2021

The Jamaican Maroons of the 17th and 18th centuries: Survivalists of the New World

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The Jamaican Maroons of the 17th and 18th centuries: Survivalists of the New World

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts of the City College of the City University of New York

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May 2021

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Acknowledgements

I'd like to give a special thanks to all those who have supported me on my journey in completing my thesis. First and foremost, I am grateful to my late grandfather Nehemiah Daley who introduced me to Jamaican history, as well as, the history of the Maroons. I am also very grateful to the friends and faculty who took the time to read, and reread the drafts that I didn't even want to look over. Just to name a few, I truly appreciate professors Laurie Woodard, John Blanton, Michelle Thompson, Elsada Cassells, and Yaari Felber-Seligman, as well as my dear friends, Bryan Guichardo, Kendrick Armstrong, and Kailyn Mora. All of them pushed me to keep writing and inspired me to challenge my own limits.

Introduction

The Jamaican Maroons are a very complex group of people with their own political and historical background. During the 17th and 18th centuries the Maroons began as liberators to the enslaved and even started complex communities that grew into territories such as the Leeward Maroons of the west and the Windward Maroons to the east. Even though Maroon communities acted collectively to liberate the enslaved on the plantations, there were ethnic tensions between Maroon groups. However, on the act of survival, the Maroons did manage to work together to fight the British, their main enemy. Soon after the peace treaty with the British was signed, the Maroons had to make another choice to survive. Through an act of diplomacy, the British issued a peace treaty with the Windward and Leeward Maroons. For the peace treaty to go into effect, the Maroons agreed to no longer recruit runaways and even return them. Since the Maroons could no longer recruit the enslaved following the peace treaty, rival Maroon communities could no longer fight for fear of going into extinction. To exist, the Maroons had to unite as a group. So, what is a Maroon? So far, it depends on survival and adaptability.

This thesis proposes that the Maroons were survivalists and continued to exist because they formed their own unique identity after the peace treaty of 1739. Furthermore, I want to stress that I am using the term survivalist to point out that the Maroons did whatever it took to maintain their existence, which includes liberating, kidnapping, punishing, and assimilating Africans, as well as working with the British to capture runaways and stop rebellions. Before the peace treaty, Maroons fought each other during the Anglo-Maroon War because of African ethnic differences within the Maroon

communities. Now that the peace treaty forced Maroons to return future runaways, the Maroons could not recruit the enslaved into their growing populations. Subsequently, both the Windward and Leeward Maroons needed each other. It is the peace treaty that bonded the Maroons with one another, and they unified under the treaty out of survival, creating a new collective identity. It is also because of the peace treaty that the Maroons stopped fighting each other, knowing that they must unify to exist. Because of this newly formed unified but distinct identity, the Maroons were able to put down future slave rebellions and return runways. This thesis studies the relationship between the Maroons and the enslaved and the Maroons and the British—the Maroons' relationships with their fellow enslaved Africans and the British aided in codifying the Maroon identity. Slavery gave the Maroons purpose because the treaty granted them freedom on the condition that they capture runaways and put down rebellions. Overall, the Maroons were survivalists trying to exist within the world of the plantocracy. Most importantly, this thesis explains how the Maroons transitioned from fugitives rebelling against the plantocracy to preserving that same system to uphold their freedom. This project on the Maroons is essential because it demonstrates how policies change relationships, no matter the circumstances.

This research project will explore the diverse African ethnic groups that were enslaved and brought to Jamaica to work on the plantations. The importance of exploring African ethnic groups brought to Jamaica is that certain ethnic groups proved to be more rebellious than other enslaved Africans. Studying the relationship many of the enslaved Africans had with one another is important because it displays the multiple tensions that many Africans face with one another, especially when these runaways became Maroons

together. This thesis will also investigate when the Maroons were forced to unite and create a unified identity. Under the unified identity, the Maroons then looked at those who were still enslaved as different from themselves. Lastly, this project explores the relationship between the Maroons and the British because the British gave the Maroons only partial autonomy, which helped distinguished the Maroons from the enslaved population. All throughout the world people were reinventing themselves. In the Atlantic world in particular the social construction of race played a crucial role on how people in the Americas were treated. This is especially true for people of African descent. Another key aspect explored in this thesis is how the social construction of race effected British policy making in regards to the Maroons.

Before discussing the tension between Maroon communities, it is important to note that many different African ethnic groups were enslaved and brought to Jamaica. 18th century historians Robert C. Dallas, James Knight, and Edward Long discuss the multiple different African ethnic groups that contribute to the makeup of the Jamaican Maroons. Anthropologist Barbara Kopytoff claim that the enslaved Africans that made up the multiple Maroon communities came from places like Madagascar, and the Coromantee [aka Kromanti] of the Gold Coast.[1] According to Long, the Coromantee led the most slave rebellions in Jamaica. Ironically, the Coromantee also dominated the

[1] Barbara Kopytoff, "The Development of Jamaican Maroon Ethnicity," *Caribbean Quarterly* 22, no. 2/3 (1976): 38-40.

Maroon populations.[2] As pointed out in Kopytoff's article as well, some of the other Africans to join the Maroons were the Eboes, Pawpaws, and Mandinka.[3]

It is essential to realize that various Maroon groups all had ethnic rivalries with one another. Most importantly, however, because of strong chiefs, Africans from these various ethnic groups were still able to work together to fight against the British. This thesis delves into the ethnic feuds and also looks at ways the Maroons in their communities attempted to limit ethnic disputes. For example, this research will pay close attention to the most prominent Maroon leaders including Juan De Bolas [also known as Lubulo or Luyola] from the 17th century, and Cudjoe [also known as Kojo], Quao, and Nanny from the 18th century. During the years of British exposure to the Maroons, Cudjoe, Quao, and Nanny had the most effect on their Maroon communities. To understand the Maroon leaders and their politics, I look at primary sources such as oral histories from the Maroons and British written records from the colonial achieves.

Barbara Kopytoff is one of the major inspirations for writing this thesis because her work uncovered the true nature of the Maroon leaders and even Maroon politics. Kopytoff has done a great job on Jamaican Maroon history, which also helped me focus in on what makes a Jamaican Maroon through their politics of identity and treaty. Kopytoff's work is examined in this thesis to bring to life the Maroon leaders like Cudjoe, Nanny, and Quao. These three people impacted Maroon history because they were the ones who accepted the peace treaty, which aided in creating the new Maroon

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[2] Kopytoff, "The Development of Jamaican Maroon Ethnicity," 40.
[3] Ibid 35 Other African ethnic groups joined the Maroons. However, even the Maroons of today are not sure of the exact types of different African ethnic groups. See Bilby's True-Born Maroons.

identity. It was Kopytoff's exploration of ethnic identity that helped me come to the conclusion that it was the new Maroon identity (post peace treaty) that made it easier for the Maroons to help the British. However, Kopytoff does not go into the specifics of how the Maroons were able to create their own ethnicity. This is where my research comes in, I argue that the Maroons recreated their understanding of Africa in order to unite as Maroons. I use oral histories told by Maroons to support my hypothesis. My research states, in the act of survival, the Maroons put their differences aside to unite, accepting the idea of being different from the enslaved. The Maroons used an African tradition, oral histories to reinvent themselves, ultimately separating their identity from the enslaved population. Not viewing the enslaved as the same as themselves justified their actions towards the enslaved after the peace treaty, which were capturing and sending them back to their plantations.

Most of my research is drawn from primary sources such as British policy, more specifically the peace treaty and Maroon oral histories. The central written record of the Maroons is based off of colonial officials and it is located in the colonial state papers online. Other primary accounts incorporated in this thesis are from British men who lived in Jamaica in the 18th and 19th centuries like Edward Long, Robert C. Dallas, George Wilson Bridges, and Bryant Edwards, who all tell the tale of the Maroons. The biases of these British historians help me to understand the relationship between the Maroons and the British at a more personal level. I will use both the primary and secondary literature to balance out the narrative of the Maroon story.

The histography of the Maroons is one of tremendous debate. There are two common narratives that circle Maroon history: the freedom fighter and the collaborator.

Historian Mavis Campbell, in 1990, expands on Maroon history from their origins in Jamaica till the second Maroon war in 1796. In this period, Campbell discusses THE Maroon's resisting enslavement, working with the British, and finally, the British betraying the Maroons. In Campbell's piece, the Maroons are portrayed as rebellious but nonrevolutionary since they work with the British after the peace treaty. Campbell overviews Maroon history for what it was, the Maroons were once freedom fighters who transitioned to collaborators. I argue that the Maroons were *both* freedom fighters and collaborators and that is why they were survivalist because they were willing to do whatever it took to exist as free people.

Surveying Jamaican Maroon history in 1955, Robert Walter, portrayed the Maroons as self-serving. Walter claims that the Maroons before the peace treaty of 1739 were only freedom fighters because they only cared about their freedom. There is a problem with Walter's understanding of the Maroons because he bypasses actual Maroon accounts. The significance of this thesis is to include the Maroons' voice, through their oral histories to understand their struggle. To label the Maroons as 'self-serving' is too easy, the oral histories will at least give the Maroons justifications for why they collaborated with the British. Most importantly, Walter does not explore the notions of identity in the 18th century to understand why the Maroons cooperated with the British.

Historian Gad Heuman in his piece on the *Rutledge History of Slavery* makes a similar argument establishing three distinct types of slave rebellions. African led rebellions, Creole led revolts, and religious rebellions.[4] The African led slave rebellions,

[4] Gad J Heuman and Trevor Burnard, *The Routledge History of Slavery* (London: Routledge, 2012), 222-230.

were most notably responsible for the establishment of Maroon communities throughout the Americas. The purpose of the African led slave rebellions was not to abolish slavery but to avoid enslavement for themselves and their communities. My thesis will capitalize on why African rebellions were significant because it was the children of those African born Maroons who carry their memory of Africa with them when the Maroon identity becomes creolized.

Other historians such as Claudius Fergus and Warner Zip portray the Jamaican Maroons as pure freedom fighters. Fergus in his book, *Revolutionary Emancipation: Slavery and Abolitionism in the British West Indies*, argues that the Maroons were all for the liberation of enslaved Africans, "Freedmen and Maroons everywhere remained protagonist of revolutionary emancipation because many of their wives, children, and other close relations remained in slavery."[5] Warner Zip in his book *Nanny's Asafo Warriors* argues is that in order to understand the Maroons, one must look into their own African roots to understand the complexity of African legal politics and ethnicity. Zips' book gives off the fever of liberation and resistance under an African understanding. To reiterate, the purpose of this thesis is to display how the Maroons transitioned from freedom fighters to collaborators. Also, much like Zip, this research asks, what about the African perspective?

The Maroons viewing the enslaved population as distinct from themselves following the peace treaty is not a new concept. Historian John Thornton in his book *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*, explores West African history

[5] Claudius K. Fergus, *Revolutionary Emancipation: Slavery and Abolitionism in the British West Indies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 5.

from the 1400s up until the 1680s. In Thornton's overview of West African history, he expands into Atlantic world history, exploring the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and how it functioned. Thornton's book argues for the acknowledgement of African agency during the period of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Thornton's analysis of why Africans participated in slave trading is that Africans viewed rivaling African ethnic groups as "alien" therefore not the same as each other.[6] The concept of "alien" is significant to my scholarship because the Maroons viewed the enslaved population the same way after the peace treaty of 1739; seeing themselves different from the enslaved population made it easier for them to help the British capture runways and put down slave rebellions.

On the topic of the Maroons and the enslaved and their relationship, this project looks into the work of Kenneth Bilby, in particular his compilation of Maroon oral histories titled *True-born Maroons*. Bilby, an anthropologist, lived among the Maroons for several years, gaining the trust of Maroon chiefs and learning the stories and accounts of the Maroons from oral tales. This information is very beneficial to my research because Bilby's oral histories of the Maroons, provide me with stories of the Maroons histories through sacred oral traditions passed down from generation to generation. As stated before, the Maroons used their knowledge of their African past, to help reinvent themselves. I use the oral histories to point out that it helped them distinguish themselves from the enslaved.

The ethnic structure of the Maroon populations consistently changed over time. In Kopytoff's article on Maroon ethnic development, she notes distinctive changes in the

[6] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the making of the Atlantic World 1400-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1992), 98-99.

Maroon populations throughout the centuries. The first Maroon populations were a combination of Africans from the Gold Coast, sometimes called Spanish Maroons or Varmahaly Negroes. The second wave of Maroons came from Madagascar, followed by a second wave of Africans coming in from the Gold coast again but this time specifically Coromantees. As mentioned earlier, a few Congoes and Eboes joined the Maroons, but the Coromantees dominated the Maroon population as did most of their descendants. The final Maroon group noted by Kopytoff is the Creole Maroons, native born Jamaican Maroons, most of whom were of Coromantee descent. Throughout my thesis, I want to point out how Maroons throughout the centuries were survivalists. Exploring the Maroons' origins displays the Maroons' ongoing resilience against slavery and their will to survive. This research project stops with Tacky, because Tacky's rebellion was one of the biggest slave rebellions that the Maroons put down because of their bond to the peace treaty of 1739. This project is a narrative history because the three chapters will uncover why the Maroons were just survivalists. Furthermore, this project explores the cultural dynamics of African ethnicities that reached the Americas in both the 17th and 18th centuries. As for politics this thesis analyzes how polices between the British and the Maroons changed over time from the 17th and 18th centuries. Overall, this work on the Maroons is about the reinvention of culture and identity and survivalism.

The British did play a main role in getting the Maroons to abide by the peace treaty, but the Maroons made efforts in differentiating themselves from the enslaved so that they could follow the peace treaty. Oral histories told from generation to generation created a wedge between what it means to be a Maroon and the rest of the enslaved population. The concept of difference allowed Africans to enslave others. I argue that the

Maroons in an attempt to survive and uphold the peace treaty, remembered Africa and inherited the concept of difference, thus taking on the title of Maroon as their on ethnic creolized identity.

This thesis is comprised of three chapters covering Jamaican Maroon history from their origins until Tacky's rebellion. Chapter one explores the origins of both Jamaica and the Maroons because the Maroons, in their efforts to survive, played a crucial role in making Jamaica a British colony. Chapter two explores the Anglo-Maroon War, and how the Coromantee came to dominate the Maroon populations. Chapter three is about how the Maroons reinvent themselves. This chapter is crucial because this is where I delve into the Maroon oral histories the most because Maroon oral histories circles around the peace treaty and not earlier with men like Juan Luyola. Chapter three will also explore how the Maroons treated the enslaved after the peace treaty, especially Tacky and his rebellion.

Chapter 1: Origins

By the 17th century, England acquired a few colonies in the Americas, including Virginia and New England, and Barbados in the Caribbean. During the mid-17th century, England fell into civil war between members of parliament and supporters of the crown. Parliament triumphed over the Royalists under Puritan leader Oliver Cromwell. From 1653 until 1658, Oliver Cromwell ran England as Lord Protector. As a Puritan, Cromwell aimed to diminish Spanish Catholic influence in the Americas, as well as secure closer trade routes near the South American mainland. The frontal attack Cromwell administered was called the Western Design, and in 1655 Cromwell ordered Colonel Robert Venables and General at Sea William Penn to take Hispaniola with a navel attack. Venables and Penn failed to take the island of Hispaniola because the Spaniards successfully fortified the island. Not wanting to return to England without a success, Venables and Penn decided to take the next island over, the colony of Jamaica.

Spain first colonized the island of Jamaica in 1494, however, Spain did not prioritize the well-being of Jamaica, like they had done with South America. This is because not much gold was found in the Caribbean in contrast to the Spanish colonies on the mainland. Venables and Penn easily took over Jamaica, and even let the Spaniards that lived on the island surrender on their terms.[7] Most Spaniards took the opportunity to flee to Cuba, while others freed their enslaved population. Some of the enslaved took their shot at freedom by running to the hills of Jamaica. The freed and the fugitive

[7] David Plant, "The Western Design, 1655," BCW Project, accessed May 8, 2021, http://bcw-project.org/military/anglo-spanish-war/western-design.

Africans of Spanish Jamaica became known as the first Maroons when they fled into the mountains of the island.

The first Maroons in Jamaica resulted out of Spanish defiance to English evasion, so what does it mean to be a Maroon in this period? Originally called Cimarron by the Spaniards, meaning wild, Maroonage was common throughout the Americas. Wherever there was chattel slavery there was Maroonage. Any enslaved individual who fled their plantation to live in fugitive communities in remote areas were known as Maroons. The English, however, did not officially call the fugitives who lived in the mountains of Jamaica Maroons until the late 1680s. In their records, the English would address the Maroons as either the Spanish or Varmahaly negroes. There was not any particular reason why the English do not refer to the fugitive Africans as Maroons. One possible reason was that the Maroons did not pose a threat to the English until after 1660. This is because during England's takeover of Jamaica a Maroon leader known as Juan Luyola, [aka Juan de Bolas] sided with the British attacking other Maroon communities. It was even believed by the English, that Juan Luyola neutralized any possible threat from recurring in Jamaica. The English were wrong, and Luyola was killed by other Maroons, which will be discussed later on in this chapter.

So, who was Juan Luyola [Lubolo] also known as Juan De Bolas? Not much is known about Juan Luyola or his Maroon faction; no one is sure if he was born in Jamaica or Africa or if he was enslaved. Historian Francisco Padron stated that the Spaniards received enslaved Africans in Jamaica from the Gold Coast.[8] Whether or not Luyola was

[8] Francisco Padrón, *Spanish Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2004), 156.

born in Jamaica, he was most likely a descended of the Gold Coast. None of the records on Juan Luyola state how he became chief of his Maroon band either. Despite that, he is one of the earliest Jamaican Maroons on record. According to the Spanish Governor of Jamaica at that time, Don Cristobal Arnaldo de Ysassi there were three Maroon settlements. However, records only point to Juan Luyola by name, as well as, a Juan de Serras who was in charge of one of the three settlements, also known as Pelincos.[9] There is not a lot of information on Juan de Serras either. However, out of the three Maroon settlements, Luyola and his settlement were the only ones to turncoat and joined the British.[10] Juan Luyola is the Jamaican Maroons origin story because he was the first Maroon in Jamaica to make a deal with the British on behalf of his people. Although, Luyola's faction eventually died out, they were the first to have their freedom granted through British policy.

During the English's siege of Jamaica, Governor Ysassi had a close working relationship with the three Maroon communities. So how did Ysassi lose his relationship with Luyola from one of the three settlements? How did Spaniard polices differ from English polices when it came to working with the Maroons? Don Cristobal Arnaldo de Ysassi was the first to delegate with the Maroons when he tried to reclaim the island of Jamaica for Spain. Ysassi had a lot at stake in reclaiming the island because he was governor of Jamaica. However, what determined who would rise as the victors of Jamaica, all depended on the Maroons. Historian Francisco Morales Padron in his book *Spanish Jamaica* notes that Maroons had an advantage over both the English and the

[9] A Pelinco is a small farm or provision ground.
[10] David Buisseret and S.A.G. Taylor, "Juan De Bolas and his Pelinco," *Caribbean Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2008): 98, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40654701.

Spanish because they knew the terrain well and adjusted to the climate.[11] Initially, the Maroons were loyal to the Spaniards. Addressing how the Maroons would help the Spanish, Padron wrote, "…they did not hesitate to hang any Englishman who came to offer them liberty in exchange for defection."[12] So what changed the relations between the Maroons and the Spaniards? Perhaps the different political cultures between Britain and Spain played a role in their policies among the Maroons.

The Spanish government in the 17th century was under an autocratic catholic monarchy. England, on the other hand, was under a brief protestant republic, but in 1660 would reestablish a protestant monarchy. Historian Joshua Piker explained policy making among the British best, stating that, "…British Empire was characterized more by colonial autonomy and localized agency…"[13] Since Spain was under an autocratic monarchy, governors and other Spanish officials had to wait on the crown's approval for certain actions to be taken up in the Americas. This is clear in Governor Ysassi's letter to the king of Spain regarding his dealings with the Maroons, "I have not done a small thing in conserving [the fugitive Negroes], keeping them under my obedience when they have been sought after with papers from the enemy. I have promised their Chiefs freedom in Your Majesty's name but have not given it until I receive an order for it."[14] Notice how Ysassi stated that even though he ensured the Maroons their freedom, it was not guaranteed unless approved by the crown. Regardless of whether or not the Spanish

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[11] Francisco Morales, *Spanish Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2004), 212.
[12] Morales, *Spanish Jamaica*, 214.
[13] Joshua Aaron Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 40.
[14] David Buisseret and S.A.G. Taylor, "Juan De Bolas and his Pelinco," *Caribbean Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2008): 95, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40654701.

crown intended to approve Ysassi's promises to the Maroons, English officials had more flexibility when it came to making deals.

Ysassi, the last Spanish governor of Jamaica, seemingly, had the upper hand. He knew where the Maroons hid in the mountains and maintained relations with them. However, British Colonel Edward Tyson, discovered one of the Maroons' locations, and made negotiations with the Maroon Chief named Juan Luyola.[15] It is unknown what Colonel Tyson and Luyola spoke about when coming to a truce, but Luyola agreed to join the English in flushing out the last of the Spaniards. Perhaps it was because of the deal issued later by Sir Lyttelton after the English officially took Jamaica that encouraged Luyola to join the them.

> Proclamation of Sir Chas. Lyttelton, Deputy Governor, in accordance with the preceding Minutes of Council of Jan. 23 concerning the free negroes. That Juan Luyola and the rest of the negroes of his Palenque, on account of their submission and services to the English, shall have grants of land and enjoy all the liberties and privileges of Englishmen, but must bring up their children to the English tongue. That other negroes in the mountains shall enjoy the same benefits, provided they submit within 14 days after receiving this notice. That Luyola be colonel of the black regiment of militia, and he and others appointed magistrates over the negroes to decide all cases except those of life and death.[16]

Nonetheless, in 1660 Juan Luyola immediately stood by the English, capturing other maroon communities under Ysassi, as well as leading the English straight to Ysassi,

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[15] "America and West Indies: Addenda 1660," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 9, 1675-1676 and Addenda 1574-1674*, ed. W Noel Sainsbury, 129-139, NO.332. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893. British History Online, accessed April 11, 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol9/pp129-139.

[16] "America and West Indies: February 1663," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 5, 1661-1668*, ed. W Noel Sainsbury, 122-124, NO.412. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1880. British History Online, accessed May 8, 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol5/pp122-124.

where he had no choice but to surrender and leave for Cuba.[17] Juan Luyola was one of the first Maroons in Jamaica, when the two empires Spain and Britain went to war over Jamaica, to make a choice he believed would benefit his Maroon community. Governor Ysassi only promised to secure the Maroon's freedom, a promise he was not even sure he could keep, while the English proclaimed generational freedom. Juan Luyola, a Maroon and a survivalist joined the English in an attempt to preserve liberty for the Maroons under him.

However, how did Juan Luyola's actions affect his relationship with the other Maroon communities still in Jamaica after the Spaniards were officially defeated? As mentioned in the treaty issued by Sir Lyttelton, the other Maroons apart from Luyola's group were still allowed to 'submit' under the English and receive the same benefits as Luyola's crew. However, other Maroons did not join Luyola's side; they actually defied him. Luyola and his group were called "bloodhounds" by the English because of their vicious treatment towards other Maroons who had not joined the them.[18] As a matter of fact, the English placed Juan Luyola in charge of taming all other Maroons in Jamaica. In 1663, the Deputy Governor of Jamaica Sir Lyttelton noted, "That the Spanish negroes be

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[17] "America and West Indies: Addenda 1660," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 9, 1675-1676 and Addenda 1574-1674*, ed. W Noel Sainsbury, 129-139, NO.335. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893. British History Online, accessed March 28, 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol9/pp129-139.

[18] "America and West Indies: Addenda 1660," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 9, 1675-1676 and Addenda 1574-1674*, ed. W Noel Sainsbury, 129-139, NO.345. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893. British History Online, accessed March 28, 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol9/pp129-139.

exercised in martial discipline, under the command of Juan Luyola."[19] The proclamation issued from Sir Lyttelton to Luyola was a prototype peace treaty to the peace treaty of 1739, because Luyola unsuccessfully attempted to unite all of the Maroons under his control. Perhaps, Lyttelton did not authorize Luyola enough time to convince the other Maroons to join him, 14 days is short notice. Also, we must think about the huge language barrier between the Spanish Maroons and the English. There was also the possibility of ethnic tensions within the Maroon communities that Luyola was tasked to control.

The Maroons not under Luyola would continue to harass and attack the English and when Luyola and his team were called to stop them, they were ambushed and butchered by these Maroons.[20] David Busseret and S.A.G Taylor, speculate that it was probably Juan de Serras who ambushed and killed Luyola.[21] Unfortunately, there is no way to be certain. The English lost one of the only Maroons capable of putting down the other Maroons. Luyola's legacy and the proclamation that granted him and his faction generational freedom, did not die with him despite his unfortunate fate. David Buisseret and S.A.G Taylor wrote in an article called *Juan De Bolas and his Pelinco* that a remaining five survivors of Luyola's group lived on 120 acres of land west of Lluidas

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[19] "America and West Indies: April 1663," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 5, 1661-1668*, edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, 126-130, NO.446. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1880. British History Online, accessed November 21, 2020, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol5/pp126-130.

[20] David Buisseret and S.A.G. Taylor, "Juan De Bolas and his Pelinco," *Caribbean Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2008): 100, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40654701.

[21] Buisseret and Taylor, "Juan De Bolas and his Pelinco," 100.

vale, Saint Catherine Parish.[22] Juan Luyola is significant to Jamaican history as well because it was his crew that helped the English take Jamaica from Spain.

Despite Juan Luyola's accomplishments the Jamaican Maroons of the present day do not claim Juan Luyola as a Maroon. This is because the Maroons successfully obtained their freedom in 1739 for all Maroon communities.[23] Chief Juan Luyola was indeed a survivalist because he was a fugitive warrior caught between two battling empires over Jamaica, he cast his lot with the English and did their bidding in exchange for freedom. The Maroons after 1739 did the same thing Juan Luyola did but one thing, they did differently is successfully unite all of the rival Maroon groups throughout Jamaica. Carey Robinson, a Jamaican scholar who wrote *The Fighting Maroons,* stated that Juan Luyola was a traitor to the Maroons.[24] But what defines a traitor? Luyola had to choose between two empires at war, not himself over his Maroon community. Chapter three will discuss and explore how the Maroons after the peace treaty of 1739 differ from the early Maroons like Luyola and the other Spanish Maroons.

The Atlantic World was a place of constant reinvention, identity formation, and most importantly, consistent change in laws and policies. During the Western Design, England was under the Cromwellian republic. By the time England seized official control of Jamaica, England was restored back to a constitutional monarchy. What do these changes mean to Jamaica, and more specifically to the African population on the island? Although the outcome of Oliver Cromwell's Western Design resulted in England

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[22] Ibid 100.
[23] Kenneth M. Bilby and Kevin A. Yelvington, *True-Born Maroons* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 70.
[24] Carey Robinson, *The Fighting Maroons of Jamaica* (Jamaica: William Collins and Sangster, 1971).

colonizing Jamaica instead of Hispaniola as planned, Cromwell died three years later in 1658. Cromwell did not have much to say on slavery though. It was not until the Restoration of the monarchy that chattel slavery started to thrive in Jamaica.

In 1660, King Charles II, the restored monarch, created the Royal Africa Company (RAC) and England entered the slave trade. Prior to the RAC, English colonists received enslaved Africans under an Asiento from the Spaniards. Thus, from the 1660s onward, the enslaved Africans sent to Jamaica transformed the island into a plantocracy. Even Juan Luyola who was enslaved before becoming a Maroon, had no idea of the brutality of the sugarcane plantocracy. Francisco Morales Padron stated that there were no Maroon populations in Spanish Jamaica before the English came because plantation life in Jamaica was not intense and the owners were "obliged" to take good care of their enslaved population for religious "catholic" reasons.[25] Slavery in early Latin America was less intense until the introduction of the sugarcane plantations in their colonies in the late 18th century. Furthermore, it was not until the English invaded Jamaica that the Maroon populations sprang up due to the Spaniards freeing them. It was also because of the intensified labor demanded of the sugarcane plantations once the English got involved in the slave trade, that created a constant influx of fugitives joining Maroon communities throughout the island.

The rise of Maroonage surpasses Juan Luyola's reputation as a Maroon because after the English officially settled in the island of Jamaica, the Maroons continued to harass English settlers and raid their plantations. How does the narrative of freedom

[25] Francisco Morales, *Spanish Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2004), 155.

fighter or collaborator fit into the history of the earlier Maroons? As far as, collaboration is concerned, Juan Luyola worked with the English to take and preserve Jamaica for the English. Cultural Anthropologist Werner Zip in his book *Nanny's Asafo Warriors* labels the first Maroons in 1655 as freedom fighters simply because they resisted enslavement when the opportunity presented itself [when the British attacked Jamaica].[26] However, the Maroons did not start freeing the enslaved until the late 1600s with the rise of the RAC and increase flow of enslaved Africans. Zips argues that the Anglo-Maroon war was a fight from the 1660s until 1739. However, it is not until the English realized they needed to organize an army to fight the Maroons, that the war actually started. In 1685, the Duke of Albemarle addressing the Maroon raids wrote, "The same factious spirit presently shewed itself in the face of a more important matter. In August, 1685, the negroes later known by the name of Maroons, broke into rebellion and it was necessary to raise troops to suppress them-a matter of some difficulty, since they could take refuge in inaccessible strongholds in the mountains and would never stand to fight."[27] Realizing that the Maroons were a threat, the Duke of Albemarle tried to raise money to fight the Maroons, which kick started the Anglo-Maroon war.

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[26] Werner Zips, *Nanny's Asafo Warriors: the Jamaican Maroons' African Experience* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2011).

[27] "America and West Indies: Preface," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial: Volume 12 1685-1688 and Addenda 1653-1687*, ed. J W Fortescue, ix-xxxvii. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899. British History Online, accessed November 22, 2020, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol12/ix-xxxviii.

Chapter two: The Anglo-Maroon War

The freedom fighter narrative derives from the Anglo-Maroon war between the Maroons and the British. What I want us to think about are African social norms and customs. By the 1680s, Maroon communities grew extensively. Most Maroons from the late 1600s until 1739 were born in Africa, so they brought their customs and traditions. Bands of Maroon communities formed throughout the mountains of Jamaica. This chapter asks, from 1655 to 1739, what did the different bands of Maroon communities look like?

Furthermore, how were the many different maroon communities able to unite to fight the British? Another thing to point out is the differences in warfare between the Maroons and the British. 18thcentury British scholars including Bryant Edwards, Edward Long, Robert Dallas, and George Wilson Bridges all described the Maroons as cowards for hiding in the mountains. In reality, the Maroons' technique was guerrilla warfare; they knew the terrain and were able to live in the most inhabitable of places as a survival method. British soldiers, on the other hand, fought standing row by row with their rifles in hand. This chapter investigates why guerilla warfare proved superior to the British, which caused them to issue a peace treaty with the Maroons. Also, we must keep in mind that every action that the Maroons took was a survival choice.

Before getting into the actual Maroon war, this chapter breaks down the different types of Maroon groups (see figure 2). The Spanish Maroons thrived primarily in the eastern region of the island, also known as the Windward Maroon settlements formed to the east around the Blue Mountains. As noted by Kopytoff, the “nucleus of the Windward

Maroons" was the Spanish Maroons, and they continued to harass and kill English settlers.[28] In 1668, the Spanish Maroons killed five English colonists and they were instantly captured. The English promised these Maroons freedom if they led them to the Spanish Maroon hideout, which they did. The English issued a pardon for them in hopes of peace.[29] The English met with the Spanish Maroons and the chief, who was not named, declared that he had not ordered his men to kill anyone but to make salt by the river.[30] The chief punished these Maroons and made peace with the British.[31] However, it was short lived and other Spanish Maroons decided to go on another killing spree. By 1670, the English declared the Spanish Maroons outlaws:

> Whereas the outlying negroes, commonly called the Vermahaly Negroes, have committed murders, robberies, and other outrages on his Majesty's subjects, and now, lately, have in cold blood basely murdered John Piper, Pallisando Robin, John Townsend, Thomas Mason, and Bloody Dick, inhabitants of Clarendon parish, for the prevention of such mischiefs and the speedy punishment of those perfidious villains, Ordered, that no person travel two miles from his dwelling place without being armed. That all persons be ready with their arms to assist in apprehending or killing said traitorous villains, and that officers and soldiers take every means to do so. That no person give clothes, victuals, or parley with said traitors on pain of being prosecuted as assistors, comforters, and adherers to said rebels, but that contrarywise, they fire at and by all means possible endeavour to destroy them.[32]

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[28] Barbara Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (1978): 290, https://doi.org/10.2307/1921836.
[29] "America and West Indies: February 1668," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 5, 1661-1668*, ed. W Noel Sainsbury, 546-552. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1880. British History Online, accessed March 29, 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol5/pp546-552.
[30] Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," 291.
[31] Ibid 291.
[32] "America and West Indies: May 1670," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 7, 1669-1674*, ed. W Noel Sainsbury, 64-68. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1889. British History Online, accessed March 29, 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol7/pp64-68.

There is not much information on the Spanish Maroon leaders beyond Juan Lubulo and Juan de Serras. Beyond the 1670 correspondence that outlawed them, this is the last we hear of the Spanish Maroons as they stay hidden in the Blue Mountains. However, one thing to think about is the language gaps between the Spanish Maroons and everyone else in Jamaica. Based on records available, only Juan Lubulo and his faction learned English. As time goes on, the Spanish Maroons, in the act of survival, allowed fugitive slaves from English plantations into their settlements and learned English. The Spanish Maroons, like many other Africans in Jamaica, came from the Gold Coast, so there is the possibility of commonality between the Spanish Maroons and the English escapees.[33] So, where were these escapees coming from, and why were they risking their lives to join Maroon communities? To answer that question, we must look to the plantocracy.

By the late 1600s, the English began settling along 'the valleys and flatlands' and establishing sugar plantations.[34] So, why does Maroonage correlate with the rise of the English sugar plantations? What type of culture lived on the sugarcane plantations? For starters, sociologist Orlando Patterson argues that the enslaved were socially dead because on the plantation, the enslaved has no social mobility and that individual slave was a slave for life. In contrast, historian David Dunkley argues that the enslaved were not socially dead but instead had slave freedom, which meant that the enslaved 'believed that they were free', and they proved it through 'acts of resistance' and negotiations with

[33] Barbara Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Societies," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol.35. No. 2 (Apr., 1978): 292.
[34] Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Societies," 289.

slave owners.[35] In reality, both concepts of social death and slave freedom existed on the plantation; while an enslaved person could have belonged to a horrible master, who treated their slaves inhumanly, those same enslaved people had the option to participate in resistance by rebellion or by fleeing. In the case of this research project, it is the latter that is explored in greater detail. Addressing how most planters treated their slaves, Edward Long noted, "The planter[sic] do not want to be told, that their negroes are human creatures. If they believe them to be humankind, they cannot regard them… as no better than dogs or horses."[36] Often, enslaved fugitives would run away from a plantation and join Maroon communities, a gamble of survival and endurance.

So far, we understand that the Spanish Maroons were from the Gold coast; there is no way to be sure exactly where though. Also, the Spanish Maroons where the nucleus for the Windward Maroons to come later. The Spanish Maroons for the most part, were harder to contain; there was no real leader to get them under control. This is why many of them were known to raid and kill English colonists. On the other hand, the Leeward settlements had better control over their Maroon populations, which will be explained in further detail next. In 1690 on the Thomas Sutton plantation, 400 enslaved Africans had rebelled, killing their master and fleeing into the mountains; most of the enslaved were Coromantees from the Gold Coast.[37] The enslaved from Sutton's plantation provided the nucleus for the Leeward settlements. Despite being large in numbers, these new escapees were highly organized under one unnamed chief that passed the chieftaincy to his son

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[35] Daive Dunkley, *Agency of the Enslaved: Jamaica and the Culture of Freedom in the Atlantic World* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014).
[36] Edward Long, *The history of Jamaica* (London: T. Lowndes, 1774), Vol. 2, 270.
[37] James Knight, "James Knight's History of Jamaica," ed. Jamie Gemmell, Accessed May 5, 2021. https://www.jamesknightjamaica.com/

Cudjoe when he died.[38] In 1718, enslaved Africans from Madagascar arrived in Jamaica but managed to escape life on the plantations.[39] The Madagascar Maroons came into conflict with Cudjoe's Maroons. Cudjoe ruled over his Maroon band with an iron fist, and after battling the Madagascar Maroons, he dominated and incorporated them into his polity.[40] Incorporation was one of Cudjoe's main survival tactics. Cudjoe knew that the Maroons were better off together fighting the British than in multiple factions, so ruling with an iron first was key to Maroon unity and survival.

On the other hand, the Windward Maroons ran a federation in contrast to Cudjoe's absolute control. While there were multiple headmen or chiefs, one of the most popular Maroon leaders was an Obeah woman named Nanny (see figure 3). Although she is only mentioned four times in the written record, she is the only one remembered in Maroon oral histories of the Windward Maroons. One of the reasons why Nanny is the most popular is because of her spiritual prowess. According to oral accounts, Nanny could catch cannonballs and bullets with her buttocks and shoot them back out to the enemy.[41] Some oral historians say that Nanny and Cudjoe were related. In 1994, Warner Zip interviewed Maroon historian Mann O. Rowe, who told him,

> Our great Queen Nanny came from Africa. Her mother was Nyankipon from the Ashanti and she had that child with a white buccaneer. Nanny came to Jamaica at the age of twelve when she said that they won't tolerate the English ruling because it is too poignant. Nanny means warrior queen,

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[38] Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaica Maroon Societies," 293.
[39] Robert Charles Dallas, *The History of the Maroons, from Their Origin to the Establishment of Their Chief Tribe at Sierra Leone: Including the Expedition to Cuba ... 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: T.N. Longman & O. Rees, 1803), 31-33.
[40] James Knight, "James Knight's History of Jamaica," ed. Jamie Gemmell, Accessed May 5, 2021. https://www.jamesknightjamaica.com/
[41] Kamau Brathwaite, "Nanny, Palmares and the Caribbean Maroon Connexion," In *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Emmanuel Kofi Agorsah (Barbados: Canoe Press, 1994), 120.

but her real name was Mathilda Rowe. She is my great-great-grandmother. Her brother was Generalissimo Kojo. Kojo is an African name and it means that you are born on a Monday. When Kojo came to Jamaica he said: 'veni vidi vici – I came, I saw and we shall conquer.'[42]

Only in the oral histories is it believed that Nanny and Cudjoe were related; there is no indication of this in any written works. We must also be mindful that when Rowe stated that Nanny was his second great grandmother, that all Maroons looked to Nanny as a material figure. Kenneth Bilby explains that the Maroons believed Nanny to be their ancestor, or in other words, they were her *yoyo*, a Kromanti term for children.[43] Furthermore, in the oral history told by Rowe, he mentioned that Nanny's mother was Nyankipon. Nyankipon is the identical twin of the Asante god of creation Onyankopon.[44] Divinity and power are heavily aligned in Maroon oral histories. In another oral history recorded by Bilby, ritual specialists who were enslaved and brought to Jamaica, Nanny included, swallowed their obeah—which gave the practitioners the power to communicate with their African ancestors to send 'spiritual and physical' weapons to help the Maroons obtain their freedom.[45] The Maroon's belief in obeah, which taps into West African divinity, was key to survival.

In another oral account told by Bilby, the Maroons referred to the non-Maroons of Jamaica as the Bongo people or Obroni [meaning stranger]. The Bongo people's ancestors, unlike Nanny and the other Obeah practitioners, broke their code of secrecy, sharing information with their enslavers, and eating their salt, which reduced their

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[42] Werner Zips, *Nanny's Asafo Warriors: The Jamaican Maroons' African Experience* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2011), Kindle Edition.
[43] Kenneth M. Bilby, and Kevin A. Yelvington, *True-Born Maroons* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 80.
[44] Zips, Nanny's Asafo Warriors: The Jamaican Maroons' African Experience, Kindle Edition.
[45] Bilby and Yelvington, *True-Born Maroons*, 71.

powers. Due to the Bongo people's willingness to share information with the Europeans, they were deemed less potent than the Maroons, and that is why they remained enslaved, unlike the Maroons.[46] Secrecy was how the Maroons preserved their culture and existence, which allowed them to survive. Maroons, to this day, keep certain practices of the Kromanti secret; from Bilby's accounts, Maroons would often avoid him over the issue of secrecy.[47] Overall, Nanny's origins are unknown; only the oral histories mention her in great detail because she is tied to the Maroon identity. Furthermore, because of the Maroons' secrecy, specific information on Nanny is withheld.

Both the Leeward Maroons and the Windward Maroons faced struggles for survival. The multiple bands of Maroons did just about anything to survive. While fugitives did flee to Maroon camps along Jamaica, to a great dismay some of the enslaved did not leave on their own free will. The ratio of women to men in these multiple bands of Maroon groups were meager, so the Maroons would raid and rob the planters of some of their men and women.[48] How does the freedom fighter narrative fit with the Maroons if they were also taking people against their own will? Are those captured by the Maroons freed, or do they have to stay with the Maroon camp for population and reproductive purposes? As Kopytoff explains, the ratio of women to men was always low before the peace treaty, so the Maroons depended on fugitive recruits. Those who were kidnapped, were most likely not freed and had to live with the Maroons. Out of the need to survive as a community, the Maroons constantly needed people, whether for wives or warriors. The Maroons intended to stay in the mountains of Jamaica on a long-term basis,

[46] Ibid 72.
[47] Ibid 5.
[48] Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," 295.

which is why they needed more female members so that the Maroon communities could grow and survive through the generations. According to one account from an anonymous man to James Knight, "In all plunderings they were Industrious in procuring Negro Women, Girls, and Female Children."[49] In their desperation to replenish their population, the Maroons would kidnap others for the benefit of themselves. This study is not to demonize the Maroons but to point out that they were willing to do anything to survive.

On the topic of Maroons willing to do anything to survive, when it came to recruiting Maroons, both the Windward and Leeward Maroons had unique ways of initiation. The Leeward Maroons would place new Maroons whether "uninvited, solicited, or captured" under probation, in order for them to prove themselves to Cudjoe.[50] The Windward Maroons, on the other hand, would encourage all escapees to join but if they decided to leave, it cost them their lives.[51] Both forms of initiation were survival tactics. Cudjoe's method of centralized power was his way of controlling the Leeward Maroons, which was his survivalist tactic. The Windward Maroon's method of killing deserters was their survivalist tactic. The idea of Maroons being freedom fighters is too simple for a complex group of people. Recruits into the Leeward and Windward Maroons, whether joining on their own accord or as prisoners taken away from their plantations were put on probation, welcomed, or put to death for desertion. While the Maroons did 'free' the enslaved, it was in the act of survival because the Maroons always needed more Maroons.

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[49] Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," 301.
[50] Ibid 304.
[51] Ibid 304.

As mentioned earlier, Cudjoe from the Leeward side was able to unite the Maroons to the west under his control. In contrast, the Windward side had a dual federation of Maroons under Chief Quao, supported by Nanny.[52] Despite Cudjoe or Quao's ability to organize successfully, the Maroons were often hunted by the British. When the British fought to either kill or enslave some of the Maroons, the Maroons used guerrilla warfare as a defense form. The British took the battle to the Maroons by fighting in the mountains. This was not a smart move because of superior tactics used by the Maroons, who understood the terrain. As Walter Roberts pointed out in his book *Jamaica The Portrait of an Island,* "Disguised in green leaves from head to foot, the warriors would cunningly surround trespassers and then rush forward for the kill."[53] The Maroons used tactical force to undermine the British, and they were always prepared for battle. Using a horn called the abeng (see figure one), a Maroon lookout would blow on it to alert the others, preparing them for battle or to flee the area.

Under the leadership of Cudjoe, the Maroons were successful at fighting off the British and liberating other enslaved Africans around Jamaica. This is because Cudjoe had a code, he would not allow any Maroon to kill a British officer or any white person during their raids, unless they attempted to attack them.[54] Nanny and Quao, however, were on the offensive when it came to attacking the British, killing as many as they could. The Windward Maroons were always on the offensive since the days of the Spanish Maroons. This is probably because the Windward Maroons had a dual federation

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[52] Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," 306.
[53] Walter Roberts, *Jamaica The Portrait of an Island* (London: Coward-McCann, Inc, 1955), 63.
[54] Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," 297.

with multiple leaders. For instance, when the British made a peace treaty with the Windwards, they looked around for anyone who looked like a leader, which was how they came upon Quao. However, Nanny had the most influence on the Windwards since she was a powerful Obeah woman. Due to the British understandings of gender norms, they overlooked her significance and reduced her to 'an old hagg' in one document.[55]

Furthermore, because the Windwards were the most violent against the British, the British attacked them the hardest. For instance, the British located one of the Windward settlements known as Nanny town and burned it to the ground.[56] Despite this, the British were not able to completely wipe them out. Cudjoe even took the refugees from Nanny town and allowed them to live with him for a while.

Due to continuous intense warfare, the British decided to make peace with the Maroons, and in doing so, the British granted them land. The catch was that the Maroons would have to cease all warfare with the British and return any future runaways looking for refuge.[57] The Maroons agreed to the peace treaty in 1738-39 because the English granted them land and freedom. The question as to why the Maroons decided to capture any other runaways and return them is debatable. Claudius Fergus in his book, *Revolutionary Emancipation: Slavery and Abolitionism in the British West Indies*, argues that the Maroons were all for the liberation of enslaved Africans, "Freedmen and Maroons everywhere remained protagonist of revolutionary emancipation because many of their wives, children, and other close relations remained in slavery."[58] Most of the

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[55] Ibid 300.
[56] Ibid 306.
[57] Clinton Black, *The Story of Jamaica* (London: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1965), 78.
[58] Claudius K. Fergus, *Revolutionary Emancipation: Slavery and Abolitionism in the British West Indies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 5.

Maroons were runaways, and many of them had families who were still enslaved, yet the Maroons agreed to return any new runaways to the British. In *Jamaica The Portrait of an Island,* Roberts declares the Maroons as individuals only looking out for themselves, "Most of them had been runaway slaves. Yet no sooner had they earned the status of a free community than they cashed in on runaways at three pounds sterling a head…"[59] The big issue involving the Maroons is that many of them were illiterate, there are no documents on their account of why they agreed to return any new runaways. Furthermore, the oral histories does not explore the point of view of the returned runaways either.

What can be said is that the Maroons were indeed survivalists, attempting to survive the plantation society that was meant to exploit Africans. The British knew that the Maroons were a threat, especially when other runaways joined them. Making the Maroons agree to return any new runways was the British attempt to undermine resistance in the slave society. Being the first group in Jamaica to rebel and fight the British, the Maroons were revolutionary in that aspect. However, the Maroon's only desire was to survive; most of them before the peace treaty of 1739 were born in Africa. As Gad Hueman noted, most African-born fugitives only cared about liberating themselves from slavery, not ending the system. The Maroons did what they could to avoid slavery for themselves, to exist unburdened by the plantocracy's institution.

So, what is a freedom fighter? The obvious answer is someone who fights for the freedom of others. Carey Robinson, Claudius Fergus, and Werner Zip all portray the

[59] Walter Robert, *Jamaica The Portrait of an Island* (London: Coward-McCann, Inc, 1955), 66.

Jamaican Maroons as freedom fighters, perhaps in defense against the older European historians like Robert Dallas, Edward Long, and Bryant Edwards, who portray the Maroons as savages. However, the problem with the freedom fighter narrative is that it devalues Maroon history. A freedom fighter is an idea circled around a movement or a revolution. Historian Alvin Thompson in his book *Flight to Freedom* made an interesting point about the Maroons stating that they were not, "… driven by any ideology or rationalization about striving for the common good of the human collectivity."[60] The Maroons were not revolutionaries, mostly because a lot of the Jamaican Maroons before 1739 were born in Africa. Slavery existed in Africa during this period, although it was a different type of slavery, not based on race but on ethnic difference. The Maroons born in Africa before 1739 were accustomed to the idea of slavery but only opposed the practice when it was placed on them. However, the fact that the type of slavery that existed in Africa did not demote their enslaved individuals to chattel like in the Americas encouraged many native Africans to fight for their freedom.

The freedom fighter's idea is more for the enslaved born in the Americas because they did not know what freedom was like and were more inspired to liberate all who were enslaved. As Heuman points out, Creole (enslaved people born in the Americas) rebellions were more likely to take down the plantocracy, such as the Haitian revolution that abolished slavery.[61] The Maroons liberated some of the enslaved only in the act of survival and the need to preserve their communities, not to dismantle the plantocracy.

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[60] Alvin Thompson, *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2006), 175.
[61] Gad Heuman, *Routledge History of Slavery,* 226.

Chapter three explores the peace treaty of 1739 in more detail and will explore how the Maroons reinvented themselves to abide by the treaty.

Figure 1: An a abeng horn made from a cow's horn.

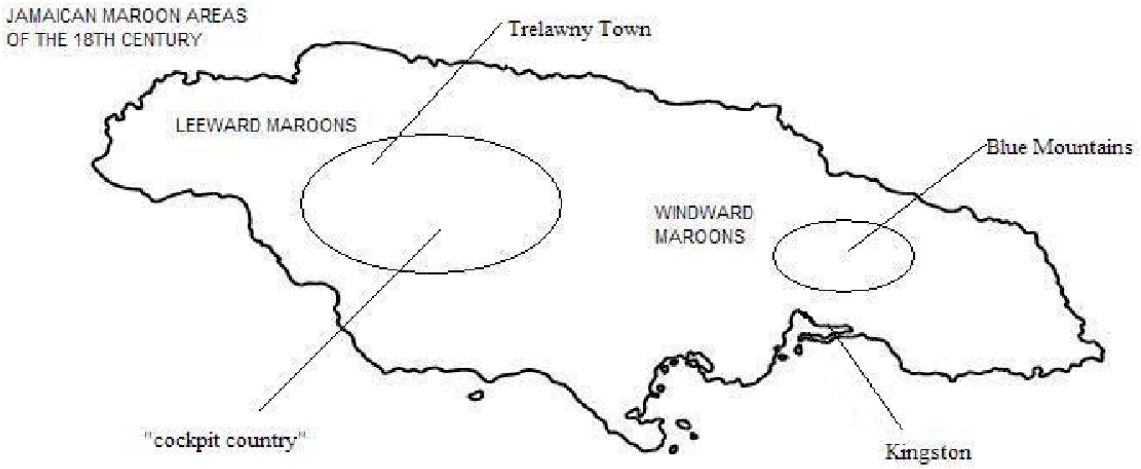

Figure 2: A layout of the Leeward and Windward Maroon settlements.

Figure 3: A 500 Jamaican dollar bill in honor of Queen Nanny of the Maroons.

Chapter Three: The reinvention of Maroon identity

In 1985, Colonel Colin Llyod of the Moore town Maroons stated, "In my time, there was a marked difference between Maroons and other Jamaicans. Maroons were very proud, to the point that they were patronizing to non-Maroons."[62] Let's rewind time three centuries to uncover why the Maroons feel so different from the rest of the Jamaican population. The root of the difference between the Maroons and non-Maroons of African descent lies in the peace treaty of 1739. In what ways did the Maroons unify with each other after the peace treaty was signed with the British? Better yet, in what ways did the Maroons, after unifying under the peace treaty, differentiate themselves from the enslaved population in Jamaica? What did it mean to be a Maroon after 1739, and how was it different before 1739? Ultimately what this chapter seeks to uncover is how did the Jamaican Maroons reinvent themselves after the peace treaty of 1739? The peace treaty of 1739 demanded that the Maroons return runaways, put down rebellions, and defend the plantocracy. The Maroons agreed to the treaty, this chapter will explain how the Maroons were able to abide by the treaty in the name of survival.

In order to understand the Jamaican Maroons, one must understand the peace treaty of 1738-39. The British sent out two treaties to both the Leeward Maroons and the Windward Maroons, both with the same exact set of clauses. On March 30th 1739, Colonel John Guthrie and Francis Sadler met with Leeward Maroon leader Cudjoe to issue the peace treaty. Both parties agreed to a sacred blood oath upon signing the treaty

[62] Dan Sewell, "Traditions fade for descendants of rebel slaves," *St. Joseph News-Press,* June 17, 1985, 3.

[I will explore this oath later]. Out of the 15 clauses, 2-6,7,9-15 stand out the most because those clauses shaped the Maroon identity. Clause two stated, similar to what Sir Lyttleton declared over Juan Luyola, that the Maroons were forever in a state of freedom. What this clause does differently is give some of the Maroons who fled their plantations within two years before the peace treaty the option to return to their former masters:

> That the said Capt 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 or fled to 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, provided always that if they are not willing to return they shall remain in subjection to Capt Cudjoe and in friendship with us according to the form and tenor of this treaty.[63]

This is a peculiar clause because the British were giving some of the Maroons who were taken against their will by other Maroons the option to return to their former masters with a full pardon. The British were well aware that some Maroons were taken against their own will for the sake of Maroon population purposes. It is really an odd situation, chattel slavery in itself was a horrible system that used people who were taken against their own will, and yet you have former captives who fled into the hills taking people against their own will, in order to survive as a group. Also, the British wanted to ensure that the planters received most of their property back. Whatever the British intent was, the treaty did give them leverage to control the Maroons, especially with the other clauses.

The British played just as much of a role in shaping the Maroon identity as the Maroons themselves did. Before the peace treaty of 1739, the Maroons were commonly

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[63] "America and West Indies: March 1739," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 45, 1739*, ed. K G Davies, 289-318. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1994. British History Online, accessed January 6, 2020. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol45/pp289-318.

known as rebellious Negros, especially during the time of Juan Luyola. Now the Maroons were recognized as free people with land, and rights to hunt, shop, and even sell goods as clauses 3,4 and 5 state:

> 3rd. That they shall enjoy and possess for themselves and posterity for ever all the lands situate and laying between Trelawny Town and the Cockpits to the amount of 1500 acres bearing N West from the said Trelawny Town. 4th. That they shall have liberty to plant the said lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island, provided always that when they bring the said commodities to market they shall apply first to the custos or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods for sale for a licence to vend the same. 5th. That Capt Cudjoe and all the captains adherent and people now in subjection to him shall all live together within the bounds of Trelawny Town and that they have liberty to hunt when they shall think fit except within three miles of any settlement, crawl or pen, provided always that, in case the hunters of Capt Cudjoe and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties.[64]

The Maroons were confined to their lands but given the rights of man to hunt and to sell goods. What it meant to be a Maroon now was tied to their land, only the Maroons were subjected to living on the lands to which the British bound them.

As noted by Kopytoff, there were two types of Maroon political structures, to the east Cudjoe, had total control over the Leeward Maroons. In contrast, the Windward Maroons had a dual federation of many different local chiefs, under Quao and Queen Nanny.[65] The Windward Maroons who are the descendants of the original Spanish Maroons embodied the freedom fighter because they were the most rebellious against the British. As mentioned earlier, Cudjoe instructed his men only to kill a white man if it was in the act of self-defense.[66] The Windward Maroons viewed all of the British as the

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[64] "America and West Indies: March 1739," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 45, 1739*, ed. K G Davies, 289-318. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1994. British History Online, accessed January 6, 2020. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol45/pp289-318.

[65] Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," 301.

[66] Kopytoff, "The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies," 297.

enemy and were the most brutal against them. For example, the first time the British sent a peace treaty to the Windward Maroons, Nanny killed them. In the act of controlling the Windward Maroons, the British issued clause 6.

> That the said Capt Cudjoe and his successors do use their best endeavours to take, kill, suppress or destroy either by themselves or jointly with any other number of men commanded on that service by HE the governor or commander-in-chief for the time being all rebels wheresoever they be throughout this island unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to Capt Cudjoe and his successors.[67]

The British knew that the Windward Maroons would not cross Cudjoe, especially after Cudjoe accommodated some of the Windward Maroons after the British burned down Nanny Town. Clause 6 was the British way of gaining control over the Windward Maroons who gave them the most trouble. The British were able to do this by threatening to use the Leeward Maroons to destroy them if they did not submit to the same terms of peace. Clause 6 is an important turning point for the Maroons because now the Maroons for the sake of peace with the British, had to put down any future slave rebellions that would occur on the island. No longer freedom fighters, the Maroons in order to survive and preserve their freedom, were now defenders of the plantocracy.

Cudjoe was a strong Maroon leader who did not start fights with the British unless necessary. The British pursued peace with Cudjoe first to get him to stop raiding plantations. The Windward Maroons, especially under Nanny, were more hostile towards the British. As mentioned before, Nanny even ordered the death of one of the first British officials to try and issue a peace treaty with them. Nanny's resilience and hostility to the

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[67] "America and West Indies: March 1739," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 45, 1739*, ed. K G Davies, 289-318. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1994. British History Online, accessed January 6, 2020. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol45/pp289-318.

British colonial officials is why she is on the Jamaican 500-dollar bill today (see figure 3). In the 1970s, when it was first issued, the newly established Jamaican government was thinking about their colonial past and leaders who opposed colonial order.[68] In a sense, Nanny embodied the freedom fighter narrative of liberating the enslaved and killing the oppressor. However, when Cudjoe of the Leeward Maroons signed the peace treaty, in their efforts to survive as a group, Nanny allowed Quao to sign the treaty with the British as well. Clause six states explicitly that the Maroons must put down any enemy of the British; therefore, if the Windward Maroons had not signed it, they would have gone to war with the Leeward Maroons, with the British's backing. One speculative reason why the Windward Maroons signed the treaty was that Nanny was Cudjoe's sister, but their relation is only evident in the oral histories. Nonetheless, the British used the divide and conquer method to get all of the Maroons onboard with the treaty.

Clauses 9 and 10 were what transitioned the Maroons from freedom fighters to collaborators. No longer allowed to free the enslaved, the Maroons had to return any future runaways seeking refuge from the plantocracy.

> 9th. That if any Negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners and fall into Capt 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. 10th. That all Negroes taken since the raising of this party by Capt Cudjoe's people shall immediately be returned.[69]

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[68] Kenneth M. Bilby and Kevin A. Yelvington, *True-Born Maroons* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 38.

[69] "America and West Indies: March 1739," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 45, 1739*, ed. K G Davies, 289-318. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1994. British History Online, accessed January 6, 2020. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol45/pp289-318.

How were the Maroons able to put down slave rebellions and return runways, the same runaways they once liberated themselves? The Maroons collaborated with the British as a survivalist tactic, and they did it by remembering Africa. Addressing the complexity of the Maroons in the Americas, historian Michael Gomez in his book *Exchanging our Country Marks* writes, "But the removal to the Maroon was an attempt to recreate Africa in the swamps and inner recesses of America, and as such would have entailed to some degree a reaffirmation of ethnicity as previously understood."[70] Many of the Maroons at the time of the peace treaty of 1739 were born in Africa and understood the many different ethnicities that excised in Africa. They did not view each other as the same people but a different people with different cultures and customs.

Furthermore, these same Maroons taught their children who were born in Jamaica their African culture. By remembering Africa, the Maroons, in the act of survival, turned to oral histories to reconstruct themselves as different and apart from the enslaved populations of Jamaica to abide by the peace treaty. Bilby says it best, "All through Jamaica's tortured past, those living free in the hills had kept alive the idea of Africa."[71] For example, one significant tale from the Maroons in Bilby's text is the tale of the two sisters.[72] The two sisters in this tale were two runaways, one who stood and fought the British and one who returned to the plantation. The sister who fought back and resisted represented the Maroons, and the sister who returned to the plantation represented the enslaved population. Seeing themselves as distinct helped the Maroons capture runaways,

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[70] Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging our country marks: the transformation of African identities in the colonial and antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina 1998), 184.
[71] Bilby and Yelvington, *True-Born Maroons*, 69.
[72] Ibid 110.

just as African ethnic groups would go to war and sell or enslave other ethnic groups because they were not a part of their ethnic community.

Before the peace treaty, the Maroons struggled to unify under one identity because the Africans brought to Jamaica were diverse in ethnic origins. According to Kopytoff, it was the Creole Maroons, Maroons born free in Jamaica, that solidified the Maroon identity.[73] Furthermore, Kopytoff states that by the time of the peace treaty, the Creole Maroons lost "divisive elements" but being that they were Maroons, it caused a "redefinition of ethnic identity."[74] No longer being able to recruit Africans into the Maroon communities helped decrease ethnic tensions. As a matter of fact, Kopytoff states that "specific African traditions wanned away," meaning that the new generation of Jamaican-born Maroons replaced the ones born in Africa as the years passed.[75]

What Kopytoff does not use as a source is oral histories; it is the oral histories that illuminate how the Maroons reinvented themselves so that they could see themselves differently from the enslaved, as well as, unite with each other. As noted by Bilby, Windward Maroon "Traditionalists" use the idea of "direct spiritual linkage with ancestral African nations to help distinguish Maroons from other Jamaicans."[76] Unfortunately, in the Maroon oral history, there is little agreement on the ethnic ancestors that contributed to the Maroon ethnicity. Although the Creole Maroons were not born in Africa, they knew the importance of locating an origin story. One Maroon interviewed by Bilby stated,

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[73] Kopytoff, "The Development of Jamaican Maroon Ethnicity," 42.
[74] Ibid 47.
[75] Ibid 47.
[76] Bilby, *True-born Maroons,* 82.

The Maroons, they have got various tribes of them. And they talk Koromanti—you see?—One of the tribes of Africa. We talk Koromanti and some Ashanti. Some talk Dokose. Those are different tribes of the Maroons.[77]

So, how did the Creole Maroons figure out a way to unite all Maroons? In one account of Cudjoe, a Creole Maroon, oral historian Melville Curry said,

Now, for survival, they could not [have stayed divided] in their [different] groups, they could not have survived very long. So it was under that mango tree that Kojo calls all leaders of all tribes to sit under that mango tree. And under that mango tree now they form a pact, that we are one family, we are kin, so let us join together and put our resources together, and fight the British… we are kin, and we are free. So therefore let us put everything together and fight the British here and see if we can win. Hence the tree was known as "kindah": "we are a family."[78]

The Creole Maroons understood all too well that they needed to unite under one single identity if they were to follow the peace treaty. Before the treaty, the Maroons would temporarily unify to fight off the British, however, this time around had to be permanent. It took the Maroons some time, and they understood the political difficulties that came with different cultures. Thus, the oral history of the 'kindah' tree was a solid attempt to unify the Maroons, as one family, for the future Maroon generations after the treaty.

The British also played a role in shaping Maroon identity by giving them the autonomy to govern themselves, but at the same time, the British monitored the Maroon's every action. The 12th clause empowered the Maroon chiefs to discipline the Maroons except for the British crown's death penalty. The British made sure that the Maroons abided by the treaty by appointing some of their commanding officers to live among them.

14th. That two white men to be nominated by HE or the commander-in-chief for the time being shall constantly live and reside with Capt Cudjoe and his successors in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island. 15th. That Capt Cudjoe shall during his life be chief commander in Trelawny Town; after his decease the command to devolve on his

[77] Ibid 83.
[78] Ibid 87.

brother Capt Accompong; and in case of his decease, on his next brother Capt Johnny; and failing him, Capt Cuffee shall succeed, who is to be succeeded by Capt Quacow, and after all their demises the governor or commander-in-chief for the time being shall appoint from time to time whom he thinks fit for that command.[79]

The 15th clause was important because once all of Cudjoe successors died, the British government took control over who would be fit to serve as the next chief over the Maroons. The British used indirect rule to maintain control over the Maroons. Through the peace treaty of 1739, the British gave the Maroons a purpose by confining them to a plot of land and instructing them to suppress any rebellion and turn over any fugitive that runs to them. The Maroons agreed to the treaty in exchange for their freedom.

What did the Maroons' social dynamics look like when they were capturing runaways and putting down rebellions? Maroons to this day believe that their ancestors earned their freedom because they fought the British. Bilby points out a phrase used by the Maroons, "de maroon fight, but de niega man run."[80] In this Maroon expression, the maroons acknowledge that other enslaved Africans ran off the plantations, but it was through the maroon's resilience and willingness to fight for their survival against slavery that sets them apart. The niega man or obroni (meaning stranger) represents the enslaved and their descendants. Oddly, this Maroon expression is one of the sympathetic ones. In the cruel society of the plantocracy, the next generation of Maroons, following the treaties, viewed runaways as bounty. In addressing how the Maroons saw runaways as the enemy, Bilby states, "Maroon bounty hunters… felt no remorse for capturing and

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[79] "America and West Indies: March 1739," in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 45, 1739*, ed. K G Davies, 289-318. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1994. British History Online, accessed January 6, 2020. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol45/pp289-318.

[80] Bilby, *True-born Maroons,* 90.

returning the people of the "other side," [of freedom] their estranged "cousins" who remained in slavery."[81] So, how were the enslaved who rebelled against the plantocracy treated years after the peace treaty? For an enslaved man named Tacky, it was quite brutal.

Ironically, the Anglo-Maroon war paved the way for more rebellion and resistance from the massive enslaved population. Tacky was Coramantee, much like many of the Maroons. As mentioned earlier, Bridges notes that the Coramantee were indeed the worst for the white planters to handle.[82] According to Richard Gott, a British journalist in his book titled *Britain's Empire: Resistance, Repression and Revolt,* "The planning of Tacky's rebellion was meticulous, 'conducted with such profound secrecy that almost all the Coromantin slaves throughout the island were privy to it, arousing no suspicion among the Whites'."[83] In 1765, Tacky was able to communicate with his fellow Coromantin people and plan a revolt that would last for six months. Roughly 30 years after the first Maroon war, Tacky's Rebellion strived to establish freedom and independence much like the Maroons. Although Tacky was a well-organized leader in the fight for independence, his flaw like many of his other Coramantee followers was the belief that they could withstand bullets.

Tacky had several secret meetings before he led the actual revolt that would go on for six months. One belief Tacky held that would help him in rebellion was the power of magic. Thus, Obeahmen were called to these secret meetings to provide Tacky and his

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[81] Ibid 291.
[82] George Bridges, *The Annals of Jamaica,* (London: Frank Cass and Company limited, 1828), 490.
[83] Richard Gott, *Britain's Empire: Resistance, Repression and Revolt (*Verso Books, 2011*),* 31.

followers with magic.[84] As pointed out by Roberts, "A powder would be distributed, guaranteed to make the man who carried it invulnerable. Tacky himself would be empowered to catch bullets fired at him and hurl them back against his enemies with deadly effect."[85] During the rebellion, Tacky and his men raided several plantations, murdering Europeans across the island. Bridges called Tacky "a ferocious negro" due to Tacky's ruthless approach to liberation.[86] The Coramantee men who followed Tacky believed that Tacky and the Obeahmen were invincible. However, Tacky's luck soon ran dry when his followers discovered the death of one Obeahman. The British heard about the Obeahmen's influence over Tacky's rebellion and hung one of them. Roberts writes, "The latter was draped with all the paraphernalia of his craft, hanged at a crossroads, and the body left Dangling. Horrified by this object lesson of false claims of obeah, the Negroes began to dessert."[87] This event led to Tacky's downfall because most of the men who fought beside him abandoned the cause due to their realization that their belief that Tacky and the Obeahmen were invincible was false. Tacky and about thirty of his men held their ground. Since they were considered runaways, the Maroons had to get involved.

The Maroons dismantled the rebellion by shooting Tacky, as Bridges points out, "The rebels in Saint Mary, under Tacky, though dispirited by the failure of their allies, still maintained their ground, until many were destroyed, and their leader shot by a

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[84] *Obeah is a spiritual practice similar to Voodoo, developed in the Caribbean by enslaved West Africans. Obeahmen were priest who had to connect to the spiritual force.
[85] Walter Roberts, *Jamaica The Portrait of an Island,* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1955), 71.
[86] George Bridges, *The Annals of Jamaica, 497.*
[87] Walter Roberts, *Jamaica The Portrait of an Island, 72.*

Maroon…"[88] Tacky was a ruthless leader who had high hopes for freedom and a belief in magic that would make him victorious. However, the Maroons, who were bound by the peace treaty of 1739, undermined any possibility of Tacky taking down the plantocracy. Addressing how the Maroons treated the enslaved like bounty, historian Vincent Brown noted, "The maroons collected proof of death to show their part in the battle to the British, taking seventeen pairs of ears, each of which they traded for a doubloon."[89] A doubloon is a Spanish gold coin and it was awarded to the Maroons for putting down Tacky.

The Maroons viewing the rebellious as enemies was also a survivalist tactic. Kopytoff noted that the Maroons viewed the peace treaty as a sacred charter, something that can never be broken, and that the Maroons signing the treaty meant that they must do whatever it is that they can to uphold the treaty. Furthermore, the signing of the treaty was a 'blood treaty' between the Maroons and the British, who mixed their blood in rum with a calabash and then drank it.[90] To the Maroons, the blood treaty could never be broken. The Maroons took the oath seriously and did whatever was necessary to uphold the clauses on the treaty. Since the treaty was also an oath, the Maroons were brutal in some cases to the enslaved because if they could not defeat the resistant, they would have betrayed or failed to uphold their promise. Thus, violence was another survival tactic on behalf of the Maroons.

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[88] George Bridges, *The Annals of Jamaica, 498.* *Saint Mary is a parish in Jamaica.
[89] Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt* (Harvard University Press), 147, Kindle Edition.
[90] Barbara Kopytoff, "Colonial Treaty as Sacred Charter of the Jamaican Maroons," *Ethnohistory,* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter, 1979), 49.

The Maroons started as “rebellious Negroes,” liberating and kidnapping the enslaved, all in the act of survival via the replenishment of their populations. The Maroons then earned their freedom through immense struggle and, finally in exchange for the conclusion of the battle with the British, the Maroons had to collaborate with the British. Overall, the Maroons were both liberators and collaborators in the name of survival. The Maroons were survivalists because they made tough discissions throughout their history. From the time of Juan Luyola who had to choose between fighting for the Spaniards or the British, to the Maroons fighting against the plantocracy, only to end up helping the British preserve it.

Conclusion

The Maroons were both freedom fighters and collaborators because of their will to survive. Before the peace treaty, the goal of the Maroons was just to avoid enslavement. After the peace treaty, the goal of the Maroons was to continue to exist. The British gave the Maroons a purpose: to enforce enslavement. By granting the Maroons freedom, the British contributed to creating the Maroon identity by legally setting them apart from the enslaved population. As a free, semi-autonomous people, the Maroons were tasked to enforce enslavement and put down those who rebelled. This gave the Maroons a purpose and a reason to exist after their own liberation. In order for the Maroons to justify their actions, they turned to their African past. Embracing elements of Africa, such as, oral histories and ethnic distinctions, aided the Maroons in distinguishing themselves from the enslaved. The Maroons were survivalists because they did whatever was necessary to exist, which ranged from freedom fighter to collaborator.

On February 28th 2021, one of the writers for the *Jamaican Gleaner* Orville Taylor stated,

> As guardians of our African retentions, the descendants of the escaped former slaves, who bravely fought the British to a standstill, the Jamaican Maroon communities have inspired both pride and bitterness, with a significant minority of Jamaicans considering the 1738 treaty to be worth 30 pieces of silver. It is not as simple as one thinks. Black-on-black betrayal is a big part of our history, before, during and after slavery, and it continues today. [91]

[91] Orville Taylor, "Give the Maroons a Break: Black Betrayal Has a Longer History," *Jamaica Gleaner*, February 28, 2021. https://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/commentary/20210228/orville-taylor-give-maroons-break-black-betrayal-has-longer-history.

Taylor's statement on black-on-black crime on the historical level is partially true. Our understanding of blackness or African-ness comes from pan Africanism a product of the late 19th century. Sidney Mintz and Richard Price in their book *The Birth of African American Culture*, argues that the unified black identity started at the hold of the slave ships. However, this does not explain why sometimes African born slaves fought against each other. Thus, I propose that unified blackness comes from the creole enslaved and their successors, the men and women who in generations to come created pan-Africanism. It is very important to understand that native born Africans during the 18th century and earlier identified with their ethnic groups, not the color of their skin. The present-day Maroons, as well as, their ancestors are simply misunderstood because of our current understanding of blackness. Before the peace treaty of 1739, the Maroons had a hard time unifying, only when it was necessary to fight against their common foe the British. However, it took the peace treaty for the Maroons to truly become one, becoming one ethnicity helped set the Maroons apart from their enslaved counterparts.

The Maroons to this very day are fighting to preserve their history and their heritage. The days of Juan Luyola, Cudjoe, Nanny, and Quao are behind them. However, today's Maroons face a new challenge, which is how to preserve their relevance and sovereignty within an independent Jamaica. The days of slavery which gave life to the peace treaties of 1739 are in the past. What does the treaty mean to the Maroons now? How will they preserve their independence in Jamaica? These are questions we do not have the answers for just yet. Survivalism was what it took to be a Maroon then, which is most definitely the case now. The Maroon's newest obstacle is trying to figure out how to stay relevant and autonomous in Jamaica.

The freedom fighter/collaborator narrative embodies Maroon history; to this day, Jamaicans argue whether the Maroons were race traitors. In actuality, many modern-day Jamaicans are missing the point. Before the social construction of race, Africans saw each other based on ethnic groups. The Maroons, as a survival tactic, used what they retained from the African way of life to disassociate themselves from other Africans. I began this project on the Maroons to explore how they were able to recreate their identity. When we look at early American history, we often forget that identity consistently changes throughout the centuries. Our current understanding of blackness did not exist in the early centuries of Atlantic history. There were multiple different types of enslaved peoples on plantations who had various kinds of identities. Not everyone unified simply because of their status as enslaved individuals. Furthermore, what set the Maroons apart, was their ability to unite, despite the different backgrounds that made them.

Furthermore, I want to challenge our understanding of freedom, what does it mean to be free? The Maroons fought for their freedom against slavery, only to be regulated by the British after the peace treaty of 1739. Thus, the idea of freedom is broadly defined. So, the idea of freedom fighter and collaborator are simply narratives, but human nature is not simple, it is quite complex. As a historian I am charged with challenging the status quo. The problem with history is that people like narratives and therefore place people in history into two categories: the good guys or the bad. This is a problem because the good guys or bad guys narrative is too vague. There are just people living in the moment dealing with their situation as is. A historian is there to

contextualize, to understand why a person or a group of people do what they do in their lifetime.

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