on the various ways in which this geography contributed to the potential of African slaves to resist the institution of slavery.

Additional evidence of resistance practices in early cities can be noted in the works of missionary settlers such as Du Tertre and Labat as it regards notions of mysticism and African medicinal practices. Often feared and misunderstood, these cultural practices that slaves brought with them from Africa and adapted to their Caribbean context preserved a unique sense of identity and culture. For imported slaves living within the framework of Caribbean plantation slavery, these practices were purported to provide their practitioners with the ability to predict the future, cure illness, an even control the weather. Additionally, these rites served as a divine arsenal for enduring, overcoming, and combating any real or perceived injustices, for slaves would invoke the wrath of divine entities or engage in poisonings in an attempt to seek justice and retribution. Evidently, slave owners would intensely oppose and seek to eradicate such practices, and it is clear to see how this fear translates in the works of colonial narratives when authors such as Labat exaggerate, "Practically all of the adult negroes who come from Africa are sorcerers, or at least they have some knowledge of magic, sorcery, and poison" (2:64). In a section of his work subtitled "Negro Witch", Labat details the activities of a slave belonging to one of his parishioners. He indicates that through the mystic practices in which this slave engaged, he was able to accomplish such things as "locating lost objects, foreseeing the future, predicting the arrival of ships, and other future events; things within the realm of devil's

knowledge that the devil revealed to him" because of the "implicit and explicit pacts that he had with Satan" (1:489). These mystical practices which were believed by white masters to harness satanic power and influence opposed and conflicted directly with the institution of colonial domination and power that is the church. Slaves thus had access to a subversive source of spiritual power that differed from and ran counter to that of their masters; allowing them to oppose the religious structures to which they were subjected.

While the colonial narratives describe urban spaces as contributing to the coexistence of both power and resistance to a greater extent than on plantations or in rebel communities, it is noteworthy that a similar dynamic is present within the works of contemporary fiction writers. These postcolonial works describe the same urban encounter between power and resistance that the colonial narratives describe; however, early missionary settlers dedicated a considerable number of pages to this issue while contemporary fiction writers seem to focus on it significantly less. Notwithstanding the greater attention paid to this issue by the missionary authors, the imagined perspective as represented by both Le Quatrième Siècle and Ormerod, evidences the existence of the power-resistance encounter found in urban geographies of the French Caribbean.

The imagined perspective and outlook offered by the post-colonial authors compliment and contributes significantly to the understanding and representation of the colonial dynamics that impact power relations presented by colonial narratives. As Fanon states, "The problem of colonization…comprises not only the intersection of historical and objective conditions but also man's attitude toward these conditions" (65). Thus, the perspectives and attitudes offered by works such as Glissant's Le Quatrième Siècle are essential to developing a complete understanding of the issues discussed here.

In Le Quatrième Siècle, Glissant pays much attention to issues of place and geography in conjunction with the notions of slavery, power, and resistance on plantations and in rebel communities. The representation of these same notions within urban spaces in Le Quatrième Siècle share major connections with the descriptions and situations depicted by early missionary narratives. In fact, one can recognize from the very first chapters of the work that the proximity of the shore, the purchasing of slaves, and the practice of bodily evaluations which colonial narratives discussed are at the forefront of slave commerce in the urban context of Glissant's fiction.

As the work opens up and the setting of the story is established, one is made immediately aware of the arrival of the slave-ship "The Rose-Marie" and that two of the text's main characters are among the "cargo" that this ship is transporting (23). The presence of a slave-ship immediately evokes the long, arduous journey of the Middle Passage that imported African slaves had to endure, as well as lends to the assertion of the proximity of urban spaces to the sea. It is important to note that within the geographical space of early cities, (slave-)ships were not only a structure and object specific to this geographic locale, but the nature of these vessels were such that the vessel *itself*, its interior and other spaces, along with all of the elements involved in the transportation of African cargo, was a microcosm of slave life; a unique place where the notion of slavery as a form of imprisonment, forced labor, domination of imported Africans could be clearly seen.

The first indications of the conditions that slaves endured within the microcosm of the slave-ship, can be found in Glissant's work when one reads "It required all the skill of the ship captain in order to arrive at port with two-thirds of the slaves still alive. Sickness, vermin, suicide, revolts, and executions punctuated the sea with cadavers. But the fact that two-thirds were still alive was an excellent percentage" (20). One can immediately see that the survival rate of imported African slaves on the Rose-Marie was high compared to other slave shipments across the Middle Passage. The huge number of deaths that typically occurred during this voyage is, to a greater or lesser extent, comparable to the overall survival rates of imported Africans forced to perform plantation labor. Not only was the area within the slave-ship potentially fatal to its passengers, but slaves also experienced an overwhelming degree of physical domination and bodily control in order to curtail the risk of revolt and sure that a profit could be made once ashore. In describing the importance of the rain to helping clean the slave-ship, the work presents an inventory of the items that served to facilitate this physical control. The text indicates:

> Everything was left out in the rain: the whips, the straps, the gallows (in reality more impressive than a large mast), and the hooked stick that was forced down the throat of those who tried to swallow their tongue, and the large tub of sea water where the sailors plunged their heads after returning almost suffocated from the depths of the hold, and the branding iron; an effective fork for those who

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refused the moldy bread or the crackers sprinkled with brine, and the net by means of which the slaves were lowered every month into the large bath of the sea; the net of course helped to protect against sharks and the temptation to commit suicide.

The rain washed and helped to prepare for sale. It was making everything pure. In the hold of the ship however, the odor was getting thicker. The water was transporting the filth of excrement, and rat carcasses. The Rose-Marie, finally cleared of all her filth, was really like a rose; a rose that drew its nutrients from a huge pile of manure. (21)

This passage clearly reveals the variety of methods and instruments used by sailors to ensure physical control on slave-ships. This helps to establish the idea of a slave-ship and the voyage to the Caribbean not only as a microcosm of the entire institution of slavery, but also as a space in which power was clearly exerted over the subaltern; an interior space that was also unique to the cities to the extent that ships need to dock at the island ports.

Moreover, Glissant's text provides further insight into the slave experience onboard the slave-ship when a description of the process for preparing the slaves for sale is offered. The reader learns that the slaves were forced to engage in exercise as an attempt to maintain muscle density so that they would earn the sailors a profit. To this end, the slaves were forced to jog along the ship's main deck "once every fifteen days" (22). For those who refused to run, they were forced to stand on top of a thin piece of metal as it was heated with fire and engage in 'exercise' as they attempted to avoid being burned (20). Another commercial strategy that sailors would employ to achieve a profit at the moment of sale was to feed the slaves a diet rich in fat and other nutrients a few days before arriving in the island's port in order to increase their body mass (23). Not only did slavers engage in strategies designed to influence the internal biology of the slave body, they sought to influence the external aspects of the slave body as well. The work explains that as time for the selling of the slave drew near, the slaves were brought out onto the ship's main deck to be counted. The scene is described thusly:

When they staggered out onto the bridge, each attached by iron chains to the one who preceded him, they had buckets of water thrown onto them. A sailor

scrubbed their body with a long-handled broom, scraping their wounds, and tearing off strips of what was nothing more than mere pieces of soiled fabric. A big splash of water in the rain; like a baptism for the new life. The crew of the ship made fun of these crazy, black fools, doubly soaked by the sea water and the rain. The *Rose-Marie* was delousing its manure. (22)

Later on in the text, it is also explained that "the sailors rubbed the [slave] bodies with juice form a green lemon and the bodies shined" (36). These efforts at preparing and cleansing the exterior of the slave body so as to make it more appealing and suggestive of high work-potential and fecundity to encourage potential buyers evidences that the domination of the slave body on the slave-ship occurred both internally and externally; complete domination. These actions were, of course, driven primarily by the desire for economic gain.

Beyond the bodily domination experienced by slaves aboard slave-ships, Le Quatrième Siècle presents a number of additional links between the notion of power and the city. Such links include the naming of the slaves which is shown to have occurred on the sea-shore immediately after purchase (26). Another link involves the presence of a fort; a structure of power and security. The text indicates that the fort was such a significant power structure that the captain of the slave ship was able to maintain his calm, despite the potential for a slave revolt after two slaves started a physical confrontation with each other after arriving on shore. Glissant writes, "the captain would have no fear of a revolt, *especially in this port*, faced with the reassuring crenels of Fort-Royal" (25). In connection with the works of the early missionary settlers, one can recognize in this passage the significance of a fort to the notion of power in early colonial cities.

Additionally, Le Quatrième Siècle highlights another particular phenomenon that can be linked to notion of power and is unique to the geography of early colonial cities. The text pays considerable attention to the manner in which the sense of smell functions within this space. Evidently the air is permeated with the odor of salt as the wind travels across the ocean and comes ashore. This odor is unique to the sea shore and significant in itself. The scent upon which this work focuses, however, is one that emanates from the hold of the slave-ships and permeates the city space; "the sickly stench that the ship exhaled" (24). This odor is described as pungent, bitter, and unpleasant. The scent is referred to specifically as "that odor of vomit,

blood, and death that even the rain couldn't erase quickly enough" (23). The presence of this odor is described in the text as occurring in rhythm with the arrival of slave-ships. As a given ship left the port, it took with it the offensive odor of its interior. Upon the arrival of the next ship, "the odor of death would *ingrain* itself in the port" (23). When one considers that this stench is the product of the cumulative effects of a series of colonial practices that incorporate elements of domination, control, and commerce, it becomes clear that this stench functions in connection to the exercise of power. Power thus, can influence the body of the subject, but can manifest itself in the manner according to which it interacts with the human senses.

The notion of bodily evaluations is another aspect of colonial power within early cities present both in Glissant's work and the texts of early missionary settlers. Two of the narrative's main protagonists, Béluse and Longoué, are slaves who are purchased in this sea-side space and named immediately by their respective owners, La Roche and Senglis. It is important to consider the dialogue that occurs between these two men and captain Duchêne at the moment of purchase in order to clearly understand the extent to which bodily evaluations factored into this exchange. As one reads the narrative, the enthusiasm of La Roche at the prospect of purchasing new slaves is immediately recognizable. At the moment of his arrival at the port, he considers the newest group of arrived slaves and shouts, "What beautiful cargo! I hope that you have saved the best for me" (25)? The work continues:

> Duchêne nodded his head; he accepted the ritual every time he pulled into the
> port: the race between the two neighbors to see who would get the best
> merchandise. La Roche always won. It was inevitable. He had an eye for this
> sort of thing, and he wasn't afraid of the negroes. He would inspect them closely,
> touching them on the main deck of the ship, risking his life among these desperate
> souls; one of whom would someday end up strangling him or bludgeoning him
> before the ship's crew could intervene. (25)

The physical nature of La Roche's inspection, the invasive quality of his touch, the scrutiny of his eye, and the exposition of the slaves on the main ship deck create both a situation of spectacle and a context in which commerce, domination, and authority combine to help designate the city as a geography of power. Colonial Caribbean cities however, are not described solely as spaces

of power within Glissant's work. The work represents the shore as a space where elements of resistance are evident and significant as well.

It is fitting that as Le Quatrième Siècle highlights domination on the shore in connection to slave-ships, it also highlights the notion of resistance as occurring there as well. La Roche, one of the plantation owners in the text, is described as being particularly adept at identifying, through physical inspection, slaves who could be the most productive. His early forays onto the shore even initially procured him such slaves as one of the novel's protagonists, Longoué. How ironic then, that La Roche would meet his death at the hands of a group of newly arrived slaves, at night on the shore, during one of his typical inspections. After his death, a general uprising of the slaves occurs and many of them are able to escape to shore and attain their freedom in the same geographical space where other slaves were sold into slavery. Glissant elegantly describes the scene thusly:

> La Roche left Lapointe's group and headed towards the barely distinguishable mass on the deck of the ship. In passing, he grabbed one of the lanterns. In the darkness, the sailors could see the swinging of the yellow spot as the old man lifted the lantern towards the chest and face of the slaves. It was almost like the silent flight of a fire-beast over a field of black flesh. The spot of light grew further and further away, accompanied by the satisfied murmurings of its carrier. Suddenly, it disappeared without the slightest sound. Or rather, after it went out, swallowed in the mass of shadows, a clear call was heard…
>
> The second in command of the Rose-Marie made it to the area: in the perfect darkness of the night, no one saw him disappear. The sailors advanced with their sabers and axes and cleared out the area. There was a general uproar, no one thought about leaving the old Rose; until the moment when two huge splashes of water were heard followed by an infinite amount of displaced water droplets falling back into the water. La Roche's servants chose to leave the violent battle and head for land. The entire body of cargo made a movement towards the edge of the ship, and despite the chains and shackles, they all leapt into the ocean, hopping to the shore which was so close. The sailors wanted to stop this escape attempt, but the captain Lapointe restrained them. He shouted, 'Let them go, let

them go!' The uproar died down…The rain of black bodies fell. 'Let them all go to hell!' shouted Lapointe. (184-185)

The above passages ironically indicate La Roche's death as occurring in a context where he would normally exert dominance and power. This reversal of the typical order of things evidences the dynamic nature of this space. La Roche's death, the escape of the slave cargo, and the apparent helplessness of the sailors and crew to prevent either one, paint a picture of successful, effective, and consequence-free resistance.

Moreover, the city space serves as not only the site of outright rebellion in Le Quatrième Siècle, but, as a geographic space, it becomes emblematic of freedom. Glissant's work extends through 1848 when slavery was completely abolished in the French Caribbean. Nowhere in this text are the effects of the abolition of slavery more evident than in the cities, and specifically, on the shore. It is here, after all, where the populations of imported Africans and their descendants are officially recognized as free and are incorporated into the society by being registered in municipal registries and state ledgers as free citizens. There is an irrefutable irony that can be seized in recognizing that masses of imported Africans who set foot in this geographic space, often did so as their first step into the world of plantation slavery. However, their descendants' now get to revisit this space, as an effort to take their first steps towards the world of emancipation. Glissant presents this scene in his work thusly:

These two clerks, despite their shock and indignation, were obligated to see their task through to the end (since they were appointed and any hint of sabotage would have caused them serious trouble with their new employers); the law would triumph everywhere. The law, specifically the mandate that slavery was abolished, was one that everyone was informed of by the Public Records Office, at least in so much that it would need to certify certain documents and individual's identities. To complete their task, the two clerks set up a station with a table, behind which they barricaded themselves to be protected from the tide which assailed the place. Fortified in their dungeon of registries and forms, girthed in a frock coat, with fire-red ears and immense perspiration, they stared at the indistinct mass of black faces in front of them. Very official, they didn't let their true feelings betray them, at least, not in the tone of their voice when they

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shouted : 'Next', or 'Boisseau Family'; but from time to time they leaned over towards each other to offer encouragement in this farce, or buried behind their papers, encourage each other's anger. (175)

As these clerks interact with the black mass of former slaves, family names, as well as the gender and number of individuals that comprise each family are recorded in the state ledgers. Once this registration process is completed for each individual, the text indicates that the two clerks, "place in every outstretched hand…a piece of paper of which they kept a copy" (176). This piece of paper which declared its bearer a free citizen is described as "the certificate of existence" which opened the path into the "universe of free men" (176). Throughout this process, Glissant highlights the general ambiance within range of the clerk table, which is described as being located in the city, and just a minimal distance away from the shore. Glissant writes:

> Around the table, there was a certain reserve and pervasive seriousness. But to the degree that one got further away from the table, the agitation of the crowd increased. At the very edges of the crowd, there was a frank exuberance. Across the city…there was jubilation and noise. Former plantation slaves were there, including the women. Also present, majestic in their rags, wearing mud and nakedness as though they were jewels, and the only ones to be armed with cutlasses, were the maroons….The maroons were torn between the satisfaction that one feels when their existence is legitimized or their past is ratified, the new experience of coming and going between the maze of streets that they had to formerly navigate secretly, and the vague regret of the days past when the dangers of life placed them at the top of the pecking order….Their particularity (in addition to the cutlasses) was that once they arrived at the table, they declared their names themselves as well as the names of their family members, contrary to the rest of the crowd which generally had a hard time stating their own names and seemed to be ignorant of how their family was structured. For the two clerks, there was no mistaking it; this sign of independence was like an insult to them: their indignation grew stronger. (177)

This passage, as well as the others provided above, offer valuable insight into the notion of the colonial cities as being a space that has direct connections to the idea of resistance. First, it is

important to consider that the agitation of the crowd was a function of their distance from the clerks' table (which was located on the shore). That is to say, the closer these individuals were to the shore, the closer they were to freedom and the less agitated they became. This dynamic is evidence that resistance and freedom can be strongly connected to a given geographical space and may be felt or experienced to different degrees depending on one's location within it. Second, it is important to note the emphasis that is placed on the overall ambiance in the city as being one of jubilation. The entire geographic space seems to have become permeated with a collective excitement that celebrates the fruits of resistance efforts. Third, there is an ironic reversal of the manner in which African slaves, under the influence of colonial power, traveled between spaces. Typically, as subjects of their masters or other authority figure(s), slaves who were brought to the islands for the first time followed a path that began when they set foot on the shore and ended with their subjection on the plantation. However, these passages paint a picture of a mass exodus of slaves *from* the plantation and ending at the shore with the slaves' liberation. Finally, the connection between the city space and resistance can be observed in the emphasis that this passage places on the pride and satisfaction of the maroon slaves who finally get to reap the benefits of their constant and determined resistance to colonial power. The events that transpire on the shores of Glissant work are so noteworthy that one of the clerks tasked with facilitating the process of liberation can only utter, "I will remember 1848" (179).

While the synthesis of power and resistance within city spaces is evident within the works of early missionary settlers and contemporary authors such as Glissant, it is important to consider that this trend also occurs in Débouya Pa Péché by Guadeloupian Marie-Noëlle Recoque. Though this work spends significantly less time focused on cities than the works of Glissant or Du Tertre, it does provide an account of issues and circumstances that can be linked to the notions of power and resistance. If one were to consider the instances of power within the city spaces that arise in this text, attention is immediately drawn to Man Héloïse's account of a former slave, executed by-firing squad in the city square "whose only wrong was to believe that, as a former slave, he had become the equal of the whites" (174). Man Héloïse here describes the brief time-period stretching from 1794 to 1802 when slavery was temporarily abolished in the French colonies. She describes this event as one that "broke her heart for the second time and deeply engrained in her mind the idea that a black person could never hope in this life to be the equal of a white person" (174). The text continues and elaborates upon the fact that:

> She was the friend of a cultivator named Guillaumin, who, when he was a slave, belonged to mister Fréaut. Having been liberated, he happily cultivated his land until the day when misfortune had him cross paths with his former master, a stubborn and boorish man who tried to start an argument before striking Guillaumin several times with a rod, just like in the good old days. When Guillaumin promptly returned the blows, the white man complained and the courts condemned Guillaumin to death. (174)

The above account reveals injustice suffered by a former slave at the hands of his former master. Through this series of events, two important facts stand out about the nature of power within the city space. The first important aspect, involves the fact that cities were a judicial nerve center to the extent it was primarily in that region where courts, clerks, judges and other legal services could be sought. The former master, mister Fréaut, thus had to travel to the city to seek retribution in the form of colonial, judicial power for the affront he experienced. This differed quite drastically from the personal exercise of power and force that he would have been able to employ prior to this eight year period of liberation. Power was thus, to a certain extent, resituated from the individual slave-owner to the collective and corrupt colonial judicial system of the city. Second, the excessive penalty itself, and where it was carried out (in the city square), gives the city in this work a very clear association with power.

When the city makes yet another appearance later within this work, it is because the novel's protagonist, Léanette, is sent there to assist Zélie, her master's daughter. Upon first arriving in the city, Léanette is described in the text as being awe-struck by "the large and imposing mass of Fort Saint-Charles" (205). The presence of this fort and the manner in which it arrests the protagonist's attention is, of course, significant to the extent that it is both symbolic and evocative of the military and commercial power that is connected with this geographical space. In this sense, the city can be viewed as a space of power in this work. Moreover, it is important to note that Léanette's subjection to the power of her master didn't change although her geographic location had. In fact, Léanette was frequently engaged in many of the same domestic tasks while in the city that she accomplished on the plantation. Though the text indicates that, Zélie "flattered by the stylish servants and hosts ceased persecuting Léanette who she considered insignificant at the moment", Léanette still performs the tasks that were typical of

domestic slaves such as cooking and cleaning during her time in the city (205). As it regards her duties and responsibilities, the city setting did not offer Léanette much change.

Another valuable element of power as it relates to islands cities in Débouya Pa Péché is demonstrated in the regulation of slave mobility. Similar to the manner in which slave movements were governed on plantations, slaves within this work who travel between spaces (such as from the plantation to the city), or even those who are travelling within a given space (such as within the city itself) are required to have written permission from their master authorizing their movements. One recognizes the importance of this phenomenon when Léanette and Man Héloïse, face to face with two militia men are asked the question, "Who do you belong to?...Show us your papers" (278). The text explains that:

> Man Héloïse, in her hurry, had forgotten to ask the master for the necessary
> papers granting her the authority to travel alone outside of the plantation where
> she belongs. She tried to lie and say that she had lost the papers along the way,
> but the militia men didn't believe a word of it. They roughly escorted the two
> women to the city jail where they locked them behind the four stone walls. (278)

There is a certain irony in these two women being locked away in the city jail by individuals working for the state when one considers that they were on their way to receive help from state officials in procuring Léanette's freedom. Notwithstanding the ironic nature of this imprisonment, elements of power vis-à-vis the city stand out very clearly in this passage. First, one notes that the island's prisons are located in the city. This is significant because prisons, by their nature and function, represent the consequences of violating the rules and laws imposed on the subject by colonial power structures. Being located in the city, prisons contribute to the notion of this geographical area as being intimately linked with power. Second, the imprisonment itself evidences a very clear dichotomy in the balance of power between slaves and their masters, for the only way that Man Héloïse and Léanette would attain their freedom would be if their master came to the prison and ask that they be released. In other words, it was a lack of authorization from their masters that lead to their arrest, and only their master's authorization could grant them their liberation. This piece of city infrastructure (also a power structure) helped reinforce the master's ability to control and dominate his slaves even when they were away from his plantation. Third, the militia men who arrested these women were among

those who often patrolled the peripheries of the island's cities so as to provide opposition to both internal and external threats. Because their unique function kept them within proximity of these areas, these men had a presence that helped reinforce the notions of security, control, and power.

Another example of the presence of power within the city space can be found when one considers the portion of the text that focuses on the brief period of abolition that lasted from 1794-1802. Upon trying to reinstate slavery after almost a decade of having it abolished, the metropolitan powers experienced severe conflict with those who refused to return to slavery. The text indicates that much of the fighting happened within the city and the space became symbolic as one of either power or resistance depending on the tide of battle. As momentum of the battle shifted and metropolitan powers regained control from resistance forces, one of their first acts was to reclaim the city as a place of dominance and power. Consequently:

> the survivors among the soldiers of the resistance were hung in the gallows erected between two young sandbox trees in the public square. The odor of the bodies was so strong and so thoroughly corrupted the all the way up to the surrounding mountains that it was impossible to go near the area. No one knows what brute gave the order to let the bodies rot in the open. Only the fear of a possible epidemic eventually put an end to this vengeful fury. (181)

The violence and brutality used to re-appropriate this space as one of power and control is immediately evident in the above passage. The positioning of the decaying, rebel bodies in the public square, as well as the resulting offensive odor, communicated a very clear message that resistance within this geographic space was dead. Power thus, can be observed to be directly linked to this space.

The notion of power also manifests itself in a variety of ways within the city of Débouya Pa Péché. City spaces in this work, however, are not uniquely characterized by the elements of power that they enable and produce, but by the unique interplay between both power and resistance that can be seen to connect to this area. Within the text, the notion of resistance seems to have an equally considerable presence in urban settings as well.

Resistance, as a theme, and its connections to the urban environment play a very large role in Recoque's work. Throughout the novel, which focuses primarily on slave-life on the

plantation, the reader encounters a variety of black characters who live in the city that seems to be relatively more successful and/or experience a greater degree of freedom than their counterparts on the plantation. What immediately arrests the attention is that this freedom and personal, financial success stems from these characters' association with the city. Papa Yaya, for example, described as an "old man" and "mulatto of great presence, his face covered by a very thick white beard", is one of a small number of non-white characters in this work who actually know how to read and write (176, 175). It is in fact for this reason that Léanette was entrusted to him for her educational development. The work even indicates that Zélie, the daughter of a plantation owner, was, at one point, entrusted to him for her education (178). While Papa Yaya was taught to read and count by his master when he was still a slave to help run the plantation, he put these skills to work in the city after his master's death and experienced great, personal success. The text reads:

> Papa Yaya had been a letter writer in [the city of] Point-à-Pitre. Situated near the middle of Morne Renfermé, close to the embankments of Darse, he occupied the ground level of a nice building, between a liquor supplier and a brick warehouse. He had a large number and variety of clients, overall rather light-skinned: a bourgeois seeking help to write a gallant letter, traders wanting help with the management of their business, litigious individuals with their never-ending disputes… (180)

Papa Yaya's employment in the city is significant for two main reasons. First, it allowed him to engage in resistance to the extent that the knowledge imposed on him by his master, which was meant to further perpetuate and sustain the plantation system, was put to use to help bring about Papa Yaya's own personal and social liberation. Second, by means of his skill-set and the environment in which he was able to make use of it (in the city as opposed to on the plantation of his master), Papa Yaya was able to engage in other acts of resistance against the institution of slavery such as forging fake permission-papers for travel and even forging fake documents granting slaves freedom (177).

As the novel continues, another character by the name of Auguste Rollin is presented to the reader. The brief yet significant interaction between Léanette and Auguste will eventually factor into this discussion, however, Auguste's immediate significance stems from the fact that

he, like Papa Yaya, leads a lifestyle that is considerably more pleasant than any other non-white character in the work. This lifestyle is directly attributable to his association with the urban environment. Auguste is revealed as the son of a free black man and a mulatto woman who was born a slave but was eventually liberated by her master. Working in the city of Vieux-Habitants, Auguste's father "made a reputation for himself selling wine and salted meats", and Auguste, "having received some education…would succeed his father after having been his partner" (207). Auguste is so sure of his future success and financial security, that he even promises to employ Léanette, the novel's protagonist, once he takes over the family business. No other non-black character in the work aside from Papa Yaya is described as being as well off as Auguste. His financial security and well-being is clearly tied to the commerce in which he is able to participate as a result of his parents relocating to the city and taking advantages of the opportunities found there to improve their social situation.

While the city space in this work clearly depicts some advantages and opportunities of resistance for black characters, this work is unique in comparison to Glissant's text or colonial narratives to the degree that this novel portrays the city as a space in which white characters also participate in resistance against the institution of slavery. In this work, Julien, son of plantation owners, is represented as one of the only white characters who are actively participating in efforts to bring about the end of slavery and the plantation system. In fact, it was Julien who obtained liberation for Man Héloïse and Léanette from prison when the two ladies were arrested for travelling without permission papers. He consoles the two women with the following words, "if I were you I would try to calm down because slavery will soon be abolished. Before next Christmas, slaves will be free men. You just have to be a little patient" (279). Julien, of course, was speaking from a base of personal knowledge and experience, having opposed his mother on the issue of slavery and stating without hesitation that, "slavery must be abolished" (23). Moreover, during his trips to the city, he often frequented the domicile of a fellow abolitionist named Sénécal, and the two discussed strategies and methodologies for bringing about the end of slavery in the island (221). The group to which these two men belonged even secretly printed and distributed an abolitionist pamphlet which they distributed throughout the city as a sort of resistance-discourse to counter the hegemonic, pro-slavery discourse (222). This activity which was designed to attack power structures and weaken the social institution of slavery was made possible in large part to the geographical location in which it took place. Phenomena such as

population density meant a wider variety of persons could be reached with this message. The proximity of one building to another, combined with the challenges to surveillance that were unique to urban settings facilitated Julien and Sénécal's resistance efforts.[11]

In addition to outright resistance to slavery, the city as a geographical space offered opportunities for resistance in other ways as well. As it regards Léanette, the novel's protagonist, the city functioned as a space that liberated her to experience romance and physical attraction in a way never experienced on the plantation. In fact, shortly before the end of the work, Léanette is told by her master that she would leave Man Héloïse's care to live with a male slave by the name of Agoulou (276). These kinds of slave couplings were not uncommon on plantations as masters would arrange slave unions for reproductive and economic purposes such as increasing their labor supply. In the city of Basse-Terre, however, Léanette meets, and of her own volition, spends time getting to know the young Auguste Rollin, "her protector in this unknown city" (207). Overwhelmed by the idea of "strolling accompanied by such an irresistible mulatto with such a noble presence", Léanette becomes immediately excited by the things that Auguste "whispers in her ears with a voice full of promises" (207, 208). Though Léanette would later come to question Auguste's sincerity, this experience offered her a freedom of choice with regards to the romantic events of her personal life that would have been nearly impossible on the plantation where she was assigned a male partner. The notion of Auguste being her protector assigns to Léanette a value that goes beyond her worth as unit of labor since she is being protected and guided in this unfamiliar, urban territory. Also, the idea of this couple strolling through the streets of the city suggests a very relaxed and almost leisurely experience; the polar opposite of what life as experienced on the plantation was like. The text reaffirms this idea when it states, "Léanette experienced, thanks to the day she spent in the city, a liberation never before felt" (209). The influence of this new found liberation combined with a variety of circumstances that she encountered during her time in the city of Basse-Terre lead Léanette to come to a conclusion about society that she would never have formulated had she not been exposed to this urban context. The text describes her epiphany thusly:

> The divisions between humans always seemed to her to be clear-cut and
> definitive: blacks were stuck with the bad luck of suffering through the misery of
> slavery, and whites were granted supremacy over everything and total control of

the world. She had just discovered, however, as far as mulattos and free blacks

were concerned that you could have dark skin and live without shackles, be

educated, elegant, arrogant, and rich…Léanette started to believe that humans

could not be systematically placed in neatly defined categories. (214)

The subversive nature of Léanette's epiphany should not be overlooked. The institution of

slavery depends on and reinforces the notion of systematically categorizing humans based

primarily on skin color. Yet, the time Léanette spent in the city has caused her to revisit and

reconsider this slave-psychology that had been imposed on her during her entire lifetime as a

slave on the Sevray plantation. In this regard, the geographical space of the city encourages and

facilitates the development of a thought pattern in Léanette that when followed through to its

logical end, results in the questioning of the institution of slavery or at the very least, undermines

its foundation.

Cities as a geographical space are unique and distinctive. Their proximity to the shore

and location on the island periphery allow them to play a particular role in defense, commerce,

and religion. But more than that, the nature of this space is unique because though the potential

of resistance was never enough to fully counteract colonial power, the possibility and

opportunity for resistance was greater in urban settings than on any other space in which

elements of both power and resistance could be found; even in rebel communities. Urban

settings then, though they do not quite achieve the goals of the synthesis, seem to evidence an

asymptotic approach to a power/resistance equilibrium more than any other geographic space

discussed here.

CONCLUSION

I have argued that the concepts of place, geography, power, and resistance occupy a central role in the selection of both colonial and postcolonial narratives discussed here. Authors such as Jean-Baptiste Labat and Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, as well as postcolonial authors such as Édouard Glissant and Marie-Noëlle Recoque present these notions as being central to the development and evolution of life in the French Caribbean plantation society. I have demonstrated that within the geographical imagination of these authors, the islands are divided into three regions, each having a particular connection to the ideas of power and resistance as described by Foucauldian thought. Moreover, I've argued that plantations and rebel communities correspond to the Hegelian framework of thesis (plantations) and antithesis (rebel communities). While island cities fail to correspond completely to the notion of synthesis, they do demonstrate an *asymptotic approach* to equilibrium that is clearly lacking in the other geographical spaces discussed here.

In drawing upon the work of Michel Foucault and his thoughts on the notion of power, I demonstrated in the first chapter that plantations functioned across the selection of narratives as a space of power. Colonial narratives demonstrate that because of the type of products being cultivated and the source of labor used for agricultural endeavors (engagés vs. African slaves) power relations on the plantations were not initially reflected in the physical layout of the space. However, once sugar became the main crop to be cultivated on plantations, an evolution in the physical layout of the plantation, the type of infrastructure that could be found there, and the number of African slaves that were needed for harvesting all began to change. In order to maintain power over enslaved Africans, a series of Panopticon-esque changes were ushered in that relied on surveillance and the use of the gaze to mark plantations as a distinct geography of power and allow white masters to remain in a position of dominance and exercise power over subaltern peoples; especially African slaves. Postcolonial works reinforced the notion of plantations as a space of power, giving a more synchronic representation than colonial texts while still providing considerable insight into the subjection of subaltern groups and how plantations were conceived of as a geography of power by both master and slave.

The second chapter sought to understand and read the selection of colonial and postcolonial narratives through a Foucauldian perspective, paying specific attention to the ways

in which the narratives attempt to establish rebel communities (forests/mountains) as places of resistance. In contrast to the plantation's reliance upon the use of surveillance to function as a geography of power, forested and mountain regions are seen across the selection of works as facilitating and enabling resistance based primarily upon their ability to preclude surveillance. Moreover, whereas a very distinct and rigid hierarchy was maintained and reinforced on the plantation (black/white, master/slave), this analysis has demonstrated that maroon slaves had no monopoly on opposition to power structures, and that geographies of resistance enabled a wide variety of Europeans such as French criminals, French citizens critical of the monarchy, and engagé laborers, to demonstrate opposition to the colonial system. Additionally, the texts analyzed in this study demonstrate that external threats such as the threat of invasion from hostile nations did much for creating a collective resistance identity within island societies with slaves and masters relying upon the same geographies of resistance to oppose the external foreign power.

In the third chapter I discussed the significance of island-cities being represented in colonial and postcolonial narratives as a geography that blended aspects of both power and resistance in greater proportions, than either plantations or rebel communities individually. On the one hand, I pay attention to the representations of commerce and slave trafficking as well as power structures such as prisons and forts that served to underpin to presence of colonial power within this space. These elements which contribute to the exercise of power are shown to be counterbalanced to a considerable extent when one considers the representations of resistance within the urban setting. Population density, for example, allowed for a sense of urban anonymity for escaped slaves because of the large number of blacks in the city. This made it difficult to distinguish free blacks from slaves in places such as city markets. Because free blacks did not often possess land, many relocated to the cities where they performed labor and other services that allowed them to establish a certain degree of economic strength. Many of these blacks even helped support resistance efforts by providing assistance to runaway slaves and trading with maroon camps. To the extent that both power and resistance were facilitated by this space one is able to recognize what can best be described an asymptotic approach to a power/resistance equilibrium (approaching but never quite arriving). Of course, the notion of any geography (be it urban spaces or otherwise) facilitating a perfect balance in power relations is somewhat impossible. For as the notions of power and resistance approach a complete and

perfect equilibrium in their manifestation, to the extent that they are fundamentally opposed to one another, one can no longer speak of power relations as such.

This work has endeavored to prove that colonial and postcolonial narratives demonstrate a very substantial and noteworthy connection between the notion of place and the exercise of power and resistance in French Caribbean plantation society. While there are a number of scholarly works that focus on the notions of space and power, they do so largely from a symbolic and metaphorical perspective. This study, too, considers the symbolic and metaphorical nature and value of space, but in the tradition of Pedro Welch's Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown Barbados 1680-1834 (2003) and Anne Perotin-Dumon's Island Cities (2000), seeks to give equal consideration to the inquiry of how space, as such, through its relationship to power and resistance, helped to shape plantation culture and contribute to the constitution and development of life in the early French Caribbean.

NOTES

[1] all translations mine.

[2] According to Du Tertre, by 1665 there was only a total of approximately 1300 slaves in both Martinique and Guadeloupe combined. Du Tertre, Histoire générale des Antilles vol. 3, 202.

[3] Bush states: "If maroon women did not actually bear arms, they certainly made an indispensable contribution to the survival of maroon settlements. They were largely responsible for the cultivation of provision grounds which helped to sustain the rebel communities....This supportive but none the less vital role played by women in both a moral and economic sense was perhaps a fundamental factor in the survival of maroon communities". 71.

[4] Crouse talks about this skirmish and places its significance in the overall context of French colonial exploits in the Caribbean in his work. See pages 273–290.

[5] the French term "lieu de mémoire" was first made popular by Pierre Nora's Les lieux de mémoire(1984).

[6] Richard Burton does not see this work as merely reliving, reconstructing or retelling the past, but as actually *creating* the past and delivering it from "the layers of repression and oblivion in which nearly three and a half centuries of metropolitan dominance have enshrouded it."

[7] Only his wife calls him Longoué. Glissant, Siècle 96.

[8] In much the same way that Labat described French settlers and slaves fighting in the woods to resist the invaiding English, Ormerod presents to the reader the fact that a number of white French settlers were among those in the maroon-slave camp fighting against the invading English.

[9] Anne Perotin indicates that colonial cities in the French Caribbean could be considered as major cities starting around 1740.

[10] Welch does point out however that often, separate structures that he refers to as 'baracoons' were built to house the slaves until they were sold. These structures are present in Glissant's work but are referred to as 'entrepôt' or warehouse/storehouse (29).

[11] The text does reveal that the police were surveilling Senecal, though no arrests were made (221; ch. 12)

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born and raised in the United States Virgin Islands, my pursuit of a higher education on the U.S. mainland took me first to Florida A&M University where, on full academic scholarship, I obtained my B.A. in French language in 2005. I then continued to obtain my M.A. in 20th Century French Literature at Florida State University in 2007 where I received a number of scholarships and fellowships during my tenure as a graduate student. While writing my dissertation, I was also able to complete and publish two non-academic books entitled "A Beginner's Guide to Proper Husbanding" (Crossbooks Publishing) and "The Little Book of Marital Lessons" (Westbow Press). I've been married for six years to my lovely wife.