

Trelawny Maroon, the Colour of Freedom:
Re-conceptualizing Subjecthood in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic

By

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Abstract

The Trelawny Maroons in Jamaica rebelled in 1795-96, and were temporarily removed to Halifax, Nova Scotia before being settled in Sierra Leone. This thesis starts by challenging current scholarly literature, which emphasizes rebellion against slavery as their motivation, by highlighting the Maroons' role as slave captors, who benefited financially and socially by cooperating with, and not rebelling against, the British in Jamaica. An examination of how their kinship networks changed follows to underscore that, while they retained their cultural *maroon* identity, they increasingly adopted British social practices and customs to publicly confirm their loyalty and commitment as British subjects. Finally, by highlighting the close relationship that the Maroons had with the British, as well as the extent to which they were involved in colonial governance and took advantage of the British legal and political systems, themes of collaboration and acquiescence are emphasized as the keys to understanding the Maroons' experiences.

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Sincerely,

Mike P. Kofahl

Chapter 1: Introduction

Two culprits, accused by a white planter of stealing two of his pigs, were captured and dragged through a plantation near Montego Bay. They were then tied down and flogged by the plantation's driver to the jeers and laughter of a crowd of slaves. Floggings were a normal part of life on slave plantations in Jamaica in 1795, but on this particular July day, the two culprits were not slaves. Rather, the accused belonged to the nearby Trelawny Maroon community. Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that on 18 July, the St. James Parish magistrate wrote to the new Governor, Lord Lindsay Balcarres, informing him that a "serious disturbance" was likely to break out.¹ His letter warned that the Trelawny Maroons had driven away their new British superintendent, Captain Thomas Craskell, who lived with them in their community.² They also threatened to destroy several of the neighboring plantations.³ The Maroons were angry because the peace treaty they had with the British from 1738, which stipulated they had the right to a trial by the local magistrate and "protected them from whipping or other ill-treatment", had been violated.⁴

Governor Balcarres responded by sending the Trelawny militia into Trelawny Maroon territory (as close as three miles from Maroon Town where the Maroons lived) as a precaution. Captain Andrew Smith, a member of the Maroons, met the militia and

¹ Bryan Edwards, *The Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly of Jamaica, in regard to the Maroon Negroes*. (London: J. Stockdale, 1796), xli. See also Robert Charles Dallas, *History of the Maroons, from their origins to the establishment of their chief tribe at Sierra Leone: including the expedition to Cuba, for the purpose of procuring Spanish Chasseurs; and the state of the Island of Jamaica for the last ten years: with a succinct history of the island previous to that period*. Vol.1. (London: A. Strahan, 1803), 144-45. The Plantation driver was also a slave.

² Henceforth, the Trelawny Maroons will simply be referred to as the "Maroons".

³ Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, vol.1 143-44.

⁴ *Ibid*, 59-65. See Dallas for a complete list of all fifteen articles of the treaty.

invited Mr. Tharp, the custos, along with several other prominent men, to Maroon Town.⁵ There, they met with leaders of the Maroon community and Major John James, the community's previous British superintendent.⁶ The Maroons listed three grievances: the infringement of their treaty by the planter in Montego Bay, insufficient land for their subsistence, and the incompetency of their new superintendent, Captain Craskell.⁷ The British emissaries agreed to redress the Maroons' grievances as quickly as possible, and General James Palmer wrote to Governor Balcarres, recommending compliance with the demands. However, Balcarres decided on military action as the best response and sent troops to surround the Maroon community. On 8 August, they were informed that all passages to their town were occupied by troops and told to surrender.⁸

The Maroons refused to surrender themselves and abandoned their town in favour of the nearby Cockpits, the mountainous region west of Trelawny Town that provided a safe haven because of its treacherous ravines and narrow passages. The British troops tried for several months to capture the Maroons but remained unsuccessful because the Maroons were more knowledgeable about the Cockpits. They easily repelled any British advances through the use of guerilla warfare, which was unfamiliar to the troops. Eventually, the Jamaican Assembly contracted Spanish chasseurs (hunting dogs) from Cuba to hunt down the Maroons. On 25 December 1795, just as the chasseurs arrived on Jamaica to hunt the Maroons, General Walpole, who was in charge of the campaign against the Maroons, negotiated a peace treaty with the Maroons. The treaty stipulated that the Maroons would surrender themselves and that they would agree to go any place

⁵ A Custos was the Queen's representative in any of the Jamaican parishes.

⁶ *Ibid*, 149-150.

⁷ *Ibid*, 151-52.

⁸ *Ibid*, 172.

on the island that the British colonial authorities required, that they would give up all runaway slaves who had joined them, and that they would not be transported off the island.⁹

Governor Balcarres ratified the treaty on 28 December 1795, and ordered the Maroons to surrender themselves by 1 January 1796.¹⁰ However, the Maroons were wary of trusting Balcarres and most did not immediately surrender. General Walpole suggested to Balcarres in their correspondence that many of the Maroons could not honor the January deadline because of the difficulties of travel through the Cockpits and because many of the Maroons had young children, were elderly or ill.¹¹ After the final Maroons had surrendered in March 1796, Governor Balcarres determined that the Maroons had broken their new treaty by surrendering too slowly, and on that context repealed the stipulation that protected the Trelawny maroons from removal from the island. On June 26, 1796, five hundred and forty-three Trelawny Maroons were put aboard the *Dover*, *Mary*, and *Anne* in Port Royal Harbour and sent to Halifax, Nova Scotia.¹²

When they arrived in Halifax that July, the Maroons were settled in Preston, two miles north of Halifax and put to work in the construction of the Fort George.¹³ In the fall, as the temperatures fell below any the Maroons had ever experienced, they began to petition Nova Scotia's Governor, John Wentworth, to be removed to a warmer climate

⁹ Edwards, *Proceedings*, 12-14.

¹⁰ Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, 146.

¹¹ Edwards, *Proceedings*, 17-70. Letters between Walpole and Balcarres were later submitted to the Jamaican Assembly.

¹² Werner Zips, *Black Rebels: African Caribbean Freedom Fighters in Jamaica*. Translated from German by Shelley Frisch. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 199.

¹³ Fort George was later renamed the Citadel Fortress.

that was more suitable to their race.¹⁴ Governor Wentworth resisted their attempts to be relocated, declaring that in time, they would become accustomed to the climate.¹⁵ The Jamaican Assembly had promised Wentworth an annual allotment of money to support the Trelawny Maroons while they became settled, and he wanted it to continue. However, Wentworth failed to provide adequate records of his expenditures for the Maroons, the Jamaican Assembly refused to continue sending money, and Whitehall forced Wentworth to relocate the Maroons to a more desirable climate.

The Nova Scotian government and the British Parliament, under the direction of the Duke of Portland, persuaded the Sierra Leone Company to receive the Maroons, who could then help them quell an insurrection of former Black Loyalists from Nova Scotia. The Maroons arrived off the coast of Sierra Leone at the end of September in 1800. By the end of October, the Maroons had defeated the rebel Nova Scotians and were finally settled in Granville Town, near the defeated Nova Scotians.¹⁶ The Maroons helped the Sierra Leone Company battle native Temne people also living on the Peninsula of Sierra Leone until 1807, when the British took over control of the colony from the company. When the British abolished the slave trade that same year, many African slaves aboard slaving ships were “liberated” and then resettled in Freetown (the new name given to Granville Town after its destruction in 1805). During the next quarter century, the

¹⁴ “Governor Wentworth’s Nova Scotia Letter Books” in the Nova Scotia Public Archives. Microfilm. Reel 15238, vol. 52..”Mr. Quarrell of Jamaica- Commissioner for settling the Maroons in this Province to Wentworth” (April 21, 1797), 39 . During the eighteenth century, it was a common belief in the Atlantic world that race and skin color were associated with climate. Each race was more suitable for certain climates, hence why black slaves were thought best for the Caribbean.

¹⁵ Ibid, Wentworth- Portland, (4 August 1797), 101.

¹⁶ James Walker, *The Black Loyalists: the Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*. (New York: African Publishing Company, 1976), 242-245.

population of Liberated Africans exploded, and the Maroon community began to become synonymous with the Nova Scotians in Freetown. Some of the Maroons eventually returned to Jamaica in 1829, but the majority remained in and around Freetown, and continued to exist as free subjects in the British colony.

This thesis will re-evaluate and re-conceptualize the experiences of the Trelawny Maroons during their voyages from Jamaica to Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone and to connect their experiences to broader themes related to race, kinship, and subjecthood in the study of the British Atlantic. Thus far, the historical literature on the Trelawny Maroons is limited and has situated them almost solely within a framework of slavery and slave rebellion because of the Haitian Revolution and the more general surge of abolitionism in the Atlantic world in the 1790s. Historians have emphasized that the Trelawny Maroon ‘rebellion’ in 1795 was part of the general movement against slavery. This thesis will articulate the Maroons’ complicated relationships within the British Atlantic slave society, emphasizing that the Maroons were not motivated merely by ideology and that they did not have any regular intimate relationships with the other blacks in Jamaica. In reality, there is much to be gained historiographically by situating the Maroons’ experiences within broader themes of kinship, loyalism, and subjecthood in the British Empire instead of simply as part of Atlantic slavery and slave resistance or the emergence of racism.

Of course, it is still important to conceptualize the Maroons within the context of slavery and to realize that race was a defining element in their experiences and in the British response to them. The Haitian Revolution is also a critically important context for understanding the Trelawny Maroons’ story because fears about slave rebellion were

greater among whites during this period than they had been in previous decades. Those fears peaked in 1789, when the French Revolution resulted in the trumpeting of the Rights of Man throughout their empire and by the early 1790's, St. Domingue (later Haiti) was in an uproar. The French Revolution was inspired by Enlightenment ideas of individual and collective liberties, political rights, and class equality.¹⁷ The declaration of the Rights of Men essentially gave every French citizen equal rights. Although the proclamation was intended only for mainland France, free blacks and mulattos, and small-scale white planters in St. Domingue claimed new rights and liberties. When French authorities and large-scale planters denied their claims, the island was catapulted into a civil rebellion.¹⁸ In 1791, a number of skilled free blacks, including men like Jean-Francois, who may have been a Maroon, led the rebellious slaves into battle using guerrilla warfare.¹⁹ Toussaint Breda (later Louverture), who became one of the rebellion's leaders, was also a free black man.²⁰

Counter-revolutionary forces, mostly made up of white landowners, invited a British invasion from Jamaica in May 1793, but by 1795, they were losing badly to Louverture.²¹ By then, refugees from St. Domingue, as well as from Grenada, Guadeloupe, and St. Vincent, were arriving in Jamaica and whites in Jamaica feared the

¹⁷ Franklink W. Wright, "The Haitian Revolution" Chapter in *The Atlantic World in the Age of Empire*, Thomas Benjamin, Timothy Hall, David Rutherford, eds. 227-235 (NY: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007), 228.

¹⁸ Wim Klooster, *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A comparative history* (NY: New York University Press, 2009), 94-108.

¹⁹ Ibid, 99.

²⁰ Laurent Dubois & John D. Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804- A brief history with documents*. (NY: Bedford/St. Martins, 2006), 25.

²¹ Ibid, 120.

rebellions would spread to their island.²² When the Maroons voiced their opposition to the treatment of their fellow Maroons by a white planter in 1796, Governor Balcarres was spurred by his fears to treat the Maroons' uprising as an attempt to incite a slave rebellion.²³ As if adopting Balcarres' opinions that the Maroons were actively rebelling, the recent scholarly literature on the Trelawny Maroons has misconstrued the Maroons' motivations and overstated their direct role in the abolitionist movement²⁴. The Maroons did not rebel in 1795; rather, they were protesting circumstances of their treatment by the British. They were seeking a redress of their grievances and not contesting the terms of their relationship to the British Empire.

As Chapter Two will elaborate, the Maroons entered into active resistance towards the local British authorities to make their grievances known. They believed that their liberties, as stipulated in their 1738 treaty, were being ignored. However, faced with mounting pressure to end the disturbance amid fears of slave rebellion, Governor Balcarres launched a pre-emptive offensive against the Maroons. The Maroons resisted the advance on their community until they reached a compromise with General Walpole to avert further hostility. As such, it is more appropriate to understand the Maroons as a community of free blacks, who were attempting to re-negotiate their mutually beneficial

²² Ibid, 31.

²³ Jeffrey Fortin, "Blackened Beyond our Native Hue: Removal, Identity and the Trelawny Maroons on the Margins of the Atlantic World, 1796-1800" in *Citizen Studies*, vol. 10, 1. (2006), 15.

²⁴ For example, see Mavis Campbell, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: a documentary history. Studies in Third World Societies*, Publication no. 41 Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, 1990; Fortin, "Blackened beyond our native hue"; Michael Craton, *Testing The Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*. London: Cornell University Press, 1982; Alvin Thompson, *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas*. Jamaica: (University of the West Indies Press, 2006); and Zips, *Black Rebels*.

relationship with the British Crown, rather than as hostile opponents of the British. They embraced their friendly relationship with the British because that it seemed to guarantee the greatest opportunities in a world divided sharply along racial lines. The British had given them land and liberties, and protected them from unfair punishments. In return, the Maroons remained loyal to Jamaica's colonial authorities by upholding the stipulations of their treaty. They recaptured runaway slaves and during some instances, actively fought on their behalf (for example, during Tacky's rebellion in 1760). Their actions actually put them at odds with the slave populations on nearby plantations and cemented their stature as a Maroon community that was geographically isolated and culturally separated from other groups of blacks on the island. Thus, as James Sidbury and Jorge Canizares-Esguerra suggest, although the Maroons need to be contextualized within a highly racialized British slave society, many different conflicting relationships and communities influenced their actions and so we must avoid making generalizations about their experiences based simply on their African heritage. Their experiences were fundamentally different from the enslaved or from emancipated blacks.²⁵

To better understand this Trelawny Maroon community, Chapter Three shifts to the structure of their community and kinship networks, and how those networks changed by the early nineteenth century. In 1795, the Maroons were motivated to react to the punishment of their two fellow Maroons because they had established kinship networks that relied on group solidarity for protection. The Maroons placed great value on those kinship networks because they provided safety and support from intrusions on their

²⁵ James Sidbury & Jorge Canrares-Esguerra. "Mapping Ethnogenesis in the Early Modern Atlantic", *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 68, 2. (April 2011), 190. See also Alison Games, "Beyond the Atlantic: English Globetrotters and Transoceanic Connections". *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 63, 4 (Oct., 2006), 675-692.

liberties, and thus in 1795, they reacted to defend their kin and their liberties. Kinship networks and family connections became particularly important for the Maroons as part of a survival strategy after the Maroons were deported to Nova Scotia and then Sierra Leone. By banding together, the Maroons were able to limit intrusions onto their identity, land, and liberties. Kin were even able to overcome internal feuds and differences in opinion and religion. Thus family gave them their unique Trelawny Maroon identity and influenced how they understood their place, and negotiated with others, within the British Empire.

However, as the Maroons traveled around the Atlantic world, their family, and thus their identity, underwent significant changes. Traditions within their community changed as the younger generation began a formal British education where they learned and adopted British values and practices. Chapter Four explores the role that the Maroons had within their local British societies and communities, and how their adoption of British practices strengthened their relationships with, and increased their reliance on, local, colonial, and imperial British people. Although the Maroons had sought protection, as well as liberties and rights, from the British crown since 1738, they increasingly came to find themselves competing with other groups, including slaves, Liberated Africans and white neighbors for jobs and for the attention of the Crown. Thus, by the early nineteenth century, the Maroons came to rely more on their new status as British subjects than their family and kinship networks or Maroon identity for protection and support.

A variety of primary sources have been consulted in researching the Trelawny Maroons, most of which share one feature: they were all written by white British (whether colonial or imperial) men that were based both on their own observations and

on the opinion of others whom they interviewed. This thesis relies most heavily on the accounts of Robert Charles Dallas and Bryan Edwards because their writings are the most comprehensive contemporary accounts of the Trelawny Maroons. Dallas and Edwards complement each other well because their opinions of the Maroons and the Maroon rebellion stood in stark contrast, and thus, can provide insight into different dynamics of the Maroons' situation and experiences.²⁶ Both sources are used in conjunction with Colonial Office Papers to corroborate facts and to tease out the differences of opinion amongst colonial and imperial Britons of the Maroons that are important to understanding their place in the British Empire.

Robert Charles Dallas, a white creole writer who was born in Kingston, Jamaica in 1754, wrote the most frequently cited published primary record of the Maroons in circulation. His extensive, two volume narrative, *The History of the Maroons*, is based largely on an account of events told to him by his close friend, Lieutenant-Colonel William Quarrell and on correspondence between colonial officers obtained by the Jamaican Assembly.²⁷ Quarrell accompanied the Maroons in their deportation to Nova Scotia, and later became a close friend with the group. He advocated on their behalf to send them to Sierra Leone during their tenure in Nova Scotia, and they continued to correspond with him after they settled in Granville Town, including a petition by the Maroons in 1829 to be returned to Jamaica. Dallas' work, which was published in 1803, also relied on evidence from correspondence between British Colonial Officers, including

²⁶ Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration, and Betrayal*. (Massachusetts: Bergin & Garney Publishers Inc., 1988), 10-11.

²⁷ Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, vol. 1, iv-v.

Governors Balcarres and Wentworth, and the Duke of Portland, who oversaw foreign colonial affairs.

Bryan Edwards, a Jamaican planter, wrote *The Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly of Jamaica* in 1796.²⁸ His essay includes additional attachments of correspondence of the Jamaican Assembly. Edwards described the Maroons as “savage”, “ignorant”, and “murdering”, and declared that they butchered whites without “the least provocation”.²⁹ He denounced the Maroon “rebellion” as an attempt to drive white planters from their plantations and encouraged rumors that the Maroons were “prevailing on the negroe slaves throughout the island to join them” in order to “exterminate the whites”.³⁰ Dallas often challenged Edwards’ account of the events of the 1795-6 rebellion, especially when they seem most severe. For example, Dallas admitted that the Maroons committed violent acts against their enemies, but denies accusations by Edwards that “even women and children and infants at the breast [...] were slaughtered” by the Maroons.³¹ Edwards’ account serves as a counterpart to Dallas, who was motivated by his friendship with Quarrell to describe events in a manner that softened criticisms of the Maroons and those associated with them.

This thesis also relies heavily on a variety of Colonial Office papers, which include correspondence between colonial and imperial officials, as well correspondence between private British subjects living in Jamaica, Nova Scotia, and Sierra Leone. Correspondence includes letters describing daily Maroon affairs, Maroon petitions, and

²⁸ Franklin Knight. “The Haitian Revolution”, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 105, n. 1 (February 2000), 104.

²⁹ Edwards, *Proceedings*, iii.

³⁰ Edwards, *Proceedings*, xlvi.

³¹ Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, 184.

miscellaneous notes ranging from population surveys and samples of Maroons' writing. Correspondence from Governor John Wentworth's letter-books, found in the Nova Scotia Public Archives, was also used. Finally, the diary of William Dunlap, a British playwright and writer, which recounted the details of the 1795 rebellion from Mr. Ochterlony's perspective (he served in the war against the Maroons), is also included. Dunlap's diary was published post-humously and his comments and insights into the Maroons are meant to provide a level of objectivity that Dallas and Edwards did not have. Since Dunlap's diary was only published in 1839, long after the Trelawny Maroon disturbance in 1795-96, and his comments about the Maroons were made almost in passing amidst large discussions of life in the United States or about his endeavors into theater, it is certain he was not politically or socially motivated to deceive or indulge the truth about the Maroons.

As far as academic literature is concerned, Mavis Campbell, who taught at Amherst College and who is the preeminent historian on Maroon affairs, published a "documentary history" in 1990 called *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons*.³² Campbell admits that her focus was on "official dispatches between Nova Scotian governor and the colonial office in London" and that she omitted several documents which were only "tangentially connected with the Maroons", including several debates in the Jamaican Assembly that mostly discussed expenses related to the Maroons.³³ Campbell also had a

³² Mavis Campbell, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: a documentary history*. *Studies in Third World Societies*, Publication no. 41 (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, 1990), ix.

³³ Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, xiv. See this page for Campbell's complete list of sources that she omitted. These sources briefly mentioned the Maroons, but do not elaborate on any of their experiences.

habit of paraphrasing entire sections of documents and heavily editing others. These have been used sparingly and used in conjunction with the Wentworth Letter-Book.³⁴

The most difficult task in researching the Maroons has been finding accounts of their experiences once they arrived in Sierra Leone. George Ross, who was assigned to travel with the Maroons from Halifax to Granville Town, kept a diary that included daily descriptions of their journey across the Atlantic. Ross lived with the Maroons in Granville Town, and his diary describes events as late as the end of 1801. Mavis Campbell made the diary available. She claims that only she and Christopher Fyfe (University of Edinburgh) have ever read Ross' journal in its original state. She declares that she attempted not to alter the content and "sense" of the journal and tried not to allow her "editorial intrusions" to alter its "original flavor".³⁵ Still, it is the only source available (the original is in Sierra Leone) that chronicles the Maroons' experiences at sea and their initial arrival in Sierra Leone, and provides the most personal details about the Maroons' family and social lives. James Walker's *Black Loyalists*, Christopher Fyfe's *A History of Sierra Leone*, and Simon Schama's *Rough Crossings* remain the most comprehensive and extensive scholarly literature about the Maroons in Sierra Leone after 1801.

By re-evaluating these important primary sources and scrutinizing current scholarly literature about the Trelawny Maroons, this thesis aims to shift the Maroon narrative away from its traditional framework of a slave resistance paradigm and toward a framework that emphasizes their active role as a distinct community who shaped the

³⁴ Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, xiii.

³⁵ George Ross, *Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone*, ed. Mavis Campbell. (Trenton, NS: African World Press, Inc, 1993), xx, xvi.

British Atlantic world in their own way. To begin, the Maroons' role as slave captors in Jamaica, who benefited financially and socially by cooperating with the British, and their continued reliance on concepts of race, are emphasized to counter popular slave resistance narratives. An examination of how the Maroons' family and kinship networks changed during their voyages across the Atlantic follows to underscore that, while they retained their cultural identity from their family, they increasingly adopted British social practices and customs that helped them to publicly confirm their loyalty and commitment as British subjects. Finally, by highlighting the close relationship that the Maroons had with the British, as well as the extent to which they were involved in colonial governance and took advantage of the British legal and political systems, themes of collaboration and acquiescence are emphasized over resistance as the keys to understanding the Maroons' experiences.

In essence, this thesis attempts to give the Maroons 'agency', but more than giving the Maroons a voice, it gives them their own place at the table. In their introduction to *Black Experience and the Empire*, historians Sean Hawkins and Philip Morgan state that the experiences of blacks may best embody the nature of the British Empire.³⁶ Too little is known about free blacks during this period of social upheaval in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, even though they were an important part of broader discussions about race, freedom, and subjecthood and loyalty within the

³⁶ Sean Hawkins & Philip Morgan, eds. "Blacks and the British Empire: An Introduction" in *Black Experience and the Empire*. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 01.

contemporary British Atlantic.³⁷ Thus, the Maroons are a case study that has implications for our understanding of how many marginalized, non-white groups in the British Atlantic experienced freedom and what it meant to live under British rule, as their own identities and experiences of freedom changed.³⁸

³⁷ Arnold A. Sio, "Marginality and Free Colored Identity in Caribbean Slave Society", *The Slavery Reader*, Ch. 32 (1987), 669-70; Richard Price, "Maroons and their Communities", *The Slavery Reader*, Ch. 27 (1973), 620.

³⁸ Sean Hawkins & Philip Morgan, "Blacks and the British Empire, 174.

Chapter 2: Cudjoe's Race

This story begins during the seventeenth century when the Trelawny Maroons' African ancestors were first brought to Jamaica by Spanish slaveholders.¹ When opportunity struck, those slaves escaped from their owners into the mountainous Cockpits southwest of Montego Bay and created small communities in the bush.² After the English took possession of Jamaica in 1655, they tried to uproot those communities, but failed because they could not navigate the hazardous and unfamiliar terrain. As English people on the island tried and failed to dislodge them from the Cockpits, the fugitive communities grew into a closely linked network of extended families living across the island. Until the nineteenth century, the island's British inhabitants regarded those communities as fugitive negroes and escaped Spanish slaves.³ In 1730, according to Robert Charles Dallas, the Maroon leader, Cudjoe, "united all the fugitive negroes in the island" and his band adopted the designation *Maroon*.⁴ The English word *Maroon* was derived from the Spanish word *Cimarron*, which originally referred to domestic cattle that had escaped to the wild.⁵

¹ Bryan Edwards, *The Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly of Jamaica, in regard to the Maroon Negroes*. (London: Stockdale, 1796), iii.

² Robert Charles Dallas, *History of the Maroons, from their origins to the establishment of their chief tribe at Sierra Leone: including the expedition to Cuba, for the purpose of procuring Spanish Chasseurs; and the state of the Island of Jamaica for the last ten years: with a succinct history of the island previous to that period*. (London: A. Strahan, 1803), vol. 1, 25-26.

³ Dallas, *The History of the Maroons*, 46.

⁴ Dallas, 46.

⁵ Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration and Betrayal*. (Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey Publishers Inc, 1988), 2; Sue Peabody and Keila Grinberg. *Slavery, Freedom, and the Law in the Atlantic World: A Brief History with Documents*. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2007), 4.

Various groups of Jamaican maroons and runaway plantation slaves united under the leadership of Cudjoe the Maroon to resist British colonial encroachment onto their land.⁶ By 1738, the British had all but exhausted their efforts to defeat the Maroons after almost a decade of fierce fighting. The Jamaican Governor, Sir Edward Trelawny, decided to sue for peace and agreed to sign a treaty with Cudjoe on 24 February 1738.⁷ The treaty with Cudjoe pertained specifically to the Trelawny Maroons, and included stipulations that granted Cudjoe and his ancestors “a perfect state of freedom and liberty” and all the lands between Trelawny Town and the Cockpits (totaling fifteen hundred acres); gave them the liberty to plant and harvest those lands and sell their commodities to the other Jamaican inhabitants; required them to hunt and return runaway slaves on behalf of the British Planters; placed a permanent British colonial superintendent into their community; and granted them the right to a trial by the magistrate, for injustices done by or to them by the island’s white inhabitants: this meant that they “were protected from whipping or other ill-treatment”.⁸ This important treaty set the foundation for a new kind of Maroon community that was more closely influenced by the British.⁹

Dallas described Cudjoe the Maroon as “a rather short man, uncommonly stout, with very strong African features, and a particular wildness in his manners” who had “a very large lump of flesh on his back, which was partly covered by the tattered remains of

⁶ Dallas, vol. 1, 35-36. Dallas mentions that the Cottawoods and Madagascars joined Cudjoe’s band. Cudjoe and his band of fugitive negroes (mostly descendants of runaway slaves) lived in the parish of Clarendon on Jamaica. Quote from page 98.

⁷ Edwards, *Proceedings*, xvii.

⁸ Dallas, 59-65. See Dallas for a complete list of all fifteenth articles of the treaty.

⁹ Henceforth, “Maroon” will refer specifically to the Trelawny Maroons unless otherwise specified.

an old blue coat [...]”.¹⁰ He also suggested that “in character, language, and manner, they [the Maroons] resembled those negroes on the estates of the planters, that are descended from the same race of Africans, but displayed a striking distinction in their personal appearance, being blacker, taller, and in every respect handsomer”.¹¹ In fact, although it may have been possible for the Maroons to be taller due to better access to protein and micronutrients in their diet, there was most likely no clear distinction to be made between the Maroons and the plantation slaves. The description “blacker” might also have referred not to skin colour but to mannerisms associated with being black, such as the “wildness” that Dallas described in Cudjoe’s manners. Historian Barbara Kopytoff has suggested that prior to the 1738 treaty, the island’s maroon populations were only sustained by an influx of fugitive slaves from nearby plantations. The Trelawny Maroon population would have included a diverse and mixed genetic pool, with a mixture of Cudjoe’s immediate and extended relatives and tribe, runaway slaves from several distinct regions in Africa, and black creoles born on Jamaica.¹²

The distinction that both local and transatlantic Britons, as well as the Maroons, made between the terms *maroon*, *slave*, *negro*, *mulatto*, or *creole* (to name but a few major racial categories) in the British empire in the eighteenth century is important because in Jamaica, race classifications most commonly referred to blood lineage.¹³ This is especially relevant in the case of the Trelawny Maroons, as seen in the second

¹⁰ Dallas, 53.

¹¹ Dallas, 88.

¹² Barbara Kopytoff, “The development of Jamaican Maroon Ethnicity”, *Caribbean Quarterly*, vol. 22, 1 (June-Sept., 1976), 43.

¹³ *Ibid*, 58-59.

stipulation of the *Articles of Pacification with the Maroons of Trelawny Town*, concluded
1 March 1738:

Second, That the said Captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them, within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past.¹⁴

Self-identification as a *Trelawny Maroon*, as a type of black racial group on the island, was a distinct advantage over other racial classifications because as descendants of Cudjoe and his ancestors, the Maroons could claim “a perfect state of freedom and liberty” under the treaty. Thus, the Maroons recognized that race was an important factor in determining their societal position on the island and they took great care to present an authentic and unique *maroon* identity in order to separate themselves from other racial categories that could jeopardize their claims to freedom.

Since race so heavily influenced both the conceptualization and experience of ‘freedom’, and the Trelawny Maroons’ freedom and liberties were so strongly linked to blood lineage, as well as local and transatlantic conceptualizations of race, it is an appropriate place to begin an evaluation of how the Trelawny Maroons conceptualized their freedom and liberties. This first chapter will examine how the Maroons constructed and protected their racial identity, how perceptions of that *maroon* identity changed as circumstances changed, and both how race shaped the Maroons’ freedom and how they shaped British perceptions of their role in British society as free blacks. The chapter will begin by re-evaluating the role that slavery and slave rebellion had in shaping the way the Maroons acted and reacted to circumstances that affected their freedom. A large amount

¹⁴ Dallas, 58-59.

of the scholarly literature about the Trelawny Maroons, including works by Mavis Campbell, the most preeminent scholar on the Maroons, has framed the 1795-96 Maroon Rebellion in terms of a larger British Atlantic slave narrative that emphasizes Maroon rebellion against slavery.¹⁵ In particular, the Haitian Revolution has been implicated as being a key factor in the Maroons' decision to resist the island's British authorities. That literature has failed to consider that the Maroons neither considered themselves slaves, nor had any reason to fight on behalf of slaves. The Maroons were actually at odds with the slave population and were motivated by their own aspirations and concerns about their liberties and freedom.

This chapter will also show that instead of resisting British racial stereotypes and fighting for racial equality, the Maroons empowered themselves by playing into those stereotypes. They acknowledged that they could not significantly change their racial categorization, so they shifted British focus onto the fact that they retained social status above that of other blacks. They also embellished British stereotypes. For example, during their tenure in Nova Scotia, the Maroons invoked common British Atlantic racial stereotypes that blacks were best suited to live and work in hot climates to protest their

¹⁵ For example, see Mavis Campbell, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: a documentary history*. *Studies in Third World Societies*, (Publication no. 41 Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, 1990); Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); Jeffrey Fortin, "Blackened beyond our native hue"; Michael Craton, *Testing The Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*. London: Cornell University Press, 1982; Alvin Thompson, *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2006; and Werner Zips, *Black Rebels: African Caribbean Freedom Fighters in Jamaica*. Translated from German by Shelley Frisch. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999).

relocation to Nova Scotia because of its cold weather.¹⁶ In Jamaica, rather than putting themselves at odds with the white planter class, the Maroons accepted and acknowledged that some ‘negroes’ ought to be slaves. They disassociated themselves from most black slaves by identifying themselves as *maroons*, although it seems that they did make some exceptions for female slaves.¹⁷ They created a social niche within a slave society, in which their freedom was protected because of their racial identity, and in which they upheld traditional race relations. As historian Gad Heuman acknowledges, they presented themselves as being racially and socially superior to slave negroes and other blacks that had formerly been slaves, such as the Liberated Africans in Sierra Leone and adopted a harsh attitude towards almost any black that was not free.¹⁸ As required by stipulation nine of their treaty, they even captured and returned runaway slaves:

...If any negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into Captain Cudjoe’s hands, they shall immediately be sent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish where they are taken; and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint.¹⁹

By capturing runaway slaves and returning them to their slave owners, the Maroons put themselves at odds with the nearby slave populations while also establishing an important economic relationship with the colonial British government.

¹⁶ Zips, *Black Rebels*, 199.

¹⁷ Arnold A. Sio, “Marginality and Free Colored Identity in Caribbean Slave Society”, *The Slavery Reader*, Ch. 32 (1987), 676.

¹⁸ Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration, and Betrayal*. (Massachusetts: Bergin & Garney Publishers Inc., 1988), 245; Robert Winks. *The Blacks in Canada: A History*. 2nd ed. Chapters 2-3. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 76, 82; Gad Heuman. “The Free Coloreds in Jamaican Slave Society”, *Slavery Reader* ed. Gad Heuman & James Walvin, Chapter 31. (1981), 656.

¹⁹Dallas, vol. 1, 62-63.

Simultaneously, the Maroons also challenged racial inequalities. They protested the inequality in wages between whites and blacks by arguing that as free black subjects they deserved wages equal to white workers.²⁰ Once they were transported to Sierra Leone, the Maroons continued to empower themselves and protect their independence by helping the British to quell an insurrection by the black Nova Scotians in Freetown. They quickly cemented their place in British society as a group of useful free blacks, and proved to the British in their own way that free blacks could coexist with their white neighbors.

When he wrote his two volume *History of the Maroons* in 1803, Robert Charles Dallas, a Briton living in Jamaica, highlighted the 1795-96 Maroon “rebellion” as an extraordinary feat, perhaps because he was amused by the irony that several hundred Maroons bested thousands of trained British troops. He wrote that the events, “if not so grand as those that fill the Grecian and Roman pages of history, were at least as singular and embarrassing as any that were presented to the mind of the enormous armies that, about the same time, extended from one end of Europe to the other.”²¹ He summed up the events of the Maroon disturbance as “a small body of negroes [defying] the choicest troops of one of the greatest nations in the world.”²² Unfortunately, contemporary and modern historians studying the Maroons have taken the events in 1795-96 out of context. It has become iconic of a broader, fiercer black struggle against slavery in the eighteenth

²⁰ David Killingray, “‘A Good West Indian, a Good African, and, in Short, a Good Britisher’: Black and British in a colour-conscious Empire, 1760-1950”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 36, 3 (Sept. 2008), 363-64.

²¹ Dallas, 123.

²² Dallas, vol. 1, 123.

century.²³ They have been labeled as “rebels” and “revolutionaries”, fighting against the violent and brutal opposition of slavery. Werner Zips has gone as far as calling the Maroons “freedom fighters” and James Lockett would suggest that, “the Maroons clearly became the front-line fighters in the struggle against slavery”.²⁴ The problem with these frameworks is that they neglect many important aspects of Trelawny Maroon society, such as their collaborative efforts with the British to suppress slave rebellions. In fact, Edward Long, who described the Maroons as “wild Negroes”, argued that the “compilers of the Modern Universal History” fell into the mistake of saying that the Trelawny Maroons had caused Tacky’s Rebellion in 1760 and that they were inappropriately called rebellious.²⁵

The most notable example of resistance literature addressing the Maroons is Mavis Campbell’s *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: a History of resistance, collaboration, & betrayal*. Campbell presents the Maroons as opponents to white planters on Jamaica and their hold on power. Campbell traces the Trelawny Maroons’ ancestry back to the 1600’s, when Spanish slaves escaped into the Jamaican wilderness. Like historian Eugene Genovese before her, Campbell suggests that the most prevalent resistance to slavery was when slaves ran away and established their own habitations.²⁶

²³Many Britons writing about the Maroons described them as rebellious savages. See Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*. Vol. 2, section IV, Book two, Ch. XIII (Frank Cass & Co. LTD, 1970), 445.

²⁴ Werner Zips, *Black Rebels*, 5; James Lockett, “The Deportation of the Maroons of Trelawny Town to Nova Scotia, then back to Africa”, *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 30, 1. (September 1999), 7.

²⁵ Long, *The History of Jamaica*. Vol. 2, section IV, Book two, Ch. XIII (Frank Cass & Co. LTD, 1970), 444, 445, 447.

²⁶ See: Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979).

She highlights the bloodline connections between former Spanish slaves of the sixteenth century and the Trelawny Maroons in the eighteenth century and then bases her subsequent assertions about Maroon resistance on their fading connection to those runaway Spanish slaves.²⁷ Campbell draws attention to Dallas' quote about defying British troops and refers to the heroism of the Maroons in their "courageous fight for freedom [as] a handful of bedraggled fugitives" and claims that the Maroon resistance to the British during the 1730s was part of broader black resistance to white plantocratic control.²⁸

Since Campbell made her claims in 1988, more historians have cited Campbell's work and relied on the same frameworks to understand the Maroons' motivations. Henry Joseph Drapalski, who wrote his thesis at Amherst College, which was also home to Mavis Campbell, relied extensively on Campbell's work, calling it a "comprehensive historical analysis" of the Maroons. He refers to the Maroons' Spanish slave ancestry as being key to understanding their 1795 rebellion as opposition to slavery by assuming that they still acknowledged, and traced ties to, their past slave ancestry, and that those ties connected them to slaves in the late eighteenth century.²⁹ Drapalski has made a convincing case that the literature on the Maroons has neglected the Maroons' African past.³⁰ His argument parallels that of Richard Price in placing emphasis on the need for identifying Maroon links to African societies in order to understand their family and community structures in Jamaica. Since the Maroons' ancestors were mostly prisoners

²⁷ Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica*, 1.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 7. 13.

²⁹ Henry Joseph Drapalski III, "Autonomous but not invincible: The Trelawny Maroons' Odyssey in the Atlantic World". Thesis for Department of History, Amherst College (April 07, 2008), 5, 11.

³⁰ Drapalski, "Autonomous but not invincible", 10.

from tribes along the Gold Coast (including Kumasi, Juaben, Bekwai, Nsuta, Mampong, and Kokofu) and shared a common linguistic birthplace (Akan), Drapalski argues that they developed a “homogeneous” ethnicity that shared “one language, a centralized authority and a demarcated territory”.³¹ Although Richard Price warned that no Maroon practices could reliably be traced to any specific tribal prominence, it is still possible to link Maroon community identity to some elements of African culture that close tribal bands had in common, especially language.³² However, shared common language and some similarities in practices does not equate to a “homogenous” ethnicity, especially since ethnicity constantly changes.³³

Michael Craton’s work, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*, stresses the importance of the fact that the Trelawny community was “formed almost entirely of Coromantee slaves who rebelled and took to the mountains”.³⁴ “Coromantee” slaves, the designation used for slaves who originated from the Gold Coast of Africa (today’s Ghana), were renowned by Caribbean slaveholders for their fierce warrior culture and known to frequently rebel against their captives.³⁵ Craton draws parallels between the rebellious Coromantee slaves and their “rebellious” ancestors, and presents it as proof that the Maroons were part of a pattern of rebellion passed down through their culture. However, as Richard Price has suggested, Maroon personalities and

³¹ Drapalski, 16-18; 32-33; see also Kopytoff, “The Development of Jamaican Maroon Ethnicity”.

³² Richard Price, “Maroons and their Communities”, *Slavery Reader* ed. Gad Heuman & James Walvin, Chapter 28. (1973), 624.

³³ Kopytoff, “Development”, 34.

³⁴ Craton, *Testing The Chains*, 75. Coromantee slaves were part of the Akan language group, which predominated in the Gold Coast region.

³⁵ Drapalski, 20-21.

their belief system cannot be attributed to any “specific tribal provenience” (such as their link to the Coromantee slaves), no matter how African in character they seem.³⁶

The Trelawny Maroons’ ethnicity and their cultural background are still important for understanding the changes that occurred during the eighteenth century. By the 1730’s, generations of Maroons had been born free. As both Kopytoff and Drapalski suggest, these new freeborn black generations changed the cultural identity of the Trelawny Maroons. Although historian John Thornton argues that maroons on Jamaica formed ethnic groups based heavily on “national identity” or their African roots, which linked them to previously rebellious ancestors, historian Alvin Thompson counters Thornton directly by declaring that unlike slave societies, maroon societies were not based on ethnic attributes because their ethnicity was constantly changing with the addition of runaway slaves from many different African regions.³⁷ More importantly, the newer generations of freeborn Maroons diverged, both socially and culturally, from their slave neighbors and were known to frown upon blacks that let themselves be victims of slavery.³⁸ It is also important to note that Africans had their own slave systems in Africa and that they would thus have accepted it as part of a functioning society. This only confirms that common African ancestry or shared ethnicity did not give the Maroons any reason to rebel against slavery. If anything, it reinforces the argument presented here that

³⁶ Price, “Maroons and their Communities”, 624.

³⁷ John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. 2nd Ed. (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 201; Thompson, *Flight to Freedom*, 78

³⁸ Price “Maroons and their Communities”, 620.

the Maroons had no reason to rebel against slavery because their customs and practices were based on a slave society.³⁹

Like Craton, Campbell relies on the assumption that the Maroons had connections to the slave populations because of an “Africaness” that “transcended regional, ethnic or linguistic affinities, on which the Maroons based their existence”.⁴⁰ While it is obvious that most of the blacks on the island, including both slaves and maroons, could theoretically trace their ancestry back to Africa, it does not guarantee that they shared mutual affinities for one another or that the Maroons based their daily practices on faded ancestral connections. Perhaps historians’ assumptions of such “Africaness” have become perpetuated because white planters during the eighteenth century thought and wrote about blacks as one uniform group of “negroes” who resembled one another culturally. For example, Dallas wrote that, “The Maroons, in general, speak like most of the other negroes in the island, a particular dialect of English, corrupted with African words [...]”⁴¹ and that “they resembled those negroes on the estates”.

A closer reading of Dallas reveals that he firmly believed that “nothing could be more ill founded than the notion that the Maroons had great interest in the slaves”.⁴² In fact, the Trelawny Maroons had distaste for slaves and their shared African ancestry did not create many bonds between the groups. Since 1738, the Maroons had hunted and captured fugitive slaves.⁴³ According to Bryan Edwards, the Maroons disliked fugitive

³⁹ Thornton, *Africa and Africans*; Drapalski , 34-38.

⁴⁰ Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica*, 3.

⁴¹ Dallas, vol. 1, 92.

⁴² Ibid, 217.

⁴³ Richard Price suggests that part of the difficulty of understanding the Maroons has been the fact that they hunted runaway slaves for the British. See Price “Maroons and their Communities”, 620.

slaves and often maimed them.⁴⁴ In 1760, the Trelawny Maroons were employed to fight the rebels in Tacky's rebellion and throughout the eighteenth century, the Maroons remained valuable to the British colonial authorities and to the island's planters by fighting against slave uprisings on their behalf. Their superintendent, John James, claimed that they behaved well and "rendered very great services and benefits to many of the planters and other settlers".⁴⁵ It is true though that the Maroons were said to have some runaway slaves, mostly women, living amongst them.⁴⁶ As part of the stipulations of their treaty in December 1795, they were obliged to give up all runaway slaves.⁴⁷ Some of these runaways had been missing from their estates for years.⁴⁸ However, Dallas mentioned that the Maroons were rumored not to care about slaves with whom they had temporary relations (spouses or children).⁴⁹ While it is impossible to know if these rumors were true, Balcarres did write to the Duke of Portland in May 1796 to say that there were too many imprisoned Maroons onboard the transports and that he had let one hundred and fifty back onto the island.⁵⁰ A list of runaway slaves, both male and female, among the Maroons included a "Jarrett", a "Parkinson", "Bailey", and "Tharp", all common last names among the Maroons. It is unclear if these runaways had named themselves after British family names like the Maroons, or if they were extended kin, most likely through marriage, to Maroon families. However, the Maroons did give up these extended runaway slave family members to protect their closer kin.

⁴⁴ Edwards, xxxv.

⁴⁵ Campbell, "Maroons in Jamaica", 256.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 4.

⁴⁷ Edwards, *Proceedings*, 12.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 68.

⁴⁹ Dallas, 126.

⁵⁰ C.O. 137/96 in The National Archives (UK) "Correspondence regarding Jamaica" from *Slavery, Abolition and Social Justice*, vol. 1. Jan-June (1796), 276, 269.

At the same time, the Trelawny Maroons distanced themselves from the other maroon groups on the island. They severed close ties with the other group of Leeward maroons, the Accompong Maroons, after a dispute in 1739 over who should remain in physical possession of the 1738 treaty. The Maroons also distanced themselves from the Windward maroons on the eastern parts of the island.⁵¹ Drapalski correctly suggests that after 1738, the Trelawny Maroons developed into an independent community not defined by slavery but by a closer relationship with the British.⁵² So the Maroons were actually at odds with the slave population and with other maroons.⁵³ In 1796, after the rebellion was ended, Governor Balcarres received a letter from W. D. Luarett stating that the Maroons had decided to leave the country because they reckoned “that they could never live in serenity or quiet with the free people of colour and Negroes in this island”.⁵⁴ Thus, the Maroons even acknowledged that they had effectively cut all potential ties with the other maroon communities, as well as the slave populations and other free blacks.

In his diary (1839), William Dunlap, a British producer, playwright, and actor, mentioned that he was a good friend with Mr. Ochterlony, who was an officer of one of the Dragoons called in to fight against the Trelawny maroons in 1795. Ochterlony explained to Dunlap that claims of the Maroons being rebellious were either exaggerated or fictitious.⁵⁵ Communications from General George Walpole to Governor Balcarres, as well as records from the 1795 Jamaican Assembly, correspond with the assertions made

⁵¹ Drapalski, 66, 70-71.

⁵² *Ibid*, 91.

⁵³ Edwards, xxxv.

⁵⁴ Dallas, vol. 2, 269

⁵⁵ William Dunlap, *Diary of William Dunlap (1766-1839): Memoirs of a dramatist, theatrical manager, painter, critic, novelist, and historian*. Vol. 1. (London: Benjamin Bloom), 181-83.

in Dunlap's diary. Dallas also remained unconvinced of accusations against the Trelawny Maroons: "I must not omit, to say, that the principle men among the Maroons have ever denied that they voluntarily entered into rebellion against the authority of the government, declaring they were forced into hostilities on the principles of self-preservation, being persuaded by the subsequent conduct of the white people, that their destruction was determined."⁵⁶

Thus, the Maroons were not resisting the British or slavery, but rather, were attempting to enforce the stipulations of their treaty. Mavis Campbell has highlighted that tensions were rising during the early 1790's due to encroachments onto Trelawny lands and the inability of the Maroons to sustain themselves on one thousand five hundred acres of land. Historian George Cumper argues that the development and encroachment of white people nearer to the Maroons forced them to retaliate because their way of life became threatened.⁵⁷ As Drapalski hinted, by 1795, the Maroons were closely tied to the British and preferred negotiations with the colonial authorities over open rebellion. However, motivated by fears of the events on St. Domingo, Governor Balcarres acted pre-emptively and decided on a show of force rather than a diplomatic approach. The Maroons were forced to react.

In his work, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*, historian Michael Craton suggests that Trelawny Maroon resistance was inevitable and that they were "pushed into war by a [white] ruling class".⁵⁸ He recounts the narrative of a slave named William who was captured by a group of Trelawny Maroons and

⁵⁶ Dallas, vol. 1, 147-48.

⁵⁷ George Cumper, "The Maroons in the 18th Century: A Note on Indirect Rule in Jamaica", *Caribbean Quarterly*, vol. 8 (1962), 25-26.

⁵⁸ Craton, *Testing The Chains*, 211.

overheard the Maroon, General Palmer, telling other slaves that blacks all over the island were joining the Maroons in rebellion⁵⁹. William was able to escape from the Maroons and return to his plantation before they could coerce him into joining their fight. Craton mentions the story of another slave named Abraham, who was kidnapped while working on a plantation and was also threatened, under death, to join the Maroons' cause. Craton also cites a letter from Henry Shirley to Governor Balcarres on October 20, 1795, which declared that a plantation overseer on Amity Hall Estate overheard the Maroon captain, Leonard Parkinson, telling slaves "he was fighting to make all the Negroes free".⁶⁰

It became common for the Jamaican Assembly to hear these and similar slave testimonies about incidents where Maroons had apparently attempted to incite plantation slaves to join them or kidnapped them. Many of these stories came out of the Westmorland Parish in particular, where freed blacks made up nearly half of the population.⁶¹ Yet, no historian writing about the Maroons has ever questioned the motives of the slaves giving these testimonies.⁶² First, the mere fact that the Jamaican Assembly allowed black slaves' testimonies is suspicious because the law in Jamaica did not allow manumitted blacks to testify against freeborn coloreds or blacks in court, and the Maroons were considered free born.⁶³ Secondly, most testimonies were only taken after the rebellion had ended, and it is possible that the slaves sought rewards for their loyalty to their masters or had left their estates and were lying about where they had been

⁵⁹ Ibid, 218.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 217-218.

⁶¹ Heuman, "The Free Coloureds", 657-58.

⁶² Dallas, vol. 1, 346-358. See Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica*, 220-222 and Jeffrey Fortin, 6, 15, for instances where contemporary historians neglect to critically critique these narratives.

⁶³ Heuman, 655.

to avoid punishment. It is equally possible that other rebellious ‘negroes’, whom the plantation slaves thought were Maroons, were attempting to kidnap them. Small groups of recent runaway slaves also lived in the thick jungle on Jamaica. For example, Walpole wrote to Balcarres in February 1796, and noted that some prisoners from Westmoreland were not connected with the rebellion.⁶⁴ Two months later, Balcarres wrote to Portland, estimating that approximately two hundred of the captives were runaway slaves, many of whom he released.⁶⁵

Governor Balcarres confidently wrote that “with the recent example before their eyes of the dreadful insurrection in St. Domingue”, the Maroons encouraged slaves to rebel against the white planters and inhabitants of Jamaica.⁶⁶ In addition, Governor Balcarres’ brother, General Lindsay, was sent at the time to Grenada to quell a rebellion instigated by free blacks and mulattoes.⁶⁷ Governor Balcarres was not the only one who was worried that the Maroons were inspired by the St. Domingue slave revolution.⁶⁸ Immediately following the removal of the Maroons from Jamaica in 1796, Bryan Edwards observed that, “while rumours of plots and conspiracies distracted the minds of the ignorant, many among the most thoughtful and considerate, anticipated all the horrors of St. Domingue”.⁶⁹ Writing in 1803, Dallas confirmed that, “the public mind

⁶⁴ C.O. 137/96 “Correspondence”, 219.

⁶⁵ C.O. 137/96 “Correspondence”, 245.

⁶⁶ Edwards, l-liv.

⁶⁷ Fortin, 7, 10; Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 210.

⁶⁸ Allister Hinds, “‘Deportees in Nova Scotia’, the Jamaican Maroons, 1796-1800” Ch. 10 in *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, Africa, and the African Diaspora*. Ed. Verene A. Shepherd (NY: Polgrave, 2002), 206; Heuman, “Free Coloureds”, 661.

⁶⁹ Edwards, xlvi.

was considerably agitated by the affairs of St. Domingo, by an apprehension of the contagion of revolutionary principles spreading to Jamaica”.⁷⁰

Of course, fears that free blacks would incite rebellions were not new to white planters in the Caribbean. The French Revolution in 1789 had caused a series of slave revolts in the French Caribbean. Groups of both free and enslaved blacks living on French islands responded to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen by demanding new liberties. A slave revolt started in Martinique the same month the declaration was made in France. A letter from Governor Vioménil to the minister of the Marine and the Colonies on 14 September 1789 highlighted his haste to break up gatherings of blacks and “most of all to prevent these rebels from joining the old *négres maroons* in the under populated mountains of the interior of this island”.⁷¹ In June 1794, Victor Hughes landed in Guadeloupe (recently occupied by the British) and used promises of emancipation to rally enslaved and free blacks against the British.⁷²

By 1791, free blacks and mulattos began to rebel against French authorities on St. Domingue. The *Philadelphia General Advertiser* warned of “free negroes” encouraging slaves to revolt.⁷³ Then in January of 1793, Great Britain declared war on the newly created Republic of France after King Louis XVI was executed. That September counterrevolutionary colonists invited British troops from Jamaica to invade St. Domingue.⁷⁴ By 1796, the British in St. Domingue were losing ground in their fight

⁷⁰ Dallas, vol. 1, 166-67.

⁷¹ Laurent Dubois & John Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804: A Brief History with documents*. (NY: Bedford/St. Martins, 2006), 63-64.

⁷² Dubois & Garrigus, *Slave Revolutions*, 29.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 95.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 26-27.

against Toussaint Louverture and André Rigaud, leaders of the island's black rebels.⁷⁵

Louverture had been a slave but was freed in 1779. Rigaud was a mulatto born to a French colonist and an African woman.⁷⁶ The similarities between these leaders and the Trelawny Maroons frightened White planters on Jamaica even further.

A council of war in Jamaica heard reports that Frenchmen and people of color were conspiring with the Maroons and the Jamaican Assembly responded by granting Governor Balcarres martial law.⁷⁷ These reports were further fueled when a Frenchman named Jean Moranson was detained and questioned on 28 August 1795, and admitted that a French agent in Philadelphia “had received orders to raise as many men of colour as possible, to be sent to Jamaica to urge the slaves to insurrection”.⁷⁸ On 8 October 1795, just months after the Maroon rebellion had begun, the British Colonial Assembly issued a proclamation that all French people on the island were to be shipped to parts of British occupied St. Domingue.⁷⁹ The Jamaican Assembly later disregarded Jean Moranson's declaration because he subsequently claimed the contrary and a “most diligent search for the emissaries from St. Domingue” which “proved fruitless”.⁸⁰ Furthermore, one British observer even commented on the Maroons' “hatred” towards the French.⁸¹

Still, the fear that whites displayed towards blacks during the end of the eighteenth century, particularly toward free blacks, indicates that the Maroons' freedom

⁷⁵ Ibid, 31.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 26, 32.

⁷⁷ Dallas, vol. 1, 167-68.

⁷⁸ Dallas, vol. 1, 170-71.

⁷⁹ CO 137/96. “Correspondence regarding Jamaica”, vol. 1, Jan-June (1796), 11-12.

⁸⁰ Dallas, “Lieutenant-Governor Speech to the House of Assembly”, vol. 1, 259.

⁸¹ Fortin, 17.

and their place in Jamaican society was constantly under scrutiny. The Maroons responded to their situation and to the threat to their own freedom by disassociating themselves with slave communities and other free blacks, and reframed their racial identity by creating a niche Maroon identity. And while it is possible that the Trelawny Maroons saw affairs in St. Domingue and other parts of the Caribbean as an opportunity to bring attention to their own concerns (if they were even aware), there is no evidence to show that the Maroons were inspired to coerce slaves into rebellion, nor to fight on slaves' behalf. Michael Craton, who believes that the white planter class pushed the Maroons into war, admits that their rebellion was unrelated to the ideology of the French Revolution and "in many respects reflected aims incompatible with the cravings of the slaves". He suggests they were "essentially practical in nature".⁸²

But what caused the Maroons to rebel in the summer of 1795 if not to take advantage of restlessness in the Caribbean?⁸³ Edwards wrote in July that two Maroons from Trelawny town were punished with thirty-nine lashings for stealing and killing several pigs from a slave plantation.⁸⁴ A letter from the Magistrate of St. James parish to Governor Balcarres on 13 July 1795 confirms that, "the immediate cause of this disturbance was the inflicting the punishment of flogging of two maroons [...]". Two maroons had been caught on a plantation, and were convicted by the owner of killing his tame pigs.⁸⁵ The planter had his slave driver flog the two Maroons in front of an audience of slaves in the common workhouse.⁸⁶ The Maroons' "first decided act of rebellion" was

⁸² Craton, *Testing the Chains*, 213.

⁸³ Dallas, vol. 1, 319.

⁸⁴ Edwards, xli.

⁸⁵ Dallas, vol. 1, 144.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 145.

to drive their new superintendent, Mr. Craskell, from their town and to make threats to destroy neighboring plantations.⁸⁷ Bryan Edwards wrote that the Maroons were not insulted by the punishment, but by the “disgrace which they insisted the magistrates of Montego Bay had put on their whole body, by ordering the punishment to be inflicted in the workhouse by the black overseer [...] and in the presence of fugitive and felon negro slaves.”⁸⁸ The treaty of 1738 had given them control over their own people in regards to law and punishment. Maroons were to be tried under the supervision of Mr. Quarrell, the commissary-general, or Mr. Ochterlony, and in the presence of at least three Maroon Captains.⁸⁹ If enough evidence was provided that could prove guilt, the offender was given over to the Maroons for punishment. Prior to punishment, British officials acquainted the Maroons with the punishments that would occur if a similar verdict arose between “white men”.⁹⁰ The treaty also protected them from flogging.

The fact that the Maroons were disgraced because a black slave inflicted the punishment confirms their negative impressions of the slaves. By highlighting the magistrate’s decision to have a black slave punish the two Maroons, Edwards reveals the role of race in the Maroons’ reaction. In a letter to the Duke of Portland on 25 August 1795, Governor Balcarres forwarded a complaint by a Maroon representative that asked the colonial government “not [to] subject us to insult and humiliation from the very people to whom we are set in opposition”.⁹¹ The Maroons conceived their freedom in terms of their position in a racial hierarchy and responded specifically to the subjection of

⁸⁷ Ibid, 143-44.

⁸⁸ Edwards, xlv.

⁸⁹ Campbell, “Maroons of Jamaica”, 242.

⁹⁰ Edwards, xiv-xx.

⁹¹ C.O. 137/95 *Balcarres- Portland*, 25 Aug 1795 in Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 214.

the two Maroons to punishment by, and normally reserved for, a slave. Thus, the Maroons conceived their liberties as free blacks in relation to black slaves.

It might be argued that the Maroons inspired other free blacks into rebellion, but such an argument would be highly circumstantial. On 9 May 1796, near the end of the Maroons' surrender, Governor Balcarres sent the Duke of Portland a letter describing how a free negro man from Spanish Town had given him a petition, signed by the whole body of that town, to lift restrictions on free blacks being able to testify against whites in court. Balcarres declared that "petitions of this nature [are] extremely dangerous in these Colonies & the line drawn between the Whites and Negroes and all the intermediate gradations of colour cannot be too strongly marked and preserved".⁹² Balcarres also brought his concerns before the Jamaican Assembly, and they passed an "Act for granting certain Privileges to Certain persons of color".⁹³ Perhaps Governor Balcarres was inspired by the Maroon rebellion to consider ways to prevent other free blacks from resorting to rebellion to achieve their goals by giving them more privileges.

Jeffrey Fortin has addressed the Maroon disturbance from a broader Atlantic World perspective. He conceptualizes the Maroons as being part of a larger black Caribbean struggle for independence and freedom. Although Fortin discusses the Maroons' place in an Atlantic world in the context of the Haitian revolution, he mistakenly highlights their "rebellion" as an ideal case study for black resistance to slavery in the Caribbean.⁹⁴ Fortin joins historians Alvin Thompson, John Thornton, Eugene Genovese and Bridglal Pachai in suggesting that the Maroons played a crucial

⁹² C.O. 137/96, "Correspondence regarding Jamaica", 260.

⁹³ Ibid, 260.

⁹⁴ Fortin, 7, 10, 15.

role in the abolitionist movement.⁹⁵ James Lockett has also made similar, albeit more ambitious, claims. He agrees that the Trelawny Maroons, as well as maroons in other parts of the Atlantic, were fighting first and foremost against slavery as a “condition of life” and suggests that the Maroons’ “unequivocal repudiation” of slavery was one of the principal factors that sustained the abolitionist movement, as well as being “the source of inspiration for the front-line fighters of slavery”.⁹⁶ Unfortunately for these arguments, there is no evidence to credit the Trelawny Maroons with inspiring the blacks in other parts of the Caribbean to rebel. It is true that the Maroons did repudiate slavery, but in a capacity that elevated their own status above that of black slaves. The Maroons repudiated the thought of being treated like slaves because they aspired to a condition above that of a black slave.

After the rebellion ended in 1796, and the Maroons had surrendered, the Jamaican Assembly responded by deporting them to Nova Scotia. The Maroons were detained and held in Port Royal until provisions ran low and the price of keeping them there became a burden on the Jamaican Assembly.⁹⁷ Governor Balcarres consulted with Admiral Parker, who was headed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and made arrangements to have them sent

⁹⁵ See Alvin Thompson, *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas*. (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2006), 8-15, 77-80; John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. 2nd Ed. Chapter 10 (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 272-303; Bridglal Pachai, *The Nova Scotia Black Experience Through the Centuries*. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Ltd., 2007), 56; Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979).

⁹⁶ James Lockett, “The Deportation of the Maroons of Trelawny Town to Nova Scotia, then back to Africa”, *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 30, 1. (September 1999), 5, 7.

⁹⁷ Allister Hinds, “ ‘Deportees in Nova Scotia’, the Jamaican Maroons, 1796-1800”, *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, Africa and the African Diaspora*. Ed. Verene A. Shepard, Ch. 10 (2002: NY: Palgrave), 208.

there.⁹⁸ In its “Act of Deportation”, the Jamaican Assembly defended the decision to remove the Maroons by describing the “Maroon rebellion” as “wicked”, “unnatural”, and “unprovoked”, and because they feared there would be “evil” consequences if the Maroons were not deported.⁹⁹ The Jamaican Assembly’s description of the rebellion as “unnatural” was a subtle reference to the way white Britons in Jamaica felt towards the relationship between whites and blacks. They conceived a relationship that emphasized white paternal patronage over black subordinates, regardless of how many levels of blackness there were.

The decision to transport the Maroons away from Jamaica was a strategy that the British regularly used to punish rebellious blacks. It relied on the notion that by removing rebellious blacks from a familiar and comfortable position to an unfamiliar one, they would become subordinate. At the same time, white planters during the eighteenth century were beginning to advocate for free black emigration, and migration became a common theme in the lives of many blacks during the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁰ In 1787, Granville Sharp, inspired by the 1772 Mansfield ruling that essentially made all blacks free in England, persuaded the British Government to begin shipping free blacks back to their “continent” (Africa).¹⁰¹ The Black Loyalists, who had already been relocated the thirteen colonies to Nova Scotia in 1783, moved again to Sierra Leone in 1792. That same year, as the fighting in St. Domingue became more heated, there was a “swell of

⁹⁸ Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 01.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 06.

¹⁰⁰ Jennifer Snyder, “Revolutionary Repurcussions: Loyalist Slaves in St. Augustine and Beyond” Chapter 6 in *The Loyal Atlantic*, 167.

¹⁰¹ Magbaily C. Fyle, *The History of Sierra Leone: A concise Introduction*. (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1981), 34.

voluntary emigrants” from St. Domingue to the United States, Jamaica, and Cuba.¹⁰² In the Caribbean in 1797, Garifunas (black Caribs) were sent from St. Vincent to Roatan, off the coast of Honduras with one object in mind: to protect the slave plantation economy from further rebellion.¹⁰³ On 13 July, 1802, Thomas Jefferson wrote to Rufus King, the Minister to Great Britain that, “the Legislature of the State [...] wish that some place could be provided, out of the limits of the U.S., to which slaves guilty of insurgency might be transported”.¹⁰⁴ As historians James Sidbury and Jorge Canizares have argued, the “diverse and changing histories” of free blacks during the eighteenth century suggest that they shared in the “fluidity that characterized the identities and cultures of West and Central Africa in the age of the slave trade”.¹⁰⁵ While Sidbury and Canizares were using “fluidity” to describe the changing ethnic diversity amongst blacks, it can also be used to describe specific aspects of the Maroons’ experiences.

Like many free blacks during the end of the eighteenth century, the Maroons also became familiar with being uprooted and relocated. Historians have framed the Maroons’ diaspora to Nova Scotia as part of three “waves” of blacks that came to Nova Scotia: the Black Loyalists in 1782, the Maroons in 1796, and the black American dissenters

¹⁰² Wim Klooster, *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A comparative History*. (NY: New York University Press, 2009), 101.

¹⁰³ Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, x.

¹⁰⁴ Dubois & Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean*, 161-62. For more examples of black migrations, see Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves, and the American Revolution* (NY: Ecco, 2006) and Cassandra Pybus, *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and their Global Quest for Liberty*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006)

¹⁰⁵ James Sidbury and Jorge Canizares, “Mapping Ethnogenesis in the Early Modern Atlantic”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 68, 2 (April 2011), 182.

following the war of 1812.¹⁰⁶ These waves were all similar because in each case, Nova Scotia became only a temporary stopping point in a much longer series of journeys through the British Atlantic. And in each case, the blacks that moved to Nova Scotia found both the weather and the inhabitants unwelcoming and had to face the uncertainty and hardship of building new lives.¹⁰⁷ Thus, their lifestyle took on a temporary and sudden character.

There was extensive debate in the Jamaican Assembly about whether the decision to send the Trelawny Maroons to Halifax was wise. On 8 September 1796, a British man, who called himself Mr. Scott, wrote to the Duke of Portland to argue that Halifax was not an appropriate destination for the Maroons. Mr. Scott questioned Halifax as a destination because it was a “rigorous Northern Climate” and urged that “various other places of exile might have been found in climates more congenial to their own”. He added that another destination could be found for them before winter if “a measure demanded by Humanity and Justice were immediately adopted”.¹⁰⁸ Mr. Scott suggested that they be sent to Sierra Leone or to one of several unoccupied Bahaman islands, because they would be far from any slave colonies. The debate surrounding Halifax as the Maroons’ destination demonstrates that Britons still feared that they would cause a social upheaval. To Mr. Scott, isolation in a proper climate seemed to be the most appropriate solution. Thus, the Maroons’ experience, like the Black Loyalists before them, was shaped by

¹⁰⁶ Bridglal, *The Nova Scotia Black Experience through the Centuries*, (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing LTD, 2007), 56.

¹⁰⁷ For example, see Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings*.

¹⁰⁸ Document 7, “Mr. Scott-Portland”, Sept. 08, 1796 in Mavis Campbell, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons*, 14-15.

white conceptualizations of race and the appropriateness of blacks living together with whites in a shared British society.

It is no surprise, then, that the Maroons had little influence on their destination. In 1795, General Walpole had added a “secret article”, which was an oral agreement, to the treaty with the Maroons, promising that the Maroons would not be sent off the island. Governor Balcarres ratified the treaty on 28 December 1795 and made 1 January 1796 the deadline for the Maroons’ complete “surrender and submission”.¹⁰⁹ However, the Maroon surrender took much longer because of the long communication times and slow travel pace through the Cockpits. For example, on 28 February, General Walpole accompanied Colonel Skinner into the Cockpits with a detachment of approximately eighty men from the thirteenth Light Dragoons and sixteenth Infantry. It was 4 March (five days and only eight miles later) before a smaller segment of that group finally reached the Maroon Town in the Cockpits.¹¹⁰ They finally convinced the rest of the Maroons to surrender, but it was eighteen days later that the last forty-nine Maroons surrendered.¹¹¹ Due to their delay in surrendering, Governor Balcarres considered the terms of the treaty with the Maroons moot and the agreement to keep the Maroons on Jamaica was ignored.¹¹² And while Balcarres was technically correct by stating that the Maroons had not fulfilled their part of the treaty, he must have known that his deadline would never be met. The Maroons never had the freedom to choose their own destination.

The voyage would also have been an isolating experience, especially because the Maroons were separated onto three different ships. They arrived in Halifax on 21 and 23

¹⁰⁹ Dallas, vol. 2, 138, 146.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 156-167.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 168.

¹¹² Dallas, vol. 2, 178.

July, respectively, after a seven-week long voyage.¹¹³ Then, when they arrived, the Halifax locals feared them because of their reputation as fierce rebellious blacks and protested their settlement. When preparations were made to accommodate the Maroons for an extended period, they were given land in Preston, approximately two miles away from Halifax. Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Wentworth wrote to Portland stating that the distance from the local inhabitants was a “tolerable convenience” to the Maroons, but their isolation in Preston also worked to Wentworth’s advantage.¹¹⁴ It was a strategy that allowed Wentworth to maintain a state of separation between whites and blacks that many of the British inhabitants living in Halifax preferred.

After spending the “longest and most severe winter known since the settlement of the province”, and the first winter that they had ever experienced, the Maroons expressed “apprehensions that they cannot maintain themselves by their labor in a cold country”.¹¹⁵ Chamberlain highlighted the isolation that the Maroons must have felt in Nova Scotia when he described their “astonishment” when they witnessed the water beginning to harden in the frost.¹¹⁶ The Maroons did not know how to adjust to their new home and even attempted to grow yams (apparently their favourite food) in Nova Scotia.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Brymner, D. LL.B., “The Jamaican Maroons- How they came to Nova Scotia- How they left-”, (*Reads May 25, 1804*) in *Royal Society of Canada*, section II, 1895. Found at Department of National Defense Library, call number F5224 M37 B79, 88.

¹¹⁴ C.O. 217/67, “Wentworth-Portland”, 13 August 1796 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 18.

¹¹⁵ Governor Wentworth Nova Scotia Letter Book. Nova Scotia Public Archives. Microfilm. Reel 15238, vol. 52. Quarrell- Wentworth (21 April 1797), 39. See also C.O. 217/68, “Wentworth-Portland”, April 21, 1797 in Campbell, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons*, 34.

¹¹⁶ C.O. 271/69, “Chamberlain-Wentworth”, June 20, 1798, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 76.

¹¹⁷ Wentworth Letter Book, “Quarrell-Wentworth” (21 April 1797), 40; Wentworth Letter Book, “Wentworth-Portland” (21 April 1797), 56.

Wentworth went so far as to purchase half a ton of yams to get into seed in an attempt to satisfy them.¹¹⁸ In April 1796, the Maroons sent a petition, signed by all of their leaders including Montague James and Captain Smith, to William Quarrell, asking him to convince the Jamaican Assembly to allow them to go to a province “more congenial to people of their complexion”.¹¹⁹ By June of that year, Duke of Portland and Wentworth were in discussions over the Maroons’ desire to be removed to a warmer climate because they were dissatisfied with the climate in Nova Scotia.¹²⁰ Wentworth received several more petitions over the duration of their stay in Nova Scotia, and it becomes obvious that racial stereotypes served as a key component to the Maroons’ attempts to address what they felt was a violation of their treaty.

Mr. Ochterlony, who had travelled with the Maroons from Jamaica, also encouraged the Maroons to make repeated attempts to be removed from Nova Scotia. In a letter to Governor Balcarres on 4 August 1798, Wentworth mentioned that Ochterlony was trying to convince the Maroons that Nova Scotia was unfit for their constitutions and habits.¹²¹ Captain Howe had also written to Wentworth on 8 June 1798, claiming that Mr. Ochterlony was responsible for scolding and punishing Maroons who attempted to perform any labor.¹²² Dr. Oxley corroborated those allegations in a letter to Wentworth

¹¹⁸ C.O. 217/68, “Enclosure II: Howe to Quarrell”, 9 August 1797 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 49.

¹¹⁹ C.O. 217/68-69, “Maroon Address to W. D. Quarrell (Esq.) “10 April 1797, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 53-54.

¹²⁰ C.O. 217/68 “Portland-Wentworth”, 2 June 1797, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 39.

¹²¹ Wentworth Letter Book, “Wentworth-Balcarres”, (4 Aug 1797), 96-97.

¹²² C.O. 217/69 “Capt. Howe-Wentworth”, June 8, 1798 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 73.

eight days later.¹²³ Although Mr. Ochterlony seemed to have a motive behind having the Maroons removed from Nova Scotia, the Maroons may have embraced his idea to use race to their advantage. By 1798, eleven new families had joined the Maroons already living in Boydville, and Captain Howe wrote to Wentworth that they were being productive, but would not work “without pay equal to a white man”.¹²⁴ Wentworth confirmed to Portland in May 1799 that the Maroons at Boydville were laboring while those at Preston “are still deluded with false schemes of returning to Jamaica”.¹²⁵ Either way, the Maroons were embracing their racial identity to command respect for their community. As Jeffrey Fortin has suggested, they worked to protect their community from external influences by negotiating using their racial identity.¹²⁶ Simultaneously, though, the Maroon community was being fractured.¹²⁷

By 1799, discussions and negotiations were under way between Governor Wentworth and the Duke of Portland over the Maroons’ removal from Nova Scotia. Sierra Leone was chosen as their new destination. Campbell paraphrases a letter from Henry Thornton, the chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, to the King, written 11 March, 1799, which stated that the Maroons were being sent to Sierra Leone like the “one thousand one hundred Nova Scotians” to “civilize Africa and to lesson the evils of the Slave Trade”.¹²⁸ Dallas stated that the Sierra Leone Company “formed a notion that the

¹²³ Ibid, 74; Hinds, 215.

¹²⁴ C.O. 217/69, “Howe-Wentworth”, June 8, 1798 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 73; see also Allister Hinds, “ ‘Deportees in Nova Scotia’”, 216.

¹²⁵ Wentworth Letter Book, “Wentworth-Portland”, (10 April 1799), 279.

¹²⁶Fortin, 5, 24.

¹²⁷ Fortin, 15.

¹²⁸ Picart Lennox, “Trelawny Maroons” in *Collections of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. 44 (1996), 179-180; Campbell, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons*, 97-98.

Maroons would serve as a counterpoise to [the Loyalists], a notion that must have been the result of a very different mode of reasoning from that which have been used for their transportation from Jamaica”.¹²⁹ Essentially, the Maroons would be used as role models to civilize the black Nova Scotians. Dallas later added that the Sierra Leone Company hoped to change the “negroes” from a “perpetual abject life of savage slavery to mild servitude, and a comfortable and secure existence”.¹³⁰

The Sierra Leone Company was a philanthropic organization with the dual purposes of resettling liberated slaves in Africa and “Christianizing that continent”.¹³¹ Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson and other abolitionists formed the company in 1791, after which they created the colony called Granville Town. The following year, the Black Loyalists from Nova Scotia were settled there.¹³² Two years later French Ships destroyed Granville Town, and the company decided to charge an one shilling quitrent per acre used by the Nova Scotians. The Nova Scotians were not happy with these arrangements, and a subgroup led by Anderson and Wansey declared themselves free of the Company’s authority, creating their own laws.¹³³ Thus, the Maroons were sent to Sierra Leone to help the Sierra Leone Company quash the rebellion. However, the company still feared that the Maroons would be influenced by the “ingratitude” and “turbulence” of the Nova Scotian Loyalists if they were to be settled

¹²⁹ Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, vol. 2, 284.

¹³⁰ Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, vol. 2, 398.

¹³¹ Picart Lennox, “The Trelawny Maroons and Sir John Wentworth: The Struggle to maintain their culture, 1796-1800” in *Collections of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. 44 (1996), 179.

¹³² Winks, 63.

¹³³ Fyle, *History of Sierra Leone*, 34-36; Winks, “Blacks in Canada”, 68.

near them, and decided to settle them on a nearby island instead.¹³⁴ Again, the Maroons were isolated for months on a ship on their voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. They were to be located on the island of Bulam, a distance from Freetown and the Nova Scotians, once they reached the African coast.¹³⁵

The Maroons arrived off the coast of Sierra Leone at the end of September 1800. On 2 October 1800, Lieutenant Smith led the Maroons in an offensive assault against the rebellious Nova Scotians.¹³⁶ Two of the Nova Scotians were killed, and the Maroons hunted down the remaining thirty who escaped.¹³⁷ Because of their good faith, the Maroons were relocated to the old location of Granville Town. According to historian James Walker, the Sierra Leone Company's council was full of praise for the Maroons' character, "particularly their wholehearted support for the government", in contrast to the Nova Scotian character.¹³⁸ The Maroons also helped the Sierra Leone Company battle the Temne, the local tribe who made claims to the peninsula. Then in 1807, the same year that the British Government took control of the colony, the Temne accepted a treaty and gave up most of the peninsula. The office of the Superintendent of Maroons was abolished and the legal distinction between the Maroons and Nova Scotians was

¹³⁴ Picart, "The Trelawny Maroons", 180.

¹³⁵ Brymner, "The Jamaica Maroons", 90.

¹³⁶ "Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company", in *Sierra Leone Company Reports from House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online (HCPP)*, (May 25, 1802), 349.

¹³⁷ Picart, "The Trelawny Maroons", 180.

¹³⁸ James Walker, *The Black Loyalists: the Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*. (New York: African Publishing Company, 1976), 242.

removed.¹³⁹ At the same time, thousands of re-captured slaves from the African slave trade began being re-located in Freetown, and their villages ringed around the town.¹⁴⁰

After their resettlement in Freetown, the Maroons became less geographically isolated and culturally separated and began mingling with other black groups. As the number of liberated slaves in Freetown grew to over six thousand by 1815, the small Maroon community began to combine with other communities, especially the Nova Scotians with whom they shared the most experiences in common.¹⁴¹ By 1825, almost eighteen thousand liberated Africans had been resettled in the colony, while the Maroon population hovered at approximately six hundred and thirty-six.¹⁴² James Walker wrote that by 1830, it was difficult for a European to distinguish a Maroon from a Nova Scotian, although they still retained a sense of distinction.¹⁴³ In 1837, there were six hundred and fifty Maroons, but in 1844 that number had gone down to four hundred and fifty-four.¹⁴⁴ It is apparent that the Maroons community was slowly integrating with other black communities, because prior to 1844, the Maroon population had not fluctuated by more than one hundred maroons since 1738. After 1820, competition for jobs and resources with the liberated Africans caused the Maroons to begin relationships with the Nova Scotians, such as the marriage between Stephen Gabbidon (Maroon) and Martha Edmonds (Nova Scotia).¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 245.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 275; see also Fyle, *History of Sierra Leone*, 37-39.

¹⁴¹ Fyle, 39. Fyle estimated around 2000 inhabitants in 1808. That included approximately 600 Maroons and 1100 Nova Scotians.

¹⁴² Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 321-22.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 341.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 355.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 293.

Within twenty years, the Maroons had gone from living comfortably separated in the Jamaican Cockpits, to living amongst thousands of other displaced blacks across the Atlantic Ocean in Sierra Leone. As Barbara Kopytoff has suggested, migration could redefine a person's ethnicity and their links to a group of people.¹⁴⁶ Because bonds between members of a community are dependent as much on shared experience and protection as on kinship ties, the Maroons could relate to the other blacks in Freetown. Kopytoff used the term "reference group" to describe a group with which a person identifies.¹⁴⁷ Since at least 1738, the Maroons had remained a tight-knit community that relied on kinship for support, with the occasional input from British colonial officials. Their family and extended kin, rather than slaves or other groups of black, were the Maroons' reference group until 1795. After their rebellion and removal from Jamaica, the Maroons sought guidance and support from the British, rather than other black groups.

In Sierra Leone, the Maroon community began to shift away from an emphasis on the collective group towards emphasis on individuals and small family households.¹⁴⁸ Britons, as well as the Maroons, during the early nineteenth century were beginning to conceptualize liberties and freedoms in terms of protection for individuals, where the "self" became important. For example, in Jamaica the Maroons had always shared their one thousand five hundred acres of land as a community. However, in Sierra Leone, the Maroons were each allotted their own land, thus emphasizing individual ownership. This community transformation caused emphasis to shift away from their group "Maroon" identity to their identity as individual British subjects, thereby lessening the role that their

¹⁴⁶ Kopytoff, 35.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 34.

¹⁴⁸ Walker, 317.

race had on their status as ‘free’ by shifting the focus to their social status. Historian Roxann Wheeler has suggested that during the late eighteenth century, Britons still emphasized social markers, like religious denomination, dress, and land ownership, to distinguish themselves from others.¹⁴⁹ J. R. Oldfield points out that racial attitudes only hardened towards the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵⁰ As James Sidbury and Jorge Canizares have suggested, identity formation, among both African Americans and Amerindians was “an attempt to reestablish the conditions for social existence”, which defined their “personhood”.¹⁵¹ Henry Drapalski, the most recent historian to add to the Maroon historiography, agrees that as their voyage persisted through the Atlantic World, the Maroon community and identity was derived from their “selfhood”.¹⁵²

In a Maroon petition to the British House of Commons in 1799, the Maroons stated that their “case and Situation has been greatly exaggerated and Art has vied with nature to blacken the Maroon beyond his native hue—”¹⁵³ Just three years after being deported from Jamaica, the Maroons were highlighting that they had unjustly been compared to and treated like slaves and not been treated fairly as free British subjects. In the context of the petition, “blacken” referred to mannerisms associated with savage behavior, rather than physical skin colour. The Maroons were attempting to clarify that

¹⁴⁹ See Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth Century British Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000; J. R. Oldfield, “Transatlanticism, slavery, and Race”, *American Literary History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 131-32.

¹⁵⁰ Oldfield, “Transatlanticism”, 135.

¹⁵¹ Sidbury & Canizares, “Mapping Ethnogenesis”, 191-92.

¹⁵² Drapalski, 05.

¹⁵³ C.o.217/70, “Maroon Petition to the House of Commons of Great Britain” in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 91.

they did not want to be associated with the characteristics or behaviors of slaves.¹⁵⁴

Simultaneously, by referring to their “native hue”, they were also acknowledging that they understood that their characteristics were still ‘black’ in nature.¹⁵⁵

Thus, because current literature describes the Maroons as rebels, it has failed to acknowledge the limited active role that the Maroons played in slave revolt and the abolitionist movement. Emphasis should be on the distinctions that Maroons made between themselves and both other black groups and whites, in terms not only of racial hierarchy, but also British social status.¹⁵⁶ While race certainly informed their experiences of liberties and freedom, the Maroons valued their position relationship with the British, and after 1796, their roles as British subjects, more than their connection to African slaves. In this way, the Maroons influenced British perceptions of free blacks by highlighting their cooperation for social obligations rather than actively resisting slavery.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Heuman, 656.

¹⁵⁵ Brooke Newman, “Contesting ‘Black’ Liberty and Subjecthood in the Anglophone Caribbean, 1730s-1780s”, *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol. 32, no. 2 (June 2011), 160, 169.

¹⁵⁶ Sean Hawkins & Philip Morgan, eds., “Blacks and the British Empire : an Introduction” in *Black Experience and the Empire*. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 11, 15; Sio, “Marginality”, 678.

¹⁵⁷ Oldfield, “Transatlanticism”, 131.

Chapter 3: The Family from Trelawny Town

On 20 January 1796, General Walpole wrote to Governor Balcarres to inform him that Andrew Smith, a Maroon leader and the head of a large family, was “determined that his Brothers should go down to the point to see his father, and that the former should remain there for a few days in the room [sic] of his Father and the Other brother who is there”.¹ Smith was trying to persuade his family to surrender to British forces and remain together. Six days later, Smith returned to the Cockpits to search for additional Maroons who had not surrendered and to attempt to convince them to surrender themselves.² He had negotiated with General Walpole to end the Maroon Rebellion peacefully and had been promised a place of residence in Jamaica with his family if he could convince his fellow Maroons to surrender and to petition the Jamaican Assembly to remove them from the island.³ During the spring of 1796, British residents on the island became alarmed at the presence of unattended Maroons in Falmouth. Balcarres inquired about the incident to General Walpole, who replied that it was merely Smith’s family that had passed through Falmouth unattended.⁴ His dismissal of any cause for alarm by indicating that it was merely Smith suggests that the British officials trusted him and that he had a nonthreatening reputation. Although most Maroons were not privy to the terms under the treaty signed by General Walpole on 25 December 1795, a joint committee of the

¹ Colonial Office Papers 137/96. “Correspondence regarding Jamaica” from *Slavery, Abolition and Social Justice*, vol. 1. Jan-June (1796), 194.

² C.O. 137/96, “Correspondence”, 187.

³ William Dunlap, *Diary of William Dunlap (1766-1839): The Memoirs of a Dramatist, theatrical manager, Painter, critic, novelist, and historian. Vol. 1*, (London: Benjamin Bloom), 184.

⁴ C.O. 137/96, “Correspondence”, 221-22.

Jamaican Assembly allowed Smith, his wife and children, among only a few others, to benefit from the treaty.⁵

Contrary to his earlier sentiments, however, Smith remained with the other Maroons upon their removal to Nova Scotia. On 8 May 1796, W. D. Luarett wrote to Balcarres that the Maroons had made up their minds to leave Jamaica. Smith was among the Maroon “chiefs” who conferred with Luarett and signed two Maroon petitions to Balcarres in May.⁶ While it appears unusual that Smith would decline the benefits of the treaty that he had worked extensively to keep, his decision to travel with the other Maroons highlights the importance of family and kinship networks.⁷ They were even more important than ties to Jamaica or land ownership. The offer that was made to Smith included only his wife and offspring, but to Smith, both blood relations (siblings, parents, cousins, etc.) and nonrelated members of the Maroon community (friends, allies, trading partners, etc.) formed an expansive kinship network that he wanted to keep.

In Preston, Nova Scotia, Andrew Smith faced isolation and separation from the main Maroon group because the other Maroons believed that he was a traitor for encouraging their removal from Jamaica to Nova Scotia. He acknowledged that “strong parties” ran against him and his family “for being the cause of bringing in the Maroons and surrendering their arms” in a treaty that they believed the Jamaican Assembly had broken by removing them from Jamaica.⁸ Smith thought some might even want to kill

⁵ Ibid, 251.

⁶ Ibid, 267, 279.

⁷ Sarah M. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century*. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 13.

⁸ C.O. 217/169 “Walpole-Portland: Enclosure 3” 3 June 1797 in *Fighting Maroons*, 58-59.

him.⁹ The Maroons' treatment of Smith's, given his low popularity amongst them, is a testament to the solidarity of the group. Although they obviously disliked and distrusted Smith, the Maroons still maintained ties with Smith and his family and allowed him a place in their community.

In response to a query from Quarrell about what influenced the Maroons against settling and "providing for their own comfort" in Nova Scotia, Alexander Howe asserted that none of the Maroons were "inclined to separate from their families or be at any distance from the Main Body of their people".¹⁰ In a letter to Brother Charles Samuels on 3 June 1797, Smith wrote that, "when the Maroons were condemned to be shipt off there were several exceptions [including my wife and children, which] Lord Balcarres limited so that, had I prevailed myself of staying, I should have been deprived of the greatest part of my family".¹¹ Smith's letter highlights family as an important clue to understanding the Maroons' decisions before, during and after their rebellion, during their voyage across the Atlantic, their tenure in Nova Scotia, and their resettlement in Sierra Leone. The letter suggests that kinship networks were an important part of the Maroons' British Atlantic experiences because they obviously held great influence and importance.¹²

The Trelawny Maroon community relied on their families for financial support, as well as protection from British encroachment onto their lands and liberties. When two

⁹ C.O. 217/169 "Walpole-Portland: Enclosure 1" 23 April 1797 in *Fighting Maroons*, 56-57.

¹⁰ Mavis Campbell, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: a documentary history. Studies in Third World Societies*, Publication no. 41 (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, 1990), 46, 50.

¹¹ C.O. 217/69, "Enclosure #3: Captain Andrew Smith to Brother Samuels" Maroon Hall near Halifax, 3 June 1797 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 59.

¹² Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration, and Betrayal*. (Massachusetts: Bergin & Garney Publishers Inc., 1988), 242.

Maroons trespassed on a plantation and were subsequently whipped by slaves in July 1795, the Trelawny Maroons rallied behind their two companions to demand justice and to defend their rights. The Maroons insisted that the punishments had put “disgrace” on their “whole body”.¹³ The strong community support for members of Maroon families was necessitated because they remained a small population and their strength lay in cohesion.¹⁴ In 1796, Bryan Edwards lamented that “the policy of keeping them a distinct people, continually inured to arms, introduced among them what the French call ‘esprit de corps’, or a community of sentiments and interests [which] taught them to feel [...] their own relative strength and importance”.¹⁵ Over the course of their voyages, from Jamaica to Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone, the kinship networks that the Maroons had long relied on began to shift from total community collaboration to emphasis on smaller family household units.¹⁶ They also took up new practices and customs as they faced new opportunities and trials in multiple parts of the British Atlantic World, highlighting the simultaneous incorporation of British practices and the division of their community into smaller, self-sufficient family groups.

Until the 1795 rebellion and their removal from Jamaica, the Maroons were very geographically isolated and culturally separated. Their lack of contact with others limited their chances at “fluidity” until their arrival and re-settlement in Sierra Leone. Since 1738, the Maroons were entitled to the amount of one thousand five hundred acres of

¹³ Bryan Edwards, *The Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly of Jamaica, in regard to the Maroon Negroes*. (London: J. Stockdale, 1796), xlv.

¹⁴ Barbara Kopytoff, “The Development of Jamaican Maroon Ethnicity”, *Caribbean Quarterly*, vol. 22, 1 (June-Sept., 1976), 37, 42.

¹⁵ Edwards, xxiv-xxv.

¹⁶ Igor Kopytoff & Suzanne Miers, “African ‘Slavery’ as an Institution of Marginality” in *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. Kopytoff & Miers, (University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 10.

land “lying between Trelawny Town and the Cockpits”.¹⁷ Dallas wrote that one third of their land was “merely rock” and that only “about a hundred acres [were] worth cultivating, and the rest of it was over-run with a species of fern and foxtail grass”.¹⁸ In addition to being geographically isolated in Trelawny Town and the Cockpits, which were approximately twenty miles southeast of Montego Bay and eighteen miles away from Falmouth, they were also “in a state far removed from civilization”.¹⁹ Although local rumors described Maroons pillaging from nearby plantations and traveling beyond the boundaries of their own land, they still had little contact with other communities.²⁰ Dallas described the Maroons as “savage”, meaning that they had not established British customs or practices within their community. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Trelawny Maroons were even disconnected from other maroon groups on Jamaica. Thus, family was very important to the Maroons because they derived their identity from it and it kept them together. For example, if Smith had not remained with the other Maroons, he would have been alone, socially isolated from the other blacks in Jamaica. Family was the key to that kept the Maroons united and ensured that they remained uniquely “maroon”.

As Chapter Two substantiated, the Maroons relied heavily on their racial classification as *maroons* for their unique legal classification and their freedoms. The whipping of two Maroons in 1795 became a threat to the rights afforded to them by the 1738 treaty. By approaching the British colonial authorities as a consolidated group, the Maroons gained strength in numbers because they all had “shared sentiments and

¹⁷ Dallas, vol. 1, 60.

¹⁸ Ibid 1, 84.

¹⁹ Ibid, 114.

²⁰ Ibid, 1, 107-08.

interests”.²¹ This chapter will show that Maroon families during the eighteenth century, which were organized into large networks related by blood and community affiliations and often headed by older males, began to disband into smaller, two-generation blood-kin households by the beginning of the nineteenth-century. Yet although Maroon families grew smaller, and began to consist primarily of parents and children, and led by both males and females, the Maroons continued to base their identities as “Maroons” on those family and community ties. The special treatment that the Maroons had received since their truce with the British in 1738 dissipated after they arrived in Sierra Leone. Their community was incorporated into a much larger free black population, and their emerging role as British subjects became more important than their kinship networks for their claims to freedom and liberties.²²

Herbert Gutman has stated that the history of the “Afro-American family” is well documented, but little is known about black family composition and less is known about “how and why it changed”. He acknowledges that these are important questions for understanding changing relationships between family life and “the larger culture that shaped it”.²³ Changes to black family structure and organization in the British Atlantic, which Michael Craton imagined as becoming progressively weaker after the British abolition of slavery, were actually changes in the presentation of the “self” to a public audience.²⁴ Thus, changes or shifts in common Maroon practices, such as the adoption of

²¹ Edwards, xxiv-xxv.

²² Julie Hardwick, Sarah M. S. Pearsall & Karin Wulf. “Centering Families in Atlantic Histories”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 70, 2 (April 2013), 223.

²³ Herbert Gutman, “Persistent Myths about the Afro-American Family”, in *Slavery Reader* ed. Gad Heuman & Jaames Walvin, Chapter 13 (1975), 253.

²⁴ Michael Craton, “Changing patterns of Slavery Family in the British West Indies”, in *The Slavery Reader*, Ch. 14, 274.

Protestantism or the abandonment of polygamy, as well as the decline of large paternalistic family clans, are strong indicators of a shift from cultural separation and strong kinship networks to individualism based on inclusion and protection (albeit limited) under the British crown and an adoption of subjecthood.

It is important to note that current literature on slave families is included here because it is relevant to the Trelawny Maroons, even though the Maroons were not slaves, nor identified as “African”, because Maroon and slave family structures shared similar African features and because there is limited scholarly literature on free black families. Although they viewed themselves as a free “Maroon” class, white Britons still saw them as racially inferior to whites, and treated them very similarly to other blacks, including slaves.²⁵ During the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, free blacks like the Maroons were as uncertain of their status in British society as former slaves. Like many groups in the British Atlantic, including slaves, immigrants, Loyalists, Acadiens, or Liberated African slaves off the coast of Africa, the Maroons were affected by frequent relocation, as well as changes to their social status and livelihoods. They were caught in the same racially divided British system as other black groups, including both free and enslaved blacks. Until recently, analyses of black families in the British Atlantic were addressed by historian Orlando Patterson’s argument that slavery destroyed black society and families.²⁶ In essence, that framework suggests that enslavement broke the human spirit and destroyed their ability

²⁵ Brooke Newman, “Contesting ‘Black’ Liberty and Subjecthood in the Anglophone Caribbean, 1730’s-1780’s”, *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol. 32, no. 2 (June 2011), 169.

²⁶ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: a comparative study*. Harvard University Press, 1982; Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery*. London: Associated University Press, 1975; Gutman, 257.

to form and maintain family ties. It was the social death of the slave. Recent literature from James Sweet, Philip Morgan, Herbert Gutman, and Michael Craton, among many others, has revealed a wealth of proof that families remained a central part of blacks' experiences and lives.²⁷

Before discussion about family can continue, "family" must be clearly defined. The terms "relative", "kin", and "household" are all common sub-categories within the study of family and each term complicates the way families are viewed. An important aspect that distinguishes these terms is blood relation versus community relation. Kinship refers to relationships between family, race or "kind", or many other connotations conferring to relationships between individuals.²⁸ James Sweet has suggested that there were multiple layers of family embedded in African-derived ritual communities including natal or blood kin, connections through ceremonies, and larger connections that emphasized a community's collective wellbeing.²⁹ Smith's devotion to his wife and children, as well as his extended family, highlights that both close and extended connections, whether through ceremony or blood, were important to Maroons.

²⁷ Kopytoff, "Development", 34, 36. See examples in James Sweet, "Defying Social Death: The Multiple Configurations of African Slave Family in the Atlantic World", *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 70, 2 (April, 2013); Philip Morgan, "Significance of Kin" in *Slavery Reader* ed. Gad Heuman & James Walvin, Chapter 16. (1998), 332-256; Herbert Gutman, "Persistant Myths about the Afro-American Family", in *Slavery Reader* ed. Gad Heuman & James Walvin, Chapter 13 (1975), 252-273; Michael Craton, "Changing Patterns of Slave Family in the British West Indies" in *Slavery Reader* ed. Gad Heuman & James Walvin, Chapter 14. (1997), 274-99.

²⁸ Brenda Steveson, "Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South", (NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 161-62; Philip Morgan, "The Black Experience in the British Empire, 1680-1810" in *Black Experience and the Empire*. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 86-110. 96.

²⁹ James Sweet, "Defying Social Death: The Multiple Configurations of African Slave Family in the Atlantic World", *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 70, 2 (April, 2013), 262.

James Sweet also suggests that there were no clear boundaries for some African families, including no specific word for “family” in some of their languages.³⁰ His work focuses on the function of black households, which he defines as one or more communal buildings on shared land.³¹ He believes households are important to understanding “family” relations because Africans and their descendants measured wealth in people, not in land or money.³² Sweet suggests that acknowledging non-biological families, and including them in the history of slave families might prompt historians to reevaluate their understanding of slave families and understand them as more than a reaction to slavery.³³ Similarly, Trelawny Maroon kinship networks should be understood as more than a group of ethnically similar blacks brought together by their shared “Africaness”. Julie Hardwick, Sarah M.S. Pearsall and Karin Wulf agree that family was more than biological connections. It included cultural, economic, legal, political and social relationships between individuals and groups of individuals.³⁴ They suggest that “households” are easier to identify and study, and were more trans-culturally applicable.³⁵

Households were groups of community members linked by shared land and property, and shared interests in safety and protection. These connections emphasized a mutually inclusive and beneficial relationship between all members of the group, as was the case during the Maroons’ first winter in Nova Scotia. During that winter, Governor

³⁰ Sweet, 254-5

³¹ Ibid, 255.

³² Ibid, 255.

³³ Ibid 253.

³⁴ Hardwick et al, 205-06.

³⁵ Ibid, 211.

Wentworth explained to the Duke of Portland that, “there are too many in each house”.³⁶ The Maroons shared their houses with each other to survive. But Maroon communities were not made up of rigid households. Households were extremely fluid and changing. When these “households” were uprooted from the Jamaican cockpits, the Maroons maintained strongly linked groups. In Sierra Leone, the Maroons sometimes had two or three houses together on one plot of land, highlighting the extent to which Maroons lived in large family groups.³⁷ These groups were made up of immediate family relations (single generations related by blood) and extended family (kin). Kin shared common ancestry or common experience, rather than just space or land.

As Chapter Two identifies, the Maroons had links to a common Akan ancestry and culture, which also utilized kinship and clan ties.³⁸ Because the Maroons had become so geographically isolated in the Cockpits, and placed such importance on being “Maroon”, they developed strong mutual relationships. These kinship networks did not place any more value on blood kin than on extended family. Alexander Howe provides a glimpse of these kinds of bonds in his letter to Quarrell. He wrote, “the attachment of the Blacks to the whole extent of their families, [impels] them always to act together and even to consider as one family those who came from the same country or province”.³⁹

³⁶ Wentworth Letter Book, “Wentworth-Portland” (21 April 1797), 55. See also C.O. 217/68, “Wentworth-Portland” Dec. 21, 1796 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 33. Wentworth said this in part because there were not enough necessary materials to build all the Maroons houses.

³⁷ “Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company”. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. February 27, 1804, “Extracts of a letter from Governor Day” (Fort Thornton, April 14, 1803), 183.

³⁸ Henry Joseph III Drapalski, *Autonomous but not invincible: The Trelawny Maroons’ Odyssey in the Atlantic World*. Thesis for Department of History, Amherst College (April 07, 2008). 34.

³⁹ C.O.217/68 “Enclosure 1”, in Mavis Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 47.

Their bonds transcended any links to land or shared dwellings. Cultural and economic ties linked the Maroon families who were relocated together to Nova Scotia and then Sierra Leone. Thus, kin and kinship networks, rather than physical households, will be the focus of this chapter.

Herbert Gutman has explored the influences and aspects of black families in North America, revealing that families were usually patriarchic and centered around the father (in 70-90% of cases).⁴⁰ He suggests that more comparisons with other black family groups are needed to further understand the structure and role of family for blacks during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴¹ Trelawny Maroon families were also headed by a male figure who usually made decisions and signed petitions on behalf of its members. The apparent nonexistence of female signatures in Maroon petitions suggests that most heads of family were indeed male, although a catalogue of Maroon belongings, sorted by heads of family written in 1800 mentioned seven female figureheads alongside ninety-nine male figureheads.⁴² James Sweet suggests that recent studies show that slave families varied, and that while some were maternal, others were paternal.⁴³ He notes that most of those studies relate to the power structures between male and female sexual partners within the context of slavery.⁴⁴ This is true of Gutman's work, which discusses maternal family life through three "objective measures": male presence, presence of older female figureheads and the earning power of women compared to men.⁴⁵ Although the

⁴⁰ Gutman, 260.

⁴¹ Ibid, 267.

⁴² C.O. 217/74 "An Account of Maroon Property" in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 162-249. Only seven female Maroons appear as heads of families.

⁴³ Sweet, "Defying Social Death", 252.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 253.

⁴⁵ Gutman, 264.

gender roles of Maroons in economic positions is important, they do not fully address how Maroon families could be understood as extended kinship networks. Earning power of the group, not the individual, was the focus of Maroon families.

Maroon “earning power” was affected by the family’s size and level of cooperation. Each Maroon’s contribution was as important as the next. Wentworth described to Portland that the women were accustomed to working as hard as the men, and that the children both assisted and learned their parents’ trades.⁴⁶ Members of Maroon families pooled their resources and worked as one “earning” unit, rather than a combination of separate earners. During their stay in Nova Scotia, Maroon women and children gathered strawberries and raspberries while others (most likely males) received wages for labor.⁴⁷ Activities such as farming were family activities. Captain Howe mentioned that planting potatoes was a “family affair”.⁴⁸ While the roles of Maroons were usually divided along age and gender lines, cooperation between family members regardless of gender and age, was the key to their families’ strength. Even decades later in Sierra Leone, when Captain William Day was asked during an examination how the poor Maroons were able to support themselves, Day answered that, “each family of the Maroons maintains its own poor”. He added that, “a few Nova Scotians are supported by charitable donations of the Company, which is but small”.⁴⁹ It is clear that “earning power” was not a requirement of inclusion in family.

⁴⁶ Wentworth Letter Book, “Wentworth-Portland” (30 May 1799), 290.

⁴⁷ C.O.217/68 “Enclosure 1” in Mavis Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 48.

⁴⁸ C.O. 217/69 “Howe-Wentworth”, 8 June 1798 (Enclosure 1) in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 73.

⁴⁹ C.O.137/96 “Correspondence regarding Jamaica”, 200.

Philip Morgan expanded on Gutman's work by exploring the links between households. He noted that bonds between siblings were especially strong, and created extended family ties based loosely on blood ties during the last few decades of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ There are records of Maroons in Jamaica banding together into extended families based loosely on blood ties. After General Walpole had secured a peace treaty with the Maroons in December 1795, he wrote to Governor Balcarres, describing multiple large groups surrendering, usually led by a single Maroon leader. On 19 January 1796, Walpole confirmed nine Maroon men, women and children, had come in. The men then went back into the Cockpits to retrieve more of their relations.⁵¹ On 14 January, Jarrett came out of the Cockpits with "four boys capable of bearing arms", and an additional 19 women and children.⁵² British officials received another 30 men, 21 women, and 16 children ten days later.⁵³ Maroon family leaders concealed their women and children in the Cockpits to protect them and were frequently looked to for physical protection and comfort.⁵⁴ The surrender of the Maroons in these large groups points to the existence of large kinship networks that banded together and used their consolidation for support and protection.⁵⁵

The Maroons' community cohesiveness was encouraged by their geographical isolation in the Jamaican Cockpits, and also later in Preston. Many kinship communities on slave plantations shared that cohesiveness. Richard Price noted that maroon

⁵⁰ Philip Morgan, "Significance of Kin" in *Slavery Reader* ed. Gad Heuman & James Walvin, Chapter 16. (1998), 342-3.

⁵¹ Dallas, 149.

⁵² Ibid, 160.

⁵³ C.O. 137/ 96 "Correspondence regarding Jamaica", 185.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 66.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 144.

communities in the British Caribbean were commonly located in “inhospitable” and inaccessible locations to assure their survival.⁵⁶ Maroon separation from British communities had always been a British goal. Bryan Edwards thought the biggest flaw of the 1738 treaty was that it kept the Maroons a distinct group instead of dividing them.⁵⁷ On 3 February, 1796, Governor Balcarres wrote to Walpole that he meant, “to divide the Maroons” during their surrender.⁵⁸ Walpole had discussed to Balcarres that, “at all events, much is gained even by dividing them”.⁵⁹ Walpole thought that by dividing the Maroons, they would be less likely to rebel again or cause the colonial authorities trouble. The commissary-general also conceived that the as long as the Maroons remained a “distinct body of people”, they would retain their “habits”, and believed dispersing them “very extensively” was the only to change their behaviors.⁶⁰

In Nova Scotia, Reverend Benjamin Gray discussed division of the Maroons with Wentworth, and concluded that the Maroons would oppose being divided with “the most determined resolution”. He feared that they would use force against those who attempted to separate their group.⁶¹ Even Quarrell, whom the Maroons trusted and admired, lamented that they had not been dispersed throughout Nova Scotia. He had already urged the Maroons to write to the Jamaican Assembly to be removed from Jamaica.⁶² He only gave up his goal to resettle the Maroons in different locales when Whitehall authorized

⁵⁶ Richard Price, *Maroon Societies*, (NY: Anchor, 1973), 5.

⁵⁷ Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 247.

⁵⁸ Edwards, “Balcarres-Walpole”, 3 Feb 1796 in *Proceedings of the Gov’t and Assembly of Jamaica*, 66.

⁵⁹ Edwards, *Proceedings*, 17.

⁶⁰ Dallas, vol. 2, 228.

⁶¹ C.O.217/69 “Gray-Wentworth”, 18 June 1798, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 85-86.

⁶² Dallas, vol. 2, 479-80.

Governor Wentworth to settle them in Halifax.⁶³ Of course, their deportation from Jamaica to Nova Scotia was, in itself, an effort to isolate the Maroons.⁶⁴

The Maroons were not the only people who were transported around the British Atlantic. As previously mentioned, migration is an important theme in the British Atlantic during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. James Walker has called the Maroons “trans-Atlantic immigrants”, and it is true that they shared that attribute with other free blacks, including the Nova Scotia loyalists who had lived in Nova Scotia before them.⁶⁵ As historian Maya Jasanoff argues, the difficulty that both the Maroons and Loyalists (amongst many other groups) encountered resulted from “hierarchies of difference”, which the British effectively embraced towards its colonial subjects after 1776 following the American Revolution.⁶⁶ Because eighty percent of immigrants to the Americas were black and most studies of Atlantic families have excluded them, the Trelawny Maroons are an important chance for historians to better understand the motivations of black families, within the context of migration, and British subjecthood and loyalty, as their lives were disrupted and transplanted around the Atlantic.⁶⁷

As noted above, Andrew Smith would have had to sever important ties to his large extended family if he had stayed in Jamaica. Smith declared in his petition to

⁶³ Ibid, 490.

⁶⁴ Allister Hinds, “ ‘Deportees in Nova Scotia’, the Jamaican Maroons, 1796-1800” Ch. 10 in *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, Africa, and the African Diaspora*. Ed. Verene A. Shepherd. (NY: Polgrave, 2002), 213-14.” See also JA 1B/11. *Votes of the Assembly, 1800-1801*. “Mr. Quarrell to the Chairman of the Maroon Committee” 24 June 1799.

⁶⁵ James Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*. (NY: African Publishing Company, 1976), 278.

⁶⁶ Maya Jasanoff, “The Other Side of Revolution: Loyalists in the British Empire”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 65, 2 (April 2008), 210.

⁶⁷ Sweet, “Defying Social Death”, 253.

Brother Charles Samuels in June 1797 that he had a large family with “four wives and eight small children besides our father Old Joe Williams and our mother, sisters we have plenty and there is only you and Cope and myself to maintain eighteen or twenty [...]”.⁶⁸

A catalogue of Maroon belongings that were headed to Sierra Leone in 1800 shows Smith’s family as being composed of at least thirty-one people (most likely thirty-five). The catalogue organized individuals and their belongings into larger family units, which were usually headed by the male leader. The catalogue included thirty-one members under Andrew Smith’s name. A separate heading also marked as “Andrew Smith” included another four people.⁶⁹ The catalogue grouped many adult individuals together under heads of family. Eight people were included under John Jarrett and twelve were grouped under Colonel Montague. In other parts of the catalogue, there were four groups each of eight and nine people, a group of ten people, and one group of eleven people.⁷⁰ There are instances that the same last names appear for multiple families, and although there is the possibility that not all families with the same last names were blood-kin, it is probable that many of the Maroons’ extended kinship networks were even bigger than indicated.⁷¹

One major reason that Maroon families were so large was that they practiced polygamy and many Maroon men had multiple wives. Howe explained to Quarrell in a letter on 8 August 1797 that, “the coldness of winter had also laid some stress on [the Maroons of] the little probability there was before them to maintain their families by their

⁶⁸ C.O. 217/69, “Enclosure 3” in Mavis Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 58.

⁶⁹ C.O. 217/74, “An Account of Maroon Property Embarked with them from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone”, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 230-237.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ It seems that children were not included in this catalogue.

labor particularly as had three or four wives with children by each”.⁷² The 1800 catalogue of belongings referred to only seven women as the heads of families, showing that males dominated leadership positions.⁷³ It seems that Maroon women did oppose the structure of their male-dominated families and Wentworth noted that the women were “generally enemies” to polygamy but there is no historical evidence that they openly defied these structures.⁷⁴ Polygamy was an important part of the family structure that their African ancestors had practiced. It also was part of the Obeah religion some had inherited from their ancestors.⁷⁵

The frequency and regularity of polygamous practices by the Maroons is another indicator that they had remained largely separated from British cultural influence in Jamaica before the end of the eighteenth century, even with the presence of a British superintendent in their community.⁷⁶ It was not, however, through a lack of trying on the part of the British. British officials and ministers in Jamaica had repeatedly tried to convince the Maroons to adopt Christian practices, including marriage, monogamy, baptisms, and Christian burial ceremonies for the dead. Dallas discussed one particular Maroon man who was told by Governor Balcarres that he could have only one wife. The man, who had two wives and children by both, asked, “you say me mus forsake my wife?” Balcarres replied that he had only to forsake one. The Maroon man retorted and asked, “Which dat one? Jesus Christ say so? Gar a’mighty say so? No, no Massa; Gar

⁷² C.O. 217/68 “Wentworth to Portland: Enclosure 1, Quarrell-Howe”, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 50.

⁷³ C.O. 217/74, “An Account of Maroon Property”, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 164-178; Brenda Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), 262.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 83.

⁷⁵ Edwards, xxix.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, xxvii.

a 'mighty good, he no tell somebody he mus forsake him wife and children".⁷⁷ The older Maroon generation was particularly resistant to monogamy, and continued polygamy because they did not want to cut important economic, cultural and emotional ties with wives or children.⁷⁸

Lennox Picart has argued that the Maroons continued to thwart efforts by John Wentworth to Christianize them in Nova Scotia, and that they maintained their "unique cultural independence".⁷⁹ Picart's descriptions of Wentworth's efforts to have the Maroons Christianized as a "hopelessly blind" attempt to "cleanse" their culture, signals a certain level of unwarranted judgment in his analyses.⁸⁰ It is true that the large group in Preston did mostly continue to practice the same customs as they had in Jamaica. "The Maroons have certainly admitted neither [marriage nor burial]," wrote Reverend Benjamin Gray to Wentworth on 18 June 1798.⁸¹ "They allow polygamy and they part with their interest with their wives, only if compensation being made".⁸² Reverend Gray also commented that the Maroons, "buried their dead about their dwellings", usually covered in stones.⁸³ Although Governor Wentworth was more optimistic, even he ceded that it would take time to change their habits.⁸⁴ Many Maroons in Preston did not participate in Christian marriages or burials and generally believed that the "charm of

⁷⁷ Dallas, 112-13.

⁷⁸ Michael Craton highlighted the division between younger and older generations in "Testing the Chains", 215.

⁷⁹ Lennox O'Riley Picart, *The Trelawny Maroons and Sir John Wentworth: The Struggle to Maintain their Culture, 1796-1800*, (UNB April 1993), 82.

⁸⁰ Picart, 38, 46.

⁸¹ C.O.217/69 "Gray-Wentworth: Enclosure 6" June 18, 1798 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 82-83.

⁸² Dallas, 239-40.

⁸³ C.O. 217/69 "Gray-Wentworth", in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 83.

⁸⁴ See Wentworth's Nova Scotia Letter Book, in Nova Scotia Public Archives, reel 15238, vol. 52, "Wentworth-Balcarres" (4 August 1797), 101.

Obeah” would no longer work for those who had been baptized.⁸⁵ Since the majority of Maroons, who Gray believed had ignored his conversion attempts, lived in Preston, the majority of Maroons continued their practices and polygamy remained a central part of their community.

While it was certainly true that many of the Maroons maintained their old cultural practices despite renewed efforts by British officers in Nova Scotia to abandon their practices, Picart makes little effort to explain the many exceptions that Reverend Gray and Governor Wentworth noted. Governor Wentworth had relocated sixty Maroons to Boydville in 1797 and Rev. Gray mentioned that those Maroons wanted the priest to preach to them, and that he had personally baptized thirteen of their children.⁸⁶ William Quarrell also had success in convincing the Boydville Maroons to adopt Christian practices after he moved to Boydville himself.⁸⁷ In a letter to Portland in December 1796, just months after their departure from Jamaica, Wentworth gloated that “several [Maroons] are baptized and some married under engagements to avoid polygamy”.⁸⁸ In Boydville, the Maroons continued to encourage the Chaplain to administer public worship to them.⁸⁹ Wentworth also wrote in 1796 that, “every Sunday public worship is performed in the church of the Rev. Mr. Gray, which is attended with great decency and desire of instruction- several are baptized and some are married, under engagements to

⁸⁵ Dallas, 92; Winks, 86.

⁸⁶ C.O. 217/69 “Wentworth-Gray”, *Fighting Maroons*, 87; Robert Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*. 2nd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 81.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 83.

⁸⁸ C.O.217/68 “Wentworth-Portland” Dec. 21, 1796. See also Wentworth Nova Scotia Letter Book, in Nova Scotia Public Archives, reel 15238, vol. 52, “Wentworth- Rev. D. Morris” (18 May 1799), 282.

⁸⁹ C.O. 217/69 “Wentworth-Portland” June 23, 1798 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 70.

avoid polygamy”.⁹⁰ Even following their first winter, Wentworth still observed the Maroons continuing to attend public worship.⁹¹

Picart’s description of the Maroon community as having “a bold and defiant spirit that could not be easily changed” parallels language used by Jeffrey Fortin and Werner Zips to describe the Maroons as rebellious and unsusceptible to British colonial officers or their practices.⁹² These resistance frameworks do not accurately reflect the fluidity and cultural adoption that characterized this period of movement for the Maroons.⁹³ Whether willingly or unwillingly, the Maroons adopted some British cultural practices to solidify their role as faithful Protestant British subjects in Nova Scotia.

Several years later, after their settlement in their new homes in Freetown, George Ross described the adoption of burial ceremonies by the Maroons. On 23 October 1800, Ross recorded the burials of a woman and child in Freetown. He even “got Captain Smith and Jarrett to be joint Stewards and conservators of the peace during the ceremony”.⁹⁴ But he could not stop “sputtering Elliot” from chanting over the corpses before burial.⁹⁵ After the burial, the Maroons drank, danced, and sang “Koromantyn” (Coromantee)

⁹⁰ Wentworth’s Nova Scotia Letter Book, “Wentworth-Portland” (21 December 1796), 3.

⁹¹ Ibid, “Wentworth-Portland” (21 April 1797), 56.

⁹² Picart, 68; For examples of resistance literature, see Werner Zips, *Black Rebels: African Caribbean Freedom Fighters in Jamaica*. Translated from German by Shelley Frisch. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999 or Jeffrey Fortin, “Blackened Beyond our Native Hue: Removal, Identity and the Trelawny Maroons on the Margins of the Atlantic World, 1796-1800”, *Citizen Studies*, vol. 10, 1. (2006). 5-24.

⁹³ Pearsall, 7, 13.

⁹⁴ George Ross. *Journal*. Mavis Campbell, ed. “Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons: from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone”, (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1993), Thurs. 23, 1800, 28.

⁹⁵ Ross, 28.

songs through the night.⁹⁶ It seems that the Maroons blended their own burial practices with their newly adopted Christian practices.

In Sierra Leone, some Britons thought that the “suppression” of polygamy provoked some Maroons into violence or rebellion.⁹⁷ A dispatch of the Sierra Leone Company to the Governor and Council at Sierra Leone on 22 March 1799 commented on the “polygamy, the more uncivilized manners and other evil qualities of the Maroons” and cautioned the governor not to settle the Maroons too near the Nova Scotians. The company feared the Nova Scotians would emulate the Maroons’ behaviors.⁹⁸ However, after they settled in Freetown, the younger generation of Maroons became more open to Christian marriages and monogamy.⁹⁹ In a census from 1817 to 1823, Christian marriages amongst Maroons occurred regularly. In those six years, the Sierra Leone colonial government recorded a total of two hundred and one Christian marriages.¹⁰⁰

Michael Craton’s work, which serves as an extension of Herbert Gutman’s work, has suggested that many slaves during the last phases of legal British slavery were

⁹⁶ Ross, 28-30.

⁹⁷ “Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company”. House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. (February 27, 1804), 359.

⁹⁸ C.O.217/70 “Portland-Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company” March 05 1799 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 101.

⁹⁹ Hardwick, et al, 208-09.

¹⁰⁰ “Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone. First part; viz. I. Extent and boundaries of the colony. II. Number and conditions of the population, by classes. III. Liberated African, and engineer departments. IV. Provision for religious instruction and the education of youth. V. Agriculture. VI Trade. VII. Revenue and expenditure. VIII. Judicial and civil establishments. IX. Observations on the climate of Sierra Leone, and its dependencies on the River Gambia, and on the Gold Coast.” *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. “Item 8: Marriages Registered from January 1817-“ (May 7, 1827), 38.

“attracted by the advantages of respectable, European-type families”.¹⁰¹ Europeans became increasingly inclined to normalize certain family structures and laws were increasingly used to regulate the structure of families. These laws still reflected common racial, class and status hierarchies of late eighteenth century Britain.¹⁰² Those “European-type” families were attractive to the Maroons because Christian marriages and baptisms were social expectations of being “British”.¹⁰³ This is especially relevant in the case of the Trelawny Maroons because they worked hard to present themselves as abiding British subjects in order to maintain their societal prestige and status. In some parts of the British empire, like Suriname in the 1770’s and Berbice in 1801 and 1810, laws were passed that outlawed Obeah practices or any other non-Christian spiritual and cultural practices.¹⁰⁴ Kathleen Wilson noted that in Jamaica, “religion, decent, and language were the primary, and skin color secondary, requirements to qualify as British”.¹⁰⁵ Thus, by adopting Christian, specifically Protestant, practices into their own customs, the Maroons presented themselves as legitimate British subjects.¹⁰⁶

In a report by the Sierra Leone Colonial Office in 1827, the Maroons, as well as Nova Scotians and “generally the rising generation” in Sierra Leone, were noted as

¹⁰¹ Michael Craton, “Changing Patterns of Slave Family in the British West Indies” in *Slavery Reader* ed. Gad Heuman & James Walvin, Chapter 14. (1997), 295.

¹⁰² Julie Hardwick, *Centering Families*, 218.

¹⁰³ Craton, “Changing patterns of Slave Family”, 293. Craton uses the word “British”, but in this context, it is meant as a condition of “British subjecthood” (see Chapter Four).

¹⁰⁴ Randy M. Browne, “The “Bad Business’ of Obeah: Power Authority, and the Politics of Slave Culture in the British Empire”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 68, 3 (July, 2011), 455-56; 464-65.

¹⁰⁵ Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire, and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, (NY: Routledge, 2003), 12.

¹⁰⁶ Similar to an argument James Sweet made about the role of Catholicism in Brazil in “Defying Social Death”, 269-70.

having adapted European fashions.¹⁰⁷ The report also noted that the Maroons were “almost universally sectarians; for the most part Wesleyans”.¹⁰⁸ A census of the churches and chapels in Sierra Leone from 8 March, 1825 shows that the “number of Persons usually attending” the Stone Chapel belonging to the Maroons was four hundred. The Methodist church in Freetown had flourished since 1815 and attracted many of the maroons.¹⁰⁹ By 1825, approximately two thirds of Maroons were attending the Wesleyan Methodist church.¹¹⁰ Wesleyans had a special emphasis on personal faith and experience, and their faith had a strong following in England.¹¹¹

Whether or not the Maroons incorporated Christian practices in the privacy of their domestic lives remains elusive. On Sunday, 23 November 1800, George Ross wrote, “Church. Church! Why, I mean merely the house which, on weekdays is occupied by Macmillan and a parcel of children, they call scholars, and, of a Sunday, where people generally meet to praise God”. He then referred to the Maroons as “canting pretenders to religion”.¹¹² It is possible that the Maroons only participated in Christian ceremonies in public and continued to practice their old customs in private. Historian Kathleen Wilson

¹⁰⁷ “Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone. First part; viz. I. Extent and boundaries of the colony. II. Number and conditions of the population, by classes. III. Libterated African, and engineer departments. IV. Provision for religious instruction and the education of youth. V. Agriculture. VI Trade. VII. Revenue and expenditure. VIII. Judicial and civil establishments. IX. Observations on the climate of Sierra Leone, and its dependencies on the River Gambia, and on the Gold Coast.” *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. (May 7, 1827), 315.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 281.

¹⁰⁹ Walker, 293.

¹¹⁰ Based on population sizes in 1822. See Sierra Leone Colony Report (1827), 19, 24.

¹¹¹ As Gad Heuman has highlighted, Methodism proved popular amongst many groups of free blacks in the early nineteenth century. See Gad Heuman, “Free Coloureds”, 661.

¹¹² Ross, 41-42.

essentially suggests that “Britishness” (aka certain cultural markers like religion) was “performed” by those who wanted the protection of British rights and liberties.¹¹³ For example, there was incentive to getting married in the Church. The Maroon, Benjamin Gray (perhaps named after the reverend), petitioned Governor Wentworth for monetary assistance for his new marriage.¹¹⁴ Getting married also put them in favor with their British representatives. However, it is also clear by the large number of Christian marriages by the 1820’s and Ross’ descriptions of burial practices during their first years in Sierra Leone that Maroon practices were changing for reasons beyond the immediate advantages like government assistance. The “pretenders” that Ross described in 1800 had increasingly become practitioners.¹¹⁵

Language and education were, at least partially, responsible for causing these changes in Maroon family practices. In 1796, Bryan Edwards mentioned that the Maroons were “generally” ignorant of the English language”.¹¹⁶ Since the Maroons spent most of their time farming their own land and hunting in the mountains, they had limited contact with Britons and spoke with Britons even less. While some Maroons did speak English, because in Jamaica they had traded with other English-speaking people and had

¹¹³ See Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, (NY: Routledge, 2003), 16. See also Wilson, “The Performance of Freedom: Maroons and the Colonial Order in the Eighteenth Century Jamaica and the Atlantic Sound”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 66, 1 (January 2004).

¹¹⁴ C.O.217/70 “Petition from Benjamin Gray to Wentworth” (n.d.) in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 112.

¹¹⁵ Kathleen Wilson, “The Performance of Freedom: Maroons and the Colonial Order in the eighteenth century Jamaica and the Atlantic Sound”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 66,1 (Jan. 2009), 48, 58; See also Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire, and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*, (NY: Routledge, 2003) for a discussion about the performances of identity and Britishness during the eighteenth century.

¹¹⁶ Edwards, xxvii.

a British representative living among them, they received no formal education in English. In Nova Scotia, Benjamin Grey commented that “the greatest part of the Maroons, were so far unacquainted with our language, as not to comprehend fully, what was addressed to them from the pulpit”.¹¹⁷ However, Maroon leaders had frequently signed petitions and there is proof that they understood, at least partially, what was being stated.¹¹⁸ For example, as well as signing several petitions, Andrew Smith also wrote a letter to Brother Charles Samuels in June, 1797. That letter was written more informally than most other Maroon letters to Government officials, and Campbell suggests that the end of the letter was “a veritable vignette of pure, undiluted Maroon creole language”. This suggests that Smith, and perhaps the other Maroons, had enough understanding of the English language to understand what was being written in petitions.¹¹⁹

J. C. Hamilton wrote that Montague James was once asked if he understood a sermon given by Rev. B. Gray, to which he replied, “Massa parson say, no mus tief, no us meddle with somebody wife, no mus quarrel, mus set down softly”.¹²⁰ Keeping in mind that this rendition of Montague James’ reply was most likely adapted to present him as simplistic, the fact that James had a basic understanding of a Christian sermon suggests he could also comprehend the content of the petitions. Indeed, Governor Wentworth also mentioned that, “twice a week partys of them meet Mr. Gray the

¹¹⁷ C.O. 217/69 “Gray-Wentworth” June 18, 1798 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 78; Hinds, 218.

¹¹⁸ C.O.217/70, “Maroon Petition to the House of Commons of Great Britain” in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 92.

¹¹⁹ C.O. 217/69, “Enclosure 3: Captain Andrew Smith to Brother Charles Samuels” in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 58-59.

¹²⁰ Hamilton, J. C. “The African in Canada: The Maroons of Jamaica and Nova Scotia”, in extract from proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science vol. xxxviii, 1889. Microfish.

missionary to have such parts of the preceding Sunday service explained to them as they wish to learn[...].¹²¹ By 1799, only two years later, Wentworth wrote that nineteen of the children were tested in the public church during Easter Sunday and were able to recite all the commandments and read all their lessons.¹²²

Although the older generation of Maroons did not desire instruction for themselves, they generally seemed glad to have their children educated by British ministers.¹²³ In Nova Scotia, Mr. Chamberlain, who had formerly been “a teacher to the Indians of the Wilderness of America”, instructed younger Maroons in sermons, while older Maroons refused to attend weekly sermons.¹²⁴ The refusal of the older Maroons to attend the sermons shows a growing division between generations.¹²⁵ On 29 December, 1795, Walpole wrote that there was division between the younger Maroons and the older Maroons like Old Montague, who was suspicious of the British.¹²⁶ Wentworth actually encouraged the generational divide because, as he optimistically pointed out to Governor Balcarres in 1797, “the younger people will soon fall into the habits of the country and climate- the older class will drop away and daily have less exertion and influence”.¹²⁷ While the older generation of Maroons remained suspicious, the younger generation interacted with the British and learned their language and social “habits”.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Wentworth Nova Scotia Letter Book, “Wentworth-Portland” (21 April 1797), 56.

¹²² Ibid, 282.

¹²³ “Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone” (1827), 359.

¹²⁴ C.O. 217/68, Wentworth to Portland, 21 December 1796 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 33 ;Dallas, 34, 251.

¹²⁵ Hardwick et al, 207; Craton, “Testing the Chains”, 215.

¹²⁶ Dallas, 142.

¹²⁷ Wentworth Nova Scotia Letter Book, “Wentworth-Balcarres”, (4 April 1797), 101.

¹²⁸ Steveson, 288-89.

The British schools in which the Maroons were educated were “meant to [imbue them] with ideas of Loyalty & of piety”.¹²⁹ The younger generations were taught to be loyal to the British Crown and to adopt Christian values in school, while older generations held onto their “African” practices. Ideas of piety referred to proper Protestant lives, and included monogamy in marriage and burial ceremonies in death. Ideas of loyalty to the Crown emphasized subjecthood as the key to a functioning society. Gray declared that provisions had been made to impress “purer habits” on the “rising generation”.¹³⁰ The differences between old Maroon practices and newly learned British practices caused tension amongst family members.¹³¹ Like the Loyalists before them, and the American Refugees after them, the Maroons were quickly introduced to the importance of loyalty to the Crown and to British social customs.¹³²

An example of the writing from Maroon children, which Wentworth included in a private letter to John King, showcases that their tutoring involved more than basic writing and reading skills. John Tharpe, a young Maroon, wrote in 15 August 1799 that “God gives us the greatest Encouragement to be good, by promising us more Happiness than we can express, or all the World can afford, and he also declares, that if we continue in Sin, and disobey him, he will punish us forever and ever”.¹³³ Another boy’ wrote an oath

¹²⁹ C.O. 217/69 “Gray-Wentworth” 18 June 1798 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 86.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 86.

¹³¹ It should be noted that there is no evidence or reason to suggest that the younger generation ever stopped speaking their language or started using English as their *main* language.

¹³² Loyalism in the sense of cultural allegiance. See Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan, “Loyalism and the British Atlantic, 1660-1840” in *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era*, Jerry Bannister & Liam Riordan, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), x, 8.

¹³³ C.O. 217/70 “Wentworth-John King” August 1799 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 138-140.

of allegiance to the King. These examples highlight that the younger Maroon generation was being taught that Christianity and allegiance to the Crown were a large part of being British subjects. In Freetown George Ross wrote that some of the Maroons, “had turned advocates against the Drum”, among them several youth, including Barney Baily.¹³⁴ Ross also made a comment that the proportion of “bad” Maroons to “good” Maroons, was small. That probably referred to their choice of cultural practices and indicates that many Maroons had taken up some forms of British social practices.¹³⁵ The “canting pretenders” were the older generations trying to hold on to their freedoms while also rejecting their children’s new practices. Wentworth noticed an increase in division amongst the Maroons because of the “accession of those, who reclaim from the delusions practiced upon them”.¹³⁶ James Walker has argued that by 1812, younger maroons possessed the education and literacy in English for positions like clerks, teachers, jurors, and policemen.¹³⁷ Although it is possible that the Maroons were initially ‘performing’ British practices in Nova Scotia, in Sierra Leone the younger generations were using British practices and customs in their daily lives.

The generational divisions between Maroon family members are not a full or clear explanation for changes in Maroon family and community practices. Family disputes amongst Maroons happened often. Ross wrote that many nights he could not sleep because of “drunken family squabbles”.¹³⁸ The fact that the older generations wanted their children educated by the British and to attend church underscores that they were not

¹³⁴ Ross, 32.

¹³⁵ Ross, 40.

¹³⁶ C.O. 217/69 “Wentworth-Portland” in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 70.

¹³⁷ Walker, 279.

¹³⁸ Ross, 38.

completely opposed to British practices. Some of the older Maroon generation, like Andrew Smith, were willing to change their practices for their British neighbors. For example, almost all Maroons by the end of the eighteenth century had already taken on Anglo-Saxon names.¹³⁹ Bryan Edwards described how the Maroons “attached” themselves to “different families among the English” and that notable British gentlemen allowed Maroon children to take their last names.¹⁴⁰ Maroons were also willing to accommodate a British superintendent living amongst them. Even the group of Maroons that moved to Boydville was a mixture of younger and older maroons. These are all examples that many Maroons, regardless of which generation they belonged to, were willing to adopt British practices.

Governor Wentworth wrote to Portland in 1797 to discuss the possibility of dividing the Maroons and moved a small group of Maroon families to Boydville. While the two groups remained in touch and continued to cooperate, it was another sign of division within the Maroon community. Unlike the Preston Maroons, who mostly refused to cultivate their land, the Boydville Maroons were “progressing in cultivating their land, with zeal and industry. Every encouragement is afforded to them [and] they are sensible to it”.¹⁴¹ According to signatures on a petition signed by the Boydville Maroon heads of family on 5 May, 1799, there were at least thirteen families in Boydville.¹⁴² The petition commented on the lack of education for their children and asked for more assistance from

¹³⁹ Campbell, “Maroons of Jamaica”, 255. Taking on Anglo-Saxon names was common among slaves too, as Phil Morgan has suggested in “The Significance of Kin”, 347.

¹⁴⁰ Edwards, xl.

¹⁴¹ C.O. 217/69 “Wentworth-Portland” 23 June 1798, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 70.

¹⁴² C.O.217/70 “Petition from the Boydville Maroons” 5 May 1799 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 111-12.

the colonial government.¹⁴³ The number of families in the 1800 catalogue of Maroon belongings suggests that there were eighteen families from Boydville just prior to their voyage to Sierra Leone.¹⁴⁴ In a letter to Portland on 30 May, 1799, Wentworth discussed the imminent removal of the Maroons to Sierra Leone and wrote that the Boydville Maroons desired to accompany the Preston maroons to Africa, “as they are connected by intermarriages and other relationships”. James Moody warned Wentworth that the Maroons would not separate from each other, and would not hesitate to take up arms.¹⁴⁵ Wentworth also wrote that the Boydville Maroons disapproved of the Preston Maroons’ conduct and said they would fight if they were put together. They wished to be transported to Sierra Leone in a separate vessel and to be settled at a distance of twenty miles from the other Maroons once they had arrived.¹⁴⁶ Their request for a separate vessel was denied, but Ross neglected to detail any family disputes between the Boydville and Preston maroons during the voyage to Sierra Leone aboard the *Asia*. Four Maroons did, however, desert their postings to avoid going to Sierra Leone.¹⁴⁷

While both the Boydville Maroons and Andrew Smith (probably because of the large size of his family) retained their strong ties to the main Maroon community in Preston, others were not so lucky. Maroon families had limits to how much support and protection they could, or would, give to its members. During their rebellion in Jamaica,

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 111.

¹⁴⁴ C.O. 217/74 “An Account of Maroon Property” in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 238-259

¹⁴⁵ C.O. 217/70 “James Moody-Wentworth”, 2 July 1799 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 132.

¹⁴⁶ C.O. 217/70 “Wentworth-Portland” 30 May 1799 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 116. See also “Wentworth-Portland” 17 August 1799, 135.

¹⁴⁷ C.O. 217/74 “Wentworth-Portland” 6 Aug 1800 in Campbell, *fighting Maroons*, 158; Winks, 93.

the Maroons were said to have runaway slaves living amongst them. This was most likely because of the disproportional number of males in the Maroon community prior to 1738.¹⁴⁸ As part of the stipulations of their treaty in December 1795, they were obliged to give up all runaway slaves, some of whom had been missing from their estates for years.¹⁴⁹ Dallas mentioned that there were rumors of Maroons not caring about slaves with whom they had temporary relations (spouses or children).¹⁵⁰ While it is impossible to know if these rumors were true, correspondence between Balcarres and Portland frequently included terms like “prisoner” and “captive” to describe the Maroons, who were inboard different vessels in Falmouth and Montego Bay. Balcarres also wrote that he had let one hundred and fifty back onto the island.¹⁵¹ These descriptions highlight that Dallas may not have considered that the Maroons were under a level of coercion that gave them few choices. It seems they had no choice to give up runaways.

It remains uncertain how the British officers knew who was a runaway and who was a Maroon. Balcarres mentioned that he kept one hundred and twenty-three runaways. A list of runaway slaves, both male and female, among the Maroons included a “Jarrett”, a “Parkinson”, “Bailey”, and “Tharp”, all common last names among the Maroons.¹⁵² It is unclear if these runaways had named themselves after British family names like the Maroons, or if they were extended kin, most likely through marriage, to Maroon families. Either way, British colonial officers could not have known who was a runaway merely by

¹⁴⁸ Campbell, “Maroons in Jamaica”, 4; Barbara Kopytoff, “Development”, 42-43.

¹⁴⁹ Edwards, 68.

¹⁵⁰ Dallas, 126.

¹⁵¹ C.O. 137/96 “Correspondence”, 245, 269, 276.

¹⁵² C.O. 137/96 “Correspondence”, W.D. Luarett- Balcarres”, Port Royal, 8 May 1796, 269.

their name. Most likely, Trelawny Maroons had given up their extended runaway slave family members to protect their closer kin.

There is also evidence that the Maroons did tend to outcast some members of their communities to protect the remaining population. Samuel Vaughan wrote to Lewis Cuthbert on 28 July 1795 that one Maroon man was in irons for an “impertinent expression” and the body of Maroons had offered to sacrifice him, rather than aggravate events further.¹⁵³ On 19 February 1803, John Harvey was executed alongside two others for the murder, robbery, and “Man-stealing” of a Temne man trading with the colony.¹⁵⁴ Several Maroons interceded on Harvey’s behalf, but the majority of the Maroon community were pleased with his conviction.¹⁵⁵ A report by colonial officials highlighted that the

Exception taken by the Maroons to the circumstances under which a Punishment was inflicted on this Man, for an Act of Depredation committed by him in Jamaica, which they construed into a premeditated insult on their whole Body, occasioned the Maroon War. The same Habits adhered him at Sierra Leone, and had reduced him almost to a state of an Outcast from Society.¹⁵⁶

It is clear that strong family ties would not save Harvey from death because they considered him a threat to their community.

The change in Maroon attitudes towards John Harvey, from defending him, to casting him from their community for offences they had previously ignored, resulting in

¹⁵³ Dallas, from “Samuel Vaughan-Lewis Cuthbert” in appendix, 335.

¹⁵⁴ “Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company”. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. (February 27, 1804), 208-09.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 209.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 209. See also D. Brymner, “The Jamaican Maroons- How they came to Nova Scotia- How they left” 25 May 1804 in Department of National Defense Call# F5221 M37 B79 *Royal Society of Canada*, Sec. II, 1895, 86.

his execution, is an important clue to understanding the changes that Maroon families underwent. By the time the Maroons had begun building houses on their new land in Freetown, the protection that Maroon families could offer had changed because their physical circumstances had changed. The Maroons, who used to hunt freely in the mountainous Cockpit country, had been thrust first into a cold, uninviting environment in Nova Scotia, and then into a hostile and violent settlement in Freetown. They often complained to company officials of the “bug-a-bug”, which destroyed their yams and corn, and asked to be relocated again because “they did not consider themselves secure”.¹⁵⁷

Once they had settled in Granville Town, Maroon families initially maintained their strong family ties because of competition and threat by native “Timmanee” (Temne), whose land the British had taken and given to the Maroons.¹⁵⁸ Maroons had to form groups of fifteen to twenty people to visit their plantations without being attacked by Timmanee warriors.¹⁵⁹ At the commencement of the Temne War in 1801, Maroon rations were cut to a third of their usual rations.¹⁶⁰ The Maroons made it clear that “if they were secure in their Families, and could raise Provisions sufficient, they would be content any where”.¹⁶¹ The Maroons sometimes had two and three houses together on one plot of

¹⁵⁷ “Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company”. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. (February 27, 1804), 125-26. Bug-a-bug most likely referred to the wood ants in Sierra Leone.

¹⁵⁸ Walker, 243.

¹⁵⁹ “Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company”. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. (February 27, 1804), 143, 151.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 158.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, 126.

land, probably for protection and financial support.¹⁶² Eventually, the Temne War obliged them to abandon their land and crops in Granville Town and move to Freetown two miles away.¹⁶³

In Freetown, the once cohesive and comprehensive Maroon family webs became loosened because they had gone from a rural setting, into an extremely populated urban setting. The Sierra Leone Company praised the “forty or fifty” heads of families who had “conducted themselves in an exemplary manner”, but lamented that the rest of the Maroons proved idle and “unreasonable”.¹⁶⁴ There were almost twice as many Nova Scotians as Maroons in 1802 (nine hundred and four Nova Scotians to five hundred and fifteen Maroons) and in the following two decades, the arrival of Liberated Africans made the population swell.¹⁶⁵ In 1819, Freetown became the home for the vice-Admiralty Court and the International Mixed Commission to Adjudicate Captured Slave Ships, as well as the headquarters for the British navy patrolling the West African coast. Consequently, Freetown experienced an increase in British soldiers, administrators, and merchants, an increase in trading opportunities, and with that, new pressures on labor, land, and resources.¹⁶⁶ The strong emphasis for cooperation between Maroon families initially provided the appropriate networks for pooling resources but competition for

¹⁶² “Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company”. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. (February 27, 1804), “Extracts of a letter from Governor Day” dated Fort Thornton, April 14, 1803, 183; Steveson, 299.

¹⁶³ “Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company”. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. (May 25 1802), 185; James Walker, “Black Loyalists”, 245.

¹⁶⁴ “Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company”. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. (May 25 1802), 351.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 207; Craton, “Changing Patterns of Slavery Family”, 295.

¹⁶⁶ Walker, 312.

resources increased, and large groups of Liberated Africans were eventually able to pool together more money than the Maroons.¹⁶⁷

A general census of the population of people living in Sierra Leone in 1822 reveals a total population of four thousand, seven hundred and eighty-five people, of which approximately six hundred were Maroons.¹⁶⁸ Nine hundred and forty-three of those people were Liberated Africans landed in the years 1819 and 1820, eighty-five were persons from Barbados, and over one thousand were discharged soldiers from various West India regiments and the Royal African Corps.¹⁶⁹ By 1825, eighteen thousand Liberated Africans had settled in the colony.¹⁷⁰ The Maroons began slowly to open their communities to other blacks living in Freetown. Although there was little initial cultural mixing between the Nova Scotians and Maroons at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and youths from both groups regularly “set upon each other”, by 1815 the Maroons began to accept Nova Scotian practices.¹⁷¹ There were even intermarriages between Maroons and Nova Scotians, like that between Stephen Gabbidon (Maroon) and Martha Edmongds (Nova Scotian).¹⁷² By 1825 the two groups had reached a partial accommodation.¹⁷³

The names on the Catalogue of Maroon belongings, and the number of members under each family head offer important clues to tracking the changes to the function and

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 312-13.

¹⁶⁸ “Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone”, 16, 19.

¹⁶⁹ “Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone”, 18.

¹⁷⁰ Walker, 321.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 293.

¹⁷² Ibid, 293.

¹⁷³ Ibid, 319, 323.

organization of Maroon families. The catalogue, written on 7 August 1800 by Captain Sherriff of the *Asia*, documented an approximate total of one hundred and six individuals or heads of household from Preston, and a further eighteen from Boydville.¹⁷⁴ The total number of Maroons was five hundred and fifty (151 males, 177 females, 222 children).¹⁷⁵ In 1827, a census recorded that of six hundred and thirty-six Maroons, there were one hundred and sixty-six heads of Families, one hundred and five of whom were males.¹⁷⁶ That was an increase of only eighty-six in the total population but a division of the population into forty-two additional families. That meant that approximately thirty years later, the number of families had risen by 31%. The general trend was towards smaller families, and the sudden rise of female heads of families from seven in 1800, to fifty-one in 1827 might be attributed to a shift towards monogamy.¹⁷⁷ Widows, as well as potential divorcees, probably account for the majority of the shift towards female heads of families.¹⁷⁸

In 1807, the Sierra Leone Transfer Act shifted authority from the Sierra Leone Company to the British Crown, creating a new, British territory. In 1808, Thomas Perronet Thompson was appointed governor of the new colony.¹⁷⁹ Thompson preferred the Maroons over the Nova Scotians, and introduced a law, “with the apparent conference of the Maroons themselves” to regulate Maroon marriages and to legitimize their

¹⁷⁴ See C.O. 217/74, “An Account of Maroon Property Embarked with them from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone” in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 162-219.

¹⁷⁵ Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 162.

¹⁷⁶ “Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone”, 180.

¹⁷⁷ “Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone”, 179, 180.

¹⁷⁸ Craton, “Changing Patterns of Slavery Family”, 283-84.

¹⁷⁹ Walker, 258-59.

‘bastard’ offspring.¹⁸⁰ After 1808, the “fluidity of cultural change reached its zenith, when over the next two decades, fifty thousand re-captive slaves” were liberated and brought to Sierra Leone.¹⁸¹ Out of the one hundred and five male heads of family from a census taken in 1827, fifty-nine were tradesmen. The Maroons had become “chiefly engaged in trade, or employed as mechanics” and scarcely paid attention to agriculture.¹⁸² However, by 1832, the Liberated Africans were challenging the monopoly that the Maroon and Nova Scotians had once had on trades in Freetown.¹⁸³

In 1844, two hundred and twenty-four maroons petitioned Queen Victoria and blamed their “insurmountable hardships” on the large numbers of Liberated Africans living in Freetown. They asked for permission to return to Jamaica and for land there to begin farming. The government responded that they would be allowed, but would receive no assistance. That did not stop Mrs. Mary Brown, an old Maroon widow, who bought a schooner in 1839 and sailed to Jamaica with a dozen Maroons.¹⁸⁴ This was further evidence of the fracturing of Maroon family in Sierra Leone, and also one of the last records that pertained specifically to Trelawny Maroons in Sierra Leone during this time period. By the end of the nineteenth century, children and grandchildren of the Trelawny Maroons could be found scattered all along the West Coast of Africa.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 271.

¹⁸¹James Sidbury & Jorge Canarres-Esguerra. “Mapping Ethnogenesis in the Early Modern Atlantic”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 68, 2. (April 2011), 186.

¹⁸² “Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone”, 180.

¹⁸³ Walker, 333.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 342.

¹⁸⁵ J.C. Hamilton, “The African in Canada: The Maroons of Jamaica and Nova Scotia” *Microfiche Collection*, from *The Proceedings of the American Association for the advancement of Science*, vol. xxxviii, 1889.

When Governor Balcarres broke the terms of Walpole's treaty with the Maroons, Andrew Smith and his immediate family were offered the chance to stay in Jamaica for cooperating with British authorities following their surrender. Yet, they chose to be deported alongside their companions because they refused to be separated from their extended family.¹⁸⁶ In 1800, when the Maroons were to be deported to Sierra Leone, the Boydville maroons decided against staying in Nova Scotia because it would cost them their family.¹⁸⁷ After their resettlement in Sierra Leone, Maroon families became divided because they were compelled to live in an urban setting amongst many other blacks. Maroons depended more than ever on their families for support and protection and maintained their own unique ethnic identity as *maroons*, but also created new, vibrant 'British' social identities distinct from their Maroon families and community. Above all else, family dictated the day-to-day lives of the maroons, and it was how their culture survived.

In the short span from the beginning of their rebellion in 1795 to their resettlement in Freetown, extensive differences had also presented themselves between the older and younger generations. The Sierra Leone Company reported in 1801 that the Maroons desired to learn handicraft trades, and that their children would desire it even more because "they will be brought up in Habits very different from those which were formed and confirmed in their Parents by their Situation in Jamaica".¹⁸⁸ The changes to

¹⁸⁶ Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 242. Philip Morgan has similarly noted the insistence of slaves in Virginia to not be separated from their families in "The Significance of Kin", 333.

¹⁸⁷ CO 217/70 "Wentworth to Portland" Aug. 17, 1799 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*.

¹⁸⁸ "Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone", 359.

family practices between the generations included changes to marriage, religion, education, and family size.

Changes to the way the Trelawny Maroons maintained their kinship networks and family relations highlight a more general shift by free blacks both in the way they identified themselves and others. Suddenly the Maroons, who had long been geographically isolated from others in the Cockpits and then in Preston and Boydville, belonged to a populous, multiethnic black community. They donned new identities, which can be categorized as domestic and public identities. At their core, they remained Trelawny Maroons, part of a close-knit ethnic family. As British subjects, they were assimilated into a political and cultural environment that focused on their individuality, rather than their pedigree, to determine their social standing, including their access to liberties.¹⁸⁹ Where the Maroons had once relied on consolidation as ‘Maroons’ to define their freedom, they began to focus on their individual identity and on their position as British subjects to keep their freedom and access their liberties.

The shift to smaller family units was also partially an effect of an increasingly fractured Atlantic World, created by the turmoil of constant movement and resettling of people by the British, as well as geographic and cultural integration in new locales.¹⁹⁰ Both Sarah Pearsall and J. H. Elliot see a connection between the frequency of movement and the cohesion of black families in the Atlantic.¹⁹¹ Not only were the Maroons influenced by changes in the way identity was used for claims to British subjecthood and

¹⁸⁹ Gutman, 267; Heuman, 663.

¹⁹⁰ Sarah M. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century*, (NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7; See also Alison Games, “Beyond the Atlantic: English Globetrotters and Transoceanic Connections”, *WMQ*, 678.

¹⁹¹ Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, 12.

freedom, but they were also subject to constantly changing living arrangements that strained their ability to effectively network and structure their communities through shared communal responsibilities. The division of the Maroons in Nova Scotia into two settlements is a strong example of the kind of fracturing that Pearsall highlights.

Although the families remained in touch and maintained many of their connections, physical distance, and cultural and population pressures strained their ability to work together as a large kinship group. Simultaneously, the Maroons began to demonstrate a desire to emulate British customs, including labor, language, and religion, and to affirm their status as British subjects.

Chapter 4: His Majesty's Maroons

On 25 December 1795, Colonel James Montague of the Trelawny Maroons was responsible for signing a treaty with General Walpole to end the Maroon rebellion and negotiate their surrender.¹ The written treaty between Montague and Walpole had three stipulations: 1) that the Maroons would beg on their knees for pardon; 2) that the Maroons would go to the Old Town, Montego Bay, or any other place on the island that was required of them; and 3) that they would give up all runaway slaves that had joined them. Walpole also included an additional “secret article”, which promised that they would not be sent off the island.² Governor Balcarres quickly ratified the treaty and decided on 1 January 1796 as the day by which all the Maroons were to surrender. His proclamation for the date of the Maroons’ surrender was issued three days before on 28 December.³ Balcarres’ short deadline was problematic and in the following months, Walpole’s secret article became a contentious issue.

In March 1796, Governor Balcarres wrote to Walpole, stating that his secret article would be complied with only if the Maroons adhered to all the articles of the treaty. Balcarres made it clear that it was important to establish whether the runaways were surrendered agreeable to the article. As discussed in Chapter Three, the issue of

¹ George Ross. *Journal*. Mavis Campbell, ed. “Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons: from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone”, (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1993), xv. Montague James was even paid 100 Pounds by the Assembly for his duties.

² Bryan Edwards, *The Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly of Jamaica, in regard to the Maroon Negroes*. London: J. Stockdale, 1796), 9, 12-15; C.O. 137/96, “Walpole-Balcarres” 20 December 1795, *Correspondence*, 135, 137.

³ Ibid, 15. See also Allister Hinds, “ ‘Deportees in Nova Scotia’, the Jamaican Maroons, 1796-1800” Ch. 10 in *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, Africa, and the African Diaspora*. Ed. Verene A. Shepherd. (NY: Polgrave, 2002), 207.

surrendering runaway slaves became a contentious one and it quickly became evident to General Walpole that Balcarres had no intention of adhering to his treaty.⁴ On 11 March 1796, Walpole responded to reports that the Jamaican legislature meant to infringe on the terms of the treaty by threatening to resign his post. Nonetheless, Balcarres ordered all the Maroons to be detained and sent to Port Royal to await further relocation. Soon after, Walpole resigned because he did not want to be held accountable for what he perceived was a violation of his treaty with the Maroons.⁵

On Wednesday 20 April 1796, the Joint committee, which consisted of three members of the council and nine from the House of Assembly, announced that all the Maroons who had surrendered after the 1st of January did not comply with the terms of their treaty, and were thus not entitled to any benefits. Governor Balcarres condemned the Maroons to be sent to another country “in which they will be free, and such as may be best calculated, by situation, to secure the island against the danger of their return.”⁶ The response by the Joint committee, led by Governor Balcarres, to Walpole’s treaty with the Maroons highlights that their cooperation with, reliance on, and relationship with British colonial and imperial authorities remained an important and complicated part of their Atlantic experiences and played a key role in how the Maroons lived and operated within the British empire.⁷

This final chapter will explore the complexity of the relationships between the Maroons and the British Crown, colonial officials, colonial planters and other British

⁴ Edwards, 80.

⁵ Ibid, 79-80, 83, 91, 95-96, 100.

⁶ Edwards, 100; C.O. 137/96, “Balcarres-Portland”, 20 April 1796, *Correspondence*, 251.

⁷ Hinds, 206-07.

subjects. Jamaica, like most of the British Atlantic, experienced intensified imperial racism during the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. As blacks (particularly slaves) in the British Atlantic began posing challenges to the way “Englishness” was constructed, race became an important marker of what it meant to be a British subject.⁸ Because Jamaica’s British officials and its white planter class identified the Maroons as black, and frequently referred to their tendencies as “savage”, the Maroons’ relationship with the British was constantly under scrutiny and constantly threatened by local and imperial Britons. By examining the ways in which the Maroons acted and reacted to encroachments on their rights and liberties, their way of life, and their beliefs, British Atlantic historians can begin to understand both how the Maroons determined their own identity and how they affectively determined what it meant to be a British subject.

In particular, the camaraderie that Maroons felt towards the British can be used to determine the degree to which the Maroons were participants or observers in their daily affairs. In addition, Maroon petitions and treaties reveal important clues that show that beginning in 1796, the Maroons attempted to re-negotiate their relationship with the British by referring to themselves as British subjects and made every effort to convince others of that fact. The evidence suggests that while the British did limit or impose restrictions on the Maroons, they remained active participants in the British colonial society and used their new position as subjects to remain active in their own governance and development. Furthermore, rather than being the “other” against which “Britishness”

⁸ Sean Hawkins and Philip Morgan, “Blacks and the British Empire: an Introduction” in *Black Experience and the Empire*, Eds. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 4, 11-12, 22-23.

was contrasted, the Maroons were responsible for helping to shape the way British subjecthood was conceived and constructed within the empire.⁹

The topics of British “national identity”, subjecthood and loyalty have remained contested and controversial topics among historians, including among those of the British Atlantic. The ambiguity of the phrase “British subjecthood” needs to be addressed before any such terms can be used to assess the Maroons’ situation. As Sean Hawkins and Philip Morgan highlight, what it meant to be British was constantly changing, both in place and over time.¹⁰ For one thing, there was always friction between the metropole and the colonies over what it meant to be British.¹¹ Simon Gikandi has argued that “Englishness” became a paradox because it contrasted a national character against a colonial other, which it then sought to disown; in other words, “Englishness” could only exist in the presence of the colonial “other”.¹² There is evidence to support this, as some contemporary Britons, like Edmund Burke and John Wilkes believed that creoles living in British colonies did not possess the qualities of true ‘Englishmen’ because of their

⁹ See Linda Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument” in *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 31, 4 (Oct, 1992), 315. Colley argues that ‘Britishness’ was never imposed just from the metropole to the colonies.

¹⁰ Sean Hawkins & Philip Morgan, eds.. “Blacks and the British Empire : an Introduction” in *Black Experience and the Empire*. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3. See also Jack Greene, “Changing Identities in the British Caribbean: Barbados as a case study”, 215; Jeffrey Fortin, “Blackened Beyond our Native Hue: Removal, Identity and the Trelawny Maroons on the Margins of the Atlantic World, 1796-1800”, *Citizen Studies*, vol. 10, 1. (2006). 24.

¹¹ Ibid, 4-5. See also Kathleen Wilson, “The Island Race: Captain Cook, protestant evangelicalism and the construction of English national Identity, 1760-1800” in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650-c.1850* ed. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹² Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*. (NY: Columbia University Press, 1996), 55.

distance from the superior culture of Britain.¹³ However, these discussions never mentioned the role of blacks in the way that contemporaries during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century understood “Britishness” and British identity.

Kathleen Wilson has argued, along with a number of other scholars including Trevor Burnard, Kathleen Brown, and Jack Greene, that during the eighteenth century, concepts of nation and national identity were still closely related to race, which referred less to physical characteristics than to customs, descent, and family lineage.¹⁴ She refers to religion, decent, and language as the primary requirements to qualify as “British”, while skin color was a secondary condition.¹⁵ Writing in 1772, Maurice Morgan, an advisor for the Board of Trade, assured Britons that free blacks who adopted British customs and values, including the English language, education, legal systems, religion and cultural fads, would gradually turn into whites as their race “wore away”.¹⁶ While Morgan’s views may be an extreme example of a contemporary understanding of race during the late eighteenth century, they confirm the link between “Britishness” and race.¹⁷ Indeed, as established in the previous chapters, Britons in Britain, Jamaica, and Nova Scotia saw the Maroons as savages who needed to be educated and changed to meet social and cultural standards of British society.

¹³ Christopher Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica: Colonial Society and Culture during the Era of Abolition* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 7-10.

¹⁴ Wilson, *Island Race*, 7, 11. See also: Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: categories of difference in eighteenth-century British culture*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

¹⁵ Wilson, *Island Race*, 12.

¹⁶ Christopher Brown, “From Slaves to Subjects: Envisioning an Empire without Slavery, 1772-1834” in *Black Experience and the Empire*, Sean Hawkins and Philip Morgan, eds. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 116.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 114-16.

What Wilson and Gikandi, among others, have neglected to consider is that being British and being a British subject were not the same. As Wilson rightly notes, descent was a key factor in determining “Britishness”. And just as most white Britons, both in the metropole and in Jamaica, did not conceptualize the Maroons as possessing the necessary qualities to be truly “British” (namely, their race), the Maroons did not see themselves as British.¹⁸ As established in previous chapters, the Trelawny Maroons identified themselves as *maroons* and clearly placed a great deal of importance on family lineage. They had neither intention nor obligation to identify as “English” or “British”. And although their relationship with the British after 1796 changed and they began to evoke status as British subjects, they remained essentially *maroon* and not British. Thus the key to understanding the Maroons’ place in the British Empire is distinguishing the difference between what it meant to be “British” and what it meant to be a British subject.

Linda Colley, who became a central figure in scholarly discussions to define Britishness in the eighteenth century, argues that Protestantism and anti-French sentiment were the key factors of defining Britishness.¹⁹ However, as historian Christopher Brown has suggested, the British Empire during the eighteenth century was defined by allegiance to the crown rather than by ethnicity or religion.²⁰ This was true in the case of the Maroons. Although they agreed to be loyal to the crown in 1738 in exchange for new liberties, few Maroons adopted Christianity, many Maroons still practiced polygamy, and

¹⁸ Sarah Yeh, “‘A Sink of all Filthiness’”: Gender, Family, and Identity in the British Atlantic, 1688-1763”, *The Historian*, vol. 68, no.1 (Spring, 2006), 68.

¹⁹ Linda Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument”, *Journal of British Studies*, vol.31, no. 4 (Oct. 1992), 315-17. See also Sarah E. Yeh, “‘A Sink of all Filthiness’”: Gender, Family, and Identity in the British Atlantic, 1688-1763”, *The Historian*, vol. 68, no.1 (Spring, 2006), 66-88.

²⁰ Brown, 116. 134.

they certainly spoke little or no English. As Simon Gikandi has suggested generally about groups of blacks in the British Empire, even after 1796, when the Maroons began to be categorized as British subjects, the Maroons adopted a set of British values and customs but could never wholly epitomize what it meant to be “British”.²¹ Thus, loyalty to the Crown, rather than “Britishness”, is how the Maroons shaped their relationship with the British.

The reason that subjecthood is so important to the Maroon situation is because in the eighteenth century, the British faced a problem when it came to ex-slaves and free blacks: should they incorporate them into the empire or remove them from the empire?²² When the Maroons on Jamaica became a serious threat following their unification by Cudjoe during the 1730s, the colonial authorities quickly recognized the advantages of creating an alliance with the Maroons, especially since their removal was unlikely given their tactical territorial advantage in the cockpits.²³ The 1738 treaty was a “treaty of peace and friendship” that was based on mutual cooperation and friendship.²⁴ It included stipulations that granted Cudjoe and his ancestors “a perfect state of freedom and liberty” and all the lands between Trelawny Town and the Cockpits (totaling one thousand five hundred acres); gave them the liberty to plant and harvest those lands and sell their commodities to the other Jamaican inhabitants; required them to hunt and return runaway slaves on behalf of the British Planters; placed a permanent British colonial

²¹ Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*, 69; Wilson, *The Island Race*, 12.

²² Brown, 113-114.

²³ *Ibid*, 112.

²⁴ Dallas, vol. 1, 59-60; See also John Reid, “Imperial-Aboriginal Friendship in Eighteenth-Century Mi’kma’ki/ Wulstukwik” in *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era*, Jerry Bannister & Liam Riordan, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 76-77.

superintendent in their community; and granted them the right to a trial by the magistrate, for injustices done or done onto them”.²⁵ The treaty was the most significant step the Trelawny Maroons took to eventually becoming British subjects because it established a reciprocal relationship with the British that emphasized cooperation and economic and social ties, and distanced the Maroons culturally and socially from the enslaved black population on the island.²⁶

The relationship between the Maroons and the British was predicated on mutually agreeable obligations by both parties: the monarch provided protection (for example, the Maroons were protected from whipping) and the Maroons cooperated with the British (for example, the Maroons took up arms to defend Britain’s holdings).²⁷ As per their 1738 treaty, the Maroons also showed their loyalty by capturing and returning runaway slaves. After the 1795-96 rebellion, and their ejection from Jamaica, the Maroons re-negotiated the terms of their relationship with the British, specifically their desire or obligation to demonstrate their continuous loyalty to the Crown. The Maroons hoped to maintain their freedom under the British by openly declaring their loyalty to the Crown, fully embracing British social customs and thus claiming subjecthood.²⁸

²⁵ Robert Charles Dallas, *History of the Maroons, from their origins to the establishment of their chief tribe at Sierra Leone: including the expedition to Cuba, for the purpose of procuring Spanish Chasseurs; and the state of the Island of Jamaica for the last ten years: with a succinct history of the island previous to that period.* (London: A. Strahan, 1803), vol. 1, 59-65. See Dallas for a complete list of all fifteen articles of the treaty.

²⁶ Gad Heuman, “The Free Coloureds in Jamaican Slave Society”, in the *Slavery Reader*, chapter 31, 655-56.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 118, 122.

²⁸ See Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings*. Schama juxtapositions the Black Loyalist alongside a broader black experience in the late eighteenth century British empire (within the content of the American Revolution); see also Neil MacKinnon, *This*

As historians Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan suggest, “loyalism” was a “amalgam of different values, practices, laws and politics”. Its meaning was subject to change and open for a range of interpretations by contemporaries in the British Atlantic.²⁹ As the previous chapters have already demonstrated, the Maroons saw their roles as British subjects change as they were increasingly expected to adopt British customs and practices. How the Maroons and the British conceived ‘loyalty’ shaped how the Maroons acted and reacted to the circumstances of their transatlantic experiences.³⁰ In the eighteenth century, Britons held notions of subjecthood as dual contractual obligations between the monarch and subject analogous to the patriarchal relationship between fathers and their families or between parents and children.³¹ It is very possible that the Maroons began to see their relationship with the British this way.³² They frequently referred to several British officials as “tattas”, which loosely translated to “father”. For example, in 1795, after meeting with British delegates to discuss their grievances with the British, one of the Maroon leaders told the British men that, “You are our Tattas, we your children”.³³ Along a similar vein, George Ross mentioned frequently their reference to

Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1986).

²⁹ Bannister & Riordan, “Loyalism”, x, 23. They argue that “loyalty was fashioned from over a century of intensive metropolitan-colonial exchange”.

³⁰ Killingray, 364.

³¹ Brown, 118. See also Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan, “Loyalism and the British Atlantic, 1660-1840”, Chapter 1 in *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the Revolutionary Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 13.

³² See also Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Tadmor suggests that eighteenth century “friendship” could also include family relationships.

³³ Dallas, 152.

him as “Massa” (Master) while he traveled with them to Sierra Leone in 1800.³⁴

However, it is important to note that British officials may have embellished these descriptions in order to convey the Maroons as either primitive or as willing recipients of their customs and practices.

One stipulation of the 1738 treaty that was remarkably effective in establishing a relationship between the British and the Trelawny Maroons was the requirement of a British superintendent to live amongst the Maroons. The superintendent was empowered to hold a court, along with four Maroons, to try any Maroons who disobeyed orders. The superintendent was forbidden to be absent for more than two weeks without the Governor’s leave and was required to report the population of Maroons, including how many were capable of bearing arms, how many women and children there were, and how many were unfit for military duty.³⁵ The close proximity and constant presence of the British superintendent subjected the otherwise geographically isolated Maroons to the English language, Protestantism, and British legal practices in cases where the Maroons were tried by the superintendent. The Maroons also developed personal relationships with their superintendents, which somewhat resembled the important family ties discussed in Chapter Three.³⁶

A particularly important relationship was that between the Maroons and Major John James, who was the superintendent until 1792 when he was dismissed and replaced by Captain Craskell. The Maroons did not accept Captain Craskell as a legitimate leader

³⁴ Ross, 3,5; Werner Zips, *Black Rebels: African Caribbean Freedom Fighters in Jamaica*. Translated from German by Shelley Frisch. (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 209.

³⁵ Dallas, vol. 1, 96.

³⁶ See Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, 168, 171-79.

because they did not consider him to be confident or fearless, and their first action following the flogging of two of their fellow Maroons was to drive Craskell from their town.³⁷ Shortly afterward, James returned to Trelawny Town to negotiate a meeting between the Maroons and several British officers, including General Palmer, who afterwards wrote to Governor Balcarres recommending a compliance with their demands. The Maroons requested additional land for their subsistence and that James be reinstated as their superintendent because they believed that Craskell was unqualified for the position and because they “missed having him around”.³⁸ As a show of faith, six Maroon captains surrendered themselves; however, Governor Balcarres had them immediately detained and imprisoned.³⁹ The Trelawny Maroons saw this as a breach of good faith, and abandoned their concession talks with the British colonial government for fear of Balcarres’ intentions towards them.⁴⁰

Although the Maroons and Governor Balcarres failed to reach an agreement, the Maroons used their connections with Major James to bridge the gap between the two sides. Thus, their relationship with James represented more than an obligation to meet conditions of their 1738 treaty; they were attached to him and considered him part of their community. He was welcomed, and wanted back in their community. Likewise, on some level, James reciprocated those feelings by negotiating on their behalf. Their relationship with James highlights the Maroons’ willingness and capacity to negotiate

³⁷ Dallas, vol. 1, 143; Mavis Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: A History of Resistance, Collaboration, and Betrayal*. (Massachusetts: Bergin & Garney Publishers Inc., 1988), 212, 254-55.

³⁸ Dallas, vol. 1, 151-52; 154-55; Mavis Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 212.

³⁹ Dallas, vol. 1, 169, 172.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 169, 176.

with the British using British legal practices and customs.⁴¹ And although they were unsuccessful in fulfilling their requests, they still relied on their friendship with the colonial British officers to secure their liberties and stay involved in their own governance.⁴² Furthermore, their personal relationship with James, and his interest in their affairs, is evidence that the Maroons were part of both the local Jamaican community and broader British society and that the Maroons had a relationship with James that resembled the kinship ties that formed the basis of their community.

Since 1738, a British superintendent had always lived within the Maroon community and their relationship with the British colonial government became just an extension of their relationship with Major James. The way they interacted with the British did not change when George Ross took his place as their supervisor and representative in 1800. Ross was an employee of the Sierra Leone Company whom they instructed to “acquire knowledge of their [the Maroons’] capacities, dispositions, manners, and customs”.⁴³ In his journal, Ross wrote about his daily interactions with the Maroons during his voyage with them to Sierra Leone in 1800 and his time as their supervisor until 1801. His diary is an important source for understanding the way the Maroons interacted with the British, and what their continued capacity as subjects was upon reaching the “Province of Freedom”.

⁴¹ David Killingray, “ ‘A Good West Indian, a Good African, and in Short, a Good Britisher’: Black and British in a Colour-conscious Empire, 1760-1950”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.36, 3. (Sept. 2008), 363-64.

⁴² Petley, 393, 397.

⁴³ Mavis Campbell, Introduction in George Ross. *Journal*. Mavis Campbell, ed. “Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons: from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone”, (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1993), iv, xiii.

The journal indicates that, like past British officials, Ross's relationship with the Maroons was very personal. In one instance in Freetown in 1800, Ross took Old Jarrett to look at houses and let him occasionally shoot his gun. Ross wrote that they had a friendly relationship.⁴⁴ In another entry, Ross admits to having their leader, Colonel James Montague, for breakfast. He also had dinner and supper sent to Montague.⁴⁵ Ross also had Captain Smith over for dinner.⁴⁶ This was similar to the relationship that the Maroons enjoyed with Major James in Jamaica. Another particular aspect of the relationship that the journal shows is the Maroons' reference to Ross as "Massa".⁴⁷ It seems that the Maroons accepted Ross as an authoritative figure whose opinions they accepted. In one entry, upon their arrival in Sierra Leone, Ross noted that although the Maroons were informed that the colony was in bad condition, they received the news with a "cheerful countenance and repetitions of the assurances that the greatest candor had always been shown them and that the greatest fairness was intended for them".⁴⁸ However, it is revealing that Ross frequently flogged the Maroons without causing them to dismiss him.⁴⁹ Given their previous reaction to floggings in Jamaica, this might suggest that the Maroons conceived Ross as a paternal figure in their community, similar to that of a father figure disciplining a child.⁵⁰ It also suggests that since 1795-96, the Maroons' relationship with the British had shifted from mutual cooperation to subjection.

⁴⁴ Ross, 22.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 34.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 24.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 3, 5. Both Smith and Jarrett referred to Ross as "massa".

⁴⁸ Ross, 16.

⁴⁹ Ross, 22.

⁵⁰ Yeh, 69.

However, while Ross commanded their attention and respect, the Maroons still acted on their own wishes, sometimes against Ross's commands. In December 1800, Ross was supposed to meet with the Maroons about allotting them land on the mountains, but they did not attend. Ross also recorded that several Maroons ignored his land allocations. For example, although Ross had allotted plot 127 to Morgan, Morgan settled on plot 129 instead. Likewise, Yago Barrett began building his house half of a mile from his own plot and Arthur Harding began clearing Singer's plot instead of his own.⁵¹ Ross admitted that allocating land to the Maroons was one of the most difficult jobs he had ever undertaken because they tried to "browbeat" him even though he tried to meet their specific requests.⁵² In many circumstances, Ross remained patient even though he wanted to whip them.⁵³

The back-and-forth between the Maroons and Ross highlights the broader dynamics of the relationships between black subjects and the British Crown. As a representative for the Crown, Ross was responsible for their wellbeing as subjects, and attended his duties diligently with the purpose of ensuring the Maroons' safety. Likewise, the Maroons accepted their role as the Crown's soldiers and fought the rebellious Nova Scotians (Black Loyalists who were sent from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone in 1792), while simultaneously negotiating the details of their settlement in Sierra Leone with Ross. Ross would not have been so accommodating or patient with the Maroons if they had not been considered subjects. Likewise, it is unlikely Maroons would have remained so loyal upon seeing the horrible conditions that greeted them in Sierra Leone. The

⁵¹ Ross, 49.

⁵² Ibid, 56.

⁵³ Ibid, 56.

Maroons were still comfortable enough to resist Ross's orders, even though being rebellious had previously resulted in their removal from Jamaica, because they believed that they would be protected and supported as British subjects in Sierra Leone.⁵⁴

Perhaps Maroon resistance was most prominent in their dismissal of quitrents for their new homes in Freetown.⁵⁵ In January 1801, George Ross gathered the Maroons leaders together to discuss quitrents on their land. After back and forth discussion, Parkinson finally and "very bluntly" stated that the Maroons were not willing to pay quit rent.⁵⁶ The following day, the Governor decreed that every Maroon unwilling to pay the quitrent was to give their name, and they would not receive any land. Several hours later, fourteen Maroons had volunteered their names, three of whom later retracted.⁵⁷ However, by 1803, the quitrent for the Maroons and Nova Scotians was removed.⁵⁸

The quarrels over quitrents in Sierra Leone highlight how important land was for the Maroons to establish and confirm their status as British subjects.⁵⁹ Not only that, but as historian Jeffrey Fortin suggests, land ownership was a key difference between the

⁵⁴ Denver Brunsman, "Subjects vs. Citizens: Impressment and Identity in the Anglo-American Atlantic", *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 30, 4 (Winter, 2010), 559; Brooke Neuman, "Contesting 'Black' Liberty and Subjecthood in the Anglophone Caribbean, 1730's-1780's", *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol. 32, no. 2 (June 2011), 170.

⁵⁵ James Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*. (NY: African Publishing Company, 1976), 242.

⁵⁶ Ross, 57-58.

⁵⁷ Ross, 58.

⁵⁸ Walker, 249-250. See also: BT 6/70, "Governor and Council to Directors" October 29, 1806; CO 270/8, "Director's Report", 1804, 25, 34.

⁵⁹ Kathleen Wilson, "The Performance of Freedom: Maroons and the Colonial Order in the Eighteenth Century Jamaica and the Atlantic Sound", *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 66, 1 (January 2009), 62; Walker, 316.

Maroons and slaves.⁶⁰ Under the 1738 treaty, the Maroons were given one thousand five hundred acres of land, which they were free to use as they wished⁶¹. The land became their source of substance and contributed to the strength of their community because they owned it as a collective. After their removal from Jamaica in 1796, the Maroons became individual landowners. In Nova Scotia, the Maroons were given individual lots of land.⁶² In Sierra Leone, three acres were given to each Maroon man, two acres to each woman, and one acre for each child.⁶³ During a conflict with the Timmaney Nation in Sierra Leone in 1803, rumors cropped up that the company was going to abandon the colony. Captain William Day of the British Royal Navy, who acted as the colony's governor for seven months in 1802, told the directors of the Sierra Leone Company that the Maroons would need to be compensated for their property if they were removed from the colony.⁶⁴ This underscores the Crown's responsibility to protect the Maroons because they were considered British subjects.⁶⁵

The Maroons' relationships with their British representatives, like James and Ross, highlight that the Maroons looked to the British for guidance and support. For example, even during the open hostilities of 1795, the Maroons were still willing to negotiate with Walpole and put aside their differences. Similarly, the Maroons

⁶⁰ Jeffery Fortin, "Blackened Beyond our Native Hue: Removal, Identity and the Trelawny Maroons on the Margins of the Atlantic World, 1796-1800", *Citizen Studies*, vol. 10, 1. (2006). 9.

⁶¹ Dallas, vol. 1, 59-65.

⁶² Zips, 220.

⁶³ C.O.217/70 "Enclosure 1: Dispatch of the Sierra Leone Company- Governor and Council at Sierra Leone" 22 March 1799 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 104.

⁶⁴ "Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company". *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. February 27, 1804. "Examination of Captain William Day of the Royal Navy", Appendix G, 191-92.

⁶⁵ Maya Jasanoff, "The Other Side of Revolution: Loyalists in the British Empire", *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 65, 2 (April 2008), 216.

maintained a respectful relationship with George Ross, regardless of differences of opinions. In fact, there were multiple groups and individuals who had different ideas of how the Maroons fit into British society, and the Maroons chose the most beneficial relationships. Similar to the way the Maroons cooperated with the British to capture slaves following the 1738 treaty signing, they did not rebel against or resist every white, British person who tried to change their conceptualization of society and community. Rather, they influenced decision-making that affected them as well as others (like the Nova Scotians).⁶⁶

Of course, like their disputes with George Ross over quitrents, the Maroons were not always willing to cooperate. Charles Maxwell, who succeeded Thompson as the governor of Sierra Leone, proclaimed a new Militia Act on November 1811, which required all subjects in the colony to adhere to military discipline, required them to partake in military exercises and duties, and set penalties for non-enrolment or non-attendance in defense exercises. It also required them to take an Oath of Allegiance.⁶⁷ Maxwell proclaimed that all males between the ages of thirteen and sixty who did not enroll were outlaws and would forfeit their property to the Crown.⁶⁸ The Maroons united with the Nova Scotians to protest the new act.⁶⁹ Governor Maxwell reported that the Maroons led the resistance. A petition from nine Maroon leaders stated that they would gladly fight for Britain (thus attempting to reiterate their loyalty), but would not accept

⁶⁶ Sean Hawkins & Philip Morgan, eds.. "Blacks and the British Empire : an Introduction" in *Black Experience and the Empire*. NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 11.

⁶⁷ Walker, 278.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 279.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 278.

the terms of the new Militia Act, especially because the punishments included flogging.⁷⁰ Approximately one hundred Maroons and fourteen Nova Scotians gave up land in Freetown to protest the act.⁷¹ Rather than regarding these as disputes with the British as full-fledged resistance or disloyalty, historians should understand them as political engagement with the British over the terms of their relationship.

Unfortunately, as highlighted in Chapter Two, most literature about the Maroons connects them to ‘resistance’ literature that dominates narratives about blacks in the British Atlantic during the late eighteenth century.⁷² For example, historian Lennox Picart argues that the Maroons resisted all attempts by the British to Christianize and civilize them, and declares and celebrates the “defiant spirit” of the Maroons, Werner Zips describes the Maroons as “black rebels and Jeffrey Fortin highlights their “rebellious” tendencies.⁷³ While it is true the Maroons could be defiant, they neglect to mention that a large group of Maroons wanted to be baptized, willingly integrated into the Boydville

⁷⁰ Walker, 278. See also Prince Hoare, “Sharp to Maxwell” 22 December 1812 in *Memoirs of Granville Sharp*, 377-79.

⁷¹ Walker, 279; “Report of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the colony of Sierra Leone. First part; viz. I. Extent and boundaries of the colony. II. Number and conditions of the population, by classes. III. Liberated African, and engineer departments. IV. Provision for religious instruction and the education of youth. V. Agriculture. VI Trade. VII. Revenue and expenditure. VIII. Judicial and civil establishments. IX. Observations on the climate of Sierra Leone, and its dependencies on the River Gambia, and on the Gold Coast.” *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*. (May 7, 1827), 180.

⁷² For example, see Jeffrey Fortin, “Blackened beyond our native hue”; Michael Craton, *Testing The Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*. London: Cornell University Press, 1982; Alvin Thompson, *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas*. Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2006; and Werner Zips, *Black Rebels*.

⁷³ Lennox O’Riley Picart. *The Trelawny Maroons and Sir John Wentworth: The Struggle to Maintain their Culture, 1796-1800*. (Thesis for University of New Brunswick. April 1993), 68.

community, allowed their children to be educated by the British, and attended church on Sundays.⁷⁴

Mr. Chamberlain, who was a loyalist that had moved from the thirteen colonies following the American Revolution in 1776, educated the younger Maroon generation in British customs and Protestantism. Protestantism was another important aspect of loyalism and allegiance to the British Crown in the eighteenth century.⁷⁵ As loyalists, both Chamberlain, as well as Governor Balcarres, most likely taught the Maroons to embrace their liberties as loyal British subjects.⁷⁶ The Trelawny Maroons continued to receive education in Sierra Leone, learning to read, write, and do arithmetic.⁷⁷ And like in Nova Scotia, directors of the Sierra Leone Company emphasized that the British Government was obligated to subdue their “savage and warlike spirit” and introduce amongst them a “suitable civil government” and “Christian education”.⁷⁸ As far as records indicate, the Maroons were generally submissive to the new practices in their new home.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Wentworth Nova Scotia Letter Book, in Nova Scotia Public Archives. Reel 15238, vol. 52 “Wentworth-Rev. D. Morris” (18, May, 1799), 282; CO 217/76 in Mavis Campbell, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons: a Documentary History. Studies in Third World Societies*, Publication no. 41 (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, 1990), “Wentworth to Portland” 20 Sept. 1796; Werner Zips, *Black Rebels*, 221-22.

⁷⁵ Bannister & Riordan, 8.

⁷⁶ C.O. 217/68 “Wentworth-Portland”, Dec 21, 1796 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 34. See also Judith Fingard, “Wentworth, Sir John” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol.5 (University of Toronto/Universite Laval, 2003).

⁷⁷ “Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company” in the Sierra Leone Company Reports from House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online (HCPP). Printed May 25, 1802. (1801), 365.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 365.

⁷⁹ Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company”. *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online*. Printed February 27, 1804 (1803), 123.

David Killingray has suggested that this cultural adaptation, or more likely, cultural imitation, gave the Maroons a greater sense of being part of a broader British system.⁸⁰ Their sense of camaraderie and shared identity as British subjects created a kinship-like connection with Ross in which they felt safe to voice their concerns. Indeed, after 1796, the Maroons referred to the British as their “friends and countrymen”. For example, the Maroon Andrew Smith signed a letter, written to a Briton living in Nova Scotia, as “your affectionate Brother”, leaving open the possibility that the Maroons thought of subjecthood as an extension of family or an extended kinship relationship.⁸¹ Similar to the way that the Maroons collaborated with the British in Jamaica to capture slaves rather than rebelling against slavery, they were open to accepting British social practices and customs because would be expressions of their cooperation with, and obedience to, the Crown.

It is obvious that the Maroons never wanted to resist the British. In response to Bryan Edward’s assertions that on 12 August 1795, the Maroons drew their British opponents into an ambush, Ochterlony, who was an officer of the Dragoons during the Maroon war of 1795, stated that the Maroons were merely removing themselves from a confrontation, and intended no opposition to Governor Balcarres.⁸² He stated that the British troops, who had been ordered to advance as far as the Old Trelawny Town, were

⁸⁰ David Killingray, “‘A Good West Indian, a Good African, and in Short, a Good Britisher’: Black and British in a Colour-conscious Empire, 1760-1950”, in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.36, 3. (Sept. 2008), 364.

⁸¹ C.O.217/69, “The Humble Petition of the Unfortunate Maroons” in *Fighting Maroons*, 57; C.O. 217/69, “Captain Andrew Smith to Brother Charles Samuels” 3 June 1797 in *Fighting Maroons*, 59.

⁸² William Dunlap, *Diary of William Dunlap (1766-1839): Memoirs of a dramatist, theatrical manager, painter, critic, novelist, and historian*. Vol. 1. (London: Benjamin Bloom), 180, 183.

“heated by intemperate use of wine”, and continued after the Maroons, who found themselves cornered and defended themselves.⁸³ Mr. Ochterlony and John Bailey also refuted Edward’s statement that the Maroons were induced into a treaty with General Walpole because they were hemmed into the Cockpits, lacked a supply of water and were terrified of rumors of the Chasseur Hounds from Cuba. They argued that the Maroons were not hemmed in, and had access to food and water.⁸⁴ General Walpole also agreed that, “it was clear that they had an infinite (sic) amount of provisions”.⁸⁵ Even Balcarres, writing to the Duke of Portland on 31 December 1795, stated that the Cockpits were impenetrable and not “an army of two thousand men could penetrate (sic) it”.⁸⁶

There was certainly confusion over what rights the Maroons still had following their ousting of Capt. Craskell from their community. The Trelawny Maroons attempted to claim status as British subjects in their treaties and concession talks, while Governor Balcarres was inclined to treat the Maroons as enemies of the island and Crown. In July of 1795, the Custos of St. James parish wrote to Balcarres, urging him to comply with the Maroon requests, “leaving it to the time of a general peace for some plan and measures to be pursued, which will, in the future, secure the country from alarm or damage from this group of people”.⁸⁷ This meant that the Custos realized that the Maroons were not rebelling or inciting slaves to revolt, but wanted their concerns addressed and their

⁸³ Dunlap, 183.

⁸⁴ Dunlap, 181-82.

⁸⁵ Colonial Office Papers 137/96. “Correspondence regarding Jamaica” from *Slavery, Abolition and Social Justice*, vol. 1. Jan-June (1796), 66.

⁸⁶ Ibid, “Governor Balcarres to Duke of Portland”, (31 December 1795), 75.

⁸⁷ Dallas, “Votes of the Assembly of Jamaica, 22 September 1795, Custos of St. James Parish to Governor Balcarres”, vol. 1, 326-27.

relationship with the British restored. He saw no danger in addressing their immediate grievances.

However, Balcarres took steps to isolate the Maroons and take away any avenues they had to protect themselves. On 8 August 1795, Balcarres sent the Maroons a notice, stating that “every pass to your town has been occupied and guarded by the Militia and regular forces. You are surrounded by thousands. Look at Montego Bay and you will see the force brought against you. I have issued a proclamation, offering a reward for your heads”. The penalty if they failed to comply was that their town would be burned to the ground.⁸⁸ The *Royal Gazette* announced an act that required any person buying gunpowder to have a certificate, granted by the parish, to purchase gunpowder, including bartering or exchange.⁸⁹ The act specifically mentioned that no person could sell gunpowder, guns, or other weapons, to a “Maroon, negro, or other slave”.⁹⁰ Previous to the act, the Maroons had always enjoyed full benefit of trading freely with locals, including for weapons and gunpowder. This highlights the dichotomy of the representation of events and the feelings on all sides of the dispute. Governor Balcarres was clearly inspired to treat the Maroons as savage, rebellious ‘negroes’, while the Maroons saw themselves as people in a dispute with allies, not enemies.

The relationship that the Maroons had with Mr. Ochterlony is another example of the level of camaraderie that they shared with the British. In addition to defending the Maroons against allegations of hostility against British troops, he defended them against assertions like those made by Bryan Edwards, that they “existed in the most deprived

⁸⁸ Edwards, Liv.

⁸⁹ *Postscript to Royal Gazette*, Saturday, 19 December – Saturday, 26 December, no. 2, XVII, “Correspondence”, 79-80.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 80.

state of barbarism”, by describing them as “quiet, inoffensive, hospitable, and even useful inhabitants of Jamaica”.⁹¹ After their first long and harsh Nova Scotian winter, the Maroons pressed Governor Wentworth to remove them to a more suitable climate and Ochterlony lobbied on their behalf. Ochterlony was a close friend with General Walpole and was motivated to lobby on their behalf because he believed that Walpole’s treaty with the Maroons had been infringed upon and that the Maroons had been removed from Jamaica inappropriately. Approximately one year after their arrival in Nova Scotia, Wentworth wrote to Portland, complaining that the Maroons had written him their sentiments, which stated that they were “encouraged with expectations- evidently suggested to them, that they would be removed into some other country, where their labour would make them happy and great[...]”.⁹² In a subsequent letter to governor Balcarres, Wentworth implicated Ochterlony as the culprit in those events and stated that Ochterlony “pursued measures for their removal from this province”.⁹³ Indeed, Ochterlony’s attempts to have the Maroons removed from Nova Scotia were met with approval and gratitude by most Maroons.⁹⁴ On one occasion, Alexander Howe reported that Maroon leaders and Ochterlony discouraged one or two families from planting potatoes and laboring in the cold to resist their tenure in Preston.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Dunlap, 182.

⁹² Wentworth Nova Scotia Letter Book, in Nova Scotia Public Archives, reel 15238, vol. 52, “Wentworth-Balcarres” (2 June 1797), 68-69.

⁹³ Wentworth Nova Scotia Letter Book, “Wentworth-Portland” (4 August 1797), 98.

⁹⁴ C.O. 217/68, “Wentworth to Portland”, 12 August 1797 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 44; C.O. 217/69, “Howe to Wentworth” 8 June 1798 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 73.

⁹⁵ C.O. 217/68, “Enclosure II: Howe to Quarrell” 9 August 1797, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 50.

Ochterlony had more than just a professional relationship with the Maroons. He seems to have been part of their kinship network, and even had personal relationships with some of the Maroon women. Ochterlony had occasionally resided amongst them and hunted with them on their land in Trelawny County.⁹⁶ In Nova Scotia, it was rumored that Ochterlony “kept five or six [or] more of the finest Maroon girls constantly in his house, and several of them in his bed chamber”.⁹⁷ There is the possibility that the women were being exploited because Reverend Benjamin Gray mentioned that the Maroon women entered into prostitution.⁹⁸ However, a British man named Michael Wallace mentioned in a letter to Wentworth that Ochterlony along with “five or six turbulent incendiaries” were working together to disrupt Governor Wentworth’s attempts at keeping the Maroons happy in Nova Scotia.⁹⁹ Thus, it is likely that Ochterlony’s relationship with the Maroons was more than sexual. They were collaborating together outside of the privacy of the bedroom. And whether or not the rumors that Ochterlony slept with Maroon women was true or not, the fact that he had Maroon women living in his house points to the possibility that he had a familial relationship with the one or more of the Maroon women. There is also evidence that the Maroon, Sarah Colley, had a child (named John Wentworth Colley) with Governor Wentworth.¹⁰⁰

The relationship between the Maroons and Ochterlony was similar to the relationship the Maroons had with George Ross or General Walpole because the men

⁹⁶ Dunlap, 182.

⁹⁷ C.O. 271/69 “Enclosure 5: Chamberlain to Wentworth” 20 June 1798 in *Fighting Maroons*, 76.

⁹⁸ C.O. 217/69 “Gray too Wentworth”, 18 June 1798 in *Fighting Maroons*, 82.

⁹⁹ C.O. 217/70 “Michael Wallace to Wentworth” 15 July 1799 in *Fighting Maroons*, 134.

¹⁰⁰ Picart, 35.

went beyond their duties as government officials to negotiate on the Maroons' behalf. Even in Nova Scotia, the Maroons continued to correspond with Walpole, begging him to remove them from Nova Scotia.¹⁰¹ The Maroons' relationship with Ochterlony was so successful, that by 1798, Wentworth had Ochterlony removed from his post with the Maroons.¹⁰² However, the damage was done. Portland received numerous petitions from, and on behalf of, the Maroons, asking to be removed to a climate more congenial to their race. Portland mounted pressure on Wentworth to explain why the Maroons were acting up and had not yet been settled peacefully and cooperatively into their new homes in Nova Scotia.

In a letter on 13 June 1796, the Duke of Portland wrote to Wentworth, urging him to “use his full power, within keeping to the safety of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, to tend to the accommodation of the Maroons [...] which could alleviate the distress of their unhappy situation”.¹⁰³ In July, Portland wrote to Wentworth again to give him free discretion to enforce the quiet and peaceful behavior of the Maroons and to secure His Majesty's subjects from any cause of alarm, while also enabling the Maroons to support themselves.¹⁰⁴ Wentworth wrote back ten days later to confirm that he would employ the Maroons and provide them with provisions, lodging and clothing.¹⁰⁵ He highlighted the care with which the Maroons were “equally protected and encouraged as any other of His

¹⁰¹ C.O. 217/69, “Enclosure 1: Thomas Meanwell to Walpole” 23 April 1797 in *Fighting Maroons*, 56-57.

¹⁰² C.O. 217/68, “Wentworth to Portland”, 12 August 1797 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 44; C.O. 217/69, “Howe to Wentworth” 8 June 1798 in *Fighting Maroons*, 73.

¹⁰³ Campbell, *Nova Scotia and the Fighting Maroons*, document 5, “Portland-Wentworth, June 13th”, 9.

¹⁰⁴ Document 6 “Portland-Wentworth”, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons* (15 July) 10.

¹⁰⁵ Document 8, Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 17.

Majesty's Subjects".¹⁰⁶ It is clear that both Portland and Wentworth considered the Maroons British subjects and that they had to be treated accordingly.¹⁰⁷

In November, Portland wrote to Wentworth again, reiterating that it was "the express intention of the Legislature of Jamaica to continue the Provision for the Maroons until they shall be enabled to subsist themselves".¹⁰⁸ A month later, he congratulated Wentworth on his efforts in settling the Maroons in Nova Scotia and providing for their comfort there. He was pleased with their transformational progress and looked forward to the prospect of their becoming "useful Subjects of His Majesty".¹⁰⁹ However, a petition from the Maroons to the Duke of Portland the following year as winter was approaching again, signed by James Montague and other Maroon leaders, argued that Governor Wentworth was being dishonest about their satisfaction in living in Nova Scotia. Instead, the petition reiterated their resolve to be sent from Nova Scotia to a warmer climate.¹¹⁰

In response to these assertions, Portland requested that Wentworth send him "further information and explanation" on the Maroons' position as quickly as possible. He stated that he had received shocking letters relaying terrible conditions for the Maroons, but was hesitant to trust the authenticity of their petitions.¹¹¹ He also cautioned Wentworth to avoid any injudicious expenses on the Maroons because he was concerned

¹⁰⁶ C.O. 217/67 "Wentworth-Portland", 29 October 1796 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 32.

¹⁰⁷ Killingray, 363.

¹⁰⁸ C.O. 217/67 "Portland to Wentworth, 1 November 1796" in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 29.

¹⁰⁹ C.O.217/67, "Portland-Wentworth", 14 December 1796, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 30.

¹¹⁰ C.O.217/69. "Enclosure 4: Maroon Petition to Portland" 4 November 1797 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 60-61.

¹¹¹ C.O.217/69 "Portland-Wentworth" 8 March 1798 in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 62-63.

that Wentworth was spending too much money on their subsistence.¹¹² Although Wentworth wrote to Portland to deny any allegations of mishandling the situation, Portland continued to press him and Whitehall entered into discussions with the Sierra Leone Company to relocate the Maroons to Sierra Leone.¹¹³ Less than three years after Ochterlony left Nova Scotia, the Maroons were on their way to Sierra Leone.

The relationship that the Maroons had with Ochterlony highlights that they were sometimes successful in pressuring the colonial government to have their concerns remedied and that the British government supported their wellbeing and liberties. Ochterlony's attempts to relocate the Maroons from Nova Scotia, as well as Portland's attention to the Maroons' wellbeing and smooth settlement shows that the Maroons' wellbeing was important to a healthy colonial society. Far from dismissing the Maroons, the imperial government was taking a more intimate interest into the Maroons' affairs. Portland realized that establishing good relations with the Maroons was more beneficial than antagonizing them, which might lead into another full-fledged military engagement. The relationship had changed because the British facilitated and encouraged their development as full subjects, with equal liberties.¹¹⁴ It is important to note that Nova Scotia was originally planned as a temporary location for the Maroons, and as early as 7 September 1796, Portland was already discussing the possibility of removing the Maroons from Nova Scotia with Wentworth.¹¹⁵ In fact, Portland had discussed the

¹¹² C.O.217/69 "Portland-Wentworth" 4 April 1798, 66-67.

¹¹³ Wentworth Nova Scotia Letter Book, no. 57, "Wentworth-Portland" (23 June 1798), 181-182.

¹¹⁴ John Reid, "Imperial-Aboriginal Friendship", 93. Reid suggests that treaties of friendship were only the starting point to the British goal of turning their "friends" into subjects.

¹¹⁵ Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 21.

possibility of sending them to Sierra Leone but the Sierra Leone Company worried that they would be too rebellious. However, after the Maroons continued to lobby Portland to be relocated, he tried again to have them sent to Sierra Leone. This time, the Sierra Leone Company accepted because the Maroons could be useful to suppress the rebellion of the Nova Scotians and serve as their role models.¹¹⁶ Thus, the Maroons proved loyal and trustworthy enough to be sent to Sierra Leone. They would help the British, and in return, the Maroons would finally leave Nova Scotia.

The Maroons were useful to the British in a number of capacities. They were employed in various laborious activities, including work in the Government House and on the construction of Fort George in Nova Scotia¹¹⁷. They were paid at the rate, and clothed in the manner, of English servants of their class.¹¹⁸ Continuing with a tradition that the treaty of 1738 established, the Maroons filled an important military capacity for the British as well.¹¹⁹ In a letter to Wentworth on 15 July 1796, Portland suggested that the Maroons might be useful additions to help in the defense of the province (Nova Scotia).¹²⁰ The fact that the British were willing to trust the Maroons with their defense, even after their so called “rebellion” in Jamaica shows that the British thought the Maroons were loyal. As previously discussed, the Maroons also went on to serve an important role in suppressing the Nova Scotian rebellion in Sierra Leone. In 1802 the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company printed

¹¹⁶ Walker, 242.

¹¹⁷ Fort George later became the Citadel Fortress.

¹¹⁸ C.O. 217/70 “Wentworth-Portland: Enclosure 1: Statement of facts, respecting the Settlements of Maroons in Nova Scotia, referred (sic) to by the Lieutenant Governor of that Province”, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 118.

¹¹⁹ Brown, 112.

¹²⁰ Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 11.

a report about colony's affairs of the previous year. The report concluded that "the character of the Maroons is now become a subject of more importance".¹²¹

Beyond their usefulness as troops, the Maroons also participated in other duties, specifically physical labour. Wentworth wrote to Portland in 1799, describing how one of the wealthier local men hired the Maroons to clear his land of heavy stones and stumps.¹²² In Sierra Leone, the Maroons were the key to the Sierra Leone Company's plan to establish an agricultural economy. The directors of the Sierra Leone Company hoped to produce rice, cinnamon, sugar, black pepper, long red peppers, ginger, and coffee in Sierra Leone and needed laborers for these ventures and the Maroons were fit for such labor.¹²³ The report stated that the Maroons were "universally" desirous to eventually return to Jamaica and could be "induced by Prospects of Future Benefit to labor for the Improvement of their Habitations on Plantations".¹²⁴ The newly arrived Trelawny Maroons were the perfect candidates to begin carrying out the Sierra Leone Company's plans.

Unfortunately for the Sierra Leone Company's plans, the war with native Timmaney Nation caused cultivation to be suspended. In 1803, Captain Benjamin Hallowell was interviewed by the directors and explained that the Maroons wanted to be removed from the colony because they disliked the climate, had no way of producing basic provisions and feared for their safety. They presented him a petition that was

¹²¹ "Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company" in *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online*. Printed May 25, 1802. (1801), 351.

¹²² C.O. 217/70 "Wentworth to Portland" 30 May 1799 in *Fighting Maroons*, 113-14.

¹²³ *Ibid*, 357.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 358-59.

addressed to the King.¹²⁵ The Maroons were certainly having a hard time adjusting to the conflict with the Timmaney; for some Maroons, weekly rations were cut by more than half of their regular allowance.¹²⁶ Fifteen Maroons had also died of disease since arriving in Sierra Leone.¹²⁷ During this conflict with the Timmaney Nation, rumors also cropped up among the Maroons that the company was going to abandon the colony. During an examination of Captain William Day by the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, Day asserted that the Maroons never expected to be removed.¹²⁸ He added that

The only conversation I had with any of them on the Subject was with General Montague, a few days before my departure, who expressed a Fear, that as I was going away from the Colony, they were to be given up or abandoned by Government; and hoped, if the Settlement was to be withdrawn, they might be removed to some situation where they might be secure, and under the Protection of the English Government.¹²⁹

Montague's concerns, that the British government might abandon the Maroons, and his hope to remain under the British government's protection, highlights that the Maroons had become dependent on the British.

The passage also shows that the Maroons were in continuous dialogue with the British and meant to be involved in their governance. For example, Montague's relationship and involvement with the government was extremely active. Colonel Montague James, who was the assistant superintendent of Trelawny Town from 1781-1792 under Major James, was the head of a medium sized family, and one of a handful of Maroon leaders to be an active participant in political and governing affairs with British

¹²⁵ Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company" in *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online*. Printed February 27, 1804 (1803), 125-26.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 158.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 167.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 196.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 196.

colonial officials and local governing parties. In 1803, the directors of the Sierra Leone Company decided that the objects of the colony could be better realized by transferring civil and military authority to the British Crown and on 1 January 1808 celebrations took place in Freetown as the company flag was replaced by the Union Jack.¹³⁰ Thomas Perronet Thompson was appointed as the new governor in April, and in October, he appointed Montague James as a one-man provisional government.¹³¹ Montague James also began receiving the equivalent to an old age pension after the Maroons' arrival in Sierra Leone. On 26 March 1801, he began to receive a "pension of One Dollar per week for his conduct". In addition, he received fifty pounds Sterling per annum as an allowance and to furnish his home.¹³² Later on in Sierra Leone, Montague James became a general, and regularly associated with British officials like George Ross, with whom he even shared the occasional meal.¹³³

As stated in Chapter Three, after 1819, competition for employment and resources became more fierce.¹³⁴ Although the Maroons' family structure gave them an advantage over Nova Scotians for jobs and resources, Liberated Africans quickly became a serious threat because they were learning trades that the Maroons had dominated since their arrival.¹³⁵ The Liberated Africans were also able to pool resources more effectively and outbid Maroons during auctions for goods confiscated from slaving ships. By 1840, they were regularly outbidding Maroons and Nova Scotians for resources, which forced the

¹³⁰ Report from the Committee on the Petition of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company" in *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online*. Printed February 27, 1804 (1803), 89; Walker, 258.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 259, 272.

¹³² Ross, xvii.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 34.

¹³⁴ Walker, 312-13.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 334.

Maroons and Nova Scotians to turn to the local government and each other for support and employment. To their disappointment, employment was reserved for Europeans.¹³⁶

However, it is revealing that in 1829, nine Maroons worked as government employees.

¹³⁷ By the middle of the nineteenth century across Africa, the once socially and geographically isolated Maroons held important colonial positions, including Dr. T. Spilbury as colonial surgeon in Gambia, J. Gabbidon, commissariat clerk in Freetown, and Francis Smith, an assistant Judge in the Gold Coast colony.¹³⁸ This means that the younger generation of Maroons took advantage of their education to move beyond labour intensive employment and became active in colonial affairs.

The highlighted relationships above reveal that the Maroons initially depended heavily on their good relationship with their colonial representatives to communicate their concerns to the British government. Since the Maroons, especially the older generation, had a limited knowledge of the English language and the complex nature of the British legal, political, and social systems, they needed intermediaries to help them traverse the complex colonial landscape. Major James, Ochterlony, and Ross were all involved with communicating the Maroons' concerns to the British Crown. However, as the younger generations were educated in the English language after their move to Nova Scotia, including reading and writing, they were able to communicate more directly with their local and transatlantic British government. Like the example of Montague James highlights, some Maroons were even able to take advantage of their increasing familiarity

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 335.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, 336.

¹³⁸ Hamilton, J.C. "The African in Canada: The Maroons of Jamaica and Nova Scotia" in extract from proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science vol. xxxviii, (1889. Microfiche), 10.

with British practices and the political system to actively engage with their British allies and the government.

The Maroons used petitions when they wanted to engage with the British government on matters related to their way of life or their liberties. They frequently sent petitions to the local governor and after 1796, even directly to England when the local authorities ignored the Maroons' concerns. Maroon petitions are extremely useful as sources because they underline the issues that were most important to the Maroons and also offer a taste, albeit skewed, of the Maroons' voices. On 9 May 1796, Governor Balcarres forwarded a Maroon petition to the Duke of Portland, which apologized for their 'rebellion', conceded the "fatal consequences" of their actions, and offered that "if they were settled on lands in any other part of his Majesty's Dominions" that they would reaffirm their loyalty because they were "anxious" to prove themselves as "faithful Subjects".¹³⁹ Clearly they felt their relationship with the British was compromised and that they needed to state their loyalty to the Crown more directly to re-establish their good relationship with the British. In 1797, Montague James signed a petition on behalf of five hundred and thirty Maroons, which was addressed to the King of England, urging that as British subjects, they had been transported from Jamaica in violation of their 1795 treaty, and asked to be removed to another warm climate to end their suffering in the cold climate of Nova Scotia.¹⁴⁰

Maroon petitions were also instrumental in affecting discussions in England about the treatment of blacks, and possibly even British subjects more broadly. They raised

¹³⁹ C.O. 137/96 "Maroon Petition", 9 May 1796, in "Correspondence", 266-67.

¹⁴⁰ C.O. 217/69 (N.D.) "Enclosure #2: The Humble Petition of the Unfortunate Maroons" in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 56-57.

awareness of important colonial issues that might otherwise have been missed. One important example of this is the debate generated by the morality of Balcarres using Cuban Chasseurs to hunt down Maroons in the Cockpits and the legitimacy of breaking their treaty with Walpole by sending them off the island.¹⁴¹ Bryan Edwards wrote that the “good faith, and honour, the Humanity and Justice, of the Government of Jamaica”, in dealing with the Maroon rebellion, were being considered before the parliament of Great Britain shortly after their deportation.¹⁴² Mavis Campbell even suggests that King George III expressed his abhorrence of the use of Cuban chasseurs to hunt down the Maroons.¹⁴³ On 3 March 1796, the Duke of Portland wrote to Governor Balcarres that:

“the commands I have received from His Majesty to declare to you His abhorrence of the mode of Warfare which it has been resorted (sic) to you to pursue (sic) and to [command] you to remove forthwith, and to extirpate from the island, the whole race of those tremendous animals, of whose ungovernable ferocity you have already seen a very shocking effect”.¹⁴⁴

The shock and indignation that was accorded to the use of the Cuban chasseurs further highlights that the British expected even the “rebellious” Maroons to be treated according to their status as free blacks.¹⁴⁵

Portland continued to keep a close eye on the safe settlement of the Maroons in Nova Scotia. Mr. Quarrell was given commission with which to purchase the Maroons land in Nova Scotia and was charged with providing them with suitable clothing and

¹⁴¹ Mavis Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 2-3.

¹⁴² Edwards, iv.

¹⁴³ Campbell, *Maroons of Jamaica*, 230; C.O. 137/96 “Portland-Balcarres”, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 3 March 1796.

¹⁴⁴ C.O. 137/96 “Portland-Balcarres”, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 3 March 1796, 97-98.

¹⁴⁵ Killingray, 364, 367; Greene, 3-4; Yeh, 69.

implements so that they could be settled there.¹⁴⁶ Quarrell was described as the “humane, volunteer guardian of an injured, oppressed and singularly unfortunate and distressed people” in a statement of facts during an investigation into the Maroons’ affairs by the lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia.¹⁴⁷ The description of the Maroons as “unfortunate” and “oppressed” reveals that Britons in parliament generally (at least officially) viewed the affairs in Jamaica as illegitimate and that the Maroons had been unfairly mistreated. The concern over the mistreatment of the Maroons, as underscored by the “abhorrence” of using Cuban chassuers, and the description of the Maroons as “oppressed”, highlights that the Maroons were shaping ideas about loyalty that not only ran from the colonies to the metropole, but also needed to come from the metropole to its colonial allies and subjects.¹⁴⁸

The fact that the Maroons continued to pursue a positive relationship with the British after their removal from Jamaica is also a sign of the constant negotiations the meanings and conditions of loyalty to the British Crown. The Maroons continued to cooperate with the British, even though their treaty with General Walpole in 1795 had been ignored. They remained loyal to the British in the sense that they continued to cooperate peacefully with the British. In return, the British continued to support the Maroons by providing them with land and resources.¹⁴⁹ As the above relationships highlight, the Maroons’ experiences after their 1795-6 disturbance stood at the

¹⁴⁶ Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, Document 4: “Balcarres- Wentworth”, 8-9.

¹⁴⁷ C.O. 217/70 “Wentworth-Portland: Enclosure 1: Statement of facts, respecting the Settlings of Maroons in Nova Scotia, referred (sic) to by the Lieutenant Governor of that Province”, in Campbell, *Fighting Maroons*, 118.

¹⁴⁸ See Bannister & Riordan, 23. See also See Linda Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument”, *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 31, 4 (Oct, 1992).

¹⁴⁹ Jasanoff, 216.

intersection between family and community, race and subjecthood. In Jamaica, because the Maroons had an established but geographically isolated and culturally separated community, they had little need of forming many relationships with community outsiders. Their resistance to intrusions from the outside is evident by their stagnant population numbers, which changed little between 1738 and 1795.¹⁵⁰ After 1795, the Maroons renegotiated the terms of their relationships with their British allies by claiming British subjecthood because they had little knowledge about their new surroundings or new social standing. This is most likely the reason that the Trelawny Maroons encouraged the education of their younger generations in Nova Scotia. As the Maroon community began to involve itself with the affairs of a broader colonial society, they began to engage with the British more frequently and directly.

Literature for the past five decades that has focused on the “black experience” in the British Atlantic Empire has repeatedly pointed to the emergence of British identity amongst blacks living in the British Empire.¹⁵¹ Like Hawkins and Morgan, Kathleen Wilson noted that identities, including national identities, were constantly changing, and questioned the applicability of using national identities as analytical devices because of

¹⁵⁰ Barbara Kopytoff, “The Development of Jamaican Maroon Ethnicity”, *Caribbean Quarterly*, vol. 22, 1 (June-Sept., 1976), 37.

¹⁵¹ See F.O. Shyllon, *Black People in Britain, 1555–1833* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977); Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984); Norma Myers, *Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain, c.1780–1830* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Gretchen Gerzina, *Black London: Life Before Emancipation* (Newark: Rutgers University Press, 1997); *Black Experience and the Empire*, edited by Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); David Killingray, “‘A Good West Indian, a Good African, and in Short, a Good Britisher’: Black and British in a Colour-Conscious Empire, 1760–1950”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 3 (September 2008): 363–81.

their “episodic” and “unstable” attributes.¹⁵² Jack Greene has suggested that beyond certain sweeping similarities, identities in the British Atlantic were so contingent on time and place that they did not warrant discussion in terms of broad patterns or general assumptions.¹⁵³ In the case of the Maroons, although they had a friendly relationship with the British, they remained *maroons* and did not become “British”. The 1738 treaty with the British had effectively given them ability to participate in British economic, legal, and social affairs in Jamaica, and more broadly, in a British Atlantic network. After 1795, as subjects of the British Crown, they became more involved in British military affairs and impacted both local and transatlantic affairs, both in terms of daily operations and broader societal and moral discussions. By remaining loyal to the British, but changing the perimeters of their loyalty, challenging policies and decisions that disregarded their liberties and the stability of their community, and engaging with British political and legal systems, the Trelawny Maroons continued to shape what it meant to be a black British subject, and how both blacks and whites understood their roles as subjects, within a racially divided and rapidly expanding British Empire.

¹⁵² Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race*, 2-4.

¹⁵³ Jack Greene, “Changing Identities”, 215.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In the 1820s, a Maroon named Gabbian included his signature in a letter from a group of Nova Scotians to Sir George Murray, a member of British parliament, which lamented that the government system in Sierra Leone had not changed since 1808.¹ The letter stated that because of the conditions of the political system and the structure of the colonial government:

the whole of the colored portion of His Majesty's subjects remain precluded from having it in their power either to offer their support or express their dissent to those enactments which emanating from His Honour the Governor and their Honours the European Council bind the colonists at large[...].²

The letter highlights two key circumstances of life for blacks living in Sierra Leone since the British had taken control of the colony from the Sierra Leone Company in 1808. First, the letter itself suggests that black British subjects were active in attempting to influence political affairs in the colony. Secondly, the content of the letter clearly indicates that they had no “power” to influence the colonial administration, whether they intended to support or oppose colonial policy

Indeed, by the early 1820s, both the Maroons and Nova Scotians were feeling the effects of being the cultural minority in a population brimming with newly arrived Liberated Africans. In 1838, two hundred and twenty-four Maroons sent a petition to Queen Victoria, blaming their “insurmountable hardships” on the great number of Liberated Africans in the colony. They begged to be sent back to Jamaica and given land there to farm. The government replied that it would neither resist nor assist the Maroons if they wanted to return to Jamaica. Mrs. Mary Brown, an old Maroon widow, brought a

¹ James Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*. (NY: African Publishing Company, 1976), 340-41.

² Walker, 340.

schooner in 1839 and she and her daughter, along with her daughter's Spanish ex-slave husband and a dozen other Maroons, departed for Jamaica.³ This event signals the final decline of a once solidified and influential Trelawny Maroon community. The Maroon community had begun both to divide internally and integrate with the broader colonial community of free blacks in Sierra Leone.

By the early mid nineteenth century, the abolitionist movement had helped eliminate the British slave trade and thrust the once socially elevated Maroons into the foray with a massive population of suddenly freed blacks. Their position as free black subjects no longer gave them the edge and they felt the sting. In the century from the signing of the 1738 treaty to their return to Jamaica, the Maroon community had changed dramatically. The new generations of Maroons, who had never seen Jamaica, or even Nova Scotia, were much more fluent in the English language. They were practicing Protestants and regularly married, lived, and buried like 'true' British subjects. The size of their families had declined and it seems that their culture and community overlapped with both the Nova Scotians and Liberated Africans.⁴ For example, Mary Brown's daughter had married a Spanish ex-slave.

The transformations that the Maroons underwent during that century is a testament to how strong British influences were on the Maroon community, as well as other communities in the broader British Atlantic like the Loyalist Nova Scotians with whom they integrated in the 1820s and 1830s. It was a process closely tied to migration and continuous interactions between different cultural groups and communities.

³ Ibid, 342.

⁴ Brooke Neuman, "Contesting 'Black' Liberty and Subjecthood in the Anglophone Caribbean, 1730s-1780s", *Slavery and Abolition*, vol. 32, 2 (June 2011), 160.

Migration is a dominant theme in the black Atlantic experience and had an important impact on how cultures and identities changed and shifted.⁵ As historians Jorge Canizares-Esguerra and Benjamin Breen suggest, we need to focus on local contingencies and cultural exchanges between extra-national groups to begin to comprehend the intersections of race and nation in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century British Atlantic.⁶ The Maroons were caught up in a process of rapid social and cultural adaptation and change as they moved around the British Atlantic. Although they continued to rely on their family and kinship networks for their cultural identity, they had to simultaneously adapt to the continuously changing conditions of loyalism that were involved in their relationship with the British. As James Sidbury and Jorge Canizares-Esguerra suggest, cultural change was pan-Atlantic but driven by local variables.⁷ This means that there are no reliable patterns between Atlantic groups (aka, each groups had their own unique identity, problems, culture and customs) but their constant mingling with each other forced them to find common ground.

British subjecthood and loyalism connected the Maroons to the Nova Scotians and British and Liberated Africans because they could negotiate their roles in the society they shared by shaping the culture of British subjecthood in relation to each other and the British.⁸ The fluidity of cultural change reached its zenith in 1808 when re-captive slaves

⁵ Sean Hawkins & Philip Morgan, "Blacks and the British Empire", 24-25; Charles Withers, "Where was the Atlantic Enlightenment?- Questions of Geography" in *The Atlantic Enlightenment*. Susan Manning & Francis Cogliand, eds. (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 42.

⁶ Jorge Canizares-Esguerra & Benjamin Breen, "Hybrid Atlantics: Future Directions for the History of the Atlantic World" in *History Compass* (2013), 600-01.

⁷ Sidbury, "Mapping Ethnogenesis in the Early Modern Atlantic", *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 68, 2 (April 2011), 184-85.

⁸ See Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race*.

were brought to Freetown, forcing dozens of multiethnic and unique groups of blacks to co-exist together. They embraced Protestantism and English because it provided them a social and literal ‘lingua franca’.⁹ That in turn created a sort of loose “fictive kinship” between the different social and cultural groups.¹⁰ Thus, historians like Werner Zips or Jeffrey Fortin, who have only understood the Maroons’ significance within the eighteenth-century Atlantic world by extrapolating their motivations from the experiences of groups of blacks elsewhere in the British Atlantic, (usually slaves) have failed to accurately explain the complex relationships between the Trelawny Maroons and other blacks, as well as whites.¹¹

As Mavis Campbell suggests, the Maroon rebellion in 1795 might more accurately be called Balcarres’ War.¹² Although most of the scholarly literature about the Maroons discusses them in terms of broader frameworks of Enlightenment ideologies about freedom, abolition, and morality, and places them at the center of a rebellious slave narrative, the British were more influential to the Maroons’ experiences than slaves. After all, the Maroons reacted to British encroachments on the terms of their 1738 treaty when two of their fellow Maroons were whipped on a plantation in 1795 because it was a white Briton who ordered the punishments. Likewise, it was Governor Balcarres who acted preemptively and aggressively towards the Maroons and sparked a fully armed

⁹ James Sidbury & Jorge Canrares-Esguerra. “Mapping Ethnogenesis in the Early Modern Atlantic”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 68, 2. (April 2011), 186.

¹⁰ Philip Morgan, “Black Experience”, 96.

¹¹ Werner Zips, *Black Rebels: African Caribbean Freedom Fighters in Jamaica*. Translated from German by Shelley Frisch. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999; Jeffrey Fortin, “Blackened Beyond our Native Hue: Removal, Identity and the Trelawny Maroons on the Margins of the Atlantic World, 1796-1800”, *Citizen Studies*, vol. 10, 1. (2006). 5-24.

¹² Campbell, “Maroons of Jamaica”, 246.

confrontation between the Maroons and the British colonial troops in Jamaica. Also, it was negotiations between the Maroons and a Briton (Walpole) that ended that same conflict.

Thus, it was their relationship with the British, first as “friends” and then as subjects, which influenced the subsequent changes to their family and culture. And although the Maroons obviously lived in a racially divided society, their collaboration with the British, and their adoption of British practices, is what truly defined their experiences in the British Atlantic. In a shift from historical literature centered on African resistance and the construction of a “British” identity in relation to a colonial “other”, this thesis serves as a case study to emphasize that British subjecthood was conceived completely differently all over the empire. In reality, the Maroons’ conceptualization of what it meant to be black in the British Empire was hardly influenced by white Britons’ ideas about Britishness or race, but by their own experiences and relationships with Britons and other blacks.¹³

¹³ Gikandi, “Maps of Englishness”, 55, 69.

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