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BLACK SLAVE REVOLT LEADERS: 
Dynamics of Organization and Resistance 1600-1850

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of 
Atlanta University 
(In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the 
Master of Social Work degree)

Eleanor Valerie Smith 
June, 1971
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

There is and has been much discussion in every societal institution, e.g. school, church, politics, of the phenomena of SLAVERY. In-depth studies of particular components have been minimal. Some such components are leadership qualities and techniques of Black slave liberators (or insurrectionists as they are often called), and forms of resistance used against the slave system.

It is still not realized by many people that slaves possessed many of the qualities of leadership and group action described by contemporary theorists. Knowledge of the history of Black people should enable us to understand that just as slaves had the qualities so do the existing Blacks have these qualities. Many whites have severe cases of the "disorganizational syndrome of Black people." Thus they believe the Blacks are unable to organize and are innately inferior. Thomas Jefferson stated:

"...I advance it therefore, as a suspicion only, that the Blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by times and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind."\(^1\)

Anthony Trollope, an English novelist, described the emancipated Negro in Jamaica:

"...He is idle, unambitious as to worldly position, sensual, and content with little....he burns to be regarded as a scholar, puzzles himself with fine words...."...He despises himself thoroughly and would probably be content to starve for a month if he could appear as a white man for a day;...."... I do not think that education has as yet done much for the black man in the western world. He can always observe and often read; but he can seldom reason...."²

David Hume, a nineteenth century philosopher, in his essay "Of National Character" describes Blacks in the following manner:

I am apt to suspect the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the Whites. There scarcely ever was a civilised nation of that complexion, nor ever any individual, eminent either in action or speculation... In Jamaica, indeed, they talk of one Negro (Francis Williams) as a man of parts and learning; but it is likely he is admired for slender accomplishments, like a parrot who speaks a few words plainly.³

It is easy to see that the perpetuators of these racist biases cross many disciplines.

These attitudes are remnants of the antebellum era when slave creativity, independence, and personal worth were stifled. When suppression could not be done on an individual basis by the plantation owners, it was necessary to suppress the slaves on a massive scale, via laws. Joseph Carroll points this out clearly in his statement, "the whites recognized the fact that slaves had the capacity for learning when they hedged them about with laws

²Ibid., pp. 31-32.
³Ibid., p. 30.
to prevent it."\textsuperscript{4} The fact that many slaves were in fact intelligent, skilled in methods of communication, and were capable of functioning autonomously was totally overlooked by society in general.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

With the current revitalization of Black awareness and contemporary emphasis on Black Studies, it becomes vitally important for each person (particularly those of African descent) to comprehend history and use it as a base for present and future growth and advancement. Necessary in the overall comprehension of history is the understanding of the theoretical and practical ramifications of slavery and its components.

The ramifications and potentialities of the slave revolts are innumerable. Black people en masse must become totally knowledgeable about their heritage so that the perpetuation of erroneous information can be curtailed. The white man, regardless of how sincere he attempts to appear, often fails to recognize the true character, potentials, and qualifications of the Black man; and instead presses him into the appropriate mold which will support his (white) viewpoint. For example, both abolitionist and the pro-slavery advocate classified slaves as docile. The abolitionists did this to intensify their argument that the slaves were recipients of bad treatment and it was the duty of the white man to help them raise themselves out of slavery. The pro-slavery

advocates on the other hand, used this to argue that the slaves were content and had to be reduced to subservience because they were child-like and totally dependent.

Slaves who partially adjusted to the slave system demonstrated that, when absolutely necessary, methods of resistance and informal communication can be developed within the existing institutions. For survival, slaves formulated unique informal modes of communication through drums, tracking techniques, and songs with underlying messages (e.g. "Follow the Drinking Gourd").

As social workers it often becomes important to use non-conventional approaches for dealing with problems. Theoretically, problems can usually be placed snugly in a particular category; however in actual life this is not always true. Via informal communications it is possible to establish rapport with various levels or groups in society, and work toward the accomplishment of common goals. Through resistance, it is often possible to instigate permanent change.

Several problems developed during the review of the literature because the traditional American approach to history has been the omission of pertinent positive facts about Black people. For example, Richard Wade, in Slavery in the Cities, suggests that the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy was a rumor and never actually existed. Over ninety per cent of the materials which had Maroons, for example, could tell when another Maroon had been in the area by the arrangement of the leaves.

discussions of uprisings dealt with brief relations of the actual events. Obviously missing in many books was an in-depth description of the proposed or actual events. In Aptheker's book there was the mention of an elaborate plan for revolt discovered in Augusta, Georgia, but there was no description given. Similar to the mention of revolts was the mention of leaders, but no details were given.

To complicate the situation there was very little information about the organizational techniques or theoretical approaches to slave resistance. The stereotyped "Negro slave" was the only image considered possible by most western-oriented writers. "U.B. Phillips...asserted that slaves were happy and revolts were few because of the paternalistic nature of the system and the child-like nature of the Negroes." This researcher tends to consider this a negative biased factor.

Another problem encountered was the fact that many books were written in foreign languages (e.g. Brazilian history books were in Portuguese) and had not been translated. Such problems made it necessary for the writer to consult many resources and extract bits of information from each.

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

Because of the biases and nature of the present social system, several myths have developed. This paper, hopefully, will

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dispel many of these falsehoods. The questions which will be answered are:

1. What was the relationship between class and leadership?
   A. Did slave leaders come from the lowest class?
   B. Does class necessarily indicate leadership potentials?
   C. What roles, if any, did "free" Blacks play in the revolts?

2. Did any leader possess leadership qualities, as defined by contemporary theorists?

3. What type of slave participated in the revolts?

4. Can the Theory of Revolution be supported by the activities of the slaves?

5. Can studying the history of slavery be beneficial in understanding present-day events and situations?

6. Was there definite class differentiation among slaves?

   Certain white distortions of the Black experience have been perpetuated which also must, and hopefully will, be dispelled. These are:

1. Slaves were content with slavery and did not want freedom.

2. Slaves did not resist the slave system either because of fear or stupidity.

3. Slaves were apathetic.


5. Slave leaders were a group of religious fanatics.

6. Plots and revolts were ill-organized, or the slaves had not thought the plots out in depth.

7. The attitudes of Blacks today is a carry over of the slave period, thus they are apathetic, content with little, etc.
DEFINITIONS OF IMPORTANT TERMS AND CONCEPTS

For clarity, prior to reading the text of the paper, it is necessary to have a common understanding of the terms and concepts used in this discussion. An in-depth discussion of several concepts will be in Chapter Two. Since in many instances definitions can vary, the definitions below are the preferred definitions of this researcher.

1. **leader** - "the person who emerges in a given situation as capable of helping the group determine and achieve its objectives and/or maintain and strengthen the group itself."\(^9\)

2. **class** - "a number of people...grouped together because of certain likenesses...."\(^10\)

3. **status** - "a position in society or in a group."\(^11\)

4. **status class** - "...a social class defined in terms of hierarchal status or prestige."\(^12\)

5. **fanaticism** - "an attitude of excess zeal for a point of view or cause. The term is usually intended to be derogatory."\(^13\)

6. **liberate** - to set free; to release from bondage.

**liberator** - one who releases or aids in the release of individuals or groups.

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\(^13\) Ibid., p. 180.
7. **slave** - "a human being who is owned by and absolutely subject to another human being..."\(^{14}\)

Black Slave - a Black person seized, held, and abused illegally and/or immorally by white people or a particular group or people.

8. **master** - a person or group who rules over or controls another individual or group. In this thesis the "master" is white, and rules the Black slaves.

9. **resistance** - the active or passive opposition or working against a particular condition or point of view can be implemented via physical or mental resistance.

10. **rebellion** - insurrection - revolt - the physical reaction to oppressive societies and their conditions by a group. There are various methods and techniques to this form of reaction.

**SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS**

Because this paper is an exploratory descriptive study, emphasis is placed on the discovery of ideas and insights, i.e. gaining familiarity with the phenomena of leadership; class and group dynamics; the actual portrayal of the characteristics of the slaves and slave leaders; and the actual events. The frequency of certain characteristics, and the relationships between these characteristics will become apparent as the paper unfolds. Leaders and revolts were selected from as many slave societies as possible. In choosing the incidents emphasis was placed on planned revolts involved detailed planning and large groups or whole islands, e.g. in 1831-32 in Jamaica. Although these two types of revolts were cited in Orlando Patterson's

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\(^{14}\) Webster's New World Dictionary
book *Sociology of Slavery* which concentrated on Jamaica, they are applicable to other societies.

There are approximately six hundred instances of Black insurrections against slave societies discussed in this paper. Of these thirty-five leaders were identified by this researcher and nine of these are discussed in this text. The breakdown is as follows:

1) The Caribbean: (a) Haiti (San Dominque) - Toussaint L'Ouverture; (b) Jamaica - The Maroons, (c) Juan de Bolas, (d) Cudjoe; St. Croix, (e) Cinque; Surinam, (f) the Maroons.

2) The United States: (g) Gabriel Prosser, (h) Nathaniel Turner, (i) Denmark Vesey.

Cinque, leader of the "Amistad Mutiny" was included as a leader, however, he was not included with a country. There is also a discussion of revolts by country. In this category the name of the leader was often not recorded by historians.

**METHODOLOGY**

The method of data compilation used in this paper was exploratory (or formulative as it is also known). The first step in the methodology was to conduct a survey of available materials and resources. Step two involved identifying and actual questions to be addressed by the research effort. Step three

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involved the researcher's submersion into available materials on the subject in an attempt to find answers cited by others to the questions posed. Step four was an analysis of the answers cited by western-oriented historians "from a Black perspective." This step involved internal criticism. Several crucial questions emerged in the process of attempting to determine the authenticity of various crucial products of western scholarship relevant to this research effort. Some of the questions we attempted to apply to each source were as follows:

1) Does the work reveal an accurate picture?
2) Was the writer acquainted with the phenomena or events he attempted to describe?
3) Was the writer too antagonistic or too far removed to give a true picture?
4) Did the writer have any motives for distorting his account?
5) Was the writer subjected to fear, vanity, or pressure?
6) Is the writer in agreement with other competent participants and observers?

Questions like those above are rarely raised in western scholarship. Their importance, however, cannot be denied --- especially when one considers that such questions, when addressed from a Black perspective threatens the fundamental underpinnings of western culture.

Step five involved drawing conclusions from the above analysis and writing of the final report.


CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

It was previously explained that this chapter will be devoted to an in-depth analysis of each of the major concepts discussed in this paper. Not all of the concepts listed under the category "Definition of Terms" in Chapter One will be discussed because it is believed that some were adequately defined.

Of primary importance is the concept of "Negro" or "Black" as the group is presently being called. The terms Negro and Black will be used interchangeable throughout this paper. The preferred term of the researcher is Black; however, because the revitalization of the positive concept of Black is rather recent, many authors cited in this thesis labelled the group in question as "Negro". Thus when using a direct quote, or speaking of a particular point from such sources the term Negro will be used. Several similar definitions have been offered for "Negro". "In the United States a person is considered Negro if he has any known Negro lineage whether he can be identified by his appearance or not." In the Webster's New World Dictionary "Negro" is defined as "1.a) a member of the dominant Black race of Africa living chiefly in the Congo and Sudan regions, b) a member of any

of the other Black races of Africa, such as Bantu, etc. 2. any person with some Negro ancestors." Black, according to Webster's New World is "...a person of dark complexion....a Negro."

It should also be noted that in some sources the terms "Negro" and "slave" were used interchangeably. In these cases free Black people were referred to as "colored". Webster's defined slave broadly as "a human being who is owned by and absolutely subject to another human being, as a capture, purchase, etc." The owners were labelled "masters". In general the "master class" benefits by forcing slave status instead of indentured servant status on individuals because unlike the indentured servants:

1) the family was bound for life to the owner, not for a period of time;
2) the women could be put into the field to work;
3) the children were valuable as sources of potential labor and profit.

As explained previously the slaves spoken of in this paper were Black or mulatto. Because the paper is basically influenced by Black awareness and the Black experience certain qualitative factors have been placed on the concept of slave. Thus, among individuals in this class the prevalent characteristics were:

1) racial background - Black - the individuals have either pure African ancestry or mixed (mulatto) ancestry. Thus the culture has had roots in Africa.
2) geographical background - any part of Africa.
II. SOCIAL CLASS

Social class is almost a universal phenomena in human society. It is a group phenomenon related to status. In the Modern Dictionary of Sociology it is defined as "a large category of people within a system of social stratification who have similar socio-economic status in relation to other segments of their community or society." According to Robert Bierstadt classes have the conditions of 1) stratification of statuses; and prestige of the family. Status is "a position in society." It is not intrinsic or innate, nor is it a stable pattern of behavior. It describes a fluid relationship which the individual has with other members of society. The criteria generally used to determine status are 1) wealth, property, or income; 2) family or kinship; 3) location of residence; 4) duration of residence; 5) occupation; 6) education; 7) religion.

Not all of these criteria are applicable to status among Black slaves. In the United States for instance, because of the socio-economic structure of slavery, familial relationships were indiscriminately destroyed; therefore family and kinship ties were not important when speaking of status or class. There were

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19 Bierstadt, p. 436.
20 Ibid., p. 437.
21 Theodorson and Theodorson, p. 384.
22 Bierstadt, p. 437.
23 Ibid., p. 262.
24 Ibid., p. 454.
attempts by some slaves, because they lacked many of the status
criteria above, to assume (or identify with) the wealth of their
owners. James P. Comer explained that slaves with rich and
important masters looked down on their brother slaves whose
masters were less prestigious.  

The major social differentiation was between house slaves
and field slaves. The domestic slaves usually received the better
treatment. Their work was thought by some to be congenial. They
were often taught to read and write, even though it was a direct
violation of the local law; and received other social privileges
such as better quality of food, beds instead of floor pallets,
and work uniforms or clothing discarded by the master's family.
They lived in the master's house, or in a cabin close to the
house, as opposed to the field slaves who lived several miles
away. The "Mammy" was often the confident of the mistress during
her periods of loneliness and dispair.  

Directly under the
domestic slaves in the social class hierarchy were the artisans
or skilled craftsmen, e.g., carpenters, blacksmiths. Third were
the foremen. Although below the artisans in the hierarchy, the
foremen sometimes received better treatment and more privileges
than the artisans because the foreman was considered the overseer's
right hand. Among other duties, it was the responsibility of the

25 James P. Comer, "The Social Power of the Negro," in
Black Power Revolt, ed. by Floyd Barbour (Boston: Porter Sargeant

26 Remarks on Insurrection in Barbados, (London: Ellerton &
Henderson, 1816), p. 69.
foreman to blow the horn to call the field slaves to work, to assign the work, and maintain order and equilibrium among slaves. It should be noted that the house slaves usually had strains of mixed blood, or were mulattoes, having direct ties with the master.

Field slaves, on the other hand, were entrenched in what Lloyd Warner would classify as the "lower lower social class." They worked the long tedious hours in the field and received the most abuse.

Ranked above the entire slave hierarchy was the free born colored and manumitted slaves. Although the "upper upper class" they were not recognized as full citizens, and thus were refused many rights and privileges.

The hierarchy was generally the same throughout the western hemisphere, however, in a few areas of Latin America the social class and differentiation were somewhat different. The slaves were of select stocks and were thus able to contribute more to the cultural as well as to economic development of the country. There were considerably more categories in the slave hierarchy in which the individual could be placed. For example, Negroes in Brazil were needed, and were used to work:


1) as domestics
2) in the fields
3) in the mill
4) as experts in
   a) mining
   b) Metal industry
   c) leather industry
   d) cattle breeding
   e) pastoral industry
   f) manufacturing and merchants

5) providing services to other slaves such as
   a) teachers
   b) preachers
   c) prayer leaders
6) as barbers
7) as artisans
   of textile, soap and other needed supplies

The domestic slaves were often more than mere cooks or laundry women. In many circumstances they managed the house, helped the newly-wedded children of the master "set up a household," or advised and guided the children during their formative years. Vera Kelsey explained that the slaves brought to Brazil were considered from highly cultured backgrounds, and many could read and write Arabic. They, through the process of developing the country contributed to the softening, changing, and/or dropping of some of the "metallic" tone of Portuguese, similar to the manner in which the North American slaves below the Mason-Dixon line altered some words. Some of the slave women of the "high degree" were chosen and acknowledged as mistress of some of the "big houses" of the masters. Unlike in the United States, the natural born children of illegitimate

29 Ibid., p. 57.
30 Ibid., p. 56.
31 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
unions of slave women and "senhores" (masters) were accepted in the house and ate at the same table with the master. They often travelled with the legitimate children of the senhores. At the master's death, some provisions such as freedom for the mother and children were almost always made. Before automatically assuming that slaves were always welcomed, always close to the master, or they did not revolt, it should be noted that the Brazilian slave-master relationship described above developed over a long period of time. At no time was the treatment perfect. Slaves, when treated cruelly, received treatment so severe that it almost made the treatment of the slaves in North America seem like acts of kindness.

During the Brazilian colonial period the relationships and treatment of slaves was considerably different. The newly arrived slaves frequently resorted to rebellion, individual attacks, or running away to escape the oppressive nature of slavery. The field slaves were a separate and lower class among the slaves. They were basically treated like the field slaves in North America. Therefore, along with the newly arrived Africans and Negroes De Ganhos (partially free slaves, e.g. leased out slaves), they formed runaway colonies known as

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32 Ibid., p. 56.
33 Ibid., p. 57.
34 The "Negros De Ganhos" were employed in positions such as porters, stevedores, or masons.
"quilombos". These colonies eventually united together to form the "Confidesação dos Palmares". The combination of individual groups and this confederation perpetuated a sense of fear among the colonists. This combination rebelled and made several attempts to obtain liberation. The majority of the attempts resulted in the destruction of property and/or individuals.

A "... leader denotes an individual with a status that permits him to exercise influence over certain individuals." These individuals constitute a group. When discussing or defining a leader, several theorists consider one or a combination of the following descriptions: 1.) The person who is able to focus the behavior of the other members of the group, although he may not always be regarded as the "true leader". For example, a drunk at a social gathering may cause others to unite to get rid of him; 2.) The person who can lead the group toward its goals. This is the commonly accepted definition of leader; 3.) The person who is selected by the members of the group. The reasons for the choice vary and is to an extent an individual action. This is referred to as the "sociometric choice"; 4.) The person who can move the group along any one of the multiple dimensions of cohesiveness, synergy, morale, etc.; 5.) Leadership defined by "leadership behaviors". These behaviors are

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In turn defined by the investigator and designated to categories.

In the book *New Understanding Of Leadership*, there is a combination of several of the above description. Thus, a leader is: 1.) a person who achieved pre-eminence by unique attainment, one who is "ahead" of the group; 2.) a person who, by designation, for whatever reason, has been given official leadership - the "head" of the group; 3.) the person who emerges in a given situation as capable of helping the group determine and achieve its objectives and/or maintain and strengthen the group itself. In this paper, it will be shown that the leaders of various revolts demonstrated one or more of the above qualities (descriptions). The function of these leaders was to organize the activities of members of the groups toward the accomplishment of some end through controlling the means for satisfaction of relevant needs of the members of the group.

Dorian Cartwright and Alvin Zander point out that there are certain power bases from which leaders may operate when working with a group. These are: 1.) reward - "If you follow, you

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38 Browne, p. 9.

will be rewarded"; 2.) coercion - "You'd better follow or else"; 3.) expertise - the leader is regarded as an expert in a particular area; 4.) referent - identification with the leader i.e. living one's life, in a sense through the leader; 5.) legitimacy - the group gives the leader the "right" to lead.

An examination of leadership necessarily precipitates an examination of groups and group action. Groups, similar to individuals, develop desires, goals, etc., and act to satisfy them. They have both internal and external dynamics in the group process. In the slave society, some of the external dynamics were the cruelties of the masters, the subservient status, and the legal rules.

Group dynamicists offer four basic assumptions when considering groups: 1.) groups are inevitable and ubiquitous; 2.) groups mobilize powerful forces which produce effects of the utmost importance to the individual; 3.) groups may produce both good and bad consequences; 4.) a correct understanding of group dynamics (obtainable from research) permits the possibility that desirable consequences from groups can be deliberately enhanced. The function of the group may be: 1.) the achievement of some specific goal; 2.) the maintainence or strengthening of the group itself.

40 Cartwright and Zander, pp. 34-35.
There are basic elements involved in the group process which are the group, the goals and the techniques. Cartwright and Zander suggest certain conditions for attraction to groups: 1.) properties of the group, e.g. goals, programs, size, type, position in the community; 2.) the needs of persons for affiliation, recognition, security, etc. The framework of the group, known as value orientation or philosophy of life, provides a type of consistency. Group action occurs when the major goals are common. The value and/or underlying purposes may vary. For example, two slaves want freedom - one may want it so that he may become a "master" at a future date, the other may have a humanistic outlook and see freedom as the abolition of oppression and degradation suffered by most slaves.

There are basically two types of techniques in group action, traditional (e.g. panel discussions, interviewing) and spontaneous. It is imperative that the leader realizes the potentials and limitations of the techniques.

The goal of action, whether on an individual basis or a group basis, is change. This change process occurs in several phases: 1.) development of a need - "unifying"; 2.) establishment of a change relationship; 3.) classification of the problem and working toward change - "moving"; 4.) examination of

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42 Cartwright and Zander, p. 72.
43 Beal, et. al., p. 34
alternate routes and goals, establishment of goals and intentions of action, generalization and stabilization of change - "freezing"; 5.) transformation of intention into active change, achieving a terminal relationship.

Social movements are directly related to change. They "... represent an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem they feel they have in common." The movement acquires its members from among the people who have usually encountered the problem either directly or indirectly. There is no guarantee, however, that the encounter with the problem automatically means involvement in the social movement. For an individual to join the social movement he must feel that something can be done about it and want to do something about it himself. Hans Toch has constructed a "Schematic Representation" of the four step sequence to membership.

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<th>SOCIAL MOVEMENT</th>
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<tr>
<td>APPEALS</td>
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<td>Membership Transactions</td>
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<td>SUSCEPTIBILITY</td>
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<td>Reaction to Problem</td>
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<td>PROBLEM SITUATION</td>
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<td>SOCIETY</td>
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46 Ibid., p. 27.
The struggle for Black freedom has been a long, tedious activity. Although the decree of emancipation occurred over one hundred years ago, Blacks, in fact, have not attained that freedom in many places. The philosophical basis of the slavery mentality of whites has not drastically changed.

The transition for the Africans from freemen to enslaved men was usually traumatic. Permanent enslavement caused various personality developments and alterations. For survival, the slaves could either adapt or resist.

I. ADJUSTMENT OR ADAPTATION

James P. Comer explained that the slaves had to adopt defense mechanisms for protection. Adjustment is "... a satisfactory relationship of an organization with its environment." There are several types of adjustment: 1.) conformity, 2.) modification of the environment, 3.) reduction of needs strain - establishment of a "life style", and 4.) mastery of the environment.

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47 Comer, p. 77.

Prior to adjustment, a person generally encounters frustration and anxiety. Certain conditions are necessary for frustration: a need, drive, or tendency toward action must be aroused while the satisfaction of this need is blocked. There are certain types of causes of frustration. The broad categories are external and internal. Subdivisions of external types are: 1.) privation or lack, e.g. drought; 2.) deprivation or loss, e.g. illness; 3.) obstruction or barrier, e.g. psychological.

For slaves, the sources of frustration were generally the external type. The structure of slavery was the barrier or obstruction which necessarily showed the privation or lack of opportunity, loss or deprivation of familial ties, cultural and societal development.

A modal reaction to frustration is aggression. Aggression is: 1.) self-assertiveness, vigorous activity, 2.) gaining possession of a person or object, 3.) destruction, hostility, and attack, 4.) control, dominance, or management. Hostility is ill-will or enmity. Hate is the feeling of dislike or aversion. Aggressive behavior is usually accompanied by hate directed toward the frustrating object or person. This may be classified as an example of the "vicious circle" concept because the aggressive behavior causes anger and ill-will in the recipient

49 Ibid., p. 50.
50 Symonds, pp. 53-55.
51 Ibid., pp. 81-82.
52 Ibid., p. 82.
of the behavior and in turn causes counter aggression. This is usually painful to the aggressor. So, it is the vicious circle because the aggressor pains the recipient who in turn counter-attacks the aggressor. The aggressor, after suffering the counter-attack, may seek retaliation. The cycle may end with one person yielding to a peaceful termination or it may lead to violent resistance. There are certain functions of aggressive behavior which rest satisfaction from the outside world and/or destroy the source of pain.

Aggression is expressed in several ways:

1) Infantile - certain slaves feigned and perhaps in a few cases were sincerely "child-like", fitting the Sambo stereo-type, as some writers referred to them. They engaged in child's play and reacted in a child-like manner to immediate problems and complications.

2) Verbal - shouting, using profanity.

3) Resistance and Disobedience.

4) Spying - trying to obtain blackmail or "weapon" material.

5) Rivalry

6) Administration of Punishment - the overseer and foremen exemplify this for aggression. They were sometimes considered more cruel than the masters when punishing a slave.
There are influencing social factors which must be considered when discussing aggression. Some of these factors are: security - insecurity (inferiority complex); social conventions and restrictions; and the social system - the rigidity of the system prevents change.

Anxiety is mental distress caused by some anticipated frustration. Although sometimes used interchangeably, fear and anxiety are not synonymous. Fear denotes concern about immediate danger whereas anxiety denotes concern with future permanent types of danger. There are several defense mechanisms used against anxiety. Symonds compiled the list of seven defenses given below:

1) Repression - the blocking of the expression of an impulse, e.g. feigning stupidity to avoid social contact.

2) Escape - avoidance of conditions which might arouse expressions of anxiety. This is done via:
   a) phobias
   b) regression - living in the past. Some slaves indulged in this, and thus did not have to face the present conditions. This could be equated with the reminescing activities of elderly people when approaching senility. For example, a slave who had been transferred or sold to another plantation could probably be heard saying she remembered when "the mistress did ... for her, or she did ... for the family."
   c) flight to fantasy
   d) hyperactivity - restlessness, deep involvement in work.

53 Symonds, p. 96.
54 Ibid., p. 133.
55 Ibid., p. 170.
3) Disguise - disguise of the true meaning and significance of the unhindered expression of the impulse. Variations of this mechanism are:

a) displacement - shifting the blame or interest to others to prevent having to be responsible. There are two forms:

1) introjection - identification. This implies a modification and enlargement of the individual's conception of himself. "In this situation (slavery) self esteem is dependent upon closeness or similarity to the master, not on personal power or achievement (within the slave subculture) and it was gained in ways that tended to divide the Negro." Persons involved in this activity develop new interests. It is an attempt to copy or pattern life styles after the individual who has apparently achieved satisfaction in life. It should be noted that the activity is not imitation because the action is not conscious; and it refers to action of the whole personality, not a particular skill, as is the case with imitation.

2) projection

b) character defense

1) narcissism - adopting a facade of strength.
2) masochism - humbling oneself; self inflicted pain.
3) perfectionalism - occurs as a result of fear of criticism.
4) resistance to change

c) rationalization

4) Modification - modification of the expression of the impulse via:

56Comer, p. 74.
a) sublimation  
b) reaction formation  
c) obsession  
d) laughter  
e) compensation  
f) disturbances e.g. altered eating habits

5) Testing - testing the reality and seriousness of the danger-impulse.

6) Payment of Penalty - payment of a penalty for the interdicted expression.

7) Auterotism - indulgence in masturbation.

The slaves, in attempting to adapt assumed various defense mechanisms as demonstrated during the discussion of the defenses. Some developed frustration tolerance, i.e. learned to live with slavery without changing the frustration stimulus. Certain historians attempt to perpetuate the myth that the majority of the slaves engaged in this frustration tolerance and lived apparently happy or contented lives, living with slavery.

Defense mechanisms can become institutionalized. P. Symonds states that "(r)eligion as we know it today serves as an institutionalized defense against anxiety."\(^{57}\) It serves as a compensatory mechanism.\(^{58}\) Religion during the slavery period was very popular. Religion in the form of Christianity encouraged slaves to accept their status and to expect compensation after death. It supplied a form of consolation and/or faith which could not be attained in the secular world. Slaves were also constantly exposed to the reinforcement of Black subservience

\(^{57}\) Symonds, p. 187.  
\(^{58}\) Ibid., p. 249.
through selected scriptural passages and sermons by the minister. The faith and escapism found in religion has continued until the present time.

II. RESISTANCE

Although not readily admitted or acknowledged by several historians, resistance to existing conditions and thus, implementation of community organizational techniques, group action, social movements, and social change have been prevalent throughout Black history. This was particularly true during the slave period. Both John H. Franklin and Kenneth Stampp adhere to the view that Black people like any other ethnic groups resist tyranny.  

The resistance to slavery involved two different approaches. The first approach was non-violent. This was even more common than generally realized. Slaves were aware of their economic value and often used that fact for their own advantage. Thus forms of non-violent resistance suggested by Orlando Patterson included 1) work slowdowns; 2) general inefficiency; 3) laziness and evasion. An extensive discussion and examples of work slowdown may be found in the article "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery" by R.A. Bauer. The work slowdown without a doubt ac-

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59 Meier, p. 61.
60 R.A. Bauer, "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery," Journal of Negro History, XXVII (1942)
61 Patterson, p. 363.
crued financial losses to the plantation owners because they were unable to get large quantities of their product for trade. Evasion was in the form of illness, requesting to go "to the Bush," and women claiming a need for extended child weaning. James Comer suggests three other forms of non-violent resistance - satire, acting out, and limiting interests to the fulfillment of basic needs such as food and sex. A last form of non-violent resistance was running away. Runaway slaves often fared very poorly if they did not have the right contacts, and if they did not know the area (terrain). They were vulnerable to punishment if caught and returned to the master, or as in Jamaica, received bad treatment from other runaway slaves (the Maroons).

There are two types of violent resistance: individual and collective. Some of those actions listed under the "individual" category could be enlarged to a collective action.

Although Orlando Patterson includes suicide under passive resistance, suicide shall be included under violent resistance in this paper. The reason is violence is a physical force used with the intent of damage or destruction, and although suicide is a personal phenomena, it is never-the-less destruction. Suicide was prevalent on both the individual and collective basis.

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62 Marly or Life of a Planter in Jamaica, quoted by Patterson, p. 261.
63 Comer, p. 77.
64 Patterson, p. 363.
It was used at times by slaves as a reaction to timidity, other times however, it was a result of a refusal to accept slave status. It was for the second reason mass suicides occurred, as demonstrated in 1712 in New York.

Infanticide was another form of individual violence. Many parents chose to kill their new born child rather than have him live a life of total subjugation to the oppressive "hand of slavery." Nat Turner's mother "... hated slavery so much that she was determined not to add to the slave population. At Nat's birth she was so enraged that she had to be tied to keep her from murdering Nat." The third type of individual violence was poisoning. There were, at times, conspiracies which involved a large number of slaves whose objective was to poison their master, and thus gain their freedom. Examples of exposed conspiracies were 1740 in New York, 1761 in South Carolina, 1767 in Alexandria, Virginia (several overseerers were killed from poison), and 1730 in Bermuda. Whether the conspirators considered the likely possibility that they would merely be sold to another master was not known. It could easily be said that they did not. However, one must also keep in mind that if the poisoning was as widespread as it may be inferred that some planned it to be

65 Ibid., pp. 264-265.
66 See Manuscript, Atlanta, Georgia, Atlanta University Mss, Unsigned, undated, Slavery File.
the whites in the area would have been destroyed. Also, by the time the whites mobilized themselves to gather the "masterless" slaves, they (the slaves) would have escaped.

Arson, the fourth type of individual violence, was used as a means of individual and collective resistance. It was also at times an initial entry or introduction to a widespread attack on slavery and those perpetuators of it. This is shown in the rebellion of 1712 in New York where the plan was:

On a certain Sunday night in April certain slaves would set fire to a house on one side of town. When the alarm alerted the white people and they rushed to the fire, the slaves would position themselves at strategic points along the route to the fire and kill the whites as they run pass them. The purpose of this was to destroy all the English and thus gain freedom.

The plan was a partial success.

The slaves had hatchets, swords, and knives as weapons. They killed several whites, however, a few wounded ones escaped and informed the government. An armed band met the slaves and defeated them. Some of the slaves escaped, many committed suicide rather than be returned, and some were captured. Of those captured, eighteen were put to death. 69

69 Atlanta University MSS, Unsigned, Undated, Slavery File.
The New York rebellion of 1712 was by no means as precise as many of the later. However, an interesting point is, prior to the execution of the plan it was not exposed to the whites. This had not been the case with many other conspiracies, particularly in the United States.

A fifth form of resistance was self mutilation. It was used as a means of lessening the economic utility of the slave because he would be crippled. This in turn injured the economy of the plantation.

The last and by far the most subtle form of resistance was "petty" sabotaging. In instances in this category the slaves claimed clumsiness and destroyed tools, lamed animals, or domestic slaves scorched foods or clothing.

The major type of collective resistance was insurrection or rebellion. This was probably the most feared type of resistance because if the conspiracies were executed there was certain death for varying numbers of the "master class," and destruction of property. For this reason stringent laws were placed on slave behavior and freedom of movement. In certain periods in history rebellion or threat of rebellion was constantly present. In Jamaica, for example, actual or threatened rebellion became a permanent part of the society.

There were certain instances of reported involvement of several counties, states, or in the Caribbean the whole island

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70 Patterson, p. 266.
in conspiracies. In Part Two in the Appendix there is a statistical compilation of most of the reported conspiracies and actual revolts.
Violent resistance to slavery was evident throughout the slave societies of the western hemisphere. This chapter is devoted to a discussion of selected conspiracies and actual uprisings in various states in the United States, in Latin America, and in the Caribbean Islands. Following this will be an examination of particular leaders and the techniques they employed. The concepts, techniques, and categorical classes referred to in this section were initially discussed in Chapter Two.

I. COUNTRIES

A. THE CARIBBEAN

1. Barbados

A few revolts occurred in this British island during the period 1780 - 1840, however these occurrences were not widespread. In the pamphlet, Remarks on Insurrections in Barbados, it was suggested that the island had the worst location for an insurrection because there were no mountains or forests, the white population was large, and the regular army forces were large. There were also reinforcements on nearby islands.

On April 14, 1816 the slaves on a plantation in Saint Philips Parish were inspired to rise up after they had the misconception that the British (in Great Britain) wanted them to be free. The uprising spread considerably but was quelled. Most of the slaves

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were either killed, executed, or deported.\textsuperscript{72}

2. \textbf{Haiti}

Throughout the history of slavery this island has traditionally been the hot bed of the Caribbean for slave insurrections. During the late sixteenth century the island was known as Espanola, and while named that, experienced the first recorded revolt in the western hemisphere. It occurred on December 27, 1522 on the estate of Diego Columbus.\textsuperscript{73} This obviously established a precedent for future slave activities which culminated in the recognition of the island as the first Black controlled independent nation in 1801.

Several factors contributed to the classification of Haiti as a "hot bed" of slave insurrections. The slaves worked in close proximity in the sugar factory. The size of the island contributed strongly to the opportunity for group slave interaction and communication.

3. \textbf{Jamaica}

The slave society in Jamaica represented a unique combination of typical and atypical conditions. The initial Black-white confrontations were between the Maroons and colonists. This conflict began in the 1600's and continued for approximately two hundred years. The Maroons were an independent autonomous group of fugitive slaves who joined together to establish their

\textsuperscript{72}Burns, pp. 613-614.

\textsuperscript{73}Frank Cundall, \textit{Chronological Outlines of Jamaica History} (Kingston Jamaica: Government Printing Office, 1927), p. 3.
own community and develop their culture without the contamination of the whites.

The actual etiology of the word "Maroon" is not known. Several suggestions have been offered:

1) The Spanish word "marano" means wild boar. Since the fugitives were boar hunters the word could have developed from that.

2) The word could have been a derivative of the "Maroony River" which separated Dutch and French Guana. On the river side dwelt settlers in a colony.

3) The word "cimaroon" meaning untamable was used when referring to apes and runaway slaves.74

From 1655 to 1660 ex-Spanish slaves and some whites, under the leadership of Juan de Bolas caused the English colonists a great deal of anxiety and consternation. Juan de Bolas, however, finally joined the English ranks in 1660.75

In 1673 the first serious rebellion occurred in St. Ann's Parish. Approximately three hundred slaves, mainly from the Gold Coast of Africa, murdered their masters and seventy-three other whites. These slaves ran away, settled in the interior of Jamaica, and later became known as the Leeward band of Maroons.76 Several slaves on the estate of Captain Duke in St. Catherine joined together in 1678 and killed the mistress and seriously wounded the

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75 Patterson, p. 267.
76 Ibid., p. 268.
master. A few slaves were killed, however the majority escaped.77

In 1730 the colonists found it necessary to request British regiments from Gibraltar to provide protection from the Maroons, and to fight them.78 These regiments remained in Jamaica until 1733. Following this was what was commonly referred to as "Cudjoe's War" which began in 1733 and lasted approximately nine years.79

In 1769 and 1809 slave conspiracies to burn Kingston were exposed.80

The approximate number of rebellions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were four hundred.81 A chronological list of many of those revolts collected by this researcher will appear in the Appendix. There were several reasons why the number of revolts were higher than most other parts of the "New World" or western hemisphere. Patterson cites the following reasons:82

1) the ratio of slaves to masters was approximately ten to one.
2) the ratio of Creole and African slaves was large.

77H. Barkham, The Most Correct and Particular Account of the Island of Jamaica from the Time of Spaniards First Discovery and Settling It, used in Patterson, p. 268.

78Cundall, p. 18.

79Higginson, p. 7.

80Cundall, p. 28.

81Patterson, p. 274.

82Ibid., pp. 274-276.
3) the quality of the slaves - every serious rebellion during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was instigated and carried out by Akan slaves. These slaves were from the highly developed militaristic regimes in Africa, and were skilled in jungle warfare. 83

4) the inefficiency of the whites, their smugness, and lack of military knowledge made them vulnerable.

5) the inhuman treatment and maintenance of slaves.

6) island terrain - mountains and concealed mountain passes provided avenues of escape and defense. It should be noted that the slaves were able to become familiar with the terrain while serving as hunters for the white man. 84

7) impact of social relations, situations, conditions, etc.

The slaves were unsuccessful in permanently subduing the white domination because among other problems there were divisions among the slaves. Slaves on one plantation were from many tribes, and at times did not speak the same language and/or were traditionally rivals in Africa. An additional cause of division was the animosity of the Creole slave stock toward the African stock. Another problem was that the multiplicity of initial slave successes contributed to the whites (as a last resort) employing Maroons to subdue later revolts. 85 A fourth problem was, although the whites lacked military knowledge, they did have military strength since they had access to the newest equipment. 86

83Carey Robinson, in his book The Fighting Maroons (Great Britain: William Collier & Sangster, 1969), states that the Comorantees (Akim, Ashanti, and Fanti) peoples were the group who inspired or led most every slave revolt. It is possible that the "Akan" and "Akim" are the same group, see p. 31. Orlando Patterson cited A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti by W. W. Claridge as the source that stated these slaves were highly militaristic, see Patterson, p. 276.

84Fact Sheet on Jamaica #3 (Kingston: Jamaica Information Source), p. 1.

85Robinson, p. 51.

86Patterson, p. 281.
4. **Saint Croix**

There were very few recorded insurrections and conspiracies on the island of Saint Croix. The major one for which there is information was in December of 1759. A slave named Cudjoe asked casually for two bullets from one of the two white men working on the plantation. The man he asked refused, however the other man gave Cudjoe one dozen bullets when the other man left. Cudjoe's motive was to obtain a sample of ammunition so that some of the other members of the conspiracy could make ammunition to be used on the maturation date of the conspiracy. The plan was: each Negro, if possible, was to slay his master and then meet at designated points around the main city Christiansted. One group was given the task of taking possession of Fort Frederichswaern, get the ammunition and weapons, and march to Christianstäed. Along the way all plantations were to be burned, and every white executed. Upon arrival in Christianstäed the group would have been joined by other groups and recruits, and storm the city. The ammunition used in the attack was to be a combination of the unused (remainder) taken from Fort Frederichswaern and a second fort which the group was supposed to overtake. It was believed that the second fort would be easier to take over because there was no front gate, the fort was half finished, and the men were demoralized and half-starved. A specific date was not decided, but it would be during Christmas celebrations when the

whites were festive and thought of nothing but a good time.\textsuperscript{88} The total plan had not been finalized when the exposition occurred.

Although as a final demonstration of commitment the members had to take an oath, the conspiracy was revealed. This was done mainly by the irrational activities of Cudjoe. He was bold, and publicly stated such things as he'll kill various persons and become head of the master's house. This was said at one time to the face of a white man while in the presence of other white men. When later confronted at a meeting with other whites, he staunchly denied it until his own blood brother Quamina voluntarily, without compulsion, told the whites that Cudjoe had proposed an uprising while in his presence. Cudjoe then confessed, and implicated the free Negro William Davis, the person who proposed the rebellion to him a few days prior to his (Cudjoe's) outburst. Cudjoe also implicated others. It was not known who was the actual leader because, as a result of the oath many members of the conspiracy would talk. Obviously those that did not talk did not know the leader.

5. \textbf{Surinam}

The first open rebellion occurred in 1726. It was a confrontation between the Maroons and the whites. Led by a Maroon named Adoe, they burned plantation after plantation as a form of protest against the murder of eight Maroon women. The colonists, in attempts to make peace, promised clothing, tools, \textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{88}Ibid., p. 56.
weapons, ammunition, freedom, and money. The colonists gave everything except ammunition and weapons. This was done with the hopes of fooling the Maroons. The Maroons responded to the abortive treaty by inquiring whether "Europeans expected Negroes to subsist on combs and looking glasses." Fighting began again, however peace was made temporarily after the government "lived up" to its promise and gave the weapons and ammunition. The war which had lasted for thirty-six years had ended.

Forty-six years later, in 1772, the Maroons led by Baron revolted. The colonists found themselves in such a predicament that it became necessary for them to free approximately four hundred slaves in exchange for protection. Baron, overconfident of his power, built a fort near the sea coast. Three of the four sides were barricaded, but the fourth side, which was the unbarricaded side was near the sea. This proved to be fatal because the fort was too close to the sea, and was vulnerable to attack. This did occur and the Maroons were forced to retreat to the forest. The Maroons, still under the leadership of Baron continued guerrilla warfare.

6. Trinidad

The purpose of the slave plot in Trinidad was the elimination of all whites and free colored. This was one of the few

89Ibid., p. 42.

90Ibid., p. 45.

91For documentation of the entire plot see Gertrude Carmichael, History of the West Indian Islands of Trinidad and Tobago (London: Alvin Redman, 1961), p. 76.
recorded plots in the western hemisphere that included the elimination of the "free colored." Usually the free Blacks were either not considered, or were on the same side as the slaves.

Although no designated leader was given in records of this revolt, an organization schema was developed. The slaves organized a secret society which had a large diversified membership on the island. The components of the society were "convois," "regiments," and "band." These components were actually sub-systems with exclusive sounding names, e.g. "Danish Regiment," "Dreadnough," "Band," or "Monkey Corp." Each band had its own king, queen, and princesses and princes. The meetings of the bands, etc., were disguised under the pretense of African dance ceremonies. Thus the whites were aware of the groups meeting but did not know the actual reasons. Knowledge of the conspiracy and the actual purposes of the meetings and bands was limited to a small group of select slaves. Most of the members of the bands thought they were dance groups. The plan was to be executed on Christmas Day when the strictness and caution of whites were minimal because of the holiday gaity and celebration. The group was to start at Cuessa Valley and spread throughout the island. The plan was revealed before maturation.
B. SOUTH AMERICA

1. Bahia (Brazil)

Slave resistance or revolts were common but there were few concerted efforts at large scale insurrections. J.K. Eads, in his article, "The Negro in Brazil," suggests several reasons for this. First, the slaves were from diversified cultural backgrounds, and spoke different languages. Secondly, national provisions were established which gave any slave the right to buy his freedom by paying the master the amount initially spent to purchase him. Lastly, the major emphasis in the country was general "white oriented" social class, thus there was a general absence of discrimination against because of race. Their social class was what was considered.

There was a revolt in 1836, however, there is not much detailed information about the plans or the leaders. It is interesting to note that this revolt was more than a slave uprising. It was said to be the revolt of a superior culture against the domination by an inferior culture.93

2. Demerara (later merged with Berbice and Esquebo to form what is now Guyana)94

On August 13, 1824 the slaves, united to fight for freedom, agreed to lay their tools down and have a work strike.

93 Kelsey, p. 55.
94 Cundall, p. 51.
They seized arms and confined the overseers and managers. The leader, John, had given strict orders that the slaves should not harm the whites. This strike continued for a few days, and the main emphasis remained the same - no physical harm to whites. The slaves, however, were harmed. When some slaves attempted to have a conference with a Colonel Leary, they were arrested and many were killed. As the first few days passed, the number of slaves resisting grew until some 13,000 Negroes were in open rebellion. Prior to the open rebellion the slaves in Demerara had tried several methods of demonstration against their abominable conditions. One such method was the above mentioned appeal to the Governor. Realizing that no other method had been fruitful, the only alternative left was to rebel.

B. THE UNITED STATES

Although during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were no major conspiracies or actual uprisings, there were a few assemblies of slaves and rumors or "insurrection scares." When these rumors were spread, free Negroes were the first to be suspected of being involved.

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95 Negro Slavery #1-17 (London: Ellerton & Henderson, 1816), p. 57.
96 Ibid., p. 58.
97 Burns, p. 616.
98 There is an obvious discrepancy about the existence of "serious" conspiracies prior to the late eighteenth century. Aptheker states there were serious conspiracies in 1663 and 1687. Most other authors state there were none. See Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts, pp. 164-166.
The fact no large uprisings occurred did not prevent or deter the passage of laws concerning conspiracies. In 1723 a law was passed in Virginia stating that a conspiracy to rebel by five or more Negroes or slaves was punishable by death. This would suggest that although the slave resistance had not developed by that date, the colonists were very much aware of the potential threat.

It has become a known fact that often non-British peoples encouraged slaves to rise up and/or runaway and join their (non-British) ranks as freemen. In 1734 a group of slaves in Burlington, Pennsylvania joined together and conspired to revolt. The plan was, at midnight on a certain day during the warm season (probably Spring) every man and woman slave should rise and kill the master and their sons but save the women, kill drought horses (i.e. those horses used for pulling things - work horses), set the houses and barns on fire, and take the good riding horses and go to the French.

In 1739 the king of Spain reportedly sent an edit to St. Augustine, South Carolina offering freedom to those slaves who would come to Florida (At that time Florida was Spanish.). This proclamation was secretly, intentionally made known to slaves near the Florida-South Carolina border. Slaves on one or two adjoining plantations met, organized, and chose September 9, 1739 as the day to make their escape. As it turned out, this choice showed

\[100\] Ibid., p. 30.
\[101\] Atlanta University MSS.
fore-sight because traditionally most of the men were at church. On the chosen day the slaves rose en masse, killed two men in charge of the storehouse, armed themselves, chose from among them a leader named Jemmy, and marched toward the Spanish border. They got enlistees along the route until the total numbered about seventy-five or eighty. On the way down to Florida they killed those whites they encountered and "sacked" homes. The only error which proved to be fatal was when they underestimated their distance from the border, stopped to rest in a field, and indulged in a drinking fete. Had they continued marching until they actually crossed the border they would have been free. Instead, the majority of them were killed, the others were ultimately captured. The death toll was forty-four Blacks and twenty-one whites.

Under the leadership of a Black man, whose status of free or hired out slave is not known, approximately two hundred people were organized to murder the entire white population in the area near the Mexico-Texas border, except a few white women who were to be taken as wives. The group was rather well organized, even to the point of having pass words and the motto: "Leave not a shadow behind." The members had guns, ammunition, and knives. At the scheduled time of attack the plan was to have ten slaves appointed to almost every house in the area, kill the residents, plunder the homes, take the horses and arms, and fight their way to Mexico. The conspiracy was exposed September, 1856, and

102 Carroll, pp. 22-23.
it was discovered that all of the Mexicans in the area were implicated. Of the two hundred involved, only three were put to death. One ring leader escaped, the rest of the group were discharged. The Mexicans were forced to leave the country and face death if they ever returned.

In Little Rock, Arkansas, a plan was devised by slaves to take over the United States Arsenal in Little Rock, and to consequently take over the state. In the process of doing this all of the white people would be killed. Although not many details are available, it is evident that there was some degree of organization by the fact that the group had established a password and sign system.

II. LEADERS

A. CINQUE

Although involved in a mutiny on the seas instead of a land insurrection, Cinque should be included in a discussion of leaders. Prior to his removal from West Africa, he was a rich farmer and the son of a village headman. He was kidnapped in 1839 by a gang of Africans and bonded into slavery.

On the ship "Amistad" headed to Guaraja via Havana, Cuba, Cinque became overwhelmed with the cruel treatment of himself and other slaves, and decided to act.

103Ibid., p. 186.
He and a few other slaves armed themselves with knives, went up to the deck, killed the captain, his slave, and two sailors. They permitted the remainder of the crew to escape. Cinque permitted the slave owners Don Pedro Montes and Jose Ruiz to live. Montes was ordered to navigate the boat back to Africa. He navigated it in the direction of Africa during the day, however at night he navigated the ship to what he thought was Spanish territory. Finally the "Amistad" reached Long Island, New York. The ship was impounded, and the slaves were arrested. After a long court battle the slaves were released. They could not be convicted because the ship belonged to another country.

Cinque returned in 1842 to Sierra Leone to be united with his family only to find that his family was no longer there. They were probably victims of other slavers. As a result of his experiences he devoted the remainder of his life to the termination of slavery.

Cinque was from the "upper upper" social class. In his takeover of the ship he could be described as the type of leader who emerges in a critical situation capable of helping the group reach its objectives. The slaves realized that if they could successfully take over the ship, the possibility of them regaining their freedom was very high.

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Ibid., p. 125.
C. TOUSSAINT L'Ouverture

Toussaint L'Ouverture, the leader and liberator of Haiti, was born a slave and worked as a coachman. He rose to the position of leader after the slave revolt in 1791, at which time he escaped to the Spanish section of San Domingue (the former name of Haiti). He was forty-six years of age at that time.

In the revolt of 1791 the leaders were Jean Francois and Brassou. Toussaint joined them about a month after the revolt began. The revolt prospered until approximately one hundred thousand people were involved. When the leaders of the revolt heard that the French troops were coming to the defense of the settlers, the leaders sought to betray their followers. They wrote and promised the French commissioner that in return for the freedom of a few hundred, they would cooperate in leading the others back into slavery. Toussaint reduced the number from four hundred to be freed to sixty people. The offer was rejected by the white planters. Toussaint abandoned the offer and began training a small band of soldiers in San Domingo to fight the French.

During the Napoleonic War, Toussaint offered his soldiers to Spain in return for the abolition of slavery. He changed his

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107 Ibid., p. 7.
108 San Dominque was the French part of the island. San Domingo was the Spanish part.
allegiance from Spain to France when there was the announcement of equal rights in France. He believed that the French were anti-slavery and would give the slaves their freedom. This was not true.

Toussaint was an excellent manipulator, and capitalized on the value of his troops. His allegiance fluctuated until he was able to get into a position of high authority. He used his own initiative and either offered alliance to armed groups on the island, or forced them to recognize his personal command. By doing this he extended his rule over the northern sector of San Dominique.  

The South was under the leadership of a mulatto André Rigaud. Rigaud was born in 1761 in Las Cayes, but was raised in Bordeaux France. Leyburn has described Rigaud a fiery, brilliant, intellectual, who lacked self control and political subtlety – qualities which Toussaint had.  Rigaud initially considered it beneath him to submit to the command of an illiterate Negro and fought Toussaint. His stand changed when he realized the potentials of a unified Black body to fight the whites.

The plans for revolt were made at a pseudo voodum ceremony on August 14, 1791. Voodum was the religion of a large number of the slaves. The revolt was ultimately successful, and on 1801 San Dominique was declared independent. L'Ouverture became the leader of the island. He realized that if he wanted to strengthen his hold he had to provide for those who had ceased to work during the revolt, and as a result were threatened with

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109 Halasz, p. 72.
111Halasz, p. 72.
starvation. His plan to alleviate this was to have the slaves return to the plantations as paid workers, and cultivate the soil. San Dominque had always depended upon trade for food. Trade was conducted with the United States instead of France because the United States recognized the island as an independent nation.

As the conditions of Haiti improved Toussaint became a despot. It is said that no one could interfere with him and his decisions for fear of the penalty. San Dominque progressed nevertheless, and Toussaint:

1) established free trade;
2) protected the laborers from injustices of their former owners;
3) abolished racial discrimination;
4) established religious tolerance;
5) sent selected Negro and mulatto youth to France to be educated.

His popularity with the Blacks began to lessen the longer he ruled because he tried too hard to please the French at the cost of sacrificing the Black support. "He treated the whites with exceptional consideration and courtesy...." His exceptional consideration backfired because he was seized and carried to

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112 Ibid., p. 73.
113 James, p. 12.
114 James, pp. 11-12.
115 Ibid., p. 15.
to southeastern France. It was there he died.

This slave revolt, in Haiti, was the only successful one in history. The reasons for this are Blacks fought magnificently, they had time to organize themselves efficiently as soldiers, and they were inspired by the revolution in France, and received supplies from the "revolutionary facet" in France. This was a decisive factor. The group successfully passed the five phases of the change process. They developed the need to change their present condition from slaves to equal residents of San Domingue. The group organized for action and thus established a change relationship. A terminal relationship was achieved. When peace was finally made San Domingue was under the control of the Blacks.

Toussaint qualified under several categorical descriptions of leaders. He emerged during the revolt, and was able to lead the group toward its goals; he was selected by members of the group; but most important, he could move the group along many multiple dimensions. His innate leadership abilities made him able to ultimately unify the mulattoes, free colored, and various slave groups toward the overthrow of the government, and the establishment of a Black government. Toussaint was able to use many of the power bases listed by Cartwright and Zander - reward, expertise, and legitimacy. Also, when he did not have the

\[116\] Ibid., p. 15.

\[117\] See Cartwright and Zander, p. 17.
legitimate right to lead he used coercion. He ultimately failed as a leader when he became a despot. One definition of a leader given previously in this paper was "an individual who is PERMITTED to influence." Despots are not permitted, they force themselves and their influence on people, irregardless of how the people feel.

The influence of Toussaint and the Haitian revolt had a far reaching impact on all other areas of the western world. It has been suggested by many historians that this insurrection acted as a source of inspiration to the insurrections in the United States.

C. THE MAROONS - Jamaica

The Maroon leaders have been grouped together under the category of Maroon because the techniques of the leaders and the "general Maroon tactics" are often used interchangeably.

1. Cudjoe

Described as "...a gentleman of extreme brevity and blackness." Cudjoe emerged as the most famous Jamaican Maroon leader. He was Coromantee, and was believed to be a member of the group of slaves who ranaway from Claredon Parish after the revolution in 1690.

118 See Halasz, p. 61
119 Higginson, p. 7.
120 Robinson, p. 34.
Originally the runaways from Claredon were considered fugitives who stole cattle and killed. Later, however, they organized and the raids became more intense. They plundered homes of more isolated settlers, drove off cattle, and carried off slaves. They became very powerful and defied attempts to subdue them. Thus they became labelled as "Maroons." They fought to maintain themselves because they believed it would be impossible for them to live in peace and on equal terms with the English.

Cudjoe was a religious and military leader of the Maroons for approximately forty or fifty years. Under his leadership several bands of Maroons joined the Claredon group to form a large unified body. His brothers Accompong and Johnny were appointed captains.

The organization of the Maroons was precise. Because of this they were able to successfully harass the colonists, and live autonomously for many years. They learned from past Maroons. They kept in close contact with the slaves on the plantations. The slave system in Jamaica permitted slaves to cultivate a portion of farm land and reap what was sown. This saved the plantation owners from the burden of providing for them. The slaves could also buy arms and ammunition if they claimed to be

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121 Robinson, p. 33.

122 Ibid., p. 39.
hunters or fowlers. Thus, when the Maroons were short of food or ammunition there were people who they could depend upon for assistance. Normally, though, the Maroons cultivated their own food and got weapons and ammunition from killed or retreating soldiers. They also infrequently went into town disguised as a plantation slave, and traded for ammunition. The frequent shortage of ammunition necessitated the Maroons to be expert marksmen.

As a result of the close contact with the slaves, the Maroons were quite aware of when, where, and how the militia intended to launch attacks on them. The Maroons stationed continuous lookouts at strategic points, and via "abengs" (cow horns) the Maroon community was notified of the approaching enemy. They also developed various codes to call various leaders to certain points. They camouflaged themselves with leaves and branches or in the bush, and attacked the marching troops. Either the attack would occur when the troops came too close to the settlement, or at a particular point. The attack time varied. Often the Maroons remained totally out of sight. The area was "cock-pit" territory and there were many "sink holes," subterranean reservoirs and natural protections, e.g. narrow passages and ledges. The Maroons knew the area, and thus had the advantage.

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123 Ibid., p. 34.
124 Ibid., p. 34.
125 An aerial view of a part of the "cock-pit area" in Jamaica is in the Appendix, Part V.
The English could literally feel their presence. They heard the horns and anticipated attack. The invisibility of the Maroons would sometimes last for miles. It worked as a psychological weapon. The element of surprise very often caused quick victories for the Maroons. After shooting at the troops the Maroons jumped around, rolled on the ground, and went through various gestures. The purpose was a combination of avoiding getting hit, and frustrating the English since it is hard to hit a moving object. The Maroons were very seldom caught, and rarely took prisoners. The Maroons also sometimes descended with fire and sword on unprotected areas, instead of attacking the troops. The area would be totally destroyed, and the goods taken.

A tactic used by another group of Maroons - the Windward Maroons - was deception. To deceive the troops they left fires burning and food exposed so that it would appear that the Maroons were near, and vulnerable to surprise attack. They were, in fact, nearby hidden in the mountains watching every move of the soldiers. At the appropriate time the unprepared troops were attacked.

Cudjoe, as a leader, could easily be described as a combination of all the types of leaders described by Ross and Hendry in Chapter Two (see page 16). It is true that he was chosen by the group, however he emerged in various situations as a capable leader prior to receiving group sanction.

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The four basic assumptions of group dynamicists apply to this group. It was inevitable, considering the conditions under which slaves were forced to live, that slaves would runaway. They had to join together and form a group for survival. They mobilized powerful forces and produced the important effect of protection of their own people. There were bad consequences, if one views the activities of the Maroons through the eyes of the settler. It was good consequences for the Maroons. The people were "...fighting for their liberty, with which aim no form of warfare seemed to them unjustifiable." An example of what happened when the Maroons failed to harass occurred on Trelawny. The slaves had not attacked or been rebellious. Nevertheless there were "...wanton, cold-blooded excursions on the part of white inhabitants in Trelawney to root up runaway settlements, which had subsided for eleven years without offence or molesta-
128 tion to the neighborhood." The Maroons, without realizing it, had an understanding of group dynamics in guerilla warfare, and utilized it. They learned from their past and present positive and negative experiences.

The Maroons went through the entire change process. Phase One - "unifying" occurred when the slaves ran away from the plantations and organized themselves into a unified body. There was a common cause - survival, and there was a common background - all were

127 Higginson, p. 9.
runaway slaves. Phase Two - the group developed proper relationships. Phase Three - the Maroons developed guerilla warfare tactics, and harassed the whites. Phase Four - the warfare continued for many years until Phase Five was reached. Phase Five - a treaty was established between the English and the Maroons.

Cudjoe was not anxious to make peace, but he feared for the future of the Maroons since he was aging. He did not trust the British, and while making peace refused to do it on their ground. The treaty was not very beneficial to the Maroons, however, it was still established. Cudjoe was recognized as leader, and the Maroons were permitted to live as they had lived. The difference was, any legal or punitive action had to have been dealt with in the English system. The worst part of the treaty was that the Maroons agreed to return all future runaway slaves and to aid the British in hunting future runaways. The Maroons were recognized as British subjects in 1842.

2. **Juan de Bolas**

Juan de Bolas (originally name Juan Lubolo) was described by Carey Robinson as a born leader. He was quite familiar with the interior of Jamaica, and helped the Spanish in their fight against the English. After the Spanish troops were partially defeated, Juan changed allegiance and joined the English. The

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129 Cundall, p. 32.
130 Robinson, 21.
reasons behind this action is not known, however possible possible reasons were:

1) disillusionment with the Spanish since they argued among themselves;
2) the defeats at Ocho Rios and Rio Nuevo killed his hope of Spanish victory;
3) Yassi (Spanish commander) did not fulfill his promise of freedom to those slaves who remained loyal to the Spanish;
4) Juan de Bolas was scheming to get the best for himself.

The defection of de Bolas was a fatal blow to the Spanish because the Maroons knew the location of all of their camps.

When the Spanish were defeated, he was appointed colonel of the Black Regiment, and magistrate of the Black people. He can be classified as a designated leader. Two groups agreed to have him as a leader - the Maroons, and the British. His power base was a combination of reward, expertise, and legitimacy.

Later in life de Bolas betrayed the Maroons. He aligned himself with the British and led them in an attack against the Maroons. He was killed in this battle.

D. THE MAROONS - Surinam

The Maroons of Surinam used many of the basic tactics that the Jamaican Maroons used. They were very seldom seen, and

131 Ibid., p. 25.
132 Higginson, p. 47.
were stealthy, swift, and disciplined similar to the Indians. They marked their movement for each other by scattered leaves and blazed trees. Ingenuity was one of their best advantages. Their bush fighting method was using an average of three warriors in a group - one to use the musket, one to replace the shooter (if shot), and the third to drag away the body of the shot warrior. They fired in successive lines after hearing the horn of the captain. When moving they ran in zig-zag movement to dodge the bullets.

As a source of protection their homes were stockaded fortresses built on marshy islands. These were accessible by fords which only the Maroons were able to transverse. Beneath the surface of the ground around the fortresses were placed sharp wooden pins or "crows feet." In the woods near the fortresses were cannons which they had learned to operate.

Their main emphasis was on surprise and puzzle. When attacking a plantation they surprised the inhabitants. The unarmed guerillas within the Maroon ranks were given wooden guns which were used to frighten the plantation Negroes. They would think that all the Maroons had guns. Another example of the "puzzle" approach was identified in Black Rebellion. John Stedman, commander of an attacking regiment, experienced the Maroons talking to him and his

133 Ibid., p. 53.
134 Higginson, p. 53.
135 Ibid., p. 54.
troops at nightfall. The conversation was a series of alternating insults, compliments, and general "chit-chat." This continued throughout the night, although the Maroons were never seen. The conversation seemed aimless. In the morning the troops discovered the reason for the conversation. The troops had camped for the night near a Maroon "provision ground." While talking "...the Maroons had been busily occupied...preparing and filling great hampers of the finest rice, yams, and casava from the adjacent provision ground."

A third instance of deception was the Maroons dressing like Black rangers. They acquired the clothes from dead rangers.

One of them (Maroon), finding himself close to the muzzle of a (white) ranger's gun, threw up his hands hastily. "What, he exclaimed, 'will you fire on one of your own party? ' 'God forbid,' cried the ranger, dropping his piece, and was instantly shot through the body by the Maroon who the next instant had disappeared in the woods."137

The four basic assumptions of group dynamicists discussed above for Jamaican Maroons applied also for the Maroons of Surinam.

E. GABRIEL PROSSER

Gabriel was a young slave of the slaveholder Thomas Prosser. The slaveholder was known to treat his slaves barbarously. Although illiterate, Gabriel was courageous, strong, proud,
and capable of creating an elaborate revolt plan. This plan had been in the developing stage in Gabriel's mind for several years.

The plan was discussed and perfected at meetings held three consecutive Sundays during slave bar-b-ques and parties. He would speak only to those who he was told could be trusted and relied upon. He used biblical passages to support his stand and as a source of inspiration. He began divulging the plan three weeks prior to the designated day because he felt that was all the time needed. Other members felt differently. Careful consideration was given and the date chosen for the revolt was favorable because:

1) the countryside was a peace;
2) the soldiers had recently been discharged;
3) arms had been stored away;
4) the city of Richmond had abandoned its patrols.

Several leaders were chosen, and each individual involved in the conspiracy was given a particular mission, e.g. Solomon was to make swords, Sam Bird, a freed Black, was responsible for recruiting the Catawaba Indians.

The weapons to be used in the revolt were bayonets mounted on sticks, swords fashioned by Gabriel's brother Solomon out of broken scythe blades, and knives. Each individual was expected to bring a club or knife. The important non-material weapons

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140 Halasz, p. 89.
were surprise and speed. The phases of the revolt were:

1) murder of the masters and their families - the element of surprise was instrumental;

2) a group to keep watch while other groups went to:
   a) get weapons
   b) set the lower section of Richmond on fire. This was done to direct the attention of the upper towns people to fighting the fire while the slaves marched to the penitentiary in the upper section of Richmond, and transfer arms. The two Negroes working there would have been told by Gabriel to open the door to the invaders.
   c) surge upon the Capitol, taking arms as found, killing all whites and those town Negroes who refused to join the rebellion.
   d) march to where the whites were fighting the fire and kill them.

Methodists, Quakers and French were to be spared.

He calculated a manpower of approximately one thousand Negroes from Richmond, six hundred in Carolina County, and five hundred recruits from the coal pits. The total number involved estimated one thousand. It was hoped that poor whites would also join.

\[141\] Ibid., 91-92.
\[142\] Ibid., p. 93.
There was a loyalty oath taken by his members which lasted until death. Not one person involved in planning betrayed his cause. A code system to discuss the plot was devised. The revolt was referred to as an "earthquake." The informer was a woman on another plantation.

F. SAMUEL SHARPE

Samuel Sharpe was a well treated slave on a Jamaican plantation. He was intelligent, and a good speaker. He had charisma, and could hold an audience captivated. He used prayer meetings to recruit slaves.

Sharpe's approach was to use passages from the Bible, and spread rumors about statements supposedly said by the king of England. Prior to revolt all participants of the conspiracy kissed the Bible to insure secrecy. The plan of action was passive resistance - work strike. Samuel asserted that after Christmas, 1831, there would be no more slaves. The fighting would occur if the "Buckras (whites)" forced the liberated slaves to continue to work as slaves. He believed that if after Christmas the slaves refused en masse to work as slaves, the masters could not force the people against their will. Thus, if they stayed strong, they would win their freedom.

143 Ibid., p. 246.
145 Ibid., p. 125.
146 Ibid., p. 123.
As the revolt grew, burning plantation, and violence occurred which was not a part of the original plan.

G. NATHANIEL TURNER

There are two versions of several background factors of Nat, e.g. one source says he was a preacher, another says he was only deeply religious; one source states his parents were illiterate, another says they were literate, and his mother helped him learn to read by giving him books. He is said to have been of pure African ancestry.

Turner's revolt was planned with six associates at an exclusive bar-b-que. The actual events in the revolt occurred rapidly and initially according to plan. The revolt started at Nat Turner's home plantation. The band grouped and were armed with only one hatchet and a broad axe. Nat knew that his masters - the Travis family - had weapons. After the Travis family was killed the group enlisted recruits and went to the next plantation en route to Jerusalem. Turner stayed to the rear, and the best armed and most reliable men were in front. They rode to the houses fast to prevent escape, and arouse terror. At each plantation the inhabitants were to be killed. The plan was to march, recruiting slaves, to the county seat, and take possession.

147 Quarles, p. 82.
148 Lincoln, p. 27.
149 Lindenmeyer, p. 117.
150 Halasz, p. 158.
151 Higginson, p. 173.
of the county seat and the "magazine" (armory). After the take
over the lives of the remaining whites were to be spared. It
was the ultimate hope that this uprising would spark others to
such a point that all the slave states would be taken over. If
the attempted take over failed the plan was to retreat to the
Dismal Swamp and engage in guerilla warfare.

The plan had the potential of being even more devastating,
and successful had the initial precautions not be forsaken.
Nat Turner permitted his better judgement to be overshadowed by
the requests of some slaves to stop at the Parker plantation.
These slaves went into the house and remained too long, thus
cauing Nat to go after them. This in turn caused the watch to
be weakened, and permitted the whites to mobilize. When Nat
returned the guards he had posted had been killed by the whites
who had arrived. The two groups fought, and finally the surviv-
ing members of Turner's group were able to escape. This was the
point of downfall for the revolt. The members regrouped and
once again prepared to march, however, the numbers were smaller,
and so much time had been lost that defeat was inevitable. While
strong, the group was able to kill fifty-five whites. Nat Turner
escaped to the woods. He was sought for two months, and it took
three hundred troops to find him.

Turner, like many other leaders was the chosen leader, and
had the qualification of expertise.

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Lincoln, p. 28.
H. TELEMAQUE (DENMARK VESEY)

Telemaque was born in St. Thomas, Virgin Island, and was being transported to the United States when Captain Vesey chose him to be the cabin boy. His birth name was Telemaque, but through the years it was corrupted to the name Denmark. When the slave ship landed, Telemaque was sold. The sale was later repealed because he was classified as "unsound." He had epilepsy, and had experienced several seizures. Captain Vesey took him and Telemaque worked under Captain Vesey for twenty years. Telemaque was able to see first-hand the deplorable conditions of the slaves on slave ships. After winning money in a lottery, he was able to buy his freedom at the age of about thirty-four or thirty-five. He worked as a carpenter after he was freed. He married several times and had many children. His children were slaves, however, because the mothers were slaves and the law at that time said that the child had the status of the mother. It has been suggested that this helped inspire him to fight for liberation.

Telemaque was considered a cultured, intelligent man and has been labelled the "intelligent insurrectionist." He read the newspapers in both English and French. As a result of his ability to read, he developed a knowledge of the conditions of slaves, and disturbed, even hateful, feelings toward the conditions of the

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153 Higginson, p. 110.
154 Ibid., p. 115.
155 Carroll, p. 86.
slave societies. He had a particular interest in the events in San Domingue. He kept abreast of the events there.

Telemaque's organization for the plot was very precise, even though it was abortive. He worked several years on the plot before actually confiding in the leaders, and prepared for the plot in several ways. First he worked on embittering the minds of the Blacks against slavery. He knew he had to prepare them psychologically for such a bold move. He would also bring up the subject of slavery while in the presence of slaves to remind the slaves of the true feelings of whites, which was dislike or hate for the slaves. He held meetings at his shop, and warned slaves not to be satisfied with their conditions. He held contempt for those who accepted their conditions and/or humiliated themselves unnecessarily. He also held contempt for overseers and others who served the slaveholders and held their own race down. Part of the reason for this contempt was they represented what he had been prior to his "awakening." Secondly, he became totally knowledgeable of appropriate scriptural passages to be quoted as evidence of support and inspiration. Thirdly, he mapped out Charleston and the surrounding plantations, the kind of slaves working on them, and the potential followers. In Charleston, he surveyed the magazine, the distribution of the militia, (times of change, commanders, etc.) and marked every store selling guns.

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156 Higginson, p. 111.
His personnel was recruited from the AME Church in Charleston, and from plantations. He chose his close associates and sub-lieutenants to work closely with him. Among his associates authority for plans and troops was divided. The sub-lieutenants headed the troops. The military leader and organizer was Peter Poyas. Higginson states that Telemaque the "missionary of the cause," but Peter was "the organizing mind." Information concerning the master plan and the highest executants were held from the sub-lieutenants. The "lower downs" knew even less. The masses only knew vague details. He tried unsuccessfully to obtain aid from Haiti.

Telemaque was very selective in choosing his entourage. It is very interesting to note that "all the accused without exception had been liked and respected by their owners, whom they had served for a great many years." Telemaque did not enlist or trust house servants. Some of his associates felt the same way. Telemaque and Poyas, for examples, used the warning "Take care...and don't mention the plan to those waiting men who receive presents of old coats, etc. from their masters, or they'll betray us."

Telemaque was very successful in recruiting almost all those approached. He did not choose certain people who wanted to join. This was because they were not trustworthy. He had even more

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157 Ibid., p. 117.
158 Halasz, p. 130.
159 Brawley, p. 59.
Blacks interested than he realized. The plot was in existence for at least four years sealed in secrecy. It was organized with the only the slightest cooperation of any white men. Only one is known to have been used, and he was employed to make false faces to make the Blacks seem white. 160

The plan was that on an appointed Sunday at 12:00 (probably midnight) the slaves were to begin rising up. Designated groups were to take over the power houses in various parts of the area. One group was to be under the leadership of Telemaque. Another group preventing assembly of whites. All whites encountered by this group were to be killed, and if necessary the city was to be set afire in several places. Telemaque believed "...Negroes could not sustain power while one white skin remained."161 A more detailed description of the plan may be found in Higginson's book Black Rebellion.

The plot was betrayed by a house servant. The exposure resulted in one hundred and thirty-one Blacks arrested, thirty-seven executed, forty-three transported, and forty-eight released.

Telemaque had one of the most precisely detailed plots of all the leaders. He and his followers understood human behavior, and developed ingenious approaches to dealing with it.

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161 Halasz, p. 126.
162 Higginson, pp. 123-125.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY

For the slaves there were several levels of existing:

1) stereotyped conception of slaves held by whites;

2) response of slaves to the stereotypes, e.g. adjusting or "playing the part;"

3) resistance.

This paper was concerned partially with number two but mainly with number three. "The Negro like other men love freedom, the spark could not be extinguished by severe laws and reigns of terror." Slavery as a system of human relations could not be maintained without the use of force. Therefore, the whites had to use force. Many slaves, in turn, resisted via revolt.

The leaders of the revolts and conspiracies possessed almost all variations of combinations of leadership qualities; and they usually were able to be placed individually into different situations which demonstrate leaders. Some, for example, were emergent leaders, e.g. Cinque, Cudgoe, and Toussaint; whereas others were legitimate leaders, e.g. Télèmaque, Turner. Because of the nature of the revolts, none of the leaders were the type Launor Carter speaks of as individuals who cause unity unintentionally by their behavior.

\[163\] Carroll, p. 213.

\[164\] Refer to page 16 in Chapter Two.
In Chapter One several questions and commonly accepted assumptions were presented. Hopefully Chapter Four established proof that many of these assumptions were incorrect. A brief discussion of some of these questions and assumptions follow.

**Question 1:** What was the relationship between class and leadership?

The leaders in general seemed to come from either the "upper class" of the slave class or free Blacks. The slaves discussed in this paper frequently had histories of favorable or preferred treatment from the masters. Social class, however, did not automatically indicate leadership qualifications. The free Blacks in a few instances led the revolt, e.g. Vesey, Rigaud, but more often they participated in it by assisting or giving it moral support. This is not to say that there was total support because at times the free Blacks contributed to the ultimate exposure, as was the case with the betrayal of Vesey. DeVaney, a house slave, revealed the plot, but did so at the suggestion of a free man.

**Question 2:** Did any slave leaders possess leadership qualities (as defined in contemporary society)?

The leaders possessed many of the leadership qualities discussed in Chapter Two. A brief examination of the qualities per leader may be found in Chapter Four, Part II.

**Question 3:** Can the Karl Marx "Theory of Revolution" be supported by the activities of the slaves?

Among other things the Theory of Revolution suggest that

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165 Higginson, p. 104.
166 Halasz, p. 127.
society is splitting into hostile groups - the lower class and the bourgeoisie. In the sense that the Blacks (who all were considered inferior) and the "master class" were divided, the theory is true. In the sense of the "upper class" free Blacks and the slaves, the theory was not always true. The Theory also suggests that the lower class (proletariat) will be the only ones to rise up. An examination of the background of the slave leaders would disprove the theory that the poor are more prone to revolt because they have nothing to lose. The majority of the leaders were either free Black or well treated slaves. There was often astonishment on the part of the whites that someone who had everything to lose would participate in revolts. This can be illustrated in the statement of a judge in the trial of Telemaque, "... you were a freeman, comparatively wealthy and enjoyed every comfort compatible with your situation. You had, therefore, much to risk and little to gain."\textsuperscript{167}

**Question 5:** Can studying the history of slavery be beneficial to present day?

The study of the history of slavery is most beneficial to present day because knowledge of it can assist Blacks in understanding and working with other Blacks. The investigator adheres to the basic premise that to understand the present one must first understand the past. Until recently a very few positive qualities of Blacks during the slavery

\textsuperscript{167}Ibid., p. 116.
period were exposed. The historians insisted upon portraying the slave and free Black man as apathetic, docile, and stupid. This in turn, whether intentionally or unintentionally, caused a natural sense of inferiority. George H. Mead's theory of the "generalized other" is applicable and can explain how the conceptions of others can directly influence psychological development.

**Question 6:** Was there definite class differentiation among slaves?

There was a definite class differentiation among slaves. In the United States there were two classes - the house slaves (including artisans) and the field slaves. In the Caribbean there were the same two classes plus the Maroons, who were former slaves but had self-bestowed freedom. In the Latin American countries the differentiation was even more varied because in addition to the house and field slaves there were experts in various fields. The exact differentiations may be read in Chapter Two.

The first four assumptions of the "uninformed" need not be discussed because the entire contents of the paper disputes them.

**Assumption 5:** Slave leaders were a group of religious fanatics.

It was interesting to note that in almost all of the later revolts in the United States had religious undertones, or biblical passages were used to motivate the masses toward violent resistance of their slave status. The brief discussion in Chapter Two (see page 28) suggested that religion has become an institutional defense mechanism against anxiety. The slaves would, and
some Black people still will accept ideas, concepts, or activities cloaked under the guise of religion. This tends to also unify opposing or differing groups toward a common goal. The leaders realized this and skillfully used this approach to strive for the group's goal—freedom. Some leaders did sincerely believe that they had the approval of God, but this is not to say they were fanatics.

**Assumption 6**: Plots and revolts were ill-organized or not thought out (developed) in-depth.

C. L. James, in his book *History of Pan-African Revolt*, implies that the revolts in the West Indies were generally superior to other Pan-African revolts in the Western Hemisphere. He stated, "The revolts in the United States follow the same line as those in the West Indies before 1789, constant ill-organized uprisings which can always be crushed with comparative ease."¹⁶⁸ The investigator strongly disagrees with James. It is true that none of the conspiracies or actual uprisings in the United States were successful. However, a categorical statement that the revolts were constantly "ill-organized" is in err. Joseph Carroll points out this error with his statement, "One cannot help being impressed with the capacity of the slaves for organization and leadership as he goes through the record of this movement."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸James, p. 21.
¹⁶⁹Carroll, p. 25.
Also erroneous is the contention of James that "while their masters lived in constant terror, the Negroes themselves seemed unconscious of their revolutionary potentiality when organized on an extensive scale." For example, a close examination of the techniques of Telemaque suggests an in-depth evaluation of conditions, potential dangers, consequences, and precise organization. Nat Turner demonstrated that he was aware of the fear of the whites and relied upon surprise and fear to be advantages of the slaves. He also had precise organization to the point of even planning a retreat to the swamps if defeat became apparent.

The weak point in most of the conspiracies and uprisings was the lack of total commitment on the part of a few distant participators. Discovery of plots was generally not caused by revelation by leaders but by house slaves who generally received word of it via direct or overheard conversations with other slaves. The house slaves, in turn, reported the plots to their masters. "There was a cleavage between the troublemakers 'who promoted revolt and sabotage' and 'good slaves' who betrayed." August Meier and Elliot Rudwick suggested certain qualities of the house slave (or elite) mentality:

1) House slaves wanted to prevent any question of their loyalty and trust.

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170 James, p. 22.
171 Comer, p. 74.
2) "...The fear of being wrongly accused of complicity in resistance to slavery fostered hypersensitivity to normal expression of resentment in the slave quarters."\textsuperscript{172}

As a result of the above two points "curses, empty threats and meaningless implications could be magnified into ominous rumblings of rebellion. The fanatical alertness of the trusted servant could precipitate the loss of many innocent lives."\textsuperscript{173}

The actual abortive uprisings were often not "crushed with comparative ease" as James states. In the Nat Turner revolt approximately three hundred troops were used to find Nat, and it took two months. This points up the fact that it was not always "easy" to quell.

**IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORKERS**

The discussion in this paper has illustrated leadership types and qualities possessed by selected slave leaders. It has also demonstrated that education is not a prerequisite for leadership. This can reinforce the supposedly contemporary thrust of Social Work which is for the involvement of "non-" or "para" professionals on administrative levels.

Most important and valuable is the fact that these leaders managed to organize both loyal and rebellious people, and either in theory or actuality, conducted a massive resistance to subservience. The events discussed occurred prior to the emergence of the "Social Work" profession. Therefore, accepted contemporary

\textsuperscript{172}\textsuperscript{Halasz, p. 126.}

\textsuperscript{173}\textsuperscript{Ibid., p. 127.}
concepts were not knowingly employed. Nor were the leaders aware of the categorical methods, strategies, and techniques they used. It is believed that a study of practices and concepts developed by these leaders is imperative so that the "disorganizational syndrome" perpetuated by many white "scholars" can be refuted.

When working with people it is necessary to understand human behavior. The belief of some slaves, for example, that survival depended upon betrayal still exists in the minds of some Blacks. This belief may be a contributing factor to the present difficulties in unifying certain groups of people. Thus this study may provide insights into the genesis of some behavior.
APPENDIX

I. POPULATION IN DOMINICA, JAMAICA, AND THE UNITED STATES

II. MAJOR REVOLTS AND CONSPIRACIES

III. SUMMARY OF RECORDED LEADERS

IV. DATES OF OFFICIAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

V. AERIAL VIEW OF THE COCKPIT AREA OF JAMAICA
I. POPULATION IN DOMINICA, JAMAICA, AND THE UNITED STATES

A. DOMINICA (present Haiti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SLAVES</th>
<th>MANUMITTED</th>
<th>FREE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1808</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>20347</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2528</td>
<td>22931</td>
<td>1155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>18153</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>2826</td>
<td>21072</td>
<td>1084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>17820</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2762</td>
<td>20635</td>
<td>1130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>9891</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2819</td>
<td>12790</td>
<td>1017</td>
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<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>66211</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>10935</td>
<td>77428</td>
<td>4386</td>
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TOTAL (1808-1821)

B. JAMAICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SLAVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1778</td>
<td>20526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>217584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>250000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>291000</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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175 Ibid., p. 8.
176 Ibid., p. 11.
177 Ibid., p. 11.
178 This table was taken from a compilation given by Patterson, pp. 95-97.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SLAVES</th>
<th>MANUMITTED</th>
<th>FREE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>697897</td>
<td></td>
<td>59446</td>
<td>757343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>893941</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>108345</td>
<td>1001436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>1191364</td>
<td>statistics</td>
<td>186446</td>
<td>1377810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>1538038</td>
<td>given</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2328636</td>
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<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>2009043</td>
<td></td>
<td>319593</td>
<td>2873758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>2487455</td>
<td></td>
<td>386303</td>
<td>3638808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>3204313</td>
<td>2478</td>
<td></td>
<td>434495</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

II. RECORDED REVOLTS AND CONSPIRACIES

The reader should be reminded that the lists are by no means inclusive.

A. THE CARIBBEAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>DATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>1687; 1701; 1728; 1735; 1737.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>1649; 1675; 1687; 1692; 1816; 1817.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>1824.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>1765; 1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>1622; 1721; 1769; 1791.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>1663; 1673; 1677; 1690; (ca.) 1700-1739; 1746; 1760; 1767; 1769; 1793; 1795; 1798; 1809; 1831.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monserrat</td>
<td>1768.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Croix</td>
<td>1848.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Johns</td>
<td>1733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>1770.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Nevis</td>
<td>1725.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>1797.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobago</td>
<td>1770; 1771; 1774; 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>1805.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. LATIN AMERICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berbice</td>
<td>1764.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demerara</td>
<td>1824.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the sources see: Burns, Patterson, and Cundall.
### B. LATIN AMERICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berbica</td>
<td>1764.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demerara</td>
<td>1824.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>1765.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>1763; 1772.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### C. THE UNITED STATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>1827; 1840-1842; 1864.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>1657; 1723.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1813; 1838; 1840.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>1820.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>1771; 1774; 1776; 1779; 1786; 1796; 1804; 1805; 1810; 1919; 1827; 1929; 1836; 1839; 1841; 1849; 1851; 1855; 1863; 1864.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>1810; 1812; 1829; 1838; 1848; 1863.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>1727; 1730; 1732; 1784; 1791; 1792; 1795; 1804; 1809; 1811; 1812; 1835; 1837; 1839; 1843; 1845; 1851; 1853; 1863; 1864.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>1688*; 1705; 1738-1739; 1755*; 1805; 1814; 1817; 1840-1845; 1855; 1857.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>1690's; 1720; 1723; 1768; 1774.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>1807; 1812; 1826; 1835; 1841; 1858; 1862; 1863; 1864; 1855.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>1836; 1842; 1850; 1855; 1859.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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181 Sources were: Aptheker, Essays in the History of the American Negro (New York: International Publishers, 1964), pp. 209-210; and those states with * came from Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts. For a chronological list see Essays.
New Jersey 1734; 1741; 1772; 1776; 1779; 1796.
New York 1680's; 1702; 1708; 1712; 1741; 1778; 1796.
North Carolina 1775; 1783; 1792; 1795; 1796; 1800; 1803; 1805; 1810; 1818; 1820; 1821; 1825; 1829; 1835; 1840, 1851.
Pennsylvania 1737; 1776*; 1802*; 1803; 1804.
South Carolina 1526; 1702; 1711; 1713; 1720; 1721; 1730; 1733-1740; 1744; 1747; 1759-1761; 1765; 1766; 1755; 1787; 1793; 1797; 1798; 1800; 1802; 1805; 1813; 1816; 1819; 1822; 1820; 1835; 1855.
Texas 1835; 1851.
Tennessee 1810; 1829; 1836; 1838; 1839; 1842.
Virginia 1644; 1633; 1672; 1687; 1691*; 1694; 1709; 1710; 1722; 1723; 1729; 1730; 1755; 1767; 1770; 1782; 1786; 1792; 1793; 1796; 1797; 1799; 1800; 1801; 1802; 1805; 1806; 1808-1814; 1816; 1818; 1820; 1823; 1824; 1829; 1833; 1835; 1840; 1850; 1852; 1859; 1862; 1862-1864.

Most states in the United States 1831; 1856; 1860; 1861 (except N.C., Fla., Tex.)
III. SUMMARY OF RECORDED LEADERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATES</th>
<th>COUNTRY (or STATE)</th>
<th>LEADER</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1655-1670</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Juan de Bolas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1655-1670</td>
<td>U. S. _ Maryland</td>
<td>Sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1691</td>
<td>U. S. _ Virginia</td>
<td>Mingoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>U. S. _ Virginia</td>
<td>Scipio, Salvatore, Peter, Tom Shaw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>U. S. - So. Carolina</td>
<td>Sebastian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td>U. S. - Virginia</td>
<td>Sam, Cooper, Sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>U. S. Louisiana</td>
<td>Samba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1700-1739</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Cudgoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734-1739</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Quao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>U. S. - So. Carolina</td>
<td>Jemmy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756</td>
<td>St. Croix</td>
<td>Cudjoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>U. S. - Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Samson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>James Oge, Jean Baptiste, Rigaud, Touissant L'Ouvreture, Jean Francois, Jeannot Biassou.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>U. S. - No. Carolina</td>
<td>&quot;General of the Swamps.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>U. S. - Virginia</td>
<td>Gabriel Prosser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>Dessalines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U. S. - No. Carolina</td>
<td>Tom Cooper</td>
</tr>
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It should be noted that no one or "a few" sources can be given for the list of leaders. It was compiled as the researcher surveyed the literature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>U.S. - Virginia</td>
<td>Sam, and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>U.S. - Louisiana</td>
<td>Charles des Londes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>U.S. - No. Carolina</td>
<td>Telemaque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>U.S. - Virginia</td>
<td>Goomer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. - No. Carolina</td>
<td>Harry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>U.S. - Alabama</td>
<td>&quot;Hal&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>U.S. - Virginia</td>
<td>Nat Turner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Samuel Sharpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>aboard the &quot;Amistad:&quot;</td>
<td>Cinque</td>
</tr>
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IV. DATES OF ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

<table>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Central America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Antigua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Uruguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>French and Danish W.I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850's (exact date not given by Dozer)</td>
<td>Equador and Venzuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


184 Cundall. These countries violated the "Gran Colombian Emancipation Law." Slaves were supposed to have been freed in 1821 according to Dozer.
V. AERIAL VIEW OF THE COCKPIT AREA OF JAMAICA

The aerial view is of one portion of the large cockpit area in Jamaica. The picture was taken by this researcher from a small commuter plane. The camera used was a Kodak Instamatic S-20, and the film was Ecktachrome J26.
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Lippitt, Ronald; Watson, Jeanne; and Westley, Bruce. *Dynamics of Planned Change.* New York: Brace Harcourt, & Co.


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Negro Slavery #1-17. London: Ellerton & Henderson (no date given).


Pierson, Donald. *Negroes in Brazil.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1942.


**JOURNALS**

The articles are arranged according to year and volume rather than alphabetically. All of the articles came from the *Journal of Negro History*.

1920 Volume 5
Cromwell, J.N. "The Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection."
Riddell, W.R. "Slavery in Canada."

1926 Volume 11
Documents: "An Account of the Negro Rebellion on St. Croix, Danish West Indies."

1928 Volume 13
Riddell, W.R. "The Slave in New York."

1936 Volume 21
Eads, J.R. "The Negro in Brazil."
Wish, H. "American Slave Insurrections Before 1861."

1938 Volume 27
Bauer, R.A. "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery."

1944 Volume 29
Aptheker, H. "Notes on Slave Conspiracies in Confederate Mississippi 1800-1865."

1948 Volume 33
Lofton, J.W. "Denmark Vesey's Call to Arms."

1949 Volume 34
McKiffen, D.B. "Negro Slave Insurrections in Mississippi, 1800-1865."

1950 Volume 35
Addington, W.G. "Slave Insurrections in Texas."
MANUSCRIPTS

Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta University MSS (date unknown, author unknown), Slavery Files.