

Slaves and ‘Free Coloureds’ in the French Islands of the Caribbean Resist Absorption in the Empire

Resistance to British attack or occupation took place in several islands in the Caribbean in the mid-1790s, with French-backed slave rebellions breaking out in Guadeloupe in 1794, in Grenada and St Vincent in March 1795, and in St Lucia in June. A fresh Maroon revolt began in Jamaica in July 1795. Under the pressures and demands of global war, social and military controls on the islands fell apart, providing an unprecedented opportunity for slaves, as well as Maroons and Caribs, to make a bid for freedom.

In April 1794, slaves and free coloureds gathered at the Fleur d’Épée fort on the French island of Guadeloupe to resist an attack by a British armada recently arrived in the Caribbean. Led by French officers, the slaves made up the bulk of the French Republican forces, now exhausted by the extended civil war between Royalists and Republicans that had taken place on the island since 1790. Successive slave rebellions had led many French settlers to abandon their plantations and seek shelter on British islands.

The British were no strangers to Guadeloupe. They had occupied it from 1759 to 1763, returning it to France at the Paris peace conference that year as a makeweight in the negotiations over the future of French Canada. In the 1790s the island had a population of some 115,000, of which nearly 90,000 were slaves and 3,000 were mulattoes (or freed men of colour). Only 14,000 inhabitants were white. Most of the white population were terrified by the Jacobins in their midst, fearful of their former slaves, and appreciative of a British occupation.

Guadeloupe is formed from two adjacent islands, Grand Terre and Basseterre. The black Republicans tried to defend the Fleur d’Épée fort at Pointe-à-Pitre on Grand Terre, but were overwhelmed by a British force that landed near the town in April 1794. The British commander, General Thomas Dundas – a veteran of the Yorktown defeat in 1781 – secured a swift victory and took no prisoners. Prolonged repression of the inhabitants followed this initial British massacre. The blacks resisted for ten days, but the British soon controlled most of both islands, though not for long.

Guadeloupe was the third French possession seized that year: Martinique had been captured in February, and St Lucia in April. These islands fell under nominal British control, although largely occupied by slaves, free mulattoes and

French Republicans who refused to accept this alien rule. As in Haiti, the British had insufficient soldiers to control the islands, and they looked for black allies. A 'Black Ranger' battalion of 250 slaves was recruited in 1794.¹

French help for the resistance on Guadeloupe was soon at hand. A small Republican fleet was sent out that year – seven ships with 1,500 men – to recover the West Indian colonies. The troops were led by two fresh 'Commissioners', Pierre Chrétien and Victor Hugues, a wealthy mulatto who had once lived in Haiti. They brought the news that the Revolutionary Convention in Paris had declared an end to slavery in February: 'Today the English are dead', Danton had cried. The recipe for slave rebellion that had proved so effective in Haiti was to be extended throughout the French Caribbean.

The French fleet arrived off Grand Terre on 2 June, and the British occupation of Guadeloupe began to unravel. The ferocious General Dundas had died at his base on Basseterre, leaving his invasion force rudderless. Victor Hugues made an unopposed landing and ordered the new anti-slavery message to be announced publicly throughout the island. He offered equality, decreeing that blacks would be given the same privileges as whites. Many slaves flocked to join his revolutionary army, and on 6 June these makeshift troops recaptured the Fleur d'Épée fort, and took Point-à-Pitre the following day.

One fort, however, was not the whole island, and British reinforcements soon arrived at Basseterre from other islands. The black forces were heavily outnumbered, and Pierre Chrétien and two French generals were killed. Over the next three months the black slave army occupied Grand Terre to the north, while the British remained in control of Basseterre, restoring slavery and French Royalist institutions. The population was required to swear an oath of loyalty to George III, king of England. On Grand Terre, the Republican revolution proceeded apace – with the aid of a portable guillotine, a new gadget that Victor Hugues had thoughtfully brought from Paris.

Receiving French reinforcements in October, the black slave army moved across the straits to Basseterre, to lay siege to the British camp at Berville, commanded by Brigadier Colin Graham. Cut off from all outside assistance, the brigadier surrendered, but with one condition: he requested that his troops might be allowed to march out with the honours of war before being shipped home to Britain.² This was permitted, but Graham failed to secure pardons for the 700 French Royalists under his command; he was forced to watch while 300 of them were fed to the guillotine.

That December, the black army forced the British to withdraw from Basseterre and retreat to Martinique. Guadeloupe's inclusion within the Empire had lasted for barely eight months. Its loss proved to be the least of the troubles facing British officers in the Caribbean.³ British troops suffered as well. The soldiers that had surrendered lingered as prisoners on Guadeloupe for a further year, though many

died in the weeks after their surrender.⁴ The real killer that year was yellow fever, though this was not a new experience for the British.⁵ Napoleon's troops captured Guadeloupe in 1802,⁶ and the British recovered it in 1810. They held it for another six years before finally returning it to France in 1816.

Rebellion erupted on Grenada in March 1795, led by Julien Fédon, a mulatto landowner from the French-speaking Catholic community. The island had been acquired by Britain from France in 1763, was seized back by France in 1779, and became British again four years later. Freeing the ninety-five slaves on his own plantation at Belleville, Fédon offered liberty to all slaves who would join his rebellion. His rebel army soon attracted thousands of supporters from neighbouring plantations. Seizing the towns of Goujave and Grenville, his soldiers spread through the central mountains and forests. They captured the anti-French governor, Ninian Home, a Protestant Scots planter, while he was out on a day's sailing with a group of forty friends. Fédon's men held them all as hostages, threatening their execution if British troops were to advance on their mountain hideouts.

With a fresh Anglo-French war in 1793, and with Home's appointment as governor, the situation of the French minority on the island had already begun to deteriorate. Catholics were excluded from government, church property was confiscated, and use of the French language was discouraged. Groups of French 'free coloureds' gathered at Fédon's plantation in 1794 to plan a rebellion. Many were well-off mulattoes, non-British and non-white, who had come to the island during the period of French ownership between 1779 and 1783. Their rebellion, as elsewhere in the Caribbean, was both a slave revolt and a French insurrection against British rule, assisted by Victor Hugues in Guadeloupe. Black slaves and the French inhabitants of the island of all classes and colours threw in their lot with the resistance. Like other rebels that year, Fédon raised the flag of the French Republic, fighting against the British with the slogan 'Liberté, Egalité, ou la Mort' – Liberty, Equality, or Death.⁷

A fighting force of 7,000 slaves armed with cutlasses assembled at Fédon's camp on Mount St Catherine, the island's highest peak; they were joined by 600 whites and coloureds with muskets. In April they were attacked by British troops brought from Barbados, but they repelled the attack with musket fire and took their revenge on their hostages. They cut the throat of Governor Home and of those captured with him.

More slaves joined in as the British retreated, and Fédon's army swelled to 10,000 men. The British position was desperate, for only 500 regular troops and 380 militiamen were based on the island. They had just lost Guadeloupe, their forces were over-extended in Haiti, and now Grenada appeared lost. They retained control of St George's, but the rest of the island was in rebel hands.

Fédon had promised slaves their freedom, and the British commander now did the same, offering an amnesty to rebel slaves in May and recruiting a corps of 'Black Rangers'. This new slave corps was deployed in the mountainous areas in Fédon's heartland, unfamiliar to white troops, and reinforcements were brought in from Martinique and Barbados, and from Spanish Trinidad. Fédon's army received French help from Guadeloupe and kept the British forces corralled in St George's, where they were soon being decimated by yellow fever. The rebels held most of the island for the rest of the year – a black republic under arms.

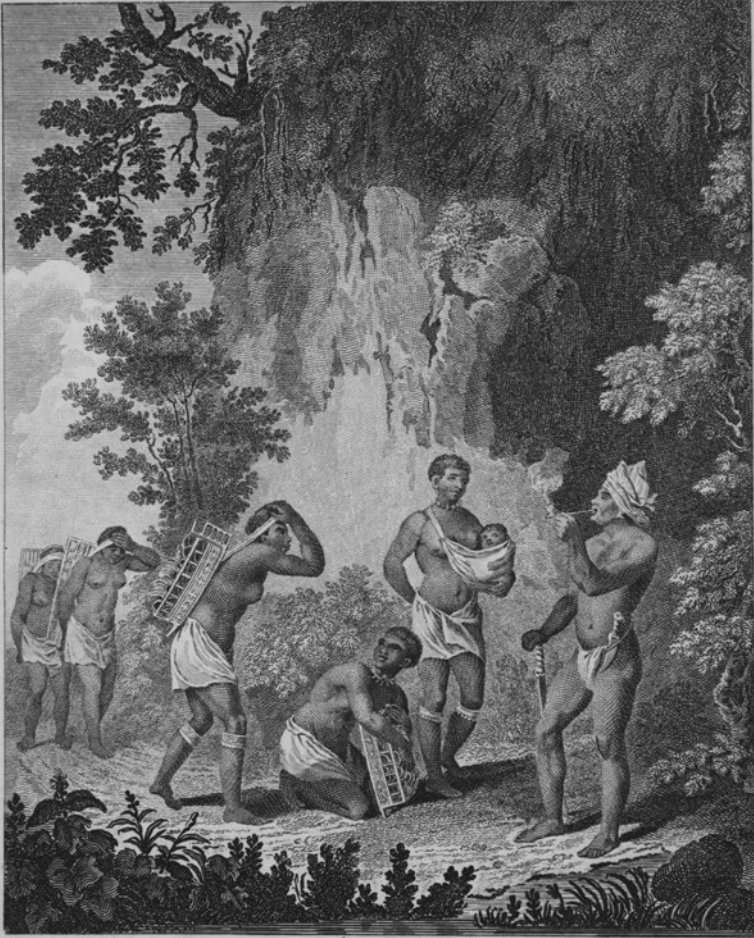
The tide began to turn against Fédon in 1796. Alarmed by endless reverses, the British dispatched a second armada to the West Indies, commanded by General Sir Ralph Abercromby. With 100 ships and 30,000 men, this was one of the largest expeditions ever sent across the Atlantic. Some 5,000 fresh troops came ashore on Grenada, landing near St Andrew's Bay in March 1796, bringing succour to the enfeebled British garrison at St George's.

Fédon's forces came under sustained attack, and two French ships bringing reinforcements from Guadeloupe were not sufficient to prevent defeat. Fédon's army was driven into the hills, from where he organised a war of guerrilla resistance south of the Grand Etang. No quarter was given, no prisoners taken, and when his hideout was eventually surrounded, Fédon ordered twenty white prisoners to be shot.

The British took their revenge. Lieutenant Thomas Hislop was the famously brutal new commander,⁸ and when eighty whites who had fought with Fédon surrendered, fourteen were hanged. Fédon's surviving followers were hunted down, and Fédon himself was discovered in July in a hut on the brink of a precipice. He disappeared over the cliff and was heard of no more. Some said he was killed; others believed he escaped to Trinidad to fight another day. The year-long Grenada rebellion had been crushed.

In March 1795, in the month that Julien Fédon raised the Republican flag of rebellion in Grenada, Joseph Chatoyer, veteran leader of the Black Caribs of St Vincent, summoned his followers to join him in a fresh rebellion against British occupation. He called himself King Chatoyer, and he too received support from the French Republican forces of Victor Hugues in Guadeloupe, to whom he was known as 'Chateaugai'. The director of the botanic gardens in St Vincent described him as 'brave, desperate, and accustomed to warfare and bloodshed'.⁹

Chatoyer had fought a resistance war against the British twenty years earlier that ended with a treaty in 1773. Occupied subsequently by the French in 1779, St Vincent acquired a sizeable French population of small farmers. Chatoyer continued to be wary of the British when they recovered the island in 1783, conscious that the returning landowners would still nurse an ambition to seize Carib lands.



G. Kneller sculp.

CHATOYER the CHIEF of the BLACK CHARAIBES in ST VINCENT with his five WIVES.

Drawn from the life by Augustino Brunyas - 1773. From an original painting in the possession of Sir W^m Young Bart. F.R.S.

Chatoyer, the Chief of the Black Charaibes in St Vincent with his five wives. Drawn from the life by Augustino Brunyas in 1773.

From his camp on Dorsetshire Hill, above Kingstown, the island's capital, Chatoyer called on the French population to unite with the Black Caribs in the cause of liberty. Were they to refuse to do so, he added fiercely, they would be destroyed. His words were recorded in a British propaganda sheet: 'We do swear that both fire and sword shall be employed against them, that we are going to have their estates, and that we will murder their wives and children, in order to annihilate their race.' Since the lands of many small French farmers had been seized to create large British sugar plantations, the French needed little encouragement to join Chatoyer.

The Carib rebellion, according to the lurid account of Bryan Edwards, the Jamaican planter, was long and bloody: 'The windward plantations were set in flames, the unarmed slaves and defenceless women and children were slaughtered, and . . . several English prisoners . . . were massacred in cold blood, upon Dorsetshire Hill, four days subsequent to their capture. Had the insurgents been joined by the negroes, all would, doubtless, have been lost.'¹⁰

The weakness of the Carib rebellion was its failure to make common cause with slaves on the sugar plantations. Slaves were reluctant to support them, for a history of dislike and betrayal characterised their relationship. The Caribs failed to echo the French appeal for an end to slavery, and the British quickly turned to the slaves for help. Here as elsewhere, a slave battalion of 'Black Rangers' was recruited to fight the Caribs.

Carib hopes of victory were thwarted by British reinforcements from outside. A small British force was landed from HMS *Zebra* in April, and moved swiftly towards the Carib encampment on Dorsetshire Hill. Chatoyer himself was bayoneted by a Major Leith, and twenty of his immediate followers were killed. Yet their deaths were not immediately decisive, for Duvalle, a new Carib leader, emerged to continue the rebellion, launching an attack on the British base at Calliaqua. Forced back into their jungle retreats in May, after the British had burned their farms in the plains, the Caribs received French assistance from St Lucia and repelled a British attack in July.

Much of the island remained in the hands of the Caribs for another year, with the British marooned in their base at Fort Charlotte. When Carib forces seized a food convoy destined for British troops, it was the turn of the British to be starved out. 'There is talk of capitulation,' a Colonel Myers wrote despondently to his commanding officer, 'the people being tired of the war and of lending their negroes for defence.' Myers noted 'a degree of apathy and indifference' that 'seems to have overtaken not only the troops but all the people in the island'.¹¹

Carib resistance could only be broken with fresh troops, and in June 1796 some 4,000 British soldiers were landed at Kingstown. Carib positions at Vigie came under attack, and they fought back with considerable energy and skill, killing seventeen British officers. Among their new leaders was Marin Padre, a free

black landowner described as 'a brave and daring man of great military parts,' who had come with the French reinforcements from St Lucia. Perceiving eventually that his forces were outnumbered, Marin Padre negotiated an armistice. The 600 men under his direct command agreed to surrender and were granted all the honours of war, but hundreds of others rejected the surrender terms. Led by Maunpedos, Marin's brother-in-law, they escaped to the forest to stage a final show of resistance.

The surviving Caribs finally surrendered in November, and this time the surrender terms were harsh. The British insisted – as had been foreshadowed in 1772 and as Chatoyer had always feared – that the Black Caribs should be expelled from the island, prefiguring the eventual fate of the Maroons of Jamaica. More than 5,000 Caribs were transferred to the small offshore island of Balliceaux, a place with 'no springs or rivulets.' They took a serious illness with them, and nearly half of them died. Alexander Anderson, the director of the botanical gardens on St Vincent, surmised that many succumbed to diseases contracted 'during their miserable situation in the woods without shelter,' but he feared there was 'another powerful cause – the agonising reflection that they were to be forever transported from their native country to another they never saw'.¹²

With no water at Balliceaux, the colonial authorities gave orders in April 1797 for the 2,700 survivors to be sent off to their final destination, the island of Roatán, Britain's prison colony off Honduras. Anderson reflected on their fate: 'Who can avoid melancholy sensations on a whole race of mankind transported forever from their native land, inhabited by them for many generations, and not conceive there has been something radically wrong in the principles of that government necessitated to that act?'

The Maroons of Jamaica were well aware of the embattled position of the British in the Caribbean in the 1790s, and in July 1795 they embarked on their own revolt, though they may well have been provoked. The island's plantation owners believed the situation to be too dangerous to permit the continued existence of free men whose loyalties to Britain were in doubt, and the new British military governor, General Alexander Lindsay, Earl of Balcarres, welcomed the opportunity to crush them.

Sixty years earlier, the Maroons had fought the British to a standstill, and a peace treaty in 1738 had given them rights over a substantial territory, with guarantees of freedom, independence and self-government. In return, the Maroons agreed to capture and surrender runaway slaves, to assist the British king against his enemies, and to allow two white officials to regulate disputes between white and black. Under the terms of this treaty they had been called out to help crush Tacky's slave revolt in 1760.

Ever since the slave rebellion in Haiti in August 1791, the authorities in Jamaica had perceived themselves to be in the frontline. A correspondent in Kingston that November had noted a change in the attitude of the slaves: 'I am convinced the ideas of liberty have sunk so deep in the minds of all Negroes that, whenever the greatest precautions are not taken, they will rise.' A slave revolt was indeed planned at Christmas, but was frustrated by the imposition of martial law and the mobilisation of the militia. Brutus, the slave leader on an estate in Trelawny, was captured before the rebellion could get underway, and five years later the slaves were still quiescent. The chief threat to British rule now came from the Maroons.

The rebellion of July 1795 was sparked off by an incident in Montego Bay.¹³ Two Maroons accused of stealing pigs were flogged, at a time when the white official charged with resolving their disputes was absent and in the process of being replaced. A Maroon delegation that came down to the town to negotiate was detained and imprisoned on a ship in the harbour.

General Lindsay declared martial law, and the settler militia was again summoned to active service. Troops destined for Haiti were retained on the island, and the mountain passes leading to the Maroon settlements were closed. The Maroons retreated further into the hills, challenging the government to follow them.

Over the next eight months, more than 300 Maroons and 200 runaway slaves held out against an army of 1,500 British soldiers and several thousand militia. Maroon resistance was reinforced by the excesses of the militia, who burned the homes and gardens of Maroon villagers who had actually remained friendly to the whites.¹⁴ General Lindsay tried to cordon off the Maroon lands, but after a month of war not a single Maroon had been wounded, while the British had lost more than seventy killed. Five officers were killed in an ambush in August, while the senior British officer in the field, Colonel Fitch, was killed in September, throwing 'a gloom over the entire island'.

British morale was low. Colonel George Walpole, the new commander, found the troops at the army's base camp 'very much dispirited by the recent misfortunes, jaded and fatigued to the greatest degree, badly huddled and ill-accommodated'. A plantation owner, Simon Taylor, wrote pessimistically to a cousin in London in September:

This cursed Maroon war still continues, and I see little prospect of its ending . . . It is true the Maroons have had their town taken and burnt, the greatest part of their provisions destroyed, and have been forced to fly into almost inaccessible mountains and caves, but still they at times make sallies, destroy small settlements, pick off some of our people, but the article that is much dreaded is this: that of our slaves joining them, and I find some few have lately done so.

As in Dominica, the Maroons found it difficult to secure slave support. In October a Maroon leader tried to recruit the slaves on the Amity Hall estate, explaining that 'he did not mean to force them, but he was fighting to make all the Negroes free'.¹⁵ His small group of Maroons burned down the plantation house and killed the bookkeeper, but they failed to persuade the slaves to join their resistance war. A generation later, during the great slave rebellion of 1831, the positions were reversed. The slaves asked the Maroons for help and were met with blank indifference.

The Maroons soon faced a new strategy devised by Colonel Walpole. Working in pairs, Walpole's soldiers moved slowly towards the Maroon stronghold, firing howitzer shells into their camps. This had some limited success, but the Maroons still held out. William Quarrell, a colonel in the militia, suggested a fresh tactic. He had once met a Spaniard from Cuba who told him of the success they had had in using dogs to crush a rebellion by Native Americans at Bluefields, on the Mosquito coast of Nicaragua. Thirty-six dogs and twelve Cuban handlers had expelled the Miskito Indians from the coastal zone.

The Jamaican planters were enchanted with this story, and Colonel Quarrell was ordered to Cuba to recruit some 'chasseurs' or dog-handlers. He returned in December with one hundred dogs, accompanied by forty-three Spanish-speaking black handlers. 'The savages have the utmost dread of a large dog,' noted the governor, 'the Negroes the same.'¹⁶ The arrival of the Cuban dogs was a turning point in the war. The plantation slaves fled as the dogs came by, and soon the Maroons in the mountains heard news of what was planned.

After two months of constant prodding by Walpole, together with the threat of unleashing the dogs, the Maroons came down from their secret refuge. Driven back by fear of the dogs and by Walpole's howitzers, their leaders gave in. In January 1796, they submitted to Walpole's humiliating surrender terms, which included three conditions: to go on their knees to beg the king's pardon for their rebellion; to settle wherever the governor might deem appropriate; and to surrender any runaway slaves in their midst.

The Maroons insisted on a fourth and secret condition to which Walpole promised to agree: they would not be banished from the island. But General Lindsay, the governor, was less generous than Walpole. His surrender terms were harsher. Runaway slaves and free blacks who had joined the Maroons were put on trial, and many were executed. Walpole's promise to the Maroons was ignored. The white settlers who owned the plantations were determined to free the island of the Maroon threat forever. They insisted on deportation, and got their way. So eager were they to rid Jamaica of the Maroons that they paid for their passage to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

In June 1796, some 600 Maroons and their families sailed away in three transport ships, accompanied by Colonel Quarrell. Several died on the six-week

journey to Canada.¹⁷ The original plan was for them to join the Canadian community of ‘Black Loyalists’ – the slaves who had supported the British during the American war and been given land in British Canada. Yet these former slaves, as has been recorded earlier, had not prospered in Canada, and many had sailed for Sierra Leone in 1792. The Jamaican Maroons, in cold and gloomy exile in Canada for four years, fared no better.¹⁸

Eventually, in 1800, 500 Maroons from Jamaica were shipped off from Canada across the Atlantic, to join the Black Loyalists on the Sierra Leone River. They were given land and settled down, but they retained a burning desire to return home. ‘The Maroons universally harbour a desire of going back, at some period of their lives, to Jamaica,’ reported a House of Commons committee in 1802.

Colonel Walpole was embittered by Lindsay’s refusal to support the surrender terms he had negotiated in 1796, and refused the sword of honour granted to him by the Jamaican assembly. He resigned from the army and returned to Britain. He was elected a member of parliament in the Whig interest, and spoke out against the slave trade. Years later, in 1827, some surviving Jamaican Maroons in Sierra Leone wrote to him to complain of their endless suffering ‘in a most horrid condition’. The main problem, they wrote, was unemployment caused by European prejudice: ‘in fact we all live begging’. They asked for Walpole’s assistance to return to Jamaica, but Walpole could do nothing to help. He died in 1835.

In 1838, 200 exiled Maroons in Sierra Leone petitioned Queen Victoria with the same request, blaming their ‘insurmountable hardships’ on ‘the great number of liberated Africans annually thrown upon this colony’, the involuntary victims of Britain’s campaign against the slave trade. Their jobs, their farms and their trade had all been overrun by these newcomers, and they begged to be allowed to return to Jamaica. In 1841 their prayers were answered. The emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies in the 1830s caused a great demand for labour, and Jamaican planters sent out recruiting agents all over the world. Some came to Freetown, and, after more than forty years, 200 Maroons were finally able to return to their Jamaican home.

In April 1796, rebel slaves and French settlers on St Lucia, led by a French Republican officer, Captain Lacroix, prepared to resist an assault on the island by British forces. They had controlled the island since June 1795, after defeating the British occupation force deployed by General Grey’s armada, sent out in 1794. Now they were faced by fresh troops from the second armada, commanded by General Abercromby.

St Lucia was an island of considerable strategic significance – the first to be captured in war, and the first to be negotiated away at subsequent

conferences of peace. Populated by black slaves and French settlers, it had been occupied by the British from time to time in the eighteenth century, the frequent change of ownership causing unrest in the slave population. The French had recovered St Lucia in 1784, under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, and two Republican agents had arrived in 1791 to expel the Royalist governor and to raise the tricolour flag. In December 1792, Captain Lacroix arrived in the Caribbean to spread the new revolutionary doctrines. Receiving little enthusiasm in Martinique and Dominica, he was greeted with sympathy and support in St Lucia, and became the island's Republican governor. St Lucia was renamed *La Fidèle*, and its new status was celebrated with much singing of the *Marseillaise*, the planting of trees of liberty, and the wearing of red caps and bonnets.

A landlord historian of the island, writing some fifty years later, recalled his impact:

The incendiary pamphlets and proclamations which this crazy adventurer caused to be circulated throughout the island, contributed not a little to foster that unfortunate partiality for the doctrines of the new school, which had already but too strongly manifested itself. The work of the estates was discontinued, the plantations were deserted, and nothing prevailed but anarchy and terror, in the midst of which the Negroes under arms were discussing the 'rights of man'.¹⁹

In April 1794, the island was captured by British troops from General Grey's armada. The former slave population soon organised resistance to the new owners, retreating tactically to the inland labyrinth of wooded mountains that the British were unable to penetrate. Victor Hugues provided continuing French support from Guadeloupe, despatching troops with Commissioner Goyrand. The slaves controlled several small ports where they could land arms and supplies, threatening the British-held towns of Morne Fortuné and Castries.

The slave resistance prospered throughout 1794, but in April 1795 the British brought in more troops. A large force landed near Vieuxfort. With them came a corps of 400 'Black Rangers' recruited from the slave population of Barbados and trained by Captain Malcolm. The St Lucia resistance forces retreated to the woods, but secured a victory on the road to Soufrière, where the British lost nine officers in a week. Sickness made half the invasion force unfit for service, and desertion further thinned the ranks. The British withdrew in June, leaving the resistance forces in control.

In April 1796 the resistance was faced by General Abercromby's great armada, which arrived off St Lucia with 12,000 fresh troops. With such a weight of numbers on the British side, the resistance army of 2,000 black soldiers and a few hundred whites was doomed. They held out for a month at Morne Fortuné,

inflicting casualties on the invading force, but in May they surrendered. The British lost thirty-nine officers and 520 men, killed, wounded or missing.

General Abercromby thought it was a barren conquest. 'The island except as a military post had ceased to be of any value; and there was every reason to suppose that the brigands still hiding in the jungle would give much trouble.' John Moore, a British brigadier, was left behind with 4,000 soldiers, and, as Abercromby had suspected, the resistance did not collapse. 'The blacks are to a man our enemy', one officer noted.

Regular military operations ceased on the surrender of Morne Fortuné, but the rest of the island remained unsubdued. Captain Lacroix reappeared as the commander of what became known as the 'French Army in the Woods', and his guerrilla forces attacked whenever Brigadier Moore tried to advance into the interior. One British regiment, once 915 men strong, lost 841 soldiers and twenty-two officers in a year's operations – through war and disease. Moore noted later that it had been his wish 'to have governed the colony with mildness, but I have been forced to adopt the most violent measures from the perverseness and bad composition of those I have had to deal with'. More than 300 rebels were slaughtered or hanged.²⁰

Lacroix and his 'French Army in the Woods' eventually agreed to lay down their arms at the end of 1797. Having been free men for so long, his soldiers requested that they should not be returned to slavery. Colonel James Drummond, the new British commander, was happy to agree to almost anything, for his men were exhausted by the struggle and defeated by the climate.²¹ Many of Lacroix's soldiers were later integrated into a black battalion, and, like the Maroons from Jamaica, were sent off to serve the British in the new African colony of Sierra Leone.