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Preface

The aim of *Lest You Forget: A Study and Revision Guide for CXC Caribbean History* is to provide students with the help required to obtain the highest level of achievement in the CXC History examination. The book relies on the premise that an experienced examiner can provide the help which students need to secure success.

This book is designed to provide easy-to-use study and revision guideline material that identifies important factual information. This is to remind students of the topics which they will need to know in order to answer those questions which test skills other than the recall of knowledge, that is, skills of interpretation, analysis, evaluation and communication.

The CXC syllabus is divided into three sections and requires students to study in depth, one theme from each section. This book, and the others in the series each cover in depth, one theme from the syllabus.

Acknowledgements

The publication of *Lest You Forget: A Study and Revision Guide for CXC Caribbean History - Resistance and Revolt* is the product of not only the author but bears the input and insight of several other persons.

I wish to express thanks to Mrs. Gloria Bean, head of the History department of The Queens School and Ms. Jacqueline Pinto of Ardenne High School for their critical analyses, guidance and encouraging comments on the work. The contribution of the other teachers, who indicated that the text would be useful for the study of CXC History, is also highly appreciated.

To all other persons who contributed to the development of this title, thank you.

The author and publishers are also grateful to The Caribbean Examinations Council for granting permission to reproduce the "Glossary of Main Instructional Terms Used in CXC Caribbean History Examinations Questions" on pages 82-83.

Study Strategies and Techniques

This book should be used as a companion to your textbooks, not as a substitute for them. When you first start the course, set your sight on obtaining the highest grade. Remember that success will only come as a result of consistent effort, thorough preparation, and careful revision. Preparation for the final examination should not be left until the last few weeks before the examination, instead, you should revise regularly.

1. Divide the topics to be studied into two lists: topics that you need to spend much time studying, and topics you know reasonably well. Try to transfer as many as possible, within a set time, from the first list to the second.
2. When you have completed this first phase of revision, make a new set of two lists: topics that you know reasonably well, and topics that you know very well. Try to transfer as many as possible from the first list to the second.
3. Spend a few minutes reading over the topics on the second list each time you revise.
4. Pay particular attention to those topics that you do not understand fully, and never assume that any topic is unimportant.
5. As part of the process of regular revision, you should write outline answers to specific questions. There are a few questions at the end of this book. In addition, CXC past papers are available in bookstores. Answer questions from these past papers regularly. After you have completed an answer, check your information against the information in this book. If after comparing your answer with the information provided, you find that you have omitted many of the points, it will be necessary for you to revise the topic again.

In the Examination

1. Read the instructions on the front of the paper and carefully follow them. Note that paper II is given 2 hours (plus 10 minutes for reading) and you are to answer **Three** questions, **One** from each section of the paper. Bear this in mind when allocating time for each.
2. Examine the material provided, and study the questions carefully before you attempt to write an answer.
3. Where stimulus material is provided, read/examine the stimulus material more than once. Take keen note of the 'command word' at the start of each question, for example, "State", "Describe", and "Explain". **(See Glossary of Terms used in the CXC History examination in "Resistance and Revolt". Use the terms often so that you may be thoroughly familiar with them.)**
4. You will find that some questions are straightforward and need only a short answer: one word or a sentence. Other questions need a longer answer: a paragraph or two, or an essay. The mark scheme will provide a guide as to which questions need a longer answer. A question that is worth one or two marks requires only a brief answer, one that carries seven or eight marks needs a longer answer, perhaps a paragraph or two, and one that carries 12 or more marks, requires an essay.
5. While you are writing your answer, keep referring to the question to make sure that you are answering exactly what you have been asked.

This book, if used correctly, should prove to be a valuable aid in achieving the highest grade in the examination.

To the Teacher

This book is designed to provide a guide for your students as they study and revise for the CXC examination. The aim is to strengthen their analytical and evaluative skills, as well as to deepen their understanding of, and to teach them how to interpret, historical material. It should be used as a companion to the textbooks, not as a substitute for them.

There are some questions at the end of this book. Some of these are structured questions, that is, questions that are divided into parts: a, b, c, and d. Some are based on stimulus material. These questions are suitable for class and homework exercises. In addition, you are encouraged to obtain copies of past papers from your local bookstore(s). You should also get a copy of the Glossary of the Terms, which are used in the examination, and make your students very familiar with them. As you teach a topic, make your students practise to answer all the questions that you can find on the past papers on each aspect of the topic.

As a final test, after you have completed a theme, you should give them a mock examination, (four questions) under timed conditions. This will give your students invaluable examination practice, and will help you to judge how close they are to passing their examination.

Resistance and Revolt

The struggle against enslavement began in Africa and continued in the West Indies. Although enslaved Africans made every effort to adjust to life on the plantations, at no time did they accept slavery as a permanent way of life. The brutality of the plantation system failed to crush the spirit of the millions of enslaved Africans, male and female, who were transported to the Caribbean and so they struggled to escape, and often they revolted. The whites lived in fear of losing their lives, their livestock and their family. They also feared having their properties destroyed. They, therefore, sought to put in place measures to control the slaves and protect themselves.

Forms of Slave Control

In all the colonies, the main instrument of slave control was the slave law. Other ways in which masters tried to keep the slaves in subjection were by: (i) constantly proclaiming, in word and by deed, that the Negro was an inferior being to the white man (ii) prohibiting the use of African languages and the practice of African religions and customs (iii) the establishment and maintenance of police and military forces intended to prevent or to punish slave insurrection (iv) the practice of rewarding those slaves who acted as informants, or who in other ways assisted the masters against their fellow slaves (v) preventing them from earning money which they could use to purchase their freedom.

(A) The slave laws

In each of the Caribbean territories where the system of slavery existed, there were slave laws to govern the lives of the slaves. The laws of the Spanish colonies were based on the thirteenth century code of law's known as the *Siete Partidas*. The French West Indies had. as the basis of their slave laws, the Code Noir promulgated in France in 1865. The British colonies did not have a set of laws drawn up by the metropolis (mother country), instead, each colony drew up its owm set of laws.

Slave laws were deemed to be necessary for slavery to exist as an institution. The whites drew up these laws because of the following reasons: (i) They felt that laws were necessary to provide a legal basis for slavery. (ii) The whites realized that they were a vulnerable minority within the slave society and they were always fearful of revolts and other acts of slave defiance. As a result, they felt the need to codify the punishment that matched each offence. (iii) The slaves had constantly defied the whites who hoped that harsh laws would help to control the slaves and prevent offences such as running away, theft and rebellion. (iv) The whites expected that the laws would help to preserve public order and help them to maintain their supremacy within the society.

Spanish Slave Laws

In the Spanish slave laws, the enslaved African was regarded as a person as well as property. The laws, therefore, offered him protection against unwarranted assault or punishment, or other forms of inhumane treatment by his master.

Provisions of 18th century Spanish slave laws with respect to manumission

The Spanish recognized that freedom was die natural state of man and so the slaves had a right to seek their freedom. Included in the slave laws therefore, were provisions with respect to manumission. They included the following: (i) A slave master could lose his property in the slave (i.e. the slave could be freed) if it were proven that he had maltreated

him. (ii) Slaves could be compulsorily manumitted for certain kinds of abuse, for example the violation or prostitution of a female slave by her owner. (iii) Audiencias were instructed to hear cases of slaves who claimed to be free, and to see that justice was done to them. (iv) When slaves of mixed blood were to be sold, their fathers, if willing, should be allowed to buy them so that they might be freed. (v) By the custom of Coartacion, slaves could buy their freedom in installments. The first price agreed upon was paid in installments, but it was final. The slave remained the property of the master until the last payment was made.

Provisions with respect to rights of slaves

Since the slave was regarded as a person, he had rights under the law, including the following: (i) A slave had the right to purchase his freedom with or without the consent of his owner by repaying his purchase price, if necessary, in installments, (ii) If a slave was treated inhumanely, he or she had the right to take a complaint to the courts (Audiencia). (iii) A slave had the right to be taught religion (i.e. to be baptized and instructed in the Christian faith). (iv) Plantation slaves had the right to be free from work on Sundays and Holy Days. (v) A slave had the right to marry with or without the consent of his owner. (vi) He had the right to be provided with food, clothing, shelter, and to be taken care of, by his master, in his old age.

British Slave Laws

Slaves in the British colonies, unlike those in the Spanish colonies where they were seen as an inferior kind of subject, were a special kind of property. They were bought and sold as merchandise and became their owner's private property that could be sold for debts, mortgaged and disposed of in accordance with the laws of inheritance of real estate. No provision was made therefore, for their manumission and so, sometimes they tried to free themselves by running away.

British laws with respect to manumission of slaves

(i) The law penalized those who aided runaways whether by enabling them to support themselves away from their masters, or by aiding their flight directly. (ii) The law also sought to prevent the manumission of slaves unless the public was compensated beforehand against the possibility that the new freeman might become destitute. A tax was therefore placed on manumission. This means that before manumission, a deposit had to be paid by the slave, both to discourage manumission and to ensure that the slave did not become a burden on the society. In St. Vincent, for example, a £100 deposit was required and should the slave fall on hard times, he would be given, from this sum, a total of £4 each month. (iii) A slave could buy his freedom ONLY with the consent of his owner.

Provisions with respect to rights of slaves

As a special kind of property, enslaved Africans had very few rights. Those in existence were restricted to the following: (i) Food should be provided for slaves. A Montserrat regulation of 1693 stated that one acre of provisions should be cultivated for every eight slaves belonging to a plantation. (ii) Old and disabled slaves should not be abandoned by their owners. (iii) Clothing and shelter were to be provided for slaves. (iv) The willful killing, dismemberment and mutilation of slaves were forbidden.

Differences between Spanish and British slave laws

Some of the differences between the Spanish and British slave laws were: (i) The Spanish slave laws were based on the Siete Partidas that were drawn up by the crown. The English laws were drawn up by the slave masters and their friends in their capacity as members of the colonial legislature. (ii) Under the Spanish laws, the slaves were regarded as persons, a part of the family, but they were regarded solely as property, not a part of the family in the English laws. (iii) Slaves, according to the Spanish laws, were souls to be saved and therefore should be converted to the Roman Catholic faith. There was no concern about the soul of slaves in the English laws prior to the end of the 18th century. Spanish laws provided for religious education for slaves from the

16th century. (iv) In Spanish laws, slaves could marry and their families were not to be separated. There was no encouragement given to the preservation of families in English laws and members of a family could be sold separately. (v) Under the Spanish laws, slaves could purchase their freedom in installments (by the process of Coartacion). English laws, while allowing manumission, did not encourage it, and so tax had to be paid on manumission. (vi) English laws forbade slave evidence in court, especially against whites. In Spanish laws, there was the occasional provision for slave evidence in Spanish courts such as the Audiencia. (vii) English laws were directed especially towards maintaining public order so 'police' regulations were uppermost. Slaves could not bear arms, they were not allowed to ride horse, they could be arrested if they were found 'wandering' and they could be severely punished and/or mutilated for striking or insulting a white person. These laws gave the masters almost total power over the slaves. In contrast, a master who murdered his slave faced only a minor fine. The Spanish had more laws to benefit the slaves and to protect them against unwarranted assault or punishment by their masters. (viii) The Spanish laws made provision for officials to be appointed to ensure that the laws were obeyed. The British laws made no provision for supervision and protection of slaves was not provided for until the Amelioration measures of 1823.

Reasons for differences between the Spanish and British slave laws

The differences between the British and the Spanish slave laws were related to when, where and by whom these laws were made. Slavery had existed legally in Spain before the arrival of the Spanish in the New World. The Siete Paritdas came into existence long before Spain had colonized her New World Empire. The reasons for the differences between the British and the Spanish laws, therefore, include the following: (i) The Spanish laws were not framed to deal with the West Indian situation, but were incorporated into the laws of the Spanish colonies. Slavery in Spain was a less severe

institution than was plantation slavery in the New World, and so the *Siete Partidas* were less severe than the British slave laws. (ii) In British colonies, the laws were made by the assemblies of. white settlers in each colony. The basis of the slave laws was fear. As the number of slaves increased, the fear of the whites grew and so the severity of the laws increased. (iii) The Spanish regarded slaves as persons (*persona*), often as part of the family, while the British viewed slaves as property (chattel). (iv) During the early years of Spanish colonization in the New World, whites outnumbered (or were equal in number to) the slaves, therefore there was less fear and repression than in the British colonies. (v) Britain had been freed of slavery and serfdom earlier than Spain and so she had no laws permitting and governing slavery at home. Spain had a longer tradition of dealing with slaves and so there was less fear of and. severity towards them.

Similarities between British and Spanish slave laws

Reasons for similarities

There were few similarities between both sets of laws. They included: (a) The emphasis which they both placed on (i) penalties for slaves (ii) rights of owners (b) the few beneficent clauses and the police clauses which they provided. The similarities relate to the fact that both the British and the Spanish law makers (i) believed in the legality of the system of slavery (ii) felt the need to instill fear in the minds of the slaves in order to control them (iii) believed that slavery was necessary to provide for the social and economic needs of the colonies.

French Slave Laws (Code Nior)

Similarities between the Code Noir and Siete Partidas

The French slave laws, the *Code Noir*, were similar to the Spanish slave laws in that (i) they were drawn up by the metropolis (Mother Country), France. They were laws of the Crown and they were applicable throughout all the overseas colonies of the Crown. (ii) They reflected the strong influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the government. Both provided for the conversion of the slaves to the Roman Catholic faith.

The Code Noir and British slave laws

The French, like the British, had no law permitting and governing slavery in their own country. The Code Noir was therefore drawn up specifically to meet the needs of French colonial slave societies. The laws were based on what was thought to be desirable in the Caribbean slave-plantation communities. They were drawn up for the purpose of dealing with problems already posed by the existence and acceptance of slavery in the West Indian colonies.

Reasons French Caribbean needed code drawn up by the Mother Country

The French government had the power to make laws for its West Indian colonies and so (i) it drafted the Code Noir so that they would all have a unified set of laws. (ii) The slave laws were seen as essential for the continued maintenance of slavery. They were necessary to provide legal guidelines to govern slavery and the relationships among social groups in the colonies. (iii) They were needed to control the slaves in the French West Indian colonies, i.e. to discourage slave resistance or because of slave resistance. (iv) It was necessary for the Mother Country to draft these laws because, left to themselves, the French West Indian planters might have drawn up laws devoid of beneficent clauses.

Reasons British Caribbean did not have slave code drawn up by the Mother Country

The British colonies, unlike the Spanish and French colonies, had no unified set of laws drawn up by the Crown because: (i) Each British colony had its own lawmaking body and so it was the colonies' responsibility to make their own laws. (ii) The British Government's policy was more pro-planter, slaves were considered as private property and so there was no desire on the part of the government to dictate how planters should handle their property. (iii) The official Church of England had less influence on slave owners in the British colonies than the Roman Catholic Church in the Spanish and French colonies. It was the policy of the church not to interfere with slavery.

Provisions of Code Noir with respect to rights of slaves

The Code Noir gave slaves certain rights including the following: Slaves had the right (i) to be baptized and instructed in the Catholic religion (ii) to observe Sundays and Holy Days (i.e. to be free from work on Sundays and

on Holy days of the church) (iii) to be buried in holy ground (iv) to marry with the consent of the owner (v) to be provided with food, clothing (vi) to be cared for by their masters if/when they were disabled by sickness, old age, or otherwise (vii) not to be separated from their families when they were sold (viii) to appeal to the legal official known as the *Procureur general* (attorney general) and complain if a master failed to subsist them or if he treated them cruelly.

Provisions with respect to manumission of slaves

Procedures laid down for the manumission of the slaves included: (i) Masters of twenty years and over could manumit their slaves. (ii) If a freeman had children by a slave concubine and later married the woman, both she and the children became free. (iii) Once free, the former slave was to be treated as a freeborn subject of the king, entitled to the same rights as other subjects, but he had to respect his previous master, his master's widow and children.

West Indian slave laws in practice

In theory, the Spanish slave laws were more humane and they gave slaves in the Spanish colonies far more protection than the British police laws or the French Code Noir. However, as the sugar plantation system developed and slavery was extended in the late 18th to the 19th century throughout the Caribbean, slavery became harsher. Evidence which suggests that the system was no milder in the Spanish territories includes the following: (i) In a humane slave code which was drafted for the Spanish colonies in 1789, the Spanish government attempted to provide for the amelioration of conditions in a growing slave population. This code was, however, strongly resisted and the planters in Cuba and Central America successfully petitioned for it to be withdrawn. Their response was similar to the resistance of the British planters against the 1823 amelioration proposals. (ii) The protective clauses of the *Siete Partidas* which were more numerous than those of the British slave laws did not prevent the existence of large numbers of slaves who were underfed, overworked and slaves who were badly treated. (iii) The offi-

cials who were appointed to look after the legal protection of the slaves in Cuba, for example, were often subservient to the slave-owners and in cases when they showed more independence in their efforts to provide effective protection for the slaves they were defeated by local opinion. This was similar to the situation in the British colonies where the planters operated and controlled the legal system and so had the final say in how the slaves were treated. (iv) Even the provisions of the 1789 Spanish code indicated that abuses were taking place in the system; for example, it included provisions regulating the work of the slaves, their housing and medical care, their maintenance in old age and their punishment. It also provided for the detection and punishment of abuses by the colonists in the management of the slaves. The British amelioration proposals of 1823 made provision for the regulation of abuses against slaves, for example, it limited the amount/kind of punishment that could be given to slaves. (v) Frequent reports of slave uprisings in the Spanish territories in the late 18th to the 19th century, for example in Cuba after 1840, seem to indicate that slaves were repressed and were not contented. Slave revolts were a continuous feature of British West Indian slave societies and were greatly feared and always put down with great severity. They were only brought to an end after the slaves were emancipated.

Other Forms of Slave Control

(B) The use of Christian teachings

Although many British West Indian planters were not enthusiastic about Christianizing their slaves, and many of them made life difficult for the non-conformist missionaries who sought to work among the slaves, some of these planters, particularly in smaller islands like Antigua, were willing to grant the missionaries permission to enter their plantations. Some planters welcomed the work of the missionaries in making the slaves more loyal. The Christian principles that were taught by the missionaries might have helped to

prevent slave revolts because (i) they taught the enslaved Africans to accept their role as slaves, and to understand the importance of obeying their masters. (ii)Missionaries tended to emphasize the virtue of 'turning the other cheek' thus this could have suppressed the desire for revenge. (iii) Christianity promotes peace, it is against violence and so the missionaries' emphasis on the blessings that would be enjoyed by the Christian peacemakers would help to reduce violence. (iv) The missionaries' message of an ultimate reward and freedom from slavery and oppression in heaven for good, faithful Christians might have provided the encouragement to shun actions that could rob them of their reward.

British Caribbean planters sought to control the economic life of the slaves in order to keep the slaves dependent on them and therefore, less likely to try to free themselves. The following measures were adopted for this purpose: (i) Slaves could not own property legally without the master's consent. (ii) The size of their provision ground was limited so that they would not be able to (a) earn enough money from the sale of their crops or (b) reap enough food for their sustenance to encourage attempts at independent existence away from the plantation. (iii) Laws prevented slaves from growing staple crops such as sugar and from trading in a great variety of articles such as horses and cattle, because it was believed that these activities might encourage thefts and also prove to be dangerous economic competition for planters. (iv) Laws were passed to regulate the movements and earnings of slaves working for hire as porters, jobbers or boatmen and in other occupations available to them in the towns of the islands. Jobbing slaves were required to give part of their earnings to their masters. These restrictions obstructed a possible route of escape for potential runaways and helped to keep the more mobile hired slaves effectively tied to their masters in a relationship of dependency. (v) Laws provided severe punishment, including heavy fines, for thefts by slaves, especially thefts of provisions; for fear that these

(C) Economic Measures

(D) C Meas

might be sold for profit. In 1784, the Jamaican legislature revived an earlier law under which theft of horses and cattle was punishable by death. (vi) Only one recognized market day, initially Sunday, which the amelioration measures of 1823 suggested should be changed to Saturday, was given to slaves in the British colonies. (vii) In Barbados, slaves were forbidden to sell goods to poor whites.

The French planters also sought to control the economic life of the slaves. The measures used included the following: (i) Slaves were forbidden to sell sugar even with the consent of the master. Those who were found guilty of breaking this law were severely punished. (ii) They were forbidden to sell all kinds of provisions and firewood. (iii) Slaves who stole horses, cows, mules could be punished with death while those who stole less valuable things such as sheep, pigs or sugarcane were to be punished by chastisement or branding on the shoulder. (iv) Shopkeepers in the town were sometimes forbidden to buy from slaves. (v) Slaves could not legally possess property; anything they acquired belonged to their owner. (vi) Slaves could not engage in certain kinds of trade. (vii) In the eighteenth century, there were efforts to force planters to buy food for the slaves so they would not give slaves provision grounds and time to work them.

Attempts were also made to control the cultural life of the slaves with the use of the following measures: (i) Slaves were forbidden to blow horns and beat drums. Street carnivals were also banned. (ii) Slaves were made to celebrate western holidays. (iii) The African culture was degraded, and laws made it difficult to practise African religions, for example obeah and myal were prohibited, and Muslim slaves were not allowed to practise their religion. (iv) Slaves were subjected to curfews at nights to prevent them assembling for cultural purposes, (v) In some territories, slaves were baptized into the European religion. (vi) Slaves could marry only with their owners' consent and the role of slave parents was drastically reduced because of their

(D) Cultural Measures

limited contact with their children. (vii) Slaves' African names were changed to Christian names.

(E) Psychological

(i) The whites in the British colonies constantly emphasized that the Negro was inferior to the white man and that African societies were uncivilized. (ii) Slaves were ridiculed as stupid, lazy and lacking in basic intelligence. The whites laughed at their culture; it was described as barbaric and crude. Slaves came to believe the white's racism and they accepted white cultural values.

(F) Physical Control

When other forms of control failed, force was sometimes used. This could mean placing the slave in stocks (a wooden frame in which the slave's ankles were held as he sat exposed to the ridicule of others), beating the slave severely, cutting off his/her limbs or even killing the slave.

Reasons slave laws were not always successful in controlling slaves

The brutality of the plantation system never succeeded in crushing the spirit of tire slaves, neither did the presence of slave law's always succeed in controlling their actions. This was so because: (i) Laws could not deny the humanity of slaves who objected to the unjust system that kept them bound. (ii) The harshness of the laws and of the system often created conditions for revolt. (iii) The slaves' strong, basic desire for freedom impelled them to ignore/violate the laws which denied them their freedom. (iv) Laws could restrain the slaves but they could not eliminate their acts of resistance, for example, running away. Therefore, runaway slaves like the Maroons of Jamaica successfully resisted the laws and, ultimately, forced the government to sign a treaty with them in 1739. (v) In some of the smaller territories, for example, Barbados, control of runaways was sometimes impossible when they ran off to a neighbouring island for refuge. (vi) In some townships, runaways were often provided with refuge, for example among the Maya in Belize. (vii) Slaves were able to run away and avoid recapture because it was not always easy to determine whether a Negro was a runaway slave or a free person. (viii) The punishment for running away was not always administered

Condition slavery th encourage slave prot

because it was not always sensible, materially, for masters to mutilate, maim or amputate their slaves. (ix) Sometimes slaves ignored the laws, for example laws forbidding the holding of fiestas, banning the use of the drum and the gathering of slaves. (x) Literate slaves, like Samuel Sharpe in Jamaica, were conscious of debates in parliament concerning freedom and often felt that the planters were intent on withholding from them what was legally theirs and thus they were prepared to take action to force the authorities to act on their behalf.

Slave Protest

Conditions of slavery that encouraged slave protest

The conditions of slavery that encouraged slave protest action included the following: (i) The slave laws, especially as they related to the restriction of slave mobility. (ii) The difficulty of securing manumission. This encouraged slaves to protest by running away or resorting to acts of violence in their bid to be free. (iii) The harsh treatment meted out to slaves, for example the physical and verbal abuse suffered by domestic slaves at the hands of white women. (iv) Inadequate medical care which was provided for slaves, especially for pregnant and lactating mothers, (v) The constant threat of being raped by white men (which was faced by slave women). (vi) The objection to being used as prostitutes for the economic gain of the whites. (Some females ran away to escape this). (vii) The loss of dignity because of being punished in the presence of other slaves and the socio-psychological dehumanization that they suffered. (Some slaves ran away to escape punishment or in response to punishment for a misdeed.) (viii) The difficulties of maintaining family life even in the slave villages and the break up of families and relocation of family members through hiring and sale. (ix) Long periods of absence from family, for example, in the timber camps in Belize. (x) Depression arising from loneliness and homesickness for Africa. (xi) The difficult

nature of field and gang labour. (xii) The suppression of their cultural practices. (xiii) The reduction in food rations, especially during shortages, droughts, and wars, for example, in Berbice in 1763. (xiv) The enticement from Maroon communities that managed to defy the whites and retain their freedom.

Other factors contributing to slave revolts/ protest

There were other factors that contributed to slave revolts. These included: (i) The tradition of autonomy among African cultural groups and especially among the newly-arrived ones, and the presence of slaves from traditional militaristic regimes like the Akan slaves who objected to enslavement. (ii) The inefficiency, especially in military matters, and general complacency of the whites. Added to this was their lack of vigilance which led them to neglect providing themselves with adequate protection in the form of militias or other peace-keeping forces which would have presented a show of force to the slaves. (iii) The presence, in territories like Jamaica, of a higher proportion of slaves who were born in Africa as free men and were enslaved as adults. They exhibited a greater tendency to revolt than slaves who were born into the system of slavery and socialized in it, as African-born were unable or unwilling to adjust to the conditions of slavery. (iv) Anger, frustration against injustice and the death of children influenced female slaves to run away. (v) The geographical nature of some territories, for example the mountainous interior of Jamaica with its many gullies, precipices and forests provided ideal hideouts from Which slaves could engage in guerilla warfare. This assisted the Maroons in resisting capture and in establishing their independence. (vi) The impact of certain social and political forces also contributed to slave resistance. Governor Balcarres of Jamaica insisted that professional revolutionaries from Haiti, France and the United-States were largely responsible for instigating the Second Maroon War of 1795. The abolition movement also played its part in inciting the slaves to revolt. Slaves misinterpreted the debates they heard

being discussed among their masters and, in a few cases, the reports some had read in local or foreign newspapers. Many of them believed that the British Government had granted their freedom but their masters were withholding it from them.

Forms of Slave Protest

Although slavery was rigorous and severe and the slave master had total domination over his slave, the slave was never completely subdued. The result was that slaves, male and female, in one form or another, expressed their resentment of slavery, sometimes in a covert, indirect and relatively mild manner, and at other times, in open revolt. There were two basic forms of resistance to slavery; one passive (less extreme) and the other violent (more extreme). Less extreme methods included: (i) Refusal to work under various pretences, for example illness. Some slaves injured themselves by re-opening old sores, or by allowing 'chigga worms' in their feet to remain there, thus making them limp. (ii) Frequent requests for permission to 'go a bush' so as to perform basic bodily functions. (iii) Pretending to be stupid. (iv) The use of 'sweet mouth' to flatter and play upon the vanity of the whites. (v) Cultural resistance, that is retention of languages, folklore, religious beliefs including obeah and Islam; music, customs, crafts, the stick fighting dance of the Lesser Antilles. (vi) Reconstitution of kinship networks i.e. re-establishing family ties. (vii) Development of Creole languages. (viii) Use of Christian religion for their own ends. (ix) Marronage by sea, for example, fleeing from Barbados to Dominica; and by land, for example, the Maroons of Jamaica and the Bush Negroes of Surinam. (x) 'Going slow' in the fields. (xi) Lying and insolence. (xii) Suicide.

(A) Less extreme (passive) methods

The more extreme methods used were: (xiii) Industrial sabotage, that is (a) arson / burning of the fields (b) killing of livestock (c) destruction of carts, mills, machinery, uten-

(B) More extreme (active) methods

sils (xiv) Rebellion or revolt (xv) Murdering of whites and of other slaves to deprive the master of valuable property.

Other methods used by female slaves

Female slaves used many of the above-mentioned methods and they also used other methods peculiar to them as women, for example: (i) They used periods of child bearing to do the minimum of work and extract the maximum of concessions from their masters. (ii) They took full advantage of their menstrual processes for absenting themselves from work. (iii) They prolonged the period they spent as nursing mothers. A slave mother with a suckling infant was, by law, given extra food allowances, and was allowed to go to work an hour later and leave an hour earlier than other slaves. She took her baby to the field, placed him/her under the trees where he/she was looked after by an elderly woman, a 'nana'. The mother took regular intervals off from her work to feed the baby. Many women would prolong breast-feeding for as long as possible, even up to two years or more. (iv) They committed abortion. (v) They committed infanticide. (vi) Many women showed little fear of their superiors. They did not hesitate to answer back, they argued with the whites, using their tongue as an instrument of attack and defence. Their 'quarrelsomeness' was a nuisance to those who were forced to tolerate them. Many of them were guilty of using violent, abusive, threatening, indecent, insulting language to those in authority. (vii) They made up satirical songs which they used to mock the whites (including some white preachers whom they regarded as hypocrites, for they claimed that while these preachers pretended that their mission was to save the souls of the blacks, they were winking at the black girls.) The slaves often sang these songs of mockery loudly and without fear as they worked in the field. (viii) They appealed to the courts or councils of protection when they felt that their masters were depriving them of their few legal rights for example: (a) withholding the minimum amount of clothing and food allowance which they should be given (b) depriving them of holidays and time off from work during

How masters deprived female slaves of their legal rights

pregnancy (c) extending their working hours (d) punishing them excessively. When the courts regarded their complaints as sound, which was on rare occasions, they received some redress for their wrongs. In April 1823, for example, some slaves, including fifteen women, from Dallas Castle plantation in Portland, Jamaica, complained to the magistrate about the severe and cruel treatment of the overseer, Mr. John Stephens. Investigations made by the court revealed that two of the female slaves were given more flogging than was allowed by the Consolidated Slave Law. Stephens was fined twenty pounds for each offence, by the court. Although it was more likely that they would receive punishment rather than justice for daring to lodge a complaint, they were prepared to take the risk for the satisfaction of knowing that they had forced owners and overseers to appear in court to answer for their actions, and they themselves would be absent from work while the proceedings took place. (ix) By manipulating sexual relationships with white plantation officers, they sought to remove themselves as far as possible from the brutal lifestyle associated with field labour. They also cultivated intimate social relations with wives of plantation personnel in order to ensure favoured treatment within the white household. This careful cultivation of social relations with whites created the opportunity for these slaves to petition their masters for manumission. (x) Confiscation of property; for example, huckster slaves who sold goods on their owner's behalf often vanished with goods and money proceeds, (xi) The slave 'nannies' ill-treated the masters' babies, (xii) The domestic slaves deliberately over-starched the whites' clothes, making them stiff and uncomfortable. (xiii) The washerwomen used too much soap or blue on the clothes. (xiv) They harboured runaway slaves in defiance of the wishes of the owners.

(i) Female slaves who did not wish to reproduce the plantation's labour force used abortion as a form of resistance to slavery. (ii) Some slave owners penalized women for

Reasons slave women deliberately tried to miscarry/abort their babies

becoming pregnant because of the loss of labour during their period of confinement, and the reduction of their resale price.(iii) Some slave women were impregnated by whites who had raped them and they did not want to carry the babies of men who had raped them. (iv) Pregnant women were not spared the whip when they broke the plantation rules, and there was always the strong possibility that slave women would have a miscarriage anyway. (v) Pregnant slaves had to continue to work until just before they gave birth, and some slave women may not have felt able to cope with that situation, (vi) Slave owners did not provide adequate diets for pregnant slaves, (vii) Before the 1807 abolition of the slave trade, not much attention was given to the care of infants, so infant mortality rate was high. Some slave women may not have wanted to have a baby only to see him/her die in infancy. (viii) Slavery did not always encourage family life and some women would not have felt that they were able to raise children on their own, without the help of the fathers. (ix) Slave mothers may not have wanted to endure the pain of separation from their children through sale and relocation, (x) Slave mothers may not have wanted to have their children subjected to the horrors of slavery. (xi) Some slave mothers thought that they were too young to bother with babies. (xii) Some women thought that it was difficult to care for babies. (xiii) Those slave women who planned to run away felt that it would be difficult/impossible to do so if they had children.

Effects of protest on the lives of female slaves

By protesting against their enslavement, female slaves managed to make others conscious of their presence. The result was that: (i) They earned concessions (ii) Some of them had their status changed when they were punished for their protest by being demoted from the Great House to the field. (iii) Protesters earned the respect of their masters and fellow slaves. (iv) Many were severely punished, others were put to death. (v) Many were victimized. (vi) Some obtained their freedom.

Running Away

Reasons slaves ran away

See page 13 - 'Conditions of slavery that encouraged slave protest.'

Running away or 'pulling foot', to use the jargon of the slaves, was very common throughout the period of slavery. Male slaves tended to run away far more than females because they were better able to bear the 'ups and downs' of such an undertaking.

Effects of running away on slave owners

Slave owners were seriously affected when their slaves ran away, for example, (i) they suffered a loss of labour. (ii) They lost the money they had invested in the purchase of the slave. (iii) They had to find funds to purchase replacements for those who had fled. (iv) They had to bear significant cost if they attempted to recover those who had fled; for example they had to pay for: (a) advertisements in the press (b) expeditions / search parties to track down the fugitive (s) (c) rewards to informants and captors. (v) They suffered losses as a result of attacks on their plantations by fugitives. Some stole food, tools and other slaves whom they encouraged to escape with them. (vi) Plantation operations were sometimes seriously disrupted when those who fled were specialist slaves upon whom key operations were dependent. (vii) Runaway slaves sometimes encouraged and supported slave rebellions and so their presence increased the planters' feeling of insecurity. (viii) Some fugitives attacked and robbed whites on highways and so the whites lived in constant fear for their lives.

The Maroons of Jamaica

Establishment of Maroon settlements

The word 'Maroon', in Jamaica, came to mean a fugitive slave, one whose spirit could not be broken by man. When the English invaded and captured Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655, the Spaniards freed their slaves and left

them behind in the hilly interior to harass the English with irregular warfare until it was possible to collect an army and return to re-conquer the island. These freed slaves, along with others who had escaped from the Spanish, became the core of the Maroons. The most prominent of their leaders were Juan Lubolo (later called Juan de Bolas by the British) and Juan de Serras. The British sought to win over these leaders. They succeeded in coming to terms with Juan Lubolo who helped to defeat the Spanish.

Juan Lubolo

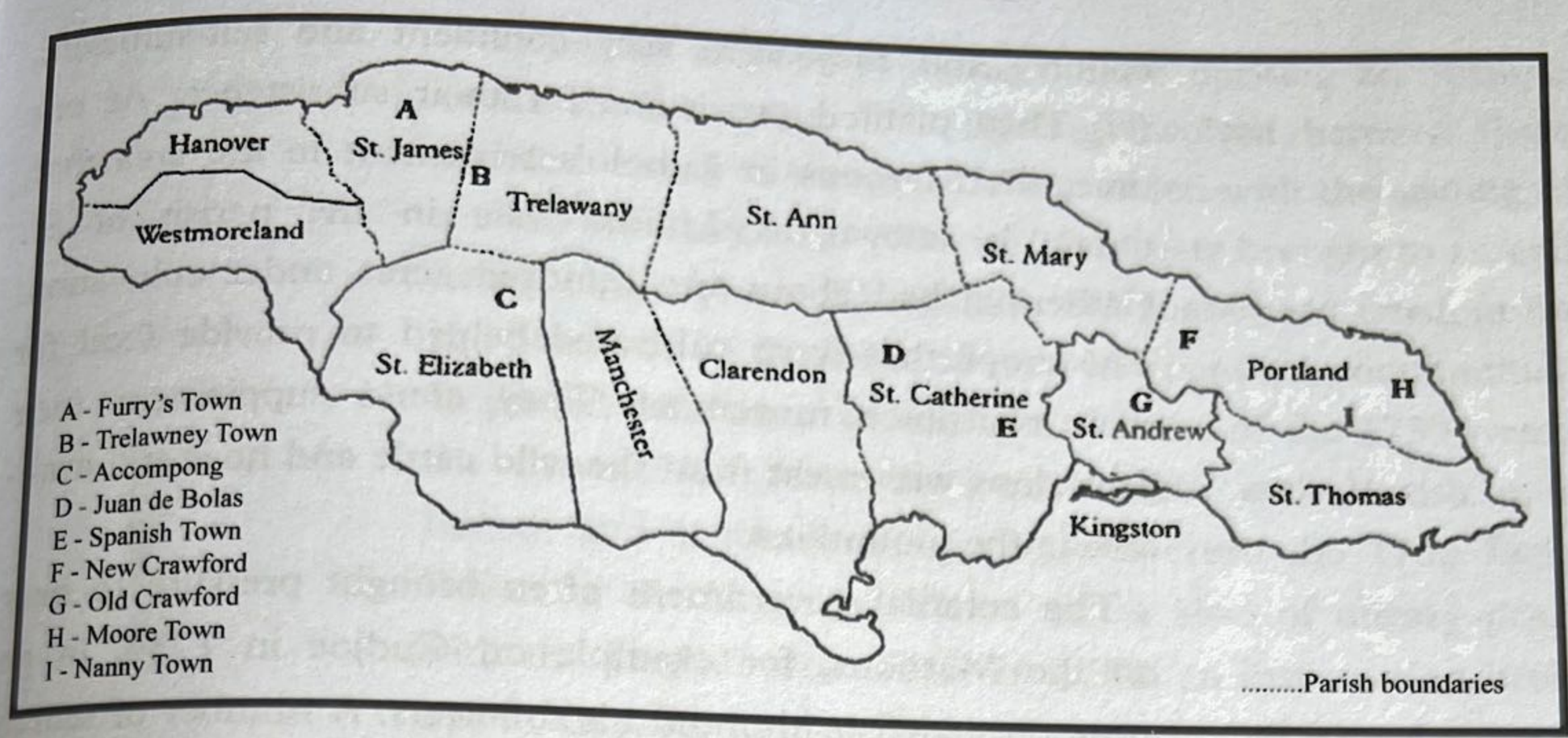
In 1663, when the civilian government was first established under the British, Lubolo (now called Juan de Bolas) and his people were granted the full rights of citizenship by the British and he was made a magistrate and a colonel of a black regiment of the militia. In coming to terms with the British, Lubolo agreed to turn against his fellow Africans who refused to follow his example. He was later killed when he fell into an ambush while on a mission to exterminate a band of old associates.

Juan de Serras

Juan de Serras rejected any offer to come to terms with the British and many years after Juan de Bolas' death, he was still at large and unrepentant, striking hard blows at the increasing British settlements. Ultimately, he and his people were declared outlaws and a reward was offered to anyone who killed him or his second in command, but it was all in vain. When the British began to establish their plantations and to bring in slaves, many of the slaves fled from the plantations. By the 1670's, some of these began to join Juan de Serras and his people, thus the Maroon movement that was to influence the development of Jamaica had begun. Juan de Serras stands out as the father-figure of the movement.

Factors which helped development of Maroon communities

The Maroons established communities primarily in the hilly country of eastern, central and western Jamaica. By the 1730's, Maroon settlements were established at Trelawney Town, Accompong, Crawford Town and Nanny Town. Strong Maroon communities developed as a result of the following factors: (i) The effective leadership provided by



The Maroons of Jamaica

people like the great-hearted Cudjoe, captain of the Trelawney Town Maroons and Nanny, leader of Nanny Town up in the Blue Mountains. She fought with the kind of courage and stubbornness that shocked their enemies. (ii) The topography of Jamaica with its dense forests, karst limestone features, caves and cockpits which provided ideal hiding places and assisted their movement. Camouflaged with leaves and branches, and using trees, rocks and the rugged terrain as cover, they ambushed and repeatedly defeated the troops that were sent against them. (iii) They set traps in the way of pursuing enemies and stationed look-outs at strategic points near their settlements and camps. They also perfected a signalling system with the use of cow horns called abengs, which could be heard for miles. Messages were conveyed by a series of code notes blown on the abeng. They were also able to communicate over long distances with the drum and with conch shell. (iv) They were expert trackers and skilled marksmen. They practised their techniques of forest warfare and tracking learned from Africa. (v) They were effective users of the bow, lance, machete and firearms that they stole from the whites. Many of them were hunters and cowboys, for an important part of the economy of Spanish Jamaica was the breeding and hunting of livestock. They were strong, immune to inclement weather and rough

country and they were very confident and self-sufficient. (vi) They planted provisions for their subsistence. At one time, the Maroons in Lubolo's settlement in the area that, today, is known as Lluidas Vale in the parish of St. Catherine, had about two hundred acres under cultivation. The crops that were cultivated helped to provide food for their resistance movement. They could supplement their provisions with meat from the wild cattle and hogs still available in the mountains.

The colonial government often brought pressure to bear on the Maroons, for example on Cudjoe in 1734, in an attempt to defeat him and his followers. A number of search parties with hunting dogs were charged with the job of finding and destroying the provision grounds and camps of the Maroons. (vii) The Maroons' knowledge of the countryside helped them to elude these search parties and avoid defeat. (viii) When food grew scarce because of being pushed from their settlements by forces advancing against them, or at other times when they felt the need to move, they were able to raid, successfully, plantations and slave provision grounds and then retreat to their hideouts. (ix) From time to time, they were joined by other runaway slaves and rebels.

Relationship with the English

From their arrival in the island, the English saw the Africans as the most aggressive and dangerous element of opposition. (i) British soldiers rambling carelessly through the southern plains in search of food would suddenly find themselves ambushed. One of the clauses included in the 1655 terms of surrender by the British said that all the slaves and Negroes were to appear on the savanna near the town, Villa de la Vega, now called Spanish Town, on the 26th of May, when General Venables would inform them about the favours that would be extended to them with regard to their freedom. (ii) Most of them ignored the treaty and took to the plains of Clarendon and St. Catherine to resist the invaders. (iii) They were the sworn enemies of the British. A period of fighting between them, known as the First Maroon

War, started in 1690 following a slave uprising on Sutton's estate in Clarendon. The fighting involved between three and four hundred slaves. This war ended with the signing of a treaty on March 1, 1739. (iv) The treaty brought to an end nearly eighty years of hostilities and guaranteed freedom for the Maroons in the form of semi-independent communities. In partial fulfillment of one of the terms of the 1739 treaty, the Scotts Hall Maroons joined forces with British militiamen and sailors from warships to crush the 1760 Tacky Revolt in St. Mary. (v) There was a kind of uneasy peace with the English after 1739. In 1754, an insurrection broke out in Crawford Town. Another period of fighting known as the Second Maroon War broke out in Trelawney Town in 1795.

Reasons Maroons fought against the English

The First Maroon war was fought because of the following reasons; (i) Slaves disliked the conditions of slavery and so they wanted their freedom. (ii) They wanted control over their own lives; they wanted to own land and to cultivate it themselves, rather than to work on plantations for slave masters. (iii) Slaves who had established their own freedom, fought to retain it, or to free their own kin. (iv) They were protesting against the dominant white power in the island, they wanted to end slavery and the plantation system.

The Second Maroon War, 1795

In 1795 the Second Maroon War broke out when the Trelawney Maroons took up arms against the colonial government to: (v) protest wrongs and indignities that they claimed they had suffered at the hands of the authorities. In particular, the authorities had allowed two Maroons, alleged to have stolen pigs from a white farmer, to be publicly whipped and jeered by slaves. The Maroons objected to the indignity of being publicly whipped in the presence of felons and recaptured slaves, many of whom they had helped to bring in. This was an intolerable humiliation. (vi) The Maroons were angered by the removal of their favourite superintendent, James, and they wanted him back. They disliked the white superintendent, Captain Craskell, who had

been recently stationed in their settlement. (vii) They were dissatisfied with the land given to them in the 1739 treaty. It was rocky and inadequate. (viii) Angered by Captain Craskell's action that had humiliated them, the Maroons ordered that he should leave their settlement forthwith. The Earl of Balcarres, the newly-arrived governor and himself a soldier, believed in strong measures especially because he was certain that the real origin of the unrest was connected with the current St. Domingue Revolution. He declared martial law and called out troops against the Maroons and they fought back.

1739 Treaty Between the British and the Maroons

By 1739, when it seemed obvious that the authorities could not defeat the Maroons, influential colonists urged Governor Edward Trelawney to make peace with them. A treaty was signed with Cudjoe on March 1, 1739, under a large cotton tree at the entrance to Petty' River Bottom, which lay near to the entrance to the Cockpit Country. On June 23 of the same year, Quao, who had retreated into the trackless forests of Portland where he led the Windward Maroons, signed a similar treaty.

Benefits of treaty for the Maroons

Under the terms of the treaty', the Maroons gained benefits including the following: (i) Full freedom (ii) 1500 acres / 600 hectares of land lying between Trelawney Town and the Cockpits (iii) the right to hunt wild pigs anywhere except within a three-mile limit of towns and plantations. (iv) They could choose their own leaders. Cudjoe was appointed Chief Commander and his successors named in order, beginning with Accompong and Johnny. The chief was empowered to inflict any punishment he might think proper for crimes committed by his people, except for those requiring the death penalty. Such cases were to be handed over to a justice of the peace. (v) They could make their own

laws and they could keep their firearms. (vi) Two white men, named by the governor, were to live permanently with the Maroons in order to maintain friendly contact between them and the colonists. (vii) They could plant their crops and they could sell in the island's markets if they had a licence. (viii) They could rear cattle. (ix) They were guaranteed freedom from war after many exhausting years of fighting. (x) A decrease of the mortality rate among them with the end of open conflict. (xi) The right to retain their African cultural practices. After the Second Maroon War (xii) Maroon villages were allowed to co-exist with the plantations.

Obligations of Maroons under the treaty

The Maroons had certain obligations under the treaty from which the whites were expected to benefit, for example: (i) They were to cease fighting. (ii) They were to harbour no more runaway slaves, but instead, they were to help to capture them. (iii) They were to stop raiding the plantations. (iv) They were to apply for a license to sell goods outside of their territory. (v) They were to help to suppress internal uprisings and to ward off foreign invasions.

Benefits which the English expected from the treaty

The English were exhausted after several years of conflict. (i) They hoped to enjoy peace, to ensure the profitable development of the plantations that the Maroons had often raided. (ii) They wanted to expand the frontiers of the plantations that the Maroons had hitherto prevented. (iii) They wanted the Maroons to stop accepting runaway slaves who were needed for work on the plantations. (iv) They wanted the Maroons to assist them in suppressing slave rebellions and to ward off external attacks.

Other reasons the British agreed to the treaty

In addition to the benefits that the British expected to gain, they agreed to sign the treaty' because of the following reasons: (i) They were unable to defeat the Maroons. (ii) They were suffering significant losses because of the destruction of their property by the Maroons. Their profits were seriously affected by these acts of destruction. (iii) They had to bear the expense of providing troops and equipment to fight the Maroons. (iv) The Maroons had

killed many of the whites and so the whites felt very insecure.

Reasons Europeans could not defeat Maroons

The Maroons had proven to be the "thorns in the sides of the English" that Major-General Robert Sedgewick had predicted in 1656. The Europeans were unable to defeat them because: (i) The Maroons outnumbered them. (ii) The location of the Maroons in the mountainous and forested interior of the island, including the almost impenetrable cockpit country and their use of sentries to inform them of imminent danger, made it almost impossible to surprise them. An approaching force was usually spotted several hours before it arrived and so the Maroons had ample time to prepare for confrontation or to go into hiding. It was also easy to defend this kind of location. (iii) The Maroons avoided open conflict, preferring to disguise themselves from head to foot with leaves and, cunningly concealed, they attacked from ambush. This was more effective than the conventional warfare practised by the troops. (iv) They launched surprise attacks against their enemies. The surprise, coupled with the accuracy of their shooting, brought them quick victory. (v) The European troops were unaccustomed to the territory, the climate and the method of warfare and so they suffered heavily in their clashes with the Maroons. (vi) The Maroons knew the territory well and were better acclimatized than the Europeans. (vii) The Maroons fought with courage and skill and were ably led by brave and skillful people like Cudjoe and Nanny. (viii) They cultivated crops and they hunted to sustain themselves during wartime, and if pushed beyond the regions of their 'grounds', they raided plantations and slaves' provision grounds to provide themselves with food.

Relationship between Maroons and plantation slaves

Up to 1738, the Maroons and the plantation slaves had maintained a good relationship demonstrated in the following ways: (i) Maroons often raided the plantations and carried off family members and friends. (ii) Maroons and plantation slaves often plotted together against the whites. (iii) Maroons

carried out raids against the whites to avenge the abuse meted out to slaves. (iv) Maroons encouraged, and provided refuge for slaves who ran away from the plantations.

Slaves' view of Maroons

The slaves who longed for their freedom admired those who managed to secure freedom and so they saw the Maroons as heroes. They saw the Maroons as a great challenge to the authority of the whites and they admired their efforts to destroy the slave system.

Reasons slaves wanted to join the Maroons

Slaves wanted to join the Maroons for many reasons including the following: (i) to be free from bondage, and to be able to enjoy the kind of life that the Maroons lived. (ii) to take their revenge on the planters for depriving them of their freedom, and for the harsh treatment meted out to them. (iii) to undermine the system of slavery. (iv) to be able to practise their culture freely and to preserve it.

The First Maroon War eventually led to confrontation between the Maroons and the slaves. This affected their relationship negatively. During the war, some slaves allowed themselves to be used in fighting units against the Maroons, in the hope of obtaining freedom as reward. The peace treaties which guaranteed the freedom of the Maroons obliged them to hunt and destroy slaves who had broken out for freedom, and to return those who fell into their hands.

The Bush Negroes of Surinam

These were slaves who had escaped from the plantations and established themselves in the forests of the interior. The settlements grew by natural increase as well as by other slaves escaping and joining those already in the villages.

Bush Negro groups

Among the different groups of Bush negroes were the Aluku (ii) Djuka (iii) Kwinti (iv) Matawai (v) Paramaka (vi) Saramaka.

Features of villages

Common features of Bush Negro settlements were as follows: (i) The Bush Negroes lived in villages that were

located in the thick forests of the interior that could only be penetrated by the rivers. Further into the interior, these rivers had rapids. It was beyond the rapids where they felt safe that they established themselves. (ii) They cleared sections of the land in a circle; they built their dwellings in the middle and planted their crops around it. The tallest plants, for example the banana, were at the outside of the circle, and the lowest growing crops were nearest to the huts. This helped to hide their village as well as provide them with food. (iii) Permanent settlements were surrounded by a moat hidden by grass and weeds, with sharp stakes in the bottom and sides below water level. False tracks led away from the villages to confuse the enemy. (iv) They were organized under leaders in a quasi-military life, with the lowest rank performing the menial tasks of planting the crops and raiding and robbing the plantations by nights. (v) Their economy was based on hunting, fishing, farming and craftwork.

Reasons Dutch were forced to sign treaty with Bush Negroes

Rights and obligations under the treaty

Way of life of the Bush Negroes

Food

They planted crops such as yam, banana/plantain, eddoe and rice and they hunted game in the forest. They used material that was readily available in the forest to construct their huts. These were built in circular clearings from wooden posts, stones and thatch.

Housing

Social Organization

They were organized in villages where there were usually more men than women. They practised matrilineal descent.

Political Organization

They had a quasi-military organization with a hierarchy of leaders at the top and with the lowest rank performing the most menial tasks. They were semi-autonomous and they signed treaties with the Dutch government in the 1760's. The government gave its approval of a paramount chief and a series of headmen who had both political and religious roles.

Religious Belief

They retained their African beliefs in gods and spirits, though these were creolized by their plantation experience.

Factors which enabled Bush Negroes to retain their freedom

Reasons Dutch were forced to sign treaty with Bush Negroes

The Bush Negroes harassed the planters by their constant raids on the plantations, and they were a constant danger to them. Several expeditions sent after them failed to crush them. The Dutch authorities were eventually forced to sign treaties in 1761 and 1767 with the two main groups of Bush Negroes for the following reasons: (i) It was very costly to the Mother Country to send expeditions after the Bush Negroes. (ii) Planters lived in fear because of the danger they faced from the Bush Negroes. (iii) The Bush Negroes had killed many settlers. (iv) Their presence encouraged other enslaved Africans to run away from the plantations, as slaves whom the Europeans took with them on expeditions against the Bush Negroes learned of pathways through the bush.(v) Many soldiers lost their lives in expeditions against the Bush Negroes. (vi) The Dutch were unable to defeat them and they were losing prestige in the minds of the slaves.

Rights and obligations under the treaty

The Bush Negroes obtained the following rights under the treaty. (i) Freedom from slavery. (ii) The right to occupy the interior as long as they did not stir up slave revolts or raid plantations. (iii) A Dutch official known as a *'Post-Holder.'* was to live in the village of each Bush Negro chief. (iv) They were to return any runaway slaves. (v) They were not to approach any nearer to the European settlements than a two-day journey by foot, or ten hours by boat.

Factors which enabled Bush Negroes to retain their freedom

The Bush Negroes successfully eluded the Europeans and were able to retain their freedom because of the following: (i) Their geographical location. This was very difficult terrain for the whites to penetrate. (ii) Their settlement pattern. They settled in small compact communities scattered over a wide area. (iii) Their aggressiveness that created fear in the minds of the whites. (iv) Moats, with protective stakes, around the villages trapped the unsuspecting and protected the villagers. (v) The political structure with their semi-military organization provided leaders to effect planned strategies. (vi) The failure of the strategies used by the Dutch to try to defeat them.

Similarities between Bush Negroes and Maroons

Bush Negroes and Maroons shared a number of similarities. (i) Both groups were started and maintained by runaway slaves, (ii) They were both hostile to the white masters; they constantly raided plantations and they made life difficult and unpleasant for the whites. (iii) They located their settlements in the remote sections of their territories. (iv) The whites found it impossible to defeat them. (v) They both signed treaties with the whites.

Differences between Bush Negroes and Maroons

Some of the differences between Bush Negroes and Maroons were as follows: (i) Maroons began to establish themselves away from the plantation from the early days of Spanish colonization and so were earlier settlers to the region than the Bush Negroes. (ii) The Bush Negroes tended to retain more of their African customs than the Maroons because many of them deserted the plantations soon after their arrival. (iii) The social distinctions among the Bush Negroes were more marked than they were among the Maroons. (iv) They used different defence strategies. The Maroons camouflaged themselves to look like trees, while the Bush Negroes used false paths leading away from their villages and moats surrounding the villages. (v) The location of their settlements was different. The Maroons lived in the hilly areas and the Bush Negroes lived beyond the rapids in the forests.

Measures used to deal with rebellious/runaway slaves

The whites always dreaded slave resistance and so they adopted strict measures to discourage or to deal with any act of resistance. The measures included the following: (i) The declaration of martial law and the mobilization of the local militia and the European troops. Planters in Jamaica and Surinam used these troops to track down Maroons. (ii) The mobilization of (a) Indians (b) slaves (c) free Negroes and mulattoes. Mosquito Coast Indians who were reputed to be good at tracking, as well as free Negroes and Mulattoes were

used in the fight against the Maroons in Jamaica. Even some slaves allowed themselves to be used in fighting units against the Maroons with the hope of obtaining freedom as a reward. In 1795, the Dutch managed to bring under control some Bush Negroes who had been raiding European plantations in West Demerara only after a large party of soldiers, slaves and Indians were used against them. (iii) The importation of tracker dogs (blood hounds) from Cuba to be used against the Maroons during the Second Maroon War. (iv) The signing of treaties and the granting of concessions to the Maroons, (v) The offering of rewards for the capture and return of runaways, (vi) Severe punishment (public), including: (a) flogging (b) mutilation (c) being put in the stocks (d) deportation (e) death, all awaited rebellious slaves who were captured.

Slave Rebellions

Reasons African-born rather than Creoles instigated and carried out most revolts

Most of the revolts were reportedly instigated and carried out by African-born rather than Creole slaves. This was so because: (i) Among the African-born slaves were those from highly militaristic societies such as the Akan who were not prepared to accept enslavement. These slaves were skilled in forest warfare and guerilla type tactics and so, they used these skills in their bid for freedom. (ii) In territories like Jamaica, St. Domingue, Surinam and Berbice, the African-born population vastly outnumbered the Creoles, and so the majority group took the initiative to try to free themselves. (iii) Many of the African-born slaves in the Caribbean colonies knew freedom in Africa, and enjoyed the conditions of freedom in their native land. They resented the loss of this freedom, and so were determined to regain what they had lost. (iv)The obeahmen, who were often African-born, were community leaders among the slaves, and as a result, were in the forefront of the planning and execution of revolts. They were able to convince the

African-born slaves that the ointment and potions administered before the revolts would make them immune to the weapons or invisible to the whites. This gave them the confidence that they would succeed against the whites, and be able to return to Africa, and they believed that if they died in battle, their spirits would return to their homeland. (v) The Creole slaves were often given lighter work than the African-born slaves and since these Creoles knew nothing other than slavery, they tended to be more content with their lot. (vi) The African-born individuals tended to maintain much of their cultural heritage while resisting the cultural imperialism of the European in every way, and so active resistance to their enslavement was an integral part of their philosophy of life.

The Obeah man's role in rebellions

The obeah man, as a leader in the slave community, was often instrumental in: (i) planning slave revolts (ii) administering the oath of secrecy (iii) distributing fetishes which he assured the slaves would make them immune to the bullets of the whites (iv) communicating secret messages to the rebels.

The Berbice Rebellion, 1763

Reasons for outbreak

In 1763, slaves in the Dutch colony of Berbice revolted. Among the reasons given for the outbreak of the revolt were the following: (i) The apathy of the whites. Slaves were underfed because their owners did not import enough supplies, and the planters did not grow enough provision on the estates. (ii) The desire for revenge because of harsh treatment and injustice. The estates were often left in the hands of cruel overseers who did not care about the welfare of the slaves. (iii) The desire for permanent freedom. (iv) The inspiration provided by a Maroon revolt in Surinam in 1762.

Reasons for initial success

The revolt started on 23rd February 1763 at a plantation on the Canje River. By March, the rebellion had spread to

the Berbice River, and Cuffy/Coffy, the leader of the slaves, began to call himself governor of the slaves. The slaves were successful during the initial stage of the revolt because of the following reasons: (i) The quality of the leadership. The rebellion was initially well organized under the leadership of Cuffy (Coffy/Kofi), Akara and Atta, and there was cooperation between the Akan slave rebels and the Congolese/Kongolese and Angolans (Central Africans). (ii) The discipline and the military organization of the rebels were at first fairly strong, and so they were able to take control of almost the entire colony, leaving the whites in control of only the swampy and malaria-infested area at the mouth of the Canje River. (iii) The slave rebels outnumbered the whites. (iv) Many of the slaves in the colony were newly imported Africans who had not been socialized into the slave system, and so were anxious to opt out of it. (v) The rebellion took the whites by surprise. (vi) The planters were too complacent; forts were in a dilapidated condition, they were unable to stand up to any strong attack, and there were only twelve soldiers available to provide defence for the colony. (vii) The rebels were able to seize some arms and ammunition from some estates. (viii) A dysentery epidemic that had broken out between 1756 and 1765, had severely affected the whites, including the tiny armed force. They were weakened by disease and a shortage of food. (ix) There was disunity among the whites. Soon after the outbreak of the revolt, the whites panicked and many of them fled. They refused to go to the help of others who were under siege. The governor temporarily lost control of the situation, and he had to put up with instances of insubordination from all classes of whites. (x) The whites eventually forced the governor, Van Hoogenheim, to agree that the colony should be evacuated. (xi) Help from overseas was slow in coming. The first contingent of one hundred troops came from Surinam on a British ship in April. (xii) Many Amerindians on whom the whites had been depending for help had fled.

Reasons for failure of rebellion

In the end Cuffy (Coffy/Kofi) lost the revolt because of the following reasons: (i) He began to 'play politics' by writing letters to the governor suggesting that they should divide the colony. He lost valuable time during this period of negotiation, and the governor managed to fool Cuffy into believing that his letters were being taken seriously, while he was simply stalling him until reinforcements arrived. (ii) While 'playing for time', the governor received help from outside Berbice. He received military assistance including six hundred men and six transport vessels from Europe; as well as assistance from Barbados and from nearby Demerara, courtesy of Governor Van Gravesande who helped to organize a counter attack. The one hundred troops from Surinam helped the governor to take over a plantation on the Berbice River and turn it into a military stronghold from which to defeat the rebels. (iii) The troops had superior weapons to those of the slaves, and they were better trained and were more skillful in warfare. (iv) The governor also got help from the Amerindians who assisted the Dutch troops. (v) After the initial successes, some of the slaves were unwilling to accept the discipline and hard work that Cuffy realized was necessary for the new black colony to succeed. Some turned to looting and pleasure instead of securing their position. (vi) A shortage of food led to discontent among the rebels. (vii) Some of the Creole slaves who had been coerced into joining the rebel ranks, willingly surrendered to the whites. (viii) A serious division of opinion emerged within the leadership ranks of the rebels. Cuffy preferred to negotiate with the whites, while Akara, Cuffy's second-in-command, preferred a more radical course in expelling the whites. (ix) Power struggle developed among the leaders. Cuffy faced a challenge for the leadership of the rebels from Atta, an extremist, and one of his deputies. This diverted Cuffy's attention from the struggle. (x) Cuffy was also troubled by other serious divisions within his own ranks, between the Congolese and Akan slaves, as well as between

Reasons Cu lost the lea ship of the revolt

Reasons C was regar as leader major sla revolt in Berbice

African-born slaves and Creoles. (xi) In May, Cuffy killed his close followers and then committed suicide. This was a severe setback for the rebel slaves. (xii) Atta replaced Cuffy as the leader of the rebels, and he kept up the resistance movement, but he was later ambushed and captured by Akara. (xiii) In the end, the Europeans and their Amerindian allies proved to be too much for the slaves. In December 1763, a large force that arrived by ship travelling up the Berbice River, and a force from Upper Demerara attacked the slaves simultaneously. Most of the slaves ran away into the forests, and the others were hunted down and killed.

Reasons Cuffy lost the leadership of the revolt

Cuffy lost the leadership of the revolt because of the following reasons: (i) He was too accommodating. He was willing to facilitate Governor Van Hoogenheim who asked him to wait two months for a reply from Holland, to a letter he had written. He did not realize that the governor was merely delaying him in order to get reinforcements. (ii) Cuffy's procrastination and his failure to capitalize on the military advantage which he had at the start of the revolt. (iii) Divisions among the slaves robbed him of the support of everyone. (iv) There was the challenge to his leadership by younger militants like Atta.

Reasons Cuffy was regarded as leader of major slave revolt in Berbice

Cuffy was regarded as the leader of the major slave revolt in Berbice because of the following reasons: (i) He seemed to have been the one who led the other slaves to seize plantations along the Canje River in February 1763. (ii) Cuffy called himself governor of the slaves and the other slaves seemed to have acknowledged his leadership. (iii) He was the one who announced his intention to rule Berbice after the revolt that he hoped would have succeeded. (iv) He took the leadership role in writing to the governor suggesting that they should divide the colony, with the whites taking the coast and the blacks taking the interior. (v) After Governor Van Gravesande had started to get reinforcements, and had begun to advance against the slaves, Cuffy was the one who tried to regain the upper hand by leading an attack on Van

Hoogenheim's headquarters at Dageraad. (vi) Cuffy sought to ensure the preservation of the plantation-based economy and plantation grounds even during the revolt, by putting groups of Africans to work in the fields. (vii) Both slaves and whites regarded Cuffy as the mastermind behind the revolt. (viii) Cuffy sent other slaves on missions to spread the revolt throughout British Guiana in 1763. (ix) No other slave was acknowledged as leader during the revolt. Other ringleaders like Akara were simply called 'deputies'. (x) It was Cuffy's leadership that was challenged by one of his 'deputies', in the end.

The Haitian Revolution, 1791 -1804

In 1695, the Treaty of Ryswick between France and Spain gave the French a legal right to the western part of Hispaniola, which was called Saint Domingue.

Economic features of Saint Domingue before 1789

In 1734, the colonists began to cultivate coffee. By 1788, there were 3,000 coffee plantations, 800 sugar plantations, nearly 800 cotton, and 2,950 indigo plantations. The colony supplied half of Europe with tropical produce. It was the world's premier sugar producer. The French, like every other government in those days, saw the colonies as existing exclusively for the profit of the metropolis (mother country). The government introduced a system called the 'Exclusive'. Under this system, whatever manufactured goods the colonists needed, they were compelled to buy from France. The goods were to be transported only in French ships. The raw sugar produced in the colonies was to be refined in France, and the French imposed heavy duties on refined sugar from the colonies.

Social features before 1789

Prior to 1789, Saint Domingue was made up of different classes. They included the following: (i) The first class included (a) the planters, (b) the top royal officials, that is, civil and military officers. These were the 'grand blancs'. (ii) The next group consisted of the merchants and profession-

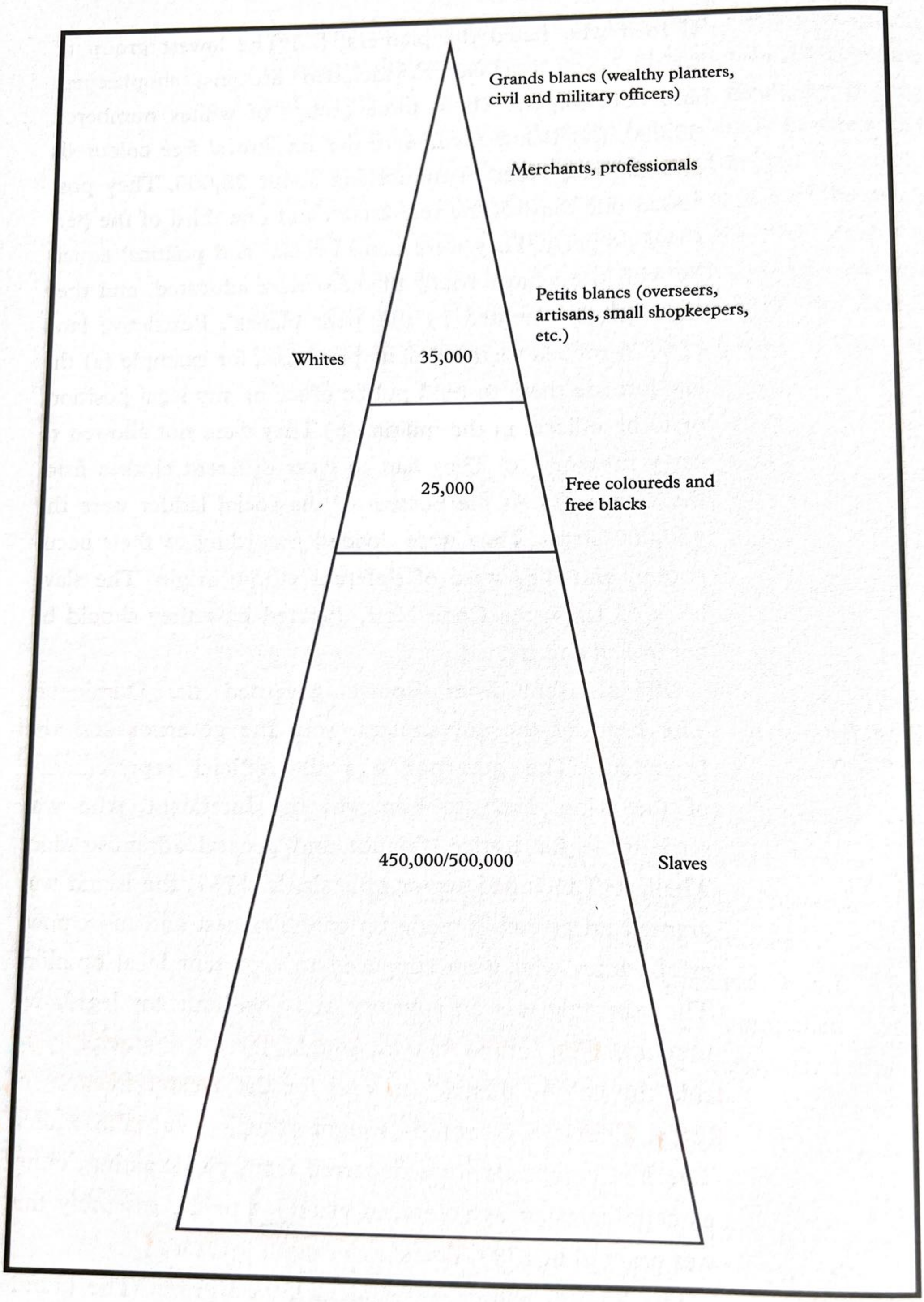
al men who hated the planters. (iii) The lowest group of whites, the *'petit blanes'*, included artisans, shopkeepers and bookkeepers. These three groups of whites numbered 35,000. (iv) Below them were tire mulattoes/ free coloureds and the free Negroes numbering about 28,000. They possessed one third of the real estate, and one third of the personal property. They were denied social and political equality with tire whites. Many of them were educated, and they were greatly resented by the 'petit blancs'. Restrictive laws of 1776 robbed them of many privileges, for example (a) the law forbade them to hold public office or any legal position, or to be officers in the militia. (b) They were not allowed to carry firearms. (c) They had to wear different clothes from the whites. (v) At the bottom of the social ladder were the 450,000 slaves. They were divided according to their occupation, and they were of different ethnic origin. The slave law's of 1685, the Code Noir, dictated how they should be controlled and treated.

Political features before 1789

Officials sent from France governed St. Domingue. The head of the government were the governor and the Intendant. The governor was the official representative of the King. Next to him was the Intendant, who was responsible for justice, finance and general administration. Their staff included senior officials. In 1787, the island was granted an assembly made up of the richest and most powerful whites who were supposed to represent local opinion. The assembly was an advisory body, without any legislative function. The 'grand blancs' sought for the opportunity to rule the colony themselves, and for the greater freedom of trade. The free coloureds sought equality with the whites. The free coloureds were debarred from participating, either as candidates or as voters, in elections to the assembly that was granted in 1787. The slaves sought freedom.

Divisions within the social groups (1) Whites

The 35,000 whites were not a united group. The grands blancs and the petits blancs were divided by the fact that the grands blancs had property and education and controlled



Social groups in St. Domingue in 1789

the colonial assembly, while the petits blancs were poorer, had very little education and no political power.

(2) Blacks

The free blacks and the slaves were of the same colour but the former had freedom and sometimes owned property. The slaves were robbed of their freedom and they owned no property.

(3) Coloureds

The free coloureds/ mulattoes were of mixed blood and, frequently, the more fortunate ones were wealthy and had a good education. However, there were some mulattoes/ coloureds who were enslaved. These were the ones wrho were not fortunate enough to have their freedom purchased for them.

Nature of the discontent in St. Domingue before 1789

St. Domingue was characterized by discontent among the main social groups. Among the whites, those who were born in the colony (the Creoles) resented those from the 'Mother Country', who occupied all the important offices of government. The grands blancs wanted a greater measure of autonomy (self government). They were dissatisfied with the high taxation and the denial of equal political rights, and they wanted greater freedom of trade than that which was granted to them in the revised 'exclusive' of 1784. The petits blancs resented the greater wealth of the planters. Both groups of whites disliked and were suspicious of the free coloureds.

When those free coloureds/mulattoes who were educated in Paris during the Seven Years War (1756-1763) returned home, their education and accomplishments filled the whites with hatred, envy and fear. They felt that the coloured minority might one day join with the black majority, perhaps even lead a slave uprising against the whites. These negative feelings towards them were expressed in fierce legislation designed to preserve social differences between whites and free coloureds/mulattoes and to keep the coloureds disarmed and without political power. The free coloureds/ mulattoes resented the discrimination against them and the denial of equality with the whites.

The condition and treatment of slaves in St, Domingue was worse than in any other West Indian island. Slaves were worked excessively hard and were poorly fed. Consequently, they harboured a deep hatred for their masters.

Causes of the conflict among Whites

The whites were of the same colour, and were at the top of the social ladder, but there was conflict among them because of the following reasons: (i) The Creoles hated the French government officials and, in turn, were despised by them. They hated the officials' absolute power (e.g. they could arrest without warrant, they could force the members of the local advisory councils to resign, and they could increase taxes.) The Creoles thought the government officials were wasteful and extravagant, and they treated the local whites with a great deal of arrogance. (ii) Socially, the grands blancs were above the others. They did not mix with the groups below them because they considered them to be inferior. (iii) The petits blancs, at the bottom of the white society, (particularly the labourers and vagabonds who, sometimes mixed with the slaves and mulattoes) were despised by the other whites. Sometimes petits blancs married mulattoes. The grands blancs saw the petits blancs as rabbles who filled no important function in the economy of the colony. They felt that the petits blancs had no real meaningful role in the society' and they could not live as whites should. The petits blancs, on the other hand, envied and hated the grands blancs for the privileges which they enjoyed.

Reasons for conflict between Whites and Mulattoes

The mulattoes (free coloureds) were numerous; totalling about twenty-five thousand. There were increasing conflicts between themselves and the whites because of the following reasons: (i) The whites resented their wealth; the poorer and less important whites in particular, were jealous of the coloureds. (ii) The whites were fearful of the challenge that the coloureds/mulattoes posed to their dominance. (iii) The whites in the colonial legislature had passed laws to limit the opportunities and the influence of the coloureds/mulattoes.

They restricted and harassed them with malicious legislation, and they threw as much as possible of the burdens of the country upon them. (iv) The coloureds/mulattoes were barred from participating in the political life of the colony. (v) Even after the French Revolution broke out in France, the whites in St. Domingue refused to lift the restrictions placed on the free coloured/mulattoes. (vi) After the revolution began, the National Assembly in France declared in May 1791, that free coloureds should be given the right to vote, but the colonial assembly, composed of whites, refused to grant this right, and so fighting began between the free coloureds and the whites.

Discriminatory laws against the Mulattoes

(i) The free coloureds /mulattoes were not allowed to (a) join the colonial militia (b) wear European dress (c) play European games (d) meet together for feasts or wedding celebrations (e) use the title of Monsieur and Madame (f) sit in certain seats in church (g) marry whites (h) reside in France or assume the name of their white fathers. (ii) They were compelled to join a police organization for (a) arresting fugitive Negroes (b) protecting travellers on the high road (c) capturing dangerous Negroes (d) fighting against the Maroons; all the difficult and dangerous tasks that the local whites might assign. (iii) They had to join the local militia, provide their own arms and ammunition and, without pay or allowance of any kind, serve at the discretion of the white commanding officer. (iv) They were responsible for the forced upkeep of the roads. (The corvée, a French law, required that mulattoes provide free labour for a number of days each year for the upkeep of roads.)

Reasons for discrimination against free Coloureds /Mulattoes

Free, coloureds/Mulattoes were discriminated against because of the following reasons: (i) They were not white. Racial prejudice was very strong and so they were discriminated against because of the colour of their skin. (ii) Many of them began to amass wealth as master artisans and then proprietors. Many of them were also educated. As they began to establish themselves, the jealousy and envy of the

white colonists were transformed into ferocious envy and fear. (iii) They lived on the local vegetables; they drank no wine, confining themselves to the local liquors brewed from the sugar cane, thus their personal consumption contributed nothing to the important trade with France. They were envied and discriminated against for their sober ways of living, and their small expenditure which enabled them to put away most of their income, thus accumulating immense capital. (iv) They bid for all properties on sale in the various districts, and raised prices to such fantastic heights that the whites who were not wealthy could not buy without ruining themselves by attempting to keep pace with the free coloureds / mulattoes. (v) They were trying to get high command in the militia, and in the judiciary, and they wanted to share in the local government.

The French Revolution and its Impact on the Haition Revolution

Reasons people of France revolted

The people of France, in 1789, were divided into three 'Estates'/classes. The clergy and the nobility made up the First and Second 'Estates', and all others, from lawyers down to peasants, formed the Third Estate. A revolution broke out in the country in 1789 because of the following reasons: (i) The people wanted liberty and freedom of expression. The educated section of the Third Estate, especially the lawyers and the doctors, resented their inability to offer open criticism of the system of government of the day. They resented the lack of religious freedom; if a protestant service was discovered, the pastor might be hanged and the congregation sent to the galleys. (ii) They wanted equality before the law' and they also wanted security' of property. They resented the wealth and privileges of the nobles and the clergy, and the extraordinary burden borne by tire peasants. The nobles and the clergy were exempted from nearly

all taxation while the peasants were taxed more and more heavily as the expenses of the French government mounted in the 18th century. They resented the liability of tire Third Estate to suffer torture, breaking on the wheel and forms of mutilation that were spared nobles and clergy. (iii) There was no trace of popular or middle class influence in the government. The people felt that they were unfairly excluded from all share in government, as all power was concentrated in the hands of the king and his personal advisors, so they wanted some power. (iv) The people fought for fraternity, the right to come together to look after their own chosen interests. (v) The people wanted it to be generally accepted that there were certain rights that they had which should not be infringed, that is, liberty, equality and fraternity.

Improvements in condition which white plantocracy in Haiti wanted in 1789

The white plantocracy in 1789, believed that they could capitalize on upheavals in France to press for independence, or at least a large measure of autonomy. They wanted the following: (i) They wanted the assemblies that were set up in 1787 to be granted the power to make laws like those in the British Islands. (ii) They wanted equality with the French whites. (iii) They wanted an end to the trading restrictions imposed from Paris. (iv) They wanted to rid themselves of the royalist bureaucracy.

improvements wanted by free Coloureds and slaves

The free coloureds saw in the French Revolution the principles which justified their claims for redress of grievances and for civil rights. (i) They wanted equality with the whites politically and socially. (ii) They wanted the discrimination against them to be removed. (iii) The slaves wanted personal freedom.

Attempts by free Coloureds to improve their position up to 1790

The Code Noir sought to prevent concubinage between white men and slave women but this failed, and so mulatto children multiplied in St. Domingue. By 1755, they began to fill the colony. Since the amount of property they could hold was not restricted, by dint of hard work, and by administering their enterprises themselves, (i) many were able to acquire wealth as proprietors. As their wealth increased, their resentment against their humiliation sharpened. (ii)

Some of them sent their children to France to be educated. (iii) In January 1790, following the outbreak of the French Revolution in France, the free coloureds, sponsored by the Friends of the Negroes (the Amis des Noirs), petitioned the National Assembly for political rights for the mulattoes. Vincent Ogé, a young coloured living in Paris, petitioned members of the National Assembly, (the new governing body in France following the overthrow of the French government) asking them to grant free coloureds the right to be represented in the colonial assembly.

Free Coloureds encouraged by the National Assembly

Encouraged by the Amis des Noirs, in March 1790, the National Assembly sent a decree to St. Domingue (i) giving the vote to all free persons over twenty-five years old who possessed certain income qualifications. This appealed to the free coloureds, many of whom were qualified. (ii) Full citizenship should also be granted to children born of free parents. The whites objected to these concessions. Humiliated, the free coloureds organized a revolt. If not at the instigation of the Amis des Noirs, Friends of the Negroes, at least with their consent, Vincent Ogé left Paris to lead the insurrection in St. Domingue. Ogé went secretly to London where he was met by Thomas Clarkson, the abolitionist. There he got money and letters of credit to purchase arms and ammunition in the United States. He landed in St. Domingue on October 21, 1790 and, accompanied by his brother and Marc Chavannes, a mulatto friend, he started the revolt.

Reasons revolt led by Ogé failed

Ogé was defeated because of the following reasons: (i) Only a few of the free coloureds were prepared to fight for their rights. (ii) The whites were better trained and armed, and they were better organized than the free coloureds. (iii) The free coloureds had no external support, for example, from the neighbouring Santo Domingo, and so when Ogé and a few of his companions fled across the border into Spanish territory, they were captured and returned, and brutally executed.

News of the execution of Ogé and his friends diminished support for the planters in France. In May 1791, the National Assembly agreed to a law allowing persons of colour, born of free parents, to have the right to vote for members of the colonial assembly. The planter-controlled assemblies refused to put the law into effect. In response, coloureds and planters began to form their own militias and arm their own slaves. They soon began to fight.

How conflict between Whites and Coloureds provided slaves with opportunity to fight for freedom

The ensuing conflict gave the slaves a great opportunity to fight for their freedom because of the following reasons: (i) The whites and the coloureds were so engrossed in their struggle that they neglected the slaves, and so the supervision of the slaves broke down. When the powers of control broke down, the slaves were left fairly free to plan their revolt. This gave them a good chance of revolting successfully. (ii) The conflict was so intense that there was no immediate possibility of uniting to fight against the slaves. Formerly, this unity had led to the defeat of slave uprisings. (iii) They left their properties unprotected and vulnerable to attacks by the slaves. (iv) This confrontation between the whites and the coloureds provided an excellent timing for the start of the slave revolt. (v) The planters' refusal to accommodate the coloureds robbed them of the support of the revolutionary leaders in France and helped to create the right climate for the slaves to make a bid for their freedom.

The dispute over the May, 1791 decree had absorbed the attention of both whites and coloureds so completely that they were taken by surprise when, in August 1791, the slaves in the Northern plain rose in revolt. They set fire to cane fields and houses, and they murdered the white inhabitants.

Reasons slaves in Saint Domingue revolted in 1791

They revolted at this time because of the following reasons: (i) The tension and civil strife among the free groups in Haiti, that is between the grands blancs and the petits blancs, and between the free coloureds and the whites had diverted attention from the slaves, and so the whites had relaxed their vigilance. This lack of vigilance gave the slaves

a great opportunity to plan their revolt. (ii) The turmoil in France had also distracted the attention of the whites, resulting in fragmented control of the slaves. (iii) Both slaves and mulattoes embraced the slogan of the revolution in France, that is, liberty, equality and fraternity. The slaves wanted these rights for themselves, but more immediately, they wanted to be free. (iv) They wanted to be able to practise their culture unimpeded. (v) They did not wish to continue to endure the harsh conditions to which they had been subjected: the rape of the women, the hunger, beatings and splitting up of families. (vi) They resented the fact that they were being robbed of their dignity. (vii) They were still angry about the treatment meted out to rebels like Francois Mackandal who, in 1757, had devised a plan to destroy the whites by poisoning their water supply. The human torch made of him when he was chained and burnt alive in response to the premature betrayal of his plans made the slaves hungry for revenge. (viii) The slaves had vastly outnumbered the whites, and so they were more confident of success than they had been previously. (ix) Since no other form of resistance that had been used had won for them their freedom, the slaves felt that they could take the whites by surprise and, thereby, free themselves.

Reasons slaves rebelled against free Coloureds and Whites

The slaves rebelled against the whites as well as against the free coloureds because of the following reasons: (i) Many free coloureds, like the whites, owned slaves whose greatest desire was to be free. They were prepared to rebel against all those who robbed them of their freedom. (ii) The free coloureds had slave mothers, and they had other relatives who were slaves, yet because the advantages of being white were so obvious, they were prejudiced against the slaves and refused to identify with them. They treated the slaves with disdain and so the slaves retaliated by rebelling against them when the opportunity arose. (iii) The free coloureds had to join the local militia where they could be called upon to put down slave rebellion, or to capture run-

away slaves. They were identified with the white property owners who abused the slaves, who hated them in return.

Boukman

The revolt started under the leadership of Boukman, a Papaloi or high priest of the Voodoo cult, and headman of one of the plantations. The plan was to exterminate the whites and take the colony for themselves. The night on which the revolt started, 22nd August 1791, a tropical storm raged with lightning and gusts of wind, and heavy showers of rain. Slaves on the Gallifet plantation led the way. Each slave gang murdered its masters and burnt the plantation to the ground. Within a few days, half of the Northern plain had been destroyed.

Toussaint L'Ouverture

A month after the revolt had started, Toussaint Breda, a 45-year-old slave, joined it. His name was later changed to L'Ouverture because he opened (ouvert) the door of victory for the slaves. At the start of the revolt, his master, Bayou de Libertas, left his wife in Toussaint's care while he, with a camp of planters, stood guard against the rebel slaves. As the insurrection grew, Toussaint became worn out by the strain of defending his master, his master's property and his mistress, and learning that his life was in danger, he packed his mistress and some valuables in a carriage and sent her to Le Cap. He sent his own wife and family to a safe place in Spanish Santo Domingo, and then made his way to the camp of the revolting slaves where he was appointed Physician to the Armies of the King because of his knowledge of herbs. Subsequently, he dropped this post and started to train an army.

Toussaint L'Ouverture

In 1792, France declared war on Spain and Toussaint joined the Spanish forces as a mercenary to help to drive out the French Republicans. He trained and led a force of some four thousand irregular but very effective Negro troops. The National Assembly in France had passed another law in April 1792, giving the vote to free blacks and free coloureds.

Sonthonax sent to St. Domingue

In September, an army of six thousand under the leadership of Leger Felicite Sonthonax was sent to St. Domingue to make sure that the law was enforced. In August 1793, Sonthonax granted emancipation to the slaves. This was made legal by the French government in 1794. Sonthonax's action united the whites and the coloureds against him. The royalist planters (supporters of the King, Louis xvi, who was executed) invited Britain to take St. Domingue. Consequently, British troops were landed in 1794. Toussaint, alarmed by the progress of the British troops and the restoration of slavery which a British victory might entail, deserted with his troops from the Spanish army, murdered the Spanish officers who opposed his defection and offered his services to Sonthonax's forces. Toussaint soon became the real leader of the French forces.

Toussaint's support of Sonthonax

Meanwhile, the Spanish and the French governments in Europe made peace in the Treaty of Basle in 1795. Toussaint therefore directed his energies against the English invaders and their allies, the French planters in St. Domingue. He waged a long war against the British force led by General Thomas Maitland, and he ordered Sonthonax and his soldiers, in 1797, to leave St. Domingue when he began to suspect that the French government was weakening in its support for the cause of freeing the slaves. By 1798, his guerilla tactics had so worn down the English invaders that General Maitland was glad to withdraw his depleted forcesravaged by epidemics, in return for a promise from Toussaint to (a) protect the French inhabitants (b) refrain from attacking British trade and (c) refrain from trying to spread revolution to Jamaica.

Massacre of Coloureds

After the English were expelled, Toussaint turned against the coloureds who were threatening to take control of the south and west of the colony. There followed a systematic round up, mutilation, and murder of about ten thousand coloureds: men, women and children. The coloured commanders Andre Rigaud and Alexandre Petion, fled to

France. After 1800, Toussaint put a stop to the indiscriminate slaughters and ordered his mobs of ex-slaves back to work. He also induced some of the whites who had fled from the colony to return to their estates. In 1799, the Directorate (the government in France) had formally appointed Toussaint as governor-general. Subsequently, he invaded and conquered the once Spanish Santo Domingo which had been ceded to France in an agreement of 1795 but which the French had failed to occupy. In 1801, he drew up a constitution that was submitted to the French government for confirmation. In it Toussaint proclaimed that his own tenure of office was to be for life.

Plans to restore slavery in St. Domingue

Napoleon Bonaparte, the ruler of France, was unwilling to accept the constitution and so he sent his brother-in-law, Victor Le Clerc, to remove Toussaint who had made it clear to the government in France in 1799, that he would resist slavery to the last drop of his blood. Slavery would never be re-introduced. Napoleon's plans however, had included a re-introduction of slavery; therefore Toussaint would have to be removed for his plans to be implemented.

How Toussaint succeeded in liberating the slaves

(i) During the early months of 1792, Toussaint began to organize out of tire thousands of ignorant and untrained blacks, an army capable of fighting against European troops. He began with a few hundred picked men whom he trained in the art of warfare and who worked with him from the beginning as they fought side by side against the French troops and the colonists.(ii) Toussaint and his men developed a method of attack based on their overwhelming numerical superiority and the use of guerilla tactics. He joined the Spanish forces in Santo Domingo to help to drive out the French troops when France declared war on Spain in 1792, because he thought that the French would preserve slavery. (iii) He switched sides in 1794, after the French Government confirmed the emancipation of the slaves. He also joined the French forces when he learnt of a British and Spanish plan to invade St. Domingue and bring back

slavery. His passion was for freedom for everyone and so he was prepared to fight all those who stood in the path of freedom. (iv) He was able to defeat the British, with the assistance of yellow fever and able generals like Henri Christophe and Jean Jacques Dessalines. He forced them to withdraw in 1798. (v) He defeated the free coloureds/mulattoes under Rigaud who fled to France, but who returned with Le Clerc's army to overthrow Toussaint in 1801. (vi) The slaves' hunger for freedom gave them the zeal to fight and to support Toussaint, thus they were able to deliver crushing defeats on all those with whom they fought.

(vii) France, the Mother Country, had been going through a period of political upheavals and changes since 1789. These included: (a) a civil war in which King Louis XVI and his wife, Marie Antoinette, were executed, and (b) the emergence of a republic. The government's capacity to restore 'order' in the colony was therefore weakened, which was to the advantage of Toussaint and his rebel band.

Measures taken to suppress the revolt and take away slaves' liberty

The newly-won liberty of the slaves evoked a feeling of hostility in the minds of some people who wanted to see an end to the revolt and who wanted to rob the slaves of their freedom. For these purposes various measures were employed, for example: (i) Sonthonax arrived in St. Domingue in 1793 intending initially, to bring to an end the quarrel between the slave owners and to suppress the slave revolt. (ii) When Spain and Britain became involved in a war with France in 1793, both governments sent expeditions to rescue the white colonists and suppress the revolt. (iii) After Toussaint sent a copy of the new constitution to Napoleon, Napoleon sent Victor Le Clerc to St. Domingue to remove Toussaint and re-introduce slavery. (iv) Toussaint was tricked and taken away to France where he died. Le Clerc died shortly afterwards, a victim of yellow fever. General Rochambeau who had similar orders to restore slavery replaced him. A determined black army fought to prevent these orders from being carried out.

How Le Clerc got rid of Toussaint

General Le Clerc came with a plan to: (i) exploit the rivalries among the leaders and the tensions between blacks and mulattoes, (ii) disarm and deport Toussaint and the black leaders. He was able to win over several generals including Henri Christophe and Jean Jacques Dessalines whom Toussaint eventually persuaded to submit. (It is unlikely that Dessalines would have submitted if Christophe and Toussaint had not persuaded him to do so.) These black leaders came over into French service with their band of followers. Toussaint and several others were suspicious of Le Clerc's intentions so they offered resistance and fought a guerilla campaign against him, but as successive leaders surrendered to the French, the struggle became hopeless. In May 1802, Toussaint sent to Le Clerc three of his aides-de-camp and his secretary, and after a conference lasting several hours, his submission to the orders of the French government was arranged on three conditions. These were: (i) indisputable liberty for all in St. Domingue, (ii) Maintenance in their grades and functions of all the native officers and (iii) Toussaint to keep his staff and retire where he wished in the territory of the colony. Toussaint gave up the fight and retired to his estate.

Dessalines who had formerly worshipped Toussaint, was now determined to get him out of the way for his pro-French leanings. He pretended to be absolutely devoted to Le Clerc and suggested to him that the colony would never be at peace unless Toussaint was sent out of it. Christophe told Le Clerc the same thing. They were sincere. However, the peace that Dessalines planned was the destruction of Le Clerc and the expulsion of everything French from the colony. He knew Toussaint well enough to doubt his capacity to take these steps. The following month Le Clerc invited Toussaint to a meeting in Cap Français. Although warned by friends that Le Clerc intended to arrest him, Toussaint chose to attend the meeting, confident that it was unlikely that Le Clerc would arrest him while Dessalines and the oth-

ers still had command of their troops. He was wrong. After he arrived for the meeting, Toussaint conversed with one of his generals who, subsequently begged to be excused for a moment. As soon as the general had left, some grenadiers with fixed bayonets entered the house, bound Toussaint like a common criminal and put him aboard a warship. He was taken to France where he died in prison on April 27, 1803.

Le Clerc prevented from restoring slavery by Blacks

In July 1802, news reached St. Domingue that Napoleon's general, Richepanse, had restored slavery in Guadeloupe. Thousands of excited, resentful Negroes took up arms once more, believing that it was only a matter of time before slavery would be re-introduced in St. Domingue. Dessalines and Christophe's troops were irresistible. Yellow fever rose to their defence. Included among the victims of yellow fever was General Le Clerc. His successor, General Rochambeau, never got the reinforcements he had been promised. War between Britain and France resumed in 1803 and Napoleon abandoned the St. Domingue affair. At the end of the year, with the fever-stricken remnant of his army, Rochambeau surrendered to the British in Jamaica.

On January 1, 1804, Dessalines declared the colony independent of France, took its Taino (Indian) name of Haiti and struck out from its flag the white of the French tricolour, symbolically purging Haiti of its white oppressors.

Reasons Toussaint was regarded as leader of the major slave revolt in St. Domingue

Although Toussaint was not involved in the slave revolt until one month after its outbreak, he has been regarded as the leader because of a number of reasons including the following: (i) His name has been the one most associated with the revolution. (ii) It was he who impressed the slaves with his military ability to command the rebel troops. He drilled and trained them assiduously and whenever a supreme effort was required, he charged at the head of his men. (iii) He was the one who trained the slaves in guerilla warfare and organized guerilla bands. (iv) He ensured that his army was well supplied with arms. He purchased 30,000 guns from the United States. At his reviews he would snatch a

Reasons Toussaint was regarded as leader of the major slave revolt in St. Domingue (cont'd)

gun, wave it, and shout, "Here is your liberty!" He hid stocks of ammunition and supplies in secret places in the interior. He called up the able-bodied for military training and drilled the regular army. (v) From about 1793, he successfully appointed assistants. Other important names associated with the revolution included Christophe and Dessalines who bore the title of General. He delegated duties to these and other men. (vi) Toussaint was a skillful tactician who made and broke alliances with Europeans in the interest of the rebels. He was not afraid to take his troops and switch his allegiance from the Spanish forces in 1794 when he thought that an alliance with Sonthonax could help to repel the British who, if allowed to take charge of the colony, would restore slavery. (vii) France's involvement in the revolutionary wars prevented supplies of goods from being sent to the colony. Toussaint arranged a secret convention with General Maitland by which goods should go to certain selected ports in British and American ships, to be paid for by St. Domingue produce. He had also made trading arrangements with the United States of America, and a United States trade representative to St. Domingue had been appointed by tire American government. (viii) He was very instrumental in tire defeat of the foreign troops in St. Domingue. He was the one who, using his guerilla bands, drove the British troops from the right bank of the Artibonite River, and threatened their stronghold of St. Marc to the south. Ultimately, his attacks against them helped to force them to come to terms with him. He was the one with whom General Maitland made an armistice. He was also responsible for expelling Sonthonax whom he claimed had advocated the massacre of all the colony's whites and declaring independence. (ix) Toussaint was the one who declared himself general-in-chief of the armies of St. Domingue by 1795. (x) He was the one whom the government in France, in 1799, appointed a governor-general of the colony. (xi) The Spaniards in Santo Domingo, the

Spanish section of the island, were said to be stealing Negroes from the French part of the island and selling them as slaves. Toussaint expanded the revolt to that part of the island by marching on Santo Domingo. The Spanish troops were routed, and on January 21, 1800, the Spanish governor formally handed over the colony. Toussaint was then complete master of the whole island. (xii) After many victories, in 1801 he decided to regularize his own position and put an end to internal troubles for the future by giving St. Domingue a constitution. (xiii) He was the one who led the slaves of Haiti to freedom and into the immediate postemancipation period. He recognized that the "ultimate guarantee of freedom was the prosperity of agriculture", and so he battled with the colossal task of transforming a slave population into a community of free labourers. He confined the blacks to the plantations under rigid penalties, and he saw to it that they were paid a quarter of the produce. The result was that in a year and a half, he had restored cultivation to two-thirds of what it had been in the most flourishing days of the old regime. (xiv) He was the one who re-organized the administration of St. Domingue with boldness and skill, dividing the island into departments, establishing courts of law, giving the gourde, the local unit of money, a uniform value for the whole island. He invited the whites to return, since their knowledge and expertise would be useful in helping to rebuild the agricultural sector, and in government. He appointed whites to government posts and his personal advisors were all white men.

Henri Christophe

He was born a slave in St. Kitts, but he saved enough money to buy his freedom. He grew up as a free black, and he worked as a waiter in a public hotel at Cap Français. He could neither read nor write, but he learned to speak French with remarkable fluency. He gained military experience when he went to help the American colonists in the American Revolution from 1776 to 1783.

Henri Christophe

After the outbreak of the slave revolt, Christophe left the hotel to seek Toussaint's band in the mountains. (i) He fought in the campaigns against the coloureds, the Spanish, British, and French. (ii) He was promoted to the position of Brigadier General and governor of the northern region in 1801. Victor Le Clerc arrived in St. Domingue with instructions from Napoleon to restore slavery and bring the island back under French rule. He landed at Cap Français in the north of St. Domingue. When he demanded the surrender of Cap Français, (iii) Christophe, the governor, called on the inhabitants to evacuate the town, then his scouts set fire to it rather than submit to slavery. He and his soldiers, guarding the population, retired to the mountains. (iv) After Toussaint was captured, Christophe joined with Dessalines with whom he worked as his deputy, and fought to expel the French.

Jean Jacques Dessalines

Jean Jacques Dessalines was an African-born slave. At the outbreak of the revolt, he was a slave on the plantation of a free Negro. As soon as the rebellion gave him the opportunity in 1791, he murdered his master, seized his property, assumed his name, and joined the revolt. At that time, he was about forty years old and unable to read or write.

He played a significant role in the slave revolt up to 1804, for example: (i) He became one of Toussaint's fearless lieutenants who fought against the French army in 1793, and later on in the campaign against the Spanish in Santo Domingo from 1794 to 1795. (ii) He was appointed general in 1796, and he became the most famous of the black generals. (iii) He fought in the campaign against the British from 1795 to 1798 when they finally evacuated the island. (iv) After the British withdrawal, Toussaint turned his attention to the

Jean Jacques Dessalines

His role 1791-1804

coloureds who wanted to set up their own republic in the south. Dessalines and Christophe were sent to crush this move to divide St. Domingue. Dessalines' black forces mutilated and murdered over ten thousand coloureds in 1799 and 1800. (v) He held the position of military governor (1798-1802) of the area around St. Marc near Port au Prince. He governed the department with a rod of iron. (vi) He emerged as Toussaint's successor after Toussaint was kidnapped and forcibly taken to France. He, along with Christophe and other black generals were so shocked at Toussaint's betrayal by the French that they escaped from French service and began fighting again. (vii) He fought against, and defeated, General Rochambeau who succeeded Le Clerc in late 1802. (viii) He declared the independence of St. Domingue in November 1803, and on January 1, 1804, he renounced all connection with France, and re-named St. Domingue, Haiti. (ix) He tore the white out of the Tricolour - the French flag, and replaced the letters 'R. F.' (Republique Français) with the words 'Liberty or Death', and in October 1804, he had himself crowned Emperor of Haiti.

Reason Dessalines thought Toussaint had been avenged

Dessalines believed Toussaint had been avenged because of the following reasons: (i) He had defeated the forces that had betrayed, captured and taken Toussaint to France where he died. (ii) Toussaint had fought for independence and Haiti was now independent. (iii) When Toussaint was captured he said "in overthrowing me, you have cut down in San Domingo, only the trunk of the tree of liberty. It will spring up again by the roots, for they are numerous and deep." Dessalines proved that this statement was true.

Reasons Dessalines changed the name of the country to Haiti

The name St. Domingue was changed to Haiti, the Taino (Arawak) derived name meaning 'land of high mountains', in order to (a) emphasize the break with the French and (b) mark the end of French domination and their complete expulsion.

Two of the heroes of the revolution, Dessalines and Toussaint, used different methods in their struggle for

Ways in which Dessalines' actions differed from Toussaint's during the revolution

freedom. Their actions differed in the following ways: (i) Dessalines killed his master and took his estate, while Toussaint stayed and protected his master and his master's family for a while, then he sent his mistress off to safety before joining the revolt. (ii) Dessalines declared Haiti's independence, and himself Emperor Jacques 1, while Toussaint remained within the French empire, assuming the title of governor general. (iii) Dessalines, when he was in control, was against all foreign forces. Toussaint fought initially for the Spanish, and he acted kindly towards the French. (iv) Dessalines sought to exterminate the whites. Early in 1805, many of the whites in Haiti were massacred by orders of Dessalines. On the other hand, Toussaint offered amnesty to the Haitian whites that had fled to other countries during the slave revolt, and he encouraged them to return to their estates.

Role played by free Coloureds /Mulattoes in St. Domingue Revolution, 1791-1804

(i) The free coloureds/mulattoes were the first to take up arms in St. Domingue in 1791, when the white inhabitants refused to obey the decree of May 15, 1791, granting the right to vote to those who met some specific qualifications. (ii) The free coloureds' uprising encouraged the slaves to seek their freedom, and it gave diem the opportunity to take the whites by surprise. (iii) The division between the coloureds and the whites also helped to ensure victory for the slaves. (iv) In the south, while the slaves were in revolt, free coloureds/mulattoes took up arms, and the planters armed their slaves to fight the coloured forces. There was also confrontation between the whites and the coloureds in the west. (v) In September 1791, the whites and coloureds/mulattoes united against the slaves. The whites agreed to allow free-born mulattoes into the assembly, but when the National Assembly reversed its earlier decree and disqualified the mulattoes, they considered that they had been betrayed and they joined the slaves in a war to exterminate the whites. (vi) The mulattoes provided important leaders during the revolution, for example, André Rigaud, an edu-

cated mulatto and a trained soldier who fought in the American War of Independence. He successfully led the mulattoes in the west in their fight against the whites. There was also Alexandre Pétion, another educated mulatto. He allied himself with Dessaliness in 1802, and he ruled Southern Haiti from 1807 to his death in 1818. (vii) They joined the side of Sonthonax and tire newly emancipated slaves to prevent a British take over of St. Domingue, fearing that such a victory would lead to the introduction of laws that would restrict their freedom.

What Mulattoes gained from the Revolution by 1804

By 1804, (i) all the restrictions that had been placed on the mulattoes were removed. (ii) They had the right to vote and to participate in the government of Haiti.

Extent to which the Haitian Revolution was not a part of the French Revolution

The Haitian Revolution, although it was triggered off by the actions of the free coloureds/mulattoes, was essentially the successful revolt of the slaves whose grievances and aspirations for freedom predated the French revolution, and were independent of that Revolution. In Haiti, the revolution was ignited by 'race' conflict, that is, the discrimination of the whites against the mulattoes, while the revolution in France was a response to a 'class' problem. Two classes in the French society enjoyed greater privileges than the largest section of the population, that was the third class, made up of peasants and the bourgeoisie who demanded to be treated equally with the nobles and the clergy.

Effects of the French Revolution on the course of the Haitian Revolution

The effects of the French Revolution on the Haitian Revolution were as follows: (i) The element of ideological confrontation for the Haitian Revolution as it introduced the powerful ideas of 'liberty, equality and fraternity to which all sections of St. Domingue population warmed. (ii) Three commissioners, agents of the revolutionary government in France, headed by Sonthonax, were sent to St. Domingue to ensure the observance of the laws passed by the National Assembly, granting equality to the mulattoes. When the planters in St. Domingue turned against the commissioners, Sonthonax emancipated the slaves. (iii) King Louis XVI was

executed as the French Revolution progressed. Alarmed at the execution of the King, and fearful about the spread of black freedom movement across the Caribbean, England went to war with France in February 1793. Spain also became involved in the war. Large numbers of slaves, including Toussaint L'Ouverture, joined the Spanish army, determined to exert pressure on the commissioners in order to drive them out. Hemmed in by white counter-revolutionaries and the threat of foreign invasion, Sonthonax declared the abolition of slavery in August, 1793. (iv) British forces were landed in St. Domingue in 1794. This marked the beginning of four years of wasting war characterized by loss of hundreds of thousands of British troops as the rebel slaves skillfully employed their guerilla tactics in a determined bid to remain free. (v) The entry of the British into the conflict, and the threat of re-imposed slavery if they were victorious, brought Toussaint over to the side of the Republican army against the Spanish and the British counter-revolutionaries. The confirmation by the revolutionary Convention in Paris on February 4, 1794, of Sonthonax's provisional decree of August 1793, convinced Toussaint that his future lay with the French. (vi) By 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte had emerged from France's post revolutionary struggles as the new ruler with the title of Consul. His attitude Was hostile to black self-determination, and he was intent on re-establishing the old colonial system in St. Domingue. To this end, he sent Victor Le Clerc to the colony. His treacherous treatment of Toussaint not only resulted in the rebel slaves' success in destroying slavery, but also in St. Domingue's independence.

Reasons slaves succeeded in overthrowing slavery in St. Domingue

The slave revolt which started in August, 1791, lasted for twelve years; during which time the slaves were able to defeat the local whites and the soldiers of the French monarchy, the Spanish troops, a British expedition of about sixty thousand men and a French expedition under General Victor Le Clerc. The defeat of this final expedition in 1803

resulted in the establishment of independent Haiti. The success of the slaves in overthrowing the system of slavery has to be attributed to the following: (i) The leadership and work of Toussaint L'Ouverture, a remarkable and greatly gifted Negro. (ii) The unity of the slaves under Toussaint's leadership, especially through their religion and African customs. They believed in the power of voodoo / vodun to make them invulnerable. (iii) The timing of the revolt; they revolted at a time when the mulattoes and whites were embroiled in a conflict that created a split in their military forces and the whites were distracted by events of the French revolution then taking place in France. (iv) The slaves' determination to bring an end to slavery and thereby free themselves. Therefore, they never gave up even when the repression was great. After Sonthonax issued his abolition decree in 1793, they were determined that no power was going to re-impose slavery. (v) Toussaint's expertise in training his troops and securing arms for them. (vi) The work of Toussaints' lieutenants Dessalines and Christophe, who were able to lead the slaves and continue the struggle after Toussaint was removed. After his capture, they took determined action to prevent the re-introduction of slavery. (vii) Toussaint's skill as a tactician and an opportunist who knew how to make and break alliances when he thought these were to his advantage. At different times he joined up with the Spanish in Santo Domingo and with French revolutionary leaders. (viii) The slaves' defeat of (a) the French imperial allies (b) the pro-slavery free coloureds (c) The British troops who had engaged them in battle. (ix) The slaves' superior knowledge of the territory because of their maroon experience, and their ability to use guerilla warfare successfully. (x) The destruction of the economic base of the whites by the slaves thereby undermining the power of the whites to resist them. (xi) The slaves' devastation of the land which made it difficult for the troops to survive without supplies from external sources. (xii) Diseases, particularly yellow fever, which dec-

imated the French troops. The slaves had a greater resistance to yellow fever. (xiii) The Revolution that was raging in France causing much confusion there and reducing the military capacity of the government to suppress the revolt. (xiv) Some mulattoes joining with the blacks to keep Haiti free and independent.

Positive effects of the revolt on Haiti

The twelve years of fighting by the rebel slaves affected Haiti positively and negatively. The positive effects were a cause for great rejoicing for the slaves. They included the following: (i) The slaves defeated all forces with whom they fought. (ii) The slaves won their freedom and the disabilities against the coloureds were removed. Haiti became the first free black state in the Caribbean. (iii) This victory ended centuries of white oppression of blacks, and it showed that blacks could unite for freedom. (iv) The revolt led to the emergence of leaders from among the slaves. (v) After the victory of the slaves, blacks had greater access to land.

Negative effects of the revolt on Haiti

The revolution brought death and destruction in its wake, and it was a cause of much pain in Haiti. Its negative effects on the territory were as follows: (i) There was a tremendous loss of lives as thousands of people, whites, coloureds and blacks died in the fighting, were murdered or were victims of diseases, for example yellow fever. (ii) Many people fled to other territories, so the size of the population was drastically reduced as a result of death and migration. (iii) The country was totally devastated. Plantations were destroyed, estate homes of the wealthy whites were looted and burned, and ports and towns were repeatedly sacked and razed by marauding armies. (iv) The economy was destroyed. The plantations were divided into peasant small-holdings for subsistence living. The products of smallholdings on ravaged land never equalled the pre-1791 wealth. The economy never again returned to the pre-1791 prosperity. (v) The major countries of the world, Spain, Britain, United States and France, placed an embargo on Haiti and refused to trade with her. (vi) There was much political instability after

independence. Racial animosity continued, and there was rivalry between the mulattoes and the blacks.

Effects of the revolt on other Caribbean territories

(A) Social

The violence in Haiti affected other Caribbean territories in the following ways; (i) It aroused hopes among slaves in the rest of the Caribbean that freedom was possible. (ii) It showed slaves elsewhere that the whites were not unbeatable. (iii) In territories like St. Kitts and Antigua, there was a greater fear of slave revolts that led to suspicion and fear of émigrés from St. Domingue. (iv) Several territories in the Caribbean, including Jamaica, Cuba, Trinidad, Puerto Rico and Venezuela, received an influx of refugees, mainly white, from St. Domingue. (v) Emigration led to an increased French Creole population in these territories. (vi) Émigrés contributed to the development of mixed cultures in some territories, for example, they helped to expand Roman Catholicism in Jamaica.

(B) Economic

The revolt in Haiti resulted in the following economic changes; (i) The collapse of St. Domingue's sugar industry boosted sugar production elsewhere. St. Domingue's removal from the sugar market led to an increase in the price of sugar. (ii) The price of cotton and coffee increased. Jamaica benefitted, temporarily, from all these increases; however, it was Cuba that became the successor to St. Domingue as the world's leading sugar producer. (iii) Cuba's sugar industry benefitted from the arrival of French planters and technicians who were instrumental in introducing new refining technology (iv) The planters from St. Domingue took their cash and their coffee planting to Jamaica. (v) Émigrés helped to expand the cocoa industry in territories like Trinidad. (vi) Haitian slaves took their skills in basket making and straw work to other territories.

(C) Political

The Haitian Revolution also made an impact on the politics of the region. (i) The revolution led to the spread of the eighteenth century struggle in the Caribbean between Britain and France. Britain captured Trinidad from Spain, British Guiana from Holland, Martinique, Tobago and St.

Lucia from France. (ii) British troops invaded St. Domingue in the hope of protecting the planters (of St. Domingue and the Caribbean) and of capturing the territory. (iii) Slave control was tightened in other Caribbean territories. The plantocracy became more repressive; there was firmer resistance to privileges for coloureds, or an easier life for slaves. (iv) The revolution inspired slave resistance elsewhere, for example in Martinique, Guadeloupe and Grenada. (v) It caused increased slave unrest in Jamaica and contributed to the outbreak of the Second Maroon War. (vi) Slavery was abolished in Guadeloupe by Sonthonax's proclamation, but was restored by Napoleon Bonaparte. (vii) French émigrés spread stories of the atrocities in St. Domingue. The spread of these stories strengthened the argument for abolition, and made planters more cautious and watchful.

Caribbean Response to the Haitian Revolution

Reasons for which some groups in the Caribbean welcomed the Haitian Revolution

In spite of the destruction caused by the action of the slaves, some groups found reasons for which they could be happy for the revolution. These groups included the following: (i) The slaves who were given hope and inspiration by the action of their colleagues in St. Domingue. They were happy for their success. (ii) Revolutionaries, especially in Martinique and Guadeloupe, who were happy for the success of liberty (iii) Planters, especially those in Cuba and Jamaica, who were happy because of the increase of coffee and sugar exports in the wake of the collapse of Haitian production.

Reasons Haitian Revolution caused fear in the Caribbean

Planters in the Caribbean were fearful of the impact that this first example of a successful revolt could have on their slaves. (i) They feared that this revolution could provide inspiration for their slaves who might choose to emulate the Haitian rebels. The Jamaican planters feared that the Maroons would be instigated and supported from Haiti

while (ii) in Trinidad, planters feared competition from the exiles. (iii) Planters also feared that the French free coloureds could influence the local free coloureds to demand equality with the whites. Those who were sympathetic to the plight of the slaves, and who wanted to see slavery at an end, for example the missionaries, were fearful that the Haitian Revolution would set back the abolition movement.

Measures taken by Whites in Caribbean territories other than Haiti, in response to their fears

In order to deal with their fears, planters adopted a number of measures including the following: (i) Planters sought to limit contact between local slaves and French exiles. (ii) French refugees and their slaves were deported from some territories, for example St. Kitts. (iii) In some territories, for example, Antigua, refugees were imprisoned to isolate them, and therefore, limit their contact with the slaves. (iv) In all territories, planters kept a close watch on refugees. (v) In some cases, they restricted the immigration of whites with their slaves. (vi) Everywhere, slaves were monitored more closely. (vii) Arms and ammunition were guarded more closely. (viii) In Jamaica, the size of the militia was increased. (ix) The whites became very hostile to the Maroons and, in response, the Maroons fought against them in the Second Maroon War.

Justification for planters' fear

There was some measure of justification for the fear which the planters had, for example: (i) The fear of the French free coloureds inciting the local free coloureds was somewhat justified in Jamaica because coloureds were poorly treated there; however, the Jamaican coloureds were not as many or as bold as those in Haiti. (ii) The whites' fear of the impact of the revolutionary ideas was justified especially in Martinique and Guadeloupe, colonies that shared 'Mother Country' with Haiti. The slaves could imitate the response of their French 'brothers'. (iii) Fear of competition was justified in Trinidad as exiles went there with skills and cash, and soon became involved in agriculture.

On the other hand, there was no justification for the planters' fear for the following reasons: (i) Coloured exiles

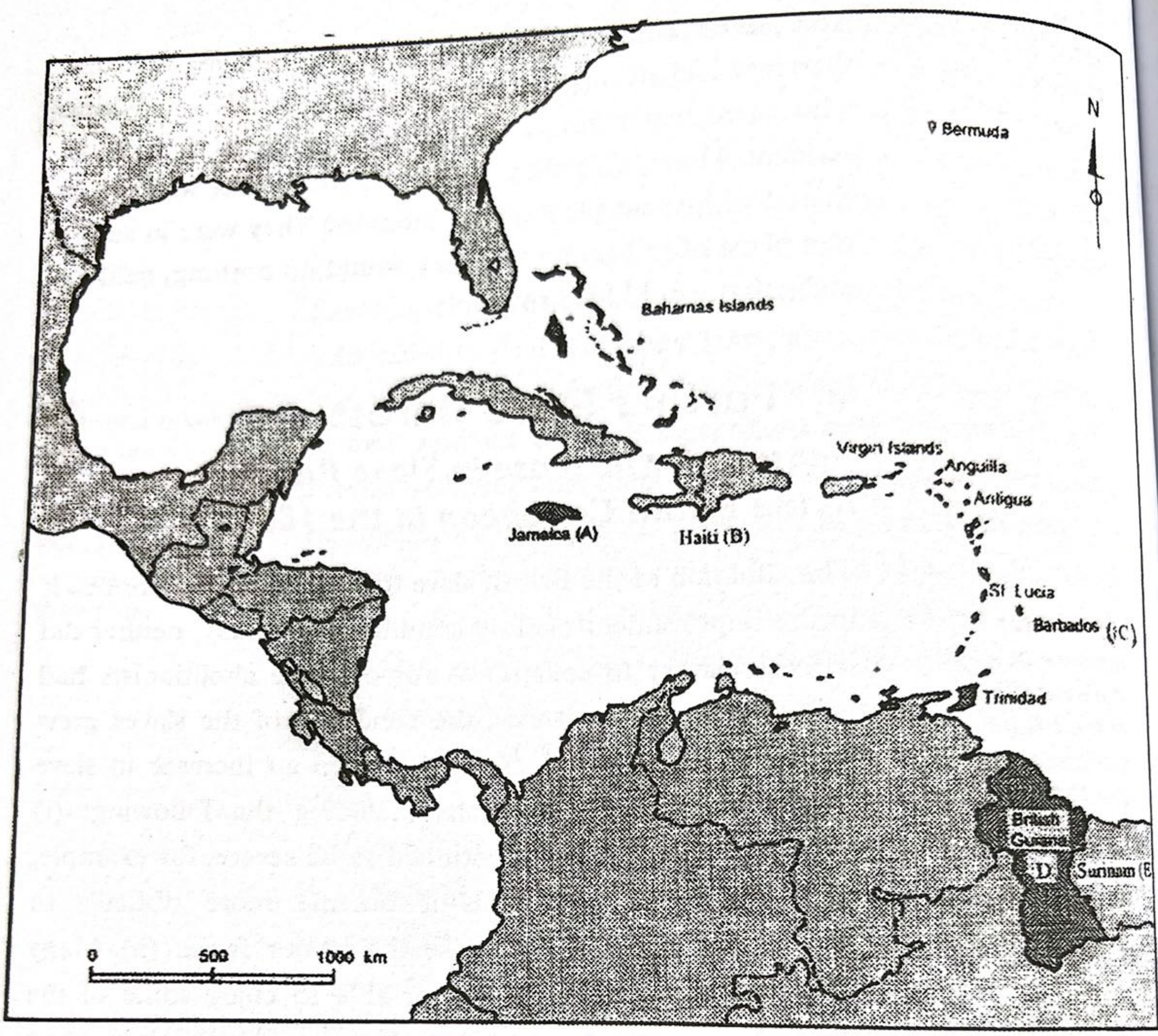
were most concerned about protecting themselves, and therefore had no intention to incite any trouble. (ii) Whites who came to territories like Jamaica collaborated with the resident whites; (iii) they brought in new skills which they shared with sugar planters in Cuba. (iv) They were in search of a place of refuge, and so they would do nothing, deliberately, that would lead to revolt.

Further Slave Unrest

Reasons for Increase in Slave Rebellions in the British Caribbean in the 1800's

Reasons for increase in slave rebellions in the British Caribbean in the 1800s

The abolition of the British slave trade in 1808 did not result in the improvement of slave conditions generally; neither did it force slavery to collapse as some of the abolitionists had hoped. In many instances, the condition of the slaves grew worse. The 1800's, therefore, witnessed an increase in slave rebellions for several reasons including the following: (i) The treatment of slaves continued to be severe, for example, slaves were overworked as it became more difficult to acquire new slaves to increase the labour force. (ii) Many privileged slaves were no longer able to enjoy some of the privileges that they enjoyed previously. (iii) Planters often punished slaves more severely to discourage acts of insubordination, and to intimidate those who might have been inspired by the actions of the rebel slaves in Haiti. (iv) News of the abolition movement in Britain contributed to slave uprisings in some territories, for example, in Barbados in 1816. Slaves misunderstood what was happening; they believed that their freedom had been granted by the British Parliament but was being withheld by the planters, and so they revolted to force the planters to give them their freedom. (v) The work of missionaries among the slaves, for example the Baptists, provided opportunities for a few slaves to become literate and to assume leadership roles in their church. These privileges helped to contribute to some



Some territories where slave revolts took place

A 1732-9 - 1st Maroon War
1795-6 - 2nd Maroon War
1831 - Christmas Rebellion

B 1791 - St. Domingue Slave Revolt

C 1816 - Barbados Revolt

D 1763 - Berbice Revolt (Coffy's Rebellion)
1823 - Demerara Revolt

E Bush Negroes of Suriman

The Dutch colonies, Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice were bought from Holland at the Treaty of Paris in 1815. They became British Guiana.

revolts. Samuel Sharpe was able to use his position of class leader to help to plan the 1831 Christmas Rebellion in Jamaica. He also had access to newspapers from which he learnt about the efforts of the abolitionists in Britain. This knowledge motivated him to take action to hasten emancipation. (vi) Non-conformist missionaries, especially the Wesleyan Methodists, the Baptists, and the London Missionary Society, preached the ideas of freedom, equality

and brotherhood, as they worked among the slaves in islands like Barbados, They had, however, always urged the slaves to refrain from violence and to wait for freedom to come from England. These ideas, it was felt, influenced some slaves, like those who were involved in the 1816 Barbados rebellion. (vii) The success of the rebel slaves in St. Domingue provided inspiration for other slaves like those who were involved in the 1816 Barbados rebellion. (viii) Planters' failure to adopt all the amelioration measures that were sent to the British colonies in 1823, facilitated the continuation of the poor treatment of some slaves, and convinced them that they needed to take action to free themselves.

Barbados Rebellion, 1816

The abolition of the slave trade did little to improve the lot of the slaves; however, it undoubtedly raised expectations that full freedom was imminent. On Easter Sunday, 1816, a slave uprising began in Barbados. This was to cost hundreds of lives and a quarter of that year's sugar crop.

Reasons for revolt

The reasons for the revolt included the following; (i) In 1815, William Wilberforce, the British abolitionist, introduced a bill in parliament requiring the names and descriptions of all slaves in the West Indies to be entered in official registers to prevent the smuggling of slaves which was being carried on extensively, as well as to keep a check on mortality among slaves. His proposal was wildly misunderstood in Barbados where free Negroes told the slaves that they were to be emancipated on January 1, 1816. When they realized that they were to be disappointed, they revolted. (ii) The planters were fiercely opposed to the bill, and they openly discussed it. This led to the belief that freedom had been granted but the planters were withholding it. (iii) Slaves wanted their freedom, (iv) Some slaves believed that Barbados belonged to them and not to the whites. (v) Some of the leaders of the rebellion had their own peculiar per-

sonal grievances against the whites, for example, Washington Franklin, a free coloured man whom it was said had read newspaper reports of the anti-slavery debates to the slaves and discussed emancipation with them. (vi) Some slaves who were literate, for example, Nanny Grigg, had access to English and local newspapers from which they learnt about what was happening in England, Haiti and elsewhere. The Haitian revolution inspired them. (vii) Slaves in Barbados enjoyed some measure of freedom of movement, for example they were allowed to have weekend gatherings. This measure of freedom helped them to organize the revolt. (viii) Slave conditions had not improved significantly in the island since the 1790's, yet the planters were overconfident; they believed that the slaves were content, loyal and well cared for, and that their regime was strong and secure. (ix) An able leader emerged from among the slaves, that is, Bussa, an African-born slave.

Plans which slaves in Barbados made to gain freedom

The slaves planned that during the Easter weekend when the governor was off the island and the planters were away from the estates, they would take over the island and declare Washington Franklin the governor. They would disrupt crop time by burning cane fields, turning the mills into the wind and leaving them to fly unattended. Plans were also made to have guerilla groups meet and harass the militia that they expected to come after them. It was expected that planters would suffer great financial losses.

The slave leaders told the slaves that the governor would return to the island with their 'free paper', and would instruct the troops not to interfere with them.

Actions of the slaves

On April 14, 1816, the revolt started in the parish of St. Philip on Bayley's plantation. (i) Slaves set trash piles and cane fields afire. (ii) Plantation buildings were destroyed. (iii) Mills were turned into the wind and left to fly unattended. (iv) Bells were rung to announce that slaves on successive plantations had joined the revolt. (v) One white person was killed.

Reasons for speedy action by commander of the garrison

The commander of the garrison, Colonel Edward Codd, acted swiftly against the rebels for the following reasons: (i) He wanted to prevent any further disorder. (ii) He feared that prolonged action by the slaves could lead to an outright revolution, and to economic ruin. (iii) The destruction caused by the Haitian revolution was still fresh in the minds of many whites who were fearful of the influence which that revolt might have had on their slaves. (iv) He wanted to teach the slaves that efforts to rebel were futile and costly in lives, with the hope that such a lesson would discourage any similar action in the future.

Reasons for initial success of the revolt

The revolt was crushed on the second day, by which time it had spread to the parishes of St. John and St. George. The slaves had succeeded in destroying sixty estate buildings and many cane fields. They were successful at the start of the revolt for the following reasons: (i) The planters were complacent and they were misguided in their belief that the slaves were content and happy. This caused them to be caught off guard. (ii) The long term planning between Christmas 1815, and April 1816, gave the slaves ample time to organize themselves well. (iii) The revolt was planned to coincide with the Easter weekend holiday when many of the whites would be away from their plantations, and the governor would be off the island. The timing was ideal as the reduced presence of the whites gave slaves the freedom to act. (iv) The leaders of the revolt were elite slave drivers and other privileged slaves from various estates, including Bussa, Nanny Grigg as well as some free coloureds such as John Richard Sergeant and Joseph Washington Franklin. They provided effective leadership for the slaves. (v) Some slaves were threatened and forced to join the rebellion. (vi) The slaves had weapons that they had captured when they seized the armoury of St. Philip. (vii) Some slaves used guerilla tactics against the troops, and although some rebels preferred non-violent strike action, most of them preferred to 'set the country alight' as the rebel slaves had done in St. Domingue

(viii) The revolt had spread to over seventy of the largest estates in the island.

Measures taken against the rebel slaves

As soon as news of the revolt reached Bridgetown on the morning of Easter Monday, the following measures were adopted: (i) Martial law was proclaimed. (ii) Troops were mobilized and they marched to the parishes and began to round up the rebels. (iii) Slaves caught off their estates were murdered on the spot. One hundred and seventy six were killed by the troops that were sent against them. (iv) Many other slaves were rounded up, put before a makeshift court of enquiry, sentenced to death and returned to their owner's plantations where the execution was carried out. (v) Two hundred and fourteen slaves were hanged and their heads were placed on poles and left at the spot of execution to serve as a warning to other slaves. (vi) Leaders of the revolt, including Washington Franklin, were executed. (vii) Several slaves were deported to British Honduras, but local officials refused to accept them, so they were sent to Sierra Leone.

Factors which accounted for the failure of the revolt

The revolt was short-lived. The slaves failed to defeat the whites and win their freedom for several reasons including the following: (i) Martial law was imposed to facilitate the suppression of the revolt. (ii) Within three days, the revolt was squashed by a joint offensive of the local militia and some British troops that were garrisoned in the island. (iii) The troops were better organized, better trained and better armed than the slaves. The whites were able to deplete the rebel forces by murdering many of them. (iv) The troops destroyed the houses of slaves in order to deprive them of their hiding places. (v) The free coloureds lent their support to the whites. (vi) The plan for an island-wide mobilization of the slaves was not realized. (vii) There was the lack of co-ordination of the military efforts of the slaves. (viii) The slaves lacked proper, effective means of communication and proper military training. (ix) The unfavourable nature of the terrain did not allow the slaves to use, effectively, their guerilla tactics which could have led to victory. (x) The

slaves had no intention of killing whites because many were not ready to use violence to gain what they believed the abolitionists might achieve peacefully. (xi) Some slaves believed that they would receive help from the British troops, and troops from Haiti. (xii) A decisive battle was fought against the slaves at Bayley's plantation where Bussa was killed. His death and the slaves' defeat contributed to the loss of morale among the slaves.

Consequences of the Barbados revolt

The consequences of the revolt included the following: (i) The whites turned against the missionaries in the island, chapels were damaged and missionaries, like the Methodist, William Shrewsbury, were threatened, A mob of poor whites pulled down Shrewsbury's chapel and forced him to leave the island and take refuge in St. Vincent. (ii) The slaves were defeated and many of them lost their lives. (iii) There was a reduction in the size of the labour force. (iv) There was widespread destruction of property including a fifth of the sugar crop. (v) The treatment of the missionaries helped to turn British public opinion against the planters and made people in Britain more favourable to emancipation. As a result, humanitarians were encouraged to increase their activity to bring down slavery in response to the planters' excesses.

Reasons Bussa was regarded as leader of the revolt

Bussa's name has surfaced in the folk culture of the rebellion, and he has been regarded as the leader of this revolt for a number of reasons including the following: (i) He had a high position (that of head ranger) on Bayley's plantation, and he commanded the respect of other slave rebels. (ii) The final showdown with the troops took place on Bayley's plantation where the rebels had assembled on the Tuesday. (iii) The confession data from the slaves and the House of Assembly report pointed to Bussa as the one who coordinated the plans to revolt. (iv) Other names have been associated with the leadership of the revolt, for example, Nanny Grigg, but historians have not been very keen to acknowledge female leadership of such a major revolt. Washington Franklin's name has also surfaced as a possible leader, but

most historians, who have attributed the leadership to Bussa have not acknowledged Franklin as the leader.

The Demerara Revolt, 1823

Reasons for the revolt

On Monday, August 18, 1823, slaves in Demerara revolted or a number of reasons including the following: (i) They wanted their freedom. (ii) A number of proposals for the amelioration of slave conditions were sent to the colony. Governor Murray was hesitant to publish the information. Rumours leaked out and the slaves, believing that the British government had freed them but the planters were withholding their freedom, revolted. (iii) The house slaves overheard their masters hotly discussing the matter in their homes. This led to the belief that freedom had been granted. (iv) It seems to have been the practice of sailors, when their ships arrived in harbour, to go ashore and mix with the slaves; it is likely that they talked to the slaves about what was being done for them in England. (v) Slaves who could read often got hold of their masters' newspapers from Britain, and a few may even have obtained the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society. Not fully understanding what was being done, they interpreted the news to mean that they had been granted their freedom and that the planters were trying to keep it from them.

Plans which slaves made to get their freedom

The plan arrived at by the slaves included the following: (i) There was to be no violence. (ii) They were to seize all the arms, confine the whites in the stocks during the night, and in the morning to send to Georgetown to fetch the 'New Law'. (iii) When the governor came to ask the reason for their behaviour, they would explain to him.

Actions of the slaves

A house slave, Joseph Packard, betrayed the plot to his master. When the governor was informed, he, with a party of soldiers, rode up to Le Rosouvenir where a large body of Africans stopped them. The governor asked what they wanted. They told him that they wanted their 'rights'. He

told them to lay down their arms and he would listen to them, but they refused. He told them that amelioration in their condition was what was intended for them. He suggested that if they went home, he would be happy to meet with them the next morning, but they rejected his suggestion and began to blow their shells. That night, many managers and overseers were confined in the stocks/locked up on their estates. There were about thirteen thousand slaves who were involved. They took what firearms they could find in the dwellings. The rebellion was confined to the East Coast. The most decisive engagement took place on August 20, at Bachelor's Adventure where troops under Colonel Leahy met about two thousand Negroes. The slaves were completely routed. Two overseers were killed.

Measures taken against the slaves

The authorities employed the following measures to quell the disturbance: (i) Martial law was proclaimed and kept in force for months and the army was called out. (ii) In a general mêlée, the slaves were fired on, and about two hundred of their number killed. (ii) The leaders, when captured, were tried by court martial, convicted and hanged. Forty-seven slaves were hanged, (iv) Some slaves received punishments of from two hundred to one thousand lashes. (v) Jack Gladstone, a young Negro on Plantation Success, and his father, Quamina, a deacon in the Reverend John Smith's chapel at Le Rosouvenir, appear to have tried to have the whole operation conducted without bloodshed. Gladstone was arrested and hanged, and some Indians shot Quamina as a runaway, in the bush behind Chateau Margot.

Factors which accounted for the failure of the revolt

The revolt was crushed quickly. The slaves failed to win their freedom because of a number of reasons including the following: (i) There was a lack of unity among them. Many of them were Christians and they did not wish to lose their religious character, so they emphasized non-violence. As a result, it was not a rebellion, but a strike that they had contemplated. (ii) Although they were armed, they were indecisive in their aims, probably because of their wish to avoid violence. (iii) They lacked proper training, and they were not

well organized. (iv) The whites acted promptly. Troops were mobilized against the insurgents. (v) The troops were better trained and armed, and they were better organized.

Consequences of the revolt

The Reverend John Smith of the London Missionary Society, working at Bethel Chapel, was accused of being privy to the rising, and of failing to advise the proper authorities about the intended rebellion, and to enlist in the militia when martial law was proclaimed. On August 21, he was arrested. He was imprisoned in the garret of Colony House, and after seven weeks of waiting, brought to trial before a court martial. After a trial lasting from October 13, to November 29, he was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, but was allowed to petition the King for clemency. When his petition was received in London, instructions were immediately sent to the governor ordering that he was to be sent to England, but the instructions did not arrive in the colony until two months later, and in the interim, Smith who had been ill, died in prison (February 6, 1824). His illness had been aggravated by the dampness of his cell.

The rebellion and Smith's death aroused humanitarian feelings in England, and encouraged the campaign for emancipation. The events were so widely publicized that they had a profound influence on public opinion. The slaves were defeated, and many lives were lost. The whites were frightened, particularly as they reflected on the story of the Berbice uprising of 1763.

The Sam Sharpe/Christmas Rebellion, 1831 – Jamaica

Immediate cause of the revolt

The spread of rumour among slaves in Jamaica led to the belief that the British government's abolition decrees were being ignored or undermined by the planters and the local government. This belief created widespread suspicion among the slaves in sections of western Jamaica, and provoked a rebellion in December 1831, led by Samuel Sharpe, a slave and Baptist class leader.

Samuel Sharpe

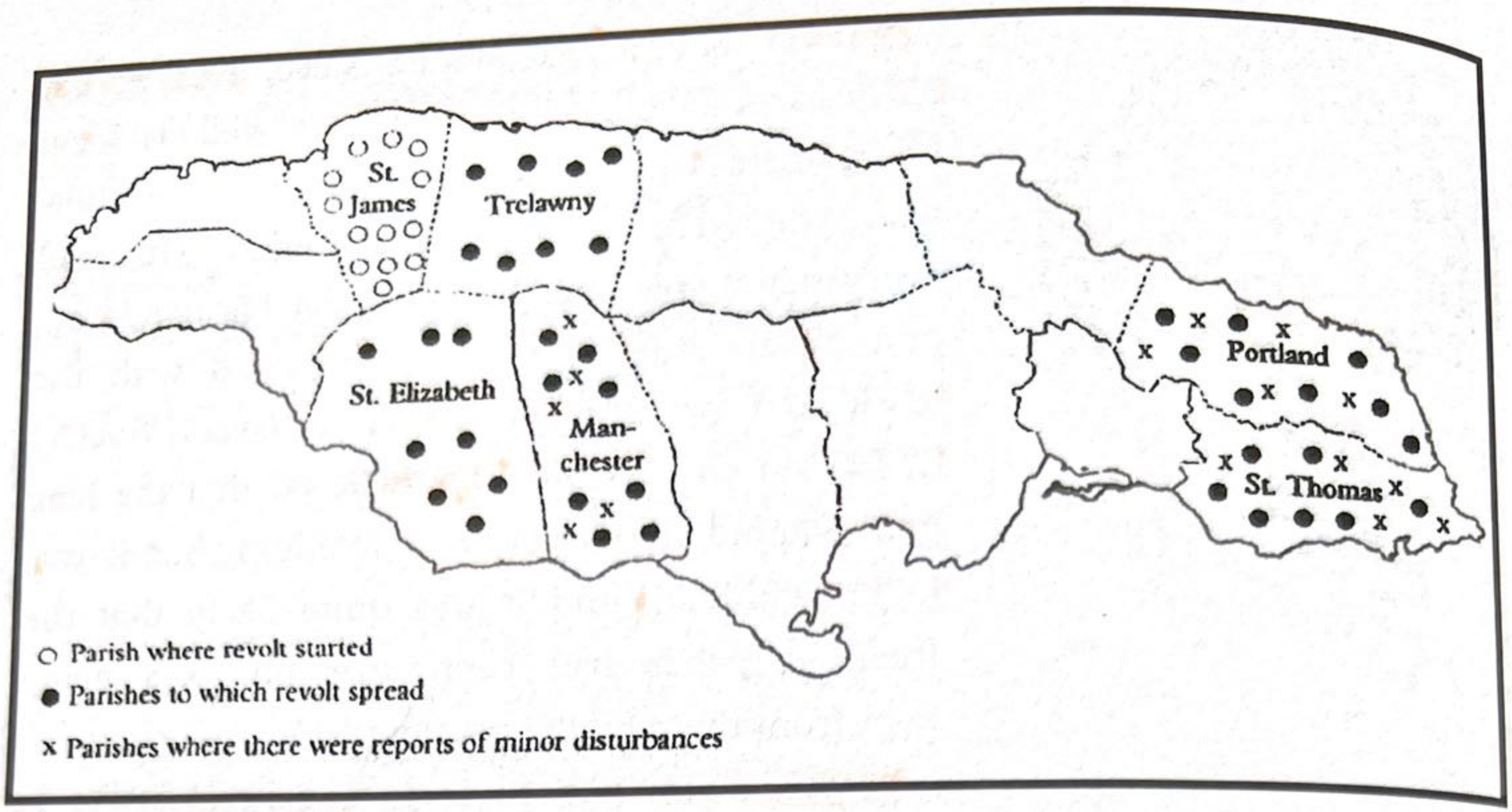
Samuel Sharpe, a literate slave, had access to discarded copies of English as well as local newspapers which were supplied by a nephew who worked in a newspaper office. He read every newspaper that he could get his hands on, and he became very well acquainted with the work and progress of the Anti-Slavery Society in Britain and Jamaica. He believed that the king had granted the slaves their freedom, but it was being withheld, and it was quite likely that the freedom paper had been sent but was being kept from them by the planters.

Original aim of Samuel Sharpe

Sharpe's aim was to stage a general strike in order to force the government to concede the demands of the abolitionists. The plan was that after Christmas, the slaves would no longer work again as slaves. They would tell the planters that if they were prepared to pay them, they would work. Once they received pay, they would be wage earners and no longer slaves. If the planters tried to force them back into the fields to labour as before, then they would fight for their freedom.

Ways in which Sharpe's leadership role in the church helped in the revolt

Sharpe was a class leader, that is, a teacher, superintendent and general spiritual guide in the Baptist church. This position helped him in the revolt in a number of ways including the following: (i) He read the scriptures thoughtfully and came to the conclusion that all men are equal and that no man had the right to keep another man in slavery. This helped him to make up his mind to fight slavery. (ii) He had the freedom to move from estate to estate to conduct prayer meetings. He shared his ideas with selected people with whom he had private talks after the prayer meetings, thus he was able to push his recruitment campaign vigorously under the cover of the prayer meetings. (iii) He had an extraordinary degree of influence among his fellow slaves, and he was able to influence several free people, members of the Baptist faith, some of whom he was successful in recruit-



Jamaica - Christmas Rebellion, 1831

ing to join his struggle. (iv) As a preacher, he was an eloquent speaker; he used pathos to develop his arguments, and his earnest manner and fluent speech roused the emotions of his audience.

The revolt

On Tuesday, December 27, the last night of the three-day Christmas festival, a tongue of fire suddenly shot up in the darkness. It seemed to be coming from the direction of the Kensington estate. By midnight, sixteen other estates were burning. The planters, who were still in the interior, began to desert their estates. The roads were then in the hands of the rebels. For about eight days, there was hardly a single colonist to be seen between Montego Bay, Savanna-la-mar and Black River. About fifty thousand slaves whose masters had fled to the coastal towns began to ramble about, plundering and burning at will. The revolt seemed to be successful.

Reasons for initial success

The reasons for the initial success were as follows: (i) Samuel Sharpe had spent several months, from April 1831, secretly, patiently, carefully planning. He moved from estate to estate, secretly organizing, lecturing, arguing and persuading the slaves. He worked tirelessly and was totally committed. The long-term planning was helpful. (ii) Sharpe

used the Bible to support his theme that all men had a right to freedom. This won him the support of many slaves in the western section of the island, who had come under his influence, directly or indirectly. They expected to be freed by Christmas. (iii) Slight rumours about work stoppage after Christmas had reached the ears of some planters; however, they did not employ sufficient extra-precautionary measures. They were therefore taken by surprise. The shocking suddenness with which the revolt began, gave the slaves an advantage at the start. (iv) The small garrison of some seventeen hundred soldiers seemed no match for the thousands of slaves who soon began to wander about. (v) The slaves' long-standing tradition of marronage allowed them to elude the whites as they took cover in the hills, valleys and other places which were less readily accessible.

Difficulties of having a controlled rebellion / revolt

Samuel Sharpe's plan was one of passive resistance. Slaves would take strike action (refuse to work) until they were paid to work. They would offer violence to no one unless violence was used to try to compel them to work again as slaves. It was difficult to carry out this plan of a controlled rebellion, however, because of a number of reasons including the following: (i) A rebellion was too volatile a situation to hope to control it. (ii) Any sign of mass insubordination was likely to evoke violent reaction by the whites, and this would, in turn, attract counter violence from the slaves. (iii) Some of Sharpe's colleagues were convinced that fighting would be necessary. They feared the reaction of the whites that could lead the slaves to use violence against them. (iv) The slaves were scattered over a wide area where it was difficult to communicate easily and quickly with one another. Lack of effective communication would make it difficult to control any revolt. (v) The slaves' anger and pent-up resentment against the whites would make it difficult to control any revolt, once it was started.

Reasons for failure of the revolt

The government responded promptly and took action to bring the revolt to an immediate end. It failed to secure free-

dom for the enslaved Africans for several reasons including the following: (i) The Earl of Belmore, Governor of Jamaica, proclaimed martial law throughout the island on December 30. (ii) Both the local militia and the imperial troops were brought into the fight against the rebels. The soldiers marched from plantation to plantation, shooting slaves who did not immediately come forward and surrender. (iii) The troops were better trained and better armed than the slaves who had only a few weapons. (iv) The government invoked the 1739 treaty with the maroons, and Maroon auxiliaries, particularly the windward Maroons, were deployed against the slaves. (v) There were reports of minor disturbances in other parts of the island, including St. Thomas and Portland. However, the main trouble areas were the four western parishes. (vi) Sharpe's plan of action did not include violence; therefore there was the lack of proper leadership, training, organization and communication among the slaves who had resorted to violence, (vii) The revolt was brutally suppressed; hundreds of virtually unarmed people were killed in the field by troops, many were executed after brief 'trials', others were brutally flogged. (viii) Many of the slaves gave themselves up after Sir Willoughby Cotton, in command of the regular troops, offered a free pardon to all slaves, except ring-leaders, who would surrender.

Consequences of the revolt

The following were some of the consequences of the Sam Sharpe rebellion. (i) Over one hundred and sixty estates of various kinds were destroyed by fire. (ii) The slaves were defeated, and even though the slaves murdered only about a dozen whites, about four hundred Negroes were killed during the military operations, and another hundred executed following the court martial, and scores were brutally flogged. (iii) The non-conformist missionaries were blamed for the revolt, and were made to suffer for their alleged guilt. (iv) The brutal suppression of the revolt and the persecution of the missionaries angered a large section of the British religious public, and helped to win support for the emancipa-

tion movement. (v) William Knibb and Thomas Burchell, two of the missionaries who were threatened with trial for encouraging rebellion, returned to England after they were acquitted. They gave first-hand information about what had happened in Jamaica, and they advised the public about the imminent danger to the island if slavery were allowed to continue. The information provided helped to create fear in the minds of many people, and it made British public opinion more favourable to emancipation.

Planters' revenge on Non-conformist Missionaries

Non-conformist missionaries, especially the Baptists, had never been popular with the planters, and now they were blamed for die disorder. Planters took their revenge on them in the following ways: (i) The Baptist preachers, William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and James Alsopp and the Moravian, H.G. Pfeiffer, amongst others, were arrested and charged for inciting the slaves to rebellion. They were later acquitted. (ii) The planters formed an organization called the Colonial Church Union*. One of its main objectives was the persecution of the non-conformist missionaries, and the destruction of their places of worship. Several Baptist and Wesleyan chapels in St. Ann, Trelawny, Hanover and other parishes were destroyed. It took fourteen nights to destroy one chapel in Falmouth. One newspaper, the 'Jamaican Courant' declared that shooting was too good for the missionaries.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ON 'SLAVE REVOLTS', SEE PAGES 3-8 MOVEMENTS TOWARDS EMANCIPATION

* See page 24, 'Movements Towards Emancipation'. For more information on 'The Christmas Rebellion', see pages 22-23 Movements towards Emancipation.

Questions to consider

1a. Discuss the ways in which the Maroons of Jamaica were similar to the Bush Negroes of Surinam, and the ways in which they were different from them. (15 marks)

1b. Explain why EITHER the Maroons of Jamaica OR the Bush Negroes of Surinam were able to retain their freedom. (10 marks)

Total 25 marks

2a. Why was there a slave revolt in Berbice in 1763? (9 marks)

2b. Why were the slaves successful during the early stages of the revolt? (8 marks)

2c. Explain why the Berbice revolt failed. (8 marks)

Total 25 marks

3a. Why did the slaves in St. Domingue succeed in overthrowing the system of slavery at the end of the 18th century? (15 marks)

3b. How were the British islands affected by the events in St. Domingue? (10 marks)

Total 25 marks

4a. Why were there so many slave revolts in the British Caribbean during the early years of the 19th century? (10 marks)

4b. What measures did the planters use to deal with their rebellious slaves? (7 marks)

4c. Give FOUR reasons to explain why the slaves failed to destroy the system of slavery in the British Caribbean. (8 marks)

Total 25 marks

5a. Explain why the slaves in Barbados revolted in 1816. (11 marks)

5b. How did the authorities respond to this revolt? (8 marks)

5c. Give THREE reasons to explain why this revolt failed. (6 marks)

Total 25 marks

6a. How did Sam Sharpe's leadership role in the Baptist Church help him in the 1831, Christmas Rebellion? (8 marks)

6b. Why did this rebellion fail to win freedom for the slaves in Jamaica in 1831? (11 marks)

6c. Explain how this rebellion helped to bring about the abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean. (6 marks)

Total 25 marks

GLOSSARY OF MAIN INSTRUCTIONAL TERMS USED IN CXC CARIBBEAN HISTORY EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

1. Account for

Give a full explanation of the events or circumstances indicated in the question.

2. Comment on

Give your views for and/or against the event or circumstances indicated in the question.

3. Compare

Write down the points which are the same for the matters being discussed, and the points which are different.

4. Describe - an event

Tell what happened in the order in which it occurred, from the beginning to the end.

5. Describe - a situation

Write what you think are the important points which should be noted.

6. Explain

Write as fully as you can about the matter, as if you are addressing someone who knows nothing about it.

7. Give

Write what you know about the matter referred to, following exactly the instructions you are given.

8. Give an account of - see describe.

9. How

In what way?
Under what conditions did something happen?
By what means?

10. Identify

Write the kind of information which would enable someone who is ignorant of the matter to recognize the person, place or thing.

11. List

Write, without making a sentence, putting the items one after the other.

12. Name

Write down carefully the item asked for, using a sentence if it makes your meaning clear.

13. Outline

Clearly set out the main points.

14. Show

Write down all the information which illustrates the point you are asked to make.

15. State

Write out in the form of a sentence the information for which you are asked.

16. Study

Read the text or look at the illustration (map, picture, table of figures) to find all points that relate to the topic you are being asked about.

17. Suggest

Write what you think is the best response.

18. What or who was

See identify

19. Why

For what reason?
To what end?
Because of what conditions?

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