

Black, Yellow, and White on St. Vincent: Moreau de Jonnès's Carib

Ethnography

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In Leslie Marmon Silko's wonderful novel, *Almanac of the Dead*, the black Cherokee character called Clinton traces his spiritual ancestry back to the children born to escaped African slaves and indigenous Carib Indians during the colonial period.¹ His reference is to the so-called Black Caribs who supposedly dominated the island of St Vincent in the second half of the eighteenth century until they were defeated militarily by the British during the Revolutionary wars of the 1790s and deported *en masse* to the Atlantic coast of Central America, where their descendants still live. The story of the Black Caribs has often provided a standard example of ethnogenesis, the creation of new hybrid groups or 'new peoples' generated out of the maelstrom of colonial history.² My focus here will eventually be on a soldier from the French Revolutionary army that fought alongside the Caribs against the British, whose first-hand evidence about the disposition of indigenous people on St Vincent casts doubt on this traditional picture and helps pose new questions about cultural and ethnic 'crossings'.

1

Sir John Fortescue, author of the multi-volume *History of the British Army*, calls what happened in the West Indies in the 1790s the “darkest and most forbidding tract” in the whole of that history.³ Britain ultimately won what it called the Brigands’ War, defeated the French and their native allies, took back possession of islands that it had looked like losing, and extirpated its Black Carib enemies. Yet the experience was apparently so horrific, even for the victors, that, according to Fortescue, the few survivors had no desire to talk about what they had been through.⁴ Perhaps as a direct result of this sense of the war as a journey to the heart of darkness, there has been little historiography about it, most writers content to see the Brigands’ War as an unfortunate offshoot of the French Revolution, a series of disturbances instigated by *agents provocateurs* in an attempt to destabilise British islands.⁵

In 1748 Britain and France had agreed to regard St Vincent as neutral, outside the limits of each other’s penetration in the Caribbean, and therefore effectively in possession of the Caribs. After 1763, however, at the end of the Seven Years’ War, the island became – as far as the British were concerned – British, and commissioners were sent out to organise the surveying and sale of land for the plantation of tropical crops, especially sugar. One of the commissioners, William Young, thought that the island had the potential to become the most valuable British sugar colony after

Jamaica.⁶ The activities of these commissioners occasioned several major incidents in the 1770s in which the Caribs, with an acute sense of what was at stake, destroyed surveying equipment and maps in order to prevent a road being built into the fertile windward valley that the British planters especially coveted; and with Carib help the French took back control of the island between 1779 and 1783.

For many years before 1795 the planters and commissioners had clearly wanted the Caribs removed altogether from St Vincent, but the British government was, in the eyes of the planters, too sensitive to the opinion of sentimental do-gooders, including missionaries, who knew little about the realities of Caribbean life and who tended to have a low opinion of West Indian slave-owners. The native uprising in March 1795 converted the government to the need to remove the Caribs from St Vincent once they had been militarily defeated, and Carib collusion with the French enemy silenced humanitarian voices. Once that removal had taken place, the only voices who wanted to tell the story, *their* story of suffering and eventual triumph, were the British planters and their allies. Through their pens, the planters' version of the ethnography of the Vincentian Caribs entered the historical record, where it has never been seriously challenged. William Young produced what he called an "authentic account" of the Black Caribs, providing evidence which, he writes, "a British court of justice would admit as competent, and decide upon as true".⁷ In effect, Young's version has

become historical truth because he appeared to be the only witness prepared to give testimony.

2

At the centre of the planter description of the free non-European population of St Vincent is a division between what it calls the Yellow Caribs and the Black Caribs. From the 1770s onwards, the planters describe a situation in which the westward side of the island is occupied by a small number of *Yellow* Caribs largely under the protection of French settlers, while the eastward half – desired by the planters -- is controlled by a much larger number of *Black* Caribs. William Young stressed that the Yellow and Black Caribs were “two nations of people of very different origin and pretensions”,⁸ although actual descriptions have remarkable difficulty in locating these differences.

Origin stories about this supposed division are frequently repeated, although not always consistent. They usually involve the shipwreck of a slaving ship, sometimes dated to 1675, with the Caribs enslaving the shipwrecked Africans, the Africans revolting, setting up their own community, stealing Carib women, joining forces with existing maroons, becoming stronger than their erstwhile captors, and taking over the most fertile parts of the island. So completely, according to this account, had the Black Caribs come to dominate their former native masters that British

population estimates for the middle of the eighteenth century are of around 3000 Black Caribs and somewhere between 100 and 500 Yellow Caribs.

The planter evidence for two distinct nations or races, for how that division came about, and for how completely the Black Caribs dominated by 1795 is not without certain self-contradictions, not least that – even on the planters’ own account – the Black Caribs spoke the same language as their Yellow counterparts and had adopted the entire repertoire of their cultural practices, such as flattening infant heads and upright burials. The planter story of Africans made slaves by Caribs before rebelling and capturing Carib females is also suspiciously similar to stories of supposed *Carib* settlement in the islands vis-à-vis the indigenous Arawaks.⁹ There is little evidence of what the Caribs thought of all this, but one Colonial Office document quotes the Black Caribs as refusing to give up any of their lands, “which lands were transmitted to them from their ancestors and in defence of which they would die” – suggesting that they saw themselves very much as Caribs first, at least on this issue.¹⁰ But if, linguistically and culturally, Black and Yellow Caribs were identical, the British planters were determined that the Black Caribs should be *seen* as distinctly African. They were sometimes simply described as a “colony of African Negroes”¹¹ on the assumption that the ‘Africanness’ of the maroon men had overwhelmed the ‘Caribness’ of the women they had kidnapped for sexual partners, although occasionally – remembering that the

Caribs themselves had also had a reputation for fierceness – the Black Caribs might be called that “doubly savage race”.¹²

So the British planter account Africanised the group it called the Black Caribs. This had a number of advantages for the planters. It emphasised the Black Carib role as usurpers. It helped avoid a repetition of the groundswell of British liberal opinion in defence of the *indigenous* Caribs during the war of the 1770s – which had forced the British to sue for peace. It reduced the number of indigenous families to a handful. And it drew upon the traditional association of blackness with savagery and evil, exacerbated by the success of slave revolts in the Caribbean in recent years, especially in St.-Domingue after 1791. William Young neatly summed up the four important divisions on the island as the planters saw them: “aboriginal Indians, Negro colonials, French intruders, and British settlers”.¹³

3

In the first half of the nineteenth century slavery began to become the subject of scholarly analysis. The earliest statistical study in France was published in 1842 by Alexandre Moreau de Jonnès, already a distinguished historian of the French Caribbean islands and author of a study of yellow fever, the disease that had devastated the islands at the end of the eighteenth century. Moreau went on to crown his academic career with a book on the general principles of statistical analysis.¹⁴ However, in 1858, at the age of 80, he

published a memoir of his first career as a soldier, *Aventures de guerre au temps de la république et du consulat*.¹⁵

Moreau's extraordinary adventures included several extended tours of duty in the Caribbean, the first of which lasted from August 1795, when he crossed the Atlantic in a privateer, until June 1796, when he was taken prisoner by British troops in St Vincent and deported back to France.

Moreau's most extended visit to St Vincent lasted for three months, after he had been appointed by Victor Hugues to strengthen Carib forces in preparation for an attack on Kingstown, the capital of St Vincent.

During this period – from September to December 1795 -- Moreau stayed in a Carib village near the east coast, training Carib warriors in the use of fire-arms. Over those months fighting had almost ground to a halt as both British and French armies, with soldiers dying in their thousands from yellow fever, waited for reinforcements. Moreau – just eighteen years old, but a child of Linnaeus and Rousseau – revelled in his tropical idyll, fascinated in equal degree by the social life of the savages, the tropical vegetation around him, and the beauty of the chief's daughter, Eliama, also eighteen. He calls the village a paradise and says that it has always stayed in his memory as the place where he spent the happiest moments of his life:

During the three months I spent in the mountain carbet with my Carib friends, my days were a tissue of silk and gold. This was truly Eden,

as Milton describes it, with its perpetual spring, its shady forests, its magnificent views, its flowering groves, its singing birds, adorned with the most varied and brilliant colours. Nothing was missing, since a second Eve lived in this pleasant retreat.¹⁶

In writing about the Vincentian Caribs Moreau recalls Rousseau's "eloquent pages" and offers his own "humble tribute", consisting of what he calls "eyewitness observation and evidence".¹⁷ "Fighting with these natives and for them," he writes, "and living in the same carbet, sharing opinions, interest, and affection, I got to know them, and I could determine, through the exploratory procedures of the modern sciences, the curious elements of their social condition and the highly controversial problem of the goodness of their hearts."¹⁸ That should not, of course, be taken to imply that this French source is authoritative: Moreau wrote his memoir more than half a century after the events it describes; Moreau wrote as a friend to the Caribs just as the planters wrote as bitter opponents; Moreau looked to Enlightenment science for his rhetoric of authority just as the planters looked to English jurisprudence. Neither stance, neither rhetoric, delivers truth on its own account. In particular, the apocalyptic events of the 1790s mean that all evidence about the disposition of Black and Yellow Caribs or their relationships with the French or British needs to be read as extremely context-specific. That certainly goes for Moreau, who joined a community

on a war footing. However, Moreau's friendship with the Caribs did undoubtedly lead to greater intimacy and arguably, therefore, to greater knowledge. During these four months Moreau certainly lived in much closer daily contact with the Vincentian Caribs than any other outsider at this time, possibly during the whole course of the eighteenth century. And Moreau's time in St Vincent coincided with that historical moment when the conjunction of the abolition of slavery with the development of those "exploratory procedures of the modern sciences" was leading to the development of ethnographic methodologies. In 1799 the establishment of the Société des Observateurs de l'Homme was established in Paris and Joseph-Marie Degérando's wrote his treatise on the observation of savage peoples, directed at Baudin's forthcoming expedition to Tasmania and sometimes seen as the first primer for anthropological fieldwork.¹⁹

The national difference is also significant. The French had massacred many Caribs in their time, especially while ruthlessly annexing Martinique and Grenada during the seventeenth century, but they had also developed the commercial tradition of the *coureurs des îles*, which had brought them into closer contact with the Caribs: the *coureurs* would often dress as Carib, have Carib wives, speak Carib – and presumably at least on occasion simply *become* Carib. In addition, French settlers on St Vincent had small plantations on which they grew coffee, tobacco, indigo, and cocoa, none of which had a deleterious effect on the environment, from a Carib point of

view, while the British drive in the four islands they gained in 1763 was to develop sugar plantations, involving the large-scale destruction of the islands' forest which the Caribs needed for hunting and planting, but which the planters tended to see as especially malign if it were likely to harbour savages who might attack them.²⁰ As a result, British contact with Caribs was infrequent, limited, and often antagonistic.

4

There are a number of ways in which Moreau's evidence changes our picture of the Vincentian Caribs. Living with them so intimately and having a lively interest in botany, Moreau gives a full picture of the crops the Caribs grow, which the British were largely unable to see, partly because of their ignorance of the terrain in which the Caribs lived, which meant that Carib gardens were invisible to British eyes even when they were looking at them, and partly because of British conviction that the island had been *occupied* by the Caribs without ever being made productive.

We also get some sense from Moreau of the extent of Carib integration into the larger Caribbean world of the 1790s. After a storm in September 1795 destroys Carib crops, Moreau accompanies a group of Caribs on an overnight canoe trip to Trinidad with a supply of Spanish gold coins salted away after a shipwreck and which the Caribs use to buy food supplies and to charter three schooners to carry the supplies back to St Vincent.²¹ They

operate perfectly happily within the money economy of the Caribbean. In addition, Moreau says, Carib pirogues were constantly on the move between the mouth of the Orinoco and the islands of the Bahamas, which meant they were well-informed about everything that was happening in the Caribbean. They were, he says, Victor Hugues' eyes and ears, the intelligence force for revolutionary insurgence.²² He also has much to say about the prominent rôle that women played both in the Carib councils and in the actual fighting; of which there is no hint in the British sources.

But the most striking – and puzzling – aspect of Moreau's evidence is that he lived and fought with a group he regarded as Yellow Caribs: he meets Black Caribs and even describes a kind of national council at which all indigenous leaders are present, but the picture that emerges from his account is of Yellow Carib dominance, both ideologically and numerically. The British estimated around 5000 Black Caribs and a very small number of Yellow Caribs: Moreau's numbers are 1500 Black Caribs and in excess of 6000 Yellow Caribs.²³ This is an enormous discrepancy, even taking into account the difficulty of estimating population numbers at this time and in this terrain.

Moreau was, however, just as convinced as British observers of the presence of two ethnic groups on St Vincent. This is what he says about the Yellow Caribs:

It was the first time I had seen indigenous people from the New World... The first thing I noticed was their serious demeanour, dignified and proud... It was easy to recognise a people never disgraced by slavery, who clearly regarded themselves as anyone's equal. Their looks were assured, and in them could be read the indomitable courage which had stood the proof of three centuries... Their skin was copper colour, very like the hue that the leaves of certain trees take in autumn before they dry out.²⁴

And this is Moreau on the Black Caribs:

I had not previously seen the [Black Caribs] and from misleading accounts I had formed quite a false idea of them. I believed, from the missionaries' tales, that they owed their origin to negro slaves escaped from neighbouring colonies. I was much surprised to find them of quite another race. In place of woolly hair, flat nose, and gaping mouth set with thick out-turned lips, they possessed Abyssinian features: smooth hair, long and black, more like a mane; straight nose, standing out from the face but slightly curved at the end, and such as you would never see from Cape Bon to the Gulf of Guinea; and finally, a mouth furnished with thin lips in no way like that of a negro, except for the beauty of the teeth.²⁵

Just as the British wanted to associate the Caribs with Africa and negroes so, it seemed, Moreau was equally keen to *distance* them, Yellow and Black alike, from any such association: his anxious negatives are close in content and tone to Aphra Behn's description of her fictional hero, Oroonoko, the classic instance of an African who does not look like an African, or even more appropriately close to Robinson Crusoe's description of his Carib slave Friday. For Moreau the Black Caribs have in some way to be given an African origin, otherwise they could not be distinguished at all from the Yellow Caribs, so he gives them African features which are black but not negro – Abyssinian – without any explanation of how Abyssinian features could be found in the Caribbean islands. By Abyssinian Moreau probably referred to the Amhara, reputedly mixed descendants of the Semitic conquerors who had crossed the Red Sea from southern Arabia into Ethiopia and the native Cushitic population: the folk-etymology of “Abyssinian” being precisely “mixed”, supposedly from the Arabic word “habash”.²⁶

5

It would be difficult to overestimate the precariousness of the political situation in the late-eighteenth-century Caribbean, manifest in large-scale population movements which made the Vincentian Caribs probably the most firmly rooted of all Caribbean groups at this time. If the eastern Caribbean had begun the eighteenth century with relatively well-defined groups –

planters both English and French, European merchants and soldiers, African slaves, indigenous Caribs – then by its end the movement of people, breeding patterns, and political revolution had thrown all this into turmoil. By 1795 the British planters established on St Vincent shared the island with a few French-speaking planters, a group of *petit blanc*, French-speaking traders and farmers, small free coloured and free black populations (mostly French-speaking), a large slave population (divided between English- and French-speakers), an indigenous Carib population of various hues (many speaking French), and small groups of black maroons. When the rebellion broke out in 1795, most of these groups divided. Some part of each fought against the British (and no doubt a larger part of each had anti-British sympathies); some of each group, apart from the Caribs and maroons, fought on the British side; some individuals changed sides. Into this already confused situation came a variety of French-speaking free coloureds and blacks and white French soldiers, like Moreau, to fight with the rebels; and as part of British reinforcements came not only white British soldiers, black British soldiers in new slave regiments, but French-speaking ex-slave black and coloured militia recruited in Martinique and commanded by white French officers with royalist sympathies who wanted to oppose the Revolution.²⁷ The quantity of crossings over the years already meant it was difficult to tell who somebody was by looking at them. Increased population movement now also meant it was difficult to account genealogically for

particular individuals. An acculturated Carib, living as a farmer, wearing European dress, and speaking French, might be indistinguishable, in English eyes, from a free coloured; yet, at the drop of a hat, and with an application of body paint, he could be transformed into a Carib warrior. Just when it became absolutely crucial for the British to be able to recognise friends and enemies, the complexity of the social and racial mix on the island was reaching phenomenal and disconcerting proportions. Rarely can some form of classification have seemed more desirable or necessary.

In a very real sense this was the age of classification, a crucial component in what Mary Louise Pratt has described as the age of “planetary consciousness”.²⁸ Linnaeus’s *Systema naturae* had classified the natural world by making observable differences transparent through language. Classification was the domain of the visible and skin-colour had become crucial for the description of human differences. Writers such as Moreau de Saint-Méry – cousin to Moreau de Jonnès – had evolved monstrous tabular classifications concerned with giving names to the minute distinctions of colour that result from the almost infinite number of possible racial crossings that can be produced by simple multipliers of two, a charting which in theory enabled a check to be kept on those who, though descended in part from Africans and still slaves, might have the audacity to actually possess seemingly white skins.²⁹ “Moreau” in French, as neither impeccably white Frenchman of that name mentions, actually means “as brown as a Moor”.³⁰

Racial typology was developed at the same time as tabular classification and would prove an even more powerful tool for representing non-Europeans. Just as the Caribs went to war in 1795, the influential third edition of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's *De generis humani varietate nativa* was published – the foundation text of physical anthropology. For Blumenbach there were five principal varieties of the single human species: the middle, or Caucasian, variety; two extremes, Mongolian and Ethiopic; and two intermediate varieties, the Malay and the American. Five skulls took pride of place in the engravings illustrating this treatise, one for each variety; and the whole of the American was represented by the skull of a Carib chief from St Vincent, a gift to Blumenbach from Sir Joseph Banks, who had received it from the director of the Botanical Garden in St Vincent, who had dug it up at dead of night from a sacred burial site. Unlikely as it might seem, there were very real connections between the earliest European centres of ethnological classification and the political realities of the small island of St Vincent.³¹

6

Moreau's ethnographic evidence exacerbates the contradictions already apparent within the British story.³² The first and most important conclusions to be drawn from his memoir are negative: the contradictory evidence produced by British and French sources suggests that we know much less

about ethnic and cultural crossing in St Vincent in the late eighteenth century than we thought we did; and that the notion of ethnogenesis has tended to obscure rather than illuminate the processes involved in such contact. As always, we underestimate at our peril the work needed to unpick accepted stories and the deep and misleading assumptions they help maintain.

Positive conclusions must be tentative. Even if one assumes some homogeneous sense of Carib appearance in 1492, which would mean leaving aside a whole history of mixing with other Native Americans before that date, the Caribs on St Vincent had by 1795 been mixing with Africans and Europeans – both heterogeneous categories themselves – for nearly 300 years. Carib response to Africans, however they arrived on the island, undoubtedly varied over time and according to circumstance. Semi-autonomous black communities may have been allowed to form: shipwrecked slave-ships would after all have contained women as well as men. As Carib numbers declined, Africans were doubtless inducted into Carib communities, probably through an initial period of submission, which European observers misidentified as ‘slavery’. But there would not have been a *single* Carib response: the European invasion of the islands was socially and economically – as well as demographically – devastating for the Caribs. Villages were in any case autonomous, and no doubt came to different kinds of accommodation with the Europeans, one form of which

involved recapturing escaped slaves, or even stealing slaves from the French to sell to the British.

By the 1790s there were some twelve main Carib groups, mostly but not exclusively resident on the eastern side of the island. The individuals belonging to these groups would, in terms of appearance, have covered a wide spectrum from the relatively pale, through the tones of bronze, to the relatively dark, in accordance with the random relationship between genetic make-up and skin-colour. In discussing mestizos in Latin America, Schwarz and Salomon note that, “Up to a point, mestizo was as mestizo did. Dress, association, custom, and appearance could make the difference.”³³ Carib individuals, families, and even larger groups may have responded to the dramatic changes on St Vincent by using dress and appearance to move into and out of social relationships and perceived ethnic identities in a way which was much too rapid and subtle for the rigid classification deployed by Europeans.

7

After the fiasco of the failed attack on Kingstown in December 1795, Moreau was recalled to Guadeloupe by Victor Hugues. While on St Vincent Moreau – an inveterate walker -- had made a sketch-map of the island, showing all its tracks and paths, and indicating the best military positions.³⁴ Hugues was impressed enough to send Moreau on a perilous mission to

British-occupied Martinique to map the British defences around St Pierre in preparation for a French attack – which never eventuated. Moreau entered Martinique disguised as a travelling doctor with a taste for botany and drew 45 sheets of maps kept in a leather case disguised as a herbal.³⁵ After the maps had been sent back to Guadeloupe, Moreau was taken prisoner by the British but exchanged for a captured English officer. On board the French ship taking him to Guadeloupe, Moreau learns of the arrival of the British reinforcements under General Abercromby, which had turned the tide of the insurrections on Grenada and St Vincent. Moreau's sense of honour insists that he return to St Vincent so he has himself dropped off on the windward coast, close to the village where he spent those four idyllic months the previous year. The first thing he finds is a massacred village – men, women, children, old people, all hacked to death and their houses burned. Then he comes across Zami, maid to Eliama, the chief's daughter, and learns that both the chief and his daughter have been killed in the recent fighting.³⁶ Some Caribs had surrendered at this point, but most regrouped and joined the French in time to suffer a final defeat in June 1796.

8

On St Vincent, the classificatory schema introduced by the British and French created a situation in which visible indigenous skin tones were magically reduced to two – yellow and black – with these skin-tones

magically corresponding to two supposedly distinct ethnic and racial groups on the island: two types, two attitudes, two politics. The inherent unlikelihood of this scenario has only been obscured by the insistent repetition of its key terms in subsequent historiographical and anthropological literature.

‘Black’ and ‘yellow’ applied to Caribs are colonisers’ terms, ideological fictions built around the unmarked centrality of imperial whiteness. The indigenous groups thus designated have rejected those terms when able to, terms which do not, the contradictory evidence suggests, correspond to any clear racial or ethnic division. There was a mixing of population on St Vincent: Caribs did mix with a small number of Europeans and a larger number of Africans; but these new individuals and small groups were culturally assimilated. For the British, it seems, a one-drop rule was already in place: any inkling of African ancestry was enough to turn a Yellow Carib into a Black Carib – even if that one drop was often in the British imagination rather than the Carib bloodstream.

The British persisted in their determination to recognise their enemies by sight, sending 102 Yellow Caribs back to St Vincent from the small island where they were awaiting transportation purely on account of their lighter skin colour, despite the fact that they had fought against the British.³⁷ In Central America, the Vincentian Caribs have always regarded themselves as Indian, but were classified as Negroes by the constitution of the Republic of

Central America in 1823.³⁸ They still call themselves just Carib or Garifuna, are identified by others as Indians, speak an indigenous language, and have cultural practices that are uniquely the result of their indigenous origins.

Anthropologists and historians persist in calling them Black Caribs, but the final suspicion has to be that their story, as currently told, is yet another chapter in that long denial of the continuity and survival of indigenous American traditions through the travails and crossings of the colonial period.

Notes

¹ Leslie Marmon Silko, *Almanac of the Dead*, New York: Penguin Books, 1992, pp. 410-11.

² See Stuart B. Schwartz & Frank Salomon, “New Peoples and New Kinds of People: Adaptation, Readjustment, and Ethnogenesis in South American Indigenous Societies (Colonial Era)”, in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas: Vol. III: South America*, ed. Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz, New York: CUP, 1999, Part Two, pp. 443-501. The standard study of ‘red-black’ peoples is Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*, 2nd ed., Urbana: University of Illinois, 1993.

³ J.W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, vol. IV, London: Macmillan, 1906, p. 325.

⁴ Around 50,000 British soldiers may have died in the Caribbean between 1793 and 1798 (David P. Geggus, *Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793-98*, Oxford: Clarendon Press., 1982, p. 463n.50).

⁵ This standard view is articulated in J. Holland Rose, “The Conflict with Revolutionary France, 1793-1802”, in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire: vol. II, The Growth of the New Empire 1783-1870*, Cambridge: CUP, 1940, pp. 36-82. The best contemporary study is Michael Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar, and Seapower: The British Expeditions to the West Indies and the War against Revolutionary France*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987; see also Roger N. Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats: The British*

West India Regiments, 1795-1815, New Haven: Yale UP, 1979, and Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*, Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1982.

⁶ Bernard Marshall, “The Black Caribs – Native Resistance to British Penetration into the Windward Side of St. Vincent 1763-1773”, *Caribbean Quarterly*, 19:4 (1973), 4-19, at 8; referencing C.O. 101/11 (Sir William Young’s propositions for Surveying and Selling the Carib lands on the Windward side of St. Vincent, 11 April 1767).

⁷ William Young, *An Account of the Black Charaibs in the Island of St Vincent’s* [1795], London: Frank Cass, 1971, p. 3. Apart from Young’s *Account*, the main sources pertaining to Vincentian Carib history in the late eighteenth century are William Young, *A Tour through the Several Islands of Barbadoes, St Vincent, Antigua, Tobago, and Grenada, in the Years 1791, and 1792*, published as the third volume of Bryan Edwards, *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, London: John Stockdale, 1801, pp. 260-301; Charles Shephard, *An Historical Account of the Island of Saint Vincent* [1831], London: Frank Cass, 1971; F.W.N. Bayley, *Four Years’ Residence in the West Indies during the years 1826, 7, 8, and 9 by the Son of a Military Officer*, London: Kidd, 1830; Thomas Coke, *Some Account of the Late Missionaries to the West Indies in Two Letters from the Rev. Dr. Coke, to the Rev. J. Wesley*, London: n.p., 1789; George Davidson, “The Copy of a Letter... containing a short History of the Caribbs” [24 July 1787], in *The Case of the Caribbs in St. Vincent’s*, [ed. Thomas Coke], [Dublin?]: n.p., 1788, pp. 5-19; and Alexander Anderson, *Geography and History of St Vincent*, ed. and transcribed by Richard A. and Elizabeth S. Howard, Cambridge, Mass.: The Arnold Arboretum, 1983. The best modern account of the Vincentian Caribs is Nancie L. Gonzalez, *Sojourners of the Caribbean: Ethnogenesis and Ethnohistory of the Garifuna*, Urbana: University of

Illinois Press, 1988; see also C.J.M.R. Gullick, *Myths of a Minority: Changing Traditions of the Vincentian Caribs*, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985; Michael Craton, “From Caribs to Black Caribs: The Amerindian Roots of Servile Resistance in the Caribbean”, in Gary Y. Okihiro, ed., *In Resistance: Studies in African, Caribbean, and Afro-American History*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986, pp. 96-116; and Michael Craton, “The Black Caribs of St. Vincent: A Reevaluation”, in Robert L. Paquette and Stanley L. Engerman, ed., *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*, Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1996, pp. 71-85.

⁸ Young, *An Account*, p. 5.

⁹ See Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*, London: Methuen, pp. 45-87.

¹⁰ Quoted in Marshall, “The Black Caribs”, p. 12, referencing C.O. 101/16 (Governor Leyborne to Hillsborough, no. 26, 30 July 1772). The 1773 peace treaty speaks simply of “Charaibs” (Young, *An Account*, p. 89).

¹¹ Young, *An Account*, p. 5.

¹² Shephard, *An Historical Account*, p. 22.

¹³ Young, *An Account*, p. 30.

¹⁴ *Observations pour servir à l’histoire de la fièvre jaune aux Antilles*, Paris: Impr. de Migneret, 1817; *Histoire physique des Antilles françaises, savoir la Martinique et les îles de la Guadeloupe*, Paris: Impr. de Migneret, 1822; *Recherches statistiques sur l’esclavage colonial et sur les moyens de le supprimer* [1842], Geneva: Slatkine, 1978; *Elements de statistique comprenant les principes généraux de cette science, et un aperçu historique de ses progrès*, Paris: Guillaumin, 1847. On Moreau’s eminence as a statistician, see

Fernand Faure, “The Development and Progress of Statistics in France”, in John Koren, ed., *The History of Statistics: Their Development and Progress in Many Countries* [1918], New York: Burt Franklin, 1970, pp. 218-329, at 218.

¹⁵ *Aventures de guerre au temps de la république et du consulat*, 2 vols., Paris: Pagnerre, 1858. An abbreviated edition was later published: *Aventures de guerre au temps de la république et du consulat*, preface by Léon Say, Paris: Guillaumin, 1893. There are two partial English translations, both of which leave out much of the ethnographic material: *Adventures in the Revolution and under the Consulate*, trans. Cyril Hammond, with an introduction by The Hon. Sir John Fortescue, London: Peter Davies, Ltd, 1929 (reprinted, with an introduction by Michael Glover, London: Peter Davies, 1969); and *Adventures in Wars of the Republic and Consulate*, trans. Brig-Gen. A.J. Abdy, London: John Murray, 1920. None of the existing anthropological or historical writing about the Caribs of St Vincent refers to Moreau de Jonnés.

¹⁶ Moreau de Jonnés, *Aventures de guerre au temps de la république et du consulat*, 2 vols., Paris: Pagnerre, 1858, vol. I, p. 312. Translations are mine.

¹⁷ “d’observations et de témoignages oculaires” (vol. II, p. 271). The Caribs had played an important rôle in Rousseau’s *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*.

¹⁸ *Aventures de guerre*, vol. II, pp. 271-2.

¹⁹ Joseph-Marie Degérando, *The Observation of Savage Peoples* [1800], trans. and ed. F.C.T. Moore, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969; and see Miranda J. Hughes, “Philosophical Travellers at the Ends of the Earth: Baudin, Péron and the Tasmanians”, in R.W. Home, ed., *Australian Science in the Making*, Cambridge: CUP, 1988, pp. 23-44.

²⁰ Alexander Anderson believed the Vincentian planters had provoked the Carib rebellion by their improvident attempts to deforest St Vincent (*Geography and History*, p. 37). On the hostile view of colonists towards woodland, see Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1800*, Cambridge: CUP, 1995, p. 273.

²¹ Moreau, *Aventures de guerre*, I, pp. 288-9.

²² Moreau, *Aventures de guerre*, vol. II, p. 286.

²³ Moreau, *Aventures de guerre*, vol. II, p. 276.

²⁴ Moreau, *Aventures de guerre*, vol. I, pp. 242-3.

²⁵ Moreau, *Aventures de guerre*, vol. I, p. 246.

²⁶ Pierre Larousse, ed., *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe siècle*, Paris: Larousse, 1866, vol. I, p. 42 (Abyssinien).

²⁷ See Julius S. Scott, "Crisscrossing Empire: Ships, Sailors, and Resistance in the Lesser Antilles in the Eighteenth Century", in Robert L. Paquette and Stanley L. Engerman, ed., *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*, Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1996, pp. 128-43.

²⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge, 1992, pp. 15-37.

²⁹ See Joan Dayan, *History, Haiti, and the Gods*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, pp. 219-37.

³⁰ Moreau from L. maurellus, "brun comme un Maure", *Le Gran Robert de la Langue Française*, 2nd ed., Paris: Le Robert, 1985, vol. VI, p. 575.

³¹ Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *The Anthropological Treatises*, trans. and ed. Thomas Bendyshe, London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865, p. 156. For more details, see Peter Hulme, *Remnants of Conquest: The Island Caribs and Their Visitors, 1877-1998*, Oxford: OUP, 2000, pp. 17-18.

³² A conclusion also reached by Nancie L. Gonzalez, “

³³ Schwartz and Salomon, “New Peoples”, p. 490.

³⁴ *Aventures de guerre*, vol. I, p. 337.

³⁵ *Aventures de guerre*, vol. I, p. 344.

³⁶ *Aventures de guerre*, vol. I, pp. 363-4.

³⁷ Gonzalez, *Sojourners*, p. 23.

³⁸ Rebecca Bateman, “Africans and Indians: A Comparative Study of the Black Carib and Black Seminole”, *Ethnohistory*, 37: 1 (1990), 1-24, at 7.