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**The Tolerated, the Indulged and the Contented:
Ethnic Alliances and Rivalries
in Grenadian Plantation Society 1763-1800**



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Abstract

This thesis examines how rival national interests and relations between European states, principally France and Britain, affected ethnic relationships on the island of Grenada, West Indies throughout the period of 1763-1800. The arguments postulated are:

1. Imperial ideologies reinforced assumed superiority and right to rule that relegated all other groups to inferior status.
2. An ethnic model rather than a racial model is the best way to study Grenada plantation society.
3. The stigmatised in society fractured into ethnic groups, forming dynamic relationships, not fixed structures, that were flexible to fit their needs, values and beliefs.
4. The need to dominate or participate in that society coerced inter-ethnic alliances across boundaries (considered anathema), creating reprisals from the ruling group.
5. British government policies and officers' lack of leadership created a vacuum for constitutional conflict and inter-ethnic internal feuding and contributed to Fédon's revolt.

Chapter One is an introduction to outline the pre-history of the area of study to explain differences between groups. It will outline the topography of the island, explain the system of government, and describe the composition of the initial resident population.

Chapter Two establishes the concepts 'ethnicity' and 'race' and its importance. The European ethnic groups and their relationships are examined using this model. The concept of 'whiteness' is addressed and its external and internal effects. An argument postulated is white hegemony existed as a fractious union where coerced whites perceived to be complicit with Catholics, were targeted and socially ostracised. Another important focus is the roles of governors and their relationships and alliances with the planter class within society. The term Creole and their standing *vis-à-vis* with European whites provides another layer within society in conjunction with the critical delineation of social class across white groups in society.

Chapter Three defines the concept of *Coloured* and the range of perceived physical characteristics and legal differences, i.e., the concepts free and un-free. As the largest social grouping the role of Africans is pivotal, viz. their place in society and relationships with other groups. African differences are assessed, particularly the Grenada Maroons and their position and interaction within society and with another ethnic group, the Caribs.

Chapter Four examines the status of governors and employs a case study of the last decade of Ninian Home: an examination of his character, lifestyle, his attempts to become governor, political lobbying, relationship with his family, his administration and how it contributed to the Fédon Rebellion.

Chapter Five summarises the thesis and explains how the postulated arguments are met.

Abbreviations / Glossary

Bit / Joe - Various local regional coin

Cy. – (abbr.) Local Money – money minted within region but of less value than official standard value i.e. composed of less precious metals

Freebooting – Archaic term for smuggling

Hogshead – A traditional large cask (unit of capacity) used to store wine/spirits for shipping. Several measurements employed but modern day capacity equivalents (in Imperial gallons) are beer (54) & wine (52.5).

Jack Iron – Very strong local distilled over-proof rum (the most powerful is said to come from the island of Carriacou)

Marque – Official stamp of authority / permission

Oil Down – Dish of breadfruit, provisions, coconut, mackerel or pork - (National dish of Grenada)

Pepper Pot - A Creole adapted traditional African stew of crab meat, callaloo (similar to spinach), coconut milk, onions, garlic, herbs and provisions

Provisions – Root starch vegetables high in carbohydrates grown throughout Caribbean, e.g. sweet potatoes, yams, eddoes, plantains (also called bluggoes in Grenada), breadfruit, dasheen, etc.

Stg. / L - (abbr.) Pounds Sterling (£) – official currency of Britain; minted to standard value metal content.

Subaltern – A junior officer below the rank of captain

Tierce – An archaic measurement of unit capacity equivalent to 42 Imperial gallons or one 1/3 pipe of wine. (O.E.D.)

Yaws – Highly infectious ulcers caused by bacteria which can cause tissue loss.

Chapter One

The aim of this thesis is to examine society within the Caribbean Island of Grenada in the 18th Century during the period of 1763 – 1800. It will examine relationships between the range of groups that made up Grenadian society and argue that tensions created by suppression, exclusion, and superiority created dynamic inter-ethnic alliances. The *raison d'être* for the establishment of 18th-Century Grenada society was colonialism, created and maintained by competing European nation states with a common historical rivalry.

The first chapter of this thesis will serve as an introduction to the island's topography and outline its history before 1763. It will analyse the system of government and discuss the composition of residents after conquest.

Chapter Two will examine the definition of the concepts of 'ethnicity' and 'race,' and argue why it provides a clearer model to examine Grenada society. An analysis of the ethnic and gender ratios within Grenada illuminates the composition and implications. Grenada is placed into context through an examination of the historiography of the Caribbean region..

Given the prevalence of primary source material for this thesis, it is essential to give proper evaluation to this and treat all testimony as valid. This provides the pertinent framework to examine the white groups in Grenada, how they perceived themselves, and debate the concept 'whiteness,' viz. how it can be defined and how this contributed to alliances and rivalries within the white groups.

The structure of government will be described—the role between governor and plantation society, the qualifications required to partake in power, relationships with plantation society through an analysis of a selection of governors' administrations, with some comparison to other Caribbean territories and how this contributed to relations between whites within the island. The influence and perception of social class between the aristocratic and planter class, professional and low-status whites is a vital relationship to be assessed.

This introduces the concepts of Creole and *Creolisation* and its relationship to British identity and status; an important explanation will demonstrate how the ideology of cultural supremacy imbued Creoles, because of their association with the land and other lower-status groups, with perceived physical traits that served as another agent of social tension. This chapter also looks at the additional presence within society composed of marauding pirates with privateers and sailors from the North American colonies following the American Revolution.

Chapter Three focuses on the Free Coloureds on Grenada. It will examine the definitions of Coloured across the Caribbean region and the legal status of this group. The relationships between whites and Free Coloureds are discussed and how this group was perceived by other parts of society recognised through the alliances they formed and how discrimination created tensions. This chapter also examines the major African ethnic groups. It will study the legal position of the Africans and tensions and alliances with each other and relations with various white and other groups is analysed. The process of naming continues through examine recognised categorisation within Grenada and other islands. The legal concept of slavery ,

namely, legal status, legal definition of slavery, the relationship between slavery and freedom, slave conditions and control and purpose, methodology and its employment within society and its affect on any alliances and tensions. An important strand is resistance and the forms it took. An important investigation is the Grenada Maroons; they were less well-documented compared to Caribbean territories such as in Jamaica and St. Vincent, as was their organisation, acts of resistance, and relations to other ethnic groups within Grenada. There is an examination of the practice of ‘*export maroonage*’ and the enslaved Africans’ alliance with another ethnic group, the Caribs, and its impact within society.

Chapter Four will analyse Ninian Home’s campaign to become governor to demonstrate why and how these posts were filled, links to power and influence, the status and rewards of the governor’s role is described and an outline study of Governor Ninian Home will provide a personal understanding of this relationship. This is tied into the Fédon Rebellion transcends any historical study of Eighteenth Century Grenada history. This chapter assesses this event not from a detailed investigation of the revolt per se (this is the subject of several previous studies), rather it is approached in the context of this thesis as the culmination of alliances based on decades of social antagonism, the chance for revenge or chance to grasp power and equality.

Chapter five provides a conclusion to the hypothesis. It will set out the questions postulated in chapter one and argue the aims and objectives have been answered.

Methods used are primary research from various British national and local archives: National Archives (Public Record Office), The British Library, Lambeth Palace, the National Archives of Scotland, Somerset Archives and Bristol Archives, to examine original government and private documents, i.e., letters and official reports; manuscripts; newspapers; private letters; maps and diagrams; eyewitnesses' accounts and diaries. Secondary research comprises using texts, journals and some theses. There have been physical visits to locations, i.e., Grenada and Scotland for observation notes and discussions with local historians and ancestral links.

This thesis draws the majority of material from primary sources mainly original documents (letters and manuscripts); the aim is to avoid repetition of frequently-used sources and offer fresh or little-used source material to provide supporting evidence. It is useful to outline major contributions to this period of Grenada history.

Major studies of Grenada have been undertaken by Dr. Curtis Jacobs (University of the West Indies) 2002 doctoral thesis on "The Jacobins of Mt. Qua-Qua: Fédon's Rebellion in Grenada 1762-1796." Earlier research in the 1980s was headed by Dr. Edward Cox 's doctoral thesis on Fédon's Rebellion and his wide research in this area.: "Fédon's Rebellion 1795-96: Causes and Consequences," *Free Coloureds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts & Nevis 1763 – 1833*, *The Shadow of Freedom: Freedmen in the Slave Societies of Grenada and St. Kitts 1763 -1833*.

Dr. Timothy Ashby examines Fédon's Rebellion in the *Journal for the Society of Army Historical Research*. Sonia Baker offers a Scottish perspective in her master's thesis (University of Edinburgh) "Paradise in Grenada: Ninian and George Home: A

Study of Slave-Owning Scots of the Enlightened Age.” A popular introductory general history is George Brizan’s *Grenada - Island of Conflict: From Amerindians to Peoples' Revolution, 1498-1979* (1984) which provided an update for Raymund Devas’s two seminal texts on Grenadian history: *History of Grenada* (1964) and *Conception Island* (1932).

The focus of research clearly and rightly centres on this period in Grenada’s history. This thesis comes from out of that interest but one was drawn to the scattered nature of material. Dr Beverley Steele (UWI) appears to identify this need in the past and wrote a concise *Bibliography of Grenada* that she describes as useful to scholars, “because it was the only bibliography of Grenada extant.”¹ Her project to expand this resulted in *Grenada: An Annotated Bibliography of Social Sciences and Humanities Works Published 1763 – 1950*. I was always interested in researching early Grenada history but there appeared to be little documentary primary research from United Kingdom archives particularly on ‘inter-ethnic’ relations. Dr. Steele’s identified sources are located in the Caribbean and North America so this has provided an ideal opportunity.

This project compiles archive source material from the Caribbean region and within North America. One objective of this thesis is to uncover new original material for the United Kingdom to contribute to research knowledge for this period, and provide source material for United Kingdom archives for future study by scholars.

¹ Steele, Dr. Beverley, ‘*Grenada: An Annotated Bibliography of Social Sciences and Humanities Works Published 1763 – 1950*’ (2000), <http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/BNCCde/grenada/grendoc/sect1.html>.

It is important to know Grenada's antecedents before 1763, though they may be outside the historical scope of this thesis. The Amerindians, the region's indigenous peoples, migrated up from continental South America around 1AD. They inhabited Grenada, and many islands, followed six centuries later by an ethnic group called the Arawaks. Arawaks were driven out some 800 years later by another wave of migrants known as the Caribs who named the island *Camerhogne*.² Christopher Columbus on his voyages throughout the region in the 15th Century christened the island *Concepcion*, then later Granada. During the 17th Century, French colonists on the neighbouring island Martinique attempted to colonise unsuccessfully and driven out by the Caribs. The French returned with larger reinforcements and superior weaponry and routed the Caribs in a tragic stand-off in 1650; thereafter they established the island as a colony renamed from the Spanish appellation to La Grenade.

This brief pre-history demonstrates from the commencement of European intrusion into Grenada the use of force and possession of power to establish a particular group. The act of naming and renaming the island became symbolic of Grenada's future and based on power was repeated across the Caribbean region, e.g., Amerindian *Wadadli* became European Antigua.

In 1763, as part of the settlement following a conflict known historically as the Seven-Years War, France ceded Grenada to Britain. In order to investigate the arguments laid out in this thesis, the nature of Grenada society – its tensions,

² *Grenada Carriacou & Petit Martinique: Spice Island of the Caribbean*, (London: Hansib, 1994), p.80

divisions and alliances—it is essential to outline the history before Capitulation to understand its effect. The Caribbean in the 18th Century was part of an expansive new world that attracted European nations who recognised new lands as opportunities for settlement, expansion, and influence and the potential to generate income through developed mercantile economies. Within Europe, Britain and France emerged as the two strongest military powers of the time; Dutch and Spanish rivals were significant but less powerful. Britain and France not only shared proximity with each other, but shared historical dynastic, militaristic and religious rivalries for power and supremacy. The English Reformation in the 16th Century, where King Henry VIII disaffected from the Holy Roman Catholic Church to establish The Church of England, severed links with Catholic Europe. Henry VIII's actions also sowed the seeds of conflict throughout his Kingdom with deep-rooted tensions and rivalries that lasted centuries after. One consequence of the English Reformation was successive strategies to deny any Catholic succession to the English throne and later unified British throne after the reign of Henry VIII's Catholic daughter Mary.

The last Catholic monarch King James II was ousted from the throne in the 'Glorious Revolution' in the preceding 17th century as a consequence of the continual perception of the dangers of Papal influence. Following the Restoration, the re-establishment of the monarchy after the Commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, Parliament coerced James II's elder brother Charles II to accept legislation for supremacy of only Protestant monarchs. The 'Act for Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants' stipulated only descendants of Princess Sophia be considered in lineage for the throne in order to, 'extinguish the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and his open and secret abettors.'

Catholics were restricted from all public and political offices under the Test Act of 1673; eligibility for public office depended on their allegiance to the Anglican Church. Discrimination intensified, resulting in Roman Catholics being unable to hold or purchase land, inherit property, practise religion freely, or receive education in established national universities.

The Act of Union in 1707 joined the parliaments of England and Scotland, over 100 years after the unification of the thrones, and created the nation state of Britain. By the mid 18th Century, religious fervour subsided following the annihilation of Charles Stuart's ('Bonny Prince Charlie') army at Culloden in 1746. The 'Young Pretender' was the last direct Catholic claimant of the House of Stuarts' lineage or to the Throne. His defeat signalled the end of Catholic resistance and Scottish clans order. Under the Highland clearances, many Scottish Catholics and nationalists migrated from Britain with intention to escape restrictions. Other Scots particularly those from higher social status came from strong Scottish Protestant tradition. Recession of fears of Catholic usurpation others escaped to the Caribbean to preserve Protestant values away from any sympathetic treatment of Catholics following the civil turmoil.

The land area of England appeared to highlight the Protestant island's isolation and independence from continental Europe and Catholic France. France had twice the area of Britain with a population of some 25 million, also double that of Britain; Britain [18] by comparison possessed naval power twice the size of the French.³ Both countries were aware of their respective weaknesses, hence their need for

superiority by forging political global alliances. These relations, unfortunately, were unstable as they were simply “knee-jerk” reactions against political suspicion and insecurity. The Seven-Years War that concluded in 1756 demonstrated this concept perfectly; the fluctuating rivalries between Britain, France and Spain then between Prussia and Austria following the War of Austrian Succession created a series of battles between these countries that also drew in Russia and Hanover. Britain emerged triumphant as one of the victors and, under the Treaty of Paris, it was established as the premier global colonial power. The Treaty reveals the global nature of the conflict and the huge influence Britain exerted and gained in countries such as India and North America, particularly within the Caribbean region.

Migrants were attracted to the North American colonies; the Caribbean, by comparison, did not experience the same levels of migration owing to smaller territories and fewer resident Europeans. These new worlds, however, offered the opportunities to escape the narrow, restricted economic and social confines of the British metropolitan state. For some it attracted a sense of adventure or desperation. The isolation of the Caribbean colonies encouraged many migrants to seek the security and comfort of familiar institutions and an assurance of their shared culture. Isolation necessitated social interactions, despite social status and ethnicity, beyond the bounds of any common practice in Britain.

Their decision to choose Grenada was political, but the island attracted British succession in 1763 illustrated this pattern and encouraged migration into the island. In terms of Grenada’s physical geography, it is located at the bottom of the Windward Islands the last island in the archipelago, about 90 miles north of

Trinidad, itself located off the Spanish Main. It measures 21 miles long and 12 miles at its widest part; the land area is 133 square miles (344km²). Grenada shared the characteristics of the Windward isles, including the dormant volcanic mountainous landscape. These elevated ranges formed a spine through the island, with the highest point being Mount Saint Catherine (2756ft).³ The interior was comprised of dense tropical forests and vegetation. Physically cutting across the Caribbean and Atlantic coasts meant the traveler faced two options: to take the quicker arduous cross-country route over the peaks and through dense forests, or the easier but longer ring route around the island. The island's physical geography was a significant factor in the success of Maroon's and the later Fédon Rebellion. This meant that unlike other flatter Caribbean islands such as Antigua or Barbados, the area for and opportunities for comparable large-scale plantations were far less. Grenada still remained a viable and attractive investment however, owing to the fertility of the volcanic soil and compulsion to diversify to other cash crops notably spices, coffee, cotton, and indigo.

The West Indian colonies were the driving force of economic wealth and prosperity in Britain therefore the fulcrum of political and economic power but the nature of the colonies presented an inherent weakness, namely the vast distances from Europe, though highly valuable, were very precarious investments. They provided enormous economic strength to their respective metropolitan countries, therefore became the centre of European power struggles. Their pre-eminence was illustrated as part of the terms of settlement under the Treaty of Paris Britain exchanged colonies in North

³ *Reader's Digest Atlas of the World*, (London: Reader's Digest Association, 1987), p.194, see also Hansib, p.22 & p190

America for political gain in Europe and the return of several Caribbean islands for Canada.⁴

Trade from the Caribbean contributed enormously to Britain's balance of trade, and sugar accounted for 90% of imports from the West Indies in the 1780s⁵. By 1790 British capital invested in the West Indian colonies accounted to near £70 million compared to the nearest rival, the East India trade, which palled £18 millions. West Indian exports in 1795 amounted to £8.8 million and generated £1.6 million in revenue. The trade provided employment for 8,000 seamen and 664 vessels⁶.

British exports in 1794 to the British West Indies totalled £3.7 million and provided employment for 12,000 seamen and 700 vessels.⁷ Annual incomes from British West Indian colonies exports between 1784-6 exceeded total British income from all other exports. Impressive as this was it still was inferior to the huge income generated by French colonies notably San Domingue and they possessed a higher proportion of the sugar market 43.3% compared to Britain's 36.7%.⁸

British rule in 1763 did not mean a smooth transition of power owing to dominant factors: domestic/logistics, population/cultural and political factors. First, the financial requirements and logistics of setting up plantations were expensive and complex. Long-term investments ran high risks of ruin; land had to be purchased, buildings erected, e.g., residences, slave quarters, animals, and sugar works; resources and animals had to be purchased: human resources such as accountants and

⁴ Michael Duffy, *Sugar, Soldiers and Seapower*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p.7.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.17.

⁷ Hansard, *The Parliamentary History of England*, vol. XXXII, (London: Hansard, 1818), p.880.

⁸ Duffy, p.7

lawyers, managers and ordinary white labour (overseers) and the primary purchase of quality African slaves. The hot humid tropical weather brought associated conditions such as tropical insects and new illnesses that debilitated the uninitiated; there were costs of loss/damage and depreciation; the significant obstacle was the 'time lag' between sugar canes being planted and the final sugar harvest, (to be cut, processed, packed and shipped) to turn into cash. All this was organised over distances of thousands of miles. The specific nature and expertise of maintaining plantations meant from the beginning they or personal affairs were the primary concern of estate owners. Any interference from outside the colony that clashed with their interests would create conflict of interests and tensions.

The fluid composition of society given the rapid change of sovereignty meant Grenada's population possessed a large resident French population. Two nations that shared historical competitive rivalry were forced together under the guise of victor and vanquished. This created tensions that exacerbated the perception of status becoming linked to a sense of ownership to specific groups. This forms a central argument of this thesis and it will be argued that it created and contributed to the fundamental tensions within the colony. This factor is examined in greater detail in chapter two.

The third factor was an inheritance of complex, conflicting, and highly sensitive legal and social structures that had to be changed, adapted, or assimilated.

British colonies shared the same or similar established constitution. The Acting Governor Scott therefore established a temporary form of government in Grenada based on that in Nova Scotia. It consisted of a Council of twelve composed of chief

military officers and the most 'considerable' planters who became the legislature. There was a court of quarter sessions composed of four justices and a superior court of appeal presided by a chief justice which served as a final determiner of pleas to the Crown, and sat twice a year. The governor and Council of Barbados served as a court of equity and the laws of Barbados served as a basis for those of Grenada.⁹

The new British administration as victors sought to dominate rather than conciliate particularly given the restrictions of two factors outlined above. Governor Scott warned the British Secretary against the dangers of any immediate total change of laws within Grenada would prove very inconvenient and more time would be required to favour conditions to Protestant interests. His request showed the British proposal was delivered from a position of numerical weakness because large numbers of French remained on Grenada after the transfer of sovereignty with no indication of mass emigration. This created tensions and affected relations therefore Governor Scott expressed his intent to follow a strict interpretation the Test Act as the first tool of political obstruction: "upon no account to admit of an Assembly or House of Representatives, until there are natural in his subjects enough to compose it."¹⁰

The establishment of a British political and judicial framework extended beyond the need for military and national security, rather a sense of national supremacy had to be imposed to validate these actions. Scott's early reports on French proprietors reflected this perception. He accused them of little or no land-management skills

⁹ London, Public Record Office, CO101/9, Governor Scot, Letter to Lord Egremont, 19 January. 1763.

¹⁰ Ibid.

considering the period they were established and being rapacious cheats who took advantage of speculative migrant British planters from other colonies. His comments are insightful and demonstrate his prejudice as he inadvertently praises the French for simply following the basis of capitalism namely French planters followed the market and sold their poor value lands to eager purchasers at the best price for themselves that included the costs of emigration and establishment in another territory. Scott issued a public order to stop the practice which he judged took the "value of these uncultivated lands out of English subjects' pockets."¹¹

Scott based his rationale on the previous French administration which had granted patents for lands on the condition that they were cleared by a third in three years and by two thirds in six years. He allowed those French planters who had cleared land to make conditional agreements with English planters with the expressed intention for a "speedy settlement of this island upon a solid foundation will principally depend upon the English planters that may come here and settle and the more of them that come, the sooner it will flourish."¹²

Principal merchants in the City of London with investments in Grenada lobbied for the need for security and uniformity of British political and legal frameworks to allow them to protect and develop their interests. The current federal governance system composed a general Assembly to include the islands of Grenada, Antigua, Barbados and St. Kitts was a further strategy to bring together numbers of British freeholders and facilitate British to Grenada to increase the Protestant population.

¹¹ London, PRO, CO101/9, Scott to Egremont, 19 January 1763.

¹² Ibid.

Tax laws created further enmity between these Natural and Adopted Subjects. The Capitulation Tax, imposed by the British government to cover the costs of the previous victorious military campaign still existed. French residents in effect had to pay for their defeat, a further reminder of the humiliation of conquest and perceived persecution of British commerce, which they saw as, “unequal, ineffectual, liable to evasion, and burthened with exemptions [sic].”¹³ The tax created resentment among residents in Grenada and those from other islands within the Federation by the perceived unfairness of the tax. Necessary public works, such as a courthouse and government house, were vital yet Grenadian inhabitants argued other Caribbean colonies that shared public offices should contribute in equal measure. Grenada faced the enormous social and economic upheavals from the conquest such economic hardship crossed factional divisions and created complaints:

... sorely distressed as we are from circumstance, when the most rigid economy is necessary and calls upon us to apply every shilling that we can raise to extricate ourselves from the difficulty.¹⁴

The merchants affected by these additional pressures rejected a federal Assembly structure to favour a separate Grenada Assembly. They consented the large distances between the islands and the great diversity of interests made the political model unwieldy and ineffective. A separate Assembly however created issues of representation and sectarianism; federal Assembly may have allowed scope for

¹³ London, PRO, CO101/11, Address from Faithful Subjects to His Majesty King George III, 19 April 1765.

¹⁴ Ibid.

issues of representation to be dealt with on a wider scale and allow the possibility of a broad policy to accommodate social and political change in Europe and less rigorous legal enforcement of Catholic discrimination even though the Test Acts existed. Once the Assembly was established, it became one of the chief agents of control against Adopted Subjects.

The new structure established a separate Grenada legislature modelled on colonial government across the Caribbean region. A governor appointed by the crown succeeded by a military officer such as Captain-General or Lieutenant-General who took command upon any departure of the governor upon receipt of given commission. There was an unelected upper chamber executive or council of twelve men appointed by royal mandamus. All council members had to take a number of oaths of loyalty to the crown and attest, adherents of the Protestant lineage to the crown and they were of the Protestant faith, namely the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, Abjuration, and the Test. With each new administration, the incoming governor swore in current or new members for vacant seats dependant on the instructions he carried. It comprised the most notable men on the island, planters of status. The Council's role was to advise the governor, though he was not obliged to adhere to their advice, he was required by the crown not to act without reference to or concurrence of the majority of the Council. There was a second elected lower chamber or Assembly composed of 24 men that required land ownership to qualify. Both houses were collectively referred to as the General Assembly.

Many planters acted through political rather than economic concerns, they saw the danger of Catholic subjects granted rights to representation that Scott identified.

They recognised failure to change the Test practices in Grenada could relinquish their minority control on power and affect their personal interests. Scottish Protestants were one particular group of freeholders and merchants resident in Grenada by 1765 that practised and maintained their brand of conservative religious practice. They made it their personal objective to ensure that once the British government gave its approval for a separate Assembly in February 1766 any liberalisation for Catholics dissenters in Britain would not occur in Grenada.

Any French Catholics who wanted to participate in public duties had to produce certificates from the Governor or a person of equivalent rank to attest they had openly taken the oaths of Allegiance, Abjuration, and Supremacy. Qualification required audible/public subscription to the declaration, or 'The Test,' against the central Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation. Failure to declare resulted in the loss of the vote, any seat held declared void and barred from both houses of the legislature.¹⁵

A memorial, signed by 18 senior planters Natural Subjects that included the future Governor Ninian Home, to Melville demonstrated early tensions. They expressed doubts over the rights of 'aliens' to sit in the legislature. They argued that any admission of French Subjects to the legislature or any suspension of the Test Act would, "be striking at the root and foundation" and destroy the "most fundamental and constitutional laws of the Mother country." They saw it as a critical matter of

¹⁵ Anthony Stokes, *A View of the Constitution of the British Colonies in North America and the West Indies 1783*, (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, repr. 1969), pp.240-250.

identity and principle that affected the viability of the colony, in particular their property.¹⁶

The Natural Subjects' protests revealed their perpetual fears over their numerical inferiority, hatred of Catholicism and their attempts to establish official justification to legitimise their claims. Scott revealed a level of acrimony and noticeably the argument of natural superiority employed to obstruct Catholic entry into the legislature: "It is easy to conceive what type of men the Assembly must be composed" [a scenario described as too] "striking and alarming to escape the penetration."¹⁷

In conclusion, the roots of tensions within Grenada society emanated from Grenada's early history from a set experience of migration and occupation. European wars based on unstable alliances and historical rivalry for power meant both groups arrived with pre-convictions. Religious cleavage under the Reformation in the 15th Century created growing enmity within Britain against Catholicism manifested by statues against Catholics. The Seven Years War gave Britain political and military advantage to lay claim to some of the riches colonies over France. The Caribbean became an arena where both nation states wanted dominance in trade, wealth, and possession. British in Grenada after capitulation provided such an opportunity except as a former French colony came inherent difficulties of imposing British rule on a significant proportion of French residents. The first government structure adopted the federal model used across the British West Indies but this proved unpopular

¹⁶ London, PRO, CO101/11, Memorial of H.M. Adopted Subjects in the Island of Grenada to Governor Melville, 14 February 1766.

¹⁷ Ibid.

because of the costs of taxation and inefficient nature in particular planters whose primary concerns focussed on their economic rather than political interests; French residents objected to having to pay taxes to cover the costs of their defeat. British residents, particularly overseas merchants, pushed for a localised form of government responsive to their economic needs. New colonial government created friction between British and French residents over the threat of French participation in power. Strategies to thwart them used open denigration utilising the ideology that the French were inefficient; also exclusive mandatory legal oaths of office served to create initial tensions within society.

Social difference persisted owing to plantations being the inherent purpose of that society, thus the necessity for imported enslaved African labour. The proximity of European and black-skinned peoples created other layers of society through sexual relations. This in turn was complicated further by strict legal restrictions which controlled and dictated a non-white's status. Perceived differences and tensions created by differences in colour or legal status amongst the non-white population also existed among whites with variables such as social status, nationality and religion.

A central consideration is the framework for such beliefs; British animosity against the French went beyond historic rivalries, rather involved ideologies of difference, of superiority and inferiority; differences of 'whiteness'—how it was developed and controlled. I will investigate the white ethnic groups to establish how they interacted before examining other ethnic group. This will contribute understanding the

development of alliances and tensions particularly in context of the historiographies of Caribbean colonial society.

Chapter Two

Grenada plantation society can be compared and contrasted to the wider Caribbean to demonstrate its organisation, the composition, and attitudes of the population and how these attitudes were formed, maintained, and legitimised.

Nationalism was a major distinction; the region as a generator of wealth for powerful European nations meant it was the fulcrum for political tensions. The major colonial powers were Britain, France, Spain, the Netherlands, even Sweden. All adapted their colonies to reflect their national structures and interests. Grenada as part of the British Caribbean colonies known as the West Indies, specifically the British West Indies (BWI), reflected this behaviour. An essential characteristic was to have a sense of unity; this was vital considering the vast distance between some colonies, e.g., the distance between the islands of Jamaica and Grenada was nearly 1000 miles.

British immigrants to the BWI shared similar cultural practices and beliefs. The strongest instrument of cultural unity was language, essentially the English standard spoken in Britain.¹ As such, Britain and anything from Britain subsumed a sense of superiority. Fallbrook supports the argument that language is not in some neutral vacuum free of meaning and innocence. This explains the editing process of those in power who decided what voices were important, legitimate contributors to society.² One powerful symbol was the written word and status of education. Throughout the BWI, the pre-eminence of the written word over the spoken through education

¹ Barry W. Higman, *Writing West Indian Histories*, (London: MacMillan Education, 1999), pp.2-3.

² Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory*, (London: Routledge, 2002), p.74

established a status whereby oral texts or any contributions from non-educated backgrounds in society faced subjugation to minor roles or, in many cases, total disenfranchisement.³

Those of the minority or referred to as ‘the other’ (enslaved Africans, women, children, etc.) are the hidden voices and histories are not recorded or difficult to trace not only because of the two factors mentioned, but as an end product of these, i.e., power. Power meant the ability to rule and the allowance of these ruling classes to dictate the structure, values, and determine deviant or acceptable rule their societies; critically through possession of the written word, they controlled information. In the BWI, British governments communicated continuously via the governor.

Comprehensive original documents containing information about the status of the island, e.g., population totals, composition, produce/goods returns, and minutes of the Assembly and government business, notably the colonies just kept copies. The governor served as a de facto ‘editor’ of information that was constructed to meet his, the interests of the powerful planter class and British government generating permanent libraries of information that Higman describes as, “representations of reality.”⁴ These parties shared attitudes ensured that the histories of the region entwined but from an edited shared interpretation, namely these were representations rather than, “historical evidence or the artefacts of life itself.”⁵

These histories through the employment of the ‘nation language’ would have reflected a disproportionate celebration of the culture and supremacy of those in

³ Higman, p.13.

⁴ Higman, p.25.

⁵ Ibid.

power over the subjugated; it would serve little interest to champion the achievements of the 'other.' The stories of the 'other' only survived through their handed down oral testimonies or where those in power deemed an incident worth recording, notably this principally occurred when it endangered their interests, e.g., resistance to society order, slave rebellions, social disorder.

A comparable characteristic across the Caribbean was the division of colonial society based on perceived social and racial differences. It is critical here to define the perceived differences between the main groups within Grenada society: European whites, Coloureds, and Africans.

The Europeans divided between British whites and French whites. The label white however did not equate to exact equality, 'whiteness' itself was subject to category; some forms of white were considered superior. A form of cultural chauvinism validated a dogma based on a judgement of 'hierarchy of ability.' Such beliefs originally tied race to biological features but this transcended colour and physiognomy to create ideas of racial inheritance.⁶ Early British attitudes to the French demonstrated this held ideology. Classes of whiteness within Europe ranged from the highest classified as 'Nordics' (from Northern Europe), the second tier 'Alpines' (from mid-Europe), and the third lower level 'Mediterranean' (Southern European). The Mediterranean whites' low rank owed to their complexions or dark

⁶ St. Clair Drake, *Black Folk Her and There*, ed. Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, CASS Monograph Series, 7 vols., (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies University of California, 1987) vol I (1987), pp.20-22

features that suggested impurity tainted by Negro blood. Other white groups such as Slavs and Jews rated outside of this scale.⁷

Another important feature within the Grenada white population was the British composition of English, Scots, and a minority of Irish. This had important ramifications for these Protestant national groups particularly the Scots who in general practiced Calvinist beliefs. Calvinists, Lutherans, and Wesleyans shared a puritanical history from the Reformation that differed from the Catholic beliefs. They shared the Protestant ethic that pursued work and the accumulation of economic wealth for the glorification of God; wealth was a sign of salvation of the 'chosen few.'⁸ The religious belief systems reflected the polarisation of both groups. Protestantism stressed thrift church buildings, individualism, and personal communication with God and rationalism of thought. Catholicism stressed poverty as a path to salvation but extravagant church buildings, a highly-structured priesthood and papacy as the only communication to God, ancient rituals, and obligatory faith. Protestants detested any form of obligation and acceptance of any irrationality or magic; this served as the basis to their rejection of the central Catholic belief of Transubstantiation and the creation and insistence towards the Test.

The concept of 'race' is a biological construct that notably refined in the following 19th Century. Race itself is highly constructed, ideas of difference developed with European interactions with other peoples. Scientific method entailed the study of observation, measurement, and classification; the most obvious difference was

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Max Weber, 'Protestant Ethic' in Key Ideas in Sociology, ed. Martin Slattery (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1992), p.299

colour that became synonymous to race along with physical differences.⁹ The Swedish taxonomist Carl Linné Linnaeus pioneered the science of measurement and classification in the 18th Century and delineated humans according to the continents they originated from which reflected their skin colours: white, black, red and yellow. German naturalist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach extended these ideas and provided perceived validity with the introduction of measurement and description of features; he classified races into three types: Caucasian, Mongolian, and Ethiopian. Each group's features were biologically predetermined; Caucasians held the highest form possessing the ideal (most beautiful) properties for skull measurements and features. Other superior properties extended to shape of limbs, hair texture and colour, facial features, culture and interests, even contribution to history. Conversely, Ethiopians were the inferior group but still held positive historical and aesthetic features. This changed with growing negative descriptions applied to West African slaves and the classification Negro replaced Ethiopian.¹⁰ These so-called scientific studies reflected the prejudices of those in power and reflected their constructed reality of their worlds.

Though highly constructed perceived differences validated on science this did not however negate its impact because as an imposed construct it affected the reality for those who had to live under it. Throughout the Caribbean those in power with stakes who relied on slave labour, supported the view of racial difference. Historical narratives supported the theory of differences but in particular, they demonstrated and supported arguments of superiority of one race over another. A fundamental

⁹ David Mason, 'The Continuing Significance of Race? Teaching Ethnic and Racial Studies in Sociology' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies Today*, ed. by Martin Bulmer and John Solomos, (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.19-20.

¹⁰ St. Clair Drake, p.26

realisation is the intentions and interests of those who wrote these histories. The relationship between Britain and encounters with peoples in continents like Africa and throughout the Caribbean would have produced what Caroline Knowles refers to as a “series ambiguous events,” where various events created a rational narrative.¹¹ Edward Long, the Jamaican planter, provides a demonstration of part of the historiography this that pervades the Caribbean region. He reveals attitudes about the differences and inferiority of Africans.

It is so far from being unjust or exaggerated, with regard to the greater part of them, that, in many instances, they deserve, if possible, a much more odious one; they being in so many parts so utterly void of all humanity, and even natural affection, that parents will sell their wives and children and vice versa.¹²

Long reflected the attitudes and beliefs that were prevalent among those in power created by the slave trade itself. The outcomes of Africans’ own enslavement was their responsibility; various incidents led to an accepted narrative that concluded lack of any natural affection confirmed their inhumanity. Derogatory description of Africans’ features throughout Caribbean historiographies also served to reinforce images of their inhumanity: “Their face is scarce what we call human, their legs without any inner calf, and their broad, flat foot, and long toes, (which they can use as well as we do our fingers)”¹³

¹¹ Caroline Knowles, ‘The Symbolic Empire and the History of Racial Inequality’ in *Ethnic and Racial Studies Today*, ed. by Martin Bulmer & John Solomos, (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.44-46.

¹² Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*, (London: Pluto Press, 1984), p.153.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.162

The concept of ethnicity like race was developed and refined outside of the 18th Century; ethnicity developed later in the 20th century as a solution to the limitations of race. Whereas race centres on biological categorisation of difference, ethnicity also concerns the study of groups but critically it goes beyond simple biological descriptions and focuses on personal identity. Identity is validated through a collective recognition and personal expression of self-awareness and belonging. It gives the individual and group the power to define themselves according to a number of factors. An anthropological model measures ethnicity through four factors: cultural differentiation; the outcomes of social interaction; it is no more fixed than the culture which it is a component; it is a social identity that is displayed /externalised both individually and collectively by the group.¹⁴

The objectives outlined in Chapter 1 necessitate an argument established here to provide a clearer explanation of plantation society within Grenada. The ethnic model is more accurate to examine the complexities of beyond simplistic notions of race and colour that those in power utilised. One needs to also address factors as nationality, religion, language and culture; and two vital factors: gender and social class.

A summary of the argument is the fundamental contrast between the concepts of race and ethnicity concerns not only what they mean or stand for but centres around power and appellation. It is important to stress summary definitions of race by classification based on biological or assumption of biological difference; those in power fix and impose it. Ethnicity by contrast is determined on a range of shared

¹⁴ Ibid., pp.88-89.

characteristics recognised by groups with common cause. It is therefore subjective, fluid, socially constructed, and voluntary.¹⁵

Grenada, at the period of transition, composed a range of peoples who regarded themselves as distinct and the new British rulers exacerbated any differences based on their need as argued in Chapter 1 to maintain power from a fragile position. One immediate strategy was establishment of difference and status based on legislation. British enforced notions of superiority not only among subordinate groups but also within whites. British residents awarded themselves the legal appellation 'Natural,' 'Old' or 'Ancient' Subjects; the French were classified as 'Adopted' or 'New' Subjects. (NB. The terms Natural and Adopted used henceforth). These labels were loaded with meaning; the French were different their legal status suggested assumed gratification towards their conquerors. The Adopted Subjects did not leave or want to leave Grenada as Governor Scot envisaged as it remained in their interests to remain. Scot believed they saw the British conquest as "Divine Providence" that met their concerns for a ready market for their produce, the ability to procure necessities at reasonable rates and critically the belief that they were "sure of having Justice done to them."¹⁶ He believed Adopted Subjects like Natural Subjects previous French administration were handicapped by incumbent French Governors, more concerned with political appointments and strict interpretations of metropolitan policy than the interests of their subjects and knew little of the plantation economics and very little else. His view mirrors the views of Jamaica planter Edward Long's against British governors.¹⁷

¹⁵ Richard Jenkins, 'Ethnic etcetera: Social Anthropological Points of View,' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies Today*, ed. by Martin Bulmer & John Solomos, (London: Routledge, 1999), p92.

¹⁶ London, PRO, Scot, to Egremont, 19 January 1763.

These prejudices were essential to support the British rule and served to reinforce notions of superiority and difference. Natural Subjects proclaimed “superior skills” to Adopted Subjects, such as the ability to raise more sugar off half the size of land and produce vast quantities of rum and molasses whereas the Adopted Subjects made little or none, a reflection of the Protestant ethic. British whites adopted the pseudo-scientific language and stereotypes used against African slaves (see chapter 4 for further exploration) to describe Adopted Subjects to, distinguish themselves from the French who:

...have all the follies, and vices of that nation, in a much higher degree, than in Europe. They are cunning, but [have] no depth of judgement, they are very frivolous and trifling in their dealings, and very much given to chicane. They are very vain and ostentatious, and fond of military titles, though they have very little bravery among them...they are also naturally insolent and very much given to luxury. ¹⁸

Whites believed, as with the perceived inferior Africans, that proximity with Natural Subjects ensured the superior qualities of the British within a short period be imitated and Adopted Subjects would learn, “frugality and industry, and many of their follies and vices will in great measure wear off.”¹⁹

¹⁷ Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 3 vols., (London: Frank Cass & co 1970 [1774]), I. pp.26-28

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Scott's contentious land policy created tensions and affected both classes of Subjects. Adopted Subjects' properties, in particular, seized in consequence, which contributed to their hostility. Their dissatisfaction with the authority and enforcement of Scott's proclamation concerned its basis on an antiquated French Edict of 1722. The Adopted Subjects rejected the British government enforcing a French edict and they had the rights to sell their lands as they pleased. The gravity of this issue and Scott's intransigence forced a number to appeal directly to London for redress and to complain about his conduct.²⁰ From this early period a trend was established of protest to an independent arbiter - central British government to circumvent the local assembly, judged as unable and/or unwilling to represent their interests.

An example of early divisions and tensions created by this mistrust concerned a prominent French proprietor Monsieur De La Cloiserie, he argued as an actual French subject and inhabitant of France seizure of his property was illegal. Scott dismissed De La Cloiserie's appeal, ruling De La Cloiserie had no right to them and that he would never return or any part of them. De La Cloiserie asserted that if the British Parliament had authorised Scott's actions, he could believe it would be for good reasons, as he could trust their judgement. However, he complained he had no faith in Scott's integrity and warned that if Scott was conducting these actions independently, immediate steps would need to be taken for the level of, "complaints are great, and bad consequences are to be feared."²¹

²⁰ London, PRO, Monsieur Duc de Prasten, précis of letter, 14 August 1763.

²¹ London, Public Record Office, CO101/9, Governor Scot, Letter to Lord Egremont, 23 July 1763.

Ethnic identity is created or becomes more tangible within situations access to power; in this case the Adopted Subjects were powerless to avoid being categorised given their position within the territory and political circumstances of the time that barred them any access to power-sharing. These divisions made tangible that they were different in that society and led to a process of self -identification. This process led to recognition of shared qualities, the two major differences were language and religion.²² This view is corroborated by one traveller who revealed though lingual interaction occurred each group firmly held on to their national tongue.²³

With no mutual trusted independent structures to mediate and increased demarcation between the two classes of subjects, verbal arguments and disagreements escalated in many instances into violent individual incidents that represented island-wide Anglo-French tensions. One incident involved a Natural Subject merchant Brignall and an Adopted Subject planter Le Jeune escalated to the point Brignall issued a challenge of honour (pistols duel) but Le Jeune failed to respond. Brignall, incensed, rode out to Le Jeune's house to seek satisfaction (an accepted full apology or to have the duel). He challenged Le Jeune upon arrival with very abusive language and shot at him. Despite Brignall clearly being the aggressor, Scott dismissed the representations of Le Jeune's lawyer, stating that he, as Governor, was the only judge on the island. Le Jeune absented himself from the court hearing in fear not only for his life but also for of any fair judgement. He argued Scott was liable to be, "prepossessed, misled, misinformed, and imposed upon by false evidence."²⁴

²² Jenkins, pp 90-91.

²³ Thomas Coke, *A History of the West Indies*, 3 vols.(London: 1810), II. P.73

²⁴ London, PRO, CO101/9, Scott to Egremont, 23 July 1763.

The Adopted Subjects' anger grew with Scott's audacious ill treatment of a French aristocrat, Madame de Bonvoust, the wife of the late Governor of Grenada. His slanderous and cavalier comments towards her provided further evidence of his unrepentant conviction of his superiority and his disregard towards the aristocratic status of Madame de Bonvoust. Adopted Subjects interpreted his attitude that he flattered himself through his powers as governor to exceed the limits to his position. This incident revealed another complexity within Grenada society, namely social status, which Scott failed to appreciate. Despite imposed legal appellations of inferiority, the principal Natural Subjects planters protested Scott's actions: "apprehending the power and decision of an arbitrary Governor [we] are alarmed and live in uneasiness."²⁵

The British minister had to intervene. It is pertinent that this application was by men of high-ranking social status and shared national background, common allies of Scott but natural supporters of Madame de Bonvoust's social rank; arguments rested on the tensions created by divided loyalties. Their anxiety was also driven by economic considerations, namely the risk and the effect of Scott's behaviour on Adopted Subjects' confidence to stay on the island and invest in the local economy.

Their concerns influenced a change of administration. The British government were conscious of the political damage created in Scott's short tenure and appointed a new Governor Robert Melville, to assuage poor relations and maintain integrity. Lord Halifax expressed his alarm at the "rigour and injustice" of Scott's occasional treatment towards Madame de Bonvoust. One of the priorities of the newly-

²⁵ Ibid.

appointed Governor on his arrival were to initiate directives to urgently repair relations and address concerns arising out of her treatment.²⁶ Halifax's directive did not have the interests of equality rather the harmony, hence productivity, of the colony in mind.

The basic restructure of political and judicial frameworks and taxation were a priority, but underpinned by inescapable issues of ethnicity. How the new governor Melville arbitrated in disputes was critical; the Adopted Subjects looked towards his appointment with reserved optimism but suspicion of any parochialism.

Another strand that contributed to potential tensions and opportunities for alliances came from within the Natural Subjects. Not all expressed hostile ideas of superiority. Some Natural Subjects were conciliatory towards the Adopted Subjects and critical of any unjustified xenophobic protests. Their retaliatory memorial of 25 signatories to Governor Melville, led by Alexander Winniett, the proposed Speaker of the new assembly and the leader of this party of British whites (for the principle of distinguishing differences I will refer to them as the liberal Natural Subjects henceforth). They were anxious to combat the perception that all Natural Subjects by their silence condoned or shared the beliefs of fellow anti-French Natural Subjects (for the principle of distinguishing differences this party referred to as conservative Natural Subjects hereon). They impressed their views were representative of those actually resident in Grenada by implication accusing the conservative population as being non/short term residents. While sympathetic to fellow Natural Subjects in shared nationality and national interests they questioned the sincerity of imposed

²⁶ London, PRO, CO101/10, Lord Halifax - letter to Governor Robert Melville, 25 May 1764.

rigid legal conventions and the implications of any methods adopted. They attacked the conservatives Natural Subjects' views as the most, "likely to create the utmost jealousy, suspicion, and discontent."²⁷

The Adopted Subjects identified the crude simplicity and real intentions behind fractious relations and accused Natural Subjects of using "violent and unmerited" means that "proceeded from mistaken zeal and national prejudice, than from schemes of ambition, or the pique of disappointment."²⁸

Their acceptance of any calculation against Adopted Subjects based on personal gain demonstrated their natural loyalty to fellow whites; however, they recognised the use of prejudice against the French. They appreciated what their fellow countrymen failed to recognise, namely the Adopted Subjects who remained after Capitulation in 1763 chose to remain and contribute to society; they had sworn allegiance to the British sovereign, taken the oaths of supremacy and abjuration apart from the Test Oath therefore they demonstrated they were entitled to all the privileges of citizenship. The conservative Natural Subjects' insistence on a final obstacle of loyalty revealed their insecurity.

The differences between whites extended beyond their attitudes to Adopted Subjects. The whites in Grenada were not a harmonious social group; colour and nationhood united them but tensions existed within the concept of nation itself. Britain was a union of four nations: England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Each of these internal

²⁷ London, PRO, CO101/11, Memorial of British Protestant Inhabitants of the Island of Grenada to Melville, 14 February 1766.

²⁸ Ibid.

countries had their own histories, cultures, and even own languages. Grenada held a small community of Irish, but the principal British whites were English and Scots.

As noted in chapter 1, an important consideration was the English-Scottish relationship. The crowns of these two countries had only been united the previous century and politically unified since 1707, less than sixty years. Friction existed in England, only twenty years previous the last civil war in Britain fought between England and Scotland concluded in the failed Catholic rebellion to restore the Stuart line under the Young Pretender Bonnie Prince Charlie.. An illustration of the volume and involvement of Scots in Grenada and across the Caribbean (see table 1). Scots formed a significant proportion hence large influence in Caribbean legislatures, only Tobago had a higher proportion than Grenada.

The onset of the Highland clearances and the banning of the Tartans created the final humiliation and symbol of Scotch defeat. Many larger established clans were loyal to the monarchy but many Scots in Grenada were those from poor/lower social groups who had arrived to make their fortune and a new beginning. Many of the male artificers and indentured servants in the Caribbean were also kidnapped in Scottish ports.²⁹ Now they lived with their previous enemy and victors. Some who fought to restore of 'The Young Pretender' (Bonnie Prince Charlie) to restore the Stuart Line on the throne now had to swear allegiance to the 'usurpers' (i.e., the Hanoverian dynasty).The Scotch immigrants were divided along social lines. Married men tended to head to the American colonies in the north. Single males in general

²⁹ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38718, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 31 December 1778

migrated further south to the Caribbean though this only remained on a temporary and transitory basis in search of a fortune in ‘green gold’ (sugar cane).³⁰ Scots in the American colonies not only tended to comprise a higher proportion of the population, but they also tended to require fewer skills than their Caribbean counterparts did. This was simply because of the smaller proportions and the range of skills needed. Scots from this social group were socially- segregated owing to their career choices i.e., contributing skills with a short-term view to earn enough money to return home and live comfortably. The reality was far different for the majority and those who remained longer (rarely permanently and occasionally absent) or stood more opportunities to accumulate materially were the professionals such as teachers, lawyers, accountants and estate managers, etc.³¹

Scots migrated from England for greater opportunities to better themselves. Though the majority of these in other Caribbean islands such as Jamaica were lowlanders whereas those who settled in Grenada tended to be highlanders or from around the Tweed area.³² Scots formed close-knit communities and associations (see chapter 6 also) and based on their views of entrenched uncertainties within the Caribbean. They were more likely to form more defined groups with ‘ethnic anchors’ such as the Church of Scotland and Scottish rites.³³ An example of such tensions following Culloden occurred after the final battle, in Cuba, of the Seven Years War. Two Highland officers encountered a mob in the Covent Garden theatre in London who

³⁰ Long, pp.261-83

³¹ David Dobson, *Scots in the West Indies 1707-1857*, 2 vols., (Clearfield: Clearfield, 1998), I (1998), P.4

³² Alan L Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake 1740-1800*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp.15-18

³³ Douglas J Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World 1750- 1820*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p.48

castigated then with “No Scots! No Scots! Out with them!” then pelted them with apples.³⁴

Winniett’s defence for the Adopted Subjects’ positive attributes increased the dangers of hostile strategy against them and recognition of immediate and future problems such actions would bring. The liberal Protestant residents cautioned it would place power in too few hands and lead to abuse and possible consequences would leave Grenada to their management and designs that would create “odious and unnecessary distinctions,” and lead to differences of views and opposition of interests that would ferment further jealousies between Natural and Adopted Subjects. The disproportionate implications would create unjust superiority on one side and grating inferiority on the other. The fundamental association was that this state among free men could be arguable equitable to slavery, a state that could not be reconciled to an equal and free government and lead to the “forming of two separate societies in the same colony, so destructive to the harmony, prosperity and security of the whole.”³⁵

Their protest encapsulated the contradictory nature of plantation society itself, not just relating to relations between Natural and Adopted Subjects but also between free and slave. It in many ways it illuminated the arguments that underpinned not only the future American and French Revolutions that century, but some 30 years before in Fédon’s Rebellion.

³⁴ Pocock, P.249

³⁵ London, PRO, CO101/11, Memorial Inhabitants to Melville, 14 February 1766.

Grenada Natural Subjects' approach to government was confrontational, for there were established precedents in other colonies for Roman Catholics and other such dissenters to practise their faith without taking the oaths they had been obliged to make. The imposed labels as 'New' and 'Adopted' by their very appellation implied difference, being outsiders or aliens, not belonging and having no stake in Grenadian society and forming a deliberate and provocative strategy to label them as subjected, alien, and allied to another foreign state.³⁶

Table 1

Scots in Windward Legislatures 1766 – 1796³⁷

Island	% Council	% Assembly
Grenada	38.9	49.7
Dominica	40.3	26.9
St. Vincent	23.3	31.6
Tobago	61.9	75 (to 1780 only)

Tensions creating divisions among whites were dangerous as it undermined their brittle security and inner fears. Vast differences in ethnic ratios were repeated throughout the Caribbean and demonstrated whites' precarious security position. Grenada was no different (Table 2) and internal tensions undermined the unwritten security code of white hegemony vital to the ensuring retention of power. White

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Hamilton, p.145

totals reflected the changing nature of Grenada's political and social environment through migration. The ratio of enslaved Africans to whites near tripled from a peak of 1:10 to 1:27. These figures are striking because these white totals composed Natural *and* Adopted Subjects. Population ratios bore an inverse relationship; Grenada became increasingly successful order to maintain or surpass exports: "cultivation depends on the number, Labour and submissions of Negroes ... In order to maintain them in proper discipline and respect." ³⁸

Table 2

Ethnic Ratios in Grenada 1762 – 1783³⁹

Year	Whites	Blacks
1762	1225	12000
1771	1661	n/k
1777	1324	n/k
1783	996	26,741

Melville wanted to mark his independence and to unite the colony, but under orders to control Test adherents. Melville was placed under immediate pressures to ensure local policy and decisions that appeared to favour any unwarranted indulgences and opened accusations of nepotism and partisanship. He had the support of Adopted Subjects unlike Scott; Adopted Subjects' trust in his credibility emanated through an

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Edward L Cox, *Free Coloureds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada 1763 – 1833*, (doctoral thesis, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), p.14

early confrontation with conservative Natural Subjects. In this incident Melville opposed a petition against Catholic disqualification from taking the Test before voting provided they took all required oaths and were freeholders. While the Council was sitting a prominent planter, Ninian Home tried to present a petition against granting voting rights to Adopted Subjects. Melville refused according to instructions in his inaugural address to the Grenada Assembly and reiterated his desire to implement this policy.⁴⁰

The physical topography and geographical location of Grenada within the Caribbean, made migration difficult to control and over the following months a high number of French citizens, attracted by the transition economy, and agitated by unequal treatment towards the political restrictions against resident Adopted Subjects. This demonstrates the correlation of ethnic identity to time and place; the circumstances created the conditions where a greater sense of ethnic identity was developed by outside forces who inculcated a greater sense of distinction.⁴¹ French migrants strove to agitate political consciousness to employ their numerical superiority to force greater numbers into the assembly during elections or to encourage Adopted Subjects to use either their own votes for only French members or to employ tactical votes for French sympathisers.

The council became the focus for disappointment and anger for the Catholics in particular the design of an Election Act that set conditions to obstruct their abilities

⁴⁰ London, PRO, CO101/11, Minutes of Council Meeting, 13 December 1763.

⁴¹ Franklin D Knight, 'Race, Ethnicity and Class in Caribbean Society,' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies Today*, ed. by Martin Bulmer and John Solomos, (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.200-202.

to vote.⁴² Eminent planters and Melville feared breaches of social status despite precarious white numbers. Therefore only those who held considerable property were judged to possess the proper capabilities, status and sensibilities were accepted, men of insignificant property were not deemed able to legislate and judge their superiors. Its purpose was to negate the Adopted Subjects who owed the majority of land, but in smaller tracts.

Restrictive qualifications created inevitable tensions. One example concerned a Monsieur Couzau, a suspect migrant agitator, who organised active opposition. Melville recognised that Couzau was a real danger as he utilised a voting system flaw, termed ‘plurality of votes,’ that created the possible of election success of persons Melville termed, the “most obnoxious and absurd of the Natural Subjects” who had made “rash” election promises to the Adopted Subjects which they would not be able to deliver. Melville does not specify what these promises are but it is almost certain they must have included immediate guarantees for French representation in the legislature without the need for the Test or some similar flexible option.⁴³

How the Adopted Subjects reacted to such political chicanery was a major concern. Melville envisaged a scenario where Adopted Subjects gained control of the Assembly, but dismissed Couzau and his ilk as mere aberrations who would eventually fade away once Natural Subjects recognised their allegiances and voted

⁴² London, PRO, CO103/6, Regulations for Elections for Grenada Assembly, 11 December 1766
Also see: London, PRO, CO103/26, Act Elections to General Assembly, Qualifications for Elections, 14 October 1767

⁴³ London, PRO, CO101/11, Report - Minutes of Council to Melville, 1 May 1768

with their religion, King, and country and, to a lesser extent, social class.⁴⁴ These ideas linked again to Natural Subjects' view of cultural superiority. This attitude was reflected by the behaviour of future Grenada governors who adopted a complacent evaluation to dismiss danger signs as unsubstantiated rumour or as inconsequential events. This provided further evidence of superior attitudes also examples of their insecurity, i.e., the pressures governors felt compelled to send favourable and positive reports back to Britain while caught between the religious, ethnic, and social tensions within Grenada society. This argument is supported by the actions of the new Assembly members who passionately pursued political agendas to the cost of the effective function of the chamber and island security.

Adopted Subjects and their supporters continued to circumvent legislation and sought to maximise their influence in the assembly. A noted incident involved one Monsieur Demonchy who agitated against the legislation to become a candidate for a local parish. The returning officer challenged Demonchy under the Election Act for he disputed Demonchy's claim to be a Protestant as he attested the Frenchman was a practising Catholic. Demonchy reacted to this public humiliation with anger and indignation claiming that the returning officer had no right to ask such pertinent questions and insisted his name be entered in the poll as a candidate. The returning officer refused, noting the Frenchman's violent and impetuous manner; his intransigence which created a great uproar amongst Demonchy's supporters. A crowd member, a Monsieur Cazaud, certain the same Couzau Melville identified earlier, commenced a passionate address to the crowd but was also prevented by the returning officer. Demonchy attempted to continue the address but was also over-

⁴⁴ London, PRO, CO101/12, Melville letter to the Earl of Shelburne, 16 November 1767

ruled whereupon he threw down the paper on the returning officer's desk in disgust at this refusal of their rights and threatened the returning officer with multiple legal actions. The officer dismissed these threats and had a constable take Demonchy into custody. He ordered that the declaration be translated before declaring it to be grossly insulting and seditious.⁴⁵

The protesters' address revealed their objectives, how were perceived and treated by the Natural Subjects. Their declaration complained of the injustice of the Election Bill which led to their belief they were eligible to judge themselves through political representation. The election process was seen as a deliberate secret design to exclude them for Adopted Subjects had no knowledge of its existence till the moment of election. They protested that "all that has been done or may be done in the future against our rights, as being contrary to the just and paternal intentions of His Majesty."⁴⁶

King George III ordered the complete accommodation into Grenadian political life but the colonial legislature, with the apparent permission of the King's representative, obstructed these Royal directions.

The 'Demonchy – Cazaud' protest initiated a chain of events that tested the whites' vital yet fragile unity beyond previous boundaries. It created great consternation among the liberal Protestants who dominated assembly appalled at the treatment towards the protesters. A symbolic reversal of power became evident by the

⁴⁵ London, PRO, CO101/12, Meeting of Governor Melville and Council and letter of Walter Robertson (dated same), 9 November 1767

⁴⁶ London, PRO, CO101/12, Meeting of Melville and Council, 9 November 1767

summons of the guilty returning officer. They ordered the election officer and the English justice of the peace (JP), who placed the French candidates into custody to admit their guilt and beg pardon of the house. Both incredulous officers refused to acknowledge the authority of the house and its challenge to their status and honour as British men and to its demand that they crave clemency. Their attitude towards the temerity of the house to humiliate them was evident in their response. Rather than show contrition the returning officer mocked the inability of Demonchy and Cazaud to communicate in English between them. A complete realignment in ethnic alliances became apparent when the new assembly remained resolute and responded by unprecedented action and commitment to the common goal. Winniett justification for the assembly's actions lay with the obstinate reaction and manner displayed by the magistrate and the returning officer.⁴⁷ It created a seminal division as conservative Natural Subjects within the council responded through refusal to recognise the authority of the elected assembly. They refused to acknowledge the assembly had any jurisdiction to act or the temerity to move against them. The reverberations therefore were profound. The invisible lines of duty and solidarity toward ethnicity were breached in a confrontational public manner and made the Test question a growing tangible impending dilemma.⁴⁸

The importance of this incident to both factions was the prisoners became symbolic of the power struggle this was underlined when the prisoners were set free by a sympathetic Protestant judge, who also met their large bail to stand trial. Their freedom deliberately undermined the authority of the Assembly and received scenes

⁴⁷ London, PRO, CO101/12, Address of General Assembly, 18 March 1768

⁴⁸ London, PRO, CO101/12, Proceedings of the Board, 2 December 1767

of great celebration by Natural Subjects. This was the first massed confrontation and undoubtedly set a pattern for ethnic relations between these two ethnic groups. Both sides expressed open enmity and bi-partisanship. Melville justified his inaction as he viewed their release with relief for violence would have been inevitable if their liberty was denied.⁴⁹

Demonchy and Cazaud failed to answer summons to attend the courthouse; resulting in both arrests under warrants for contempt. Their actions incensed the conservative Natural Subjects as further evidence of French contempt and obstinacy and a blatant show their ingratitude and abuse towards the tolerance shown towards them.⁵⁰

Adopted Subjects were expected to demonstrate their gratitude for such an astounding gift to their magnanimous conquerors, “so favourable and solid a privilege” the Adopted Subjects should clamour to attach themselves to the British constitution.⁵¹

The returning officer admitted he had objected to Demonchy and Cazaud’s brazen dismissal of his authority and his insistence to exercise what he saw as his duty, therefore punishment had to expiate their humiliation and set a warning to other Adopted Subjects. Cazaud was imprisoned but significant he was forced to provide a submission *in writing* for his disobedience; and his apology consistent with *their honour and dignity* before acceptance. The principal agitators had to be publicly humiliated and the boundaries of ethnicity reinforced. Cazaud took a principled

⁴⁹ London, PRO, CO101/12, Melville - Letter to Shelburne, 27 December 1767

⁵⁰ London, PRO, CO101/12, Proceedings of the Board, 2 December. 1767

⁵¹ London, PRO, CO101/12, Melville - Letter to Shelburne, 27 December 1767

stand and refused to sign for four days before finally relenting and signing the declaration of apology.⁵²

Conservative Natural Subjects turned against the leaders of the assembly who betrayed ethnic solidarity for their support and relationships with Adopted Subjects. It threatened the political structure, island security and primarily ethnic unity: “there will be neither tranquillity in the colony or any useful business done while this Assembly subsists.”⁵³

It became evident the true focus for their rage was not the incarceration of the two British Protestants rather outrage of Adopted Subjects’ and their sympathisers and supporters within the assembly who, “mean to arrogate to themselves, and by precedents (as far as they can) to establish powers and privileges in their Assembly...of a nature not only unconstitutional...but destructive to the rights and liberties of the subject.”⁵⁴

The Assembly was suspected of planning to model itself on American and other West-Indian colonies, and was charged as self-serving and only interested in accumulating power and privileges for themselves. They argued Adopted Subjects were granted the right to vote provided they took the relevant oaths and declarations. English and Welsh law supported Melville’s view that there did not appear to be any laws of England that precluded property given to the Adopted Subjects; they were subject to the laws and conditions that they would expect within Britain. They had an absolute right to share in the choice of representatives; only their religion excluded

⁵² London, PRO, CO101/12, Proceedings of the Board, 2 December 1767

⁵³ London, PRO, CO101/12, Melville - Letter to Shelburne, 27 December 1767

⁵⁴ Ibid.

them. The success to run an effective colony was to give their votes to the best and most substantial| of the Natural Subjects rather than the “factious pursuits of the meanest and least deserving.”⁵⁵

Despite attempts by some Natural Subjects to drive Adopted Subjects off through the cheap purchase of their lands, Melville recognised his principal objective was to keep as many inhabitants with their chattels on the island as possible. Any Adopted Subject not satisfied without gaining positions of trust or power that might endanger the security and safety of the island and incompatible with the laws of England, were free to leave and be replaced by Natural Subjects.

The structure of the lower chamber’s powers and privileges were defined and established as by the Governor, the commander-in-chief or any other nominated senior official authorised the exclusion of professed Roman Catholics from any public offices of trust and power. Any misconceptions and legal flaws used in defence against taking the Test were clarified, namely making and subscribing to the ‘Test’ could not be received unless the applicant had taken all recognised steps to conversion to Protestantism previous to his declaration as set out by the law. Those who had been certified (defined as ‘reputed’) to have converted could not take any public office without making and subscribing in public to the Test compulsory to all. This strategy revealed a range of methods employed by many Adopted Subjects to circumvent the Test. Melville also proposed further restrictions and regulations to

⁵⁵ Ibid.

control the numbers of Adopted Subjects as electors and elected and fixed minimum standards of knowledge of English language and laws before their admission.⁵⁶

The reforms contravened the instructions set by the Crown. The British government encountered a dilemma: vital peaceful relations in a distant but rich strategic colony, but counterbalanced by the immovable constitutional question of Catholic rights. Failure to soothe aggrieved parties raised dangers of renewed political and social upheaval and the financial burden of renewed conflict. Melville's reaction to the Instructions suggested a degree of uncertainty and confusion it suggested the initiative and the responsibility was passed to the colonial legislature.⁵⁷

Melville recognised the significance of this hesitancy. In his submission to London, he pre-empted criticism of his strategy and was keen to signal his actions not be interpreted as they appeared; rather he hoped his political masters would judge him and his strategy on the strength of their knowledge of him and its intention,

The British government were alert that growing antagonism between ethnic groups not only threatened to damage Grenada but could provoke political problems elsewhere in other Caribbean nations or mainland France. Hillsborough criticised Melville for his failure to listen patiently to the Adopted Subjects, whether their complaints were real or imagined, and to remove the cause of their concerns in order to conciliate their minds and restore their confidence and affection in government.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ London, PRO, CO103/3, Act "Elections to General Assembly, Qualifications for Elections, 14 October 1767

⁵⁷ London, PRO, CO101/12, Proceedings of the Board, 2 December 1767

⁵⁸ London, PRO, CO101/12, Lord Hillsborough - Letter to Melville, 8 March 1768

An important method designed to place psychological pressure onto a governor, to remind him of his duties to ethnic solidarity, was through subtle threats in messages, such as: “the duty your Excellency owes to your royal master, your distinguished zeal for his services and attachment and affection to the crown and nation, what your honours owe to yourselves, to your fellow subjects, to your country, and to posterity.”⁵⁹

Ethnic allegiances forced allegiances and induced other Natural Subjects in particular those who wavered towards any course inimical to Natural Subjects. As noted earlier active powerful lobby groups, such as the West India Lobby, existed back in Britain which acted to counter negative petitions and news received in London.

The Adopted Subjects’ memorial for example, was countered by an organised additional copy of Natural Subjects’ memorial that circumvented government and was addressed directly to King George III to argue the danger of any Adopted Subjects’ success that would present the most fatal and dangerous consequences.⁶⁰ One New Subject, a surgeon from St. George’s named Ruchon, intensified their resolve and succeeded where Demonchy and Cazaud had failed. He managed to vote despite failure to meet two core qualifications: he was not a freeholder nor a capitulant or a naturalised subject. Such a blatant breach of the Act created deep anger and increased tensions in what was seen as his presumptuousness as he

⁵⁹ London, PRO, CO101/13, Memorial from the Natural Subjects, 3 December 1776

⁶⁰ London, PRO, CO101/12, Memorial of Natural Born Subjects Presented to the Board, 3 December 1767

insisted on voting. Action was swift and decisive: Ruchon was ordered to be deported.⁶¹

The depth of this schism and the power of the colonial government was demonstrated when the Committee served summons on 12 Adopted Subjects who were signatories to a memorial sent to King George III. The Council's intention was a display of their power as the premier authority on the island and their determination to defy any British government policy to reform Catholics' status. Their robust actions demonstrated to British government that any appeals to the King or directions received would not alter their policy. Punishment toward the Catholic signatories was a signal of intent and strength: 11 appellants bound by £300 in sureties and a further two securities of £150 to appear at their next court hearing.⁶²

Governors acted as the 'eyes and ears' for the British government; this status and the presumed cloak of impartiality and authority meant they held substantial power and influence within their colonies. As set out before they possessed powerful positions to control of the flow of information, to filter news and construct events how they saw them in their compulsory regular reports to the British government. Melville demonstrated this influence, particularly once the Assembly remained prorogued, and frequently reported the island as profoundly tranquil.⁶³

⁶¹ London, PRO, CO101/12, Proceedings of the Board, 4 December 1767

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ London, PRO, CO101/13, Address of the Representatives of the Island of Grenada and the Grenadines in General Assembly to H.M. King George III, 17 March 1768

He praised a Grenada resident and an Adopted Subject convert, Sir Francis Laurent for praise and a demonstration what could be achieved through Catholic assimilation, namely the continued belief of the civilising improvement of British education.⁶⁴

Laurent's status was not solely because of his recantation; his conversion eased social stigma and certain Catholic persecution, but he was prosperous in Grenada beforehand. He owned and co-owned a number of estates across the island totalling an impressive 1853 acres and some 729 slaves.⁶⁵ He was active in Melville's plan to promote his scheme to send Catholic children to England for their schooling and social betterment.

One of the principle differences between metropolitan and colonial governments was metropolitan government was aware of the wider implications of policies and resultant on impact international relations, particularly with European neighbours, the balance of wants and needs with political and economic realities. The socio-economic and political elite within Grenada, like other Caribbean colonies, took a generally diametrical view focussed on insular issues and objectives.

The British government's Proclamation of 31 December 1768 realised the fears of Natural Subjects. The new reformed house of Assembly comprised 24 members (eleven members were needed to form a quorum) which represented the parishes (see Table 3).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ London, PRO, CO101/12, Melville - Letter to Hillsborough, 25 May 1768

Adopted Subjects were allowed to stand provided: a) they, their parents or ancestors were resident at the time of the Treaty of Paris; (b) they were actual residents on the island: (c) they possessed land and /or tenements.

It allowed a maximum limit for three Adopted Subjects (one per united parish) with other freeholders in the province *but* critically they were not required to take any oaths or declarations except those of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration and immediately after the poll required to subscribe to the Declaration against Transubstantiation.⁶⁶

Table 3

Reformed house of Assembly – Members by Parish⁶⁷

Island Parish	Seats Appointed
The town of St. George's	4 members
Parishes of St. John and St. George's	5 members
Parishes of St. David and St. Andrew	6 members
Parishes of St. Patrick and St. Mark	6 members
Carriacou & Grenadines	3 members

⁶⁶ London, PRO, CO101/12, Hillsborough - Letter to Governor Ulysses Fitzmaurice, 14 July 1768.

⁶⁷ London, PRO, CO101/13, Hillsborough - Letter to Fitzmaurice, 9 March 1769

Refusal surrendered the vacant seat to the next highest polling candidate. Where no maximum numbers of candidates existed, the highest candidate refusing The Test would have his name left off the return and would be set aside and his name replaced by the others based on highest order of votes received. If there was a vacant seat for a Roman Catholic New Subject then the elected replacement was not required to take The Test. Absent candidates were elected, but if they refused to take the Test then they were excluded unless there were representatives in the same parish who had refused to take the Test or a person who had fewer votes.

Governor Fitzmaurice recognised the imperative of ethnic satisfaction through representation and equality where possible. British ministers recognised the major difficulties they demanded from their governors. Hillsborough praised Fitzmaurice for carrying out these reforms without apparent difficulty or opposition, a reference to previous Governors. Hillsborough was aware of ethnic fears and potential responses to this radical policy but recognised the critical importance for these reforms to create stability throughout the island: “[They are] the foundations upon which the whole is built and without which it must fall to the ground.”⁶⁸

Hillsborough approved of the ‘indulgence’ granted to the Adopted Subjects and resultant effect it contributed to restore harmony and tranquillity to Grenada. He ordered full integration of government policy and ordering further appointments for two Catholics to the Council and one as an assistant judge to complete the King’s

⁶⁸ London, PRO, CO101/13, Hillsborough - Letter to Fitzmaurice, 13 May 1769

plan to satisfy the Adopted Subjects and ordered confirmation when these had been carried out.

This demonstrated again that financial interests became a force of white solidarity. It also revealed the complexities of ethnic alliances for the lobbyists against Melville were Natural Subjects from the landed classes and merchants; some of the principal land owners in Grenada. Social class demonstrated its presence as a powerful force not strictly tied to ethnic lines and provided another layer of tension within Grenada society. Fitzmaurice accused this Natural Subject party of setting themselves in opposition to the Royal Will and their actions were not supported by the voice of the colony.

Fitzmaurice, like previous governors, was coerced by pressures of ethnic loyalty. Conservative Natural Subjects appreciated the inherent reliance he, as all governors, had on their social and numerical support. Fitzmaurice frustrated by his ineffective status complained to London that the dissenters, “were *led* to believe they could go to any lengths with impunity and were determined to abuse the lenience and moderation that characterised his Governorship.”⁶⁹

Fitzmaurice tried to impose some form of control on the island’s crisis. His powerless position, he argued was based on others taking advantage of his lenient style compared to Melville. Melville antagonised Scott’s friends to the extent they complained he treated them as ‘transparent souls’ i.e., aloof. Such incidents reveal the level of feuding within the Natural Subjects and the alliances formed. They

⁶⁹ London, PRO, CO101/16, State of Grenada taken April 1772,

accused him of duplicity namely, he had entertained the Adopted Subjects' right to equality of the vote knowing this fully contravened his ethnic and national group's traditional religious and cultural rights and beliefs; they claimed Cazaud, the agitator, was his good friend; also Melville presided during Council and Assembly confrontation over Cazaud.⁷⁰

It demonstrated the fluidity of ethnic relations, they were not rigid as portrayed rather existed as a complex raft of alliances based on the many facets of ethnicity common to those involved. It reinforces Higman's argument again how these societies were 'representations of reality' carefully constructed and tightly controlled.⁷¹ Frictions in ethnic tensions allowed accounts such as Johnson's claims to leak out of a carefully presented history of white unity. Melville appeared to be amiable to all ethnic groups even to certain enslaved Africans (see Chapter 4). His survival appeared to rely on his ability to balance these associations and present carefully constructed records to British government but in Grenada society forced him to choose affinity to country or colony. Lucas supports this argument as he claimed that Scott's friends weakened their position of strength through exaggerated and unrealistic or truth and conversely served to support The King's opinion of his Governor that allowed him to return to Grenada in 1769.⁷²

They recognised the true extent of the cleavage in white hegemony and urgent action required to calm the entrenched parties. The King's act of 'indulgence' towards the Adopted Subjects was indisputable, but inconceivable the blame for the Grenada

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Higman, pp.25-26

⁷² London, PRO, CO101/26, Lucas - Letter to Sydney, 9 April.. 1786

crisis could be laid before the King's feet. The return of Melville, came with the monarch's blessing; Hillsborough and his government were exposed but this opened potential political humiliation from political opponents in Britain, lobby groups and associations and potential calls for resignations or even an election. This left only Fitzmaurice as expendable to take responsibility for the constitutional crisis.

To maintain an image of control and calm Hillsborough accused and castigated Fitzmaurice for creating the constitutional crisis. Hillsborough claimed he was at a loss to guess Fitzmaurice's grounds and reasoning for authorising the appointment of the two Catholics. Hillsborough's accusation exemplifies this manipulation of history,

... does in direct terms express diametrically the contrary...nor can it in any shape, either in the whole or in the part, be constrained to contain the least colour or pretence of an authority for the precipitate and ill-judged step which has produced consequences so fatal to that peace and tranquillity which I have endeavoured with so much earnestness to establish, and which, but for this event, I had the good hopes to be effected.⁷³

Fitzmaurice was destroyed without official support mainly due to the frustration caught in continued ethnic struggles for supremacy by the rival political factions. Hillsborough's claim demanded was Fitzmaurice so misguided by reforming zeal he could have so erroneously misinterpreted the King's Instructions? The Speaker of the Assembly, Alexander Winniett, praised the Governor for his reforms and for carrying out the King's instructions. Winniett, as Speaker of the House, had sight of

⁷³ London, PRO, CO101/13, Hillsborough – Letter to Fitzmaurice, 13 May 1769

the documents just as all members of the Council; the rebel Councillors referred to them in resolutions passed during illegal Council sittings. Hillsborough approved of Fitzmaurice's actions and did not express explicit concerns regarding any potential misinterpretations or state explicit procedures that demanded exact procedures, especially given the potential impact and constitutional implications of these reforms. The relevant extract of his letter is worth full quote,

I have no doubt but that I shall soon have the satisfaction to hear, that all other matters contained in His Majesty's additional instructions have been in a like manner carried into execution without difficulty or opposition...As the appointment of two of His Majesty's Adopted Subjects to be members of the Council, and one of them to be an assistant judge, will be the completion of His Majesty's gracious plan for the satisfaction of his Adopted Subjects in Grenada, I shall take the King's pleasure thereupon the moment I receive intelligence from you of these measures being carried into execution on your side of the water which make an essential part of (I may indeed say) the foundation upon which the whole is built, and without which it must fall to the ground.⁷⁴

Hillsborough argued Catholic integration was under future consideration, but Fitzmaurice had not received explicit instruction to initiate; rather Fitzmaurice had to seek approval for the final stage of the plan, i.e., the appointment of Adopted Subjects to official positions, subject to *all* other preliminary measures executed.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

The government's explanation revealed an unclear, cautious, awkward policy that demonstrated their uncertainty over the 'Grenada situation.' Fitzmaurice may have been over-enthusiastic or have misinterpreted his instructions but the evidence against him was circumstantial; the greater case to explain lay with the government. Not only was Fitzmaurice left to repair social hostilities, he faced the calamitous task of solving the constitutional mess or as Hillsborough called it, "the conviction of a mistake which you have fallen into."⁷⁵

Fitzmaurice must have recognised his administration was terminated. His political allies were powerless in a weakened Assembly and he must have suffered isolation and humiliation at the hands of the suspended Council rebels and their avenging Protestant party supporters. All credibility, respect and support would be impossible to maintain in those circumstances. This led to complete despair and dissolution. He was resigned to his fate and accepted full liability for the every part of the chaos and exonerated everyone. He claimed the ambiguity of Hillsborough's letter was now clear and apparent to him. He admitted that he had expected opposition to the King's commands but when none materialised he took Hillsborough's letter for granted and carried through the reforms. Fitzmaurice offered tacit acceptance that he should have communicated to Hillsborough the reception to the reform plans but he did not appreciate that the term 'additional instructions' meant he was to receive / await further directions. When he received instruction in 1768, he "generally imagined" that the King's intentions were to establish a full and complete legislature could not

⁷⁵ Ibid.

be fulfilled less “the admission of the Adopted Subjects into the Council being one branch of legislature accompanied the election of them into the other.”⁷⁶

Fitzmaurice’s willingness to accept entire blame for the crisis exposed the weakness of the alibi of the British government and provided further evidence that he had been sacrificed for he received concern and support from the most powerful and influential source. This supporter was King George III, who expressed concern at events in Grenada and expressed his full confidence in Fitzmaurice for integrity and the uprightness of his motives,⁷⁷ .

Melville’s supporters who reacted to this accused Fitzmaurice of being too much under the influence of his secretary, recognised as a firm anti-Melville protester. Fitzmaurice’s actions reached Melville in Britain before he left for Grenada. Their strategy forced Melville to complain to London over what he saw as libellous damage to his reputation and principally the settling of old petty scores from the period of his Governorship. Melville’s previous departure for Dominica saw a rise in the number of complaints and what he saw as some “very busy machinations” engineered and promoted to fabricate new misrepresentations against him.⁷⁸

Melville reported on his return that the state in relations in Grenada were fractious which contradicted the view presented by Fitzmaurice. Two weeks later he reported that relations in Grenada had improved but warned of the undercurrent in tensions

⁷⁶ London, PRO, CO101/14, Fitzmaurice – Letter to Hillsborough, 20 January 1770

⁷⁷ London, PRO, CO101/14, Hillsborough – Letter to Fitzmaurice, 21 April 1770

⁷⁸ London, PRO, CO101/15, Melville – Letter to Hillsborough, 27 February, 1771

where “the inflameability of spirits and the mischievous arts used to excite it by some residing in England, are still obstacles much to be dreaded [Sic].”⁷⁹

The fluctuations in his reports of Grenadian ethnic relations highlighted the external influences as much as internal influences contributions to island tensions. This reference targeted French agitators and certain London merchants, who had, he complained, influence within British government and had launched damaging offensives to his Governorship in the past. This directly reference to his enemies, particularly those who protested against his fitness to govern.

Melville reorganised the legislature and confirmed the Catholic Monsieur Devoconnou to continue in Council. The Council was thus deemed to be full but there were two Councillors absent in England who had not been put under any pressure to return or give a statement of intent of their return. To avoid embarrassment or any potential explosive situations Monsieur de Chantaloupe was immediately appointed to the Council. Mr Lucas was rewarded for his ‘loyalty’ by his promotion to Chief Justice.

Ethnic tensions must have increased because of this action and Melville warned that factions were liable to break out until the central obstacle of ‘the Test’ contest was settled. His assessment erupted as predicted. That September a number of Adopted Subjects attempted to take their places as Justices of the Peace (JP) at the Grand Sessions of the Peace but this raised passions amongst the British. Melville and Chief Justice Lucas assumed, or hoped, the Catholics would not take their seats

⁷⁹ London, PRO, CO101/14, Melville – Letter to Hillsborough, 20 April 1770

following the repeal of the Grenada Court Act, which required all members of the bench to take the Test.

The president of the bench challenged Monsieurs Roume de St. Laurent and Mouy de Bordes' applications for sworn Justices on 6 September 1770, inquiring whether they would take the Test. Both Frenchmen refused, as Grenada law had dispensed with this obligation. The president ordered the said Act be read out aloud then observed the commissions of the prospective JPs was dated after the Act and was not retrospective in its wording, therefore did not apply to them. The president argued that even if such wording had been retrospective, it would still be void as the 'Act to Regulate the Proceedings of the Assembly' precluded that no bills could be passed unless all members of the Council should be summoned to attend at the appointed time. When this legislation was passed, he noted, no such summons had been issued.⁸⁰

This incident demonstrated the flexibility and ingenuity build into Acts and/or the interpretation of them prevalent in the Caribbean colonies to obstruct and maintain control. The members of the Council were all aware of procedures and the requirements of the law, in particular, Lucas as the chief legal officer, but Lucas was a conservative Protestant party sympathiser. Engineering a 'failure' involved a summons not sent or for a member 'failing' to receive one. The president of the bench revealed his true reasons when he stipulated that the Act was repugnant to the central 17th Century Act of Parliament. Catholic sympathisers or those who believed in the integrity of interpretation and sanctity of the laws recognised the unwritten

⁸⁰ London, PRO, CO101/14, Proceedings of the Grand Sessions of the Peace, 15 September 1770

constitutional implications and the prominence of the Crown. They argued from legal rather than political reasoning that any act of the legislature was a good act until disallowed by the King and did not require a court to judge its legality.

Tortuous legal arguments as these reflected the confusion and shifting alliances and rivalries within a Grenada society that had stagnated in an endgame of sectarian relations. These confrontations became so entrenched the bench referred the matter to the senior government legal advocate, the Attorney-General, for a legal opinion. His role as the premier lawyer was to provide guidance in such matters but such was the chaotic and political tensions within Grenada he evaded the issue on the pretext he was “so unexpectedly called upon, he did not choose to give a solemn opinion upon a question of so much importance to the country.”⁸¹

He did let it be known that his personal view was that the Act was illegal. This reflected tensions within the British mainland regarding this issue. The Adopted Subject JPs were ousted by a vote 8-2 against their entry.

The two French JPs would not have been surprised by their reception and the outcome. The partiality of the Sessions would have been known to them and was revealed a few days after this infamous ruling. An address by the Grand Jury of Grenada demonstrated how emboldened the anti-Catholic Natural Subjects had grown. In it, they declared under the repeal of the Test Act the constitution had suffered seminal alteration and the liberty and security of the colony and its property placed in manifest danger. They criticised and protested over partial and unnatural

⁸¹ London, PRO, CO101/14, Proceedings of the Grand Sessions of the Peace, 6 September 1770

preferences given to the Adopted Subjects. They argued it was extraordinary that new legislation allowed, what was until recent, their declared enemy to pass laws in a language they did not understand and made them capable of official legal judgement upon the lives, liberties, and properties of Natural Subjects through their own constitutional laws and statutes. They held that it was a ‘melancholic reflection’ that the Adopted Subject JPs held the same powers as the Court of King’s Bench in England and issued a veiled threat to abolish the reforms as they had produced “No good affect whatsoever [rather] it hath drawn after it a train of evils... which must daily increase.”⁸²

Melville was obliged to convey the ferocity and fearlessness of this address in his reports though embarrassed by its candour, lack of moderation and respect towards the monarch. The declaration, signed by some of the principal landowners and respectable men in Grenada such as Ninian Home, Alexander Campbell, James Baillie and others, who possessed close links to government officials and members of Parliament (see Chapter 4) demonstrated the level of support. It exemplified a polarisation and detachment of their loyalty and due deference to the Crown. Melville, shared contributory guilt because of conflict between the role of governor and his associations therefore he placed himself in a contradictory position therefore be compromised as a tool of the conservative Protestant party to achieve their political aims.

⁸² London, PRO, CO101/14, Address of the Grand Jury of Grenada to His Majesty, 10 September 1770

The continued escalation of ethnic tensions in Grenada worried Hillsborough, as well as the unprecedented challenge to the Sovereign. He suspected Melville to be a key instigator to the fervent climate that produced the extraordinary address of the Grand Jury. Melville demonstrated this through his weak attempts to control the discontented factious elements and local enforcement to resolve issues that threatened public tranquillity. The Grand Jury debacle should have been resolved in Council and any necessary action taken with the Chief Justice to support the rights of the Adopted Subjects to vindicate the King's instructions from "the calumny which they were attacked" and expose the erroneous doctrines that were peddled in the Grand Sessions proceedings and the address of the Grand Jury.⁸³

Such severe chastisement revealed the British government's frustration towards the Grenada Council that blatantly frustrated the will of the King and his government – the same charge Fitzsimmons was accused of implementing. Hillsborough's solution charged the two senior officials, Melville and Lucas, to implement his peace plan. Hillsborough appeared to believe these officials would suspend their personal beliefs and conduct the affairs of their office with detachment.

Melville's vulnerable position increased under continued attacks from influential pressure groups in England. A key figure identified was William Mackintosh, a Grenada planter living in England, accused as the conservative Natural Subjects party's "chief instrument."⁸⁴ Men like Mackintosh were invaluable to lobby government ministers and Members of Parliament (MPs), they helped build anti-

⁸³ London, PRO, CO101/14, Hillsborough – Letter to Melville, 11 December 1770

⁸⁴ London, PRO, CO101/15, Melville – Letter to Hillsborough, 31 October 1770

Catholic pressure and promote the Grenadian Protestants' plight. These agents also provided important information from Britain such as current political thinking and potential information of consequence to the group.

Landed agents such as Mackintosh left their seats vacant in absence which reduced the effectiveness of the legislature. Members of the Council were men of property, which created perpetual conflict between the economic interests of their plantations over political and legal duties. Landowners absent overseas created a different problem, unlike those resident in Grenada, they could not be directly threatened, summoned or fined to attend to their legal duties. Many, like Mackintosh, employed their time in active political pressure in Britain rather than fight a determined but lost battle in Grenada.

Those in London who had a vested interest in Grenada were also blamed, particularly French agents who would benefit from increased political and economic power with the installation of a Catholic.⁸⁵

Melville experienced extreme difficulty in securing duly qualified men of property to sit on the Council. Many were reluctant in the current political climate and feared they would lose their seats to Adopted Subjects in the near-future, in particular as the King's mandamus for de Chanteloupe was expected some months later, his appointment created by a vacancy in the Council caused by the death of a Mr. Harvey. Melville's complaint demonstrated the level of ethnic tension that existed. Monsieur de Chanteloupe withdrew from all 'duties of decorum' to him as

⁸⁵Thomas Coke, *A History of the West Indies*, 3 vols., (London, 1810) 2, p.87

representative as his views were judged too repugnant to those entertained by the Natural Subjects. De Chanteloupe's withdrawal was another example where Melville acted to the interests of Natural Subjects encouraged by no complaints from England.⁸⁶

Economic realities throughout the island had an inverse effect on ethnic tensions. The most ardent anti-Catholics Natural Subjects demonstrated no regression in their fight; but critically, many were reliant upon credit. There must have meant a correlation between the value of their investments / debts in relation to the time invested in the intense anti-Catholic campaign. Many were forced to quit Grenada and only a small core of bitter Natural Subjects was left behind.

Many Adopted Subjects also suffered economic hardship, many were approached to join a petition for a restoration by all just legal means of the original constitution or one that was legally fixed and declared as such by the King, i.e., a return to original privileges and status. The view promoted to sympathetic or susceptible Adopted Subjects was that current economic difficulties had created uncertainty in the constitution and apprehensions that lead to consistent tensions and the potential for trouble.⁸⁷ Many Adopted Subjects actually favoured an idea for a legally fixed constitution as it could protect their rights against the predatory thrusts of Natural Subjects but rifts in ethnic harmony caused many suspicious to refuse to sign. The Protestant petitioners were desperate to put Adopted Subjects' names to make their paper credible in order to present what they proclaimed as a public petition.

⁸⁶ London, PRO, CO101/15, Melville – Letter to Hillsborough, 18 May 1771

⁸⁷ London, PRO, CO101/15, Petition of the Proprietors of Lands, Merchants, Traders and Other Faithful and Loyal Subjects of HM Residing Within the Island of Grenada and the Grenadines, 15 November 1770

Neighbours were harried to sign before one Adopted Subject was persuaded after his initial objections. It was seen as a significant coup but exposed the huge gulf in trust.

Runaway African slaves (Maroons) were a perpetual threat in Grenada. The mountainous Parish of St. Andrew in north Grenada experienced the main escalation of danger (see chap. 3). Melville moved to raise taxes to meet the costs of fighting the growing threat, but landowners around Grenville Harbour refused to pay what they argued was were imposed on them since the admission of a Roman Catholic into the legislature. Maroon activity grew to an extent there were public calls for government action in the form of legislation to combat their threat. The protesters claimed government inaction placed their lives and property at risk by exposing them as sacrifices to their slaves i.e., not just Maroons but those enslaved on their estates. Melville remained obstinate because he suspected such claims were exaggerated and a fictitious smokescreen used by many Natural Subjects to pressure Adopted Subjects within the affected area to sign a petition calling for the Assembly to sit. The Assembly would provide opportunity to rescind legislation such as the Court Act (that allowed Adopted Subjects to hold offices).

Melville's suspicions were confirmed when he uncovered a number of irregularities on inspection of the presented petition: only one half of the Natural Subjects on the petition were members of the Assembly; of a total 84 signatories, 24 were not Natural Subjects; only 12 men were of landed property yet only 50% were actually current Assembly members who had been elected by Adopted Subjects; another 12 men were predominantly managers of estates and traders; further, out of another 24

subjects not more than 16% were British Protestants, the remainder were from a small Irish community, many professed Catholics. One anomaly involved the names of 60 French subjects and several absentees' names were signed without their knowledge. Not one of these French subjects was a Protestant (apart from one called Rochard who had subscribed to the Test), 4 were members of the current Assembly and many were persons employed or of no property. A body of Adopted and Natural Subjects declared their objections but had not signed; those who signed were, according to Melville, ashamed for having fallen for this elaborate plan.⁸⁸

The petition exposed the desperation of the conservative Natural Subjects. Melville's delineation of the forged document demonstrated his awareness of the range of differences. Whites were divided into ethnic groups viz. British and French; British subdivided into national ethnicities - English, Scottish, and Irish; all further separated into the religious dichotomy of Protestantism and Catholicism; social status provided another barrier. Membership in the white echelon of society bought the status of freedom and certain degrees of power, but within this group there was a clear order based on ownership of aristocracy, property (relative to land size and quality), illustrated by Melville's abhorrence that common men had signed a petition to which they had no right. The declaration was elaborate in organisation and scale and revealed the levity of fraudulent practice residents took.

The Maroon uprising rather than quelled restarted one year later. Sir Francis Laurent, one of the key New Subject converts, suffered extensive damage and his plantation manager was attacked and eventually died from his wounds. Local parties

⁸⁸ London, PRO, CO101/15, Melville – Letter to Hillsborough, 10 February 1771

were organised to hunt these Maroons. These local units were not the militia, but consisted of trusted slaves and Free Coloureds under the direction of white commanders. Several Maroons were captured and imprisoned including the prized capture of a notable Maroon chief acknowledged as, “a great leader, a very dangerous, desperate fellow.”⁸⁹ Melville’s dispatch reveals a glimpse of the hidden history the powerful minority controlled and hid. This history does not reveal the man’s name, it is insignificant those who told the story created, but there is grudging admiration for his skills and character.

Reactions to Maroon attacks demonstrated the deep-seated psychosis that slave rebellions or the threat of them held in the whites’ psyche and their responses to it. The Maroon threat in St. Andrew’s was real and the terror created genuine, therefore a telling indication of ethnic relations in Grenada was that conservative Natural Subjects utilised this ultimate terror as a political lever as an opportunity to create as much political pressure for their benefit. Melville’s claim that it was created and perpetuated by the imaginations of many ignored a fundamental consideration, that it symbolised further disintegration of white hegemony toward credible internal or external dangers to white security.

The prorogued Assembly remained the only official organ of representation for Adopted Subjects. They interpreted its enforced state of suspension as a plan to limit their voices from being heard and block any further progression towards equality. Natural Subjects recognised the state of the Assembly was exactly for that purpose but recognised that it could not legally remain indefinitely prorogued. They lobbied

⁸⁹ London, PRO, CO101/16, Governor Leyborne – Letter to Hillsborough, 4 March 1771

Melville to dissolve the Assembly under the pretence of their concern that a released Assembly would rescind the Court Act and rekindle former animosities. Melville concurred with their petitions; he believed the prorogued Assembly could be dissolved before the arrival of the new Governor Leyborne.

The new Governor Leyborne had the immediate task to understand the politics in Grenada. Each new governor was exposed to the test of ethnic loyalty at the earliest opportunity. Leyborne recognised how the dangers of any (interpretation of) partiality ruined three previous Governors and decided against calling the Council. He saw this as the most prudent measure to allow old hostilities time to subside. He maintained an initial policy of detachment preferring to observe the patterns of behaviour and organisation of the factions and trying to gauge the effect of his appointment: He revealed the state of relations within ethnic groups within Grenada when he commenced: “[There is] so little intercourse between them, such a thorough want of confidence, and in short so rooted an enmity.”⁹⁰

The anti-Catholic faction resolved to oppose every law made in any legislature composed of Adopted Subjects. The Attorney-General advised Leyborne such entrenched sentiments would create great difficulty to find a jury that would not determine against the legality of any law i.e., the ‘Test’ question again Leyborne responded to this early test of his authority and threatened to enforce the King’s will though he faced an insurmountable problem. Many of the principal planters were absent away in England and it proved immensely difficult to find suitable

⁹⁰ London, PRO,CO101/16, Leyborne – Letter to Hillsborough, 24 November 1771

alternatives to make up the Council particularly for the high status post of Chief Justice.

The constitutional crisis deepened when Monsieur Chanteloupe presented the King's mandamus to the chamber. Leyborne admitted him and prepared to swear the oaths, but following past practice nearly all remaining Councillors—Patrick Maxwell, John Melvill, John de Ponthieu, Robert McClellan and Israel Wilkes (the owners of substantial plantations in St George's and St Andrew total acreage of 2447 with 1190 slaves)); executed their rehearsed action and walked out in protest.⁹¹ Leyborne warned them of the consequences of their actions but they continued out of the chamber. Leyborne devastated yet powerless. was forced, like previous governors, to respond or face personal and public ignominy and loss of respect for his authority. He suspended all political renegades thus placing Grenada into the same scenario as like Fitzmaurice's governorship. The conservative Natural Subjects' power was invidious and the Attorney-General demonstrates evidence of pressure applied to fellow Natural Subjects. After the suspensions, the Attorney-General also tendered his resignation but Leyborne pleaded with him to stay as he remained the sole member of the Council left in Grenada. The Attorney-General declined but had a sudden change of mind and decided to stay subject to one condition that he never had to go back into the Council chamber in the capacity of Attorney-General.

His erratic behaviour clearly reflected the tensions, intimidation and extreme partisan pressures and issues attached to white ethnic solidarity. Fears of social isolation,

⁹¹ London, PRO, CO101/ Address from Faithful Subjects to His Majesty King George III, 19 April 1765.

religious betrayal and ridicule added to forced conformity. The Attorney-General corroborated this argument, his prised confessions revealed a culture of intimidation particularly “every rude treatment” he had received from one of the suspended members who flattered himself that the Attorney-General would adopt the same political sentiments as themselves.⁹²

Leyborne experienced absenteeism both sides employed against previous governors to defeat the Governor and obstruct the legislative process but key individuals adopted this practice also. Chief Justice Lucas’ absence was critical, not only as one of Grenada’s leading planters, but his status as the principal member of the judiciary meant that Governor Leyborne was greatly distressed in his efforts to find ‘proper’ persons of the ‘right’ type of abilities and land qualifications, and greater still the power to select those who could serve as judges.⁹³

Such a political scenario must have frustrated the Adopted Subjects greatly. They were willing the serve, but were denied the right while those “qualified” men reneged on their responsibilities. An example of the extensive and overt employment of this strategy was one Council member who applied for leave of absence for four months to Tobago. He made no pretence of his intentions and declared in public his intention to work with other Council members to object, stall, and sabotage any moves to install Adopted Subjects into the legislature. Leyborne, though determined to use his invested power to carry out the King’s business, realised how limited his

⁹² London, PRO, CO101/16, Events of Council Meeting, 3 December 1771

⁹³ London, PRO, CO101/17, Leyborne – Letter to Hillsborough, 10 November 1772

powers were once circumvented by the factions and the true extent of ethnic rivalries became apparent.

The protest read by Townsend revealed their core argument was that there were many Acts of Parliament that prohibited Roman Catholics being placed in any position of trust and power and these could not be simply be dispensed by the prerogative of the King, only by an Act of Parliament.⁹⁵ They argued many of the laws of Grenada were justified on contrary principles such as the King's power over them, i.e., by right of conquest. Prerogative was ascertained by law in England and other colonies in America but did not extend to them in Grenada. As subjects in full possession of every English privilege and liberty as their natural birthright was stipulated:

1. the monarch at his coronation swears to govern the people of the Kingdom according to the statutes of Parliament.
2. the commission under the Great Seal (by which Governor Melville established the legislature) required all public officers to take oaths of allegiance, abjuration and supremacy and to make and subscribe to the Declaration against Transubstantiation.
3. the Act of Settlement [1701] in the reign of King William III – which they pertinently highlighted was where His Majesty's title was founded – specified only Natural Subjects could occupy positions of privilege

⁹⁵ London, PRO, CO101/16, Submission by Messrs. Patrick Maxwell, John Melvill, John de Ponthieu, Robert MacLellan and Israel Wilkes to Hillsborough, 6 December 1771.

4. the Crown had no power to suspend, dispense or execute laws by regal authority without the consent of Parliament.
5. Precedents in American colonies set by King George II [in 1740 & 1756] Acts granted foreign Protestants residing for seven years in one of HM colonies the full entitlement of privileges as Natural Subjects and allowed the King to employ a certain number of foreign Protestants in as officers in America only. They argued this proved the King could not dispense with laws as it had no more power in the American colonies as it did in Europe therefore could never be justified in Grenada.
6. the fourth article within the settlement of Treaty of Paris in 1763 specified that Roman Catholics were to be granted the ability to profess the worship of their religion as far as the laws of Great Britain permitted. This they submitted meant the King proclaimed to the kings of France and Spain and the rest of the world he remained bound by the laws of his kingdom in the degrees of indulgence that he could grant to his Catholic subjects.
7. an illegal Assembly i.e., where Catholics had seats therefore had no rights to make laws.

This protest challenged the root cause of tensions, i.e., the conflict and flaw between the unwritten British constitution, powers of the British government, the powers of the governor and colonial government and ultimately the Monarch. The 'Divine Right' of kings to be seen as God's representative on earth therefore the powers to make law ended with King Charles I; the rise of and transfer of power to Parliament at the end of the English Civil War under Oliver Cromwell. The primacy of Parliament existed but the monarchy still retained certain powerful constitutional

powers such as the ‘Royal Prerogative’ that allowed their interference/judgement on a range of issues. The claims laid out by the protesters had dangerous implications and interpreted as treason. so they were careful to emphasised that their actions were not conducted out of any partial, national, selfish or illiberal prejudices towards the Adopted Subjects rather they claimed out of a spirit for true liberty and the desire that the full blessings and benefits of their free constitution and happy form of government could be extended equally to all fellow subjects.⁹⁶

Their radical intransigence sent a final response to the actions of Leyborne; they felt deprived of their franchises and rights but exalted former French Catholic nationals into English free men sunk natural British subjects into a state of subjection to an arbitrary crowns. They argued the Royal Will appeared to be the only British law that could change at whim despite Statutes and constitution government.⁹⁷

Leyborne, like Fitzmaurice, was criticised for allowing de Chanteloupe to enter the Council. His actions did not correspond to Natural Subjects what the British government argued in the first article of Leyborne’s instructions, “What has always been understood to be the effect and operation of that instruction.”⁹⁸

This referred to the procedures that all Governors followed, viz. when they arrived in Grenada (or other British West India islands). He proceeded to Government House and assembled the Council. The official seals for the King’s mandamus were broken; all cited commissions read before all members took all the necessary oaths. What

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ London, PRO, CO101/16, Hillsborough – Letter to Leyborne, 4 March 1772

Leyborne had failed to do, Hillsborough rebuked, was to appoint the entire Council on his arrival and revoke all former appointments by the Crown or previous Governor. The first act of the Governor was to assemble only those people on the list of instructions. If numbers were insufficient, then the Governor should give out commissions on a *pro tempore* (i.e., temporary) basis. If these procedures had been followed, Hillsborough argued, current chaos would have been avoided as it was unlikely Leyborne would have appointed De Ponthieu, McClellan, or Wilkes and de Chanteloupe had been appointed under an expired mandamus.

Again, the British government appeared to extricate itself from Ethnic tensions. For two governors to misinterpret central government instructions was beyond incompetence. To commit the exact mistake placed doubt and responsibility on the British government to appear to attempt to place the blame on to Leyborne like Fitzmaurice before him.

The dissenters' strategy and response to Leyborne's actions demonstrates that they had anticipated and planned for his actions. In Britain members would have been party to gossip among the coffee houses and dinners. Appeasement to Catholics' rights was softening. Migrants into Grenada bought news, gossip, and post; Grenadian plantation society would have gleaned information about their new Governor through their contacts in London and from those landed gentry resident in Grenada who moved in similar social and business circles. It is unlikely that Leyborne was associated to the pro-Catholic cause in the same way as his predecessor Fitzmaurice appeared. None of his actions received positive

endorsement from liberal supporters or any memorials/declarations of resounding support as Fitzmaurice received.

Hillsborough's criticism and frustration emanated from his realisation of the nature and implications of 'the Grenada problem' hence the minister's agitation and clear anger at yet another obstruction, to what he tried to cover rather than address the issues. The anti-Catholic factions' continual obstruction of government policy and business was dangerous for financial terms but it was symbolic in that it signalled the island Council, not London, that held power. These signs, reinforced by how even the King's Majesty was challenged, led Hillsborough to castigate anti-Catholic agitators as men who question the validity of the King's instructions with so much confidence, with so much indecency and consistently oppose the admission of de Chanteloupe.⁹⁹

Unrelated events served to increase ethnic tensions. On the night of 27 December, a fire broke at 11pm in St. George's. The speed and ferocity of the blaze decimated property and left no time to save possessions. There was no external assistance until too late when the fleet arrived around 3-4am the following morning. By 6am the whole town, with the exception of the *Carenage* and a row of houses next to the court and customs houses (that were saved by the actions of a few sailors and one of the King's Negroes), was reduced to ashes. The impact was immense. Many who were affluent were instantly ruined and put under great distress. Thomas Middleton, a Council member, for example lost £2500. What exacerbated the ethnic tensions

⁹⁹ Ibid.

were the origins of the fire – an Adopted Subject’s bakery, akin to the origin of the Great Fire of London in 1666.

Governance on Grenada was imperative. The ability to recruit a sufficient number of respectable persons who were free from the ‘violence of party’ was not possible. Both parties invested so heavily in sectarian disputes that even economic disaster failed to soften their stance, rather it increased their bitterness.

Just as there were enormous pressures amongst the English and Scots to conform to relentless peer pressures and oppose Catholic equality, in the same way French Catholics became subject to intimidation not to make any concessions towards assimilation, particularly based on the fundamental principle of Transubstantiation. Leyborne claimed many were willing to sign but adopted a policy of waiting for another to make the first move before they followed.¹⁰⁰

Conservative Natural Subjects lobbied the Governor to cancel the illegal elections as it permitted Catholic candidates the validity of any Acts from the late Assembly. Their petition, signed by 42 signatories that included some of the most notable planters such as Alexander Campbell (plantation in St. Andrew consisting of 433 acres and 343 slaves), Alexander Sympson, James Baille and Alexander Middleton; it notably contained the signatures of many who suffered greatly in the St. George’s conflagration. Edward Ashbausuer suffered the heaviest loss of £5760.¹⁰¹ Witch-hunts and violent accusations became common, adding to an air of repercussions and

¹⁰⁰ London, PRO, CO101/16, Leyborne – Letter to Hillsborough, 6 January 1772

¹⁰¹ London, PRO, CO101/16, Petition of the Planters, Merchants and Other Inhabitants of Grenada to Leyborne , 11 March 1772

people's sense of injustice, powerlessness and anger. This shared striking similarities to the mob mentality following the Great Fire of London 1666.¹⁰² Adopted Subjects were part of those strongly suspected and involved in accusations and ensuing lynching.¹⁰³

A petition to Hillsborough revealed the depths of ethnic tensions were revealed in a. They complained of their extreme concerns over attempts that were being planned and being made to shake the peace. Liberal Natural Subjects confronted arguments set on an anti-Catholic petition. They argued they represented the voice of true Grenada residents. They were shocked and fearful of the growth, fearlessness and extremes of the anti-Catholic faction. They encouraged the Governor and the British government to continue the policy of reform and equality rather than succumb to such religious vitriol. Staunch Protestant Natural Subjects were accused of ingratitude as they had been the recipients of the King's rulings and provisions in the past. They urged Leyborne not to concede to the persuasive pressures they recognised he must have been under put to suspend the dissolution of the legislature and cancel the elections. Rather than give in to the rule of the mob they pleaded to let the voice of the ballot box speak and demonstrate its abhorrence of the dissenters.¹⁰⁴

Ethnic tensions affected other government officials. Evidence of this occurred with the sudden resignation of the Attorney-General Mr. Bridgewater, the second resignation under this post. It was logical given this post was responsible for giving

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ London, PRO, CO101/16, Leyborne – Letter to Hillsborough, 6 January 1772

¹⁰⁴ London, PRO, CO101/16, Petition of Freeholders, Merchants and Other Inhabitants of the Island of Grenada, 11 Mar. 1772

government legal advice. Bridgewater refused Melville's desperate exhortations to remain. Bridgewater refused to reveal the reasons for his sudden resignation, but an indication was his pledge to Leyborne and the Crown for his support. This demonstrated the significant levels of intimidation and emotional strains applied to the Governor and his officers and any supporters. Bridgewater's assurance of loyalty demonstrated his resistance and belief in the righteousness of his ex-office and supremacy of the Crown. Bridgewater refused to side with the anti-Catholic faction therefore they who destroyed his position. Leyborne had one guarantee of support a Mr. Dalrymple and recommended him to replace Bridgewater as Attorney-General.¹⁰⁵

Another indication of pressures within the whites was Leyborne's appointment *pro tempore* of a Mr. Blanken, as Councillor to provide cover for the five suspended Council members, resigned his seat due to a multiplicity in financial affairs. It emphasised the extreme difficulty of attracting and retaining suitable members and the dual problem of plantation over politics. Blanken's resignation must have indicated the strain to support nearly half the Council. It suggested further intimidation from fellow Protestants. The crisis in Council worsened with the death of Monsieur de Chanteloupe, which left a vacant seat. His death was ironic for it created the political balance Natural Subjects fought for but it left a non-quorate Council.

The Grenada crisis extended with the sudden death of Leyborne's few supporters; Attorney-General Dalrymple left the influential post vacant. The vacant official post

¹⁰⁵ London, PRO, CO101/16, Leyborne – Letter to Hillsborough, 28 April 1772

illustrates how Governors operated and were influenced by a system of lobbying for posts and amendments to bills. Governors would be conscious of ‘soundings’ from government ministers and the political gossip within Grenada and other West Indian colonies from wealthy plantation owners, with associations to the influential West India lobby and political elite back in Britain. Leyborne acknowledged this, though acceded that if Baker had ‘pretensions’ (sic) to the post and was appointed by the Dartmouth he offered a compromise and supported the experienced Byam for Solicitor-General to Dartmouth acceded.¹⁰⁶

The property qualification meant many whites were unable to serve as Councillors but for many potential candidates likewise were intimidated by their peers through social pressures and verbal violence.

Lieutenant Governor William Young experienced immediately the colony’s problems through the second resignation of Attorney-General Joseph Bridgewater. Whereas the origins of his first resignation remained unclear and possible social antagonism due to his moderate stance on ethnic loyalty, his second resignation revealed the tensions and pressures among Natural Subjects. Bridgewater complained that he had been in public employment for nearly four years but never received any payment. He calculated the debt owed to him to be some £720 and had no indication when payment would be forthcoming: “when I shall ever see a farthing of it I am at a loss to say.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ London, PRO, CO101/17, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 12 March 1773

¹⁰⁷ London, PRO, CO101/18, Joseph Bridgewater - Letter to Lieutenant-General William Young, 20 May 1775

Bridgewater's behaviour demonstrated the resolve many public servants undertook to put public duty beyond personal livelihood, particularly the corresponding status of the position. It demonstrated central government's inefficiency and the capricious nature of remuneration for public duty at the time. Bridgewater's treatment emanated from local political pressure and it could be argued that political opponents' links to government officials may have indirectly squeezed him financially to modify his stance. He lost the protection of the departed Leyborne which allowed his opponents to act to have him replaced in his post as clerk to the Assembly. This action broke Bridgewater's resistance. This move was far more destructive than it appeared. It was designed to cause significant psychological humiliation:

The same plea is equally strong on my part; surely it must discourage any man from undertaking from anything for the public after such treatment a person to be put above my head who has never done one individual thing public because he says he is poor by the same way of arguing he might be turned out by fifty others who can put in the same plea with much better grace, and I who have borne the heat and fatigue of the day am to be disgracefully turned out for no better reason.¹⁰⁸

It suggests Bridgewater was replaced by someone his junior and without his skills and experience. Status was an important factor linked to experience and loyalty for many senior Natural Subjects like Bridgewater (with an impressive curriculum vitae: appointed Chief Justice and Attorney-General under Governor Leyborne in 1772, educated at Westminster School and called to the English Bar) he failed to receive a

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

fixed and punctual salary.¹⁰⁹ Bridgewater was bitter and felt his loyalty of service and dedication, i.e., working without salary, was betrayed as the key claim of his proposed replacement was based on his poverty.

The anti-Catholic faction intensified pressure on the Governor by intensifying their absenteeism strategy. Governor Leyborne admitted that he was in great distress trying to find replacements for those Councillors absent in England. The extent of the Councillors' rebellion can be gauged that Mr. William Lucas the Chief Justice remained absent in England. As well as serving a fulfilling role as principal judge he was also responsible for appointing JPs therefore his absence was a calculated move to destroy the judicial infrastructure. The court sessions for the following month had to be postponed for want of judges and all of the remaining judges on the island made it clear that they intended to resign.¹¹⁰ Leyborne was rendered powerless by these combined actions.

The Irish population, though small, was a relatively influential group. The Irish, like their British cousins, were divided according to religious adherence. The Protestant faction sided with the anti-Catholic Natural Subjects and appeared to fill the void left by absent and suspended Protestant Councillors. Their brand of fundamentalist Protestantism made them a particularly factious and virulent opposition. Their self-appointed leader and instigator was a Mr. O'Connor, a former clerk in the Collector and Receiver General's Office. He led a heated dispute over the Governor's refusal to give his assent to proposed legislation (termed Salary Bill) and used the moment

¹⁰⁹ London, PRO, CO101/18, Joseph Bridgewater - Letter to Lieutenant-General William Young, 20 May 1775

¹¹⁰ Ibid,

to announce his intentions to create maximum retribution by obstructing government business. He declared he would oppose the Governor in every measure, even to travel to other Caribbean islands to stir up discontent. At a meeting of the legislature he used the ‘advantage’ of absentees to draft what Leyborne termed some very indecent resolutions.¹¹¹

O’Connor’s faction was held in great detestation by the Adopted Subjects and served to reignite enmities. His faction prompted other influential Natural Subjects to take advantage of Leyborne’s weakened state and petition the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and possible political viability of Grenada. Leyborne received support by the influential moderate and former leader of the Assembly, Alexander Winniett return to Grenada to his plantation (Parish of St. David’s, 259 acres and 120 slaves) with other whites sympathetic to the Catholic cause. Leyborne suspended his decision in the hope the stature and influence of Winniett could restore reason.

Winniett and other liberal Protestants led to the decline of O’Connor’s Irish faction. After a short period had it had sunk so low and became ineffectual. The only mischief they resorted to was through absenting themselves from the chamber when numbers were low to create non-quorate sessions.¹¹² It demonstrated governors needed influential and powerful allies to carry out their administrations, without them they were alienated powerless figureheads. Agitators like a Mr. Piggott (the owner of a relatively small plantation in St. George’s of 85 acres and 70 slaves), a “most violent, and a considerable leader in the opposition,” had resigned himself to

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² London, PRO, CO101/16, Leyborne – Letter to Hillsborough, 24 August 1772

the issue.¹¹³ He obstructed the executive upper house amendments of bills in the lower legislative house of Assembly. He became an effective instigator of ethnic tensions.

The perpetual strain of ethnic tensions and political estrangement took its physical and emotional toll on Leyborne. His embellished reports of a tranquil island could no longer obscure the realities of cyclical constitutional and religious stalemate. Leyborne abandoned the pretence of order and admitted that Grenada under his Governorship was out of control. He revealed that Grenada was in, “utmost distraction from the violence of party.”¹¹⁴

He had tried everything in his powers to unify the island but the spirit of parties had taken an irretraceable deep route. The principal planters were identified as principal agitators hostile to the Adopted Subjects. Their behaviour was unpalatable because Leyborne judged that as people of property and social status they failed to fulfil their moral duties according to their natural qualities to represent and lead the island. Despite his incessant conflict and fury with senior planters, their shared social class and values bound them together. Leyborne spoke to a number of planters in private, some even responsible for his own persecution, to remind them of their duty and in particular warned the “fatal consequences which must attend the colony when represented by people so unequal to their duty and which must likewise continue so long as they declined their undertaking.”¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ London, PRO, CO101/17, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 12 March 1773

Leyborne's private meetings reinforced the links between himself and the planter class and his message was a clear warning over the future of this alliance. Some were aristocracy or had links to aristocratic social groups; they owned great houses, lands and other assets in Britain and other principally Caribbean colonies. Examples of principal planters within Grenada were Ninian Home the owner of two plantations in the island, one in St. Andrew's Parish the second in St. Mark's Parish a total acreage of 906 acres with combined slaves totalling 460; this was dwarfed by another principal Mr. Rucker whose plantations in St. Patrick's had a combined acreage of 1672 acres with some 780 slaves.

Ethnicity based on nationality and religion were crucial distinguishers but the barrier of social status highlighted the existence of another significant strata existed within Grenadian society. It was this group who prompted Leyborne's pleas to the senior planters. They consisted of: minor landowners, semi-professionals, Roman Catholic Adopted Subjects and Free Coloureds. They were not; however, a homogeneous group rather layers for each group in terms of ethnicity, religion, colour and social status.

This opened up the opportunity for political manoeuvring, leadership pitches, point scoring and various alliances within the Protestant camp.

An example of this occurred between two of the most senior members in the Council: Chief Justice Mr. Lucas and a returned Council member Mr. Frederick Corsar (a plantation in St. Patrick's of 413 acres and 193 slaves). Corsar was summoned to attend Council for duty but as he was about to take the oaths, Lucas

intervened and objected to Corsar having a seat unless he could produce the king's leave of absence as required by official regulations. Corsar could produce no such evidence and pleaded ignorance as his defence. He argued he had leave of absence from the Lords of the Treasury and could not have got one without the other.

Leyborne overruled Lucas's objection pointing out that Lucas was guilty of a similar folly - except no objection was raised when he did it.¹¹⁶ Dartmouth ruled that Lucas's objection and Corsar's treatment was technically correct but harsh as to his knowledge it was regular practice throughout the Caribbean and had never to his knowledge been enforced.¹¹⁷

The planters were subsequently under pressure from merchants and others, with interests in the plantations and their ensuing crops. The religious question concerned European financiers but their primary focus was a healthy return on their substantial investments.

Investors represented one part of a structural web stretching back to Britain and the European continent. The collection of planters, merchants and agents who created the informal but powerful and influential 'West India' lobby to protect and promote their interests. They were men of influence, those who had access to influence government ministers, Members of Parliament; some had themselves purchased their seats and titles from the state through patronage or status through the Royal Court¹¹⁸(P. Fryer, 45-46). The West India lobby were also inherently linked to the upper echelons of the class system through marriage and lineage. Large notable

¹¹⁶ London, PRO, CO101/17, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 1 April 1774

¹¹⁷ London, PRO, CO101/17, Dartmouth – Letter to Leyborne, 6 July 1774

¹¹⁸ Fryer, pp.45-46

families were huge investors into the Caribbean and many planters were linked to other planters and plantations in other Caribbean colonies.

Governor Melville had large interests in Dominica the Matthew family (of future Grenada Governor Edward Matthew) had interests in Antigua as well as Grenada; in Barbados, the Warner family; in Jamaica the Beckfords, etc. This was one of the key reasons why it was common for large plantation owners to be absent on 'business' and in part explains the difficulties Leyborne and previous Grenada Governors experienced in Grenada. Governors in Grenada (and throughout the Caribbean) experienced limited powers against such financial, political, and social powers. These planters thus had to be cajoled or tactically manoeuvred to fulfil the Governor's instructions. A Governor who opted or was frustrated and driven to use more direct methods e.g., force, ended in inevitable humiliation or (in the case of Governor Fitzmaurice) complete destruction.

Agents were employed as business representatives for merchants, who made profits through their control of a significant proportion of sugar imports. Planters, agents and merchants shared in the significant returns that sugar delivered and shared the benefits and rewards of political and economic influence. A future Grenada agent William Manning became the most eminent West India merchants and amassed a large fortune.¹¹⁹

Agents and merchants funded the system through long-term credit by issuing bills drawn on London and European financiers. Ship captains would deliver these bills

¹¹⁹Fryer, p.44

to the agents in the colonies who used these to purchase the most valuable and pressing commodities, i.e., African slaves and supplies. The agents would charge a set commission for handling the bills before the ship captains conveyed them back to Britain. The merchants offered mortgages (and annuities if debtors defaulted on payments) which were used to buy plantations and associated necessary resources. The planters in turn were required to repay set amounts with interest over a period of time.

Constant financial pressure existed therefore focus centred towards the sugar crop to meet the premiere constant of all: repayment of mortgages and annuities for investors anxious to see a return on their investments. All 'stakeholders' in this economic alliance enjoyed the returns, but were conscious of the risks of these investments, in particular the unstable nature in Grenada. Enslaved Africans were the fundamental part of the structure, therefore in real terms, the most valuable factor; sugar production could not exist without them.

Adopted Subjects suffered increased anger and frustration by perpetual political rows and obstruction of the legislature and judiciary. Their despondence reached its nadir as the Council stood empty and the Assembly remained in riotous rebellion. Civic and political responsibilities reneged yet Adopted Subjects were forced pay taxes to this system and observe as Leyborne was forced to enact legislation to force all Natural Subjects to attend to their duty through legislation.¹²⁰ Similar legislation was enacted throughout the Caribbean to compel landed planters to their civic duties.

¹²⁰ Smith, George, *The Laws of Grenada 1763 - 1805*, (London, 1818), Act no. 18

The Law to Compel in 1774 threatened the forfeiture of the seat of any member who had missed three consecutive sessions and had failed to show cause and/or certificate of illness. Any absence of twelve calendar months, whether on the island or not, would result in forfeiture of the seat. The Act also revealed that discipline was a concern, as it made provisions for those members who arrived late, i.e., one hour or more, or those who departed early before adjournment, to be liable to a fine for 7s 6d. Any absence for one entire session or more—a session was defined as not less than six days excluding Sundays—but less than three entire sessions were also liable a fine of 33s for every day. These punishments demonstrated how entrenched the problem became. A paradox the Governor faced was that the Act could in some ways deter members from sitting. First, the fines would create a greater impact on small proprietors but not deter large landowners; the very group Leyborne wanted who desisted from attending for business. Second, those abroad were unlikely to return, sending agents instead to liaise with plantation managers. Third, many disgruntled members who lived on the other side of the island could genuinely be [102] delayed or stopped by the rains and the associated road conditions or use it as a convenient excuse. Fourth, if all else failed simply resign their seat, which created the exact position prior to the Act.

Within Natural and Adopted Subjects, another significant ethnic group existed known as Creoles: whites who were natural-born and/or had significant long-term socialised residency within the Caribbean. Their perceived difference emanated from the belief of, the influence of Tropical weather on their personalities, morals and physical characteristics; second, their close proximity to and/or association with enslaved Africans.

They were accused of being poor at / not attentive to business and architects of their own destiny. Jamaican Creoles, for example, eschewed accumulation of wealth;

instead were only interested, as in Grenada, in purchasing available tracts of land and settling new estates before settlement of debts on old lands. They faced accusations of resorting to various methods to finance their deals such as issuing bonds, but this necessitated accumulation of more debt, i.e., the debts of the estates purchased. They became, as other British speculators above, locked in a perpetual untenable spiral of debt where many became desperate and harassed until dry of any form of credit. A paradox was the more they actually attempted to work their lands they fell deeper into debt, as this required extensive capital outlay and any profits were simply debts for waiting creditors. These stricken debtors, driven to desperation, used every method of flexibility and fraud to escape their looming fate until, “after a tedious conflict, they leave at their decease their whole fortune to be torn piece-meal, and their family turned adrift, to make room for some worthless upstart.”¹²¹

The process would be repeated as the new purchaser would be someone in the same predicament or would surely be in the future. It was highly likely that they too would have used desperate methods to fund their purchases. Debt was endemic to the extent individual economic disasters were such many viewed debt as a sign of status, that they ‘had arrived.’ It was viewed as a settled maxim that, “You are not distinguished, or of any note, unless you are in debt.”¹²²

Lord Macartney, like his predecessors experienced immediate pressures of his position. Governors throughout the Caribbean shared ambivalent relations with free society. The Jamaica based planter Edward Long was a virulent opponent to imposed

¹²¹ Long, Edward, *History of Jamaica*,. 3 vols., (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1970) 3, p.266

¹²² Ibid

Governor rule and encapsulated the feeling of many planters. He judged these appointed individuals had no experience of planters' needs and the conditions of the land and viewed with suspicion, disdain, or sheer animosity:

What are we to expect from these Governors, whose education and profession have tended more to mislead, than instruct them in the knowledge of these so very dissimilar functions, and who cannot be supposed to know what has never been any part either of their study or pursuit?¹²³

Some officials were so inept they determined their decisions by the throw of a dice.¹²⁴

Despite small white numbers, tensions went beyond religious or nationalistic predilections to differences of social class. Lord Macartney was an adherent of the class structure and disapproved of whites from lower classes who sought higher social positions in their new societies. Macartney rebuked the temerity of those who breeched the social code, "whose characters are not perfectly understood in England," and could lead to unacceptable dilution.¹²⁵

Macartney complained to the Secretary of State about the system of appointments where personal recommendations (i.e., lobbying government ministers for particular posts) went directly to ministers in London seeking appointments to the Grenada Council, in particular since former Governor Young's suspended many members from Council. Macartney complained the role of governor was undermined and

¹²³ Long, pp.26-27

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38201, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 20 June 1776

many resultant inconveniences or incredulous appointments. He petitioned all be referred or communicated to him. He was moved to remind the State Secretary of the correct etiquette that in the death or absence of a Governor, command devolved not to the most loyal, or most capable but to the most senior member of the Council:

Hence it is not impossible in times like these that when latitude of opinion relative to the authority of Great Britain over its dependencies is entertained by many, that the administration of a remote colony might fall into very improper hands.¹²⁶

Macartney witnessed similar social dilution on the neighbour island of Tobago, where several of the most prominent planters were absent, having vacated their seats in the Assembly allowing “several indignant and improper persons” to occupy their seats; for their practice, as in Grenada, no authority had been sought. These ‘upstarts’ created cabals to obstruct public business and create confusion.¹²⁷

Social anarchy went beyond those of lower status; as demonstrated during Macartney’s visit to the LieutenantGovernor of Tobago, Mr. Young, was involved in a duel with a Mr. Peter Franklin, the Collector of HM. Customs. Young was fatally shot on the field, Franklin, honour satisfied, gave himself up to custody to await trial.¹²⁸

Macartney saw many lower-status whites use Grenada as an opportunity to reinvent themselves. The Tropics provided the anonymity of social emancipation for many of

¹²⁶ Ibid..

¹²⁷ London, PRO, CO101/20, Macartney - Letter to Germain, 12 February 1777

¹²⁸ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, MSS.ADD MSS 38717, Macartney - Letter to Germain , 21 February 1777

these whites, who were bastardised and/or without education, to develop a false sense of pomposity. The accusation held was,

Most affect independence and aspire to importance. They expect great attention to their complaints and much personal civility to themselves, and if not soothed or gratified, are apt to be troublesome at first and often become dangerous afterwards.¹²⁹

Despite tensions created through social status, white numbers were critical and therefore the imperative not only to recruit but *maintain* white numbers. Immigrant whites and servants were protected by particular Acts which encouraged rights and powers.¹³⁰ The attitudes and behaviour which disgusted Macartney, demonstrated their recognition of their importance. Though judged as physically and mentally callous it illustrated why Grenada governors suffered them and the pressures to conform to their demands.

Other lower-class whites comprised ordinary labourers, semi-skilled and skilled artisans. They were deemed dragged in the low morals of their class, forged in the slums of such cities as London. The capital was viewed as a hub of noise, filth, licentious behaviour and criminal activity. *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis* estimated that 115,000 persons in London (14% of the capital's population) were regularly engaged in criminal pursuits. The leading magazine (*Gentleman*, 1774) asserted London's papers contained frequent reports of robberies, burglaries, and

¹²⁹ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, MSS.ADD MSS 38717, Macartney - Letter to Germain , 30 June 1776

¹³⁰ Smith, Act 16 (former no.38) 3 April 1770

other criminal acts despite the terror of the gallows and the humiliation of their bodies given over for medical dissection.¹³¹

This group of poor whites, similar to the ‘Red Legs’ (or ‘*Ecky-Becky*’) of Barbados, who were treated as outcasts by all society, added to the polyglot population and the associated tensions; their concerns were focussed on their localised world and needs. Other planters of high social status, travellers and observers, shared the Governor’s observations and clearly despised their compatriots. The lower-status whites, particularly the Creoles, had according to this group very little expansive communication and social skills, rather their shallow conversions narrowed to plantation business, ‘tittle-tattle’ of the parish, scandal, and ‘gossip blackened with the tongue of malevolence and envy.’¹³² A critical observation was their key interests with the conversations and participation in what is termed the tricks, superstitions and profligate discourses of their black servants, deemed equally illiterate and unpolished.¹³³

This demonstrated the close relationship between the slave and free world. The slave world formed a major part of white lives not only in their gossip but in their practices, e.g., language, dress, cuisine, etc. Lady Nugent, the wife of the Jamaica Governor General Nugent, provided the most salient example of the “very tiresome if not disgusting” behaviour of Creoles.¹³⁴ Whites were alienated from the structures of government and the accepted entrenched social status distinctions. The *raison*

¹³¹ Ackroyd, p.268

¹³² Long, pp.279-283

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Franklin D Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*, (New York: OUP, 1978), p.111

d'être i.e., the distinction and status of colour, was the central foundation of the entire plantation society, hence necessitated the softening of demarcated class lines (the determiner in British society) now conversely fought against the traditional forces that sought to re-impose them. Macartney appreciated the danger and isolation of his position and adopted a strategy of mollification through flattery and compliments that resulted in the local white population becoming more reasonable in their attitude and language.¹³⁵

The Caribbean also attracted those who came purely for the perceived opportunity to make quick and substantial profits. These people must have observed the 'planter set' in London and other major West India port cities such as Liverpool, Bristol, Swansea, and Glasgow. The edited social texts such as '*Gentleman*' or '*Register*' embellished social chatter of the day, literature and experienced Caribbean dwellers of the tropics. One such individual was the Honourable John Grant, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland. He epitomised the naive pompous nature of some speculators. He possessed considerable estates but became dissatisfied with his returns as they "did not answer the sanguine expectations he had formed of its value"... imagining that every defect would be redeemed by his own presence [sic]."

Grant decided to travel out to Grenada but refused to listen to advice from friends and experts alike. One of his key decisions was the site of his new residence and placed it in "One of the unhealthiest situations that could have been wished upon, but

¹³⁵ Long, pp.279-283

being fond of whimsical speculation and paradoxical singularity he suggested to himself a thousand arguments to prove it was one of the healthiest.”

Grant caught fever after six days and died on the tenth day. The initiated within the Caribbean appreciated the significance of Grant’s site next to still water, i.e., the principle breeding nest and habitation for mosquitoes; but as was dryly observed Grant was yet another “victim of a European theory of West India lagoons.”¹³⁶

Macartney’s comments reiterated beliefs of the transformative powers of the Tropics on the behaviour, delicacy, and logic of migrants. To him these ‘natural’ differences excited prejudices and justified why they were unsuitable for the positions they held. The Council moved too slowly in its business weighed down by bickering and, “The natural languor of the Creoles and their dilatory modes of proceeding [sic].”¹³⁷ characteristics ascribed to slaves – created by their lengthy sojourns in the tropical climate along with a mixture vestiges of slave mentality, created by their intertwining existences, produced deplorable morals among whites who “Contracted an indolent Creolian cast, which tho’ easily irritated to do mischief, is seldom roused to do good [sic].”¹³⁸

Creoles’ close association with the enslaved African population drew the most caustic criticism; not only did they become ‘Creolised,’ they evolved some of the enslaved Africans’ ‘natural’ skills, i.e., they were judged to possess outstanding natural ability and physiognomy. They were seen as tall, athletic, though sometimes

¹³⁶ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38201, Macartney - Germain, 30 November 1776

¹³⁷ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38201, Macartney - Germain, 20 June 1776.

¹³⁸ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38718, Macartney – Germain, 10 April 1778

prone to corpulence, with “extraordinary freedom and suppleness of joints.” They had deeper eye sockets that protected them from the sun and brilliant eyesight that made them excellent marksmen.¹³⁹ Corroborative observations revealed the obvious associations made to their proximity to the enslaved population: their fluidity of movement, fondness of dancing and entertainment and pointed accusation of their indolence and they were liable to sudden switches in mood and violence, “They are apt not to forget or forgive substantial injuries.”¹⁴⁰

Creole women, in similar language to Free Coloured women, were described as perfectly well-shaped, many remarkably pretty with exceedingly good teeth. They may have excited attention owing to their tanned, less-flawed complexions, better diets, and white males’ long periods without sexual activity. Reference to their physicality linked to female sexuality and tied in with enslaved African and Free Coloured women. Both were criticised for their strong propensity to the other sex; they were not chaste or faithful to husbands (which if true would have been a simple consequence of the inordinate white gender ratios). It revealed more of white males’ chaste white women incubated in estate houses for extensive periods given some attitudes and pursuit of women.

White males fantasised over their sexual desires so it is a reasonable suggestion there were sufficient opportunities for women to be seduced, given their isolated status and the nature of estate management. Any sexual charges against any women of standing however would have been scandalous in Britain. White women of lower

¹³⁹ Long, pp.261-62

¹⁴⁰ Long, pp.262-65

status groups in Britain were castigated for sexual relations with black men.¹⁴¹ Given the tiny number of white females within small white plantation society dictated any polygamous arrangements would have had to be highly organised and discreet. This meant given the complete reliance on house servants or house slaves, any arrangements must have involved their collusion or at the minimum their knowledge intended or not.¹⁴²

Parallel observations between African servants/slaves and Creole whites' mannerisms existed. Creole women spent more time in the home thus necessitating regular social contact in language and dress.¹⁴³ Distinctions existed between Creoles from the country from those residing in the towns. This was based on their perceived prolonged separation from expected cultural and social etiquette reinforcement and coercion within the towns therefore many relied on servants and slaves for house daily organisation and for social company.

Creole women were accused of picking up 'alarming' traits such as the Africans' gait and deportment; of 'whining, languid and childish' speech; 'lolling about' most days in beds/settees dressed in head wraps and dresses loose without stays. The description of their dress is recognisable as those worn by African women and their speech was clearly the assimilation of accent and dialect/patois. Such levels of informality and social transference is exemplified through one traveller's horror of observing one mistress seated on the floor gobbling pepper pot* with her handmaids;

¹⁴¹ Fryer, pp.162-63

¹⁴² Long, pp.265

¹⁴³ Long, pp.278

or another taking afternoon repose fanned by maids whilst another scratched the hard soles of her feet.¹⁴⁴

Macartney's fears were exacerbated by a seminal global event that revolutionised the political, economic and social core of Grenada, the Caribbean region and the Americas, i.e., the North American Colonies Declaration of Independence from Britain and ensuing American Revolution.

Another major group emerging in Grenada was pirates and privateers who roamed throughout the Caribbean and paralleled the growth of the Maroons' threat in Grenada and Jamaica. It is unsurprising that parallels were made between the counter-culture of pirates and Maroons as the New World version of the highwaymen and rakes of the Old World. Both were involved in resistance against the established elite across the Caribbean.¹⁴⁵ Pirates described illegal, independent marauding gangs sailing across the Caribbean sea and pillaging on land for prizes. This included: money in particular gold currency ('pieces of eight') and equally valuable items such as official papers, e.g., governors' letters and colony returns (e.g. data on troop numbers, ethnic ratios, land utilisation, etc.). Other targets were valuable cargo such as sugar, coffee, cotton and indigo; bills of payment; African / coloured slaves or servants on the lucrative slave routes; travellers' valuables such as jewellery and clothing, etc.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Long, pp.279

¹⁴⁵ Erin Mackie, *Rakes, Highwaymen and Pirates*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), p.121

¹⁴⁶ London, PRO, CO101/20, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 11 July 1777

Privateers were vessels (manned usually by pirate crews) hired or commissioned essentially by rival countries to pillage and destroy another colony's trade and viability. A vessel's captain would be a non-pirate officer who held official documents of *marque* that would be displayed if intercepted. The commissioning country would deny any knowledge or involvement of such arrangements to avoid any political ramifications. French ships with French pirates and smugglers received commissions from the American Congress with an American installed as commander, but these officers were viewed by the British as mere 'men of straw.' The practice ensured all captured prizes were held to be lawful, particular practice from vessels from Martinique.¹⁴⁷

Pirates invariably consisted of men from other nationalities but primarily comprised American men by birth or register. Estimated American crewed vessels alone, whether at the sea or in port, totalled some 31 ships, with a combined total of 428 guns (i.e., cannon) and total of 2710 men.¹⁴⁸ Many American pirates sought protection before or after raids in French Caribbean islands' and ports but after the North American Colonies Declaration of Independence and initial crushing British successes in the early part of the North American colonial wars, many pirates also came from French origins.¹⁴⁹ The Americans in French ports fitted out pirate vessels with French money. The organisation behind these arrangements entailed that masters of pirate vessels was furnished with two sets of papers: one from the US Congress and a second clearance from French Customs Houses for the Spanish Main.

¹⁴⁷ London, PRO, CO101/20, Macartney - Letter to Germain, 27 October 1777.

¹⁴⁸ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, MSS.ADD MSS 38718, Macartney - Letter to Germain , 9 April 1777

¹⁴⁹ London, PRO, CO101/20, Macartney - Letter to Germain, 27 October 1777

Pirates' (this term from now will be used to refer to privateer also) actions could ruin planters who could not get their cargo to European markets transported to be sold thus receive little or no income; the loss of slaves meant the immediate loss of long term investment and loss of an estates' labour. New procurement was expensive and would require further risk, investment and debt.

An infamous pirate vessel, 'The Speaker,' carried out continual successful raids across The Windward Islands. She raided and captured vessels belonging to Alexander Campbell (a close confidant of a principal plantation owner and future Governor Ninian Home, who also owned a relatively small-medium plantation of 300 acres in St. Mark's) and William Dent (a future Grenada governor. It captured a schooner called 'Lucy' and carried away 5 serving prime African sailors to the 'Windward of *Martinico*' (present Martinique).¹⁵⁰ Many enslaved Africans joined pirate crews on capture owing to their maritime skills and their mutual hatred of a return to slavery.

Pirate action created considerable difficulties and anxieties within Grenada.

Governor Lord Macartney heard many complaints about the lack of Royal Navy protection. Two naval vessels visited the island but they only stayed a very short time in port.¹⁵¹ The Royal Navy had to contend with overstretched resources over a large patrol area, exacerbated by the North American Colonies wars.

¹⁵⁰ London, PRO, CO101/20, The Deposition of. Ephriam Eve Taken Before the Worshipful Alexander Sympson, the Sole Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty for Grenada, 5 April. 1777.

¹⁵¹ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, MSS.ADD MSS 38718, Macartney - Letter to Germain , 9 April 1777

Pirates continued to utilise, like Grenada's disillusioned Adopted Subjects and runaway slaves, the facilities of safe havens to frustrate their pursuers. Paschal Bonaviatta was a noted notorious pirate, a Corsican, under American commission. His commission was transformed into the name of White and transferred around several vessels – an illustration of the flexibility of the system and its difficulty to police for limited Royal Navy vessels. Bonaviatta also landed and carried off 37 African slaves and 2 Caribs belonging to Messrs. Meyers and Kelly on the island of Tobago. He was pursued but was given refuge in Trinidad by the Spanish Governor Don Manuel Fulquez. Bonaviatta's infamy throughout the Caribbean seas were such that Macartney warned there was not one West Indian English or French who would immediately hang him if he fell into their hands.¹⁵²

Descriptions of buccaneering pirates like Bonaviatta fulfilled perceptions of social classes and for this reason their carefully constructed histories remain hidden but one intercepted letter from an American privateer David Gregory to his wife Polly portrays a different image. It is lonely, nomadic existence, where life expectancy is short. The pirate informs his wife he is still in 'the land of the living' an indication of the dangers of this life. It is clear the letter is an earnest plea to be with his family he sorely misses. He speaks of the pleasure of hearing from her one year ago and apologies for leaving her in her current hard position. He tries to support her through sending money (\$90) through an associate in Jamaica. He promises to do everything in his power to get back home to her via the English and the Dutch islands demonstrate the security and care he employs to avoid apprehension. The letter

¹⁵² Ibid.

indicates it is from London but addressed to Philadelphia. His pun in reference to her as ‘my dearest life’ conveys his love for her.¹⁵³

Macartney held Bonaviatta and Don Manuel Fulquez’s actions as an abuse of the etiquette of war and additional evidence to the morals and levity of the Creole population. Many white males who assumed social parity and familiarity higher social status whites would be considered low class scoundrels in Britain, “perceiving little or no difference from themselves, except skin and blacker in depravity.”¹⁵⁴ They were accused of regular seduction of black women and a “*base familiarity*” with slaves. They were drunks and profligates, so much so that even the better class of Creole blacks avoided them. British whites shared the same nationhood yet those from Britain distinguished Creoles as inferior, a different ethnicity, tainted by their environment and association with other inferior groups. Macartney accused them of abandonment of discipline and responsibility towards the survival and security of the free population. They took financial advantage for commercial gain of the island economic predicament and the dearth of ready money. Macartney despaired how all, “whether British, French, Dutch or Spaniards are of a buccaneering turn.”¹⁵⁵

Macartney’s relations with social etiquette and mores of class degeneration was exposed as whites of all social groups succumbed to economic realities. Their marked change of principles was again blamed on the Tropics and the, “Climate [that] seems to relax their morals as much as their bodies.”¹⁵⁶ Many, whose

¹⁵³ London, PRO, CO101/21, “Letter from David Gregory to Polly,” 19 May 1777, Macartney – Germain, 24 October 1777

¹⁵⁴ Long, pp.265

¹⁵⁵ London, PRO, CO101/20, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 6 March 1777

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

economic livelihoods were governed by pirates, despite Macartney's criticisms of their scruples and choices of company, openly courted and many merchants were actively engaged in the employment of pirates: "In truth the genius of all West Indians, without distinction, seems turned to piracy and freebooting."¹⁵⁷

Macartney reveals the complex composition of Grenada society and inherent problems it created: "When I consider the strange discordant mass of English, Scots, Irish, French, Creoles and Americans...heated by various passions and prejudices far beyond any European idea."¹⁵⁸

He viewed the immigrant lower class British whites as a: "Meaner sort composed overseers, clerks, low planters and tradesmen are mere banditti, averse to all order, discipline and obedience, turbulent, mutinous and impatient of any restraint whatsoever."¹⁵⁹

This observation was repeated by travellers to the region/temporary residents, who saw these poor whites with minds filled with strange cruel black ideas that over time made them devoid of feeling and callous. Their attempts to act effete to increase their social status and their proud, haughty attitudes drew snobbish rebuke. These terms were defined by their ethnicity and social status hence reference to the 'Connaught Savage Bumpkin' or certain Scots termed the 'Silly Highland Gauky.'

¹⁵⁷ London, PRO, CO101/20, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 22 October 1777

¹⁵⁸ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38718, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 25 October 1778

¹⁵⁹ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38718, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 10 January 1778

Their driven attitude to better themselves whatever the obstacles was criticised: “Set a Beggar on a horseback and he will ride to the devil.”¹⁶⁰

African slaves were the premier concern over all other notorious pirate activity, as Symonds’s motion clearly demonstrated. Local interaction with pirates stabilised white numbers but created obvious and critical security issues. A strong white population was needed but Grenada could not afford to lose it to lure of pirate trading. The American Declaration of Independence bred equal fear of external invasion and internal slave insurgency.

Open associations with pirates created regular, extensive, clandestine trade between Grenada and Martinique. Its success was judged by the market scarcity of provisions. The French were blamed as the prime reason all government vigilance failed to stop the trade and the British believed it was unlikely to diminish until the French quit residence on the island.¹⁶¹ Macartney acknowledged Natural Subjects from all social stations shared equal involvement so his claim was false were as culpable.¹⁶²

His real fear was contraband trade could encourage social links between ethnic groups, especially during a period of ‘high alert, however a critical fiscal observation was illegal traders exchanged goods and paid in Sterling. Local government lost vital duty into the treasury and precious money drained out of the economy particularly less money for capital expenditure, e.g., public works. Economic conditions were exacerbated for many planters were in heavy debt to London

¹⁶⁰ Morton, pp.81-87

¹⁶¹ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38718, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 25 October 1778

¹⁶² London, PRO, CO101/20, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 6 March 1777

merchants. British planters spent most if not all of their produce simply to cover their debts.¹⁶³

One solution, given the open association of planter society with pirates, was to employ pirates to protect Grenada's trade and in aspect security. The government issued letters of *marque* and hired its own privateers to escort important documents and cargo. This created an inherent problem: protection Grenada's interest would create political and social problems. The government had to be cautious that its interest (through piracy) did not - even indirectly - clash with other nation's interests. This was important to avoid disputes or possible war particularly given the sensitivities of the time. Favourable relations and goodwill with neighbours had to be maintained to retain its geography as the furthest Windward Islands' and reliance on white alliance to support potential slave revolts or returning runaways.

Macartney paid particular caution who received letters of *marque*. No government commissions were issued to any persons who Macartney had not received favourable opinions.¹⁶⁴

There was a finite limit issue of letters of *marque* by the government; given the existent enterprising spirit s and the residents' desperation, many ships that failed to obtain letters in Grenada or from islands forged documents, usurped them from others or risked marauding independently i.e., become pirates in law if not in intention. He also recognised that apart from the five official privateers many others

¹⁶³ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38718, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 25 October 1778

¹⁶⁴ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD.MSS 38201, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 11 April 1779

existed and they in turn sought and received letters from other governments to which the Governor admitted was, “out of my reach and cognizance.”¹⁶⁵

It created a contradiction where Macartney castigated whites ‘of birth and quality’ for their lowered morals and association with pirates, but employed pirates and/or pirate methods for government business. He may have seen his decision as an essential policy for the protection of the colony but reserved disgust for those who undertook the choice for personal gain. One person was one Count Byland, a captain of a Dutch ship, who received the masters of rebel privateers aboard his flagship with, “All the attention and civility due to their equals in regular service.”¹⁶⁶

Macartney viewed those who entertained rebels, from the former North American colonies and treated them with all the civilities of bona fide citizens, in particular those in the Dutch Caribbean colonies such as St. Eustatius where they were “received with open arms in all their ports, furnished with every supply and openly conveyed by their men of war...in the teeth of our ancient treaties.”¹⁶⁷

He saw these American revolutionaries as mere traitors, “Of the sourest leaven and they taint the rest,” i.e., those Americans who remained loyal to King George III or sceptical of independence. Their treasonous acts against Grenada and other British islands were part of their ideology and were, “the rancour of transplanted rebellion.”¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

Planters became infamous for their parties of food, fine wines, and finest plate and crystal. Functions included copious amounts of alcohol: Claret, hock, Champagne, Madeira, ales, ciders and porter – normally bought off captured privateers. Food could comprise: duck, legs of pork, beef, goat, chicken, veal, mutton, turkeys, sauces, pies and tropical fruits.¹⁶⁹ A posthumous public auction of Leyborne's assets revealed quality household mahogany furniture, cases of knives and forks, glassware, china, earthenware, etc.¹⁷⁰ This observation was corroborated by one travel writer who described planters love of entertaining, where their gates were permanently thrown open to guests and hospitality. The level of opulence is displayed by the magnificent displays of plate, the choices wines, finest damasks and dinners of 16 to 20 covers.¹⁷¹ This level of ostentation revealed the potential wealth and the necessity of business with pirates to maintain such luxury items.

Many whites, therefore, despite Macartney's exhortations, preferred the realistic security of steady income and secure passage for their goods and good company over possible social ostracism, in the knowledge many of their peers were doing the same. Their disproved associations and British whites general prejudice against Creoles suffered opprobrium over their lack of ethnic solidarity and social snobbery, e.g., some great houses of entertainment were compared to barns in Britain.¹⁷²

The whites were a ready market for their hosts. It revealed the efforts within free society to maintain a European standard lifestyle, viz. wine, soap, oil, silks,

¹⁶⁹ Mackie, pp.45-47

¹⁷⁰ Taunton, Somerset Archives, Popham Papers, DD/PO/114/NRA, Public Auction of Leyborne's Assets, 6 June 1775.

¹⁷¹ Edwards, pp.9-10

¹⁷² Ibid.

stockings and millinery and other articles of duty. The inventories included a market for female goods; perhaps luxuries for the small group of planters' wives who required European goods to maintain assumed standards to avoid protestations to return to Britain. Others may have simply been sold on for profit to an eager audience.

Ethnic and social interaction could have long-term implications on island security via condoned social banditry and integration from illegal migrants. Macartney warned that one half of the island's population were French, who were, "certainly not well affected to us."¹⁷³ The French Adopted Subjects were perceived, "in general equally adverse to our manners, religion and government."¹⁷⁴

The threat of pirate attacks remained despite social communication. A pirate ship landed in Mayreau (one of the Grenadines islands) and captured 15 slaves. All the white inhabitants found were stripped naked and anything that could not be carried off was burned or destroyed. Mayreau and other Grenadines were insecure by their remote nature. This made the security of remote Carriacou, the largest and valuable Grenadines Island, and a prime target to raid: "Indeed there is very little at present to hinder them from practising the same depredations in almost every part of this government."¹⁷⁵

Alex Sympson sought to bring a bill to ascertain the numbers of white males and free population in Carriacou to devise a strategy for its defence and critically preventing

¹⁷³ London, PRO, CO101/20, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 22 October 1777

¹⁷⁴ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, MSS.ADD MSS 38718, Macartney - Letter to Germain, 10 April 1778.

¹⁷⁵ London, PRO, CO104/2, Minutes of Council and Assembly 1766 – 1778, 14 August 1777

“Foreign vagabonds from resorting to the said island and clandestinely carrying off the slaves of the inhabitants.”¹⁷⁶

Levels of growing tensions and such flagrant acts of social and national disloyalty moved Macartney to warn the British government of the necessity for urgent measures to prevent a spirit of privacy overcoming the Caribbean region.¹⁷⁷ All echelons of plantation society were willing to conspire in illegal business and involved in active participation with pirates and freebooting Americans and other captains and their pirate crews of differing nationalities served as exciting addition to Grenada plantation society and offered a rare opportunity for white company to replace the loss of British society through shared social conversation news and gossip, any shared cultural values and fine dining.

Adopted Subjects’ frustrations can be envisaged given the state of Grenada’s Council (see Table 11). Only 6 members of the Council sat, the deficit was created by: 2 were absent; 1 waited, pending a Royal Mandamus to sit; 3 suspended, dependent on King George III’s decision. Governors would have been compelled, in situations as this, to seek out/accept the services of individuals they considered outside their social status like Mr. Pigott, the same planter accused by Leyborne years before as, “one of the most violent, and considerable leader in opposition.”

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD.MSS 38718, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 6 June 1777

Table 4

State of Council 7/12/1777 ¹⁷⁸

Council Member	Status
Frederick Corsar	Absent by leave (England)
William Lucas	Sitting
Gilbert Eames	Sitting
Sir Francis Laurent	Sitting
Thomas Baker	Sitting
James Campbell	Sitting
Samuel Williams	Absent by leave
John Black	Sitting
Robert Johnson	Pending HM authority to sit

* Messrs. Staunton, Martyn and Taylor suspended pending HM authority to lift.

¹⁷⁸ London, PRO, CO101/18, State of Council, 17 December. 1777.

Migrations of North American citizens, with their rebellious ideology were a new danger; the fate of their new country would become a barometer to judge the region. He viewed the effects of immigrant Americans with their revolutionary ideology effect on former residents from Grenada, where they, “imbibed no portion of her levelling spirit.”¹⁷⁹

Their ideological message created further tensions within Grenada and vulnerability of security (see Table 12).

Table 5

State of Grenada by Ethnicity 31/5/1778 ¹⁸⁰

Natural Subjects (16-60 yrs)	New Adopted Subjects (16-60 yrs)	Free Mulattoes & <i>Mestizoes</i> – mostly French (16-60yrs)	Total
790	324	256	1360*

The shift in power in relations between Natural and Adopted Subjects is apparent with the changing population totals. Adopted Subjects excluded from political power could not be manipulated employing the same methods given the security of the island. The total potential fighting force had changed from 1147 in 1777 to an increased force of 1360 in 1778, up 213 persons (19%). The proportion of the

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ London, PRO, CO101/18, State of Grenada, 31 May 1778

fighting forces' Free Coloureds as had grown from 11% to 19% in 1778. The militia's increased size was not positive as it appeared as the proportion of New Adopted Subjects and Free Coloureds (mainly French) in the 1778 force comprised almost half (43%) of the total able force; near 50% of the militia was comprised of the disgruntled and disenfranchised. They were the class of people for whom the American Revolution ideology of independence, liberty, and political representation would appeal.

The British government were alarmed the security of a prized colony relied on the support of a hostile population. Their surprise, repeated since Capitulation, was based on their own system that encouraged governors to under-report or embellish figures and situations. The ethnic composition of Grenada was more varied than Macartney reported. It may have been under reported to mask the estimated slave population at this time numbered nearly 30,000. It could have stimulated at risk of agitation among Adopted Subjects, Free Coloureds and /or migrants if they surmised the true picture how they were denied representation, given the treatment of Adopted Subjects over generations whether by birth or French ancestry.¹⁸¹

Macartney was sceptical any delicate balance could endure and worried that,

... when the enemy is no longer to be apprehended and the danger is supposed to be at a distance, we must expect to see many relapse into

¹⁸¹ London, PRO, CO101/20, Memorial of Proprietors of Plantations in the Island of Grenada, Tobago and the Grenadines, 5 May 1778

indolence or ill temper, old jealousies to break out afresh, and party to revive.¹⁸²

Macartney criticised the lack of support from those of property and/or birth, the ‘natural leaders’ who refrained from their duties. The long term absence of proprietors such as Rucker, Home, Simond, Campbell, Baillie, Smith, Scot and Johnston annoyed Macartney. The absence of their stabilising influence aligned with their combined values around £1 million Sterling contributed to lack of investment and development in the island, given a significant proportion of the population were in debt to creditors overseas.¹⁸³ Behind these economic fears the tensions of ethnicity were used to apportion blame for the island’s predicament.

Adopted Subjects were accused of little active support the economy or security of the island and viewed as ‘flexible’ subjects: partaking of the tolerances allowed and subsequent benefits accorded to them, i.e., the secure practise of their religion, property and immunity, yet in return, “French of every denomination and colour are totally disaffected...and incapable of any sincere attachment to us.”¹⁸⁴

Their loyalty remained challenged and future projections concluded that there could be no harmonious existence as the Adopted Subjects were “incapable of ever becoming good citizens of Great Britain or being attached to us by any ties whatsoever.”¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38718, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 10 January 1778

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

The government of St. Lucia, whose ethnic system paralleled Grenada, were over their disloyalty. They were warned not to adopt Grenada's model of indulgence as it would produce the same "ill effects" and cause the French subjects to become "insolent, not grateful" and give them the power to hurt the British but "not the disposition to do us good" lowering authority "without conciliating their affection," though the Natural Subjects protested they had, "adopted them with all the fondness of a parent."¹⁸⁶

Natural Subjects felt after decades of obstruction and destruction of their rights they expected perceived "kindness" and "gratitude" would be repaid through the Adopted Subjects' "natural returns of duty and affection;" Macartney's assimilated the views of conservative Natural Subjects:

We find ourselves cruelly mistaken, they have disappointed every good expectation made of them, they have never incorporated with our people, but like Jews, have kept chiefly apart, and neither increased our industry, nor strengthened our population. They have retained most of the ill qualities of their own nation, without acquiring the good ones of ours, and at the end of seventeen years; there is scarcely one of the whole adopted race, whom government can venture to confide in.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

Macartney's criticism of Adopted Subjects ignored his fellow Natural Subjects' regular treasonous activity through their collusion, association, and entertainment of national enemies such as Americans and pirates. His reference to Jews revealed general prejudice in Britain to this ethnic group, through religious enmity, racial stigmatisation and views of Jews as aloof, making money from society but maintaining a tenacious hold onto their ethnicity.

Relations between Natural and Adopted Subjects were fractured through suspicion and unequal treatment. British Subjects became enemies of alliances of frustrated discontented resident Adopted Subjects, recent French Catholic immigrants, Free Coloureds, French Subjects still loyal to the French Court, those who fled huge debts, possible African slaves carried off the island, and many other runaway African slaves. Most of these ethnic groups had obvious close links to France and her colonies but also possessed key intimate knowledge of the island's geography, links to closed social communities, and critical knowledge of the island's affairs i.e., the state of Grenada's security (fortifications, armouries and militias), social discord and exploitative potential amongst its population along ethnic and servile lines.

The Grenada government corroborated this argument in their suspicions that intelligence was being conveyed to the enemy. They suspected that if there was to be a French war then Grenada would be a principal object for the enemy for a significant proportion of the population would not actively or fully support the defence of the island.

Ethnic relations reached its nadir when during the night the militia was "very considerably diminished" and left with little strength. Those who deserted were in

principal almost all the Free Coloureds and the greater part of the Adopted Subjects. Not more than 300 men, near half strength, maintained a crude reduction of 250 men or some 46%.¹⁸⁸ Their actions were rational; why fight to retain the *status quo*, why risk their lives to defend a system that humiliated them? Even in defence of the island, they remained under the command of those who actively despised and conspired against them, those who refused them actual commissions, which were vital now. They shared no desire to risk loss of possessions to a system that failed to recognise them as full British Subjects or allowed them to participate fully in society. These tensions exposed any repressed deep-seated physical and psychological animosities.

The physical act of invasion was secondary to the mental expectation promised. Natural Subjects recognised the conclusion of their tenure in power and privilege but aware of the future wrath of the humiliated Adopted Subjects. For this reason they resorted to the protection of their superiority. The derision Macartney treated d'Estaing's capitulation documents to surrender were a manifestation of this. He dismissed them as, "having been composed at leisure in the closet, not suddenly drawn up in the camp."¹⁸⁹

d'Estaing's actions provides a measure of ethnic tensions within Grenada He had to secure the British whites surrender and withdrawal from Grenada. He could obtain intelligence from disaffected French white Adopted Subjects but critically he was not guaranteed the support from the greater *gens de couleur* (French Free Coloureds)

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

and *esclaves* (African slaves – notable the French speaking / owned); these extended to any British Free Coloureds and the larger proportion English-speaking African slaves and the Maroons. Count d'Estaing offered three 'enticements' that reflected psychological play on alliances and animosities and notably his appreciation of the social conditions within Grenada.

The first years after Capitulation demonstrate a number of the objectives set out. Whiteness was graded, and the French although were not in general dark like the Mediterranean Europeans, British whites shared a sense of superiority over them. The use of different appellations from the start clearly signalled their intent. They criticised French industry and clearly believed the French could become better persons just by living amongst them. It is evident simple biological properties of race do not work here. The Scottish presence opposed to the landed gentry illustrates the complex variety within the white group - along with an Irish community. Even within this group, social class is a major definer of position,

The 'Test' issue is certainly the initial root issue, but the premiere issue for British Whites is the position of rank. The incident where the two Frenchman are made to apologise and beg forgiveness in public demonstrated the depths of ethnic identity and tensions. Ethnic tensions created within Grenada emanated not just from historical and social rivalries, but the government's policy towards 'The Test.' The compulsory oath came up against a central Catholic belief, therefore conflict was inevitable. Grenada, like most Caribbean colonies, had a minority white population, therefore, the appearance of white solidarity was vital for security and viability; but in Grenada, sacrificed for ethnic ideologies. They challenged, outmanoeuvred and

dictated to the British government and even to his Majesty King George III. Governors were sacrificed. We have a picture of the ferocity of their anger how government officials are forced to resign. Governor Fitzmaurice's demise symbolised the tensions between rival groups left broken and tortured and broken during his administration died from fever. The final ignominy was that his affairs were very difficult to organise and it was given out (most probably by his former enemies) that he was illegitimate therefore he died intestate.¹⁹⁰

Another aspect introduced is the rise of another class—the Creoles. Although white, like the French, they are not judged to be of the right stature—almost a bastardised race. They are described in the same stereotypical way reserved for Africans. This is unsurprising as association with them creates impurity. In conclusion this chapter defines the concepts of race and ethnicity and why the term ethnicity has been adopted. Both are constructed and involve power. Race came out of European dogma that sprouted forth a form of cultural chauvinism that Europeans were superior to other peoples. It was aligned to the colour of the people on four different continents. It gained validity with the application of scientific thought that introduced classification based on three groups according to skull measurements, aesthetic and facial features. Race then was biologically fixed and the hierarchy of superiority was set and controlled by those in power. This was used across the Caribbean to subjugate people based on supremacy of one race over another.

Ethnicity, is a relative younger social concept, though not fixed or wedded simply to colour or characteristics, this can be an important factor. The key differences here is

¹⁹⁰ London, PRO, CO101/16, Leyborne – Letter to Hillsborough, 17 September 1772

individuals or groups that have the power to identify themselves as belonging to a group based on perceived shared characteristics such as culture, religion, nationality, language. It is subjective and dynamic. This is more applicable to Grenada where whites were labelled into groups that signified difference and superiority. It is applicable to Grenada as within these groups there were further differences among English, Scottish, Irish, French Adopted Subjects, French residents (who refused to take citizenship), and French migrants; from there, the groups split further into Catholic and Protestant, Protestants who supported the Catholics and those against, even Catholics who converted to Protestantism.

What this chapter lays out in detail is the richness of interaction and relationships between these groups to establish alliances and/or create tensions. Grenada was far from a homogeneous unit, even within groups. This decade of feuding was fatal, as it compromised white security, hegemony, and social relations and created unbridgeable social crevices. The Adopted Subjects recognised they were only subjects by name and would never be accepted on equal terms. Many recognised this and had to decide their strategy on Grenada. In the next chapter, flight rather than continual fight became a high-risk but more attractive and vengeful option. They shared their frustrations with a third ethnic group, the Free Coloureds. The Free Coloureds remained outside the main focus of ethnic tensions at that period, ignored in the intra-white nationalist disputes. Their association with the French whites added other layers to Grenada's ethnic plantation society: by colour, religion, language, and legal status. Their presence and numbers presented new opportunities and challenges to alliances and tensions. The last major group the Africans and their

relations to other group will be examined and legal status will be considered here also.

Chapter Three

This chapter examines the impact of the relations between the white and Adopted Subjects. The systemic discrimination created an organised response from the Adopted Subjects deliberately planned to attack the whites with the only power they possessed; this chapter will argue the importance of the recognition of ethnicity as the stimulus to their actions. This chapter will also introduce the two final major groups in Grenada the Free Coloureds and the Africans. It will examine the legal status of both groups and how both interacted with other groups within Grenada.

The Free Coloureds, through employment of racial criterion, would be seen as the second major group in Grenada society but using the ethnic perspective to examine Grenada society this chapter will argue this group diversified into multiple groups based on legal status, colour, language and religion. The argument set out here will show this created multiplicities of needs, aspirations, and prejudices that created yet another layer of possibilities for relationships with resultant alliances and tensions. Adopted Subjects fought against and feared the unequal treatment they received.

The Adopted Subjects denied any future hope of equality in the legislative and judicial frameworks still shared equal burden of the risks and repayments of loans. They were labelled and effectively stigmatised, by this it was made clear they were not real British citizens and would never take full part in society yet had to still live within it.

Adopting the sociological perspective of stigmatism as a model it is clear society cast Adopted Subjects into a separate world. As Goffman argued, the stigmatised have to go through a ‘moral career’ meaning a painful humiliating process of learning to live within a society as rejects or as incomplete, looked down upon or even completely segregated.²⁰⁸ This reflected the Adopted Subjects’ experience. Stigmatism creates the two faces: their private personas and the public face imposed by society that set them as different. Society’s image of them in reality only reflected what they feared or hoped to control. Exclusion of Adopted Subjects meant society had no information what went on in these communities. It was only with the first flight the dangerous implications of excluding Adopted Subjects became clear.

Among the first complaints lodged was one London-based merchant Bosanquet and Fatio. An examination of their complaint reveals the nature of the fraud and provides an insight into the financial complexities planters adopted to finance their businesses. One Andrew Phillipe, a subject of France but still an inhabitant of Grenada, became a British subject after conquest (Capitulation). His land covered 100 acres with 47 African slaves. Phillipe received at set periods advanced funds totalling £4070. Phillipe was unable (or unwilling) to pay his debts and on 13 April 1773 he attempted to leave the island during the night but was apprehended by an agent. Phillipe seized this opportunity and sailed for St. Lucia with his African slaves while the agent sought military assistance. One creditor seized Phillipe’s land in compensation while another vessel sanctioned by Leyborne sailed to bring

²⁰⁸ Erving Goffman, “Stigma” in *Key Ideas in Sociology*, ed. Martin Slattery, (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1992), p.116

Phillipe back. Leyborne made an offer to Phillipe to extend the time for repayments as long as he cultivated the land.²⁰⁹

This event revealed much about thinking within the colonial administration and the general white population within Grenada at the time. Leyborne's magnanimous gesture identified the principal concern was not the crime per se or even to extent his debts, but the land that lay uncultivated with no labour to work it. Uncultivated land was wasteland that meant no returns from produce sold hence loss revenue. As demonstrated earlier, investors' principal concern was financial not political and ethnic arguments and they could pressure him or the British Government for redress. His action reflected genuine concern as Phillipe's actions could stimulate other attempts among the increasingly estranged Adopted Subjects. It sent a belated signal that the government was listening to Adopted Subjects' concerns and prepared to offer support against economic hardship therefore emolliate any desire for flight. The Adopted Subjects, marginalised since conquest, remained unresponsive to Leyborne's offer. They refused to satisfy the needs of the Protestants as they recognised they finally possessed a form of power in society.

Leyborne's fears were realised as the Governor of French colony St. Lucia refused a formal request to return Phillipe's slaves and claimed he needed an express order from the French Court. Four key problems emanated, first, the enslaved Africans, the most valuable commodity, was lost so the security of the loan was virtually useless. Second, a major European power sanctioned or at least gave secured shelter. Such

²⁰⁹ London, PRO, CO101/17, Humble Memorial of Bosanquet & Fatio, 22 August 1774

actions could also reinforce ideas of ethnicity and belonging among Adopted Subjects and the potential to preclude mass illegal emigration there or to other French islands. The most critical was the potential impact these actions could have over the enslaved Africans; mass runaways could become endemic to the ‘sanctuary’ of the French isles.

These fears were qualified as Adopted Subjects followed. In another case a widow, Madam Jacques, another French citizen who became an Adopted Subject after Capitulation, received in advance £1970 mortgage for 153 acres and 50 African slaves. The creditors complained the security on the loan was lessened because Widow Jacques concealed she had children in Martinique at the time the mortgage was granted, which meant that her children were legally entitled to a share of the property. Widow Jacques escaped to a French island (possibly Martinique) with all her slaves so a request was sent direct to the French court to have them returned.²¹⁰

Merchants recognised the implications of these early flights. They invested well beyond £100,000s pounds to the French in mortgages and up to £150,000 raised in annuities at ten years purchase; they also paid for payments for slaves and land. They complained of:

... greatest reason to dread the most fatal consequences if there is not an immediate stop put to this new method of fraud, by proper example being made...for if the French islands become established asylums for the fugitives, with their negroes, much more than half the original security is

²¹⁰ Ibid.

capable of being carried off the premises and a catastrophe similar to that of 1772 may very soon be felt again by the Royal Exchange amongst the merchants concerned in that branch of business.²¹¹

The merchants' protests identified a pattern of economic revolt and flight to the sanctuary of French islands financial crisis created by increased fraudulent defaulted payments. One merchant called Bullmer warned that such acts were "injurious to the credit of the island" [and] "of the worse consequence to commercial faith." Bullmer appealed to resident Adopted Subjects in empathy to divide them. He tried to emphasised they now became different, or in practice preferable to those who fled because they were, "particularly dishonourable to the new Adopted Subjects."²¹²

The sudden occurrence, volume, regularity and destinations of these flights within a specific period illustrated similar patterns and suggests organised operations not sporadic independent events, rather some unified strategy. That the white power elite were unaware of these actions demonstrates the close communications and relationships within the Free Coloureds and increasing alienation from whites. Adopted Subjects recognised the worth of their capital and a method to avenge their exclusion from full participation in society.

The logistical scope of these flights deserves consideration: driving livestock and carrying all other portable goods by slaves—sometimes down hilly terrain—to quiet bays whereby a hired ship or series of large canoes waited to convey them away, and

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid. re. Peter Castaings

navigated over distances all under pitch tropical darkness and with as little noise as possible. It was an astounding feat of logistics and seamanship. Night flights like these undoubtedly provided additional skills and knowledge for the Adopted Subjects and their African slaves for future purposes (see chapter Four). The timing of applications for investment and security within short periods before personal declaration of economic difficulties and flight provides further evidence of an argument of careful unified organisation.²¹³

Fraudulent flights affected London-based British financiers and European merchants, particularly Dutch and French, drawn by capital's economic and political status, to provide funds for the London market. Grenada's financial climate created economic uncertainty manifested in low prices and critical scarcity of money.

This practice related to currency use throughout the Caribbean which did not equate to national currencies values. In the Windward and Leeward Islands, the unit of currency was the 'Dollar' containing 11 'Bits' of 9d each i.e., equivalent to 8s 3d currency. In the Windward Islands the Portuguese '*Johannes*' (originated in 1722 based on the *Dobra* equal to a Portuguese *onca* of gold) was equivalent to \$8 approximation to South America. This contributed to circulation of light 'Joes' created by the malpractice of 'clipping' or 'sweating' money containing little or no silver. The prevalence of such currency, termed local money (cy), as opposed to the official money of Pounds Sterling, led to accusations that many were involved in the practice of filing / cutting silver then stamping coinage with an official 'G'; coins

²¹³ London, PRO,CO101/18, Humble Memorial of Servis Chauvet & Peter Furguand of London Merchants to the Right Honourable The Earl of Dartmouth, re. John Bernard & his wife Margaret Bridget Girard, 18 January 1775

appeared official but worth less by nearly 30% i.e., worth 6d instead of 9d.²¹⁴ The Provost Marshall sold estates to salvage forfeited recognizance for creditors only for ready gold and silver, but the economic impact of the rarity of standard precious metals circulating meant many estates were sold for only sixth or tenth of their true value.²¹⁵

New legislation was critical to stop inevitable financial ruin to London merchants and financiers. Leyborne recognised the implications of Adopted Subjects new found power:

I am afraid these emigrations will continue will be followed by a great number of the inhabitants of this island...our merchants who have advanced very considerable sums of money in this part of the world must suffer greatly in this part of the world must suffer greatly in their property, and from the great facility with which persons can go off the island, it will be impossible to prevent it.²¹⁶

An Act to extend the modes and length of payments on estates sold by the Provost Marshall failed to extricate dire circumstances and stem the exodus of great numbers of Adopted Subjects planters from Grenada for other French islands. The levels of emigrations were such that they were, “so frequent as to be extremely alarming.”²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Robert Chalmers, *List of Currency in the British Colonies*, (Colchester: John Drury, 1972), pp.82-83

²¹⁵ London, PRO, CO101/17, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 26 July 1774

²¹⁶ London, PRO, CO101/18, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 23 November 1774

²¹⁷ Ibid.

Leyborne failed or refused to see, given his precarious political position and the belief in British whites' right to govern the significant factor that drove the crisis was Adopted Subjects' lack of confidence in their political and social future. The continued use of appellations one decade after Capitulation suggested many Protestants still regarded them as outsiders and their pursuit of religious and political equality regarded inimical. Leyborne acknowledged the Adopted Subjects were attracted to neighbouring French islands owing to the reception and protection they received. He believed the introduction of new legislation designed to ameliorate financial difficulty would reduce flights completely even though he could not enforce pursuit orders on islands that belonged to other European states.²¹⁸

A future Governor Macartney blamed Grenada planters' lack of opulence for the local economy's failure to absorb the impact of flight. Vicious financial circles remained and left many trapped individuals to survive economic calamities, condemned to spend the rest of their lives servicing these huge debts. They became like managers of their estates rather than owners, the socio-economic situation in Grenada of that period was summarised:

I do not know a single British subject here out of debt. Most of the members of the Assembly, with whom the money bills originate, are much embarrassed in their circumstances, and are rather to be considered as stewards and managers for the mortgagees in London and Holland, than as real owners of the estates they possess.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Ibid

²¹⁹ Ibid

The principal cause was the reverberations of earlier planter speculative actions. Mass immigration of British land speculators that replaced massed French emigration into Grenada after Capitulation purchased lands over a wide range of values. Many had little capital and cash flows; given the immediate high costs and delayed revenues of plantation finances; many speculated on crop profit rather than ready money. London merchants loaned money based on the security of the mortgage of these estates as well as the additional condition of having all produce consigned to them.²²⁰

Other factors such as investment decisions compounded the feasibility of plantations. First the expensive commission the merchants charged (average near 20%) meant many planters suffered initial narrow profit margins. Second, they were restricted in their choice of markets resultant in higher port prices, competition, cartels, etc., dependent on a merchant's preference. Another factor that affected plantations was physical destruction created by: Maroon raids, sabotage, and vermin and insect infestation.

One last example of Adopted Subject practice in 1769 merits full explanation as it explains they recognised creditors were committed to lending funds after an initial investment and learned how to utilise this power. Pertinent to this argument it demonstrates the development of relationships to secure this particular business deal. A Monsieur Balthezar Anthony Lescallier residing in London used, his influential British base, to agree the purchase of an estate in Grenada from a Mr. Lewis

²²⁰ Ibid

Alexander Fowray for £600 Stg. Lescallier was unable to raise this sum so a financial product was devised to use the estate as security and conveyed it to a Mr. Wegg in trust. Lescallier, his wife and Wegg entered into a bond with Le Fowray for the payment of interest on the £600 thereby allowing Lescallier to take possession of the estate. During the economic crisis Lescallier declared he was greatly distressed in his circumstances and, Wegg who foresaw the impending dangers, declared he was very desperate to get rid of the security. Lescallier prevailed upon merchants Bunfoot, Marlan & Co. to advance him the money to pay off Wegg and his other creditors. Lescallier appeared to be a shrewd businessman or a charming negotiator for he entered into a new bond with a Monsieur Le Fowray to secure interests on his mortgage. The estate was given by Allen Marlan & Co. as security and Lescallier was allowed to return to manage the estate under the direction of a Mr. Isaac Horsford (the creditor's appointed attorney). The creditors must have felt very assured with the security of their arrangements and future profits for they advanced Lescallier several considerable sums amounting over a period to some £20,000 Stg. to improve the estate. They formed doubts later over Lescallier and they ordered him off the estate. Legal proceedings began in 1779 at the period of the French Interregnum (see chapter Two) but the creditors claimed that the invasion commander Admiral D'Estaing made it a priority that Lescallier's estate was restored and made him one of the first island Councillors as D'Estaing personally knew of Lescallier's case. Under the security of French protection, the defiant Lescallier stopped all consignments to his creditors and compounded his impudence through abusive threatening letters to his creditors informing them the estate's consignments would be sold elsewhere. The return of British rule in 1783 meant Lescallier knew the rage that awaited him so he quit Grenada with 80 of his finest

slaves to Trinidad. The merchants absorbed huge debts but his smaller creditors faced ruin; the estate's value plummeted.²²¹

These practices became international in scope because they created the potential for damaged diplomatic relations and confrontation. In one case, one creditor called Bennett sent a merchant Mr. Willis as his representative to apprehend an escaped debtor Demonchy and recoup his investment. When Willis arrived at Canouan, Demonchy had already fled. Willis set off to chase his quarry to the island of St. Lucia. It was a rash and impudent act that led to a skirmish and resulted in injuries to one soldier and one slave.²²² Willis's action angered Macartney for legal and political reasons viz. the soldiers acted outside Grenada's jurisdiction and violence employed to interrupt a vessel in a foreign port and potential for localised international conflict.²²³

Macartney's appreciation of global, at least pan-Caribbean, political relations was justified when the North American Colonies declared independence from Britain supported by France and Spain. The proximity of these European countries to each other, the competition within the Caribbean possessions between them, and the strategic vulnerability of these Caribbean possessions all served to underline the dangers of rash actions.

²²¹ London, PRO, CO101/26, Memorial of Thomas Bunfoot, Thomas Allen, Robert Macky, Stratford Canning Smith (Assignees to the Estates & Effects of John Marlan, Robert Boyd and Edward Stewart), 7 November 1783.

²²² London, PRO, CO101/25, Lucas - Letter to Governor Matthew, 24 July 1774

²²³ London, British Library, MS Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS38718, Lord Macartney - Letter to Lord George Germain, 1 August 1776.

The North American Colonies' Declaration displayed similar characteristics with Grenada's Adopted Subjects, particularly the ratio of land possession to representation. The great survey of 1772 showed the scale of the Adopted Subjects' invaluable contributions to the island's economy with detailed total ownership of land, acreage, slaves, land use, buildings and chattels yet without representative political representation. The official abstract totals concentrates on the two main white ethnic groups. It also revealed data for the third ethnic group: the Free Coloureds and Free Africans. Their involvement in Grenadian plantation society at this time is shown in Table 4.

Out of 6 parishes, Natural Subjects held the majority proportion of estates in 3 parishes: St. John, St. Mark and St. Patrick. The highest ratio was 54% in St. Patrick's, the lowest 31% in St. George's and largest differential (difference in numbers between the 2 ethnic groups was 42% in St. Patrick's. The Adopted Subjects also shared majority ratios in 3 parishes: St. George, St. Andrew, and St. David. Their highest ratio was 57% in St. David's, the lowest 11% in St. Patrick's and largest differential was St. David's and St. George's both 21% The total of all plantations revealed the Adopted Subjects held 50% of estates yet were denied full representation.

The parish of Carriacou lay to the north of Grenada and the largest island within the Grenadines archipelago, revealed important data about ethnic composition and holdings. (see table 5) The isolated nature of Carriacou meant its inhabitants developed independence against the central hand of government but also Grenadian life and the ferocity of party politics. This is not to say that Carriacou was a model

of ethnic unity, but the proportion of Adopted Subjects to Natural Subjects was very high compared to the main island, not just in terms of population but with respect to land, chattels and other major investments. Carriacou reflected ethnic divisions on the main island to the extent it was partitioned in accordance with these ethnicities.*

Carriacou's natural hilly terrain and dry climate affected the type of crop grown. Whereas British planters in general invested heavily in sugar with coffee as a secondary crop, the French tended to gravitate towards the smaller crop. Their strategy was primarily owing to the costs, resources and access to funding that was required to run a sugar plantation. The French built up expertise in smaller holdings so the preferred crop across the island and ethnic groups were cotton, indigo and some coffee.

The remote island, with its multitude of bays and islets, made total security negligible, which demonstrated how many Adopted Subjects and Free Coloureds would use the island as a means of illicitly entering or departing Grenada at the time and in the future years. The critical proportion of ethnic ratios within Carriacou is shown in table 7. French whites also suffered at the hands of British whites. A Mr. Bogle, a French merchant in London, had considerable property in Grenada and authorised his attorney, one James Taylor (a former Grenada Council member) to legally recover a large sum owed to him from the estate of Andrew Irwin.

Table 6 – Grenada 1772 - Ethnic Property Ratios* ²²⁴

[Excludes island parish of Carriacou – see Table 7]

Parish	No. Of Plantations	Natural Subjects	Adopted Subjects	Total Acres	Total Slaves
St. George's	74	23 (31%)	39 (52%)	16602	5717
St. John	35	16 (46%)	14 (40%)	8542	2773
St. Mark	39	13 (54%)	21 (34%)	6661	2331
St. Patrick	51	27 (53%)	21 (11%)	10558	4785
St. Andrew	88	43 (49%)	44 (50%)	21424	7234
St. David	47	17 (36%)	27 (57%)	10294	3371
Totals	334	139 (42%)	166 (50%)	74081	26211

*Ratios do not add up to 100%; the discrepancy is the result of Free Coloureds & misc. plantations

²²⁴ London, PRO, CO101/16, State of Grenada taken April 1772

This case corroborates the various methods Grenada estates holders employed to stall their debts. Bogle was particularly apprehensive, as he believed much chicane would be practised to avoid payment. He also requested protection for Taylor while he went about his business suggesting the levels of desperation that existed that required the physical dangers experienced against creditors or their proxies and the planters' desperation.²²⁵

Table 7

Island of Carriacou²²⁶

Natural Subjects		Slaves Owned	Adopted Subjects		Slaves Owned
Proprietors	11	1788	Proprietors	27	970
Numbers			Numbers		
Resident Nos.	11		Resident Nos.	27	
Non Resident Nos.	15		Non. Resident Nos.	3	
No. Of White Persons	40		No. Of White Persons	28	

²²⁵ London, PRO, CO101/23, Germain – Letter to Macartney, 1 June 1778

²²⁶ Ibid

Totals

All ethnic 40 + = 68

white pop. 28

Total slave 1788 = 2758

pop +
970

All ethnic 11 + = 38

white 27

resident

All ethnic 15 + = 18

white non- 3

resident

French flights from Grenada and associated events created an unbridgeable schism in ethnic relations. Those Adopted Subjects who did not quit Grenada to escape debts, suffered conversely for their 'loyalty' for they bore the hostility of those suffered losses and treated with greater suspicion. Ethnic relations post-Interregnum plummeted to such levels that the Adopted Subjects retired into the security of their own world. It was ironic this occurred after over one decade of religious bigotry to gain access into the British society. The Catholic Church provided a natural ethnic signifier that encompassed its other facets: colour, language, and national affinity and culture.

Leyborne feared the situation in Grenada could create similar actions throughout the region. Stagnation and economic risk of ruin of one of the richest Caribbean colonies allied to Grenada's strategic importance (the most southerly Windward Isle and close to the Spanish Main (the South American continent) exposed security dangers. Leyborne lost the merchant class's confidence leading to that of his political masters. Leyborne joined previous Grenadian governors defeated and incapable to reconcile the ethnic divisions within. Like his predecessor Fitzmaurice, he died in the Caribbean shortly after leaving office. He was killed during military action in 1775 on the neighbouring island of St. Vincent against the Caribs.

The coloureds, like the whites, were not a homogeneous grouping, but differentiated in a number of ways. Legal status affected a significant proportion born free or manumitted. Manumission was a legacy from a white parent at a certain point of their lives, most commonly on the death of that parent, upon reaching a particular age or after years of loyal service. Others could purchase their freedom upon meeting certain strict conditions or granted by law for loyal valuable services for the whites, e.g., slave hunting. The appellation Free Coloured came from this practice even though not all of this group were legally free (for simplicity, the term Free Coloured is used hence unless specified). Many coloureds however remained enslaved and could even serve under their parents or siblings. The definition of enslavement meant owned as chattels in plantation society.

There is not a definitive physical image of a coloured though travellers of the time because of racial categorisation commented particularly limbs, aesthetic features,

and physiognomy. Images of Free Coloureds describe them as generally well-shaped and the women noted for their ‘good features’ i.e., closer proximity to Caucasoid, the definer of beauty: fairer complexions, hair texture, and less African facial features. Historiographies of the time described their hair of a natural curl of tolerable length but at times resembling the African ‘fleece,’ (Negroid features); as a demonstration of the range of physical characteristics – there was not a set coloured type. In Grenada, writers also pointed to some who possessed Carib ethnic characteristics.

Definitions of coloured was interpreted differently across the region, therefore it provided a wide variety of opportunities to progress in society dependent on location. A comparison of three Caribbean territories with Grenada demonstrates this argument.

In San Domingue (modern Haiti) an offspring of a ‘pure’ white and a ‘pure’ black equated to a *mulatto* (the standard simplistic image of a coloured); however the offspring of a *mulatto* and a white produced a *quateroon*; other groupings such as the *marabou* or *sacatra* could be created through combinations to create higher status categories. However, given the particular brutal history of that colony, which eventually contributed to the Haitian Revolution and independence, the highest possible mixed group, the *sang-melee*, though by appearances white, could never be accepted as they contained traces of African blood.²²⁷

The system in Jamaica appeared more opportunistic compared to San Domingue given that island’s particular hostile race politics. A white man and a black African

²²⁷ C.L.R, James, *The Black Jacobins*, 2nd edn., (London: Alison & Busby, 1989), p.38

woman produced a *mulatto*; a white man and Mulatto produced a *teceron* (their equivalent to a *quateroon*); the offspring of a white man and a *teceron* was a Jamaican *quateron*; only through a further act of miscegenation conferred recognition as white. This explains why ‘legal whites’ across the Caribbean strove so hard to hide, according to the writers, to disassociate themselves from their African ancestry.²²⁸ This is a rational explanation, but it also hides a possible alternative that the writers assumed coloureds wanted to become white as this was naturally ‘superior,’ rather than simply being a means to gain access or full participation in society.

On the island of Barbados, controls were more restrictive; any trace of African blood served to as a measure of separation from white society. John Poyner argued that a “state of subordination” was necessary for any nature of civil government or he believed no political union could exist. The preservation of distinctions that existed by nature or accidentally introduced into the community was manifest through complexions, mentality, intellect, and corporeal faculties.²²⁹ Belief in white superiority was fundamental among Long, his peers of the age, and later 19th Century scientific exponents.

Grenada followed these Caribbean systems, though less flexible and incorporated gender lines in the quest to protect and/or achieve ‘purity.’ This emphasised the numbers of resident coloureds within Grenada compared to other British islands and revealed significant ethnic sexual relations. Like the other colonies the product of a

²²⁸ Long, P.260

²²⁹ Jerome Handler, *The Unappropriated People.*, (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp.66-67

black woman and white man remained a *mulatto*; the offspring of a mulatto man and a black woman however was a *sambo* (compared to a *quateroon* / *quateron* and *teceron*); the progeny of a *mulatto* woman and a white man however was a *quadroon*. Apart from spelling, the main difference was Grenada and Jamaica's 'quarter-bloods' were achieved higher up the scale; they could only be produced through three levels of miscegenation. The offspring of a *quadroon* woman and white man became a *mestitize* or *mustee*; A child of a *mustee* and white man, after four levels of white male miscegenation, was finally *recognised* as white by law.²³⁰

Miscegenation based on white paternity not only controlled Free Coloureds' power and influence but helped to maintain control through social stigma against Africans. Free Coloureds self-regulated this system through their 'aspirations of 'progression' to purity.' Colour can be used an example of status and ethnic identification within plantation society. The legal system, as the practice in Europe, followed paternal lines so social rank classifications could produce theoretical and genetic issues for example, a fair mulatto (full black mother and white father) could be ranked below a comparative darker *sambo* (coloured mulatto and white father).

A notable insight is how commentators judged coloureds—they took note of the comparative early puberty compared to whites—an observation that reveals something about the observers sexual interests or possible engagement in sexual relations.²³¹ Free Coloured women, like African women, became imbued with fantasy sexual characteristics. Historiographies throughout the Caribbean

²³⁰ Edwards, 2, pp.18-19

²³¹ Long, Edward, *History of Jamaica*,. 3 vols., (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1970) 3, P.335

corroborated common observations of Free Coloured women's attractive visages and their sexual physicality and abilities. Mulatto women were viewed as "lascivious," "ridiculously vain" and "haughty," captivated by finery and lavished all money onto themselves. A notable addendum however judged that from around the age of 25 they rapidly declined till they became horribly ugly.²³²

These comments again reveal more about the eye witnesses than the women themselves. The writer here Edward Long was a Jamaican planter. He represented the general views of his planter class who saw themselves as premier residents on the islands. They ran their colonies according to their right to dictate their internal worlds.²³³ The women represented fantasies of pure physicality and sexual lust; they satisfied the best of white male yearnings, the libidinous sexuality of African women married to the acceptable features of white blood. Another notable feature is concentration on the materialistic. They suggest these women may have used the patronage and sexual urges of whites to their own benefit. Many Free Coloured women, given low white females totals, must have been 'wooded' for their companionship, being of free status they could not be forced as property, so used these opportunities to receive money and gifts offered and to experience white society. White men, who sated their desires, perhaps with regular liaisons, perhaps humiliated by their expensive unrequited reliance on Free Coloured women. Many parted from their money were bitter, in particular given the economic problems exacerbated by continual illicit French fraud, which suggests why beautiful young women were relegated to the status of crones.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Higman, pp.49-50

This contradictory practice was prevalent in Grenada, also more with enslaved African women designated by law as ‘chattels’ and subject to all forms of castigation. Writers did not in general challenge the immorality of sexual liaisons with African women slaves; rather it was the accusation against African women producing yellow offspring but not of the fathers’ own. White fathers were accused of still ‘blindly’ accepting them and sharing out estates to their partners and children when it was argued the children could lay claim to 20 other fathers and estates.²³⁴ This revealed another aspect of thinking over fears of squandering the precious inheritance of superiority and exclusivity of white blood.

The climate was used as the usual excuse for excited passions that remained dormant with other occupations in frigid climes. Men were accused of being like wax softened in heat; likewise their manners and customs melted.²³⁵ Their immoral behaviour corroborated the argument about their attitudes to Free Coloured women, as it was considered odious in colder European climes if a man of standing took several mistresses at once. Free Coloured women may have attracted white’s opprobrium due to sexual transmitted diseases. White males however, were accused of greater guilt for their libidinous and lascivious passions:

²³⁴ Ibid.P.327

²³⁵ J.B. Morton Esq., *West India Customs and Manners: containing strictures on the soil, cultivation produce, trade officers and inhabitants; with the method of establishing and conducting a sugar plantation. To which is added, the practice of training new slaves*, (London, 1793), pp. 28 & 78

Though the pleasures are only momentary, the pain may be long and lasting...as a man cannot put his finger into the fire without scorching it, so he cannot have lewd connections with women, and escape diseases.²³⁶

Rector Hans West in the DWI extolled similar views about women, particularly white Creoles' vanity. He accused them of not being able to resist an attractive female slave and wanting her in her entourage.²³⁷

The ethnic Free Coloured grouping also included Free Africans who, like Free Coloureds gained their status by manumission, purchase, or legal reward for services. Even though Free Africans in general shared the same complexions and physical features as African slaves, their free status set them apart. As free subjects, they were entitled to own land and purchase slaves (see Table 6), which could include their own relatives to work as chattels, though some used this system to save relatives from particular estates.

Tensions existed within the African group; in particular free Africans, experienced tensions with enslaved Africans given their shared proximate experience to slavery and any psychological disassociation free Africans adopted. Lower-middle class Free Africans remained in the same conditions as their mothers and continued to work with other Africans, but viewed with disdain despite their position on the status scale.²³⁸ This suggested Free Africans owning slaves and estates faced greater pressures the smaller the parish size. Data supports this argument: In the Parish of St.

²³⁶ Morton, p.28

²³⁷ Neville A. T. Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies*, ed. B.W. Higman, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972), p.20

²³⁸ Long, P.332

David's and St. Mark's there were no recorded ownerships of estates and slaves among Free Africans and Free Coloureds.

The Free Coloured group possessed far smaller numbers of slaves. This did not necessarily suggest some form of alliance rather demonstrated this group's aversion to any vestiges of sugar plantations. Free Coloureds' lands were smaller tracts of land between 1-25 acres. These acquisitions of small lands were a conscious reaction to the symbolism of cane and its associations with the stigma of slavery. Free Africans, for example, tended to become mechanics or planters of small pieces of land e.g., on Carriacou, they tended to cultivate coffee plantations along with land for provisions (root vegetables), pasture, woodland, or brushwood.

They, given the symbolic identity of physical cultivation within the Caribbean, would, "scarcely submit to perform with their own hands."²³⁹ Even reported relatively easy operations therefore any heavy manual work especially any involved in sugar production was anathema according to the report of an agent:

Not a single instance ever occurred of a Free Negro hiring himself to do it: the very becoming free is considered an exemption from every labour of that nature and a free coloured would think himself disgraced by it. (sic)²⁴⁰

The table below demonstrates (see table 6) in a comparison of Free Coloured and Free African estates compared to estate totals for Grenada:

²³⁹ London, PRO, CO101/29, First Report of the Committee of Both Houses Appointed to Take into Consideration the Queries Transmitted to the Committee of Correspondence by the Agent, Question 31, 28 May 1788.

²⁴⁰ London, PRO, CO101/29, First Report of the Committee of Both Houses Appointed to Take into Consideration the Queries Transmitted to the Committee of Correspondence by the Agent, Question 31, 28 May 1788.

Table 8

Free Coloureds Property (1772)²⁴¹

Parish	St.	St.	St.	St.	St.	St.	Totals
	George's	Andrew's	Patrick's	John's	David's	Mark's	
Free Coloured							
Plantations	7	1	3	2	-	5	18
Acres	323	80	108	362	-	198	1071
Slaves	83	20	42	55	-	83	283
Free Negro							
Plantations	1	-	2	2	-	-	5
Acres	19	-	64	69	-	-	148
Slaves	15	-	38	47	-	-	100
Island							
Totals	St.	St.	St.	St.	St.	St.	Island

²⁴¹ London, PRO, CO101/16, State of Grenada taken April 1772

by Parish	George's	Andrew's	Patrick's	John's	David's	Mark's	Totals
Plantations	74	88	51	35	47	39	334
Acres	16602	21424	10558	8542	10294	6661	74081
Slaves	5717	7234	4785	2773	3371	2331	26211

The plantation hierarchy reward system contained inherent security flaws and anomalies namely how to distinguish alliances and break chains of communication when the status reward system created though contradictions of legal status, race, family and colour. Free Coloureds (term now taken to include Free Africans) like white Adopted Subjects participated in society but were excluded; enjoyed its benefits but were imprisoned by its insecurities. They were regarded with extra caution due to their colour. Conservative Natural Subjects concerned with French Catholic whites faced a new challenge from Free Coloureds numbers as a method to control the powers of these New Subject freeholders and potential voters.

The Free Coloured presence was acknowledged as a future threat and the first moves to legislate against Free Coloureds attempted to arrest the potential power from Free Coloureds already in Grenada and those immigrants from neighbouring islands attracted by the lure of owning land and profits.²⁴² It controlled migration even

²⁴² London, PRO, CO103/3, Act to Prevent the Sudden Increase of Free Negroes and Coloureds, 21 April 1767.

reduced Free Coloured numbers.²⁴³ Reduced numbers of Free Coloureds alleviated the economic effects from the exodus of valuable credit, resources, and costs of unproductive estates, particularly as new Free Coloureds immigrants appeared to come with little credit, no perceived ability to work the disused estates and survived through the small domestic market that appeared to drain the island of (potential) wealth creation. The tables below demonstrate their growth in numbers as ratios of the population:

Table 9

Population of Grenada: Whites & Free Coloureds by Ethnicity & Gender Totals²⁴⁴

Year	Total white males	Total whites	Total white males	As % of white pop.	Total white females	As % of white pop	Total Free Coloured	% of FC to total free pop.	Total FC males	As % of FC pop.	Total FC females	As % of FC pop.
1763	1225	711	58	514	42	455	27	236	52	219	48	
1771	1661	1268	76	393	24	415	20	216	52	199	48	
1777	1324	1034	78	290	22	210	14	113	54	97	46	
1783	996	720	72	276	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1787	-	-	-	-	-	1125	-	454	41	661	59	

* figures rounded up; FC = Free Coloured(s)

²⁴³ Edward L Cox, *Free Coloureds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts & Grenada 1763 – 1833*, (doctoral thesis, Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1984), p.24

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

The white population reached its peak in 1771 by some 74%, i.e., French whites who decided to accept 'New Subject' status and British whites arriving from other islands anxious to stake a claim in the new colony. In comparison the Free Coloured population fell by just 1%. This meant Free Coloureds, who had represented a near third of the free population at the time of Capitulation, despite falling numbers still composed 20% of free society. By 1777, a decline in white immigration, economic decline, and increased illicit illegal French migrations reduced free society by some 337 persons (20%); Free Coloureds numbers fell to 205 persons i.e., a marked decrease of 49%. The strength of Free Coloureds however meant this fall only represented a 6% reduction in their numbers and they still maintained a significant proportion of some 14%.²⁴⁵

Ethnic proportions—with rare exceptions—remained very similar within the Caribbean. A comparison with the Danish West Indian (DWI) islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John demonstrates this (see table 8). There the Free Coloured population was not equivalent to white totals as in Grenada but white totals especially as a proportion of the population was the similar or worse.

For example, in St. Croix the ratio of between slave and white in 1770 was 92.5% and 7.4% respectively by 1789 these figures remained virtually unchanged. On the island of St. John the ratios were starker in 1770, 94.5% and 5.5% respectively.

²⁴⁵ Cox, p.24

Table 10

Slave, White and Freedman Population in Danish West Indies (DWI)²⁴⁶

Year	St. Croix			St. Thomas			St. John		
	Slave	White	Free	Slave	White	Free	Slave	White	Free
1755	8897	1303	-	3949	321	138	2041	213	-
1770	18884	1515	-	4338	428	67	2032	118	-
1789	22488	1952	953	4614	492	160	1200	167	16
1797	23452	2223	1164	4769	726	239	1992	113	15

Free Coloured migration extended to gender ratios. Coloured women tended to travel out to the Caribbean and /or were there through birth as opposed to British women. Females meant the basic opportunity to reproduce, i.e., the ability for their numbers to increase. White and Free Coloured female ratios as a proportion of the total population in 1763 were 42% and 48% respectively however the Free Coloured female proportion stayed relatively stable and favourable 48% (see table 7).²⁴⁷ The proportion of white females fell steadily to 1787 whereas the differentials between Free Coloureds remained relatively stable.

²⁴⁶ Hall, p.5

²⁴⁷ Edward L Cox, *Free Coloureds*, p.24

Table 11

Population of Grenada – White and Free Coloured²⁴⁸

Year	Whites				Free Coloureds			
	Males	% male	Female	%female	Males	% males	Female	%female
1763	711	58	514	42	236	51.9	219	48.1
1771	1268	76.3	393	23.7	216	52.1	199	47.9
1777	1034	78.1	290	21.9	113	53.8	97	46.2
1783	720	72.3	276	27.7	-	-	-	-
1787	-	-	-	-	454	40.7	661	59.3

One English writer proposed 4 reasons against the presence of white women and families throughout the Caribbean: their isolation demanded attendance; they distracted their husbands from plantation responsibilities; they encouraged husbands in the governance of the rod; they “appeared as an angel among naked rude blacks.”²⁴⁹ He shared a similar social background with educated British males in Grenada and throughout the Caribbean so undoubtedly held the views of many towards white women and families. It is revealing as contrary to assumption the views are negative; the colonies are seen as an exclusive male world of work and pleasure. Another insight is gender interpretation, first the view of women as temptress amongst the male slaves (for the period there is no conflict with the contradiction of a white male fornicating with female slaves); second is the claim

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Morton, p.89

that white women encouraged husbands to deliver corporal punishment for pleasure seemingly taking the responsibility for such acts from males. Both latter reasons have symbolic Biblical associations, particularly the Garden of Eden with the women cast as Eve temptress and goading the male to carry out her wishes.

The discomfort of the Tropics was a factor for the dearth of women. They were restricted further by ethnic and cultural conventions particularly those from the upper social groups. Women faced expectations to maintain European standards of dress and etiquette despite tropical climes.

Free Coloureds immigrants were accused by many of New Subjects as responsible for the rise in political militancy. They argued that in contrast the Adopted Subjects had from the very beginning accepted their legal position in society and had:

Never seemed in the least to conceive that any other institution than that of England would be introduced in Grenada and had reckoned themselves sufficiently indulged in the kind of toleration intended for their religion.²⁵⁰

Control of the Free Coloured class presented management of the Free Coloured paradox viz. the necessity to attract and maintain greater numbers of Free Coloureds numbers for security control and repress any dangers of slave unrest, increased the potential for internal security and political control given the greater ratio of Free

²⁵⁰ London, PRO, CO101/18, Thomas Townsend, "A Plain Narrative of Sundry Facts and Consequences Which Have happened in the Island of Grenada Since its Submission to the British Arms in 1762, in Order to Shew What Were the Real Causes Which First Produced and Have Since Supported," 23 July 1772.

Coloureds. The whites had to balance the tensions to keep the Free Coloureds distinct from them yet utilise them in a show of unified status freedom.

These factors suggest African slaves and Free Coloureds did not bear any significant visible major permanent alliance. That is not to say however that informal alliances did not exist. The psychological need to remain distinct meant Free Coloureds partook in many raids into the dense mountainous interior of the island to fight and capture runaway slaves but both groups shared the same aim: freedom, equality, and chattel ownership.²⁵¹

Enslaved Africans had, like Free Coloureds, fixed accepted racial conceptions and stereotypes. They were perceived as slothful regarding hard work, therefore Free Coloureds' attitudes to plantation production carried implied meanings. Free Coloureds were controlled through their insecurities and aspirations, the process of public humiliation and, in particular, scrutiny to confirm their status presented their ultimate terror: a return to servitude and chattel status. It suggested many achieved designated freedom under false methods. Others, as property owners shared an economic and social association with the white land-owning class, therefore shared similar attitudes, aspirations, and prejudices.

A second method of control was by 'reward.' Free Coloureds received rewards for their help to support the plantation system. The most highly sought reward was the ultimate status of full acceptance into white society, though barred from full public and military offices other small but symbolic rewards and signals were offered such

²⁵¹ London, PRO, CO104/1, Minutes of Council, 26 June 1767.

as special commissions in the militias, inclusion into white social events and sharing worship in the same churches and finance to enable Free Coloured children to be educated in Britain.

An eminent Free Coloured named Louis La Grenade, held the rank of captain of a military company. He was regarded as the chief of the *gens de couleur*. He shared the remarkable distinction within Grenada of receiving dignitaries from abroad when they landed in port. La Grenade's status and role was symbolised, and enhanced, by a large gold medal he wore about his neck.²⁵²

Free Coloureds were the buffer between control and disorder. As such they were legally empowered through legislation in 1767 and 1772 to hunt down, capture, and/or kill the considerable and ever-increasing runaway slaves' threat deep in the interior.²⁵³ The 1772 Act specifically mentions that a detachment of only *Quadroons* and *Mestizos* were assigned this task; why lower colour groups were not selected suggests this was an example of the rewards system or possible suspicion because of closer bloodlines to Africans.

The Act recognised conversely that all shades of Free Coloureds in Grenada by possession of African blood were judged to be arduous natural hunters. It was an expensive but lucrative business. Slave hunters submitted claims for fees before the local legislature, who would determine individual applications. Free Coloured Louis La Grenade was a feared and prolific hunter, such his status and success in this area

²⁵² Bryan Edwards, *The History Civil and Commercial of the British West Indies*, 5 vols., (London: T. Miller & Co., 1818) 3, p.280-281

²⁵³ Smith, Act no. 20, 30 April 1767 & Act no. 41, 20 May 1772

that one claim for some £935 5s 0d – a substantial amount for that period and far larger than any other claim laid before the Grenada government (particularly given the island’s finances) was allowed in full owing to the nature of his claim and circumstances and pertinent, “as well as the extra claim he has to the public favour for his faithful services.”²⁵⁴ Hunting slaves involved high costs, viz. raising a militia was expensive, e.g., wages, weaponry, shot, powder, food, etc., and had to be funded from private or local funds, i.e., taxes, which residents displayed grudging resistance to pay.

The statement for La Grenade adds the words, “extra claim” and “faithful” demonstrated his importance to island security and he served as a vital bridge of communication between the fragile white - Free Coloured alliance. This entailed liaison and negotiation between the two communities and certain covert purposes. La Grenade’s ability to have won the confidence of the highly suspicious white community and for them to secure the trusted services of a mulatto who could recruit other Free Coloureds. These expeditions presented potential danger, perhaps unappreciated by the whites, because they provided Free Coloureds with expertise in weaponry and specialised fighting skills in the interior but a greater danger was it increased the possibility of communications between Free Coloureds and enslaved Africans.

This argument is corroborated by increased levels of migration into Grenada. The legislature acted to control livelihoods adopted by the new immigrants and cut off their means of money in order to make their lives in Grenada so untenable they

²⁵⁴ London, PRO, CO104/2, Minutes of Council, 27 July 1776.

would quit the island.²⁵⁵ A popular activity, huckstering was an attractive option for modest costs and offered maximum flexibility in security and movement. Closer analysis of this act revealed fears over ethnicity: to peddle goods merited punishment of public chastisement for enslaved Africans but confiscation of goods for whites.²⁵⁶

The Act did not target just the enslaved Africans, but Free Coloureds and other Free Coloured immigrants for this means of living encompassed any ethnic group. A key example was opportunities for African slaves to earn uncontrolled income considered dangerous as it allowed a form of independence. The opposite purpose of this Act would have occurred i.e., market demand and supply created meant the activity would have gone underground and must have increased informal communication across all ethnic groups. In the DWI huckstering was responsible for dispensing money around the economy as huge sums of money could be made from collective incomes.²⁵⁷

Many immigrants to Grenada adopted a range of livelihoods. Further acts to control them illuminate these methods and the tensions over cross-cultural contamination. An Act against Rogues and Vagabonds targeted those who lived a nomadic lifestyle.²⁵⁸ A further Act against Pretend and Doctors corroborated this. It tackled the issue of informal income particularly for a group of people commonly referred to as ‘quack doctors’ in England. ‘Quacks’ were individuals who set themselves up as medical practitioners offering supposed *bona fide* miracle remedies to ailments (see Chap. 5). This had implications for slaves because the majority of these fake medical

²⁵⁵ Smith, Act no.20, 30 April 1767

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Hall, pp.21-24

²⁵⁸ Smith, Act no.33, 20 February, 1770

practitioners came from Britain, in particular from the ports of Glasgow and Aberdeen, Scotland, Dublin, Ireland, and from HM Dominions and were considered young ignorant trashy ‘apothecaries’ boys’ or ‘druggists boys’ who possessed a smattering of Latin in terms of numbers, but committed murder and destruction.²⁵⁹ One of the stated aims of this act was to protect the population against these charlatans who “through their ignorance and unskillfulness, oftentimes proves fatal and destructive to patients.” [Sic]²⁶⁰

Over 60% of estates employed them and they received free board and lodgings. Many were frequent drunks who dispensed medicines under a state of intoxication. They charged a common 5 Shillings for each consultation for each slave, ill or well, were employed on estates, but these charges rose according to the condition , e.g., venereal could costs £100CY - £150CY.²⁶¹ Some enslaved Africans had experience of alternative medicine i.e. cultural African herbalism or rural experience and practice. This was enacted for reasons of security: manipulation of floral medicine opened the potential dangers to create poisons; curtailment of herbalists aided security through the prevention of any preservation of cultural traditions and sense of common/shared identity; it obstructed opportunities for financial independence through the prevention and dangers of slaves earning uncontrolled personal income.

Whites’ fears were reflected in the severity of the punishments compared to migrants from other ethnic groups. Whites and Free Coloureds were liable to fines up to £200 or three months gaol. Enslaved Africans however were liable to corporal

²⁵⁹ Morton, pp.18-20

²⁶⁰ Smith, Act no.15, 3 April 1770

²⁶¹ Morton, pp.18-20

punishment as deemed fit except if herbalism was used in the legitimate dressing of sores, an example of cultural transference and perfect opportunities for slaves to legally use cultural traditional medicines and skills. This Act, like huckstering, would have forced the general practice of herbalism underground. Any existing hidden activity would have been strengthened by further African cultural traditions but force illicit communication across all ethnic groups in Grenada society particularly in remote areas and within high concentrations of Free Coloureds. Those ethnic groups most amenable or sought such products could have been in particular Free Coloureds and Creoles. These two ethnic groups by proximity formed closer affinity with their slaves were sympathetic and knowledgeable about alternative remedies to tropical-induced problems where European medicine proved ineffective

An Act to prevent and punish those who committed arson recognised and addressed the dangers for potential inter-ethnic criminality.²⁶² The act reveals two key themes that appear to corroborate the argument of growing closer interaction between ethnic groups within Grenada at the time. First the act was passed to deal with what was termed “*common use and practice.*” (Italics mine).

These were not isolated, but frequent events to merit severe legislative action. This indicated the deep level of discontent within society and was directed at perpetrators who were “many idle, wandering, and ill-disposed.” It was not specifically written towards Maroons and enslaved Africans by title or content, as drafted in previous laws, therefore it suggested people from a range of ethnicities were involved.²⁶³

²⁶² Smith, Act no.16, 3 April 1770

²⁶³ Ibid.

Those suspected would have been those French white agitators and Free Coloureds from neighbouring island and external and internal British poor whites (see chapter Two) destroyed by economic crisis or their participation in the destruction of cane suggested strong dissatisfaction, lack of fulfilment, poverty, or reward. The punishments stipulated illuminated the government's view of crime against increasing high-value assets.

The mere act of smoking or carrying a naked flame carried the penalty of £5; actual acts of arson carried the penalty of £20 or three months imprisonment for whites and Free Coloureds. The severity of corporal punishment for arson was reserved for enslaved Africans *and* Free Coloureds. Free Coloureds feared acute humiliation of public corporal discipline and the psychological pain of being associated with slaves. That sentence allowed public chastisement of free people suggested the severity and mentality toward economic crime and any relation to inter-ethnic communications.

These series of legislative acts support the argument that deep ethnic conflicts and dissatisfaction existed throughout the plantation system. Ethnic stigmatisation, defined earlier in this chapter, extended beyond Adopted Subjects. The Jamaican planter Edward Long deplored how overcrowded prisons in Jamaica filled with debtors as well as criminals:

... who have committed no other offence than that of insolvency should be associated with the most bestial and profligate wretches of the Negro race, as

if it was intended to show that incarceration, like death, is a leveller of all distinctions.²⁶⁴

Debt, a serious crime for the time, did not alter Long's views as association of race was akin to death. His views reveal African slaves were viewed as inferior with feral characteristics, however intrinsic to any plantation system. The system demanded vast numbers to maintain it and constant numbers to replenish these vast stocks. Natural Subjects since Capitulation were concerned with maintenance of power and privilege.

Enslaved African were legally classed as chattels, this meant they were akin to property. They occupied the lowest rung in society and non-participants in social activity with the free world with no rights and subject to their masters' commands and only in exceptional cases give evidence in a court of law. A statutory framework that controlled behaviour—what they could and could not do—existed. Bonded Africans were the largest and most feared ethnic group. The Africans held a near psychotic grip on the consciousness of the free population within Grenada (and throughout the colonial Caribbean) for they constituted around 90% of the population. Slave societies were a manifestation of the white ideology of superiority, that blacks occupied the lowest rung on the human ladder; slave laws were a reflection of such societies. Free society employed methods from mutual alliance, freedom, privileges and espionage to physical severe control through psychological fear through repression, coercion and suppression e.g. fines, corporal punishment, and capital punishment. These established and essentially perpetuated

²⁶⁴ Long, Edward, *History of Jamaica*,. 3 vols., (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1970) 1, P.14

the fundamental belief and principle that slavery could exist, despite religious, moral, and humane contradictions, otherwise plantation societies would be impossible.²⁶⁵

Grenada plantation society also had to adopt a psychological belief that their society was secure either through enforcement and /or a belief that the enslaved African population were contented with their lot, were loyal, ignorant or all three.

Plantation society in Grenada and elsewhere throughout the Caribbean manifested the perennial contradiction of the plantation system: the apparent necessity and subsequent reliance on mass use of African slave labour had to be balanced with the inherent security problems such a system posed. Bondage created natural yearning and quests for freedom. This was manifest in various methods of active/ or passive resistance all with the shared aim of freedom and independence.

Passive resistance was through practices such as: song, maintenance of cultural ceremonies, retention of native languages and other practices that created bonds of belonging and remembrance for their homelands and tribes i.e., ethnicity. African slaves' conditions were frustrated by their knowledge and frustrations with legal court rulings in Britain that obstructed their freedom:²⁶⁶

Tink dere is a God in a top,

No use me ill, *Obissha!*

Me no [sic] horse, me no mare, me no mule,

²⁶⁵ Goveia, Elsa. *The West Indian Slave Laws of the 18th Century*, (Barbados: Caribbean Universities Press, 1970), pp.1-9

²⁶⁶ Schama, Simon. *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution*. (London: BBC Books, 2005), p.26

No use me ill, *Obissha*.

If Me want go in a Ebo,

Me can't go there!

Since dem tief me from a Guinea,

Me can't go there!

If Me want for go in a Congo,

Me can't go there!

Since dem tief me from my tatta,

Me can't go there!

If Me want go in a Kingston,

Me can't go there!

Since massa go in a England,

Me can't go there! [Sic]

The anonymous work song of the period recorded on Caribbean island of Jamaica by planter J.B Morton demonstrated such references.²⁶⁷ It revealed important insight into the slave world from the enslaved Africans' experience namely a perpetual sense of restriction, surveillance and a sense of nostalgia. They yearned for:

- Practical necessities – 'horse,' 'mare,' 'mule;'

²⁶⁷ Anon., "Worksong" in *The Penguin Book of Caribbean Verse in English*, ed. Paula Burnett. (London: Penguin, 1986), p.3

- Significant place, ‘Ebo’ (the tribe and the land of the *Eboes*, i.e., present day Nigeria West Africa), also ‘Congo’ and ‘Guinea;’ ‘Kingston’ (the capital of Jamaica);
- To people, - ‘Tatta’ (mother), ‘Massa’ (master), suggested the two most influential humans in their lives;

Dialect forms of identity²⁶⁸ are reflected by: prayers to an ethnic deity ‘*Obissha*’ - hence their refrain, “No use me ill, Obissha!” appealed to their condition and alluded to images of the Biblical patriarch Job’s lament to the Lord why he had abandoned him in his misery.²⁶⁹ ‘*Dem*’ direct reference to the general plantation system / the people who obstruct their passage back to Africa and ‘*Massa*’ - is an obvious accusation against their master whose absenteeism has obstructed their visits to Kingston; a highlight of their lives encompassed visits to town: a chance to socialise with others and elicit trade of goods. An important point is their reference they could not even get to see England which supports they must have understood the impact of the policy of absenteeism and restriction on overseas travel on them and possible legal implications if they escaped their master while there. Another significant property of this song is its emphasis on the word ‘me,’ repeated 16 times which emphasised the power of their frustration and dissatisfaction of their status and where they wished to be.

²⁶⁸ Le Page, R.B. and Andée Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Identity*. (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp.88-89

²⁶⁹ Bible, Job 3, ed. New World Translation, (New York: Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society of New York, rev. 1984).

The Slave Acts provide strong evidence of the existence or the potential for inter-ethnic communications between Africans and other ethnic groups. The Acts served two priorities: i) to stop any alliances with enslaved Africans no matter how innocent (ii) to stop and destroy any vestiges of cultural transference.

Slaves were banned from beating drums or blowing horns, shells, gourds or any other similar instruments for entertainment or diversion, or of holding any assembly; owners and slaves were also prohibited from selling/giving any spirituous liquors however small to slaves. Owners, whether absent by accident or intent, were still under duty to halt such gatherings on their property within one hour and were liable to fines of £50 CY. The recognised dangers of alcohol: on discipline, potential 'loose talk' was common and to discourage any vestiges of fraternisation. A vital element was control of public houses, rowdy sailors in particular were identified as the group most likely to expose the "abuse and dangerous consequences" of selling rum to slaves, i.e. alcohol was one of the most powerful agents of ethnic interaction. Rum shops would be banned for three weeks if they were to sell/barter rum to slaves without the authority of owners. Sailors' appeared to have the most liberal relations with African slaves. This was attributable to marine lifestyles and attitudes and familiarity, i.e., high numbers of blacks worked in the merchant navy and Royal Navy.

The Slave Acts made it lawful for whites to apprehend any slave caught off their master's property without valid written permission. The aim was the fear of intra or inter-ethnic communication, e.g., whether genuine social conversation or anything surreptitious. African slaves were subject to their masters' discipline and practices; which could be draconian or, as in many cases, relatively flexible particularly given

their chattel status. The reasons for this were the whites' tiny proportionate size and isolated nature of rural plantations therefore whites had to acknowledge their chattels at least interact on a basic level; some masters actually interacted socially with slaves, some even sharing their dinner tables with them.²⁷⁰ Many owners formed confident relationships to the extent that they allowed their slaves a certain degree of independence, both in how long they could be away and how far they could travel. This allowed opportunities for many slaves to socialise or at the very least basic interaction with slaves from other plantations.²⁷¹

The Act's intentions supported this argument through its measures to control such practices. It placed the onus on owners to tighten their security and procedures and set fines for breaches of the Act onto them. It suggested benevolence therefore, it attempted to discourage such behaviour through imposition of fines. It created a 'police culture' where fellow whites were encouraged to observe their neighbours, make reports and apprehend wandering slaves. Slave owners had to pay each apprehender: \$1 if a slave was caught and escorted back within 2 miles and within 48 hours. The fine system operated on a sliding scale upwards relative to distance and duration, i.e., over 48 hours meant a fine of 30 shillings in addition 1 shilling for each compounded mile. Owners who failed to pay fines would be summoned to appear before magistrates under oath and constables could seize chattels and goods from the owners as payment.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Christine Mackie, *Life and Food in the Caribbean*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991), p.85

²⁷¹ London, PRO, CO103/4, Act for the Better Government of Slaves and for the More Speedy and Effectual Suppression of Runaway Slaves, 10 December 1766.

²⁷² Ibid.

The Act supported the argument that close interaction existed throughout all sections of society. Any free person, who concealed, received or entertained runaways or refused to allow their premises to be searched were to be fined on a sliding scale upwards for delay/failure to make payment; any slaves found guilty were to be publicly whipped on the bare back with any number of stripes at the discretion of the JP. Any free persons committing the same offence were liable of fines of £20cy for the first offence, £50 CY for second offence and £100cy for the third. They were liable to be prosecuted and pay runaway slave owners any forfeiture. Failure to pay immediately, e.g., impoverishment or refusal, meant confinement in the common gaol; three months for the first offence, 6 months for a second offence and 12 months for a third offence.

Owners or their employees were empowered to break open and enter any slave dwelling to search for runaways. Any attempts by owners to hinder any search resulted in fines between £5 - £10, though apprehender's were liable to these fines if they had no authority from the owners or court warrant. This suggests the practice of concealment and support to escape was common among slaves also suggested slave owners participated in the actual practice or potential for to participate in these activities, e.g., to save favourites, avoid loss of slaves of high value, etc.²⁷³

Slaves were obliged to carry tickets to authorise them to carry any weapons or anything that could be construed to be a potential weapon or they were to be in the company of a white person or under the direction of a white person. Bartering or selling weapons to slaves without a ticket resulted in a £50 CY fine. The punishment

²⁷³ Ibid.

for striking, presuming to strike or attempting to strike a white person was death unless in the necessary course of defending their owner or other employed white person – this created the potential for paradoxes, e.g., if a master ordered his slave to sabotage or even murder a rival.

JPs were given the authority to grant applications to any request to form armed bands to hunt runaways. These bands were exempt from owners' claims for damages - as it was deemed lawful to kill any slave found in the woods upon supposition they were a runaway or the refusal of the suspect to surrender after caution – owners' claims were only valid if it could be proved the slave was known by the executioner not to be a runaway or ignored the surrender.

Such fear permeated throughout society that no one was trusted and exempt from observation; even those entrusted to prosecute its existence. Magistrates were subject to punishment and compelled to hear all applications for runaways, insolence, etc., or punished. Any JP who either refused to hear or finish a trial within 10 days would forfeit £20 CY. These measures were not essentially targeted at lenient or lazy officials rather they were directed at the system to ensure all played their roles to ensure it remained effective.

Natural hunger for freedom was manifest by these regular acts of flight from the estates and the formation of runaways into bands called *Maroons*. The prevalence of *Maroonage* (the term to describe Maroon activity) served as a powerful symbol and viable alternative to estate life. Jamaican Maroons are the most notable example of Maroon organisation and life. One major reason is they fought two Maroon wars

against the British, the first of which (1730-39) led to a formal peace treaty. This formalised their history and their deeds became part of written accepted history. Maroon activity within the Caribbean region is regarded as prescient exclusive to Jamaica but other Caribbean Maroon communities existed in many territories such as Dominica, Demerara (contemporary Guyana) known as Bush Negroes, and the Spanish island colonies. Unlike Jamaica, lack of notable written records precluded their contribution to Caribbean history. The closest comparison was St. Vincent, where the Maroons there, called Black Caribs, an indication of their lineage – native Caribs and African – also fought formal wars with Britain and likewise achieved a peace treaty signed at the conclusion of the first war in 1773. Grenada's Maroons had a well-established, successful history of organised rebellion since the early 18th Century but relative little recorded history survives apart from what those in power felt necessary to record or construct. The other source is oral history which is not given the validity of the written word.

The nature of the island, like other Windward Islands, with its volcanic central mountainous range covered by dense foliage provided ideal runaway territory. The weakness was the compact size of the island; given this Maroon activity was more guerrilla in nature. There are numerous recorded references and reports pertaining to the Grenada Maroons: military skirmishes, Maroon raids (or 'atrocities' to the writers), capture or destruction of camps, even references to names of notable leaders such as Pompey (see p.165). Unlike the Jamaica Maroons, the Maroons in Grenada appeared to operate in smaller bands headed by a chief/leader, which explains why no celebrated enduring figures like a Nanny, Captain Cudjoe or Tacky in Jamaica or Mackandal in Haiti appeared.

Governor Melville in 1765 officially complained of Maroon activity becoming “more audacious” and other investors added their protests for financial aid to reduce the numbers of Maroons who “had committed acts of very cruel and desperate outrages.”²⁷⁴ Maroon activity affected the Grenada economy to the extent a petition was made for funds to combat and eradicate a foe who were now seen to be “grown very formidable.”²⁷⁵ Their actions reached such an effective level the General Assembly was forced to consider radical measures to deal with what was a clear threat to the viability of the colony. It extended beyond physical damage to property and potential revenue but more severe, its effect upon other ‘contented’ slaves. Runaways needed independent physical sustenance and security away from the estates. Maroon security and survival necessitated the need for fresh membership. There must have been needs for sexual/emotional relationships and reproduction and depreciation caused by ‘natural wastage,’ i.e., death and sickness, and combat operations.

A paradox of their success created inverse effects: greater numbers required more food, drink and other necessary implements were needed and obtained on a regular basis. Growing food was inefficient given the nomadic nature of their existence and the need to move camp rapidly; more effective was to live the land and carry food or drive live animals before them. The estates were a solution to these problems. First, their livelihoods could be more secure by defence through offensives beforehand thus reducing any short-term sudden threats. All victuals, equipment and weaponry

²⁷⁴ London, PRO, CO101/10 Melville – Letter to Henry Conway, 13 September 1765

²⁷⁵ London, PRO, CO101/11, Merchants of London & Others & Proprietors of Lands in Grenada to Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations, 13 December 1765

could be obtained along with estate slaves who would be used to maintain/increase numbers and provide social, sexual and reproduction needs. Estate buildings, slave owners, whites and other potential militia could be killed at the same time thus reducing potential militia numbers.

The nearest to cult figures in Grenada written history are the names of Four Maroon men recorded as, L'Amour, Soleman, Supplice. and Alexander— the principal leaders of runaway gangs most active and successful in enticing many enslaved Africans to join their bands. They appeared to have developed hero status amongst the enslaved African estate communities therefore the highest priority was to stop them. This also explains the reason for this information. The Governor, planters' and the merchants' desperation demonstrated their impact, and the level of destruction and fear they wrought was reflected in the lucrative rewards offered: £33CY for each dead or alive. By comparison general reward values set for captured slaves, who had run way for three months or more and still remained on the island for one year or more, were £6CY alive and £3CY dead – over six times the standard rate. Another indicator of the urgency to negate these 4 slaves was it was deemed an official 'open' hunt. This entailed both free and bound could participate for rewards offered; in particular it was a clear invitation to all slaves, who would possess better opportunities for success, to defeat them.

Their activities had to be checked as it not only depleted plantations of resources but it swelled the runaway population through the, “daily enticing of other Negroes to and join them” and decreased the already minimal white population through death

but significantly those who suffered psychological scars would quit the island.²⁷⁶

The longer it became entrenched, the more it challenged the fear of white power.

The extent and ruthless success of their strategy forced Melville and his government to take action to give, “immediate and serious considerations providing the speediest and effectual means for the reduction of the Maroon slaves who have been recently guilty of some very cruel and desperate outrages.”²⁷⁷

Melville set up an immediate government committee to solve this emergency and its brief revealed the rationale behind his thinking. Melville appreciated standard tactics were ineffectual so employed two methods: (i.) the swift and effectual repression of runaway slave gangs and (ii.) the encouragement of persons to go in pursuit and capture of runaways.

This meant mercenary activity was encouraged for independent contractors saved the government time and initial expense to organise militias; they also maximised efficiency; unlike local militia who were often ill-disciplined and more concerned about their livelihoods left behind. The legislature’s rigorous hold on financial payments ensured unnecessary wastage was minimal. ‘Bonus’ payments were created as incentives for special assignments e.g., the capture of / the head of a notable runaway or Maroon leader. Notable the bill also encouraged African slaves to partake in such hunts. Given current slave laws, transportation or use of weapons

²⁷⁶ London, PRO, CO103/4, Act for the Better Government of Slaves and for the More Speedy and Effectual Suppression of Runaway Slaves, 10 December 1766.

²⁷⁷ London, PRO, CO101/11, Journals of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, 15 April 1766.

were prohibited but discretion waived for these special cases; other African slaves utilised other methods such as espionage, entrapment and other counter methods.²⁷⁸

This method resembled the strategy the British brokered as part of the Jamaica Maroons' treaty to hunt down and return all runaways. They saw Africans as more suited to the arduous task of hunting also they may have actually possessed skills developed in Africa or handed down by others.

Covert methods of control were employed alongside draconian security. It was a high risk strategy as it assumed total loyalty and placed an inordinate amount of power in slave hands as some were 'double-agents' who communicated vital information to their ethnic group. Melville created the formation of a unit of Free Coloureds and blacks expressly for this purpose, given their adjudged 'natural' abilities for such work. The successes but tensions created by these policies are encapsulated in various incidents.

One example involved two male slaves named Lautriment and Vincent both manumitted at the instigation of an Assembly member Mr. Pigott (St. George's estate of 30 acres with 12 slaves) on behalf of their owner a Mr. Eustache. These two slaves received their freedom for the major coup of killing a noted Maroon leader named Pompey. Their ability to kill an actual Maroon leader where whites had repeatedly failed to deal with Maroon camps demonstrated how effective slaves could be and illustrated how well they operated; to locate Pompey deep in the interior to avoid alerting runaways and gaining that particular Maroon band's trust

²⁷⁸ London, PRO, Melville - Lords Commons for Trade & Plantations, 28 May 1766.

indicated great skill. Such an operation could not occur in a short period of time, so it suggested they must have ingratiated themselves into the community.²⁷⁹

Vincent and Lautremit, however, did not have their freedom granted as their ownership status was not comprehensively established. It demonstrated another ironic paradox of the plantation system: two enslaved men kill one runaway man who had gained his freedom yet were unable to obtain their freedom. The conflict between the individual who claimed to be their owner and the councillor who proposed their manumission suggests tensions existed for disputed legal matters such as to who really owned them. Who recommended/ordered their roles? Piggott appeared central to the plot but little else was known. It was probable a private venture, perhaps by a planter who suffered on a regular basis or experienced great loss from this Maroon gang. The Act supports this argument: “We think ourselves bound in point of prudence, to reward the said services...that other slaves on the like occasions may be encouraged in their fidelity and attachment.”²⁸⁰

Punishment and strategies to deter running away was a critical component of the Slave Acts. Any slave leaving estates without authority and/or absent for one year became *defacto* a runaway; this applied to withdrawal/absence from service or any who had run away several times in the space of two years were deemed a felon and sentenced to death three months after the publication of the Act. This strategy aimed to pressure any runaways to return before the deadline. This method predated a similar law employed at the start of Fédon’s rebellion some thirty years later, a

²⁷⁹ London, PRO, CO103/4, Act for the Better Government of Slaves and for the More Speedy and Effectual Suppression of Runaway Slaves, 10 December 1766.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

general amnesty to all runaways, promised, except Maroon leaders provided they surrendered within six weeks, any who returned to their masters within six weeks of that act would be pardoned and acquitted of all crimes.²⁸¹

Gangs of slaves who had run away or been absent for a minimum of ten days were also judged to have committed a felony and liable to execution. The legal definition of a 'gang' under the Act was any association of 10 or more enslaved Africans; the legal age of responsibility for capital punishment was set at 16 years. This policy marked a stark choice – there was no middle ground. The Act however encouraged flight—any who disappeared but remained unsure of their future had their options restricted. It also meant many runaways had a further incentive or were forced to resist and fight to the death in any encounters with slave-hunters, as no viable option existed.

All slaves captured were to be received by the Provost-Marshal, whose role was to pay out rewards for capture and keep these slaves in custody till claimed. The Provost-Marshal was not exempt from the law; he and his constables were liable to £20cy fines for each offence if they failed to do their duties. The Provost-Marshal was also liable to £5cy fine if he failed to carry out his duty of publishing quarterly captive runaway slaves in the island newspaper (*The Gazette*) for six consecutive weeks. Runaway notices contained information such as, name, age, size, complexion skin tones, names, assigned roles and particular distinguishing features significant characteristics. An example of such:

²⁸¹ Ibid.

Run away from Miss Sarah Murray,
a short, yellow negro woman name
PUSSEY DICKSON, remarkable for
her dirtiness.” (Sic.)²⁸²

These advertisements highlighted an inadvertent weakness of a chattel system: because slaves were deemed property there was little detailed information about them apart from name and physical characteristics as demonstrated in the above woman’s case. This description would be vague to any apprehender unless they knew the vigilante by sight or were alerted to her; she could have fit the characteristics of a large proportion of slaves.

Her unusual name is the one notable feature and raised two interesting propositions. This runaway woman has a surname, unlike many slaves at that period. This suggested she may have been a house slave serving in the master’s great house or may have been in a position of trust; her complexion, i.e., higher status, could support this interpretation.

Pussey Dickson’s owner was a woman so there may have been perhaps a sexual issue e.g. disapproval of sleeping with another man her owner was attracted to as suggested by her owner’s anger in the tone and accusations. Another speculation has to be considered, i.e., the sexual pun to her name. Many slaves were given whimsical names by their owners to reflect: owners’ titillations: the classics or slaves’

²⁸² London, PRO, Gazette. “Miss Sarah Murray,” *The Charibbean & General Gazette*, vol.1, 31 October 1770, p.1

perceived characteristics. Her given name may have alluded to some form of sexual proficiency or role within the estate. The usage of the term is older than contemporary meaning; etymologic history revealed it was associated with another derogatory term, known within Britain at the time, and translated as “unchaste” or described as “a nasty name for a nasty thing.”²⁸³ The term ‘dick’ likewise possessed a sexual reference well known in the 18th Century for a penis.²⁸⁴

Another advert for an enslaved male actually reveals glimpses of his history:

RUNAWAY 22/4 last. “New Negro man of the Loango nation, wore check shirt, 5ft 8/9, speaks neither French/English but answers to the name of Lancashire. (Messrs Morris & Smith, Plumbers & coppersmiths – St. Georges- reward 2 Joes)²⁸⁵

We are told he has just arrived which explains why he cannot communicate and runs away and the name of his tribe the Loango, (in modern day Congo).

Acute shortage of white labour meant plantations had to utilise slave labour efficiently or many plantations would cease to operate. Estates in rural areas adopted a less draconian regime; these estates’ isolation ensured communications between groups was inevitable. Plantations communications were intrinsic to survival so some form of cooperation and trust had to take place. That the act had escalating

²⁸³ Alex Games, *Balderdash and Piffle: English Words and their Curious Origins*. (London: BBC Books, 2006). pp. 224-225

²⁸⁴ Games, p.232

²⁸⁵ Somerset, Taunton, ‘Popham Papers, DD/PO/114/NRA, The Royal Grenada Gazette, XI, no.539, 3 June 1775

fines to deal with non-compliance corroborates this argument, even more so where the act targets owners ‘absent by design’ in order to allow slave gatherings and ‘fail to suppress’ such cultural and social associations.

The implications for social unrest and genuine confusion, particularly as many slaves moved around as part of their daily lives e.g., going to their provision grounds to complement their diets, were recognised. Guardians were appointed to inspect plantation facilities and the general care of slaves; particularly to address complaints over limited time to tend provision grounds. Four freeholder inhabitants from each parish were directed by JPs to inspect provision grounds twice a year and report under oath their opinion on the sufficiency of crops. Any plantations that failed had to make a return to the JPs within 40 days. If the JPs were unsatisfied with insufficient slave maintenance or support then the owner or any representative could be called and under oath examine how slaves were fed, supported and maintained. If JPs were not satisfied or owners failed to provide good sufficient reasons, a fine of £101CY per slave on the plantation would be levied. Failure to respond to this order or to inspect provision grounds resulted in a fine of £50 CY per white person on the estate. This punishment was designed to create maximum coercion. Whites were rare therefore each plantation had its valuable complement: a plantation would never give up white employees and larger plantations required higher numbers of whites.

Laws to manumit certain slaves illustrated how this method was in continual use used well into the following decades.²⁸⁶ Ethnic alliances and tensions, in particular the slave / master relationship, the 1766 slave controls laws implicated strove to

²⁸⁶ London, PRO, CO103/8, Act to Free Pauline, Slave, 28 December 1786.

destroy. One incident, An Act to Free a Slave Called Augustine, revealed supporting evidence for this argument²⁸⁷

Augustine, like Vincent and Lautriment, was a particular prolific assassin in assisting capture and/or execution; therefore he was deemed to be of potential future use in this respect. The terms of Augustine's manumission mirrored the rationale as Vincent and Lautriment's methods to attain freedom:

It is of the utmost consequence, in order to remedy the said evil, that slaves (sic) or others, who have been instrumental in suppressing the gangs of the run-away slaves, should be properly recompensed for such services.²⁸⁸

The Act to free him, like that of Vincent and Lautriment, was passed under dubious and legal circumstances and open to doubt. The Act was passed at peak hostilities between Natural Subjects and Adopted Subjects and the Council accused of the "most virulent and abusive resolutions" [and] "grossest misrepresentations" [and the] "wanton and caballing spirit of those in power," i.e., the Council.²⁸⁹

One charge alleged Augustine's actual owner opposed the bill as it breached procedural rules for the duration of passage for bills to become acts. The second

²⁸⁷ London, PRO, C)103/3, Act to Free Augustine, A Negro Man Slave Belonging to Couston, of the Parish of St. John, in This Island of Grenada, Planter or to whosoever Else Belonging, 29 Apr. 1767.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ London, PRO, CO101/13, Address of the Representatives of the Island of Grenada and the Grenadines in General Assembly to H.M. King George III, 17 March 1768.

charge concerned a public accusation against Augustine at the time of raping a white woman, murdering a Mr. Vandell, and other audacious crimes.²⁹⁰

Under British Statutes, beside any slave acts in Grenada and throughout the Caribbean, treason laws apart, Augustine had committed the most heinous capital crimes, possibly even for a freeman. Augustine was not only granted his freedom in that knowledge but allowed to remain alive and free. There was a high probability Vandell's murder and other 'atrocious acts' was witnessed by others given the accusations. Few slaves would have provided support for Augustine's defence given his treachery as a collaborator. Even if the allegations were unfounded, the severity would at the very least demand his arrest and incarceration. The rape charge was the most compelling, though the victim was unnamed she did not appear to have been killed, so 'first class' testimony existed.²⁹¹

Augustine must have been protected by senior individual(s) and possessed some form of exclusive immunity i.e., an alliance was formed. The act to free him appeared to support this. Like Vincent and Lautrement it raised many questions, in particular, what was of such critical importance and / or what was top secret nature of his role? Augustine's crimes bore close similarities to Maroon attacks on estates. A credible interpretation could be Augustine was used like 'double-agent' to infiltrate the Maroons to gain their confidence, but unlike other covert slave operations he may have stayed with the Maroons, to become one of them thus he would be invaluable source of information on their operations, organisation, etc.

²⁹⁰ London, PRO, CO101/13, Alex Johnson – Letter to Hillsborough, 31 October 1769

²⁹¹ Ibid.

Melville may have borne sole responsibility for its sanction hence the secrecy.

Melville's strategy was destroyed once Augustine was identified hence it explained Melville's inaction against him. Augustine was party to such detrimental knowledge. Melville (and others) would have known through his authorisation of this method became implicated indirectly of murder, rape and other illegal acts.

The rape allegation raised more questions. Were these sexual relations with consent? If so, isolation created by disproportionate gender ratios within white society and emotional needs as an argument could explain why it could have happened. Social division and ethnic repulsion made such unions unlikely, though it is impossible to state with conviction no relations between white women and masses of black men existed.

How Augustine did it is problematic: issues of security, extreme privacy required (the attentions of the estate slaves and employees and the house staff and servants) and the terrible stigma / consequences involved if discovered. One theory could be the victim used rape as an escape from being compromised, it must be stressed no direct corroborating evidence supports such argument but comparative cases exist to support this theory. In 1772, a white woman called Sarah had an alleged relationship with a male slave but employed the defence of force and the influence of alcohol as a defence. This clearly demonstrated how the blame was transferred onto the slave thus preserving any compliance in the act.²⁹²

²⁹² Cecily Jones, *Engendering Whiteness: White Women and Colonialism in Barbados and North Carolina, 1627-1865*, (Manchester University Press, 2007), p.44 see also Fryer, pp.160-6,

Augustine as a free man had greater range of movement however he knew it did not extend into wanton impunity, so if not invited he must have trespassed onto a private property without authority, under false pretences or through use of an opportune moment.

The charges laid by Alex Johnston were linked to party faction tensions and reflected relations between Grenada's Protestant residents; his submission confirmed Johnson was allied to William Scott's cabal which also included William Mackintosh.²⁹³

Another argument was the veracity of Alex Johnston's list of grave charges. First, the intention was for these accusations to be laid before HM King George III with regard to his representative in Grenada. Second, Johnson's accusations were grave with very serious legal implications; false allegations lay him open to charges of defamation, libel and possible treason charges against the Crown's servant.

A parallel incident provided strong evidence in support of Johnson's claim. One of Johnson's other four grievous charges accused a John Graham, Peter Gordon and other JPs sanctioned by Melville, to employ the most, "severest and most cruel tortures" against five African slaves accused of murder, to confess and accuse their French master Monsieur La Chancellerie, of distorted confessions. In the context of the period certain punishments and torture were not exceptional for specific crimes however though full details are unknown the slaves' treatment must have gone

writers of the period relate with frustration and disgust the common sexual relations and marriages in England between blacks and whites.

²⁹³ London, PRO, CO101/13, Memorial from the Proprietors of Lands in Grenada Now in London on Behalf of Themselves and the Principal Inhabitants Residing on the Island, 3 August 1769.

beyond standard practice for Johnston's language to emphasize their extraordinary treatment and served to convey the full horror meted out to them.

La Chancellerie, as master, was imprisoned and his five African slaves condemned to death. Their executions only stopped following remonstrations from the *most respectable* people on the island who complained against "such illegal and unnatural proceedings." The slaves' executions were stayed before British ministers eventually ordered their release. The severity of their punishment and length of incarceration contributed to the deaths of three of the slaves in custody before the stay of executions.²⁹⁴ The culpable JPs however remained sitting reflecting the lack of importance attached to the slaves' lives.²⁹⁵

A key observation was major planters, who had no affinity to African slaves, as chattels, or La Chancellerie, who was an Adopted Subject, could not ignore and protested against such barbarity. Only these landowners possessed the influence to intercede as they did and critical stop the punishments. What they were accused is not known but the fundamental argument is in comparison Augustine remained unpunished, alive, and free.²⁹⁶

Augustine's protection at the highest level is the only probable argument and explained the leniency shown to Augustine in the context of standard practice. It also suggested a remarkable relationship between Augustine and Melville for Augustine stayed in Melville's house afterwards – he was not hidden as it was common

²⁹⁴ London, PRO, CO101/13, Alex Johnson – Letter to Hillsborough, 31 October 1769

²⁹⁵ London, PRO, CO101/13, Alex Johnson – Letter to Hillsborough, 31 October 1769

²⁹⁶ London, PRO, CO101/13, Alex Johnson – Letter to Hillsborough, 31 October 1769

knowledge he was there. As a slave, Augustine's testimony was inadmissible but as a free man these allegations were open to cross-examination in court. Melville provided Augustine sanctuary in his home for several months to avoid legal proceedings until Augustine was summoned by the Grand Jury, whereupon Johnston claimed Melville allowed him to make his escape.²⁹⁷

Severe slave treatment conditions were documented in other cases, and again other whites were disturbed by the levels of cruelty. Cases brought to courts could find owners/overseers liable to fines or even rare custodial incarceration. One seminal trial, on Friday 8 September 1775, convicted a white man called Richard Brigstock (also known as Preston) at the Court of King's Bench in Grenada. He was condemned and actually sentenced to death for the murder of a black woman called Anna Ritta; that she possessed a surname suggests something of her status, perhaps as a non-*praedial* slave. Sentence was stayed on Saturday 9 September over seminal legal argument that no freeman could suffer death over a mere chattel, on Tuesday 12 September the court responded to the defence and opined judgment should pass as it was based on case stated by Lord Coke's definition of murder. It was critical for it exposed the interpretation under law of relations between free and enslaved but the morality behind the contradictory rationale that permitted enslavement: "When a man of sound memory and at the age of discretion unlawfully killeth (sic) any reasonable creature in *Terum Naturia* under the King's Peace, with malice aforethought."

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

The legal term *Terum Naturia* defined a reasonable creature as. “any man, woman, child subject borne an alien; persons outlawed or otherwise acquainted of treason, felony or premunirce (sic); Christian; Jew; Heathen; Turk or other infidel under the King’s Peace.”²⁹⁸

Further case law supported this key judgement:

That the life of them, villeins or slaves, as well as of freemen were in the hands and protection of the King and that he that killeth his villeine or slave should have the judgement as he that killeth a freeman. [Sic]²⁹⁹

Fundamentally, the Court of King’s Bench judged the laws of England made evidently “no distinction betwixt the murder of a freeman and the murder of a slave,” therefore Preston faced execution, and was hung between the hours of 10-12 in the Market Square on Tuesday 14 September.³⁰⁰ In another incident, a woman was fined £500 for cruelty to her slaves.³⁰¹

Elsa Goveia argued that slave laws reflected the societies they were based on and comparison with the DWI corroborates this. Despite the ultimate sanction of capital punishment, Grenada’s Slave Laws possessed an element of ‘plea bargaining’ i.e., runaways were offered alternatives to execution dependent on returning within set periods which ranged from no action to corporal punishment. The DWI in comparison, with a smaller white population, the strategy to maintain control turned

²⁹⁸ London, PRO, Governor Matthew – Letter to Lord Sydney, 13 April 1788

²⁹⁹ *Treatise Under Villeinage*, Book II, vol. II.” *Section 72*. (n.d).

³⁰⁰ London, PRO, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 13 April 1788

³⁰¹ Coke, p.74

their terror back onto the slaves. Their slave laws mirrored Grenada on fundamental points i.e., the destruction of any cultural recognition and association but their laws or guidelines were brutal to enforce coercion. The punishment for Maroonage was severe: ‘unpardoned maroonage’ received torture (red-hot pincers in three local places and an amputated leg) before execution. For ‘pardoned Maroonage’ the sentence equated to torture (red-hot pincers in three public locations, ears cut off, and 150 strokes).

Whites in DWI shared the common European view of African inhumanity. Hans West believed they were susceptible to corporal punishment as their skins so thick they were hardly bruised or drew blood.³⁰² He also demonstrated shared thinking of the time as he accused enslaved Africans as being evil by nature who needed to be kept like dogs in chains for whites’ security. His claimed to know of two slaves who were castrated but survived while their masters died; no amount of beating and branding made them show the slightest pain. Their odour, different to a European, stank ‘abdominally’ and lingered in the room.³⁰³ Essentially he presents the European dogma of Africans inferiority, to him they were morally inferior and physically different.

Close proximity to other islands created a danger that any unrest there could be exacerbated and spread outside influences such as the influx of slaves from these islands into Grenada. Their priority was first, to increase white numbers and / or the size of free society to improve the imbalance in ethnic ratios; second, the disruption

³⁰² Hall, p.42

³⁰³ Ibid.

of communications such as news of resistance on other islands and news of the growing abolition debate in Britain.

Ethnicities were developed within the African group in regard to status resistance. Some slaves formed relationships beyond the confines of Grenada and identified and formed relationships with slaves on other islands. This was a regular reality by 1769 as runaway slaves from Barbados and the French isles of Martinique and Guadeloupe swelled runaway numbers. , Nevill Hall identifies similar migrant runaways in the DWI as ‘marine maroons.’³⁰⁴ Such maroons enticed Grenada slaves to join them by offering freedom and protection to all who joined them. These migrants were armed with new firearms from the French West Indies. The offer of protection demonstrated they appreciated the psychological dynamics of the slave control act over the slave population and why many slaves remained dutiful. Their offer of protection was a direct challenge against the authority of the act and aimed to break the control and/or the appearance of order it held within Grenada.³⁰⁵

Grenada’s enslaved population formed alliances with another ethnic group, the Carib Indians. Caribs were, with Arawaks, the indigenous ethnic groups within the Caribbean. Caribs were vanquished in Grenada in a series of wars against former colonist French forces (1650-1654) which culminated in the final encounter between the last remnants of retreating Caribs, who trapped into their last defence on a precipitous cliff, leapt down to their deaths in defiance rather than surrender, at *Morne de Sauteurs* (Leapers’ Hill).

³⁰⁴ Hall, pp.124-125

³⁰⁵ London, PRO, CO101/13, Richard Maitland – Letter to Hillsborough, 11 July, 1769

The last major Carib communities existed in an uneasy existence on the island of St. Vincent but tensions erupted, similar to tensions between the ethnic groups in Grenada, over their independence and rights. They conducted several wars with the colonial government in St. Vincent for their independence. They were galvanised by a government survey of the island and plans to build a road through Carib lands. Several formidable gangs of armed African runaways existed in St. Vincent also. Whites argued the Caribs initially viewed African intruders with trepidation but recognised the strengths of an alliance. This revealed their prejudices namely they rationalised how the ‘superior’ group (of lighter complexion) could associate on equal terms with the ‘inferior’ dark skinned race.³⁰⁶

Though the Caribs were a separate ethnic group on a separate island, the Council recognised the dangers of inter-island alliances in particular from Martinique that could raise the danger of “These infatuated savages should be, underhand, aided and influenced by our secret enemies and rivalls [sic].”³⁰⁷

Ethnic divisions that pervaded throughout the Caribbean affected Caribs also who were categorised into ‘black’ and ‘yellow’ ethnic groups. Black Caribs were the descendants of African slaves shipwrecked on St. Vincent and mixed with some Carib communities. Just as the plantation system conferred status and prejudiced characteristics to all groups the Caribs were also defined generally by their colour. The ‘yellow’ group were seen as the ‘pure’ or original people: “inoffensive, quiet

³⁰⁶ London, PRO, CO101/18, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 20 September 1779

³⁰⁷ London, PRO, CO101/13, Richard Maitland – Letter to Hillsborough, 11 July, 1769

people, no way concerned with the present rebellion.”³⁰⁸ The writer clearly assimilates European the racial dogma of racial superiority of the period. The observer equates Linnae’s colour hierarchy of yellow over black likewise the lighter peoples gain more of the whites’ human qualities of civility, peace, and safe.

The Black Caribs in comparison became more dangerous and divisive and accused of treachery accused of returning their ‘yellow’ cousins hospitality with ingratitude and near extermination.³⁰⁹ Their alliance with runaways was a major threat given their proximity, general shared ancestry and cultural affinity. A small minority of Caribs still existed in Grenada and must have appeared as the living embodiment of independence.

Caribs were involved in actively taking off slaves from Grenada. Governor Maitland warned, “Now they entice the slaves of our own planters, in the island, offering protection and liberty to all who will join them.”³¹⁰

The colonial government’s fears over communications between Caribs and slaves in the French West Indies forced them to pre-empt offensive action and interception. Carib operations, like the illicit French flights from Grenada, were meticulous in their planning, organisation and execution, also demonstrated the Carib skills of seamanship, tactical fighting and the sheer tenacity of their manner.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

An illustration involved a British sloop, privately hired to cruise Grenada and other islands under advice from the Council and sanctioned by Orders for Masters of Armed Vessels. One of the prime directives of this order was to prevent any Caribs carrying off any slaves and/or importing arms and ammunition. It intercepted four Carib canoes, each with 19 men, travelling between St. Vincent and St. Lucia. The Carib canoes were loaded with kegs, used to supply themselves with cartridges to load arms. Each canoe was sunk by canon fire but undeterred the Caribs placed their cutlasses in their mouths, swam to the sloop and attempted to board it clamouring up the hull. Fierce hand-to-hand combat ensued between those who boarded and those who still tried to scale the hull. Such was the Carib's onslaught; the sloop was saved by a fortuitous change in the wind that ensured its escape leaving the remaining Caribs behind.³¹¹

External confrontations such as these events were significance given the nature of Grenada's geographical position, not only did the island lie at the bottom of the Windward islands but lay some 600 miles South from the British Royal Navy's overstretched Caribbean fleet. The fleet's Caribbean Headquarters strategically located in Antigua, to protect British colonies e.g., Jamaica, St. Christopher and Nevis, but to the south lay Catholic Spanish Trinidad, adjacent to any escalation in the Carib Wars in St. Vincent; also in the vicinity the Catholic French islands of St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, and Martinique.

Grenada's government was fortunate no mass insurrection erupted at the island's weakest moment at that point but this may have occurred because firm news did not

³¹¹ Ibid.

reach the slaves on Carriacou or the slaves' plans were directed elsewhere e.g., using the period to plan escape or offensive resistance. This argument is corroborated that one month after Melville's warning the Maroons in the parish of St. Andrews' increased their activities markedly. The uprising proved so serious, the government sacrificed a precious detachment from the garrison to put it down. The engagement lasted several days. The Maroons demonstrated increased organisation and skills and employed tactics of feigned retreats then surprise attacks, before their insurgency was contained. The Maroons retreated to their strongholds in the wooded uplands after they lost their leader. The detachment recovered what was claimed to be the Maroons' 'plunder' but these were prohibited French goods which meant the Maroons had communication with external sources or possible internal sources, for if they were not obtained through force this meant they had to be gained from prohibited sources or the goods bartered, bought and sold – against legal restrictions demonstrated its ineffective control.

The psychological and emotional effects of such Maroon attacks affected both free and enslaved populations. This is an example of tensions within the African groups where superannuated and disabled enslaved Africans who chose the security of the plantation and/or recognised the plantation system of control and rewards. In the Parish of St. Andrew, a Maroon stronghold, two months before the St. Andrew uprising a 'faithful old slave' approached a prominent Scottish planter to admonish the whites for their failure to prepare for an expected slave attack to be launched on Christmas Day.³¹² This supports the existence and depth of an underground informal network of slave communication. The slaves' network information could operate in

³¹² London, PRO, CO101/14, Deposition of William Mackintosh, 11 December 1770.

both directions, i.e., slaves who supplied information to the free community as well as information conveyed to fellow enslaved Africans and the runaway communities. This slave's warning appeared to be the first unofficial and accurate notice of the St. Andrew uprising.

The slave's age would have been the principal motive. He would have had to be physically fit to escape into the interior, and then he faced a greater challenge to live in the insecure nomadic world of runaway liberty. Plantation-based slaves performed many functions; nothing was wasted no matter the gender or age. Plantations retained elderly (or 'superannuated') slaves for their ability to offer something to the plantation, e.g., supervising very young children, sweeping, vermin controllers, etc. [See Appendix D]. This slave may have exercised his possible senior status as 'head' to report on behalf of the plantation slave community or seen it as his duty to do so. This is supported by the slave's apparent casual relationship to his master, a 'prominent' planter, to approach him with ease and openly admonished him. Another characteristic was the intended date of the slaves' attack. Slave revolts across the Caribbean were not *ad hoc* events rather carefully planned to coincide with significant occasions, memorials and dates.³¹³ Christmas Day may have been favoured in order for prominence in the Christian calendar. Leyborne judged the Christmas holiday period, when slaves were 'indulged,' was the Maroons' favoured time to always conduct offensives. In practice this was a favoured time across the Caribbean for slave revolts in general. This corroborated the warning and information of the 'faithful old slave.'

³¹³ London, PRO, CO101/4, Melville – Letter to Sydney, 10 October 1770

Whites feared any ethnic alliance between enslaved Africans and Free Coloureds; however, despite Free Coloureds' abhorrence towards slave status, there was strong evidence of inter-ethnic communication between these two groups. One example concerned an Adopted Subject Joseph Piquery's visit to a Free Coloured called Julien (St. Andrew's Parish estate of 80 acres and 20 slaves in 1772 survey). It is perhaps one of the most comprehensive accounts recorded of their existence in Grenada. Whilst having dinner between 1-2pm, one of Julien's children ran in to tell their mother that two Maroons were approaching. Piquery, as a white, was terrified and attempted to hide himself behind the open door; Julien notably lay nonchalant on his bed. His confidence made sense as the Maroons entered and saluted Julien but detected Piquery and led him out into the gallery and formed a circle around him. They interrogated him with regard to his country, profession, and connection with detachments.³¹⁴

The Maroons' questions provided an insight to the thoughts of runaways in Grenada. They gauged the sympathies of the captive's country, religion, profession, and security links. Natural Subjects were the rulers of the island but Adopted Subjects could be sympathetic because they were repressed by the plantation system. Doctors were held in positive regard owing to the caring nature of the profession and many doctors were appointed to serve on parish committees for slave welfare. The association with the military was obvious in terms of their security but it could have also been used to their benefit e.g., if Piquery was a commissioned officer he could be used for obvious information even for negotiation.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ London, PRO, CO101/14, Deposition of William Mackintosh, 11 December 1770

³¹⁵ Ibid

The Maroons expressed no fear of Piquery and openly admitted their role in attacking and plundering a plantation of a Monsieur Bardinett. They complained they had worked six to seven months cutting his woods, planting, monitoring and picking his coffee, and all other necessary duties on the plantation under the promise of a reward of 100 *Johannes*. Bardinett gave them instead a hogshead of salt-fish and a tierce of rice as part payment and promised the remainder out of the harvested crop. Bardinett reneged on the agreement and refused payment except for a *musquet* (a misspelling of musket possibly influenced by the French spelling ‘*mousquet*’).

The Maroons’ charges corroborated evidence of informal communication between ethnic groups. It supported the argument that slave laws recognised there were close relationships between masters and their slaves. It also provided further evidence of open breaches in the slave laws e.g., a white planter was prepared to offer firearms as part-payment. Piquet was ordered to accompany the Maroons to a Monsieur Rochard, a known Maroon hunter (St. George’s estate of 24 acres and 6 slaves),³¹⁶ to warn him of their expectation of assistance at any moment from two other parties under the command of their respective leaders called Mirroine and Comfese. Their message threatened Rochard if he did not desist in his intentions to attack and pursue them they would come down and burn all his estates. The two Maroons informed Piquery not only would they destroy Rochard’s estates, they would not do it under the clandestine cloak of the night but in full daylight with drums beating and shells blowing. They laid down a challenge to fight militia/military detachments on the King’s High Road and warned Grenada would be overturned in a short while by

³¹⁶ London, PRO, CO101/16, State of Grenada taken April 1772

numerous slave rebellions and declarations.³¹⁷ They gave him a silent escort to Rochard; strict upon arrival not to divulge their meeting at Julien's rather to inform Rochard their meeting was at Madame Glapions (Bannanah Walk), a point where they would wait for a written answer or a personal voice at Julien's estate.

The Maroons' anger emanated from a strong sense of injustice against a blatant breach of an honourable contract. Their behaviour and demeanour clearly showed this ethnic group did not identify with chattel status or conformity to plantation society's rules of status. Their message and manner was an intended message of non-compliance and defiance to the plantation system. Notable was their deliberate act not to hide the identities, names, or intentions save their rendezvous with Piquery. This reaffirmed their declaration of total independence and challenged any controls that obstructed their freedom. Their boast to seek direct confrontation against the Crown, military and Maroon hunter Rochard demonstrated this. The chosen place of battle symbolic on the major island route; the King's Road (resonated with significance in name and context). This direct challenge was supported by the Maroons' claim to arrive in daylight with drums beating and shells blowing, direct repudiation and open defiance of the slave laws and open declaration of their ethnic and cultural identity.

The defiant challenges could also be seen as a message to free society's generally held views that the Maroons only existed and persisted solely owing to the Interior and skulked in darkness and secrecy, i.e., difficult access to their camps deep in the

³¹⁷ London, PRO, CO101/14, Deposition of William Mackintosh, 11 December 1770

interior and their methods of nocturnal raids. Their pride may have been piqued by taunts that they fought hidden in the woods and under the cover of night.

The incident demonstrated the possible use of safe houses, vital meeting points, and their guardians. Julien's liberty, even life, was in great danger running these points of communication, yet by his calm demeanour, compared to Piquery he appeared to be a regular and trusted collaborator. This is evidence to support the argument of ethnic alliances. The Maroons informed Piquery Julien's home was a future meeting point and warned not to divulge this. An argument could be made for coincidence but the Maroons and in particular Julien's actions have to be explained i.e., his child and wife's actions. Julien may have even given the Maroons a subtle indication towards where Piquery was concealed hence his rapid discovery.

Information regarding Maroon operations was closed, to avoid any betrayal by slaves on the estate; any capture was treated with celebration as a deterrent to other slaves. Captives were interrogated for any information particularly from whom and where the Maroons received their arms and ammunition. Restriction of Maroon activity reduced it as an attractive option. Running away, not in the sense of *Maroonage* but escape off the island, to other islands grew; numerous bays, the cover of tropical darkness, and paucity of security aided flight. The outlying islands around Grenada i.e., Carriacou and other Grenadines, provided more opportunities due to lower white ratios. Embarkation on another islands presented dangers for capture could entail instant slavery again, imprisonment or if returned to Grenada, slavery and possible exemplary punishments. Increased illicit slave migrations increased a sense of fear within Grenada. The greatest concern was the potential effect on the rigid operation

of plantation life and the slave population on estates witnessed them. Any breaches therefore had to become showpieces of authority intrinsic to the maintenance of power within each estate.

Slaves from other islands must have played a significant role to provide information from other islands, organise illicit arrivals and support those who absconded. The Slave Act demonstrated that the practice to hide and support others slaves existed. Slaves absconded from Grenada and other Caribbean colonies on a regular basis but these in general were individual or in small groups. Slave flights predated the general commencement of mass emigration by Adopted Subjects by over one year; an argument is Adopted Subjects were inspired by this liberation method as a route from political stagnation and economic ruin.

A probable consequence from escaped African slaves was they provided valuable information and skills: organisation, timing, locations, and carrying out mass flights and intelligence what islands were receptive to and uncooperative to send escaped slaves back to Grenada. Canoe construction skills appeared to be common-place or certainly learned from those who had escaped the island. Enslaved Africans may have also learnt and passed on these skills from particular cultural and tribal backgrounds. The escape demanded careful preparation, construction/crafting skills and seamanship skills i.e. a loaded canoe had to cross the distance to Trinidad from Grenada, some 90 miles.

Several landowners on the island of Carriacou petitioned Leyborne to apply to the Governor of Marguerite (modern Margarita) for the restitution or financial

compensation for a considerable number of slaves who had fled there. The incident involved 34 slaves; the majority (26) belonged to a Madame Desbat. They included nine adult males, five women – one with an infant - and eleven children (see Appendix B). Their value was based on gender and age. The value of the adult males was based principally on their strength i.e., ability to work estates, therefore they were the foundation of any plantation. Children were vital future investments expected to contribute fully to plantation life and would have had their set duties and responsibilities (see Appendix D). Women shared heavy plantation duties but possessed further investment value because of future childbearing potential. The remainder 8 slaves belonged to a Mr. Todd, Monsieur Jecomie St. Croise, Widow Belinare and an absentee Belinare, a total of 5 were males, 2 were women and one infant (see Appendix B).

The names of slaves taken off Grenada by Catholic Adopted Subjects revealed the creation of language-based ethnicities within the African population and insights into the relationships between master and slave. The majority were given names that reflected, in this incident, the French ethnicity of their owners [see Appendix B]. Others names revealed religious Christian beliefs, e.g., ‘Samson,’ ‘Jean Baptiste,’ (John the Baptist), etc others were named after their owners’ pet names for adjudged characteristics, e.g., ‘Scolastique’ (a slave disposed to or receiving some education, or a sarcastic intention, i.e., one with some rudimentary learning), ‘Tout a l’heure’ (a punctilious individual or a play on a regular habit). Some slaves appeared to retain their ethnic identity through their names, a powerful form of resistance given the prime reason of the ‘seasoning’ process, (the period taken to turn a raw imported enslaved African into an effective plantation worker) was created to expunge any

sense of African / tribal ethnicity or common belonging. Enslaved Africans covertly resisted by failure to answer to any given new names, feigned ignorance, feigned difficulty in understanding or language difficulties, etc. or even complicity of masters³¹⁸ [see Appendix B].

The slaves' choice of destination demonstrated that island's tradition among runaways. Enslaved Africans were aware of anti-slavery debates in Parliament either from news easily overheard through white society, through the slave underground communication network and from other islands. The islands of Trinidad and Tobago also became a noted haven as the governor Don Chacon feigned ignorance for requests to return any escaped slaves. His official denials encouraged the concentration of a new group of fugitive slaves, not internal or Maroons but external flight to other islands.

Actions of other governors in surrounding islands increased the attraction and legitimised the alternative route of external flight. Enslaved Africans slaves fled to Margarita for over two years and were reclaimed by the governor and sold by him. Don Davila, the Governor of Marguerite, unlike his counterpart Don Chacon, acknowledged but blatantly refused to return 13 slaves (8 males and 5 females), despite repeated remonstrations from their owner a Mr. Blacke of Mount Villars plantation, even upon an order from the Spanish Court of 15 Dec.1773. Davila insisted the owner had to prove the escape. Leyborne's request for their return was sent back unopened on the pretext that Don Davila could not speak English and his response sent in French.

³¹⁸ London, PRO, CO101/17, Humble Memorial of Bosanquet & Fatio, 22 August 1774

This created further delay and confusion as the current official Grenada acting-translator's knowledge of French or Spanish was insufficient; this suggested evidence of nepotism and weakness of lobby system, some held posts for status though unqualified. A Grenada resident Thomas Lynch was proposed for the post for £100pa. Leyborne sent a translator but he was rebuffed by the Margarita Governor, and a second attempt to send a ship carrying a flag of truce was refused entry to port.³¹⁹

Governor Matthew complained of Chacon's indifference to a Spanish Court order and urged the British government to pressurise Spain to have it revoked as he feared many planters would face ruin.³²⁰ Over a decade later, Sydney raised the matter with the Spanish Ambassador in 1789.

The 13 African slaves escaped by canoe from a secluded bay but the owner received intelligence of their method of escape and destination. Such specific intelligence suggests another slave revealed the information. The reasons could have been loyalty to the master, anticipation of reward, tensions between slaves, entrapment, or revelation through threats of/or actual punishment. One episode demonstrated how the system could operate also the potential for dubious decisions and also provides insightful evidence of inter-ethnic relationships within the African ethnic group.

³¹⁹ London, PRO, CO101/17, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 13 April 1773

³²⁰ London, PRO, CO101/28, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 17 November 1778

Two slaves named Pierre and King, both the property of a John Nelson, were involved in an incident along with a fellow slave named Eumenis, the property of a Monsieur Debrullon (St. George's combined estates of 92 acres with 52 slaves).³²¹ Pierre and King were convicted and condemned to hang for the murder of two other slaves, also the property of Monsieur Debrullon. Eumenis was condemned alongside them as all three had stolen a musket from Debrullon and fired at his slaves with the intention of killing them.³²² This act was a clear violation of the slave acts as not only had a firearm been stolen, but it was also used with intent to kill. Two fatalities and valuable chattels were also destroyed: costs of two males in terms of replacement also lost production and potential loss revenue.

Melville's relationship with Augustine revealed the extent of slave/master ethnic relations were far more ingrained than they first appeared, this case also provided further evidence to support this argument. Three notable planters: Alex Middleton (a former Council member), Anthony Richardson and John Knight plied for Royal Clemency for Pierre owing to his general good character and other circumstances that appeared favourable during his trial.³²³ Certain slaves were indebted to influential open support from white planters; they supported Pierre based alone on his character and reputation. It could be argued, as in other cases, it was an example of protection for slaves used for espionage. Pierre may have been a model slave but save from his influential character references no emphatic evidence separated all three slaves. Pierre received support from his owner, the white people on the estate and several other prominent gentlemen from around the area corroborated his

³²¹ London, PRO, CO101/16, State of Grenada taken April 1772

³²² London, PRO, CO101/18, Alexander Middleton, Anthony Richardson and John Knight - Appeal for Royal Clemency, 10 July 1775

³²³ Ibid.

impeccable status. It is improbable whites of such status, range, and numbers offer united open support for one slave just for his character without some ulterior reason.³²⁴

Like other ethnic groups in Grenada enslaved Africans were not homogeneous: they had ethnic differences based on tribal origins (from West Africa), cultures, languages, religion and practises. These were repeated on plantations through social status / hierarchy and social tensions. These created tensions manifest through sexual dynamics, domestic spatial competition e.g., rooming, provisions grounds, clothing, etc., It was these ethnic ties the slave acts strove to destroy, legislation was a manifestation of the recognition of ethnicity as the unifying force not racial biological determinants.

Another factor was tensions between estates and African groups. Evidence suggests an extended grudge between the Nelson and Debrullon estates. Pierre was a 'principal slave' on Nelson's estate and appeared to be the target of Debrullon's slaves who gave evidence against him as revenge. The overseer who arrived at the aftermath of the crime scene claimed Pierre had no weapon except a cut whip in his hands and attempting to pacify. All slave witnesses however positively gave evidence against Pierre but slaves' understanding of the oath was doubted (implication they lied). There was however no such support for King and Eumenis and they were convicted by: one slave by a white man's testimony and the other by the 'clearest of proofs.'³²⁵

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Ibid.

The case revealed further insights to slave relations between each other and free whites. Rivalry existed between Nelson and Debrullon estates, King came from the same estate as Pierre therefore treated as an accomplice with Eumenis. Yet he was convicted with his rival and was not supported at all like Pierre. These suggested two possibilities: King was secretly allied to Eumenis, on Debrullon's estate. The estates were notably owned by rival English and French proprietors. Pierre may have held knowledge or exposed some form of suspicious activity, i.e., a vendetta or planned runaway attempt through some form of espionage or information. The official witness account relates it was Pierre alone, not King, who was attempted to control the slaves who surrounded them.

Another case that further demonstrated tensions and alliances involved another application for HM Pleasure for Clemency for an African slave, called Rory from Observatory plantation, convicted for murder of a slave called Peter from Belmont plantation. Rory belonged to a Colonel Henry Gordon of the Engineers Regiment. Application for Clemency was instigated following, again, by representations from several 'very respectful gentlemen' that included a letter from Ninian Home of the Council and Mr. John Castles of the Assembly, after he had been brought and charged before certain gentleman for the killing.³²⁶ Governor Edward Matthew respited the charge of the death penalty. Whereas pleas for of clemency were not unusual, what is different in this case was:

³²⁶ London, PRO, CO101/25, Petition from Inhabitants of St. Patrick's in the Island of Grenada, 24 July 1784

(a) Unlike other cases where the convicted had outstanding mitigating circumstances such as self defence, false witness against them, etc; in this matter there was no such mitigation claimed or sought;

(b) The quality of support for this slave from white power elite;

(c) Recommendations for his support were based on his good character and, “Having frequently rendered his services to the colony, by his activity and vigilance in suppressing the runaway Negroes.”³²⁷

This case shared close similarities with other analysed cases documented in this thesis: it involved disputes between slaves from different plantations; there is no mention of factors warranting clemency under the Slave Act except the convict was described as a ‘faithful slave’ who on many occasions “had exerted himself in suppressing runaways and these exertions have been attended with success and benefit to the colony [and if spared may] in future when, other opportunities offer, be again serviceable.”³²⁸

As in previous incidents, the mystery lay in any motive for murder, i.e., Rory could have been a known accomplice uncovered by Peter or Rory discovered Peter’s involvement in some form of espionage? Rory’s was a watchman on his estate, his daily slave duties would have trained him with the skills and entrusted him with the responsibilities needed for his role. Rory’s master occupation made suppression or espionage a probable reason.

³²⁷ London, PRO, CO101/25, Matthew - Letter to Lord Sydney, 24 July 1784

³²⁸ London, PRO, CO101/25, Petition from Inhabitants of St. Patrick's in the Island of Grenada, 24 July 1784.

A supporting petition corroborated this argument, it exclaimed that Rory behaved in an exemplary manner and had “Upon on all occasions exerted himself against the fugitive negroes of this island, to the apprehending of many, and suppressing the formidable gangs that inhabit the mountains of this island.”³²⁹

Rory was an invaluable part of a British covert network and successful success hunting runaways and Maroons. His Royal Pardon was essential as part of the island’s viability.³³⁰

Lord Macartney superseded Leyborne and inherited slave tensions and the tensions in ethnic relations. Macartney concurred with the sentiments of many British Natural Subjects in placing very little reliance on the Adopted Subjects.³³¹ This did not indicate relations with Adopted Subjects improved in alliance against enslaved Africans rather their concern was the alliance between themselves and other French Catholics on adjacent islands.

Further laws were introduced to tighten security, public cages were introduced to control movement within the towns after dark to incarcerate inebriated and disorderly persons apprehended by night watchmen and slaves caught in town from the country without a ticket of authority from their estates. The nature of plantation society meant slaves – whether working domestically or in adjoining estates - intermingled with the free world at close quarters particularly in the towns. It

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ London, BL, MS Liverpool Papers, ADD.MSS38201, Germain - Letter to Macartney, 3 September 1776

suggested such actions were a regular occurrence amongst slaves.³³² They were privy to and/or able to access information; the slave information network within the capital town was impossible to block just as the innumerable bays within Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique were impossible to police. Public cages attempted to stop the possible nocturnal conveyance of information.

Leaders took action to clear woods as a possible cover for runaways and a major road was cut into the interior woods, thereby increasing access to Maroon camps and reducing the isolation of large areas towards the north of the island.³³³ Macartney's strategy involved an offensive of one officer and 30 soldiers, including a number of Free Coloureds, against the Maroons within St. Patrick's Parish to induce the observing masses on the plantations, to produce a more orderly and inoffensive form of behaviour. Soldiers were placed at selected points but it was the Free Coloureds, still seen to be 'the best calculated for this kind of service', within the detachment who were actually sent into the woods to drive the Maroons out. The report relates they surprised the Maroons killing two, taking eight captive and the remainder of the camp fled and dispersed in all directions including the captain of gang. Macartney promised the Maroon captain would be apprehended shortly and hailed the operation a great success, this was only true in the immediate aftermath. In order to defeat or inflict long-term or permanent damage the military option needed to be regular; the St. Patrick's Maroons suffered heavy defeat but its core remained: experienced and still receiving runaways.³³⁴

³³² London, PRO, CO103/4, Act for Night Watchmen and a Public Cage, 3 February 1776

³³³ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD.MSS38201, Macartney - "Letter to Germain, 25 November 1776.

³³⁴ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD.MSS38201, Macartney - Letter to Germain, 30 November 1776.

Maroon activity persisted despite this legislation and additional tightening of security measures. Runaway slaves were detrimental to Grenada's reputation and viability as a market to conduct business. The British government minister Lord George Germain warned their activity was a "material obstruction to the progress of cultivation" and he was anxious that measures be adopted to induce them to behave in a more orderly and inoffensive manner.³³⁵

Despite the apparent reduction and hostilities in the volume of Maroon attacks, they continued in conjunction with runaways and other crimes of resistance. Louis La Grenade continued his notable exploits and enhanced an already infamous reputation for his skills in hunting down runaways and Maroons. In particular was citations for his courage and fidelity for suppressing a Maroon raid during this period as well as many past actions: "[His] courage and fidelity on this occasion and on so many others, must strongly recommend him to your generosity and care."³³⁶

The intimations were clear but success was expensive. La Grenade's campaign was funded principally by private subscriptions and it is indicative of the scale of African runaways' action that a valuable part of Grenada's debts and ready and/or local monies were spent on trying to repress Maroons / runaways events.³³⁷

³³⁵ London, BL, MS Liverpool Papers, ADD.MSS38201, Macartney - Letter to Germain, 2 April 1777.

³³⁶ London, PRO, CO101/20, Macartney - Letter to Speaker and Gentlemen of the Assembly, 24 February 1777

³³⁷ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD. MSS 38718, Macartney, - Address to Council & Assembly, 20 February 1777

Free Coloured Louis Alexander Rochard, claimed for two Africans said to be executed according to law. One called Jean Baptiste was found guilty and Rochard's claim was allowed for £45; the other Gabriel was found guilty of felony and sentenced to death so this claim was disallowed. Rochard's claim creates questions as he is the Free Coloured in whose house the Maroons captured Monsieur Piquery (see chap 4). According to Piquery's testimony, Rochard appeared to possess comfortable relations with his Maroon visitors. This relationship was formed perhaps to gain detailed information about the Maroons, if so it was a short-term and dangerous one as he lived in an isolated area closer to Maroon camps and they would discover his treachery. It is unlikely that Grenada Maroons would betray runaways, unlike those in Jamaica who signed a treaty of this nature.

Constant runaway activity, created a constant drain from plantation business and precious resources. It created a continual potential breach of security from runaway and abducted slaves and the potential to incite and encourage the so-called 'contented' masses. Adjacent French Caribbean islands maintained an air of menace because the threat of an opportunity to invade the rich colony that they had always viewed as their possession. Grenada's ethnic composition meant it would not be difficult to secure information regarding the state of the island's defences which was impossible to hide.

Grenada society also included military personnel. British troops though white were separated by bounds of social class. The depressed island economy indirectly created relationship with the slave group. Measures to cut costs involved restrictions of army rations, resources and to cut or withdraw soldiers' provisions. This met with

opposition; as provisions were also a staple of slaves' diets, leading them to become scarce and very expensive. This was compounded through the lack of rare Sterling even available local coin. Soldiers' financial living was imperative given their critical role in island security and economy. Government was accused neither officers nor men could afford to subsist on their current pay levels. There was a contradiction in the policy: the general held belief was that whites lost their sense of judgement and morals under the tropical sun, yet this policy presumed the men would behave in a rational manner under impoverished living conditions. One commanding officer recognised the dangers of low pay would lead to, "greatest drunkenness – an inlet to sedition, mutiny and every crime."³³⁸

Others concurred of the creation of indiscipline and / or the impression of disorder that would reduce many to commit theft, robbery and, "depredations which in all probability would lead to such a degree of licentiousness among the soldiers that would be impossible to suppress."³³⁹

The "cursed rum" still pervaded soldiers' lives to the extent many risked flagellation and death three years after the arrival of the British commander General Nicolls (Nicolls, 1791). Soldiers' living conditions remained unhealthy and poor.

Nicolls encountered poverty, dysentery, and yellow fever, which killed two officers and 60 Non-Commissioned officers; privates among the 45th Regiment were "fitter for the hospital or almost a coffin, than a parade."³⁴⁰

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ London, BL, MS. Liverpool Papers, ADD MSS 38718, Major James Cockburn – Letter to Macartney, 16 May 1778

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

Troops in general were like the enslaved Africans: both were inherent to free society's existence and both possessed the potential to destroy it. Fear of indiscipline within the military blamed those conscripted comprised the low-quality persons of 18th Century Britain. Regular courts martial reflected military misbehaviour and irregularity amongst the soldiers though the dearth of able-bodied men and the high state of alert throughout the island created a paradox that meant exact punishment could not be carried out as every white male was needed. The capital of St. George's required every available soldier and free man be eligible for service in preparation for an expected invasion, only invalids, women, and children were left on the estates.³⁴¹

The dilapidated state of Grenada's forts and defences necessitated building works, but the plight of whites labouring in the tropical climate concerned Macartney therefore he substituted hired African slaves to fetch wood and water during building works.³⁴² This created problems, for it risked slaves' knowledge of military capability and it drew more slaves and whites away from the estates into the towns. More pertinent, it encouraged or made possible direct regular communication between the ethnic groups. The extent of the state of the forts' vulnerability and the slow delayed schedule forced a secret communication between the government and Governor Williams allowed him to take immediate legislative powers. Martial law allowed him proclaimed powers to procure up to 1000 extra African slaves, peaking at 5% of all slaves on Grenada to work on the forts till complete, compared to the

³⁴¹ Edinburgh, NAS, GD216/232, O. Nicolls - Letter to Sir William Cockburn, 4 December 1789

³⁴² Ibid.

original estimate peak of 2%. Enslaved Africans drafted from the estates upset the fine balance of security and added costs to a fragile economy.³⁴³ This situation greatly increased the potential for association and communication but also the opportunities for running away, e.g., the New Hampshire Estate proprietors claim for £50 for a runaway killed by a detachment hunting runaways, the proprietor of Telescope Hill Estate requested compensation for £50 for his slave Kidup who was executed as a runaway; whilst a John McBurnie demanded a considerable £1963 for furnishing bread to a whole detachment under a captain Mackanel in 1784 chasing runaways.³⁴⁴

There were discrepancies in tax rates based on alcohol, i.e., £25 and £100 for taverns and rum shops. This indicated how they were used as an important deterrent against alcohol consumption but emphasised its undoubted popularity, thereby the higher tax take available. The number of whites on the island could not sustain this level of tax so it suggests the level of inter-ethnic social mixture that frequented these establishments i.e., sailors, soldiers, low class whites, Free Coloureds, Africans working on the forts, enslaved Africans.

A future Council Bill in 1791 to meet public debt revealed two observations about Grenadian society at the time. First, an important part of the tax take was based on Africans not *attached* to estates (italics mine). The term ‘attached’ referred to enslaved Africans rebuilding the neglected forts; they were not physically on the estates but records were kept and by law their owners were reimbursed for their

³⁴³ London, PRO, CO101/Williams – Sydney: State of Fortifications, 13 December 1787

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

labour. Maroons and other runaways similarly though 'free' were still 'attached' to their estates, therefore it was estate owners who advertised their escapes and rewards which the legislature considered, and if agreed, paid militias for each capture/death. Second, this indicated there was sizeable number of Africans wandering the island. These would have formed part of the population along with other Europeans, Creoles, Free Coloureds and other migrants.

It is important to state that just as whites ranked whiteness they also delineated between types of blacks. 'Common Negroes' were not equal to the task of carrying the largest cannons up a steep hill and for any distance.³⁴⁵ The 'common Negroes' were African field slaves, powerful and fit, from years spent cutting tough cane and other produce under the Tropical sun; yet they could not match the immense power and technique of African seamen's skills used to tow cannons. This fact is acknowledged in reports of the use of both black and white to transport heavy artillery.³⁴⁶

White and black seamen (circa 200 in total) were enlisted to help. The seamen received no monetary pay for their services except 20-30 gallons of rum. Seamen were judged to never execute their tasks in a dutiful manner if deprived of their daily grog, yet rum consumption was feared for its effect on discipline, level of work and fraternisation with slaves.³⁴⁷ These massive building projects inadvertently became a system of necessitated ethnic integration; whereas all ethnic groups lived together within the island, they were legally and socially apart within the plantation system.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

Mariners were a different proposition because although many Africans were still slaves serving on ships, the close communality of these vessels and shared tasks meant that whites' relations with Africans on ships were different to those on the plantations. Barracks had a nightly guard of 100 men, that 50 were black troops demonstrated the critical security scenario and confirmed regular inter-ethnic communications had to exist.

The white population's reliance on Africans for security, with the division of slave labour between the estates and the fortifications held enormous risks. Slave laws were the foundation of plantation society but the critical security created a paradox where all the main directions were contravened, e.g., slave mobility, limited independence, use of tools, proximity to other slaves and other ethnic groups. It was essential therefore the Africans took the mantle as unequal partners rather than feared enemies; especially the employment of skilled Africans e.g. stone masons along with general black African labour on the fortifications:

The major ramifications in particular were vacated roles on estates of African slaves but critical of whites also it necessitated acceptance of contradictions and suspension of normality. Williams admitted he could rely on only half of the militia for when fully mustered the plantations were "Left to the mercy of the Negroes, and they would not be mindful of opportunities to plunder."³⁴⁸

It was vital that at least the proprietor or overseer stayed to keep order. Even this was insecure but offered some sense of observation.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

Events, such as colonial wars, provided another solution to construction and security needs. Armed African plantation slaves were imported from the North American Colonies from South Carolina. This measure was considered too extreme for many whites therefore only allowed under very strict circumstances in Grenada and other British West Indian colonies. These slaves had proven battle experience and demonstrated their loyalty: they supported and fought for British during the North American Colonial wars for independence, notable during key battles of Charleston and Savannah. They rallied to the British because they were the Southern Colonies' enemy (their slave-owning masters), many slaves were treated relatively better and some had been offered the ultimate incentive of freedom defeat.³⁴⁹

Once a stable security structure was established, attention could be channelled against the swollen Maroon camps. The Corps of American enslaved Africans together with a Grenada Corps of Black Pioneers (the trusted English-speaking slaves) developed a successful specialist campaign against the Maroons. Numbers of armed slaves may have created concerns but their intrinsic importance outweighed these, particularly as these Corps were supervised by white officers who received the plaudits for stemming Maroon activity: Captain MacKill, the commander of the 2nd Dragoons/Black Pioneers, was praised for being *singularly* useful and received public thanks from legislature for his 'zeal and activity.'³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Schama, pp. 101 – 111, see also London, PRO, CO101/26, Matthew - Letter to Sydney, 17 January 1785

³⁵⁰ London, PRO, CO101/26, Matthew - Letter to Sydney, 17 January 1785

The organisation of these specialist Maroon hunters ‘black’ militias is demonstrated below:

Table 12

Organisation of Black Pioneers and Associated Units³⁵¹

Division	Unit	Command Structure	Fit	Sick	In Hospital	On
1 st	Pioneers	i/c Captain + 2 lieutenants	44	2	4	11
2 nd	Dragoons/Mounted Black Pioneers	Captain + subaltern	108	12	2	-
3 rd	Corp of Artificers	Captain (N/S)	23	4	4	12
Totals			175	18	10	23

The table above challenged a central racist belief: the myth of the ‘natural’ ability of blacks for hard work in tropical climes. The black slave militias’ figures revealed of 175 men, 51 blacks were unavailable for duty—a total of near 30%. Unavailable

³⁵¹ Ibid.

figures differed within each division, i.e., the Pioneers: 6 sick / 44 available = 14%; the Dragoons & Mounted Black Pioneers, 14 ill / 108 unavailable = 13%; The Corps of Artificers (composed of skilled workers, ergo those likely to undertake manual work and work longer in the sun) which is manifest in the figures: 8 ill / 23 available = 35%.

The Black Pioneers and Carolina African soldiers, more than Grenada plantation slaves, created the ethnic and social conditions laws enacted in the late 1760s which anticipated the potential dangers of casual associations across ethnic groups, particularly where alcohol was consumed. Construction provided the perfect opportunity to share social life to some extent; South Carolina slaves had experience of prolonged use of arms and certain independence through battles. This must have affected their relations with whites. The 60th Regiment for example built certain sections of forts with the Carolina Africans and the Grenada Artificers.

Fears over mixed interactions occurred on a regular basis but one incident proved so serious it merited a formal report to the British government. Four soldiers of the 60th Regiment were convicted of capital crimes and executed on the same day by the St. George's Sessions and it was considered highly necessary to make examples of three others sentenced to very long imprisonments. A South Carolina African slave soldier was also convicted and executed.³⁵² A particular irony was one line where it was mooted was to deport the soldiers to the African coast where no British troops were serving.³⁵³ That soldiers from different ethnic groups were involved supports

³⁵² London, PRO, CO101/28, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 19 March 1783

³⁵³ London, PRO, CO101/26, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 2 June 1783

the argument that opportunities to form close interactions and communications had to exist.

Further evidence the slaves must have enjoyed some independence was both sets of soldiers, including the artificers, were remunerated for their work. The whites earned 1 bit cy per day with expenses calculated at 6d Stg. per day and rum. The Carolina Africans in comparison received the equivalent of a common field slave (for work on the constructions), 4 bits Cy daily rate per day.³⁵⁴ This must have allowed money for leisure, drinking and/or gambling; a probable common cause of indiscipline and a possible suggestion to the cause behind the courts martial held.

Alcohol affected troops because of the heat, but in particular the local distillation to the extent these 'new rums' of Grenada remained prohibited to soldiers: "A spirit of the most pernicious nature and which too often proves the bane of the soldier."³⁵⁵

These 'new rums,' made from the by-products of sugarcane production, were fresh distilled and over-proof from plantations such as the 'Westerhall' estate. Indiscipline was not confined just among the lower ranks. An enquiry exposed accounts of indiscipline by several officers that involved charges that were described as highly objectionable. The authorities still found it hard to put an effectual end to these abuses though the root causes were disallowed.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁴ London, PRO, CO101/26, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 30 March 1785

³⁵⁵ London, PRO, CO101/28, Williams - Letter to Sydney, 26 December 1787

³⁵⁶ London, PRO, CO101/28, Sydney - Letter to Matthew, 2 October 1788

Table 13 below showed an important insight of the dispersal of skills and regional supply. St. George's parish, with the capital town, contained the greatest concentration of whites, therefore the majority supplied slaves were basic labourers; a similar comparison to St. Andrew's Parish (main town Grenville). Remote parishes such as St. John's (Gouyave) and St. Patrick (Sauteurs) provided skilled labour but smaller parishes such as St. Mark's (Victoria) could not afford or risk commitment of large labour forces. The island of parish of Carriacou and Petit Martinique refused to supply labour; its isolated nature would have created a sizeable hole in their security. Its isolated state developed a strong sense of independence which could have contributed to their reluctance to suffer losses for a scheme that did not benefit them directly.

African security was imperative for routine checks on the fortifications revealed many cannons had been expertly spiked and were unfit for service. Williams stated he was not surprised for he was well acquainted with the disposition of many Adopted Subjects, in particular the radicalism and non-integration of new migrants.³⁵⁷ From this point this evidence suggested Adopted Subjects were involved in active resistance in anticipation of any future French invasion.

One of the most important documents insights into the lives of African slaves was provided by a Heads' of Enquiry Report (HEQR), established to provide informative answers for government ministers and to aid representative agents before a major Parliament debate on the slave trade due after Christmas 1788. The answers for most on the questions posed came from the view of Natural Subjects so revealed the

³⁵⁷ London, PRO, CO101/28, Sydney – Letter to Matthew, 2 1October 1788

most substantive view of the white ethnic group's thoughts and relations with the African population.

Free Coloureds and French Whites, were accused of given to idleness and hatred of any fieldwork rather produced adequate to keep them from starving.³⁵⁸ It appears they recognised Free Coloureds' extreme reluctance to work the land but the underlying message still conveyed their set views that Africans, in particular Free Negroes, were biologically lazy hence their reluctance appeared to appreciate , , rather become their own masters and own African slaves or become/continue work as artificers and seek private work.

Table 13

Returns H.M. Fortifications – Black Artificers and Labourers Richmond Heights
27/10/1787³⁵⁹

Parish	Carpenters	Masons	Blacksmiths	Miners	Labourers	Total by Parish 360
St. George's	-	4	-	2	122	134
St. David's	5	6	1	1	72	98

³⁵⁸ London, PRO, CO101/28, HEQA Q1 & Q24, 31 May 1788

³⁵⁹ London, PRO, CO101/28, Williams - Letter to Sydney, 13 December 1788

St. Andrew's	5	14	-	2	113	155
St. Patrick's	-	9	1	3	70	104
St. Mark's	-	2	-	1	52	58
St. John's	1	9	-	-	55	75
Sum Totals:	11	44	2	10	482	624

Enslaved Africans were legal chattels and in total subjugation to flexible punishments.³⁶¹ It revealed that within the British West Indies masters had total legal powers to administer arbitrary punishments of any type/ correction however inhumane provided it did not affect the life or limb of a slave. This contradicted the seminal case of Brigstock who murdered a black woman Anna Ritta and the seminal trial.³⁶² One traveller observed that “Truly, I have seen such cruelty done there to servants as I did not think one Christian could have done to another.”³⁶³

These were views from travellers to the Caribbean shocked at the normality of the brutalised plantation life and provide evidence of few occasions where actions are questioned. Thomas Coke reports events that are kept hidden or not deemed of

³⁶¹ London, PRO, CO101/28, HEQA Q1 & Q4, 31May 1788

³⁶² London, PRO, CO101/28, Matthew – Sydney, Extract Minutes of Court of Kings Bench on Island, 8 September 1775, pp. 16-162, 13 April 1788

³⁶³ Mackie, p.52.

weight to report. He speaks of his visit to a slave market and the terror of a little girl all alone waiting for sale;³⁶⁴ presenting an image of Africans possessing humanity rather than being dumb chattels.

The HEQA revealed regular inconsistencies e.g., its admission that prosecutions were bought forward for wanton cruelty with excessive punishment for which the court's response was always severe and exemplary. The overseer ruled and slave evidence was inadmissible in court or limited in certain circumstances. Brigstock was only convicted because fellow whites reported his acts. The report admitted that proof of evidence was difficult to put effective stops to such instances or the perpetrators were simply "too artful" by using just slaves as witnesses in cases.³⁶⁵

Social ostracism became a powerful method employed to maintain social rank. A similar experience existed on the island of Barbados. Free poor whites, 'the Red Legs,' those of the lowest status, received poor treatment; they equated in status to those of low class of rank in Grenada. Governor Macartney was shocked at their indignation to consider themselves level to other whites simply based on their colour.

Dwellings provided were simple, closed around with board or wattle and plaster with thatched roofs. Another form of accommodation was a hut built of wild canes and reeds and thatched with the tops of sugar canes; they were often boarded, sometimes shingled. Slaves received garments twice a year.

³⁶⁴ Coke, p.74

³⁶⁵ London, PRO, CO101/28, HEQA, 31 May 1788

The enslaved community managed to retain their familial, social and cultural cohesiveness through the cramped lodgings provided for them. This deep-rooted cultural practice confounded their white owners who viewed their slaves' practice of close proximity and misinterpreted it as their need to keep warm (though in the Tropics). There was recognition, however, of the true nature of these arrangements: "A seasoned slave is particularly desirous of taking a new Negro of his own country into his house."³⁶⁶

This process helped to reinforce the very links the legislature and the planters sought to break. They could communicate in secret in their own tongue and discover important news from the outside world. Most important they could discover vital news if possible from their lands tribes e.g. their families, their tribes, the fates of individuals, cultural events, etc.

Slaves were expected to provide the bulk of their own diets through given provision grounds. Provisions provided invaluable carbohydrate, starch and minerals, critical to replenish depleted energy reserves. New arrivals from Africa or other estates/islands received assistance with the addition of provisions, potatoes, split peas, flour, rice and biscuits with small allowances of beef, pork, salt fish, herrings, and salt.

Working conditions and punishments were a source of contentious passionate Parliament debates. The HEQA answers appeared altruistic but revealed further

³⁶⁶ London, PRO, CO101/29, HEQA Q6, 28 May 1788

inconsistencies. Set days and hours were set aside for the African slaves to labour for themselves on their provision grounds, every mid-day for 2 hours (which incorporated a rest against maximum exposure to the tropical sun) and one half day every week exclusive of Sunday when out of crop season (harvest). Planters claimed that their slaves, “derive much profit as to be extravagant in luxuries of clothing and diet.”³⁶⁷

These claims were embellished to present a carefully constructed story of for Parliament though, it created an immediate inconsistencies, the HEQA claimed slaves received allowances for food and clothing, so why the need for expensive costs and resources to feed and clothe the slaves to the level they claimed was needed? The allowances themselves were problematic, as they were in direct contradiction of the act to stop slaves earning independent incomes (Act, to Prevent Persons From Hawking and Peddling, and Carrying Goods About the Town and Country, From Home to Home to Sell and Dispose of).³⁶⁸ For slaves to derive profits, they had to effectively ‘peddle and hawk’ their goods; to live ‘extravagantly’ this would have entailed intensive business and extensive travelling to earn the claimed sums.

The annual expense of looking after an enslaved African man, woman, and child at different ages claimed was £10 pa including food and clothing. These figures demonstrated planters’ reluctance to compulsory hire of their workforce. Hire pricing was dependant on the job or the day. The average day price in Grenada was

³⁶⁷ London, PRO, CO101/28, HEQA Q7, 31 May 1788

³⁶⁸ London, PRO, CO103/3, Act to Prevent Persons From Hawking and Peddling, and Carrying Goods About the Town and Country, From Home to Home to Sell and Dispose of, 20 April 1767.

£31 cy equivalent to £12 Stg.³⁶⁹ The act of hiring in money terms was not ruinous as envisaged for many planters. Their concern was their absent enslaved would be felt under severe strain, particularly if a large plantation had released slaves for hire, at ‘crop time.’ Sugar cane was most vulnerable at this time, susceptible to attack from heat, humidity, rains, rodents, and cane ants and needed to be harvested swiftly, i.e., cut, stripped of trash, pressed, boiled at different stages, packed then weighed for export; this excluded the numerous by-products such as molasses and rum.

The physical nature of sugar production led to many injuries, diseases, and deaths, the former two the most common. Many diseases were considered prevalent only to slaves in particular among recent coast slaves from Africa. The two most prevalent diseases were yaws and ‘joint-evil,’ the most advanced stage of ‘joint-evil’ visibly attacked the extremities hence its name. Slaves were blamed for these ailments, rather than the brutal work or poor living conditions. They were accused of ‘slothfulness and uncleanness’ [sic]. Joint-evil considered highly infectious affected the enslaved Africans’ immediate offspring, but many whites, to their horror, caught the disease themselves.

Estates could be susceptible to rats infestation and the dreaded problem of swarms of apparently indestructible cane ants that also fed on human and animal sores and open wounds. Owners claimed slaves’ poor dietary practices and ‘negligent cookery’ caused other diseases like *Mal de stomach*, dysentery even leprosy. Owners

³⁶⁹ London, PRO, CO101/28

acknowledged their work would, “wear out the firmest fibre, in a much shorter time.”³⁷⁰

Slave welfare included care for the sick and elderly. The law stipulated each estate had to have a hospital where a medical man attended twice a week; in emergency cases a nurse would be appointed to administer medicine and food. What constituted an emergency could be subjective e.g., a favourite or valuable slave could be passed over a priority admission.³⁷² No valid consistent data seemed to indicate that this law was enforced on a regular basis; rather like many slave laws it was left to the masters to use or abuse them.

No official centralised data was collected within Grenada but individual estates collected their own data. Another reason why no centralised data existed was because there was no official compunction to regulate these classes of slaves; it was left to each estate to deal with their problems as they saw fit. A slave who could not work through long-term or indefinite injury was considered infirm. Slaves who reached a certain age became superannuated. The success of estates rested on the difference between a successful or ruined crop. The superannuated, infirm, and elderly could not be sold therefore were additional costs and added no value, so they had to earn their worth. The laws did not specifically compel masters to maintain them, so their fate rested on philanthropy or actual job roles that could contribute to an estate.

³⁷⁰ London, PRO, CO101/28, HEQA Q&A 12, 28 May 1788

³⁷² London, PRO, CO101/28, HEQA Q&A 12, 31 May 1788

Another vulnerable and costly group were children. The appellation ‘children’ was one of the classifications of age groups: ‘babies’ (0-1 year), ‘infants’ (1-6 years), and ‘children’ (7-10 years). Though unable to work fully, children were a future investment. Therefore like the superannuated, estates strove to get the maximum output from children also. On Home’s Waltham Estate, an infirmed man could still be used as a rat catcher, children as sweepers, etc., as revealed in table below:

Table 14

Waltham Estate Slave Returns 1789³⁷³

Slave Age Ranges	Totals Within Age Range
90 +	1
80-89	0
70-79	2
60-69	10
50-59	16
40-49	20

³⁷³ Edinburgh: National Archives of Scotland, GD267 Home Papers, GD267 Home Papers, GD267/5/17/Waltham, Returns 1796, 4 November, 1798

30-39	42
20-29	48
10-19	38
7-10	12
1-6	23
0-1	3
Total	204

The ages ranged from the oldest, Agatha an impressive 90 year-old woman down to baby Bristol aged 2 months. 2 male slaves Marcus and Fenlang were 70 years old; 10 slaves were in their sixties, 16 in their fifties, and 20 in their forties (over 80% of these slaves were in the early years of their age decades). The dominant composition was: 42 slaves in their thirties, 48 in their twenties, 38 aged between 10-19; the remaining: 12 were aged between 7-10 and 23 aged under 5 (6 were aged 1 with 3 babies - aforementioned Bristol at 2 months, Babliste 4 months, and Annie at 6 months).

An analysis of illness and injuries at Waltham revealed approximately 28% of the slave population were either infirm and/or suffering from some medical condition such as the loss of limbs to diseases ranging from sores, yaws, ulcers, venereal

infections, elephantitis, apoplexy, consumption (a common disease and largest killer in Britain – tuberculosis), dropsy (archaic term for oedema), flux, fever, swellings and cuts. This high ratio demonstrated the exertions of plantation enslavement.³⁷⁴

Waltham Estate's relatively high mature ages rates corroborated planters' claims that their enslaved Africans lived to a general advanced age and to an "extreme" old age in certain rare cases.

There are two arguments to explain this. A controversial argument accepted the whites' view as slave physical characteristics were akin to their natural propensity to the tropical environment, what Charles Darwin theorised in the next century as some form of evolution process i.e., slaves were 'hardened' through generations: those who survived regular extremes lived and passed their genes down.

Another argument is their ages reflected the care exercised within each estate over slave welfare. Home, despite his conservative Protestant and tyrant image, appeared to be sensitive to his slaves' care. He would have been influenced by the Christian Enlightenment age, but it was a matter of economics i.e. to maximise the efficiency his investments. Home was, like some of his contemporaries, aware of well-respected manuals on effective plantation management. The success of a plantation rested solely on slaves' governance, health and satisfaction, and the planters' interests and humanity.³⁷⁵ Home took time to study this aspect as evidenced by his

³⁷⁴ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/5/17, Waltham Estate - Slave Returns, 1789

³⁷⁵ William Turnbull, *Letters to a Young Planter: or Observations on the management of a Sugar Plantation - by an Old Planter*, (London: Stuart and Stevenson, 1785), pp. 33-43

well-noted margined reference provided an exemplar of his thoughts: he referred specifically to the good treatment of slaves as the foundation of any plantation.³⁷⁶

Another example of his altruism in his slaves' welfare concerned a sickly male runaway who absconded during crop time; he returned and was received back into the household and sent to Home's other estate at Paraclete to get better. The Slave Act of 1766 outlawed running away and allowed harsh punishment, but no punishment was administered.³⁷⁷ In other examples, a diseased woman Ester suffered from a constant sore, another boy's feet were destroyed by chiggers (chigoes). Both were cured by the estate doctor under Home's attentions. The boy's advanced diseased limbs were cured by poultices of cow dung that cleared them all out.³⁷⁸

Waltham Estate returns also provided information about slave roles. Methodists religious pioneers' attempted to establish ordained marriages but were resisted by planters who argued there was no established island-wide custom. They argued slaves' prolificacy made it highly likely the treatment of holy ordinance would not be respected. Slave baptisms were commonly based on the denomination their owners adhered to. Aside from the Methodist and Quaker religions, there were no major religious institutions that strived to attract and 'develop' slaves. Church attendance was allowed for those who desired it on Sundays.³⁷⁹ Several travellers

³⁷⁶ Turnbull, pp.36-37

³⁷⁷ Edinburgh: NAS, Letter Book 1, GD267/RH4/64/7/, Home - Letter to Alex Stevenson (Mustique), 26 June 1787.

³⁷⁸ Edinburgh, NAS, Letter Book 1 GD267/RH4/64/7/1, Home -Letter to Alex Stevenson (Mustique), 25 December 1787

³⁷⁹ London, PRO, CO101/28HEQA Q15 Q&A 15, 31 May 1788

observed mixed congregations though in the capital St. George's these were predominated by Free Coloureds.

The Methodist minister Thomas Coke preached to a congregation of enslaved Africans. He described how they all behaved and listened well apart from 2 males who created a disturbance at the door. He regarded the slaves to possess a child-like manner; he judged many attended out of curiosity. Despite his 'liberal' views, he concurred also that slaves were promiscuous from an early age and this along with such wild cavorting led to general excessive fatigue. These factors were believed to have contributed to natural increase but he admitted that severe chastisement and want from the comforts of life added to fatigue and sex as a sole pleasure.³⁸⁰

Ethnic tensions between these two groups were created through the contradiction that whites' views of 'indolent' slaves contrasted their general fear and financial existence relied upon them. The average price of a 'seasoned' slave was £50-60 pounds (seasoned/seasoning meant the processing of: a fresh imported slave such as settling into new accommodation, learning rudimentary language and cultural changes, and ultimate the skills of sowing, cultivation, and harvest). Seasoned African slaves were more expensive though the price margins between them were not vast, a new 'raw' slave fetched between 50 – 66% of the price in comparison.³⁸¹

Slaves were expected to plant 1 acre of cane and coffee-quality land. A Joint Report of Both Houses illustrates the sheer physical exertion involved in cultivation: a

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ London, PRO, CO101/29HEQA HEQA Q&A 22, 30 May 1789

general field slave on a sugar estate was expected to dig 60 holes per day (these holes were placed in areas 3x4 feet and 5 inches deep, 15 inches wide at the bottom and 2 ½ feet at the top i.e., like an inverted pyramid), which meant some 3630 holes could be dug in an acre. 60 able-bodied men were expected to plant an acre per day which contradicted planters' claims of their indolence. The cane stalks were planted into the holes, continually weeded, pruned and enriched with manure. Manure added to a compost of cane trash, animal fodder and animal dung was piled into heaps and left to rot in the tropical sun; the process was aided and speeded up by the addition of mould and maggots, ashes and offal. One acre of cane produced 1 hogshead of sugar, or 450 lbs of coffee; 150lbs of cotton, or 600lbs of cocoa.³⁸²

An analysis of the lives of and attitudes towards enslaved Africans completes an examination in detail of the major ethnic groups, the foundations of the relations and tensions between all four major ethnic groups in Grenada. The responsibilities and conflict between governors, the formation between of parties, British government, and the King provides a vital context to examine the fluctuations in tensions to analyse the ferocity of future escalation of ethnic tensions and internal insurrection within Grenada.

The aim of this paragraph is to discuss the legal status of free and slave. It also examined what the term *coloured* means and the distinctions between Free Coloured and those who remain in bondage. Essentially, it demonstrates that they suffered as white Adopted Subjects from whites' views of them. They clearly saw themselves as

³⁸² London, PRO, CO101/29HEQA HEQA Q&A no.21, 30 May 1789

a separate group based not only on gradations of colour, but by language and legal restrictions.

Africans were also controlled by legal controls, but unlike coloureds their routes to freedom and participation in society were very limited. They were legally classed as property, indicating their sense of worth by society. Slave laws were introduced to control the inordinate difference in ethnic ratios but essentially to stop cultural transference of their heritage and dangers of communication with other ethnic groups. In this chapter it is argued this did take place as the slave laws stress.

Africans mingled with Free Coloureds at dances and society was suspicious of any alliance between the two groups. There is clear evidence of intermingling with lower-class whites, pirates, and military personnel (particularly the navy). The colonial government's critical works inadvertently increased the volume of interaction. Alcohol consumption and the role of tipple houses were a key point of contact.

Another aspect of communication and alliances was '*grand Maroonage*' or inter-island escape. They formed links with other Africans, pirates, and even Black Caribs from St. Vincent. These Maroons were a particular group and reflected a movement that encouraged other Africans to resist and form closer links because of social changes *within* these range of ethnic groups.

The next chapter looks at how these alliances and tensions led to major rebellion. It also examines the key officer in Grenada society—the governor. It will examine the rewards and status of a governor and why it proved attractive, particularly given the

impossible position in which they were placed. It will look at the final decade of Ninian Home as a study to ascertain these answers.

Chapter Four

The French residents never viewed themselves as indulged or tolerated, rather resented; the limited freedoms they achieved came from their compromise and accepted humiliation. Their first act during the Interregnum (French restoration of power in Grenada, 1779-84) was to relieve the most pressing and injurious burden on their lives, i.e., their financial debts (see chapter Two). Many debtors who fled Grenada returned with confidence.

British residents and creditors' suffered as French residents chose to ignore or cancelled debts. Royal *Arêtes* repealed all property and debts. The first *Arêtes* allowed them to dispose of property as they saw fit; the second stipulated all produce to be shipped to France in French vessels or where necessity neutral vessels. The *Arêtes* were a clear and open design to abolish any imposed obstacles to French trade. A second function aimed to humiliate and communicate a shift in power from British residents. It reflected British capitulation policy after 1763 against French trade and their rights.

The French Interregnum lasted less than five years. French global ambitions to capture the premier Caribbean island of Jamaica were destroyed in the Battle of the Saints under Admiral Rodney in 1782. Under the Treaty of Versailles in January 1783, Britain recognised the North American Colonies' independence; it relinquished possession of Florida and the island of Minorca to Spain, returned the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago to France, and all previous French Caribbean conquests, including the island of Grenada.

French residents faced the full economic and social vengeance post-Interregnum, viz. loss of power and return to former restrictive and inequitable social status systems. They faced the promised wrath of ousted British residents and those who remained resident during the Interregnum. Specific targets were the French whites and Free Coloureds who deserted the militias in confidence prior to the invasion and those who gave public support for the French invasion. Many British residents suffered financially, but most injurious was the humiliation of surrender and their treatment under French rule.

The new Governor Edward Matthew's disquiet was not ethnic tensions between British and French groups, rather the return of Protestant nationalism fed by the acrimonious rise of party factions between the British whites.³⁸³ His concern was rivalry between Ninian Home and Michael Scott, both opposing leaders in a former Assembly; Home was closely aligned to former Governor Melville through ethnic, social, and cultural ties, i.e., Scottish and members of the same Lodge: *The Beggars Benison of Merryland*.³⁸⁴

Tensions also rose with the slave population in Post-Interregnum Grenada; now that Grenada had suffered external attack, the expectation of the internal threat became more dangerous. The knowledge and loyalties of the French residents were manifest; more significantly, the enslaved population had witnessed the defeat and subjugation

³⁸³ London, PRO, CO101/26, Petition of His Majesty's Most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Council and Assembly of the Island of Grenada and Grenadines and Dependencies, 7 April 1785

³⁸⁴ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/5/6, Ninian Home & Robert Melville and Ninian. "Membership of the Masonic Lodge Brotherhood, Beggars Benison & Maryland."

of the ruling nation; any veneer of superior status was more damaging than the physical destruction of invasion.

British whites had to find additional security without reliance on French whites and Free Coloureds. African slave labour and limited security pre-Interregnum were forced on British residents. The lingual ethnicities could be employed; African slaves who spoke English, came from British estates or belonged to British owners, were 'seasoned' to British cultural practices, would, in theory, possess greater loyalty. This was a desperate strategy as the significance of ethnic lingual division demonstrates.

High tensions between ethnic groups post-Interregnum erupted through a series of relatively innocuous events that escalated in significance and created deep repercussions. On 2 September during a violent storm, St. George's was set ablaze; whereas arson was suspected in a major fire by coincidence 20 years previous, this was an 'Act of God' created by a streak of lightning that hit the magazine within Fort Frederick on Richmond Hill (one of several forts the French built during their occupation). It ignited 150 barrels of gunpowder that blew the fort apart and caused four fatalities – a corporal and three privates in a guardroom.³⁸⁵ For some vengeful British inhabitants, it was the opportunity or 'proof' for an internal conspiracy by French Catholics.

³⁸⁵ London, PRO, CO101/25, Governor Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 13 September 1784

Table 15

African Ethnicity by Language 1783³⁸⁶

Total Enslaved African	English Lingual / Cultural	French Lingual / Cultural
Population 25,060	16,240	8,820
Ratio (100%)	65%	35%

Another factor was the death of Sir Francis Laurent in November of 1784.³⁸⁷

Laurent was the first original French residents since 1763 to become a Naturalised British New Subject. He was influential as one of the few French residents to cooperate fully with the British, alongside his major ally Louis La Grenade. His rewards, like La Grenade, were he received from the British many privileges: he fraternised at the highest levels of colonial society, in all institutions and his children educated in Britain. His role was to influence other French residents to become loyal to the British and participate in the rewards offered. Very few French became naturalised, but Laurent still served as a bridge between the British and growth of isolated French communities. Laurent used his position of elite social access at the

³⁸⁶ Cox, p.10

³⁸⁷ London, PRO, CO101/ 26, Memorial of Thomas Bunfoot, Thomas Allen, Robert Macky, Stratford, Canning Smith, (Assignees to the Estates & Effects of John Marlan, Robert Boyd and Edward Stewart), 7 November 1783

same time created a non-threatening model of the British stereotype that could be presented to French residents.

Naturalised status did not attract many French because it did not guarantee immunity from social ostracism. Laurent's death suggested strong tensions within society and reinforced any views that even the most loyal French assimilated into the British Protestant society were not immune. Post-Interregnum, only three loyal French residents remained and all three men became Naturalised within a short period of each other after registration came after the Interregnum. It suggested all three were compelled to do so for security or fear of opprobrium. Lair's Jewish faith had strong religious, ethnic, and social stigma and must have contributed to his decision to convert. Significantly, all these men quit Grenada on the day of their Naturalisation, which provides further evidence of social fissures within the former white alliance.

British reaction to Sir Francis Laurent supports this argument. They accused him before his death of duplicity with the new French administration through alleged attachments and prejudices towards them. Laurent's position was rational; caught between two worlds—an attachment to his natural national and ethnic group yet his affiliation to his adopted group would have been untenable under the new French regime. Laurent was a known British sympathiser internally so there was a probability the liberated French residents ensured the new French administration were aware of it. He had no guarantee or desire for permanent residence for an unspecified period on adjoining British islands or in Britain.

Table 16

Certified Naturalised Adopted Subjects³⁸⁸

Name	Place of Birth	Religion	Residence in Grenada	Date of Naturalisation
James Lair	Bordeaux, France	Jewish	28 Dec.1773 – 9 Sep. 1784	9 Sep. 1784
Louis La Grenade	Grenada (French)	Protestant	1764 – 9 Aug. 1785	9 Aug. 1785
Michael L'Oreilhe	Guinne, France	Protestant	12 June 1772 – 13 Sep. 1785	13 Sep. 1785

Governor Matthew allowed him back to sit in the Council, but public indignation was to such an extent that he was hung as an effigy by an angry mob, forcing him to discontinue his attendance.³⁸⁹ The implications set a dangerous precedent: if a Naturalised figure, designated the most loyal subject, despite all his sacrifices, was obliged and threatened to abandon the legislature and face public abuse, it meant

³⁸⁸ London, PRO, CO101/26, List of Persons Naturalised on the Island of Grenada (Certificate of Naturalisation), 31 December 1785

³⁸⁹ London, PRO, CO101/26, List of Persons Naturalised on the Island of Grenada (Certificate of Naturalisation), 31 December 1785

others of far less stature or likely persuasion would have been intimidated; more important, for the French residents it demonstrated an unbridgeable rift. This was a clear signal French residents possessed no hope of any alliances or be allowed full participation in society.

French residents withdrew within their own ethnic group and world. The British perhaps galvanised of the consequences, as the last time this happened reversed their previous actions. French residents though not trusted, were essential for security reasons; economically the volatile local economy could not survive without their tax contributions. French residents refused to pay their full taxes, in response the British returned to the question of Catholic religious practice.

Protestants viewed their acceptance of Catholic religious practice in Grenada as reluctantly 'indulged,' because they enjoyed benefits not allowed to Catholics in Britain. British residents argued the lack of any presence of an established Protestant church reflected the extent of Catholic 'indulgence;' as well as an ignored lucrative method to gain monies for the Treasury. The most attractive source of income was French Catholic priests' salaries and their glebe lands. Their incomes also included ground rents and individual donations. The average priest in St. George's earned between £800-900 p.a.³⁹⁰ Religion became a beacon for the French a cultural anchor of ethnic identity.

Matthew suggested a compromise where Catholics sacrificed portions of their revenues. The British rebuffed this move as the French had exchanged their

³⁹⁰ London, PRO, CO101/26, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 7 November 1783

nationality. There was a marked shift in offence, away from the specific 'Test' to against the Catholic Church in general, the right to worship, and ministerial representation throughout the island. Particular attention focussed on Catholics' authorised occupancy of their churches and celebration of exclusive Papists' rituals. They kept all the profits and rents from church glebe lands, a passionate contention given their active roles in creating the economic crisis within Grenada. Protestants were incensed how Catholic residents celebrated rituals in public on the streets, e.g., funerals, religious feasts' days, etc. They argued these practices went beyond the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and the permitted laws of Great Britain. Catholics perceived impunity for the Treaty raised Protestant ire particularly what appeared as British government collusion that fed the Catholic sense of rights to practice such 'tolerated superstitions' on an equitable validation with the established religion.³⁹¹

Matthew's concerns were ethnic unrest, any government indecision risked further alienation and could prompt more French residents to immigrate to support their ethnic cause. Free society could not haemorrhage further numbers; it would only serve to signal an increase in flights from estates and/or increased Maroon gangs. The limited powers of a governor were demonstrated in fractious periods and demonstrated diplomatic and negotiation skills were in many instances their most effective or only alternative in many situations.

Matthew sought negotiation rather than confrontation with the French and ordered the surrender of keys to several Catholic churches for this expressed purpose.

³⁹¹ London, PRO, CO101/26, Petition of His Majesty's Most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Council and Assembly of the Island of Grenada and Grenadines and Dependencies, 7 April 1785

However as a compromise, he allowed principal French inhabitants to worship at these buildings at convenient hours. Matthew must have hoped for French compromise after decades if such a flexible decree was issued. Matthew's actions raised the British residents' suspicions of government collusion; they felt his actions did not match promised threats and a policy that appeared to pander to French requirements. French residents' behaviour towards this 'indulgent' policy without any return contributed to Protestants' anger, frustration, and incredulity:

This condescension was ill requited on their parts; for, grown insolent from long indulgence, they affected to consider this measure as an invasion of their rights.³⁹²

French residents withdrew not just from their exclusion from society but for what they saw as intolerable and biased treatment from the British. An example was Governor Matthew's raise in salary voted by the legislature, even though this was against his entitlement by law as his salary ceased after 12 months absence.³⁹³ The British government supported the legislature's ruling; to British residents it confirmed British government condoned and validated his actions.³⁹⁴

Three points of tension existed: i) French residents regarded any proposed religious policy to justify appropriation of Roman Catholic churches as a solution for the great costs to establish the Protestant Church as an issue for Protestants (the holders of the public purse not Roman Catholic residents). (ii) Protestants, in contrast, argued

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ London, PRO, CO101/28, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 25 August 1788

³⁹⁴ London, PRO, CO101/26, Sydney – Letter to Matthew, 7 November 1783

the colony subsidised the Catholic Church. (iii) Another source of tension existed where French residents still comprised a large proportion of the population yet owned only 20% property.³⁹⁵

Protestants argued most tolerant governments allowed fixed and permanent appropriations of revenues from the resident lands for the support of any other than the established religion. Tobago presented an ideal comparative model where the King of France except, through voluntary subscriptions, did not indulge British Subjects in any form.³⁹⁶ To them the situation in Grenada therefore was illegal and illogical practice. British residents demanded: (i.) the public appropriation of buildings and associated substantial revenues; (ii.) the Papist religion to be supported only by private contributions; (iii.) for all churches on the island to be sequestered to the Protestant faith.

Matthew recognised his powers as governor could not resolve the real core issue that had persisted since 1763 and made all governance since unworkable. He implored the Privy Council to implore the King for a resolution to this 25-year impasse. Matthew feared further chaos given the history between ethnic groups in Grenada, especially following the French Interregnum and the growth of renewed ethnic hostility. He argued that unless the key part in the King's Instructions (that concerned the Test Act) was revoked, then Grenada's tranquillity would not be preserved. He reiterated British residents' arguments that Grenada's law had to reflect conformity with the British Constitution.

³⁹⁵ London, PRO, CO101/26, Petition of His Majesty's Most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Council and Assembly of the Island of Grenada and Grenadines and Dependencies, 7 April 1785

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

Ethnic religious relations stood as they were in the 1770s. For British residents as freemen of the colony, their British nationality and subjects to His Majesty King George III represented through his government and ministers, there could be no amendment, violation, impairment, or abridgement to the Constitution without the consent of the freemen of the colony. Thus in no civilised society could a man divest himself of his native allegiance, therefore no foreign subject could have or ought to have the right to vote in any election.³⁹⁷

Their views gained support when some Catholics refused Matthew's 'flexible' compromise to surrender keys; many rather abandoned the buildings, taking all the utensils and ornaments with them, and their churches were conducted in priests' dwellings, private dwellings, or churchyards; in Grenville.³⁹⁸ Protestants accused them of disrespect, ingratitude, and bigotry towards the established religion and an assumption an air of superiority and independence.

Matthew's departure as governor, owing to ill health, was another strong indicator of the tremendous pressures placed on governors owing to ethnic and religious entrenchment. William Lucas replaced him on a temporary basis as President. Lucas was in the position of ultimate responsibility, given his past anti-Catholic sentiments. An insightful admission was his fear of the worst consequences upon knowledge the

³⁹⁷ London, PRO, CO101/26, President William Lucas - Letter to Sydney, 14 February 1785

³⁹⁸ London, PRO, CO101/26, Petition of His Majesty's Most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Council and Assembly of the Island of Grenada and Grenadines and Dependencies, 7 April 1785

Catholic Subjects had several meetings about their position and demanded a confrontation with him.³⁹⁹

Post-Interregnum opposition to French among British residents settled on three factors. First, French military action and behaviour during the four years consolidated a united opinion for those Protestants who remained resident and those who returned. Second, Alexander Winniett, and other staunch 'liberal' Protestants, were resident in the island during occupation must have suffered severe castigation from their ethnic group for their support of Catholics and destroyed any support they held towards Adopted subjects. Third, French whites and Free Coloureds' non-cooperation in the island's defence created tensions between these groups intensified to the point according to one claim:

The French have very few advocates among the Natural Subjects and those of little comparative weight or influence in the general scale...the indiscretion of many, and the bad conduct of some French inhabitants ...were severely felt by many, and gave great umbrage to most of the British Subjects.⁴⁰⁰

The legislature came under total British control after 2 decades of unrest but evidence remained of continued levels of cross ethnic communication. Some Protestants, viewed as among the most unpopular men, sparked ethnic tensions emulated strategies from the past to get into the legislature, namely they solicited French residents for their votes and made speculative promises of redress, essentially

³⁹⁹ London, PRO, CO101/26, Lucas - Letter to Sydney, 2 March 1786

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

‘forcing’ themselves into the House. The French residents resumed their claims (with more emphasis in the knowledge of their critical importance. Their list of grievances and wants reveal an important insight into their feelings and the state of ethnic relations in Grenada at this period. Their grievances centred on:

- The seizure of their churches;
- The severity of the militia and other laws – which suggests British frustrations could be verbal and physical on a frequent basis;
- The burden of taxes – their anger of taxation without general representation in particular given the severe economic conditions throughout the island;
- Withheld privileges – the inherent contradictory nature of plantation society, i.e., they were expected to play their full part in society yet excluded and/or restricted in every sector.⁴⁰¹

French involvement within any state structures were viewed with great suspicion, due to regular migration throughout the Caribbean Isles, and it was seen to encourage the retention of religion, language, attitudes and beliefs. Just as free society tried to impose similar restrictions on the enslaved African population for precisely the same reasons, the tradition and continuance of another ethnic culture retained their identity and habits instead of submitting to a British way of life: “Whenever it suits their convenience, thoroughly acquainted with the situation of ours, and ready to give information to its enemies when required.”⁴⁰²

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

Lucas died 9 October 1787.⁴⁰³ Lucas was one of the most senior (in experience and status) residents in the island; since British occupation. He was one of the most prominent and wealthy residents, a plantation owner, a lawyer, a senior Council member, the island's Chief Justice and finally President. The death of Lucas was significant; despite his status and party loyalty (He maintained his belief in the immovability of the Test) but unlike many in his party did not oppose the Catholics with such ferocity. His vast experience and skills made him the most able deputy governor at that time.

It was Lucas who exposed to Secretary Lord Sydney the state of party politics particularly the role of Governor Melville. At the zenith of ethnic conflict in the legislature over the legality of the Test Question he remained in Council while fellow Protestants councillors walked out in protest – though as argued it may have been a strategy to keep his party informed of council business and/or greater powers through the exclusion of others. He cast his vote twice against the Protestant dissenters return to the Council. Another indicator was, in comparison to his peers, for over 20 years as resident Chief Justice and member of both houses of legislature he featured relatively little and negatively in governors' reports.⁴⁰⁴

The religious sequestration of lands was also built on stereotypes of the French's unreliability in financial and agricultural management. Sir Francis Laurent's treatment demonstrated that foreign nationals' status, in particular French, who remained on the Grenada after the Interregnum received far less sympathy

⁴⁰³ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267/RH/4/64/7/1, Letter Book I, Ninian Home. - letter to Robert Udny, 27 October 1787

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

They recognised their views could appear obstructive, especially to some in a Britain in an embrace of gradual transmogrification of social enlightenment, but insisted, “Considering what subjects (Free Coloureds) they are, many of them deserters who have intermarried with capitulants.” [sic]⁴⁰⁵

French residents were regarded far lower among free society but significant tensions with them French created another level of social/ethnic stigma to the multi-layered strata. Those who had relations with French capitulants [sic] were held in disgust. This meant natives of main land France and other areas were placed higher in order. This mirrored the status of mainland British whites above the ‘bastardised’ Creoles.

The Grenville church incident suggested a possible avenue of resolution for investigation but the intensity of strained relations obscured this. The French residents, like the British after the Interregnum, appear to have hardened their resolve to remain and publicly demonstrate their ethnic differences and rights whatever the policy. Renunciation would not lead to French flight, integration or quiet acquiescence, rather the opposite.

Catholics appeared to reject the pre-Interregnum passive strategy of flight, rather the migrant group who agitated for political represented appeared to have changed strategy and/or supplanted by a new radical migrant group who appeared to Grenada to confront the British administration. They appeared to advocate separation rather than past humiliation and fruitless goals of integration after one quarter of a century of British rule. It can be argued that it was a manifestation of the growth of social

⁴⁰⁵ London, PRO, CO101/27, Alexander Symson - Petition, 11 January 1787

tension in their home country that would lead to the storming of the Bastille and the culmination of the French Revolution a mere two years later. The generation in Grenada and other Caribbean islands suffered these same tensions created by inequalities and those in power ignored their voices.

Working on the fortifications, though of potential high risk, served as an inadvertent method to monitor and temper slave behaviour as a sample of the enslaved population. The Corps of Loyal Black Rangers, set up to support insufficient defences, became an essential part of free society's security. Owing to this, the Governor was keen to stress their content with their lot and goodwill despite the arduous conditions.⁴⁰⁶ This new organisation and implicit belief in their loyalty was put to test with the news that the abolitionists in Britain had succeeded in getting to lay the abolition debate before Parliament. Matthew had to control its dissemination and the potential impact on the enslaved Africans. He first summoned the printer of 'The Gazette' (the island newspaper) and advised notable precaution about daily news insertions that could cause alarm. Matthew pressurised the printer not to disclose the governor's involvement in any manipulation but only prevailed on him strenuously to accede. The second part of his strategy was to summon 10 regular guards and informed them what he had officially told others in conversation.⁴⁰⁷

Matthew's strategy demonstrated how governors could use the powers of propaganda as a tool and certainly as an editor of reality. It showed how the power of information could be manipulated. Local papers were used to disseminate 'official'

⁴⁰⁶ London, PRO, CO101/, Matthew 10 February 1778

⁴⁰⁷ London, PRO, CO101/28, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 2 April 1788

written word to the free world. The troops served to spread Matthew's instructions orally throughout the ranks, especially given the confidential nature. Any negative reports would be minimal to reduce panic within free society or leakage to excite the enslaved population. This strategy clearly utilised informal slave communication viz. they were parties to news through constant contact with owners / planters' and other whites' conversations; interactions with troops at forts constructions; a small proportion of slaves may have gleaned news through their ability to read; others would gain news from conversations with whites (more so for those under the influence of alcohol). This further shows the existence of transfer of information (intentional and voluntary) between different ethnic groups. Matthew also impressed upon Lord Sidney the huge advances that had been taken in Grenada (no doubt in preparation for any rebuttal of Abolitionists' arguments).

Matthew's problems in Grenada demonstrate the enormous pressures with which governors had to contend: ethnic rivalry and sectarian passions; loyalty and collusion; external invasion threats and internal threat of Maroons and slave insurrection; the growing momentum of organised, conscientious objection to slavery within Britain; slaves' flights overseas and obdurate Spanish Governors. More serious was continual absenteeism (see table 15) as bills could only be passed if both houses within the Legislature co-operated and were capable of assembling quorate houses.

Catholics were subject to laws and paid taxes, yet denied any representation in public office even though Protestants ignored government orders and the Monarch's instructions for their limited inclusion. This suggests even the British government

disapproved of how Catholics were being marginalized. Matthew claimed in 1789 there was not a single qualified person willing or for a mandamus in Grenada. A Mr. Carew was the only volunteer but he lived 12 miles away and the terrain was difficult. This suggested fear of reprisals or the pressures to attend to estates.⁴⁰⁸

The British government did not approve of the impasse; though some suffered genuine illness owing to their tropical sojourn, British ministers were apprehensive of French residents' reactions owing to ethnic tensions in the island which had been stoked once again question of Catholic representation and toward regular non quorate Councils.

Table 17

State of the Grenada Legislature (Council)⁴⁰⁹

Name of Official	Status for Duty
James Campbell	Leave for few months to Tobago – possesses considerable property
Robert Johnson	In Scotland – never sat since Restitution
Ninian Home	Leave of Absence – private affairs since June 1788, England

⁴⁰⁸ London, PRO, CO101/29, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 29 June 1789

⁴⁰⁹ London, PRO, CO101/28, Matthew – Letter to Sydney, 6 February 1789

William Niccolls	Leave of Absence – private affairs since June 1788, England
Samuel Sandbach	Poor health - since June 1788, England
William Smith	Gout – possibly for months unable to attend
Messrs. Williams	All available to attend (Council just quorate)
Bryan	– NB. 2 live very considerable distances and
Scott	except for business of great importance
McFarlane	‘would be severe’ in crop time to call from
Gilpin	estates.

British residents matched French intransigence and launched a resolution not to vote for any candidate who would take not the Test. The declaration was published in the local gazette to inform any who could not sign in time which demonstrated the precipitous or secretive nature of the policy. They demanded all candidates undertake a pledge in a formal solemn manner to vote on every occasion and every motion that would restore the Natural Subjects back to their rightful status that several Assembly resolutions had deprived them their rights.⁴¹⁰ Their actions were provocative and would have only served to alienate the French even further from society. The declaration could not be enforced in practice given the inability to control immigration.

⁴¹⁰ London, PRO, CO101/ 30, Declaration. of Freeholders, 9 February 1790

Seven Council members were still registered as officially absent by 1790 (compare Table 15) only five as two members had no mandamus. One Councillor Ninian Home was absent since mid-June 1788 with business affairs in Britain.⁴¹¹ Ministers in Britain were concerned by the colonial legislature, the Privy Council sat to discuss the Declaration and its serious implications. The loss of the North American Colonies and other important colonies under the Treaty of Paris demonstrated the caution Britain applied to colonial threats. British minister Wyndham warned Matthew to take all steps to quell the incessant divisions; including informing them their claim was before the highest body.⁴¹²

An incident for an election for a vacant seat of the United Parishes of St. George and St. John (former representative Alexander Symson) was indicative of such tensions. A Monsieur Jacques Preudhomme, who claimed he was a Natural-Born Subject and a Protestant, won the seat by 5 votes and at the close poll he allegedly stated his intention to take the necessary oaths of office and subscribe to the Test, therefore was duly elected. Preudhomme positively refused, however, to subscribe to the Test upon taking office. This was against the constitution of 1786 that barred Catholics from sitting and voting in the House. The Assembly ruled that Preudhomme was ineligible.⁴¹³ The social dynamic and political situation was the same as Grenada after capitulation in 1763.

⁴¹¹ London, PRO, CO101/30, List of Council, 10 April 1790

⁴¹² London, PRO, CO101/30, Grenville – Letter to Matthew, 22 May 1790

⁴¹³ London, PRO, CO101/ 30, Journals of the Houses of Assembly (Petition by Joseph Hamer: Writ for Vacant Seat of St. George & St. John 25 March 1789), 24 April 1789

Denial of French representation at this juncture coincided with European events socio-political events: In Paris, France, the Bastille Prison was stormed by the masses on 13 July 1789; the first general uprising to the French Revolution. It created alarming slave tensions; in French islands such as in Martinique a slave insurrection resulted in “No less than 7 or 8 thousand of them in arms by the last accounts.”⁴¹⁴ Spain, France’s ally, issued a declaration that all escaped slaves who landed on Trinidad would be set free.⁴¹⁵ British residents recognised the impact of poor relations with French residents therefore it changed the balance of power within Grenada. Free society alliance was destroyed and sole security relied on trusted slaves. European nations validated these declarations so the impact on the ‘contented’ enslaved masses alarmed free society as it, “got here like wild fire.”⁴¹⁶

British minister Grenville suggested, in a secret communication, an extension of the Corps of Free Blacks and Coloureds. The Corps were to receive soldiers’ pay, rations, and clothes. British government intervention to establish an emergency reserve indicated the critical status of the threat.⁴¹⁷

Recruitment in Grenada since 1763 for French whites and Free Coloureds shared historical qualities: fractious with low success. Their response to Grenville’s plan confirmed this pattern; a very poor voluntary response demonstrated the level of animosity and marginalisation. Grenville was forced to revoke those who had been

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ London, PRO, CO101/30, Grenville – Letter to Matthew, 23 October 1790

⁴¹⁶ London, PRO, CO101/ 30, James Campbell - Letter, 13 September 1789

⁴¹⁷ London, PRO, CO101/31, Grenville “Secret Letter,” 6 October 1790

recruited due to only 9 conditional recruits. Recruitment proved difficult for African troops also, owing to multiple demands for their services.⁴¹⁸

William Wilberforce's proposed bill to stop African importation into the British colonies that was defeated in Parliament; Whites' feared how the enslaved population would react to news of Parliament's defeat showed Grenada free society knew the enslaved population was conscious of island politics and international affairs that affected them. It was in slave owners' interests, to pay the utmost attention to their slaves' welfare.⁴¹⁹ The main reason was the introduction of slave guardians under past slave acts which encouraged compassionate treatment of African slaves.

A new governor Samuel Williams inherited the unresolved religious issue and certain residents confronted him in heated exchanges or what they clearly viewed, and Williams acknowledged, was a 'contest' that had to be stopped at its core. They sought to test his malleability toward planters' interests. Williams felt unsupported by his 'natural supporters' and argued they should count themselves blessed compared to their countrymen on other islands, "ample as their reasons are to rejoice and be grateful, yet they pretend to be ill-used."⁴²⁰

One resident who refused to pay his quota of taxes had his possessions seized and his trial referred to the King's Bench. The planters responded to this challenge and a number of them formed a coalition firmly resolved against paying their tax quotas.

⁴¹⁸ London, PRO, CO101/31, Matthew – Letter to Grenville, 11 December 1790

⁴¹⁹ London, PRO, CO101/31, Grenville – Letter to Matthew, 21 April 1791

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

This demonstrated how governors in plantation society had to solve an inherent paradox: more security and power demanded greater white immigration, but a large white population increased pressures, influence, and opposition to many governors' duties. The importance of increased whites over their potential dangers to his office forced Williams to pass further acts in desperation ⁴²¹

The role of governor appeared, in this case and throughout the period, to be at times a merciless, unsupported, powerless, and unpopular role. An objective of this paper is to examine why men sought the position. An examination of the role of a governor through Ninian Home can provide a detailed insight. Home is an ideal choice because he was one of the longest-serving British residents on Grenada, a firm Protestant, a Scot and involved in inter-ethnic and ethnic disputes since capitulation. Home's residence on Grenada exemplified the lives of white planter class and provided reasons why a person became a governor, and how their backgrounds and characters contributed to their success or failure to manage this high office.

Home was a senior resident, owner of large plantations, and from a high social status group. This created tensions with many poor whites in particular those on his estates. Home criticised the low standard of work and whites' scruples. He blamed them for poor crop yields on his estates and neglect to the extent he feared Waltham would be given up. ⁴²²

⁴²¹ London, PRO, CO103/9, Act to Encourage White Servants, 23 December 1790, see also CO103/9, Act to Encourage Importation of White Servants, 7 July 1790

⁴²² Edinburgh: NAS, GD267/32/6, Letter to Ninian Jaffray, 4 June 1791

Home finances were secure to live a comfortable life while resident in Grenada until he succumbed to the ostentatious planter lifestyle and attached rivalries and competition to maintain it. His obstinacy and refusal to return to Scotland left his brother exasperated by his behaviour. “I saw plainly it would be difficult to prevail upon him to come home while he flattered himself with the hopes of procuring some publick employment.” [sic] ⁴²³

Home’s financial affairs attracted his need for public office. It reflected economic difficulties other planters suffered in latter part of the 1770s and early 1780s despite, his social status. As many planters on Grenada he was under continual demands for successful crop yields but Home’s strenuous pursuit of wealth and the distractions of political and ethnic dominance contributed to self-inflicted egotistic wounds. He was aware of his position but his pride refused to respond despite regular correspondence from his brother. ⁴²⁴

He followed the plantation model for requisite loans to invest and build his estates. Home’s stature as an aristocrat and a principal resident in the island, may have provided extra trust to access to further sources of credit but merchants’ principal interests were their investments so he experienced the same rigorous terms. Home’s Waltham Estate provided an example of the complexity and restrictions of these financial arrangements and costs.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/1/3. George Home - Letter to Patrick Home, 29 June 1781

The initial loan was provided by one of the principal creditors in Grenada, merchants Simon & Hankey, for £17,000 to make sugar. Dutch merchant John Osy Esq. from Rotterdam set further conditions the detailed terms indicate the financial trepidations of merchants determined to maximise income and more important recoup any losses.

The valuation of the estate (based on 1775 rates) = £43,819 Sterling (£72,302 Cy) Homes had to prove his other estate at Paxton Berwickshire belonged to him and charged with only £81,000 and prove it was not in trust to anyone.

Second he had to consent to give a deed to require him to give all produce from this estate to an agent (Peter Simon & John Hankey) to sell for him minus charges; the remainder was to be kept by the agent to 'discharge' the interest and instalments as they became due – then and only then – any interest remaining was for the benefit of Home.

The second stipulated the loan had to be repaid in 3 instalments in Dutch Guilders (G): G60, 000 on 1st August 1776, G60, 000 on 1st October 1776 and G67, 000 on 1st November 1776; i.e. the total business (G187, 000) to be settled by December.⁴²⁵

The last condition was a lease signed 31/10/1776 and the Deed of Appointment between Home and Simon & Hankey and John Osy & Son signed on 5/11/1776. The financial agreement included interest @ 5% = £850 p.a. it was also secured on future produce and repayments due in November; payments commenced November 1777 to conclude November 1784. The mortgage dated from 1/11/1776 of 8 payments of G9,

⁴²⁵ Edinburgh, NAS GD267/5/15, Simons & Hankey, Letter to Home, 23 July 1776

350.⁴²⁶ The additional principal interest on the mortgage meant the Final repayments accrued G230, 550 (see table 16) as part of the agreed financial plan.

The mortgage was a vital source to extend Home's lifestyle and help his estates viability i.e., estates crop payments and production.⁴²⁷ The unpredictable vagrancies created by tropical climate crops could destroy the majority of Grenada's harvest, such as the 1787 crop. Home experienced his worst crop season as the crops were very late and the previous year was torrid.⁴²⁸ Uncontrolled factors added to his debts and eventual inability to meet the repayment terms. This forced Home's appreciation of the full implications and folly of his financial dealings; entrapped, like many, through potential cycle of debts Home planned to quit Grenada⁴²⁹

Home's irresponsibility was supported by his shock decision to sell the family home Paxton (Berwick-Upon-Tweed). He claimed the health of his wife and the advice of his closest friend, confidante and Grenada resident Alexander Campbell's wish for him to sell it persuaded his actions⁴³⁰

Home demonstrated two flaws of character: lack of judgement and dependency on his relationship with Campbell. He did not appear to possess long-term judgement towards situations that required considered planning and action that contributed to his financial crises. Mrs. Home, like many women of the period, would not have possessed legal control of conjugal financial affairs but shared the pressures of their

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Edinburgh, NAS GD267/5/15, Simons & Hankey, Letter to Home, 23 July 1776

⁴²⁸ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/RH/4/64/7/1 Letter Book 1, Letter to James Baille, 6 June 1787

⁴²⁹ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, (N. Home 3 May 1787).

⁴³⁰ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267Home G. Home - Letter to Patrick Home, 23/7/76) (N. Home 3 May 1787).

financial state. Her relationship with her husband was criticised by George Home (Ninian's brother), which indicated she held considerable influence beyond what George felt was the bounds of propriety. He berated her response to Ninian's new financial idea and accused her reactions to his proposal as giving,

...wings to her [Mrs. Homes] imagination, she speaks of it already sold, the money paid, their difficulties conquered, the services of her favourite Mrs. Hughes secured, and then they have nothing to do but make a figure and be happy.⁴³¹

This tension with Susan Home (Ninian's wife) showed they saw her as a negative effect that encouraged him to ruin with short-term false solutions. It reflected of several writers' disapproving views of white women in the Tropics (see chapter Two). It suggests to George she appeared frivolous towards financial discipline and expressing similar behaviour. Susan Home, as one of the very few white women residents, in Grenada would have held extra attention; her excited expectation and unsuppressed joy through her letters reinforced this argument of her perception of their financial situation and the social isolation she endured. Mrs. Hughes must have been her head domestic in some capacity and her enthusiasm in her retention suggested she had become a social confidante – essential for the isolated life for white women in the Tropics.⁴³²

⁴³¹ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267/3/6, George Home - Letter to Patrick Home, 27 January 1787

⁴³² Edinburgh: NAS, GD267/3/6, George Home - Letter to Patrick Home, 27 January 1787

Table 18

Ninian Home Mortgage⁴³³

Annual due payment date	Sums due (£Stg.)
1 November 1785	2850
1 November 1786	2750
1 November 1787	2650
1 November 1788	2550
1 November 1789	2450
1 November 1790	2622'14'6
1 November 1791	2509'1'10
1 November 1792	2577'5'5
Total sum to be repaid:	£20,959'1'9 Sterling

⁴³³ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, N. Home 3 May 1787

George castigated Ninian Home's casual forecast that displayed such irresponsibility, "he has sacrificed every future of prospect of future enjoyment and with it his health, by seeking relief where it is not to be found."⁴³⁴

Home's frivolous consumption of scarce income added to his serious financial situation to the extent he was £5000 in debt to a James Cockburn which he took out to cover another debt to a Mr. James Smith⁴³⁵ George intervened to secure another loan for Ninian, who suffered a deletion of ready money, to cover the vital harvest period.⁴³⁶

Home sought an urgent position of power within Grenada post-Interregnum. The posts he sought were the most prestigious with attractive salaries, i.e., Governor, Chief Justice or Chancellor (collector of taxes).⁴³⁷ Chief Justice was held by William Lucas so he was offered a position as Assistant Judge, however this role was non-salaried, only offered exemptions from jury service in Grenada (common practice throughout the Caribbean for many official assistant posts) and guaranteed no fees/income in return for exemption from jury service.⁴³⁸ The role already had direct competition from several other principle residents for it.⁴³⁹ Home wanted a regular salary sufficient to cover the costs of his lifestyle⁴⁴⁰ His principal direct goal was not status but salary. Grenada residents compared their status through the value of their

⁴³⁴ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, G Home 20 January 1787

⁴³⁵ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, G Home 20 January 1787

⁴³⁶ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, G Home 18 May 1786

⁴³⁷ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/3/11, George Home – Letter to Patrick Home, 8 July 1784

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Letter to Patrick Home." GD267/3/11/10,. Edinburgh: NAS, 5 July 1784

⁴⁴⁰ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, George Home 3 August 1787

plantations, offices of public employment and social ostentation. The Grenada governor salary (1794 – 1796) was some £1364, which was second to only the governor of Barbados, i.e., £2000.

Home admitted that he felt he felt little hope to succeed as governor, yet given his driven and petulant character it suggested resignation or evidence of his undisciplined temperament. He preferred an opulent lifestyle rather than the priority of his current finances; he was candid in his admission that if he were to succeed he did not, “expect to save much, or perhaps anything of what I got I should every part of my income clear, which would soon make me very easy.”⁴⁴¹

Whether Home had direct knowledge of the realities of government service is unclear, but experience of previous government officials demonstrated salary payments were a realistic hazard. The Attorney-General Bridgewater’s treatment (see Chapter Two) demonstrated that even status of government service did not guarantee regular salaries as many appointments were favours based on the system patronage and lobbying. Many official salaries for lesser posts were low or offered as non-salaried. Some public officials e.g., some governors and high status roles received handsome remuneration most officials, particularly governors, tended to supplement their salaries by appropriating, legitimate but unpopular, emoluments to inordinate levels dependent to a large extent on their status, role and nature of duties. These created tensions as demonstrated by the salary of Chief Justice Lucas, it equated to £600 per annum; however, he also collected casual fees dependent on

⁴⁴¹ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267/RH/4/64/7/1 Letter Book I, Home - Letter to Alexander Douglas, 30 May 1787

court business. Lucas was compelled under a government enquiry to reveal his emoluments which totalled some £1500, less 5% deduction to the colony secretary for receiving them, which equated to well over two times his official salary.⁴⁴² Many colonial residents objected to payment of salaries if they had to bear the burden of payment. Their resentment was vociferous if the British government made the appointment and appointed judges following the regular practice of absenteeism for this incurred further costs to replace each with inexperienced judges to ensure legal business could continue.⁴⁴³

In contrast Winniett, the assistant justice in the Court of Common Pleas, received variable emoluments only totalling £70 per annum. The differences in payments reflect the seniority of their positions, level of appointment (Chief Justices appointed by the Crown, assistant justices by governors) and skills. Winniett's disclosure of his earnings demonstrated evidence in income differentials must have fed internal tensions and frustrations also ethnic frustrations (ineligible by law to fill posts). Lucas, not content with his earnings accrued by all his court fees as Chief Justice, still appropriated all profits from all other court business which amounted to a considerable sum.⁴⁴⁴ A Grenada governor combined many powerful roles and functions were chancellor, ordinary and vice-admiral and presided solely in Chancery and Ordinary. His salary was around £3200 cy (in local currency was estimated to be 65% less in value than £ Sterling). A governor could supplement his

⁴⁴² London, PRO, CO101/18, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 23 December 1773, see also London, PRO, CO101/18, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 14 September 1773

⁴⁴³ Anthony Stokes, , *A View of the Constitution of the British Colonies in North America and the West Indies 1783*, (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, repr.1969), pp. 264-65

⁴⁴⁴ London, PRO, CO101/18, Leyborne – Report to Dartmouth, 22 September 1773

salary using or taking a variety of emoluments, i.e., poll tax on slaves. A governor's salary could continue up to one year of absence.⁴⁴⁵

Another aspect and attraction to the governor role was its status, which explains why many governors were of previous wealthy or landed backgrounds. It was lucrative, but inefficiency in British government administration and expenditure caused Governor Macartney to delve into his own personal income on several occasions to advance money during the intervening months where there was no treasury revenue. When the Treasury received monies, Macartney faced personal struggles to beg the Treasury for his bills to be honoured and credited to his account. He was able to claim literally and frustrated that he had done everything in his power to try to raise the colony from a sense of its danger from any impending war with France.⁴⁴⁶

A further example was the Crown appointed Solicitor-General Mr. Baker back in 1773. Baker continued his public office but never received any payment of salary even though the relevant ministry was notified persistently. Macartney wrote a letter of recommendation for him to deliver to the Treasury when he returned to Britain.⁴⁴⁷ Governor Melville experienced Baker's lack of income and made incessant pleas for salary, likewise Governor Fitzmaurice complained of delays in salary payments. Home must have felt intense disappointment but feigned indifference at this failure and claimed he was happy he did not gain the post as it would have only have committed his presence in the Caribbean for more years and claimed his financial situation more than "tolerably economical." These volunteered reflections were

⁴⁴⁵ Bryan Edwards, *The History Civil and Commercial of the British West Indies*, 5 vols., (London: T. Miller & Co., 1818) 1, p.388

⁴⁴⁶ London, PRO, CO101/21, Macartney – Letter to Germain, 31 May 1778

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

designed to pre-empt any family arguments and deflect his brothers continued attempts to break his obstinacy and convince him to return from the Caribbean.⁴⁴⁸

Home's resolve for the governorship intensified again with Governor Matthews's absence, a potential position was available on the island of Dominica, but Home preferred the Grenada position particularly as the current incumbent in Dominica wanted Grenada or a vacancy in Jamaica.⁴⁴⁹ Home employed his uncle Alexander Douglas to sound out his prospects of success.

The death of a senior planter Patrick Maxwell obliged Home's cousin Patrick Home to apply for this desirable vacant post on his behalf; Home displayed a notably sanguine attitude towards his chances of success. His attitude suggested a sense of frustration of no support therefore he was cynical about his chances to avoid disappointment.⁴⁵⁰ His fears were confirmed when the post was not awarded to him⁴⁵¹

Home appeared as an obsessive individual: "a dogged character, tiresome, vain, insecure, and extravagantly irresponsible and spoilt and at times petulant individual who focussed on his agenda irrespective of other issues."⁴⁵² His family actively pursued his desired post, only to allay his persistent demands and claims for attention. His brothers suffered from repeated pressures by his incessant pleas for

⁴⁴⁸ P. Home 24/5/87

⁴⁴⁹ Letter to Patrick Home." GD267/1/2. Edinburgh: NAS, 15 Aug. 1786

⁴⁵⁰ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, N..Home 19 July 1789

⁴⁵¹ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, N. Home, 16 August 1789

⁴⁵² Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/1/12/12, George Home - Letter to Patrick Home., 16 September 1784

help and demands for reports on the progress of his applications. They despaired of Home's new ambitions rather than return to Britain.⁴⁵³

George and Patrick demonstrated their influential links and social connections that enabled access to lobby senior levels of government. They shared strong ethnic links through nationality (Scotland), religion (Protestant) and social status (wealthy land owners and/or aristocracy). British Minister Dundas, a Scotchman and family associate, discussed Home's application for vacant Caribbean governor positions over dinner with British Prime Minister Pitt on behalf of George and Patrick. Pitt informed these were reserved for the 'American Sufferers' but indicated he could be *prevailed upon for favours for a particular friend of Dundas*' whom he really wanted to serve and would *press Home's case* if it became available.⁴⁵⁴

Dundas revealed the obstacle was Minister Lord Sydney. Another difficulty was active lobbying by others who sought positions.⁴⁵⁵ Homes' brothers, exasperated by his attitude, asked Dundas to communicate openly with Home in candid terms, as his advice would carry obvious and independent weight, of the high improbability of receiving public office, in order to encourage him to stop flattering himself with dreams of public office and return home.⁴⁵⁶ Dundas concurred with their assessment of Home: "He [Home] was under a necessity of giving up points that he was very anxious to convey."⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴⁴⁵⁴ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/1/6, George Home – Patrick Home, 27 November 1786

⁴⁵⁵ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/1/12/10, George Home - Letter to Patrick Home, 16 September 1787

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

Home retained his stubborn optimism, much to George's anger who vowed to speak candidly with Ninian on the matter; Ninian appeared to appreciate the enormity of his position as evidenced by the change of content in his letters (now all details concerned with the matter were judiciously expunged),⁴⁵⁸ and he returned to Britain.

Ninian Home was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, though absent since 1788.

Home's appointment in itself did not create sudden violent revulsion within the French community. They knew him and his agitating party but he was not the prime hated figure at the time among all ethnic groups; an argument set out (see chap. 4) was Home was a relatively attentive planter towards his slaves. Deterioration in relations between Free Coloureds and Home was created through his active volume of bills against French migrants. But his actions were not created from personal religious zeal but from political directives and necessary obligation from British government.

Home was indebted to Dundas for his position; Dundas witnessed the disintegration of the social structure of France as the French Revolution erupted fully in 1791.

Dundas issued two immediate orders for Home. The first was to conduct the expedient dissolution of the newly elected but highly fractious Assembly, owing to the tempers and dispositions of certain individuals. Dundas ruled it was unrepresentative and destroyed any energy which could be diverted to repairing ethnic and cultural harmony. He gave more powers to the Council, which he argued

⁴⁵⁸ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/3/6, George Home - Letter to Patrick Home, 21 January 1787

was essential to the prosperity of the island.⁴⁵⁹ The dissolved Assembly left many migrants, including British whites, upset by removal of representation.

Second, Dundas urged Home to use every means in his power to guard against the admission of and the speedy removal of all such strangers of dangerous and suspicious character. Dundas ordered Home to pass bills to control immigration, viz. imports of African slaves from French or former French territories, because of their link to French Revolution ideology, were expressly prohibited; French whites and Free Coloureds from other islands were allowed to land only on the approval of the Governor or Commander-in-Chief provided they presented themselves to him immediately on arrival and obtained his permission in writing. Ethnic relations were exacerbated by rumours of a French invasion led to biased pursuits and harassment of Free Coloureds which only served to infuriate them even alienated the uncommitted.⁴⁶⁰

Home, considered the numbers of Free Coloureds were too high in the island and used all available means within his power to dismiss all he suspected. His central fear was consequential damage of any ethnic alliance: “I dread the slaves and coloured people poisoning the minds of other slaves.”⁴⁶¹

Immigration controls and legislation were driven by fears for a scarcity of provisions, subsequent rises in demands and prices but the key reason was the threat

⁴⁵⁹ London, PRO, CO101/ , Dundas - Letter to Ninian Home, 5 October. 1792.

⁴⁶⁰ London, PRO, CO103/9, *Act Punish Rogues and Vagabonds*, 17 April 1793 see also Act no. 73, *An Act for Punishing Vagabonds and Idle and Disorderly Persons; and for Declaring who shall be Deemed Such*, 3 June 1794

⁴⁶¹ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267/RH/4/6/4/7/2, Letter Book II, George Home - Letter to Alexander Campbell, 21 July 1793.

of superior numerical numbers and Free Coloureds' allegiance, many of whom were judged not, "well-attached to the English as gratitude ought to make them."⁴⁶²

Home accused Free Coloureds as, "evil-minded and ill-disposed who publicly avow principles incompatible with allegiance due to us."⁴⁶³ Their numbers were a potential security risk so they had to be deported from the country.⁴⁶⁴ One of his immediate measures was a proclamation on 29/1/1793 that set a deadline for 15/2/1793 for all foreigners to depart unless licensed for an extension to Home; any appeals had to be made by 10/2/1793. This policy excluded any Free People of Colour from entering the standard deadline.

Home had a personal incentive: as one of the senior and largest planters on the island, he had personal experience since 1763 the island's ethnic and resultant political and social tensions. He was present at the humiliating surrender of the island in 1779 and suffered, as many other British, from having his lands sequestered during the French Interregnum. His enforced absence in Britain further prejudices were formed through events of social upheaval and destruction in Scotland, titled 'the Paris of Scotland' and a 'hotbed of sedition,'⁴⁶⁵ where revolutionary societies exerted such dangerous social reactions that tradesmen and working classes became so insolent their masters dared not argue with them.⁴⁶⁶ In

⁴⁶² London, PRO, CO101/?, Governor Williams - Letter to Secretary of State Henry Dundas, 28 December 1792

⁴⁶³ London: PRO, CO101/33, Proclamation by Lieutenant Governor Home, 23 March 1793

⁴⁶⁴ CO101/33, Home - to Dundas Act No.33, 11 March 1793

⁴⁶⁵ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/1/16, George Home - Letter to Patrick Home, 3 December 1792

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

Berwickshire and Paxton this insecurity was manifest in the, “violence and ill humour in the faces of almost everyone you meet on the road.”⁴⁶⁷

Decades of ethnic tensions in Grenada resulted in destruction—First, the structure of enforced ethnic relations, exclusive social status, and ethnic groups within plantation society; and second, the alliance of free society power, i.e., what maintained its control. Groups of Free Coloureds and enslaved Africans flagrantly associated in open public and were accused of holding regular open assemblies and riotous meetings in St. George's at "late and unseasonable hours" of the night. This demonstrated a marked increase in open communication and indicated a common cause / interest united these ethnic groups. They were in blatant defiance of the Acts regarding slave movements and behaviour. Free Coloureds frequently held dances in St. George's, these became meeting points of cultural celebration, and debates on revolutionary ideas and action. Years in advance of Fédon's great slave insurrection Inter-ethnic relations and debate over Grenada's future existed. Their conduct rose suspicions and an Act was passed to nullify this threat.⁴⁶⁸

Under Governor Matthew legislation compelled all categories of free persons, resident or future residents, to be registered.⁴⁶⁹ It recognised the flaws of earlier Acts to control the Free Coloured population. Many migrants were seen to masquerade as free persons without legally settled proofs. Others were accused of illegal residence, those who had been ordered to leave the island after the French Interregnum, still

⁴⁶⁷ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/12/13, George Home - Letter to Ninian Home, 18 July 1792

⁴⁶⁸ London, PRO, CO103/9, No. 53, Policing Drinking / Sale of to Slaves”, 1 May 1789

⁴⁶⁹ Smith, Act no. 51, *An Act to Require all Free Mestives, Mulattoes, Cabres, Negroes and all other Coloured Free Persons Residing in, or who may Hereafter Arrive in These Islands, to Register Their Names, for the Purposes Therein Mentioned*, 28 December 1786

remained and many Free Coloureds purchased large estates and/or entered into large loan contracts.

The Act stipulated French freeholders and Free Coloureds present themselves at the Secretary's Office by a deadline within 90 days of its the publication. It was designed to create personal humiliation under subjection to public scrutiny. The law demanded their names, places of abode, ages, sex, colour, nature of claims to freedom and similar information for their children or any charges under their care, and produce vouchers of proof of their freedom. Lists would be prepared from this information for Council scrutiny. To avoid any claims of ignorance, the Act was read in public in French and in English languages, in every place of worship, every Sunday, for two successive months. Failure or neglect to supply evidence of freedom or refusal to furnish such information resulted in a fine of 16s/ 6d with a further fine of 8s / 3d full each month for each delay.

Loyal Free Coloureds treatment after the Interregnum demonstrated they would not receive special treatment and were not exempt from migration legislation Free Coloureds appealed to the whites to recognise their humanity and loyalty, which revealed the personal and social implications of the Act. Their petition exposed the inherent contradictions of their state within plantation society,

We who are for the wise purposes of God are distinguished by our outward complexion, yet possessing the internal feelings which move the heart of all who glory in the name of being Christians.⁴⁷⁰

The same logical basis which these Free Coloureds argued for full inclusion they failed to extend or argue the same to the enslaved Africans.

Turmoil throughout Europe fed ethnic tensions within Grenada and the Caribbean region. Home's brothers, aware of pan-European repercussions from the French Revolution, pleaded with him to return home. They worried at the state of his mind: his indifference to priorities, the state of his estates but principle his immediate return for the sake of his wife ill health⁴⁷¹ (Proclamation 23 Mar. 1793). Their worries were supported by Alexander Campbell, who by comparison decided to return to Britain immediately over the deterioration of Mrs. Home's health⁴⁷² (G. Home 25 Apr. 1794). Home's decision to remain corroborated his large self-imposed Caribbean financial difficulties, impelled by his creditors and pressurised by fellow residents to remain, and the upkeep of his ancestral home at Wedderburn Berwickshire, Scotland. Despite Susan Home's condition, his refusal to leave Grenada supported the argument over his obstinate character and behaviour: he claimed he was not satisfied until his Waltham estate doubled the quantity produced over several years.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ London, PRO, CO101/32, Proclamation of Free Coloured Inhabitants of Grenada to Lieutenant Governor Matthew, 10 January 1792

⁴⁷¹ London, PRO, CO101/33, Proclamation by Lieutenant Governor Home, 23 March 1793

⁴⁷² Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/3/11/30, George Home - Letter to Patrick Home, 25 April 1794

⁴⁷³ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/3/6, Letter to Mr. Hankey, 22 April 1794

His actions divested him of personal responsibility to return; only a direct official order could compel his obedience. His brothers had to organise how to arrange this without his knowledge and against his wishes with the delicate embarrassment to lobby Dundas for this a favour at such a critical political period.

Home's relations with white workers on his estates revealed tensions based on social status and etiquette. A Dr. Bell, who absented himself from Waltham estates without seeking permission, was expected to give a full report to Home when he arrived in Glasgow, but he ignored Home's request. Dr. Bell's actions were considered disrespectful and irresponsible and he compounded his actions through his independent decision to appoint a deputy in his absence. Jaffray met Home's total dissatisfaction and judged unfit in his absence.⁴⁷⁴

Despite Home's anger and repeated warnings, Jaffray had sexual relations with the estate's female slaves.⁴⁷⁵ Bell and Jaffray's communications and their written reports were irregular, not regular monthly reports as requested, and unsatisfactory low crop levels.⁴⁷⁶ His estates suffered waste and regular theft of stock, in particular lumber. Home's written remonstrations increased tensions and works on his plantation and associated reports grew more sporadic and vague.⁴⁷⁷ Jaffray followed Bell's

⁴⁷⁴ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/RH/4/64/7/2 Letter Book II, Home - Letter to Ninian Jaffray, 2 October 1791

⁴⁷⁵ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/RH/4/64/7/1 Letter Book I, Home - Letter to Ninian Jaffray, 22 October 1789

⁴⁷⁶ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/RH/4/64/7/2 Letter Book 2, Letter to Jaffray, 30 October 1791

⁴⁷⁷ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, Home – Letter to Townsend, 4 December 1791

impropriety and failed to attend Home's order for a face-to-face meeting upon arrival, rather sent his report by letter⁴⁷⁸

Home's character study completed the picture of relations and tensions between all ethnic groups in Grenada to 1794. 30 years of local ethnic and socio-political flux was driven by similar tensions in Europe to have a revolution impact on Grenada plantation society.

The French residents on Grenada were agitated since the Interregnum and British attitudes to religious freedom. They were supplemented by growing number of immigrant French from other islands who possessed more direct attitudes. The biggest impact on their attitudes came with the advent of the French Revolution. The revolutionary French National government adopted a strategy of social and political change through 'exportation' of ideology rather than direct military action against a powerful British Royal Navy within the Caribbean. A charismatic French Coloured orator Monsieur Ogé played a critical role.

European France shared the same cultural chauvinism towards biological racial difference, but Ogé argued before the new French Assembly that the natural conclusions of the French Revolution, like the earlier American Revolution that had espoused the Rights of Man, had to concede the equality between Free Coloureds and whites. With the support of British abolitionists and his ideological zeal, he invaded San Domingue (current day Hispaniola: Haiti and Dominican Republic) to spread this new ideology.⁴⁷⁹ His aim was to use this combined power to negotiate

⁴⁷⁸ Edinburgh: NAS, GD267, Home , 21 October 1791

⁴⁷⁹ James, pp.68-73

with the whites, not any attempt to recognise any equality for the massed enslaved Africans, for he, like many Free Coloureds, never considered it extended to them. Ogé's sense of assumed self-status of equality and national protection was ruthlessly dispatched. He was captured and imprisoned before being sentenced to death; he was publicly humiliated through the symbolic act of a shaved head and recantation - a strong resonance to religious persecution in 15th and 16th Centuries Europe - before horrific execution of being broken on the wheel and left to die. His head was cut off and placed on the opposite side of the square to where whites were executed; even in death, ethnic status was still reinforced.⁴⁸⁰

The manner of Ogé's death demonstrated whites' repugnance and severity towards his assumptions, i.e., his temerity to place himself as an equal and incite others to aspire to these assumptions. Ogé's fate taught the French Assembly, Free Coloureds and French whites, in the Caribbean and in Grenada, that true liberty had to extend to full equality and encompass all ethnic groups for any success. It encouraged further and regular ethnic relations between Free Coloureds and Africans.

Free Coloured migration to Grenada grew despite the Council's efforts. Many of these new arrivals were radicalised by French Revolution ideals. One particular group must have comprised the future insurrection commander Julien Fédon and his family. Fédon and some of his associates probably migrated from Guadeloupe after the French Interregnum, before Home's restrictions. Fédon and other future rebel leaders signed a Declaration of Loyalty in 1790 arguably to avoid future suspicion and persecution. Fédon owned an estate called Belvidere, St. John's Parish of 360

⁴⁸⁰ James 74

acres / 965 African slaves.⁴⁸¹ The 1790 Declaration of Loyalty demonstrated the complexity of relations and flaws through legislation to control them. Based on the data of the 1772 survey this was a large holding for a Free Coloureds; there were only 2 other plantations with a combined 362 acreage with joint slave numbers of 55 (see table 4). Fédon's neighbour and antithesis was La Grenade, both lived on adjacent plantations which demanded extra precaution with regard to all his communications and actions owing to La Grenade's allegiance and his slave hunter role. Relations between Fédon and La Grenade was cordial and suggests that away from the competition of proving themselves before the whites Free Coloureds appeared to exist in some form of mutual respect.

Fédon was formally declared the French Free Coloureds' martial leader upon his return from meeting Victor Hughes (the French National Assembly's co-ordinator for localised insurrection throughout the Caribbean) on the island of Guadeloupe. Other insurrection leaders were Free Coloureds: Stanilaus Besson (second in command), and the other deputies in command Charles Nogues (from a long established family in St. John's parish – recorded in the 1772 survey), Jean-Pierre La Valette, Ettiienne Ventour and Joachim Phillip (from the island of Carriacou).

The Revolution's tested real ethnic relations and tensions within Grenada. First, its logical consequences meant self-inflicted financial ruin, as liberated Africans had to abandon all estates and the destruction of the island's infrastructure. Many Free Coloureds, including the proposed rebellion leaders were slave owners and some

⁴⁸¹ London, PRO, CO106/12, Return of Forfeited Estates, 1794

slave hunters, so contradictory issues of power status and mutual hostilities must have existed and had to be resolved before and during any successful rebellion.

This was significant as given critical security in Grenada, French whites and Free Coloureds were allowed a tentative opportunity to integrate back into minimal representation in the militias. The extent of this policy's success, compared to the French Interregnum, was marked. The St. John's militia for example consisted of 177 men of whom 132 (some 75%) were French whites and Free Coloureds and according to one observer, "well prepared for active service."⁴⁸²

They were trained in firearms and possessed knowledge of the weak state of the militias and garrisons throughout the island: the arms of the St. George's militia were locked in the town's court house, militias were scarcely exercised and the fortifications were in a "ruinous condition." The whites' fears were not match by Governor Home who persisted in his belief of an external French invasion and ignored the ominous signals of an internal revolt and he remained, "obstinately deaf to repeated warnings of danger."⁴⁸³ Whites were frustration by Home's obstinate character and inaction. It suggested the level of tensions within British residents and their relations to the remainder of the island's inhabitants: they were aware of their small size and huge security vulnerabilities.

The start of the rebellion was critical because it showed the depth of relations between the ethnic groups. Whereas the revolutions in the North American colonies,

⁴⁸² Dr. John Hay, *A Narrative of the Insurrection in the Island of Grenada Which Took Place in 1795*. (London: Ridgeway, 1823), pp.22-23

⁴⁸³ Edwards. P.34

the French Interregnum and outbreak of the French all affected Grenada, they were in the essentially white ethnic disputes between nation or imperial states, this rebellion, was an alliance of ethnic groups.

This was demonstrated at the commencement of the insurrection. A simultaneous two pronged attack at midnight on the two biggest towns, after the capital St. George's Gouyave and La Bay. Around 100 men led by Fédon and Besson marched into Gouyave (also known by the British as Charlotte Town) on the west coast were joined by a party from Sauteurs (to the north) led by Jean-Pierre La Valette and La Bay (named Grenville by the British) on the east coast. The attacks led by Jean-Pierre La Valette corroborated evidence of careful planning regarding the coordination, targets, geography, and leadership.

The level of violence, killing, and mutilations in Gouyave was indicative of repressed anger since 1763, and a deep cumulative hate and frustration between these ethnic groups. The French proceeded to break down doors and drag the British occupants into the streets. Some, according to eyewitness accounts, were shot then hacked with cutlasses before the town was plundered. They sorted the captives (the notables, women, and children) according to their valuable /ideological status; the nobles were seen as bourgeois under the French Revolution and some executed on the spot as a statement against those in positions of power instrumental for French repression since capitulation.

The capture of La Bay was not brutal, the captives were allowed time to get dressed and collect their belongings. They were marched to Belvidere but given frequent

rests and a numbers of overseers and managers from the neighbouring estates were captured as they proceeded.⁴⁸⁴

The destruction of the hierarchical plantation system based on ethnicity with colour status was created by these ethnic alliances. Many French whites and to a Free Coloureds at that moment must have realised the physical and symbolic enormity and the implications of their actions. Some were determined to the course of insurrection, but to support slaves to kill fellow whites must have tested deep lines of loyalty; some existed who may have remained fearful. Divisions could have become tangible primarily within the French whites and Free Coloureds, but it is inconceivable to think estranged ethnic groups could conduct these actions without some form of familiarity. There had to be regular interaction and alliance between them. Certainly the dances in town were key meeting points likewise the taverns or and the French cut off from society on their rural estates and houses when they gathered for worship.

An argument postulated is many French Whites were unaware of any planned violence and only realised the scale of their actions upon seeing the waves of captives passing by and hearing the celebratory cries of the rebels.⁴⁸⁵ A caution is this is the testimony of an eye witness a British resident and an enemy. He would have to equate his sense of white superiority to fellow whites lowering themselves to such base associations and ideals. This suggests his excuse for their initial involvement but their ethnic co-operation was evident, for another eyewitness argued

⁴⁸⁴ Hay, pp.22-23

⁴⁸⁵ Gordon Turnbull, *A Narrative of the Insurrection of the French Inhabitants in the Island of Grenada by an Eyewitness*, (Edinburgh: Vernor & Hood, 1795), pp.20-22

virtual all the French whites of the three adjoining parishes: St. John's, St. Patrick's and St. Andrew's.⁴⁸⁶ Many whites joined with African slaves from the surrounding estates and their numbers swelled: "Almost every Frenchman in that part of the island obeyed the summons of Fédon, and followed him to his camp."⁴⁸⁷

Many swarmed to Fédon's Camp or were carried off to the interior by the rebels. Others were captured or killed on the estates. Africans' loyalties to their owners were a factor in their participation. Home, a relative paternal owner and it was notable on his Waltham estate eleven of some of the most valuable slaves were enrolled with the Loyal Black Regiment (LBR) though a significant proportion (circa 25-30%) of Africans on the estate escaped to Fédon's camp.

Many slaves attracted by the prospect of liberty abandoned the plantations and joined the rebels. But differences existed within them also. Within the enslaved group differences also occurred: praedial (field) slaves were regarded as militants compared to non-praedial (house) slaves; judged as compliant; but these images are too simplistic. It was significant, that the non-praedial slaves, whose status viewed as more attractive owing less physical intensive work and service in the plantation house possible additional benefits, were more militant and the first to seize the rebellion: "the most trusted, and best treated, both men and women, were the first to join, and the most active in the insurrection."⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁶ Rev. Francis McMahon, *A Narrative of the Insurrection in the Island of Grenada in the Year 1795*, (Grenada: John Spahn, 1823), p.24

⁴⁸⁷ G. Turnbull, p.23

⁴⁸⁸ G. Turnbull p.11

They may have from their positions acquired more in-depth information and/or understanding of its principles and recognised they had more to gain from the rebellion. Non-*praedial* slaves' close proximity to their owners' affairs/ conversations would have been party to full or part discussion, information or gossip regarding the anti-slavery movements in Europe. Many had experience of the *Interregnum* and an improvement in their status as loyal slaves. The insurrection offered freedom as long as they fought for the correct side. All slaves shared the common ideal of freedom. It also exposed British whites' shock that their perception those slaves they felt were most loyal and content was a complete misinterpretation.

The *praedial* slaves living under the draconian police system displayed natural caution owing to any repercussions and away from the great house would not have been party to political debate. Like previous wars, these may have been interpreted as 'white disputes' and detached European struggles that called upon their services. Native-born Africans would have been reluctant, not because of poor communication but their alienation to the Creole system that was relatively new to them, learning how to live under plantation system or more immediate thoughts of families, societies and countries from where they had been torn occupied higher priority.

Governor Home was at his *Paraclete* estate (St. Andrew's Parish) with fellow members of the Assembly when the revolt began. The direct and quickest way to St. George's was across the trans-interior road but this was obvious high danger so Home and his associates Alexander Campbell and Farquhar decided to return to St. George's by sea around the west coast, after Campbell had earlier ridden into Gouyave to investigate confused rumours of a revolt and discovered the horrendous

aftermath. Home was captured by the rebels when Home instructed the ship's captain to put into Gouyave when they sighted what appeared French privateer on the horizon cruising towards them. As they made into Gouyave port a number of rebels' small boats came out firing warning shots surround them. Home and a number of British surrendered but the ship's captain, who remained undetected, managed to steer the ship away by lying flat to avoid the flying bullets to escape to St. George's to reveal the news which created panic and total confusion.

Another account suggested Home deliberately travelled to Gouyave to alert Dr. John Hay, the leader of the St. John militia not haven't the most distant idea a revolt had broken out there as well as Grenville.⁴⁸⁹ That account contradicted the version about Farquhar's earlier report. Home's lack of knowledge, his inexplicable period of delay, failure to act and strange capture supported arguments about the weaknesses of his character.

Home's capture demonstrated the speed of insurrection and an example of relations between enslaved Africans and their masters. Oral history, prevalent in Grenada (and throughout the Caribbean), identified a significant hidden figure behind Home's capture was a slave called Oroonoko. Oroonoko's principal cause was revenge for; he blamed Home for separating and taking his wife from him.⁴⁹⁰ Oroonoko appreciated the significance of the Governor's isolated state when the rebellion commenced, with alacrity travelled up to Fédon's Camp and revealed the ultimate prize. Home's swift capture suggested the rebels were prepared at Gouyave for him.

⁴⁸⁹ Hay, p.31

⁴⁹⁰ I am grateful to Dr Curtis Jacobs (UWI) for pointing out this oral history to me which inspired me to research documentary evidence (see note no. 494)

This argument is further supported as after the capture of La Bay, one rebel, Michel, a *mustee* from Guadeloupe, organised a party to get the Governor at Paraclete.⁴⁹¹

This indicated the rebels did not know where Home was at the time.

There is evidence as Home made reference to a young mulatto girl sent to Scotland. Her youth, colour and her passage to Europe suggested she could have been a non-*praedial* slave sent to serve at Home's Berwickshire residence. He planned her return via Glasgow with a Captain Brown who was due to return to Grenada. This plan was stopped for some unrecorded reason.⁴⁹² This account may corroborate oral history, if this was Oroonoko's wife, his anger and anguish was directed at Home. Home as master was held responsible or the obstacle that prevented her return was known and considered trivial or spiteful.⁴⁹³

The insurrection forced a draconian ultimatum titled 'The Act of Retainer.' All French whites, Free Coloureds, and enslaved Africans named on a list were assumed rebels if they did not surrender after 30 days. It was designed to threaten, in particular the African slaves, of the error of their enthusiasm or suffer severe punishment or execution. Any slave who remained on estates over the period without joining the rebellion or Maroon bands would be persuaded by the Act, curtailed by current plantation laws and society or decided that their lot on the plantation was secure than the uncertainties of insurrection or nomadic life. Many whites interpreted the actions of these enslaved Africans as a sign of their contentment and loyalty.

⁴⁹¹ Hay, pp.24-25

⁴⁹² Edinburgh: NAS, GD267/RH/4/64/7/1, Ninian Home – Thomas Campbell, 10 August 1782

⁴⁹³ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/RH/4/64/7/1, Letter Book I, Letter to John Campbell & Sons, 26 April 1789

The Act challenged the sincerity of rebellious whites. It aimed to bring them to their senses and the consensus they had torn apart through their actions. British subjects knew many French were uneasy or wavered over this unprecedented issue: the rationale of their status to fight alongside Free Coloureds and African slaves against fellow whites, despite Revolutionary ideology, would have created bewilderment and indecision for many, in particular after the massacre at Gouyave. An argument could be put forward that was the exact intention: it committed many whites.⁴⁹⁴

The rebels under a flag of truce on 6th March revealed that Fédon threatened to kill all 51 of his prisoners including Governor Home if the British mounted any form of attack against them. The delegation also presented a letter from Ninian Home that informed the Council that the rebels were of "considerable number" and reiterated the rebels' threat to kill them.

Relations between whites and Free Coloureds was at the commencement of the future Fédon Rebellion was revealed in one incident where Nogues, one of the flag of truce bearers was scorned to have, "bare faced composure, as if he was engaged in the most noblest and most praiseworthy cause."⁴⁹⁵

The caustic observation of Nogues continued and demonstrates the intense sense of ethnic and social vitriol towards Free Coloureds and their audacious expectations.

⁴⁹⁴G. Turnbull, p.21

⁴⁹⁵ Henry Thornhill, *A Narrative of the Insurrection and Rebellion in the Island of Grenada*, (Barbados: Gilbert Ripnel, 1798), p.7

The writer strips Noguez down as pretentious, ridiculous, and ultimately mocks his true occupation and him with servitude and poverty:

strutting about...in a stile of haughtiness and intolerance hardly to be equalled...the consummate pride and insolence displayed...was never known to exist in the brest of such another low, infatuated coloured snip of a taylor, who once would have cringed and bowed almost to the ground to one of the lowest of the people for a quarter of a dollar to take up a few stitches or put a patch in a pair of old torn breeches. [Sic]⁴⁹⁶

Home appreciated the gravity and veracity of the rebels' threats and revealed his resignation to the fatality of his position but made emotional pleas for his life and the other captives. Home's letter, though written under duress, revealed passionate rivalries still existed within white society. Home urged the Council to give "serious consideration" to the proposals to avoid loss of lives.⁴⁹⁷

Home's letter seemed to suggest this; he knew the men in Council in particular long term party enemies, and his communication seemed to hint of the danger in how they would react,. If these were his fears, he was correct for they did not treat the seriously. Mackenzie responded to the rebels' threat and threatened the most severe and rigorous consequences if the rebels did not return to their duty, claiming Fédon's declaration was:

⁴⁹⁶ Thornhill, p.7

⁴⁹⁷ London, PRO, CO101/34, Home – Letter from Camp Belvidere, 6 March 1795

A proposition so horrid ...it requires but one answer - that we are all equally willing to spill to the last drop of our blood rather than disgrace eternally ourselves and our country by a concession to men capable of such a proposition.⁴⁹⁸

Mackenzie, despite Home's supplication and full awareness of Fédon's threat, proceeded to attack the rebels' stronghold. The whites had to contend with many enslaved Africans who, though still remained on some estates were, "beginning to be very disorderly and refused to work on several estates in the neighbourhood."⁴⁹⁹

The militia leaders were conscious of the state of the slaves. General insurrection existed in that part of the island, and open anarchy accelerated around the estates by word of mouth of the uprising. Its success and critically what it promised were the key factors i.e., freedom and equality. Immediate containment became the priority for the militias, as number of African slaves drifted to the Republican banner.

Attempts were made to capture the most rebellious slaves on the surrounding estates. This was not secure as whites assumed owing to significant forms of indirect resistance. Many slaves loaded themselves with plunder from estates; other reversed roles and guarded their masters.⁵⁰⁰ Enslaved Africans broke into the stores and bought endless supplies of rum, wine, and porter to the St. Patrick's and St. Andrew's militias who marched to join forces based at Belvidere. The men accepted these with

⁴⁹⁸ London, PRO, CO101/34, President Kenneth Mackenzie – Letter to Duke of Portland, 28 March 1795

⁴⁹⁹ G. Turnbull, p.51

⁵⁰⁰ Hay, P.32

gratitude but led to inevitable general intoxication and indiscipline throughout these militias.⁵⁰¹

Despite the volatile conditions and the outstanding execution threats issued by the rebels the militias planned a new assault on the rebels' camp but chaos repeated. A Captain Kerr of the cavalry insisted he had discretionary immediate orders to return to St. George's, without the cavalry the militia leaders were reluctant to continue. A local professional surveyor advised the militia commander, through his experience of and the nature of the terrain, it was futile to attempt to attack the rebel camp before daybreak. The militia leaders decided to abandon their attack and return to St. George's. Only two thirds of their troops were armed but significant was the "hostile disposition" of gangs of slaves and the same of *many whites* in the quarter.⁵⁰²

Mackenzie insisted an immediate attack on the camp despite the general state of insurrection, the breakdown of white hegemony, failure of the militias, and his knowledge of Fédon's threat with regard to the hostages. An argument could be Fédon created the brutality in Gouyave with that specific intention to create the air of panic and confusion.

The rebels had no immediate need to kill the hostages; they were useful for future negotiations, with Home as prized possession. There was no direct aim, at that point, from the rebel leadership to execute the hostages even after two unsuccessful attacks. This compels investigation about Mackenzie's irrational, inept but provocative

⁵⁰¹ Hay, pp.64-65

⁵⁰² Hay, pp.22-23

policy. He blamed his inexperience, but he had the Council, whose role was to advise the governor, which contained many experienced men known directly to Home.

Some may have been long-term party enemies. This argument does not specify they had direct participation to plan his death but Home's character, salaried positions and wealth, his debts and ruination of any economic status through his later legislation would not have endeared him to many fellow whites. Many of his rivals could use Home's capture for personal gain.⁵⁰³

Mackenzie may have conscious or unconscious acted out of the interests of Home's rivals and enemies within the Natural Subjects. The whites demonstrated since 1763 through numerous events that anything that challenged their interests – whether vicious infighting, governors' tenures, the rule of UK parliament or even the authority of the king - was beyond their reproach or revenge. Home's capture, along with other senior men, particularly those of his party such as Alexander Campbell, provided an unseen opportunity to remove him and the fatal destruction of his party.

One example to support this argument of internal ethnic tensions occurred when Home was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor. The current governor at the time Samuel Williams knew his tenure was temporary yet he assumed he would be appointed as he argued the position had been promised, at least intimated, to him as one of the oldest most loyal British residents since 1763. Williams' complaint

⁵⁰³ a Letter From a Grenadian Planter to a Planter in: *A_Brief Enquiry into the causes of, and conduct pursued by, the Colonial Government for Quelling the Insurrection in Grenada: From the Commencement on the Night of the 2nd of March, to the Arrival of General Nichols on the 14th of April 1795*, (London: R..Faulder, 1796).

suggested his resentment over Home's (favoured) appointment. His bitter reaction demonstrates the passionate depth of inter-party politics and his and others' views on Home's character. Williams immediately applied for absence owing to his bitterness at the prospect of applying for such grace:

I have the mortification to see a man put above my head who for 18 years has been under my command...and in the very place, which 14 years ago was promised to me by His Majesty.⁵⁰⁴

A third assault on the rebels' camp supports further evidence after the abject failures of two previous offensives. This attack also failed through the inability to muster sufficient troops, the superior position of the rebel camp and their superior organisation and numbers. A "spirit bordering on mutiny" and low morale reigned throughout the militias and men argued that their property was in St. George's not involved in futile bush fighting.

The militias' despondence demonstrated their views that the offensives were futile: acceptance they could never overrun the rebels and pertinent their main concerns were personal economic matters. The rebels' confidence and the attractions of the revolt in contrast grew especially with the 'insurance' of the Republican declaration that promised retribution for the death of any Republican: "The insurrection of the slaves became general, and the work of plunder and devastation by fire, went on almost without interruption."⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁴ London, PRO, CO101/33, President Williams – Letter to Portland, 30 October 1792

⁵⁰⁵ Hay, p.69

The rebels' refusal to execute their prisoners after three attacks could be used to support Mackenzie's strategy. The militias' inadequacies and mental weaknesses however challenged this argument and demonstrated either an irresponsible or intended rashness beyond naivety. Another decision to launch a fourth assault on the rebels' camp under Brigadier-General Lindsay supported this. Fédon lost patience under this assault and ordered the prisoners' executions. The British succeeded in the capture of the rebels' camp, only after the battle raged until nightfall, but the rebels simply moved their prisoners from the lowest camp to the security of the highest camp under heavy guard.

Fédon's orders demonstrated the dangers of these continual attacks and supported the argument the rebels' threat was not pretended because the prisoners were kept alive. Rather the prisoners had important political value demonstrated by rebels' remonstrations to Fédon to reverse his execution orders.

General malaise and desertions occurred in large numbers among the militias. Those militia members who remained loyal were allowed to return to St. George's only upon their promise to return within two days. The enslaved Africans repeated with these militias what occurred in La Bay and served copious liquor and intoxicated the militias. They went into their knapsacks, the militias put down to engage the rebels, and stole their blankets and shirts. Many suffered cold and damp due to the cool wet temperatures in the mountainous interior.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ Hay, pp.76-77

Life within the rebels' camp revealed how the different ethnic groups interacted with each other and survived. Goods, such as military equipment, were imported mainly in small vessels transported from other islands and landed in secret bays to be transported up to their camp. British blockades captured many vessels, in one example one vessel from Guadeloupe was captured with a cargo of musket balls cartridges and a second vessel was intercepted carrying rebel emissaries with bills of exchange (£570 Stg.) to procure military supplies. One of the emissaries was a Pierre Alexandre who had presented the declaration at the beginning of the revolt. He pleaded his innocence and claimed he planned to escape from the Republican camp. A fellow traveller with him, a French merchant called Lussan, also claimed he was held captive in the rebels' camp for two weeks and implicated Alexandre.

The veracity of either story is uncertain, each tried to implicate to save them, but two issues were apparent: the power of the Act of Retainer fulfilled its intention of uncertainty and fear; rebels in the camp were aware of this Act and feared the consequences even though the terms of their ultimatum dismissed its validity. Any whites and Free Coloureds the British captured used forced capture as a defence. The second issue was financial costs of rebellion on British subjects. Many suffered ruined livelihoods viz. destroyed estates and crops, runaway/killed slaves or murdered relatives/friends. The ethnic relations in St. George's exceeded the worse ethnic tensions since 1763. Alexandre stood no hope of a fair trial and was convicted and executed in the Market Square on 2/4/1795; he was hanged after two grim attempts as the rope broke the first time.⁵⁰⁷ Alexandre's death provoked unease

⁵⁰⁷ Geoffrey Abbott, *The Executioner Always Chops Twice: Ghastly Blunders on the Scaffold*, (Chichester: Summerdale, 2002), pp.102-208, see in particular bungled executions by hanging there are several accounts where the condemned are hung more than once. The prisoners

and criticism among some inhabitants as a, "highly unnecessary and intemperate act" which was not lost on the rebels when news filtered back to them.⁵⁰⁸

It was recognised a better strategy was to defer / commute Alexandre's execution and use known women, relatives of rebels, resident in St. George's hostages and use them as sureties against the British prisoners. They were also recognised as the major source of constant accurate information for the rebels. Many of these women were Free Coloureds and support the argument many were mistresses for many white men in St. George's.⁵⁰⁹ That Mackenzie or the Council failed to adopt or give serious consideration to a known and effective alternative supports argument over sincerity to capture the British hostages.

Lussan's evidence revealed high levels of organisation and logistics involved to provide sustenance within the rebels' camp. Cattle were driven up to their camp and between 8 to 10 were slaughtered daily to provide up to 7,000 served rations.⁵¹⁰ Estimated numbers totalled: 350 men armed with muskets, 250 with pikes and bayonets and 4,000 Africans, which suggested colour status still existed—Africans did not have any militia weapons, unless captured, but armed themselves with machetes, pikes, stakes and poles or anything from the looted estates.⁵¹¹

British inability to quell the revolt sent clear signals to increasing numbers of slaves, particularly those who may have been undecided and gave them "strength in

make an interesting legal point they have served their sentence the first time to no avail!

⁵⁰⁸ Devas, R.P., *The History of the Island of Grenada*, (St. George's: 1964), p.132

⁵⁰⁹ McMahon, p.79

⁵¹⁰ Devas, p.132

⁵¹¹ London, PRO, CO101/34, President Kenneth Mackenzie – Letter to Duke of Portland, 28 March 1795

numbers and confidence.” The rebels' camp at Belvidere continually grew as discontented crude armed slaves poured into the camp from neighbouring estates. The rebellion suffered the paradox where strident success created huge logistics and hindered its progress.

The greatest challenge was interaction between ethnic groups and status. They were united under one ideology and cause but to physically live as equals was the true test. The prospect of equality and freedom appeared to override centuries of difference. Fédon's Camp became, "a vast concourse of men, women and children of different colours and descriptions." ⁵¹²

It appeared to cross the divisions of ethnicity, colour, and social status; all entering the camp had to cast off their plantation roles and share equal status. Rebel slaves greeted their liberation through celebration of freedom with ecstatic music and dance. ⁵¹³ Free Coloureds and whites also celebrated, though for some, a sense of unease existed in the seminal boundaries they had crossed.

Fédon promoted the camp adoption of ideological practice through language (for English speaking), celebratory slogans and greetings such as sporadic repeated cries exclamations throughout the camp of, “*Vive La Republique!*” Whether the rebel slaves appreciated the ideological arguments they understood its critical significance in support of their claim for freedom. Fédon believed the British were invaders and Grenada was the Free Coloureds' and African slaves' by right. ⁵¹⁴ Prisoners'

⁵¹² Hay, p.52

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Hay, p.29 & pp.47-49

possessions were shared out amongst the army and Fédon insisted that the African slaves comprehended they were as free as him. When the revolt erupted in the town of Grenville, 5 African slaves were found imprisoned and rescued from a sloop sunk off Gouyave. They were bought to and personally taken to one side by Fédon and asked if they want to remain prisoners or become free, i.e., join the Revolution. After some debate and hesitation between them, evidence of their fear of the slave laws and possible future uncertainty, they chose freedom. Fédon took them by their shoulders and turned them out the door exclaiming they were as free as he was.⁵¹⁵

Ethnic tensions had to exist in the camp created simply judging by recent local history, social dynamics created by years of inequality owing to ethnicity, status, and colour. The hostages within the camp realised their imminent doom as fellow British below ignored threats of their executions; the rebels' employed mental terror to reinforce this point taking them to observe militia failures and regular simulations for their executions.⁵¹⁶ A manifestation of these tensions was a heated dispute between a Free Coloured St. Bernard and a French white Julie which created a melee among some whites. The cause of the argument is unclear however its consequences provided suggestions. Three whites were executed and many others threatened. This suggested tensions over status; authority and vengeance were significant or could support the claims of some they had been held against their will.⁵¹⁷

Plantation system status remained inherent in indirect forms e.g., everyone ate meals on banana leaves but Home received his food on a plate. Fédon maintained a

⁵¹⁵ Hay, p.29

⁵¹⁶ Hay, pp.50-55

⁵¹⁷ McMahon, pp.28-31

respectful attitude towards Home despite their polemic opposition. He allowed Home 'privileges' even release from his chains for periods despite British offensives. Resentment towards the prisoners created tensions within the rebels. Fédon however remained the primary obstacle to continual calls to execute the prisoners despite what must have appeared as British contempt towards his threat. Some saw the prisoners' executions as a way to reduce the frequency of assaults against their camp and preserve precious resources diverted from the army to keep British enemies alive. Any clamour for their deaths was an opportunity to settle personal vendettas against certain captives, e.g., slaves against masters, Free Coloureds' and French whites humiliations regarding their ethnic status and denied equality and representation under British whites since Capitulation in 1763.

Every stay of execution challenged Fédon's credibility as leader and his status within Free Coloureds and enslaved Africans. His policy could have been interpreted to support the plantation system of tradition and status.

Fédon may have recognised deeper political and military repercussions, from the British and the Revolutionary Government based in Guadeloupe, to mass executions of 'notables.' He removed his owing to these tensions and personal rage after the death of his brother in previous action.

Mackenzie ordered a fifth attempted assault on 8th April challenged once again the rationale and purpose of the senior men of the Council. 150 Sea men joined the militias to attack the rebels' stronghold. British troop numbers and inclusion of professional men led to a skilled concentrated attempt however their offensive was checked by furious rebel fire and the steep slippery terrain. The rebels forced the

British to retreat, the professional military men averted greater losses of death or captured prisoners yet the militias suffered heavy losses of 32 fatalities and 67 wounded: “most looked like men who had never seen active service and were pressed from their wives and families and were “raw undisciplined country people.”⁵¹⁸

Even by 18th Century Caribbean standards, the captives’ executions were violent but demonstrated the passions between different ethnic groups in Grenada. According to European eyewitnesses, no whites were involved in the executions.⁵¹⁹ Fédon rebuffed appeals for mercy and retorted to the British, "have none on our people below," referring to the ‘clemency’ meted towards Alexandre and the atrocities committed against the slaves and Free Coloureds. This demonstrated that Alexandre’s death as, feared by some British subjects, and was interpreted as clear incitement for the rebels to execute the prisoners.

Africans openly bore arms and used these to ‘legally’ – under terms of war – to kill white men, masters, and repressors Africans realised they had valid authority to kill whites with impunity. Only three out of 51 prisoners were spared, and they all possessed one unified characteristic: they were judged supportive. Dr. John Hay (a Scot) was a Council-appointed legal guardian to oversee slave welfare in St. John’s Parish (included Belvedere estate) and by medical profession, he tended the sick and wounded in the camp, so known to many insurgents. Father McMahon though a

⁵¹⁸ Hay, p.29

⁵¹⁹ Hay, p.130

Protestant Vicar was a man of God; and John Kerr, an Englishman, was married to the daughter of the French Chevalier de Suze.

Fédon, it is recorded, strolled about in an act of indifference on the ramparts as the remainder forty-eight prisoners were called or pushed out in from their hut; Fédon conducted the firing squad himself and issued the order for each shot. Symbolically Home was summoned last and significantly executed by a rebel African named Baptiste, the cook to a Free Coloured named D'Arcueil.⁵²⁰ European eyewitnesses reported by members of the hacked bodies or cleaved heads with machetes and pikes to ensure all were dead as Fédon's wife and daughter, like many in the camp, observed the event.⁵²¹ This scene once again has to be read with regard to the period and beliefs. It is notable how the scene is described as totally inhumane and unfeeling akin to African behaviour; the whites by contrast, generally met their deaths with brave honourable composure.

The executions finally removed noted British residents: former Council and Assembly officers, legal officers and those from areas that restricted French whites and Free Coloureds. It hardened relations and animosities, evident in Fédon's disgust towards the executed, the derogatory '*saloperie*,' he ordered to be cleared away. A second example was how the mutilated corpses were thrown into a mass shallow grave. The next morning, pigs had rooted through the grave ravenously. This gruesome scene represented the rebels' hatred: the symbolic low status and connotations of pigs and their sacrilegious desecration of British graves and the

⁵²⁰ McMahan, p.64

⁵²¹ Hay, pp.75-78

sanctity of the corpse. Rebels were condemned to the destruction of British whites or their capture and/or death.

The rebellion increased tensions between Africans through the introduction of another group based on the structure of the South Carolina black regiments. A Corps of 300 Loyal Black Rangers (LBR) – also called "trusty Negroes" - was created to support critical low white totals. The LBR were used for espionage: infiltrate the rebels' camp, surrounding areas or associates to elicit vital information of insurgents' operations and numbers and interrogation of the 'underground' slave communication system and hunting into the interior.

The military commander General Nicolls's protest against proposed emergency laws revealed the extent of this policy would destroy his strategy, "The hope I had of dividing their force and sowing the seeds of dissention in their camp is gone away by this premature act of severity."⁵²²

Nicolls's strategy revealed his key strategy employed subversive action to create mutual suspicion and exploit fragile relations that existed below the ideology of unified insurgency.

Emergency laws were introduced to give greater powers to secure and detain anyone suspected of conspiring against the government and gave greater powers for speedier trials and punishment of rebellious slaves. It also gave commanding officers in the

⁵²² London, PRO, WO101/84, General Nicolls – Letter to Irving, 27 April 1795

militias the power to issue warrants to hold instant general and court martial.⁵²³

These laws attempted to reintroduce lines of ethnic demarcation; it increased pressure on those not totally committed to the rebellion. The power to conduct instantaneous militias was designed to bring discipline among the demoralised militias, prone to intoxication, absenteeism without leave (AWOL) and insubordination/refusal to fight.

The rebels recognised the stereotypes/generalisations British whites imposed on them.⁵²⁴ and used these to create mental fears. One example, British troops in Gouyave received information from a slave called Bindo who claimed he escaped from the rebels' camp. Bindo related large numbers of rebels led by an unknown number of Republicans from Guadeloupe planned a pre-emptive attack. Bindo told how these Republicans had "tremendous swords" which they spent most of the day sharpening and how they spoke of the "utmost confidence" of capturing the British ships in the bay and the success of their elaborate attack. The British were suspicious of Bindo's veracity as they could not equate how he could have been so acquainted with the rebels' strategy if he had been chained in a room as he had claimed. His story was treated with caution yet it persuaded Nicolls' to form his defences in response. The stereotypes of armed 'wild' Africans at night added to the militia's emotional mood of "consternation and despair" and led the British commander Lieutenant-Colonel Schaw to decide his garrison of 138 men was

⁵²³ London, PRO, CO103/9, Act no.84,"Detain Suspected Conspirators", 31 July 1795. See also London, PRO, CO103/9, Act no.86, 12 September 1795

⁵²⁴ Jan Nederveen Pietrese, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture*, (London: YUP, 1992), pp.37-41

insufficient to mount an offensive. They abandoned their post and retreated under the cover of night to St. George's.

The mental terror created affected their rationale their retreat was so precipitous they left their sick, slaves, artillery stores and provisions behind. They even left their women and children on the assumption they would find their way back to St. George's by sea. The Rebels, gained political, moral and ethnic propaganda as they escorted the stranded British Gouyave residents to the outskirts of St. George's three days later.⁵²⁵ The white's perceptions and arguments of superiority to deny other ethnic groups equality and/or freedom was based on these other groups absence of superior British qualities such as: courage, chivalry, etc. but they faced humiliation as the rebels exercised these, in particular , they returned what would have been immeasurably valuable prisoners. African slaves, seen as 'libidinous,' held a significant proportion of the tiny white British female island population captive, horrific opportunities for sexual gratification must have been expected but were unfounded. British consternation and frustration was directed towards Schaw who was court-martialled by order of King George III himself.⁵²⁶

British residents' morale created through despair and fear created reported incidents where some were attracted to join the rebels; proof of the dissipation of their control on Grenada. Some residents may have joined the rebels for self-preservation, others trapped by large debts – the greater their debts the greater the attraction. The French Interregnum suggested debts were alleviated or cancelled towards those French or

⁵²⁵ London, PRO, CO101/34, Mackenzie – Letter to Portland, 31 October 1795 see also Hay, pp.132-136

⁵²⁶ London, PRO, WO1/85, Dundas – Letter to Major-general Leigh, 9 January 1795

had good relations with French residents, other British residents were attracted to mercenary gain i.e., partake in the spoils of victory rather than face possible imprisonment and execution. Whites' open relations with pirates and rebel Americans in clear defiance of Parliament and the Governor (see chapter 2) proved this was a course some must have considered.

Africans had two main considerations, i.e., security and punishment. The retribution that would follow if the insurgency failed was recognised. The estates meant bondage but offered regular shelter and food; Fédon's Camp in the mountains represented freedom but in cool, damp and harsh conditions with uncertain quantity and quality meals. British residents recognised the imperative to impress this advantage. This need to keep slaves 'contented' was demonstrated in St. George's where unsheltered slaves were even accommodated within the Governor's residence.

The legislature was forced to increase the numbers of LBR, its only form of fresh troops, as the only means to, "distress and disperse the rebels and insurgents and thereby render them no longer formidable."⁵²⁷

African tensions revealed intense resentment and conflict throughout the rebellion in particular against 'contented' slaves who failed to participate in the insurgency. Lieutenant-Colonel Schaw's retreat from Gouyave abandoned a sizeable population of 'trusty' slaves, unlike European prisoners; they received no escort or any clemency but suffered the full wrath of the rebels. Many slaves were taken prisoners

⁵²⁷ London, PRO, CO103/9, Act no.85, "Establish Black Slave Regiments," 1 August 1795

but others tried to escape by swimming to vessels in the bay. They were jeered and ridiculed by the rebels who warned they would soon be in possession of St. George's.

The liberated Africans were contemptuous of those who subjected themselves to slavery and spurned the offer of freedom and vengeance against their captors. An example of this animosity occurred at Grand Pauvre, where 200 slaves escorted by 30 soldiers, were attacked by the rebels as they marched along a beach with collected plantains. The rebels were repulsed but not before 50 'loyal' slaves were taken as captives to their camp and all shot the next day.⁵²⁸

In another incident, a battle for a post named Pilot Hill the British retreated under the cover of night and escaped without loss yet leaving many 'loyal' slaves abandoned by their protectors and left to the "implacable revenge" of the rebels.⁵²⁹ The British created a pattern by their actions: abandoned loyal slaves sent clear signals these slaves were not valued for their loyalty and sacrifices. This created lack of trust in relations between themselves and their loyal slaves and recruited many to the rebels' cause.⁵³⁰

The loyal slaves, in particular the LBR, were equal in brutal retribution and reprisals. Many LBR would have experienced the impact of the rebellion in many ways, viz. murdered family and friends, ruined homes, ruined livelihoods or even physical or verbal abuse. As a consequence they pursued the rebels with such energy and prosecution of punishment. In one example two African rebels trapped in a hole were

⁵²⁸ London, PRO, CO101/34, Mackenzie – Letter to Dundas, 6 July 1795

⁵²⁹ London, PRO, CO101/34, President Samuel Mitchell – Letter to Portland, 26 March 1796

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

shot continually without discrimination for amusement. Their bodies were horribly mangled and shattered by bullets but alive; one rebel was made to sit up and interrogated for information. The other suffered a head shot at close range. One British officer was so disgusted and ashamed he complained to Nicolls to stop this and other, "acts of wanton cruelty."⁵³¹

The rebellion concluded brutally as it had commenced; ethnic hostilities and violence increased as the rebellion drew to a bitter conclusion over one year later. A massed British fleet under Major-General Ralph Abercromby reclaimed British islands from the French thereby shutting external aid to the rebels. Significant increased numbers of soldiers curtailed internal aid and communications to the rebels and turned the balance of power towards the British. A major offensive against the insurgents' post at Post Royal Hill showed the depth of the intensity and frustrations the rebellion had exposed: trapped rebels threw themselves off a precipice rather than surrender. This drew close parallels to the Caribs' symbolic act defiance of mass suicide rather than surrender over one century before (see chap. 4).

The rebels must have chosen to repeat this high symbolic political act. This reading suggested the rebels possessed a strong sense of oral history, also capture meant certain death or return to slavery. Revolution decreed: "Liberté, Egalité ou la mort" – no freedom or equality was equivalent to death. The casualties were calamitous. The slaughter resulted in over 300 fatalities and an unknown number of wounded: "The

⁵³¹ Dyott, *Dyott's Diary 1781- 1845*, ed. Reginald W. Jeffery, 2 vols., (London: Archibald & Constable & Co., 1907), 1. Pp. 99, 105 & 117

number of dead bodies and the smell was dreadful... it was near a fortnight after the action that many bodies were found."⁵³²

British casualties in comparison were 20 deaths and 91 casualties in this encounter. The LBR's attacks in conjunction with the logistics of feeding such a huge rebel army created heated debates amongst the rebels. They would have knowledge of due arrival of a huge British naval force and the huge losses suffered at Pilot Hill by the advance troops of that force caused confusion, desperation and anger. The danger of potential defeat reopened differences and old ethnic tensions made them, "divided amongst themselves and in great want of provisions."⁵³³

Africans slaves' desertions from the estates were critical to the revolt's success and the rebellion collapsed after the slaves' mass desertions from the camp. The lines of colour and status reappeared in preparation to return to the plantation system. French rebels who had broken the sacred white unity and committed the greatest acts of betrayal against fellow whites knew the vengeful recriminations and punishments that awaited particular to those found guilty of the gravest acts; Free Coloureds faced the dangers of humiliation of relegation to servitude and execution. The slaves anticipated the maximum implication of the slave laws.

The impregnable isolated rebel camp was captured; its insurmountable walls were scaled during the night. In a short desperate battle the rebels killed all white prisoners in their captivity then fled into the woods pursued by the Jägers. British

⁵³² Dyott, p.104

⁵³³ London, PRO, CO101/34, Alexander Houston – Letter to Portland, 3 May 1796

casualties were relatively light with only 10 fatalities and 55 wounded but rebel losses totalled 109 killed⁵³⁴ (27 July 1796). The execution of white remnants was a deliberate final act of defiance – carried out under intense fire and on the retreat - to destroy as many whites and create as much damage possible in defeat. These remainder rebels fled into the woods: many slaves slunk back their original estates or were captured.

The Fédon Rebellion demonstrated an ideology-led movement to counter the rigid plantation system. Each group interacted with other to retain or destroy the plantation system. All ethnic groups who partook in the insurrection demonstrated they could exist together, though challenging could be achieved but the rigid traditions from decades of fundamental lines of demarcation were too strong to be changed in a short period, erased by a political ideology or will. Solidarity unravelled and the distinctions of colour and ethnicity resurfaced. Some rebels who surrendered claimed, as at the commencement, that they never agreed with the rebellion but were coerced into joining through fear or reprisals; whether their claims were genuine or desperate attempts to escape their fate they were all sent to St. George's as prisoners.

The end of unified mass resistance did not mean the termination of ethnic communication and relations. Many rebel Africans, Free Coloureds and white rebels evaded capture and remained free within the mountainous interior of the island. They maintained stubborn resistance, though pursued by hunters, and continued to harass and proved very difficult to subdue. The rebels recognised only through

⁵³⁴ London, PRO, CO101/34, Houston – Letter to Portland, 27 July 1796

solidarity they evade capture as fugitives and for many to escape to other islands. Many Maroons reverted to their pre-rebellion lives and remained at large in the interior. A Maroon camp was captured but the majority including the leaders escaped and held out in the woods for such a period of time that further measures were put into place to try to negate their influence. Maroon activity restarted immediately after the rebellion suggested they must have joined and taken some part in Fédon's alliance. The rebels' tactics and mobile fighting bore strong similarities to the Maroons.

A special court of 'Oyer and Terminer' was established in St. George's for any captured or surrendered. Information from St. George's related punitive reactions and their trials reflected British wrath and vengeance, beyond the human, financial and infrastructural devastation created by the insurgency, but the associated humiliation relived after the French invasion and Interregnum. Many angry British residents saw the insurrection provided final proof how over-indulgence and toleration had been rewarded yet again in personal loss and financial ruin. The courthouse in St. George's was "exceedingly packed" with a tangible atmosphere of retribution and recrimination when on 30th June 1796, 47 French whites and Free Coloureds were convicted and sentenced to hang the next day.

Public mood was reflected by the instantaneous convictions - all defences were refused hearing only upon any submissions to the Governor – as a clamour erupted to execute convicted. Governor Houston, despite any empathy with the crowds however, was disturbed by the illegal process that went against the basic principles

of Constitution.⁵³⁵ Defendants were convicted on mere identification by the jury as persons named in the Act of Retainer passed at the beginning of the rebellion. Houston also recognised the duration of these ‘trials’ were, "greatly too short." British Protestants must have incensed that again their Constitution was perceived to protect French rights and breach sacred Protestant tenants to accommodate the French. It could be argued Houston was reluctant to execute high numbers of whites and those of free status but this was unlikely as Houston, like predecessors, faced an intractable situation: he knew the volatility of Grenada’s plantation society and the realistic limitation of his powers in isolation, therefore any unpopular actions were very dangerous. He decided however to ignore the mood of the crowd and condemn 14 of the most notorious and respite the remainder which proved, "extremely unpopular."⁵³⁶

Houston’s actions reflected the pressures and dangers of his post. A comparative incident which occurred at a similar time on the island of Barbados corroborated this argument. A Free Coloured Joseph Denny was convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of a poor white John Stroud. Denny’s counsel petitioned the Chief Magistrate Phillip Gibbes Jnr. to apply to Governor George Poynte Ricketts to make an application for clemency to the King. Gibbes concurred with the petition that the all-white jury were prejudiced. Clemency was granted but, similar to Grenada the governor feared the public mood to the extent he attempted to smuggle Denny from the colony. Denny was spotted and hauled back to jail by the crowds even though the Crown’s Clemency was known. Gibbes suffered verbal and physical assault for his

⁵³⁵ London, PRO, CO101/34, Governor Houston – Letter to Portland, 4 July 1796

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

‘betrayal;’ Ricketts, terrified to support / have any association with Gibbes, even presided over the panel that dismissed Gibbes from office.⁵³⁷

Another incident in Grenada demonstrated ethnic tensions and relations in St. George’s. A Free Coloured rebel Oliver received a respite - while his head was actually in the hangman’s noose. He survived after he pleaded for his life and made fervent declarations of being forced to join the rebels. Oliver’s confession prompts the argument were some rebels’ tales of forced compliance accurate or did free people join the rebellion because of the political and social ideals offered and the possibility of the establishment of a micro-model in Grenada?

The answer is provided from 3 considerations, viz., rebel African slaves and Free Coloureds had greater incentives against the whites. Second, reports of whites’ forced involvement is based on fellow whites’ accounts, i.e., through the victor’s eyes and their beliefs - the concept of whites with all other ethnic groups and status coming together to fight against fellow whites and overthrow a British colony, was anathema. A final consideration concerned if Oliver was witnessed to be a forced participant within the camp by a British captive. No major eyewitness accounts within the camp provided as anti-rebellion activity rather the opposite.⁵³⁸

Oliver’s pleas were not the reason for his commutation rather it was the betrayal of the names of rebels living within St. George’s, i.e., part of the underground network.

⁵³⁷ David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity during the Age of Abolition*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), pp.83-84

⁵³⁸ Hay, p.58

⁵³⁹ Oliver's defence was a made in terrified desperation. This argument is supported by three points: first, Oliver knew his fate, so why was this information not revealed earlier when captives were transported to St. George's? Oliver was denied the opportunity to present his defence in court but there would have been other opportunities; second, if his captors had no interest in his information during his imprisonment and after his conviction why would they give sudden credence to it at the peak of their revenge? A third point was would a reluctant insurgent be party to such sensitive information he claimed to have? This is reinforced as many rebels conducted business within St. George's without impunity, many openly paraded through St. George's.⁵⁴⁰ Some must have used 'safe houses' protected by friends and family or were so integrated other 'loyal' slaves did not appreciate their full roles.

Deep-seated rivalries and hatred in St. George's ensured there were continuous hostilities and recriminations against French Catholics. Many Free Coloureds continued to be captured and brought in to be executed based solely on their ethnicity or names on the Act of Retainer. Toward the end of July 1796 another 59 rebels were convicted of whom 38 were executed. The proportion of executions to respites at this point was circa 64%, which demonstrated the vitriol and iniquities of the legal and social malaise post-insurrection.

Fédon earned mystical status owing to his ability to evade capture to the extent he symbolically 'became' the woods. His status reveals much about the psyche of white society. Necessary close associations between ethnic groups meant African animist

⁵³⁹ London, BL, The Times, no.3665, 17 August 1796.

⁵⁴⁰ McMahon, p.65

beliefs systems were assimilated .⁵⁴¹ The fears among militias and soldiers kept awake at nights in terror of a night attacks or their refusals to go into the woods during the Rebellion supported this argument.⁵⁴²

The last official reported sighting of Fédon came with his near capture; like his rebels he appeared to re-enact defiant suicidal ‘*Morne de Sauteurs*’ act hurled himself down an incredible steep and very thick place where, “neither black or white troops dared to follow him.”⁵⁴³ Resistance to follow him reflects incredulity over his act, also a sense of fear of him, which added to his legend. The longer Fédon remained a fugitive his cult of mysticism and poignancy amongst the defeated Maroons and African slaves grew. The white population suffered perpetual anxiety, fed by militia experiences and Fédon’s cult exacerbated when Houston admitted he, “could not say if he [Fédon] has got off the Island or not.”⁵⁴⁴ The psychological effect on those who remained reluctantly on the island, such as white women whose husbands’ livelihoods e.g., economic debts or military service, made escape improbable left them isolated, fearful and resigned, reflected by one woman’s despair, “we will never be happy here.”⁵⁴⁵ The white population were terrorised and very high salaries needed to retain employees.⁵⁴⁶

Despite his suicidal act, it was indicative the government assumed his death. The common-held view was Fédon drowned whilst trying to escape by canoe to Trinidad; as his compass was found nailed to an overturned canoe This version of

⁵⁴¹ Fryer, p. 153, pp.162-63

⁵⁴² Fryer, pp.107-108

⁵⁴³ London, PRO, WO1, Nicolls - Letter to Governor Graham, 11 August 1796

⁵⁴⁴ London, PRO, CO101/35, Houston – Letter to Portland, 15 September 1796

⁵⁴⁵ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/17/9, Mrs. L Stephens - Letter to George Home, 2 July 1796.

⁵⁴⁶ Edinburgh, NAS, GD51/1/519, Mr. Richard Barwell - Letter to Dundas, 3 July 1796.

events was reinforced when a captured African slave confessed he should have travelled with Fédon but refused at the last moment, for he told Fédon the waves were too high.⁵⁴⁷ Fédon may have chosen the African as a symbol of ethnic unity between African and Free Coloured. The slave's account, Like Bindo's story, may have been another diversion, which preyed on whites' fears.⁵⁴⁸

The insurrection resulted not only in decimated dwellings but financial loss for the value of slaves; across social status and roles. Ninian Home's Waltham estate demonstrated the impact. Only small numbers of slaves remained, over half the slaves were still in the camp and many killed.⁵⁴⁹ (See Appendix F)

Many fugitives, despite the expertise of the LBR, continued to live and work together to survive and conceal themselves in the woods to construct and escape in canoes during the night from the innumerable bays over one year after the conclusion of the revolt.⁵⁵⁰ The rebel hunters discovered and destroyed many canoes in the woods built for this purpose. The volume of their discoveries proved sizeable numbers of rebels had not surrendered and intended to escape despite canoe construction was dangerous due to noise amplification in the valleys. White anger remained strong and compounded when a new Governor Green conceded to this hopeless situation and offered an amnesty of a guarantee of security of life in return for their surrender in May 1797. A special court convicted 3 whites and 59 coloureds (including Etienne Ventour, one of the rebellion's senior leaders).

⁵⁴⁷ Devas, p.104, see also London, PRO, CO101/54, Governor Shipley - Letter to Earl Bathurst, 20 July 1814

⁵⁴⁸ Dyott, p.108

⁵⁴⁹ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/5/28, Mather Byles - Letter to George Home, 2 March 1797.

⁵⁵⁰ London, PRO, CO101/35, Governor Green - Letter to Portland, 25 May 1797 see also CO101/35, Green - Portland, 12 July 1797

Despite the guarantee, in sentence the rigidity of ethnicity remained: the whites received respites but the Coloureds were pardoned only on the proviso they left the Grenada and British West Indies for life.⁵⁵¹

The fate of captured African rebel slaves contributed to economic malaise in costs for sick/injured, and compensation for those executed, killed, re-employed or sold. Where creditors repossessed estates they ensured they purchased the best quality. Table 18 sets out an example from one estate.

Houston complained that he didn't know what to do with enslaved Africans rebels.⁵⁵² Many returned to the plantations after the defeat so the whites had to maintain a fearful vigilance. The number of Africans held in captivity was so great, it was ironical large numbers were held captives on ships in the harbour. Others were put to work in the British Navy or to rebuilding the fortifications in St. George's. An act was passed which banished large numbers of condemned slaves to hard labour in chains for life. Others were confined for life on pain of death if they attempted escape because it was not practical to transport such large numbers.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵¹ London, PRO, CO101/35, Green – Letter to Portland, 12 July 1796

⁵⁵² London, PRO, CO101/34, Houston – Letter to Portland, 30 July 1796

⁵⁵³ Smith, Act no 94, Punishment and Banishment of Slaves, 13 May 1797

Table 19

Slaves taken over by James McBurnie ⁵⁵⁴

Names	Value (£)
Jack	£200
Sambo	£200
Funny	£165
Sancho*	£150
Sam*	£150
Simon	£66
Christmass	£49'10
Duke	£115'10
Billie	£115'10
Gloster	£115'10

⁵⁵⁴ Edinburgh, NAS, CS96/4485, Daybook of Anderson & Sutor, 31 December 1796

Mary	£66
Fibbey	£69'6
Quashie*	£180

*Sum for the hire of Quashie, Sam and Sancho.

The sentences prioritised the immediacy of restoration of colour status. The court believed many whites' defences of kidnap, despite the trauma and dangers, for the preservation of white hegemony and to avoid economic disaster if debtors were executed or banished, therefore many whites received respite sentences and were allowed to remain on Grenada. Even after Governor Green's amnesty, it was hard to establish how many whites remained in the woods and escaped (or even assimilated back into French Catholic community). The whites who received respite sentences could have provided or acted as possible conduits of information. Rebel whites and other ethnic groups remained in the woods even after Green's amnesty; this suggested they chose the uncertain, nomadic but equal and free existence in the interior. Some may have lived with or besides the Maroons or continued associations forged during the insurrection. Their inexperienced nomadic survival in such terrain for such a period must have required high levels of expertise Maroon co-operation. Another possibility is this group were involved in the most atrocious acts of war and / or did not trust the governor's guarantee of surrender or his powers to resist public wrath.

Once incident, though outside the time parameters for this thesis, is vital to support the state of ethnic relations. One of Fédon's officers, a Captain Jacques Chadeau, was captured *twelve* years after the rebellion in June 1807 by the LBR. The duration of his evasion and method of capture demonstrated the existence and support of closed ethnic communities. The current Governor Maitland particularly feared Chadeau's "intimate knowledge" of the interior woods and mountains but ultimately he feared Chadeau could serve as a, "ready chief for any malcontents to form under."

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Chadeau, although a free man and commissioned officer were humiliated and tried as a slave, convicted then executed. His body was hung and left to rot on Mount Eloi Point (on the road from Gouyave into St. George's). It was a deliberate act of symbolic revenge and to reinforce free status, white superiority and the final triumph of the plantation hierarchy over the egalitarian ideology of the French Revolution.

Levels of xenophobia were demonstrated when numbers of French women, relatives to executed rebels who had left Grenada after the rebellion, attempted to enter the island from Trinidad. British Protestants' protests were vociferous. They claimed the women were resentful of losses sustained in the revolt. These passionate outcries were not only against their ethnicity but misogynistic. The Free Coloureds, in particular, bore the full force of cultural and ethnic sexual references. The stereotype images of sexual French women, particularly Free Coloureds due their libidinous African blood, invited barbed sexual insults, such as: *Les agenouillés* ('the kneeling

⁵⁵⁵ Devas, p.104, see also London, PRO, CO101/46, Richard Maitland – Letter to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, 14 June 1807

ones'), and *les hommes manguese* ('the man eaters'). Governor Green conceded to Protestants anger and refused them entry.⁵⁵⁶ under an Act introduced in 1797 to prevent the residence of those whose sentiments were inimical to Grenada.⁵⁵⁷

Ethnic relationships and tensions within Grenada reflected practice throughout the Caribbean. Plantation society with Grenada was more complex than many Caribbean colonies because its ethnic groups were based on self-recognised differences of culture, national origins, religion and colour. These were enhanced by political and economic actions within and outside the island.

It was rooted in inequalities, discrimination, jealousies and perceptions of favours. These relations they were not simplistic models but led to groups fighting within themselves and their national governments and forming alliances to achieve their objectives. Indulgence and toleration were granted to conservative allowances. Colonial residents aimed to preserve a static model for their societies but national governments were aware of political and social changes that made such ideals unrealistic. These were manifest in global political events e.g., revolutions in the North American colonies and France coincided to encourage these ethnicities to finally reject British structures. Critical was the inclusion of all ethnicities i.e. the official incorporation of African to slaves fight the British plantation society. Their power was feared and their threat of mass enslaved Africans who has to be controlled yet the paradox of the plantation system created the reason why slaves had to be seen to be 'contented':

⁵⁵⁶ London, PRO, CO101/35, Green – Letter to Portland, 12 July 1796

⁵⁵⁷ Act 13,5/97

Was it not evident that the Negroes...would be easily influenced by the wide spreading system introduced by the enemy? What tie had they of attachment to the planters when liberty was offered them by their neighbours?⁵⁵⁸

After the rebellion this policy of mollification was demonstrated where owners took great care to look after those slaves who remained loyal even though shelter, clothing and provisions were in great want. For example, the slaves at Waltham Estate were given provisions in return for labour where employment could be found. Domestic family servants were found posts with gentlemen in St. George's. The rest of the slaves were accommodated in a dwelling attached to Government House. Home's secretary Mather Byles admitted this policy was critical in order to keep these loyal slaves "in good temper, health and order."⁵⁵⁹

Free society suffered extensive real or imagined psychological terror. Into the next century the inability continued to attract psychologically scarred white servants to return to Grenada or those who refused to come based on tales of rampaging Africans waiting to tear whites to pieces.⁵⁶⁰

Ethnic relations and tensions were inevitable to the point of open hostilities and policy. British government policies reflected the changes in society towards religion and later slavery itself. Grenada's Protestant residents were ignorant of these changes

⁵⁵⁸ Hansard, *The Parliamentary History of England*, vol. XXXII, (London: Hansard, 1818), p.739

⁵⁵⁹ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/5/19, Mather Byles - Letter to George Home, 9 October 1795

⁵⁶⁰ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/RH/4/64/7/2, Letter Book II, George Home - Letter to John Fairborne, 1 October 1795.

or more probable wanted to retain the rigid structure based social status, religion and transplanted from Britain. It was this principle many governors' tenures even lives, disobedience towards Grenada governments and Parliament and ultimately the rejection of the king's authority were led by religious parties' passion to their causes and hatred towards each. In the period of this thesis only Lord Macartney managed to endure Grenada plantation society to serve his term; the remainder left defeated by the ferocity of ethnic hostilities, made ill or dies as an indirect consequence.

White supremacy it was maintained in Grenada with the participation of all whites and free society. Ethnic tensions culminated over the period of this thesis and damaged all ethnic groups, governors, national and international relations and the colony itself. Toleration, indulgence and contentment were qualities neither of these groups experienced.

The years following the Interregnum brought the tensions of the past decades to the fore. The British re-established treated the French with more distain than before. The French suffered from the major alliance they had with the sympathetic Protestants before the French conquest. Hostilities sharpened the lines of difference between the groups and they were drawn more to their common ethnic identifiers. A major anchor was religion. The British residents strategy to abandon the singular Test issue and attack the entire religious structure inadvertently served the Catholics purpose. Cut away within their community the British could not even observe them in the church buildings they abandoned. All communication took place in houses used for worship, in the rural estates at the dances in town. Here communication between the

French whites and Free Coloureds must have taken place under the umbrella of shared culture, e.g., language, religion, and persecution.

The French revolution was a catalyst for it provided the external ideological and military support to fight their rivals. The level of ferocity indicates the anger and frustration held—another important aspect was the role of the Africans within the rebellion. There is strong evidence there was ethnic communication between these groups whether they were part of the rebellion is an argument but what is beyond doubt they joined and welcomed by the French whites and Free Coloureds as free men. Even one eyewitness described the mass multi-ethnic composition of the camp.

Inter-ethnic suspicions and rivalry existed within the African groups among the praedial and non praedial slaves, among African-born and Creole African, and between rebel and the LBR, maroons or estates. What this demonstrated was the dynamic nature of rivalries and alliances at this time. It demonstrated the integrity of the slaves, given their numbers that the plot was not given away.

A key figure since capitulation was the governor who served as the representative of British government in the colonies. This role throughout this thesis was a remarkable one and I will argue in the next chapter not what many assumed or received. The case study using Ninian Home demonstrated two things about governors. It was a position of status and subject to lobby and interests. It also did not guarantee instant success such as Home appeared to assume. His failed attempts to gain the post seems to have spurred him on finally achieving his ambition of imposing draconian action against the French and Free Coloured but this added to his downfall. Home's rivalry

and treatment is a question that must be dealt with in the concluding chapter. How did these events since 1763 effect Grenada society? In the next chapter I will sum up the arguments, what has been found, and how this adds to original academic study.

Chapter Five

This dissertation proposes five central arguments as a subject for a thesis. In this concluding chapter each argument will be put forward and evaluated based on the evidence presented throughout. A summary will show how this research contributes to original research.

The first argument proposed is that imperial ideologies reinforced superiority and the right to rule and relegated other groups to inferior status. Humans have interacted for thousands of years and have held suspicions, prejudices and ideas about one another. This is without doubt; but what this argument proposes it is with the advent of the European slave trade, ideas about peoples started to form a type of cultural chauvinism or belief system about one being better than another. The organisation of the plantation system, particularly in the 18th Century, with close proximity of different people provided the opportunity for such views to be formalised. The simplest method was based on colour: which bought along cultural associations and conventions for black and white: good and evil, life and death, purity and filth. The rational conclusion equated whites with power and blacks with servitude. There are cultural resonances for this also for examples Christian belief at the time about the cursed race of Ham (African) ordained by God to serve his brothers (white and European). Throughout there are references to this belief for example the comparison of the Rev. Hans West in the DWI who firmly believed Africans should be chained up like dogs. The clearest example is the relationships in Grenada: British whites were the rulers, Free Coloureds occupied the middle, and Africans were regarded as chattels and considered lowly. As property, it remained inconceivable they could

participate in society, let alone govern. The Free Coloureds provide another example how they were graded by parts of white blood; the less black blood the higher the status. They were given the rewards of this being able to participate in society and some rule over their slaves.

The second argument proposes examining Grenadian society using an ethnic model rather than a standard racial one. A key question posed may be does it make any difference, in answer yes. In order to understand this the argument is, just like cultural chauvinism outlined above, it was developed and employed by those in power so it is inherently biased and flawed. The science of biological determinism i.e., fixed, was developed the following century under the principles of Linnaeus who classifies humans into three types: Caucasian, Mongolian and Negro, based on skull measurements and facial and other physical characteristics. In Grenada plantation society the classifications would simply be whites, coloureds and blacks. The ethnic model was only developed in the 20th Century, yet it differs fundamentally. Ethnicity is based individuals sharing a sense of common values or sense of belonging, as such it is dynamic and independent; it is decided by individuals and can be based on a multiplicity of factors:

- i) Whites – A) British - a) English, (b) Scots, (c) Irish
- ii) Creole (white) – A) British types, (B) French
- iii) Whites –B) French
- iv) Coloured – A) British types (B) French types, (c) free, (d) chattel
- v) African – A) British types, (B) French types, (c) Africa, (d) Creole, (e) praedial, (f) non-praedial, (g) Maroon, (h) free, (i) Black Carib

This is not exhaustive, and there is scope for more combinations. Using ethnicity, each group can be studied in detail rather than as an autonomous block. Note ethnicity does not include social class or gender, but there are two major layers that can be added to society.

A part of argument three is covered with regard to ethnic groups; but what is proposed in the third argument is there was a specific cause that created fractures of the conventional order and forced ethnic groups to form dynamic alliances. A sociological model of stigmatisation proposed by Goffman is employed here. The argument is society's treatment of the French (whites and coloured) to see themselves as different, inferior, and marginalised. Using this model they retreated away from society into their own world assured in the companionship of one another. Accounts that corroborate this process of withdrawal, it unnerved the British to the extent they tried to woo them back, without success, into society. Once retreated into this world without the boundaries and strictures of the British whites, the French could meet and form alliances at will and Argument three proposes. The Slave Laws suggests relationships across society so what happened away from them. Also governors since the late 1780s reported large dances in the capital attended by all ethnic groups. Without doubt alliances were formed according to each groups' needs

Argument four proposes groups were forced to cross 'forbidden' because of an intense desire to participate or dominate in society. Part of this argument has been dealt with in argument three above regarding the effects of stigmatisation. What this argument proposes is those groups or individuals who suffered verbal and social pressures to

conform. Several incidences of evidence has been presented to prove this. One group concerns the evidence presented in chapter two of government officials who indicate directly or indirectly of peer pressure. There is the Attorneys-General Dalrymple and Bywater and all the governors with most tragic case of Ulysses Fitzmaurice. Another type of victimisation could be the case of Ninian Home. It has been argued here his death left many questions, viz. Home sent a letter hinting not to attack but it was ignored; the Council were warned not to attack the rebel camp, but they did so three times despite knowing the consequences. Home had many enemies, some sympathisers with Catholic residents and some from rival parties such as Governor Scott and Governor Williams. There is a tantalising case that Home's captivity was a result of inter-ethnic feuding.

The concluding argument proposes that government policies and government ministers reluctance or inability to make critical decisions contributed to the Fedon Rebellion. Critical decisions such as the Test or entry of Catholics in to government posts were endorsed in writing but not reinforced. It was left to governors to implement very unpopular plans. Most governors became powerless puppets without real power and ended up having to negotiate or beg the planter class to support them. The French initially had faith in British governors, but over the course of chapter Two their respect and faith in the governors as fair arbiters disappeared. The case of Fitzmaurice is the clearest demonstration of this argument. He executed out Hillsborough's instruction which created crisis, Hillsborough's reaction is to blame Fitzmaurice for misunderstanding his instruction however Fitzmaurice was supported by the king. Hillsborough accuses two further governors of carrying out

similar mistakes. Governors and government in effect lose control of the colonies; Grenada is essentially ruled by the planter class.

This dissertation examines Grenada society over the period 1763 – 1800 and studies the relationships between the variety of ethnic groups, alliances formed, and tensions created. This contributes to original scholarship in two ways; first, research tends to deal with whites as a single unit split between British (English and Scots) and French. This research examines multiplicity of ethnic interactions and relationships and their effect on each other, in particular between the groups I label ‘liberal’ and ‘conservative’ Natural Subjects. Second, through analysing scant government documents and Acts, it examines records on the Grenada Maroons and their history within Grenada. Third, it examines the role of governors in Grenada and it compares their role in Grenada history and their benign relationships with Grenada governors. The final contribution is to provide primary research material from a variety of UK archives; it is hoped that others can use it for future research.

Appendix A

Slaves Taken Off Carriacou 13 Apr.1774⁵⁶¹

Owner: Madame Desbat:

Males	Females (& infants)	Children	Totals for each owner
Jean	Louisa (+1)	Baibe	
Antoine	Tabette	Jean Baptiste	
Louis	Mary Luce	Joseph	
Toussaint	Rosette	Felicite	
Jean-Francois	Rosallie	Jacques	
Auguste		Julian	
Hipolete		Catherine	
Leoille		Jean-Louis	
Michelle		Jeane Rose	
		Magda Casseu	
		Marie Claire	
9	5 (+ 1 infant)	11	26

Owner: Mr Todd:

Louis	-	-	
Sandy			
Tay			

⁵⁶¹ London, PRO, CO101/17, Leyborne – Letter to Dartmouth, 13 April 1773

3	-	-	3
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Appendix A Continued

Owner: Ab. Balinare

Males	Females (& infants)	Children	Totals
Francoise	Anne	-	
1	1	-	2

Owner: Jeomie St. Croix

Bevalor	-	-	
1	-	-	1

Owner: Widow Balinare

-	Louisa (+ 1)	-	
-	1 (+1)	-	2

Totals by gender and age:

14	7 (+2)	11	34 carried off
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Appendix B

List of Slaves Taken off Belonging to Andrew Philppe & Widow Jacques 13/4/1774
or thereabouts⁵⁶²

Males:

	27) Bernard	1) Jean Pierre	29) Marieheleine
	28) Jean Pierre	2) Alexandre	30) Agnew
1) Mondongue	29) Damie	3) Pierre	31) Germaine
2) Francis Congo	30) Laenture	4) Philipi	32) Julienne
3) Robert Ebo	31) Michel	5) Cayoux	33) Ostance
4) Henry	32) Louis	6) Toulashers	34) Thisbee
5) Joseph Ebo	33) Pascal	7) Choisie	35) Quenet
6) Antoine Congo	34) Phillipe	8) Claude	36) Pelagie
7) Jeannot	35) Martin	9) Narcisse	37) Marie Catherine
8) Noel	36) Meron	10) Alexis	38) Celemene
9) Vincent		11) Isidore	39) Marie Clare
10) Tout al heure	Females:	12) Joachim	40) Brigitte
11) Couacou		13) Thelemaque	41) Sinon
12) Jean Baptiste	37) Olive Creole	14) Matthieu	42) Magdelaine
13) Nicolas Cupidor	38) Charlotte Victoire	15) Silvestre	43) Marie
14) Dalphinis	39) Marie Louise	16) Ishaetor	44) Louise
15) Blouqui	40) Marianne Creole	17) Silvain	45) Veronique
16) Casimar	41) Christine Margerite	18) Charles	46) Jean
17) Amadis	Creole	19) Francoise	47) Baptiste
18) Manon	42) Julienne	20) Marie	48) Vincent
19) Theodore	43) Olive Mine	21) Marie-Francoise	49) Joseph
20) Samson	44) Marie Madelon	22) Victoire	50) Jean Louise
21) Annibal	45) Catin Suzanna	23) Amic	
22) Crespin	46) Nannon	24) Magdelon	= 50 slaves
23) Polidor	47) Cocota	25) Victoire	(Gender not
24) Matthieu		26) Cleronne	classified*)
25) Jacques		27) Judith	

⁵⁶² London, PRO, CO101/ 17, Humble Memorial of Bosanguet & Fatio, 22 August. 1774.

26) Louis

(28) Scholastique

11 females +

36 males

= 47 slaves

Total both groups

47 +

50

= 97 slaves

* * Enslaved African not classified by gender groups. Can be estimated (e.g. recognised gender names) but risks erroneous results as historical and cultural shifts in nomenclature need to be appreciated.

Appendix C

Serving Grenada Governors 1760 – 1823 (covers the period of this thesis)

Year(s) of Administration	Governor	Comments
1762-64	George Scott	1 st British governor
1764	Robert Melville	interim
1764-1770	Ulysses Fitzmaurice	
1770-71	Robert Melville	
1771	Ulysses Fitzmaurice	
1771-75	William Leyborne	
1775-6	William Leyborne	interim
1776	William Young	
1776-79	Lord George Macartney	British lose possession
1779-1784	Comte De Durat	French Interregnum
1784-85	Edward Matthew	British re-occupation
1785-87	William Lucas	President - interim
1787-88	Samuel Williams	President - interim

1788-89	James Campbell	President - interim
1789-1792	Samuel Williams	President - interim
1792-95	Ninian Home *	Fédon Rebellion 1795-96
1795	Kenneth Mackenzie	President - interim
1795-96	Samuel Mitchell	President - interim
1796-97	Alexander Houston	
1797-1801	Charles Green	
1801-02	Samuel Dent	President - interim

* - Died whilst in office (executed during Fédon Rebellion 8/4/95)

(N.B. interim officials without H.M. full appointment designated presidents).

Appendix D

Waltham Estate Slave Occupations – 1798⁵⁶³

Occupation	Numbers	Outcome Fédon Rebellion
Drivers	1	
Carpenters	1	
Masons	1	
Head boiler	1	Killed
Distiller	1	
Driver in the mill	1	killed
Driver for the mule	1	
Field (main) gang	3	Killed + dead (2)
Cook @ great house	1	
Field women	5	
Small gang	3	Killed x 2
Driver of the great gang	1	

⁵⁶³ Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/5/17/5, Waltham Estate Slave Occupations, 4 November 1798

Great gang	2	Killed x 1
Locksmith	1	
Coopers	1	
Stock keepers	1	
Watchman	1	
Rat catcher	1	
Superannuated / unable	4	
Cook	1	killed
Washer woman	1	
Sick house	1	
House servants	3	
Overseer's boy	1	
Unfit / Other employment	2	Dead x 1
Servant @ government house	2	
New negroes	4	Dead x 1
Childcare	1	(+ 1 dead child)
Black Corps	1	

Total slaves present & 267*

useful:

Males 48

Females 57

Boys 16

Girls 10

Children 32

The returns represent Waltham after the Rebellion. Note dead / killed include many of estate's specialist workers, particularly the head boiler – the most valuable slave.

*Discrepancy - slaves killed /lost post-rebellion i.e., 104 persons (see also Appendices E &F).

Appendix E

Claims for Compensation Executed Slaves⁵⁶⁴

Account For	Names(s) / Nos. of Executed	Compensation Allowed (£) (R = refused)	Offence/Comments re. Claim
Jean Baptise Mavreaux	2	40	-
Peter Fowinillier	1	Valued @ 50	Running away/no compensation until proof; killed in pursuit
Francois Roy	1	R	Running away/valued by 1 white, law states must be by 2 whites
Monsieur Dubrussie	1	R	Running away/no proof
Andrew Irwin	4 (Martin, Amadis, Virgil & Hector)	R	All (except Virgil) for running away/ no proofs for all; Virgil – R - reasons not allowed by law
Mr. Giviel	1	R	Murder / R
Mr Tharode	1	R	Burglary / R

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

Pierre Delpeche	2	R	Robbery
John Desbat	1	R	Plotting to go with and/or carry off slaves
Gilbert William, John & Andrew Robertson	1	R	Murder
Henry Wright	2	£10*	* allowed expenses as constable attending execution
Andre Philip	-	R	Fees as captain of detachment hunting down runaways
Michael Scott	1	£50	Running away
Proprietors of Pearl Estate	9 (Eustace, Daniel, Eukan, Angelique, Solomon, Nero, Clarion, Harry, Livia, Batteau)	£50 for Daniel; remainder R	Eustache – executed 18 months before act
Messrs. Payne, Angerstien & Wilkinson	3 (Scipion, Philip, Degan)	£100	Running away; Degan – in pursuit/not allowed

Appendix F

Slave Losses Sustained at Waltham (St. Mark's Parish)

Name (additional comments)	Occupation	£ Value	Killed in cann	Killed on estate	Killed in Gouvave	Drowned Gouvave	Gouvave hanged	Died of	Shot on estate
Bristol	(a good) carpenter	200				1			
Calais		180	1						
Jean Pierre		180	2						
Little George	(a fine boy)	20						1	
Louison	A driver	200					1		
Puqua	Mill boats	150	3						
Sain	(a good field negro)	140	4						
Tholouse	“ “	140	5						
Gulian	“ “	140	6						
Alexander	“ “	140	7						

Nottingha	“ “	140	8	
Cupeon	Head boiler	160		1
Ettienne	(a fine negro)	150	9	
Jean Paul	Field negro fireman	150		1
Helepeou	Field negro	140		1
Jean Pierre	Fisherman	150		1
Macisnum	Field negro	140	10	
Bugandine	Cook	150		2
C. Phillip	A good watchman	150		3
Felix	Field negro	150		2

*Half the slave population remain in Fédon's Camp.

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