

## Negotiating Native Dominion in the Lesser Antilles, c.1635-1660

The man had grown “tired of living among his people.” Eager to find new lands, he “embarked his whole family” in the long dugout canoe, or *chaboúlouibaie*.<sup>1</sup> The family traveled for many days; without the benefit of sails, they depended on ocean currents and large wooden paddles to propel their vessel north from the river basin into the open sea.<sup>2</sup> After navigating through a long chain of islands—some small and rocky, others with volcanic peaks that disappeared from view into the clouds above—they came ashore in a sandy cove. With its many bays to land boats; dense rainforests to shelter them from attack and furnish *chíbou* trees for building *chaboúlouibaie* and dwellings; and dozens of *tóna*, or rivers, to provision them with fresh fish, the lush green island was the perfect place for the man and his family to call home.<sup>3</sup> They named their new homeland *Oüàitoucoubouli*, but for generations, as their numbers grew and they spread out across the constellation of islands to the north and south, the man’s descendants continued to refer to themselves by the name of their adventurous ancestor: Kalinago.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Missionary Raymond Breton translates the French word ‘canot,’ or canoe, as “chaboúlouibaie f. chábae couliala áboucou, *ou* táboulou.” However, the word ‘canoe/canot’ was itself likely derived from indigenous Caribbean languages; Raymond reported that when asking a person to build a canoe, the Kalinago used the phrase “iouamatégue canáoa.” Raymond Breton, *Dictionnaire François-Caraïbe* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900), 58.

<sup>2</sup> The use of sails in the pre-Columbian Caribbean has been subject to some debate; see Scott M. Fitzpatrick, “Seafaring Capabilities in the Pre-Columbian Caribbean,” *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 8 (June 2013: 101-138). Fitzpatrick states that “there is no historical, linguistic, or archaeological evidence to suggest that Caribbean Amerindians ever developed th[is] technolog[y],” 117.

<sup>3</sup> All terms sourced from Breton, *Dictionnaire François-Caraïbe*. For *chíbou*, or copperwood tree, page 192; for *tóna*, 346; for *Oüàitoucoubouli*, 125.

<sup>4</sup> This origin story is sourced from Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique...* [1654], Vol. 1: 401-402. “...leur premier père nommé *Kalinago*, ennuyé de viure parmy sa nation, & desirieux de conquerer de nouvelles terres, fit embarquer toute sa famille, & apres avoir vogué assez long-temps, qu’ils s’establit à la Dominique... S’il est permis de tirer quelque verité d’une fable, on peut colliger de celle-cy, que nos Barbares sont [401] descendus des Kalibis... » The notion that the Kalinago were descended from the Galibi was also related to Sieur de la Borde, who reported that “De vieux Sauvages m’ont dit qu’il venoient de Galibis de terre ferme...” See La Borde, *Relation de l’origine, moeurs, coustumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Caraïbes Sauvages des isles Antilles de l’Amérique* (Paris : Imprimerie des Roziers, MDCLXXXIV [1684]), 4.

The origin story that the indigenous inhabitants of *Oüàitoucoubouli*, or Dominica, related to French missionary Jean Baptiste du Tertre when he visited the island in the 1640s proved remarkably accurate; modern archaeological research suggest that humans began migrating from the South American mainland to the Caribbean as much as 8,000 years ago.<sup>5</sup> More important than the story’s veracity, however, is the insight it offers on how Native residents of the Lesser Antilles understood the interconnected geography and history of the region. The people who called themselves Kalinago recognized that while different islands had different names— *Caloucaéra*, or Guadeloupe, to the north, and *Ioiánacaéra*, *Ioiànalao*, *Iouloumain*, and *Camáogne* (Martinique, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada), forming an arc to the south—all were part of the same archipelago.<sup>6</sup> Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the men and women who inhabited “the heart of Kalinago territory” lived in insular settlements, with each small village led by its own ruler.<sup>7</sup> But they also shared “language, religion, and customs” that enabled them to treat the islands not as isolated, bounded entities, but as part of an interconnected maritime space, one through

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<sup>5</sup> For the earliest known dates of human settlement in various Caribbean islands, see Scott M. Fitzpatrick, “The Pre-Columbian Caribbean: Colonization, Population dispersal, and Island Adaptations,” *Paleoamerica* 1, N. 4 (2015: 305-331), 308. For pioneering work in Caribbean archaeology, Louis Allaire, “On the Historicity of Carib Migrations in the Lesser Antilles,” *American Antiquity* Vol. 45, no. 2 (April 1980): 238-245; Irving Rouse, *Migrations in Prehistory: Inferring Population Movement from Cultural Remains* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 106-156. Recent research posits that multiple migrations from mainland to islands took place, see Scott M. Fitzpatrick and Ann H. Ross, “Crossing the Caribbean Divide: Integrating Anthropological Analyses in the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures,” in Scott M. Fitzpatrick and Ann H. Ross, eds. *Island Shores, Distant Pasts: Archaeological and Biological Approaches to the Pre-Columbian Settlement of the Caribbean* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 4-5.

<sup>6</sup> All names given in Breton, *Dictionnaire François-Caraïbe*.

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Pierre Sainton characterizes the area from Guadeloupe in the north to Grenada in the south as “le coeur de l’aire kallingo” at the time of European arrival in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Jean-Pierre Sainton, ed. *Histoire et Civilisation de la Caraïbe, Tome I: Le temps des Genèses des origines à 1685* (Paris: Karthala, 2015), 86. Archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests that « before Columbus’s first contact, islands in the Eastern Caribbean were inhabited by variously inter-related, politically autonomous ethnic groups...After Europeans began colonizing Lesser Antillean islands in the seventeenth century, the indigenous inhabitants confederated under the ‘Caraïbe’ ethnonym. » Ann Cody Holdren, “Raiders and Traders: Caraïbe Social and Political Networks at the Time of European Contact and Colonization in the Eastern Caribbean,” (PhD Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 1998), xxii.

which they regularly traveled to gather provisions, trade, and visit and exchange information with their neighbors.<sup>8</sup>

The geography of the southern Caribbean archipelago played a key role in creating this shared space. Although Europeans divided the Lesser Antilles into ‘Windward’ and ‘Leeward’ islands based on their location relative to the trade winds that carried their ships to the region, these constructs meant little to the Kalinago, who relied not on sails but on prevailing ocean currents and wooden paddles to navigate between islands.<sup>9</sup> A strong current sweeps north from the Equator, directing water northwesterly past Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia towards Martinique, and on to Dominica and Guadeloupe.<sup>10</sup> Although travelling south against the current would have required vigorous paddling, the calmer Caribbean Sea along the western side of the archipelago allows small craft to hug the coastline, and seafarers could stop in sheltered bays or smaller, uninhabited Grenadine islands as necessary.<sup>11</sup>

Regional navigation was further aided by the fact that the mountainous islands of the Lesser Antillean chain are intervisible, meaning that Kalinago seafarers were able to keep land in sight as they traveled miles in their sleek wooden vessels. Located approximately 25 miles between Martinique and Guadeloupe, Dominica could be accessed from either island in four to five hours

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<sup>8</sup> Du Tertre reported that “outre qu’ils ont une conformité de langage, leur religion & leurs mœurs ne sont pas différentes...” Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des isles*, Vol. 1, 402.

<sup>9</sup> As Alistair Bright argues, “...the geographical division between Windward and Leeward islands, imposed and employed by colonial Europeans on the basis of meteorological characteristics affecting sailing in the region, held no meaning for the Amerindian inhabitants. Given their seafaring capabilities, they were affected by currents rather than winds.” Bright, *Blood is Thicker than Water*, 22, footnote 17. Studies of current velocity in the southern Caribbean demonstrate that “...very little of the mean inflow to the Caribbean through the southern passages can be attributed to wind-driven circulation...” Wilson & Johns, “Velocity structure and transport in the Windward Islands Passages,” 487.

<sup>10</sup> Chris Doyle, *Sailors Guide to the Windward Islands* (Dunedin, Florida: Cruising Guide Publication, 2017), 42; Boucher, *France and the American Tropics*, 15.

<sup>11</sup> Arthur Stinchcombe argues that “it did not take a governmentally or capitalistically organized enterprise to go from one island to another”; residents could travel distances of up to 25 miles on water craft they built themselves. Arthur Stinchcombe, *Sugar Island Slavery in the Age of Enlightenment: The Political Economy of the Caribbean World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 47.

by canoe.<sup>12</sup> In good weather, travelers departing the southern coast of Martinique could reach St. Lucia, some 21 miles away, in approximately four hours' journey, with St. Vincent a further four to five hours south from the southern tip of St. Lucia.<sup>13</sup> Lands that lay beyond the island chain were more difficult to access. Located more than 110 miles east of the southern Caribbean archipelago and therefore exposed to the rougher Atlantic Sea on the eastern side of the islands, Barbados was rarely frequented by the Kalinago.<sup>14</sup>

By the time that French missionaries began documenting the history and language of the Kalinago in the mid-seventeenth century, however, the Natives' relationship to the region had undergone significant change. Kalinago practices of inter-island travel and exchange became increasingly circumscribed in the period after 1492, as European incursions prompted indigenous population loss, dispersal, and concentration in territories not claimed by Europeans. Father Pacifique de Provins, who like Du Tertre visited Dominica in the 1640s, noted that the island "is only inhabited by some assembled savages who [were] chased by Christians from the mainland as well as from neighboring islands that they stole from them."<sup>15</sup> Du Tertre echoed the views of his

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<sup>12</sup> Jesuit missionary Père Lavalette, who lived in St. Pierre, Martinique in the eighteenth century but supervised a plantation in southern Dominica, journeyed to the neighboring island every Sunday after giving mass. "Combien de fois ai-je passé le canal de la Dominique en pirogue!" he remarked in his memoir. Quoted in Camille de Rochmonteix, *Le Père Antoine Lavalette à la Martinique: D'après beaucoup de documents inédits* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1907), 77. A five-hour journey from Dominica to Martinique is also given in Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, Vol. II Part IV: 100. On two other instances, the missionary travelled from Martinique to Guadeloupe in approximately 14 hours; Dominica lies between the two islands. Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, Vol. II, 128, 155.

<sup>13</sup> On his journey through the Caribbean Père Labat mentions that his journey from St. Vincent to St. Lucia took about 5 hours, and after departing St. Lucia at approximately 3 a.m. the missionary arrived in Martinique "while it was still dark." Jean Baptiste Labat, *The Memoirs of Père Labat, 1693-1705*. Translated by John Eaden (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1970 [First published 1722]), 140, 142. In his study of communications in the French Atlantic, Kenneth Banks notes that a passenger boat service traversed the 30 kilometers (approximately 18 miles) between St. Pierre and Fort de France, Martinique, daily; the journey took a maximum of four hours each way. Banks, *Chasing Empire*, 97.

<sup>14</sup> On the difficulty of accessing Barbados, Fitzpatrick, "Pre-Columbian Caribbean Colonization," 310.

<sup>15</sup> "La Dominique n'est habitée que de sauvages ramassés, lesquels, ayant été chassés par les chrétiens, tant de la terre ferme que des îles voisines qu'on leur a ôtées, s'y trouvent environ au nombre de trois mille." P. Pacifique de Provins, *Le Voyage de Perse et Brève Relation du Voyage des Îles de l'Amérique*. P. Godefroy de Paris & P. Hilaire de Wingene, eds. (Assisi: Collegio S. Lorenzo da Brindisi Dei Minori Cappuccini, 1939 [1646]), 38-39.

contemporary, arguing that Dominica's Kalinago inhabitants were "merely... the leftovers of the innumerable barbarians that the Spanish Christians exterminated."<sup>16</sup> These and other comments from early English and French voyagers to the Caribbean reveal how Iberia's violent conquest of the Americas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries influenced the ways in which subsequent European colonizers sought to present their own activities in the New World.<sup>17</sup> Undoubtedly aware of the tales of Spanish destruction that gave rise to the 'Black Legend,' French missionaries like Du Tertre and Provins consciously sought to portray their relations with Native Americans in a more positive light.<sup>18</sup> While French accounts of their interactions with Kalinagoes must therefore be treated with caution, they also remind us that far from being an isolated or static group, the people that Europeans dubbed "savages" had generations of experience with conquerors and colonists from across the Atlantic.<sup>19</sup> These experiences affected many facets of Native society in

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<sup>16</sup> "...nos Sauvages ne sont...que le reste des innombrables barbares, que les Chrestiens Espagnols ont exterminé, & dont une partie des plus vieux d'entr'eux ont esté témoins oculaires de extrêmes cruautéz, que les Chrestiens ont exercé sur eux & sur leurs pères..." Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des isles* [1654], 460. A similar observation was made by Pacifique de Provins, who noted after his visit to Dominica that the island "n'est habitée que de sauvages ramassés, lesquels, ayant été chassés par les chrétiens, tant de la terre ferme que des îles voisines qu'on leur a ôtées, s'y trouvent environ au nombre de trois mille" P. Pacifique de Provins, *Le Voyage de Perse et Brève Relation du Voyage des Îles de l'Amérique*. P. Godefroy de Paris & P. Hilaire de Wingene, eds. (Assisi: Collegio S. Lorenzo da Brindisi Dei Minori Cappuccini, 1939 [1646]), 38-39.

<sup>17</sup> On the development of the Black Legend in England, see William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1971). On the diffusion of the legend in Europe and America over the course of several centuries, see Benjamin Keen, "The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 49, N. 4 (Nov. 1969): 703-719. For a discussion of the similarities between Iberian Catholic and Puritan justifications for conquest, see Jorge Canizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006). For a collection of primary sources regarding the Black Legend and its influences, see Charles Gibson, ed. *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

\*Flesh out this footnote to also discuss French self-presentations elsewhere?\*

<sup>18</sup> For instance, Provins reported that the Kalinago "venaient nous voir en foule, apportant toutes sorte de fruits et de poissons... nous avons mangé et couché avec eux, et nous y fumes reçus avec beaucoup d'humanité, en considération de mon dit sieur le gouverneur, qu'ils aiment et affectionnent fort." Provins, *Le Voyage de Perse*, 13. A French sailor who visited Martinique in 1618 commented that the island's inhabitants "like the French better than all other nations," and noted that "the Spanish only dare to spend one day and one night on the island" because of the hostile reception they received. "...ils aiment les Français par-dessus toutes les autres nations... Les Espagnols n'y osent demeurer qu'un jour et une nuit, et lorsque les sauvages traitent avec eux, c'est en tenant d'une main l'arc et la fleche..." Moreau, ed. *Un Flibustier Français dans la Mer des Antilles*, 98.

<sup>19</sup> Seventeenth-century references to Native peoples seeking refuge in response to Spanish incursion can be found in Jacques Bouton, *Relation de l'établissement des Français depuis l'an 1635 en l'isle de la Martinique, l'une des Antilles de l'Amérique* (Paris : Sébastien Cramoisy, MDCXL), 105; Pierre Pelleprat, *Relation des missions des PP.*

the Caribbean, as individuals and groups secured new trade goods and relationships; developed new means of communication; fled or migrated in order to establish new settlements; and forged new political, military, and personal alliances.<sup>20</sup> They also shaped relations between Natives and newcomers. As English and French settlers began to establish colonies in the Lesser Antilles in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, the “savages” they encountered drew on a range of commercial, military, and diplomatic strategies in order to forge new economic, political, and familial relationships, and to create and maintain spaces of autonomy and dominion amidst growing European encroachment.

Recognizing the extent to which the Kalinago actively shaped the colonization of the Lesser Antilles offers an important corrective to prevailing histories that ignore or silence the influence and even the very presence of indigenous actors in the colonial Caribbean.<sup>21</sup> Narratives of the European destruction of the Caribbean’s native populations, which originated with Bartolomé de las Casas’s vivid account of Spanish atrocities on sixteenth-century Hispaniola,

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*de la Compagnie de Jesus dans les Isles, et dans la terre ferme de l’Amérique Méridionale* (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy & Gabriel Cramoisy, MDCLV), 67. Karen Anderson Cordova explores the free and forced movement of native peoples between islands, beginning with the arrival of Columbus, in Karen Anderson Cordova, *Surviving Spanish Conquest: Indian Fight, Flight, and Cultural Transformation in Hispaniola and Puerto Rico*. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2017).

<sup>20</sup> A detailed discussion of the effects of European colonization on the peoples of the Lesser Antilles can be found in Gérard Lafleur, *Les Caraïbes des Petites Antilles* (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 1992), especially pages 11-32 and 155-170. For an archaeological perspective on Kalinago adaptations to the presence of Europeans in the Lesser Antilles, see Corinne Hofman, Angus Mol, Menno Hoogland & Roberto Valcárcel Rojas, “Stages of encounters: migration, mobility, and interaction in the pre-colonial and early colonial Caribbean,” *World Archaeology* 46, N. 4 (2014: 590-604), especially 599-602. For a discussion of how Native alliance networks in the eastern Caribbean evolved in response to Europeans, see Holdren, “Raiders and Traders.”

<sup>21</sup> On the phenomenon of historical silencing, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995). In one example of how the notion of indigenous extinction has been extended to other parts of the Caribbean, James Pritchard states, “[t]he French met few natives in the West Indies...By 1670, few Caribs remained.” James Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3-4. While Philip Boucher notes that native inhabitants of the Greater Antilles were “far more susceptible to epidemiological disasters” than were those of the Lesser Antilles, he nonetheless argues that “growing contacts with Europeans and their African captives after 1635 likely took an increasing toll” even in the smaller islands. Boucher, *France and the American Tropics*, 71.

continue to inform scholarly discussions of the entire region.<sup>22</sup> Although modern demographic analyses corroborate the devastating effects of disease and enslavement on the indigenous inhabitants of Hispaniola, these conclusions should not be extrapolated to the Caribbean as a whole.<sup>23</sup> Research by archaeologists and historians instead demonstrates that the Native peoples of the small, mountainous volcanic islands that form the Lesser Antillean archipelago were not affected by European incursions in the same way as their counterparts to the north.<sup>24</sup> While the indigenous populations of the Lesser Antilles were greatly reduced by epidemics, warfare, and Spanish slaving missions throughout the sixteenth century, surviving texts reveal that the Kalinago continued to engage settlers in lengthy diplomatic and military contests over territory, trade, and the expansion of slavery and plantation production in the Lesser Antilles throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>25</sup> The forcible transportation of almost 5,000 ‘Black Caribs’ off the island of St. Vincent in 1797, along with the creation of a Native reservation in Dominica

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<sup>22</sup> First published in 1558, the Dominican friar’s vivid account of indigenous death and enslavement at the hands of conquistadors helped create the ‘Black Legend’ of Spanish rule in the Americas. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*.

<sup>23</sup> One influential study estimates that from an initial population of almost 4 million people at the time of Spanish arrival in the Americas, the indigenous population of Hispaniola declined to just 125 by 1570. Sherburne Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). Others argue that this figure is far too high, estimating instead a Native population of just 100,000 in Hispaniola at time of European arrival. See Angel Rosenblat, “The Population of Hispaniola at the time of Columbus,” in William M. Denevan, ed. *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 43- 66. For an overview of debates regarding the population of early colonial Hispaniola, Noble David Cook, “Disease and the Depopulation of Hispaniola, 1492-1518,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, N. 1 (1993): 213-245; for debates on the indigenous Caribbean population as a whole, David Watts, *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture, and Environment Change since 1492* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 71-75.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel M. Wilson, “Surviving European Conquest in the Caribbean,” *Revista de Arqueología Americana* 12 (Jan.-June 1997): 141-160.

<sup>25</sup> A brief discussion of sixteenth-century Spanish slave-raiding expeditions to the Lesser Antilles can be found in Carl Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1966), 192-194; and in Moreau, *Les Petites Antilles*, 33-38. On Spanish slave raiding throughout the sixteenth century Caribbean, see Erin Woodruff Stone, “Chasing ‘Caribs’: Defining Zones of Legal Indigenous Enslavement in the Circum-Caribbean, 1493-1542,” forthcoming.

in 1903, testifies to the continued presence of people who identified as indigenous to the Caribbean long after their ancestors were supposedly rendered extinct.<sup>26</sup>

Although historians often fail to analyze the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean as political actors, a close examination of surviving missionary and travelers' accounts, government correspondence, censuses, and maps reveals the many ways in which Kalinago actions helped shape the political geography of the Lesser Antilles.<sup>27</sup> Through a combination of diplomacy and war, the Kalinago succeeded in actively delimiting European settlement of the region throughout the colonial era.<sup>28</sup> In 1660, a treaty concluded between French, English, and Kalinago signatories recognized this delimitation by formally acknowledging Kalinago or 'Carib' dominion over the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent; in exchange, the Kalinago acknowledged European sovereignty over the former Kalinago homelands of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and St. Christopher's. A number of subsequent treaties, including the 1748 treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, publicly reaffirmed the existence of territories that lay outside the boundaries of European sovereignty in the early modern Americas.

In addition to acting as spaces of Kalinago dominion, islands that lay beyond the sphere of European rule in the early colonial Caribbean also came to serve as attractive sites of refuge for people who were marginalized by the advance of the plantation complex.<sup>29</sup> By the first decades of

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<sup>26</sup> The 1797 exile is discussed in chapter 7 and the epilogue. On the creation of a reservation in Dominica, see Peter Hulme and Neil Whitehead, *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day: An Anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 258-265.

<sup>27</sup> Several important exceptions to this trend include Hilary McD Beckles, "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance to European Colonisation of the Caribbean," *Caribbean Quarterly* 38, N.2-3 (June 1992): 1-17; Jean-Pierre Moreau, *Les Petites Antilles*; John Angus Martin, *Island Caribs and French Settlers*.

<sup>28</sup> Native peoples similarly succeeded in preventing large scale European colonization of many parts of the mainland Americas during the same period. For examples, see White, *The Middle Ground*; Duval, *The Native Ground*; Hamailainen, *Comanche Empire*.

<sup>29</sup> On the plantation complex in the seventeenth-century Caribbean, see Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 73-110. Curtin attributes the rapid rise of sugar planting on Barbados to "the clean slate of a new territory," and states that the sugar revolution in the English Leeward Islands "progressed much more slowly, partly because of insecurity during the



the eighteenth century, runaway slaves, free people of color, and small planters increasingly migrated to islands formally recognized as ‘Carib’ territories, ultimately giving rise to diverse, Creolized communities. In their determination to maintain spaces of dominion in the face of increasing European domination, the Kalinago inadvertently helped create a distinctive inter-island borderland in the southern Caribbean.

### Native Geographies of the Southern Caribbean

Although both archaeological and historical records confirm that the indigenous inhabitants of the circum-Caribbean treated the region as part of a larger, interconnected space, the first Europeans to visit the Caribbean were quick to divide the region according to geography.<sup>30</sup> Based on this division, Spanish explorers assigned the Caribbean’s native peoples to one of two categories: either the peaceable ‘Taino’ or ‘Arawak,’ who were said to reside in the larger islands of the Greater Antilles, or the bellicose, allegedly man-eating ‘Carib’ who circulated through the smaller islands of the Lesser Antilles.<sup>31</sup> These assignments were more than simply descriptive. As barbarians who resisted conversion to Christianity, people deemed ‘Carib’ were legally eligible

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long series of Anglo-French wars”; the role of Native peoples in attacking European settlements is not mentioned. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall*, 83-84.

<sup>30</sup> Boucher inventively describes this inter-island organization as a “commuter economy,” see Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters: Europeans and Island Caribs, 1492-1763* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 36. On the indigenous circum-Caribbean as an interconnected arena, see Corrine Hofman, Alistair Bright, & Reniel Rodríguez Ramos. “Crossing the Caribbean Sea: Towards a Holistic View of pre-colonial Mobility and Exchange,” *Journal of Caribbean Archaeology* Special Publication 3 (2010: 1-18).

<sup>31</sup> On the European invention of ‘Arawak’ and ‘Carib’ see Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), 46. On the perpetuation of this “ethnological dualism” by the Spanish and later by historians, see Neil Whitehead, “Native Society and the European Occupation of the Caribbean Islands and Coastal *Tierra Firme*, 1492-1650,” in P.C. Emmer, ed. *General History of the Caribbean Vol. II: New Societies: The Caribbean in the long sixteenth century* (London: UNESCO Publishing, 1999), 181. Although archaeological and historic evidence points to different socio-political organization among the indigenous inhabitants of the Greater and Lesser Antilles, with the former living in villages of 1,000 to 2,000 people ruled by a single chieftain, historians also emphasize “the similarities of culture between island Arawak and Carib...suggesting that both should now be regarded as being part of one major island Caribbean culture group rather than as separate cultural and/or linguistic entities.” David Watts, “The Caribbean Environment and Early Settlement,” in Emmer, *General History of the Caribbean Vol. II*, 33-34.

for enslavement, whereas those deemed ‘Taino’ were not.<sup>32</sup> Despite the simple binary imposed by Europeans, archaeological evidence suggests that the indigenous Caribbean actually constituted a “cultural mosaic.”<sup>33</sup> The possibility of assigning these cultures to one of only two categories is further complicated by the fact that they were not insular. As they used dugout canoes to travel long distances in order to trade, raid, or cultivate crops in other islands and as far away as the South American main, the Caribbean’s native peoples elaborated political, commercial, and social geographies that did not align with those subsequently imposed by Europeans.<sup>34</sup>

European contemporaries almost never referred to the people they encountered in the Lesser Antilles as ‘Kalinago.’ Missionaries, colonial officials, and settlers instead used the term Carib/Caraïbe, or the generic term ‘Indian,’ or they signaled what they perceived to be inherent differences between themselves and their Native neighbors by labelling them ‘*sauvage*’: wild, untamed, or savage beings.<sup>35</sup> Yet as French missionary Raymond Breton’s 1665 Franco-Kalinago dictionary reveals, “the words Galibi and Carib were names that the Europeans gave them, and...their real name was Callinago...they distinguish themselves only by the words Oubaóbanum

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<sup>32</sup> As Nancy Van Deusen explains, the Spanish “purposefully left the cultural geography defining Carib territory vague...certain islands of the Lesser Antilles...were designated or redesignated as Caribe according to when extractive resources such as pearls were discovered, and when the Spaniards decided they needed an in situ labor force.” Nancy E. van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 152.

<sup>33</sup> Samuel M. Wilson, “The Cultural Mosaic of the Indigenous Caribbean,” in Warwick Bray, ed. *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Europe and the Americas, 1492-1650* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993): 37-66. On the heterogeneity of the pre-Columbian and early colonial Caribbean, see also Stephan Lenik, “Carib as a Colonial Category: Comparing Ethnohistoric and Archaeological Evidence from Dominica, West Indies,” *Ethnohistory* 59, N. 1 (Winter 2012: 79-107).

<sup>34</sup> On the “inter-related, politically autonomous ethnic groups” that populated the pre-Columbian eastern Caribbean and began to unite as a polity in response to European contact, see Holdren, “Raiders and Traders,” xxi. Provins noted that Native inhabitants of Dominica regularly went to neighboring Marie-Galante, “where they make their gardens.” Provins, *Le Voyage*, 14-15.

<sup>35</sup> As several early chroniclers noted, Native people did not take kindly to being called ‘sauvage’; Labat remarked that they were greatly angered by the term, while Sieur de la Borde related, “they take offense when we call them Savages... They respond that in their eyes we are even more so, because we do not live like they do: that they have their science, and we ours, as if in truth there were two ways of knowing.” “Ils s’offencent quand on les appelle Sauvages... Ils répondent que nous le sommes encore plus à leur égard, parce que nous ne vivons pas à leur mode : qu’ils ont leur science, & nous la nostre, comme si il y avoit deux facons de scavoir les choses dans la verité.” Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, II: 113; Laborde, *Relation de l’origine*, 15-16.

[and] Balouébanum, that is to say, of the islands or of the mainland.”<sup>36</sup> Although terms used in historical sources have been retained, the term ‘Kalinago’ is here used to refer to the people who inhabited the Lesser Antilles when Europeans began settling the islands in the seventeenth century, as well as their descendants. Eschewing European labels in favor of a term by which the region’s Native inhabitants identified themselves honors the express wishes of their descendants, while also placing historical Kalinago on an equal analytical footing with the French, English, and other European subjects with whom they engaged in trade, diplomacy, and war.<sup>37</sup>

Like the Europeans they encountered, the Kalinago were not a static or timeless people. Throughout the pre-Columbian era, Kalinago areas of settlement and trade, as well as political and military alliances, evolved in response to the availability of natural resources and the presence of competing polities.<sup>38</sup> The arrival of Europeans further accelerated these adaptations, as the Kalinago quickly adopted new goods and practices, such as metal tools, livestock and foodstuffs, and agricultural and maritime technologies.<sup>39</sup> European contact also forced the Kalinago to confront new diseases and unfamiliar military tactics. By the end of the fifteenth century, these confrontations had already begun to trigger substantial migrations among the Native populations of the circum-Caribbean.<sup>40</sup> In the ensuing decades, the indigenous inhabitants of individual islands increasingly relocated to areas that were not occupied by Europeans, such as the islands’

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<sup>36</sup> “J’ay enfin appris des Capitaines de l’isle de la Dominique, que les mots de Galibi & Caraibe estoient des noms que les Europeens leur avoient donnez, & que leur veritable nom estoit Callinago, qu’ils ne se distinguoient que par ses mots Oubaóbanum, Balouébonum, c’est-à-dire, des Isles, ou de terre ferme...” Breton, *Dictionnaire*, 229. The identification of “Balouy” is also offered in Moreau, ed. *Un Flibustier Francais dans la Mer des Antilles*, 94.

<sup>37</sup> At the request of Kalinago people presently residing in Dominica, in 2010 the island’s government replaced the term ‘Carib’ with that of ‘Kalinago.’ Lenik, “Carib as a Colonial Category, 82. Other scholars elect to retain the term ‘Carib,’ arguing that the term has specific historical connotations that should not be elided, and that the ‘Carib’ people likely came into being as a result of European actions in the Caribbean. See for example Hulme and Whitehead, *Wild Majesty*, 3. Erin Woodruff Stone, “Chasing Caribs.”

<sup>38</sup> For example, archaeological evidence suggests that environmental factors may have led Barbados to be abandoned by Native settlers prior to European arrival in the Caribbean. Peter L. Drewett & José R. Oliver, “Prehistoric Settlements in the Caribbean,” *Archaeology International* (1997: 43-46).

<sup>39</sup> These adaptations are outlined in Whitehead, “Native Society and the European Occupation,” 191-199.

<sup>40</sup> Erin Woodruff-Stone, “Chasing Caribs”; Jalil Sued Badillo, “Guadalupe: Caribe o taina?”

mountainous interiors or rougher, less navigable Atlantic coasts.<sup>41</sup> They also migrated to islands that posed practical challenges to European colonization, concentrating their settlement on mountainous, densely-forested islands such as Dominica and St. Vincent.<sup>42</sup> By migrating and forming new alliances in response to the arrival of Europeans, the Kalinago drew on existing strategies in order to meet new challenges. These strategies allowed them to retain spaces of autonomy and dominion well into the eighteenth century, long after many historians presume that they ceased to shape the geopolitics of the region.

### European Incursions & the Evolving Political Geography of the Lesser Antilles

Although the Kalinago successfully prevented early Spanish incursions in the Lesser Antilles, foreign challenges to Kalinago dominion increased as Northern European powers began to colonize the Americas in the seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup> Following Charles I's ascension to the English throne in 1625 and the appointment of Cardinal Richelieu as King Louis XIII's Chief Minister in 1624, the respective Crowns of England and France began to devote greater resources to Atlantic commerce and colonization. In 1625, King Charles I granted the Leeward island of St. Christopher's to Thomas Warner; the following year, the establishment of France's *Compagnie de l'Isle de Saint-Christophe* formally signaled France's intention to also settle the 65 square-mile island.<sup>44</sup>

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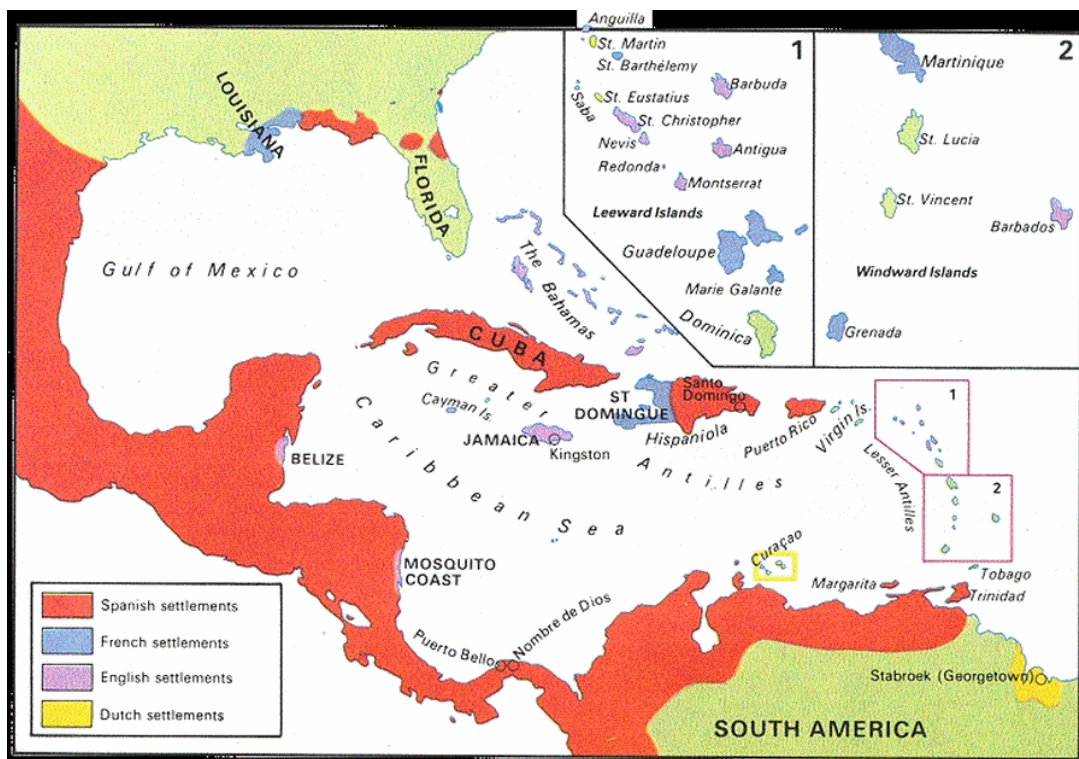
<sup>41</sup> On Kalinago preference for the less accessible coasts of the islands, see Rennard, *Les Caraïbes la Guadeloupe*, 69.

<sup>42</sup> These migrations meant that a person who was native to the Caribbean was not necessarily indigenous to the island on which he or she lived; for that reason, the term 'Native' is here preferred to the term 'indigenous.'

<sup>43</sup> On Kalinago success against the Spanish in Dominica, see Boromé, "Spain and Dominica." On the failed English attempt to establish a colony in Grenada in 1609, see John Angus Martin, *Island Caribs and French Settlers in Grenada, 1498-1763* (St. George's, Grenada: The Grenada National Museum Press, 2013), 31-53.

<sup>44</sup> The October 31, 1626 establishment of France's *Compagnie de l'isle de Saint-Christophe* is noted in Du Tertre, *Histoire generale des isles*, 7. For more on the English establishment of St. Kitts, see Sarah Barber in L.H. Roper, ed. *The Torrid Zone* (2018).

Map 1.1: European Possessions in the Caribbean c. 1700<sup>45</sup>



Kalinago residents of St. Christopher's—a place they referred to as *Liamuiga*, or 'fertile island,' in reference to its importance as a provisioning site—had little tolerance for the growing number of newcomers.<sup>46</sup> In a vivid illustration of the ways in which prior experiences with the Spanish influenced Kalinago responses to European incursion, Du Tertre wrote that "the devil persuaded" the Kalinago that the foreigners "had come to the island to cruelly massacre them, like they had killed their ancestors in all the lands that they occupied."<sup>47</sup> Preconceived notions about the likely actions of the other side shaped both European and Kalinago responses, with disastrous consequences for the latter group. Joining forces in what Du Tertre later justified as a defensive

<sup>45</sup> Sourced from [https://www.uni-due.de/SVE/VARS\\_Caribbean.htm](https://www.uni-due.de/SVE/VARS_Caribbean.htm), accessed August 23, 2017.

<sup>46</sup> This definition is offered by Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 2 Vols. (London: John Stockdale, 1793), 1:454. Breton translates St. Christophle [sic] as "liamaïga." Breton, *Dictionnaire Francois-Caraïbe*, 352.

<sup>47</sup> "le Diable leur persuada...que ces Nations Etrangères n'estoient abordées dans l'Isle que pour les y massacrer cruellement, comme elles auoient tué leurs ancestres dans toutes les terres qu'elles occuét..." Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des isles*, 6.

action, in 1626 French and English settlers massacred dozens of Kalinago, driving the survivors from the island and dividing St. Christopher's into two European colonies.<sup>48</sup>

Although the 1626 attack reportedly succeeded in expelling the Kalinago from St. Christopher's, the decision to share the island between English and French settlers testifies to the continued strength of the Lesser Antilles' Native population in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Unable to adequately protect themselves from the Kalinago, the subjects of rival European Crowns were forced to join together against what they perceived to be a very real threat. The need for a defensive alliance between two long-competing nations persisted for decades, demonstrating the role of Kalinago action in shaping the imperial geography of the Caribbean: until St. Christopher's was ceded to Great Britain by the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, the French controlled the eastern and western coasts of the island, while the English held the middle.<sup>49</sup> An examination of settlement patterns elsewhere in the Lesser Antilles further illustrates how European vulnerability to the Kalinago shaped the colonization of the region in the seventeenth century. The English colony of Barbados, which was uninhabited at the time of English arrival, was strategically chosen in part due to its location more than 100 miles east of Kalinago strongholds.<sup>50</sup> While Barbados

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<sup>48</sup> On European-Native relations in Saint Christopher's during the 1620s, see Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 39-42; Barber in Roper, *PAGES*.

<sup>49</sup> James F. Dator, "Search for a New Land: Imperial Power and Afro-Creole Resistance in the British Leeward Islands, 1624-1745," (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2011), 36. Although Dator emphasizes the threat of Spanish attack, contemporaneous Kalinago military activities elsewhere in the Leeward Islands, particularly in Antigua, also suggest that the possibility of native attack may have motivated this defensive alliance. On Kalinago attacks against English settlements in seventeenth-century Antigua, see Anonymous, *Antigua and the Antiguans: A full account of the colony and its inhabitants from the time of the Caribs to the present day* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844).

<sup>50</sup> Richard Dunn notes that English settlement "was only feasible in sites removed as far as possible from contact with the Spanish and Indian population centers" and that the English purposely refrained from settling Guadeloupe and Martinique "because these places were so heavily populated by Caribs," however he does not elaborate on the presence or influence of Native Americans elsewhere in his text. Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 17-19.

soon flourished, English colonies in the Leeward Islands initially languished due to repeated Kalinago raids.<sup>51</sup>

French settlers who established colonies in Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1635 similarly discovered that the islands' inhabitants were loath to tolerate their new neighbors. Drawing on their experiences in Saint Christopher's, settlers in Martinique—many of whom had previously lived in the first French Caribbean colony—initially took pains to avoid the Kalinago. By living in close proximity to their fort and agreeing not to go hunting alone, the French attempted to minimize their vulnerability to Kalinago attack. The foreigners also sought reinforcements, strengthening their position with the help of a regiment from St. Christopher's. As the number of armed French settlers in Martinique grew, the Kalinago began to give way. They did not go quietly, however. Du Tertre reported that as the Kalinago abandoned settlements in close proximity to areas of French settlement, they set “fire to all the huts, and [dug] up all the foodstuffs,” adopting a scorched-earth policy that they would continue to pursue well into the eighteenth century.<sup>52</sup> By the end of the first year of French settlement in Martinique, the Kalinago had largely retreated to parts of the island where they could continue to exercise autonomy at a remove from their new neighbors, clustering their settlements along the rougher Atlantic coast. By 1645—ten years after the French first arrived in Martinique—Pacifique de Provins reported that the new colony was shared between 1,000 French settlers and approximately 400 Kalinago, “who have their separate territory.”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> On attacks against English settlers elsewhere in the Leewards, see Anonymous, *Antigua and the Antiguans*. See also Barber in Roper, *The Torrid Zone*.

<sup>52</sup> “les Sauvages commencerent à lascher le pied, & à quitter leurs habitations les plus voisines des Francois, mettant le feu à toutes les cases, & arrachant tous les viures qui estoient dessus...” Du Tertre, *Histoire generale des isles*, 72.

<sup>53</sup> “...qui ont leur quartier a part.” Provins, 17.

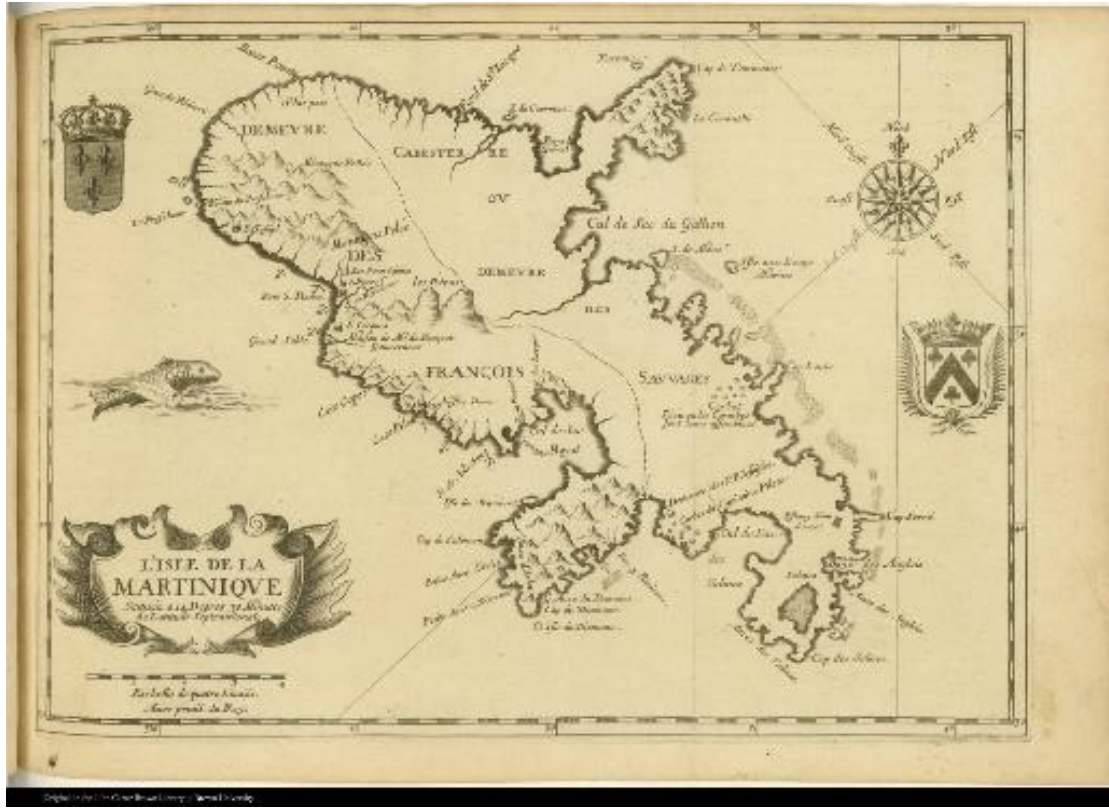
Early French maps of Martinique confirm that the Kalinago initially relocated to other parts of the island in response to foreign settlement. The 1667 map of Martinique below shows several French settlements, churches, and plantations along the island’s western or Leeward coast. As a published map intended to illustrate the progress of French settlement, the inclusion of these features likely served to highlight French success in taming the Leeward side of the island.<sup>54</sup> The decision to settle lands bordering the calmer Caribbean Sea was not accidental, as access to the natural harbors that the French dubbed Saint Pierre and Fort Royal facilitated their engagement in transatlantic trade. The rougher Atlantic coast of Martinique, which lies Windward of European sailing ships on the eastern side of the island, is considerably less marked on the map. The lack of names assigned to the island’s eastern bays and inlets does not indicate emptiness, however. Instead, the area is labeled as the ‘Cabesterre ou demeure des sauvages’: the place where the ‘savages’ or Kalinago live. A line separating the “demeure des sauvages” from the “demeure des François” cuts across the middle of the island, suggesting a clear division of space not unlike that elaborated by the French and English in St. Christopher’s. The message communicated in this European map is plain: the French have their territory—one that serves their colonial designs for transatlantic trade—and the Kalinago theirs. Although the lack of annotation on the eastern half of the map suggests that the French were not well informed about the land over which their neighbors continued to hold dominion, the mapmaker does note that the *carbet*, or Kalinago village, indicated on the map by a series of small dwellings, is the “place where the Caribs make their assemblies.”

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<sup>54</sup> On the dual practical and ideological role of maps, see John Brian Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).



Figure 1.1: *L'isle de la Martinique*, 1667<sup>55</sup>



The year 1667 seems somewhat late for the Kalinago to be able to lay claim to such a large territory in what was at that time France's principal Caribbean colony.<sup>56</sup> It is possible that in this respect, the published map served both a practical and an ideological purpose. By illustrating that the French respected the autonomy of their 'savage' neighbors, the map's creator could contrast French benevolence with the actions of rival Europeans such as the English and Spanish, who both figuratively and literally erased Native peoples from their respective domains.

Although the actual size of the territory to which the Kalinago laid claim in 1667 is unknown, missionary accounts confirm that the Kalinago inhabitants of Martinique continued to

<sup>55</sup> *L'Isle de la Martinique* (Paris: Thomas Jolly, 1667), John Carter Brown Library Map Collection

<sup>56</sup> In a book published in 1667 (the same year as the map) Du Tertre reported that after multiple skirmishes in the 1650s, the Kalinago withdrew to St. Vincent and Dominica, leaving the French as the sole possessors of Martinique by the end of 1658. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles*, 1: 546.

maintain areas of dominion within the French colony until at least the late seventeenth century. In 1694, Father Labat journeyed to the area of Robert, on Martinique’s eastern coast. There he was welcomed at the *carbet* of a Kalinago man named Rose, a Christian convert who along with his wife had “ten or twelve children,” and who had given the area—Pointe Rose—its name. At the time of Labat’s visit, Rose was hosting almost thirty Kalinagoes for the funeral of a fellow Kalinago from St. Vincent; the mourners were awaiting the arrival of the deceased’s family before burial could take place.<sup>57</sup> Although the numbers Labat gives are relatively small, his account confirms that Kalinago practices, such as funerary rites and gatherings, continued to characterize daily life in parts of Martinique long after the Kalinago withdrew from areas of concentrated French settlement.

Labat’s account of the funeral at Pointe Rose also illustrates that European colonization did not prevent Kalinago people from continuing to move between islands, traversing imperial and non-imperial spaces. In addition to travelling for social and ceremonial occasions such as funerals, this inter-island movement allowed the Kalinago to launch attacks on European settlers. Du Tertre reported that in 1636—just one year after the French arrived in Martinique—the island’s Kalinago residents, “not believing themselves strong enough...to entirely chase the French from the island...called to their aid those of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Guadeloupe.” By allying with the inhabitants of surrounding islands, they “composed a corps of 1,500 men, [and] presented themselves at the fort.” While this impressive show of military strength failed to dislodge the growing number of French settlers in Martinique—after being fired upon by a cannon, the Kalinago “ran with incredible speed back to their *pirogues*, and took to the sea”—the attempted

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<sup>57</sup> Labat, *Nouveau Voyage au Isles*, Tome I : 28-30.

attack illustrates both the facility and the continued importance of inter-island movement by canoe during the era of European settlement.<sup>58</sup>

The 1636 military engagement between French and Kalinago forces in Martinique illustrates a number of other key points. First, prior experience with colonists elsewhere in the Caribbean had taught the Kalinago that Europeans were unlikely to leave of their own accord; it was therefore important to try to expel them while they were still few in number. Second, the presence of foreign polities encouraged Kalinagoes from different islands, or from different parts of the same island, to confederate. As the number of Europeans in the Lesser Antilles grew, formerly insular Kalinago leaders increasingly relied on broader alliances to counter foreign incursion.<sup>59</sup> By organizing as an inter-island polity, the Kalinago consciously attempted to preserve a degree of dominion, economic and military influence in islands that Europeans increasingly claimed as their own. Finally, early defeats at the hands of the French in St. Christopher's and Martinique would shape Kalinago responses to French colonization elsewhere in the Lesser Antilles. Informed by their experiences in these islands, the Kalinago would work to prevent the implantation of similar colonies in Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago well into the eighteenth century, and would create a hotly-contested space in the French colony of Grenada.

In addition to withdrawing to areas of individual islands not settled by Europeans, such as the Windward coast of Martinique, the Kalinago also responded to foreign incursions by

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<sup>58</sup> “Les Sauvages pourtant ne se croyans pas assez forts, crurent que pour chasser entièrement les Francois de l’Isle, il falloit avoir recours à leurs voisins. Pour ce sujet ils appelèrent à leurs secours, ceux de la Dominique, de Saint Vincent, & de la Guadeloupe; & ayant composé un corps de quinze cens hommes, ils se présentèrent sous le Fort... ils coururent avec une vitesse incroyable, vers leurs pirogues & regagnèrent la Mer...” Du Tertre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles*, 1: 102. Du Tertre also describes the Native inhabitants of Guadeloupe making alliances with those of St. Vincent and Dominica in order to launch attacks on the new French colony; *ibid.*, 1: 89. This display of Kalinago military strength was not an isolated incident; an anonymous settler in Grenada reported that in 1654 some 1,110 Kalinago combatants arrived in 24 *pirogues* to besiege the island. See Petitjean Roget, *L’histoire de l’Isle de Grenade*, 108.

<sup>59</sup> The argument that formerly insular Kalinago polities changed strategies in response to Europeans in made in Sainton, *Histoire et Civilisation*, 84-85 and in Holdren, “Raiders and Traders.”

concentrating their settlements in other islands. The case of Guadeloupe is illustrative of this broader trend. French colonization of Guadeloupe, which also began in 1635, was initially characterized by deadly warfare between Natives and settlers.<sup>60</sup> According to Du Tertre, in 1640, “after many discussions of the sort that we can have with people who express themselves more by signs than by words, and who have no more reason than brutes,” a verbal treaty was broached between Kalinago and French residents of Guadeloupe. The missionary reported that “promises were reciprocally made...to never again do each other any wrong, and to treat each other from this point forward as good friends.”<sup>61</sup> News of peace had the ironic effect of attracting greater numbers of French settlers to the colony, which re-ignited Kalinago resentment.<sup>62</sup> Yet the large number of armed French settlers in the island prevented the Kalinago from mounting an effective defense against this foreign invasion. Instead, Du Tertre reported that the Kalinago withdrew to the relative safety of nearby Dominica, “leaving [only] the most industrious among them to spy on the French, to observe their conduct, and to learn their weaknesses.”<sup>63</sup>

The 1648 map of Guadeloupe below, which was created little more than a decade after the French first arrived in the island, supports Du Tertre’s assertion that the Kalinago largely withdrew from the island to take refuge elsewhere. A note on the map indicates that “having entirely chased the savages called Caribs, the French who inhabit the island presently number about 2000.”

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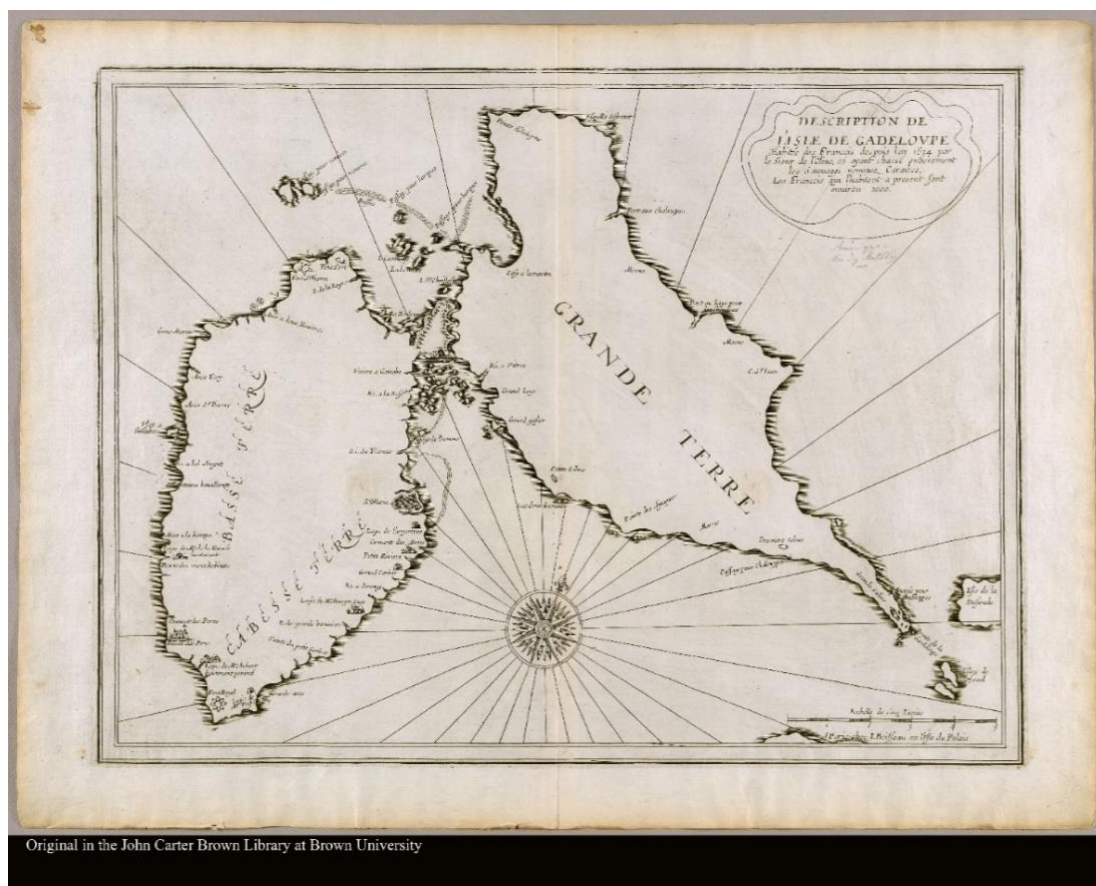
<sup>60</sup> Details of these battles can be found in Abbé Joseph Rennard, *Les Caraïbes la Guadeloupe 1635-1656: Histoires des vingt premières années de la Colonisation de la Guadeloupe d’après les Relations du R. P. Breton* (Paris : Librairie générale et internationale G. Ficker, 1929), especially part III.

<sup>61</sup> “après beaucoup d’entretiens, tels qu’on les put avoir avec des gens qui s’expriment plus par signes que par paroles, & qui n’ont guère plus de raisons que des brutes; La paix fut conclue, promesses furent réciproquement faites de part & d’autre, de ne se faire jamais aucun tort, & de se traiter d’oresnavant comme bons amys...” Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles*, 1 : 196.

<sup>62</sup> “Le bruit de cette paix s’estendit par toutes les Isles circonvoisines, & mesme jusques en France, ce qui attira beaucoup de monde à la Guadeloupe pour y prendre des places.” Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles* 1: 197.

<sup>63</sup> “...ils abandonnèrent l’Isle de la Guadeloupe, & se retirèrent dans celle de la Dominique...se contentant d’y laisser les plus industrieux d’entre eux, pour épier les François, observer leur conduite, & reconnoistre leur foible.” Du Tertre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles*, 1: 89.

Figure 1.2: *Description de l'île de Gadeloupe [sic]*, 1648<sup>64</sup>



Once again, the lack of French place names on the northeastern half of the map suggests that colonists remained unsure of the geographic features of a territory from which they had only recently “chased” the Kalinago. As in Martinique, the French had concentrated their efforts on the calmer Leeward side of the colony, and Grande Terre shows little evidence of European settlement. Although the mapmaker likely intended the map to illustrate French successes over “the savages,” Du Tertre’s comment suggests that Kalinago withdrawal may have been strategic. By leaving a few individuals to “learn the weaknesses” of the French, the Kalinago sought to ensure that they would be better informed about the practices of the newcomers, allowing them to more effectively

<sup>64</sup> *Description de l'Isle de Gadeloupe* [sic]... (Paris: I. Boisseau, 1648). From the John Carter Brown Library Map Collection.

combat any future incursions. Withdrawing to islands such as Dominica also allowed the Kalinago to concentrate both their population and their military, diplomatic, and economic power in specific territories—a decision that would serve them well in subsequent negotiations with both the French and the English.<sup>65</sup>

### Contested Territory: Grenada as rival ground

Contests over Grenada reflect the evolution of Kalinago responses to European incursion in the latter half of the seventeenth century. French claims to Grenada were established in 1649, when a small contingent of settlers from Martinique were sent to the island. Although Governor du Parquet attempted to negotiate a division of territory between Grenada's French and Kalinago residents, existing inhabitants of the island responded to the growing number of foreigners by launching attacks.<sup>66</sup> In the face of sustained Kalinago resistance to French colonization, successive governors found themselves unable to attract adequate numbers of settlers. The island's slow demographic and economic growth during this era of French rule owed in part to its geographic distance from centers of European power, as well as the ineptitude of low-ranking colonial officers sent to the island.<sup>67</sup> Yet as contemporary chronicles and colonial correspondence reveal, Kalinago

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<sup>65</sup> Breton noted that Kalinago who withdrew from Guadeloupe to Dominica “ignited the spirits of the others, who were already disposed to war.” (“allumèrent les esprits des autres qui estoient déjà disposez à la guerre”) Breton, *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François*, 415.

<sup>66</sup> Accounts of how the French initially acquired the island vary. Labat claims that du Parquet negotiated the purchase of the island from the Kalinago, who later sought to negate the terms of sale. Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, II: 141. Du Tertre claims that “Kaierouane, captain of all the savages of the island,” agreed to allow Du Parquet to “have their island” in exchange for trade goods including knives and *eau de vie*. Du Tertre, *Histoire Général des Antilles* 1: 428; the story of Du Parquet's purchase of Grenada from Kaierouane is also given in Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 48; and Boucher, *France and the American Tropics*, 91. When Du Parquet sold Grenada to the Comte de Cerillac in 1656, the deed of sale specified only that Du Parquet acquired the island from the *Compagnie des Indes* on September 27, 1650; no prior sale on the part of Kalinago representatives is mentioned. ANOM FM C10A 1 Dossier 1, Contrat d'acquisition de l'isle de la Grenade et Grenadins faite le 30 8bre 1656 par M. le Comte de Cerillac [et] de M. Du Parquet. This evolving justification is itself significant, as the Europeans' need to justify their claims to ownership over the islands with respect to the Kalinago disappeared over time. Martin claims that Du Parquet took possession of Grenada “in the name of the French King,” and that while the French and Kalinago did exchange gifts, no sale of land that the Kalinago understood as such took place. Martin, *Island Caribs*, 59-63.

<sup>67</sup> To give just one example, the mistress of Governor Maupéou, who served as Governor of Grenada from 1711 until his death in 1716, who reputed to be the “sultane reyne... imperieuse et meschante non seulement dans la maison de son seigneur mais dans toute l'isle de la Grenade...” ANOM C8A19 F.75, Raymond Balthazar de

actions also played a key role in preventing the successful development of a plantation colony in the island for decades after its initial settlement.<sup>68</sup>

Kalinago suspicions of the newcomers are evidenced by the firsthand account of an anonymous French settler who participated in the initial colonization of Grenada. Displaying a clear sense of dominion over the island, soon after the arrival of Du Parquet and his men, Kalinago leaders in Grenada approached the governor and asked him “why he had set foot in *their* land, and had started a settlement there without their permission.”<sup>69</sup> Recognizing the French settlers’ position of weakness relative to the far more numerous Kalinagoes, Du Parquet reportedly assured the leaders that he and his men were there to protect them from attack, and that they hoped to live in peace. Although the men agreed to form a defensive alliance against common English and South American enemies, they warned the French that “they should content themselves with the land that they made available to them, and not settle elsewhere” in the island.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps envisioning a division of territory not unlike that first attempted in Martinique, Kalinago residents of Grenada consciously sought to restrict French settlement to a small part of the island, where they could benefit from French military strength without compromising their own dominion.

As was the case in islands that were earlier colonized by the French, however, the growing number of settlers in Grenada soon put the Kalinago on the defensive. Fearful that they, like their counterparts in St. Christopher’s and Guadeloupe, might soon be forced to abandon the island, Kalinago in Grenada took action to contain foreign expansion while they were still in a position to

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Phélypeaux du Verger, Governor General of the *Iles du Vent*, to the Secretary of the Marine and Colonies, April 6 1713.

<sup>68</sup> John Angus Martin provides a lengthy analysis of Kalinago defense of Grenada against the Spanish, English, and French. Martin, *Island Caribs*, especially 54-77.

<sup>69</sup> The account was found and published by Jacques Petitjean Roget. “...les Sauvages s’en estant apperceut le vinrent trouver et luy demanderent pourquoy il avoit ainsy pris pied sur leur terre; en y commençant sans leur permission une demeure.” Petitjean Roget, 48, emphasis added.

<sup>70</sup> “Les Sauvages dirent qu’on devoit donc se contenter du lieu qu’ils avoient disposé, sans se loger ailleurs” Petitjean Roget, 56.

do so. Grenada's location between the South American main and the rest of the Lesser Antillean archipelago ensured that other Native inhabitants of the circum-Caribbean, who used the island as a stopping-off point during their lengthy voyages by *pirogue*, were also invested in maintaining the territory as a non-European domain. In addition to securing reinforcements from the residents of neighboring islands, Kalinagoes in Grenada traveled to the South American main in order to seek the support of "either the Galibi or the Arawak or the Ouaro [Warao], or others," putting aside longstanding animosities in an attempt to mount a common defense against the French.<sup>71</sup> Aided by reinforcements from St. Vincent, Grenada's Kalinago inhabitants launched a series of attacks that kept the French "entrenched in their fort, without daring to leave it."<sup>72</sup>

Both contemporary chroniclers and historians confirm that the first decade of French colonization in Grenada was marked by frequent attacks on both sides.<sup>73</sup> Grenada's significance in the broader struggle between Kalinago and European forces in the Lesser Antilles is reflected in the number of combatants who participated in this contest: on a number of occasions throughout the 1650s, dozens of *pirogues* bearing more than a thousand Kalinago warriors descended on the island.<sup>74</sup> Cognizant that the inhabitants of individual islands lacked both the force and the arms to rout settlers on their own, Kalinago residents of various territories increasingly worked together to prevent further European colonization.<sup>75</sup> The maritime technology that had allowed the Kalinago

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<sup>71</sup> "s'en allerent en Terre Ferme pour en tirer du secours soit des Calibis soit des Arouague soit des Ouaro, soit d'autres." Petitjean Roget, *Histoire de l'île de la Grenade*, 78.

<sup>72</sup> "...retranchées dans leur fort, sans oser en sortir." Petitjean Roget, *Histoire de l'île de la Grenade*, 66.

<sup>73</sup> For detailed accounts of this warfare see especially Petitjean Roget, *Histoire de l'île de la Grenade*, 58-78, 98-148; Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles*, 1 : 429-433, 1 : 465-504. Martin, *Island Caribs and French Settlers*, 54-87.

<sup>74</sup> See, for example, Petitjean Roget, *Histoire de l'île de la Grenade*, 108, in which a reported 1,100 men descended on Grenada.

<sup>75</sup> The Kalinago strategy of joining forces in inter-island groups as a response to European incursion in Grenada is discussed in Ann Cody Holdren, "Raiders and Traders." Accounts of Kalinago military engagement against the French in the 1650s can be found in Boucher, 49-52; Petitjean Roget, *Histoire de l'île de la Grenade*, 71-78; 98-108; 113-142; and in Martin, *Island Caribs*, 64-77.



to forge a shared space across geographic boundaries now allowed them to confront imperial borders, as they traveled across contested Native-European spaces to join forces against foreign enemies.

The strategy of inter-group cooperation deployed by the Kalinagoes in Grenada initially proved successful. In 1657, French officials in Grenada recognized the necessity of suing for peace with *all* Kalinago, not just those in the island. Negotiations in Grenada were therefore attended by Kalinago residents of the French colony as well as by Kalinago representatives from the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica. To mark their mutual pledge of peace, the French presented Kalinago leaders with “hatchets, blades, and knives,” while the Kalinagoes brought the French “three beautiful turtles, a rich caret, and lizards.” More than mere gifts, the French interpreted these tokens as “signs of the acceptance and ratification of [peace by] *all the other Caribs and Galibis of all the adjacent islands*.”<sup>76</sup> Arguing that the Kalinago “all dress the same way, wear the same colors, [speak] the same language [and] bear the same arms, have the same interests, live all together and are of the same intelligence,” the anonymous French settler in Grenada reasoned that these commonalities rendered it impossible to treaty with the inhabitants of only one island.<sup>77</sup> The belief that “a peace could not be good if it is only with a few individuals” prompted English, French, and Kalinago representatives to attempt to reach a verbal accord that would be respected by all parties.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> “...nous apportant le rameau d’une paix générale avec trois belles tortues, un riche caret, et de lezards pour présents et marques de l’acceptation et ratification de tous autres Caribes et Galibis des toutes les isle adjacentes...on les régala comme on pût, et on leurs donna pour présens et pour gages et assurance de paix des haches, des serpes et des cousteaux.” Petitjean Roget, *L’histoire de l’Isle de Grenade en Amérique*, 150 (emphasis added).

<sup>77</sup> Ann Cody Holdren argues that the indigenous inhabitants of different islands organized and perhaps thought of themselves as separate and distinct polities prior to the arrival of Europeans, and that inter-group cooperation emerged in response to foreign incursions. Holdren, “Raiders and Traders.”

<sup>78</sup> “...ils sont tous vestus de la mesme sorte, portent les mesme couleurs, avec le mesme langage portent les mesme armes, ont les mesme intérêts, vivent tous ensemble et sont de mesme intelligence. Ce qui faict q’une paix ne seauroit

This episode of inter-island negotiation reveals that while coordinated military attacks left the strongest impression in the writings of Europeans, they constituted only one of several strategies that the Kalinago used to shape the imperial geography of the Lesser Antilles. By engaging in verbal negotiations with French officials, Kalinago leaders actively sought to restrict foreign settlement to specific islands or parts of islands, while continuing to exercise dominion over the remaining land. Verbal accords such as the one broached in Grenada in 1657 laid the groundwork for the first written treaty between Kalinago and European signatories, which in 1660 divided the Lesser Antilles into mutually agreed-upon English, French, and Kalinago domains that would persist for more than a century.

#### Sharing Space: The Treaty of 1660

Less than forty years after Europeans began to establish colonies in the Lesser Antilles, both French and English officials recognized that their settlement of the region would be significantly impeded if they failed to negotiate a general peace with the Kalinago. Decades of warfare and verbal diplomacy gave rise to the first extant example of a written treaty between the two groups.<sup>79</sup> The treaty was signed March 31, 1660, between English, French, and Kalinago representatives assembled at the home of Charles Hoüel, governor of Guadeloupe. The French and English signatories were empowered by the governors of their respective colonies, while the Kalinago were represented by “fifteen of the most notable...of the Caribs” from the islands of

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estre bonne si elle n'est qu'avec quelques particuliers...” Petitjean Roget, *L'histoire de l'Isle de Grenade en Amérique*, 149.

<sup>79</sup> A detailed analysis of this treaty can be found in Tessa Murphy, “Kalinago Colonizers: Indigenous People and the Settlement of the Lesser Antilles,” in L.H. Roper, ed. *The Torrid Zone* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2018), 17-30.

Dominica, St. Vincent, and “those who formerly lived in the said island of Martinique”; Kalinago representatives from Grenada were notably absent.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to identifying more than a dozen Kalinago men afforded positions of authority within their respective communities, Hoüel sought to ensure that the promises of these representatives would be honored by all Kalinago inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles. Through interpreter Jean Jardin, identified in the treaty as a French subject who spoke and understood “the language of the savages,” Governor Hoüel “asked the said Caribs whether they had the power to treaty for themselves and in the name of all the others of the said islands [of] St. Vincent and Dominica.” The Kalinago signatories confirmed that “having spoken to the largest part of the said savages, who consented” to the terms of peace, they were in a position to represent the Kalinagoes of both islands.<sup>81</sup>

Although the treaty was written in French and adheres to European diplomatic conventions, the content of the document makes clear that the peace was a result of negotiation on the part of all three parties. 25 years after armed Europeans began to invade Kalinago domains, they continued to struggle to impose their will. Each polity—English, French, and Kalinago— was represented by leaders mentioned by name, with each group of signatories representing a broader polity animated by specific and clearly-articulated concerns. The terms of the treaty hint at the years of violence and failed diplomacy that motivated all three parties to broker a formal peace. After noting that “the said island of Martinique has been engaged in war with the savages for the last six years, which has caused great misfortunes by the murders fires and kidnapping of slaves committed by

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<sup>80</sup> “quinze des plus notables et recommandés entre les Caraybes des d. isles de St. Vincent, la Dominique et ceux qui ont cy devant habités l’isle Martinique...” ANOM FM C8B 1 f. 4, Traité conclu entre Charles Houel, gouverneur de la Guadeloupe et le Caraïbes, March 31, 1660.

<sup>81</sup> “... parlant et entendant la langue des sauvages...demander aux dits Caraybes, s'ils avoient pouvoir de traiter pour eux et au nom de tous les autres des d. isles St. Vincent, la Dominique auroient faits reponce qu'ils se faisoient forts pour tous ayant parlé a la plus grande partie des dits sauvages qui y consentoient, ” ANOM FM C8B 1 f. 4, Traité conclu entre Charles Houel, gouverneur de la Guadeloupe et les Caraïbes, March 31, 1660.

the said savages,” the signatories mutually agreed that “[t]he said French and English nations inhabitants of the said islands Monserrat, Antigua, and Nevis and the said Caribs of the said islands St. Vincent Dominica and those who formerly lived in the said island of Martinique will live in peace, all acts of hostility ceasing.”<sup>82</sup>

While this passage explicitly attributes the crimes of murder, arson, and kidnapping to the ‘savage’ Kalinago, it also reveals that Europeans were far from blameless in the lengthy conflict to which the treaty refers. The mention that some of the Kalinago signatories “formerly lived in the said island of Martinique” hints at considerable Kalinago migration and resettlement occasioned by European colonization. Other parts of the text allude to further aggressions on the part of Europeans. One of the Kalinago signatories—referred to only by the title of ‘Baba,’ signifying his role as chief or ‘father’ of his people—requested that his nephews, “who had been taken by one Billaudel” of Martinique, be returned to him. In assenting to his request, the English and French representatives relied on the advice of the Jesuit missionaries who attended the negotiations. The Jesuits reasoned that “it was not only just but necessary to undertake the said restitution, as it would be a means to confirm and maintain the peace.”<sup>83</sup> The return of the Baba’s nephews can therefore be interpreted as a sort of prisoner or hostage release intended to assure future goodwill between all parties.

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<sup>82</sup> “...la ditte isle Martinique estoit engagé dans la guerre avec les sauvages il y a plus de six ans qui a cauzé de tres grands malheurs par les meurtres incendies et enlevements de negres faits par les dits sauvages...les dites nations francoises et angloises habitants des isles Monsarat, Antigoa, et Nieves et les d. Caraybes des d. isles St. Vincent la Dominique et qui ont cy devant demeurez en la d. isle Martinique demeureront en paix toutes actions d’hostilitez cessantes...” ANOM FM C8B 1 f. 4, Traité conclu entre Charles Houel, gouverneur de la Guadeloupe et les Caraïbes, March 31, 1660.

<sup>83</sup> “A le dit Baba demandé qu’en consideration de ses peines et soins il luy soit rendus par les habitans de la Martinique ses neveux qui ont esté pris par le nommé Billaudel de la d. isle sur quoy a esté representé par les d. Peres Missionnaires qu’il este non seulement juste mais necessaires de faire la d. restitution qui sera un moyen de confirmer et entretenir la paix et dacleminer la conversion des d. sauvages,” ANOM FM C8B 1 f. 4, Traité conclu entre Charles Houel, gouverneur de la Guadeloupe et les Caraïbes, March 31, 1660.

The missionaries also expressed their hope that the return of the Baba's nephews would help accomplish another goal outlined in the treaty: the conversion of the Kalinago to Christianity. Kalinago representatives from the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent were asked whether “they wished to learn how to pray to God like [the French] and allow the said missionary fathers to instruct them.”<sup>84</sup> In agreeing that a missionary named Father Beaumont could continue to reside among them in Dominica, Kalinago representatives stipulated that missionaries should be the *only* Europeans of “one or the other [English and French] nation to inhabit the two islands of St. Vincent and Dominica, which are all that remain for their retreat.”<sup>85</sup> No other foreigners would be allowed to settle in the considerably diminished territory over which the Kalinago retained formal dominion.

Although French officials assented to this clause as a first step in the conversion of the Kalinago into Christians—and perhaps subsequently into allies and trading partners—an analysis of the treaty from the perspective of Kalinago signatories suggests a far different goal. By conceding that a single foreigner could maintain his existing residence in Dominica, Kalinago representatives attempted to ensure their continued dominion over an island in which increasing numbers of their people now congregated. Aware that they would not be able to return to their *carbets* in rapidly-developing French and English plantation colonies, the Kalinago assented to the treaty in an attempt to ensure that their communities in neighboring islands not settled by Europeans would remain undisturbed. A small number of outsiders who had shown themselves willing to learn the Kalinago language and customs, such as Father Beaumont, Father Breton, and

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<sup>84</sup> “on a fait demander aux d. Caraïbe s'ils ne desiraient pas apprendre a prier dieu a notre imitation et souffrir que les d. peres missionnaires les aillent instruire,” ANOM FM C8B 1 f. 4, Traité conclu entre Charles Houel, gouverneur de la Guadeloupe et le Caraïbes, March 31, 1660.

<sup>85</sup> “...l'une ou l'autre nation d'habituer les deux isles de St. Vincent et la Dominique quy seulent leur reste pour retraite,” ANOM FM C8B 1 f. 4, Traité conclu entre Charles Houel, gouverneur de la Guadeloupe et le Caraïbes, March 31, 1660.

perhaps Jean Jardin could be tolerated; a large number of foreign settlers could not. By agreeing to create separate European and Native domains, the Kalinago conceded that islands such as Saint Christopher's, Martinique, and Guadeloupe had been lost to European colonists. This made it all the more essential for the Kalinago to preserve the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent as "all that remain for their retreat."

### "Le Centre de la République Caraïbe": Kalinago Dominion & the Slow Growth of the Plantation Complex

Although historians often equate the signing of the 1660 Treaty with the end of European clashes with Native peoples in the Lesser Antilles, subsequent events demonstrate that diplomacy failed to put a definitive end to hostilities.<sup>86</sup> Nowhere was the tenuous nature of peace more keenly felt than in Grenada. Unlike Guadeloupe and Martinique, Grenada was not included in the 1660 negotiations, and the sparsely-populated outpost remained a frequent target of coordinated attack by Kalinago who opposed the presence of French settlers.<sup>87</sup> Although a separate peace, which stipulated that the Kalinago from surrounding domains "could not go inhabit the island of Grenada" was reached in February 1678, French claims to Grenada remained tenuous in the face of Kalinago determination not to tolerate European incursion.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Boucher argues that "By 1660, all fighting had ceased, and the islands could thus share the fruits of peace with the mother country," Boucher, *France and the American Tropics*, 93; elsewhere he writes "In 1660, the islands settled down to peace," Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters*, 52. In his general history of the French Caribbean, Paul Butel writes that the 1660 treaty created "une paix générale." Butel, *Histoire des Antilles francaises*, 34.

Lafleur takes a different approach, arguing that "les Caraïbes...n'acceptèrent jamais la perte de la majeure partie de leur territoire ancestrale..." Lafleur, *Les Caraïbes des Petites Antilles*, 115.

<sup>87</sup> For examples of Kalinago attacks against Grenada in the 1690s, see ANOM FM C10A 1 Dossier 2. As late as 1705, a planter in the colony complained that " nous avons sans en douter une guerre tout à fait déclarée contre nous puisqu'en dernier lieu les sauvages ont massacré un sergent de la garnison nommé Montgazon, un soldat appelé le Coq et un negre nommé Scipio..." ANOM COL C8A 15 F° 389, Lettre du Sieur Sauman habitant de l'isle de la Grenada, Oct. 13 1705. Discussion of coordinated Kalinago attacks on Grenada in the 1670s can be found in Martin, *Island Caribs*, 125-126.

<sup>88</sup> " ne pourront pas aller habiter a l'isle de Grenade ..." ANOM FM C8A 2 f. 41, Comte de Blénac, February 13, 1678.

A comparison of extant population figures for the three Windward Islands to which France laid claim highlights the extent to which Kalinago defense of Grenada succeeded in delimiting foreign settlement of the island. Despite benefitting from the protection of French officials, Grenada's population remained anaemic compared to that of French settlements that received official Kalinago approval. In 1671, the 436-square mile island of Martinique counted 4,326 free inhabitants and 6,582 slaves; Grenada, while considerably smaller at just 133 square miles, counted only 283 free people and 222 slaves. This disparity was even more pronounced thirty years later: by 1700, Martinique had 21,640 total residents and Guadeloupe 10,929; Grenada's population, both free and enslaved, totalled just 870.<sup>89</sup> Although French officials offered land grants in the colony, the persistent threat of Kalinago attack, coupled with neglect on the part of French officials, meant that only a small number of settlers could be enticed to one of the most vulnerable reaches of France's American realm.

Table 1.1: Respective Populations of France's Windward Island Colonies, 1671 & 1700<sup>90</sup>

	Martinique 1671	Guadeloupe 1671	Grenada 1671	Martinique 1700	Guadeloupe 1700	Grenada 1700
Free people	4,326	3,172	283	7,029	4,533	297
Slaves	6,582	4,365	222	14,566	6,396	520

The small settler population in Grenada had both demographic and economic consequences. By actively delimiting the number of foreigners who could settle in their domain, the Kalinago successfully prevented the expansion of plantation production. The last decades of the seventeenth century witnessed the triumph of sugar in Martinique, as the majority of arable

<sup>89</sup> As a further point of comparison, as of 1684 the white population of the 166 square mile island of Barbados totalled more than 19,500 individuals—a decline from a high of almost 22,000 in 1676—while the number of enslaved people reached 46,600. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 87.

<sup>90</sup> ANOM DPPC G1 498 N. 54 & N. 62, Recensement générale des isles d'Amérique, 1671 & 1700.

land in the island became devoted to the production of this lucrative export.<sup>91</sup> By 1686—just fifty years after the island was first settled by the French—Martinique boasted 168 sugar plantations.<sup>92</sup> Guadeloupe lagged somewhat behind, with ninety sugar plantations reported as of 1686. Yet Grenada—settled by experienced colonists from Martinique more than thirty-five years earlier—was not yet home to a single sugar plantation. French settlers in Grenada had no hospital, only a single church, and a total of eighteen horses to transport the wealthiest colonists to the island’s only town, Fort Royal.<sup>93</sup>

Table 1.2: Sugar Plantations in France’s Windward Island Colonies, 1687 & 1700<sup>94</sup>

	Martinique 1687	Guadeloupe 1687	Grenada 1687	Martinique 1700	Guadeloupe 1700	Grenada 1700
Number of sugar plantations	184	90	4	183	73	3

Only in 1687 did Grenada’s planters successfully begin producing sugar. 1687 marked a sugar boom throughout France’s Windward Island colonies, as the number of plantations in Martinique rose from 168 to 184 in the space of a single year.<sup>95</sup> Almost four decades after Grenada was first settled, planters in Grenada also founded the colony’s first four *sucreries*. Yet even this belated experiment proceeded on shaky ground. By 1700, the number of plantations in Grenada had decreased from four to three, and there was no refinery in which to process the island’s cane.<sup>96</sup> While Grenada’s slow development owed in part to a lack of investment and distance from centers of transatlantic trade, colonists and officials in the island also complained about the continued

<sup>91</sup> By 1669, two-thirds of arable land in Martinique was planted in sugar cane. Boucher, *France and the American Tropics*, 242.

<sup>92</sup> Pritchard, *In Search of Empire*, 171.

<sup>93</sup> ANOM DPPC G1 498, Recensement générale des isles d’Amérique, 1686.

<sup>94</sup> ANOM DPPC G1 498 N. 54 & N. 62, Recensement générale des isles d’Amérique, 1671 & 1700.

<sup>95</sup> James Pritchard confirms that “sugar production during the [seventeenth] century probably peaked that year.” Pritchard, *In Search of Empire*, 170.

<sup>96</sup> ANOM DPPC G1 498 N. 62, Recensement générale des isles d’Amérique, 1700.



effects of a native population hostile to the establishment of plantations. “A perpetual tradition, passed from father to son, means that [the Kalinago] will always be very dangerous in spirit,” wrote a Grenada official at the turn of the century. The threat of the Kalinago would not disappear on its own, the official reasoned; if the French wanted to successfully colonize Grenada, they would need to make themselves “the masters” of the Kalinago.<sup>97</sup>

Successive leaders of France’s Windward Island colonies—an administrative unit that grouped Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Grenada under a single Governor General—despaired of ever brokering peace with the region’s indigenous inhabitants. “[T]here is no way to reason with people without faith and without religion, who are more like beasts than men,” wrote Governor-General Jean-Charles de Baas-Castelmore in 1674, suggesting that the French should instead enslave or wage war against the Kalinago.<sup>98</sup> The frustrated official was not the only person to urge the extirpation of the southern Caribbean’s Native inhabitants. At a meeting in Martinique in 1679, assembled French planters declared that “experience has taught us that the only way to deal with such a perfidious nation is to apply the extreme remedy of destroying them.”<sup>99</sup> Less than 20 years after the signing of the 1660 treaty, accommodation had given way to renewed violence. The growing number of settlers invested in the plantation regime refused to tolerate the presence of a rival polity, even one whose domain was increasingly circumscribed.

Although neither Castelmore nor the Martinique planters managed to obtain official approval for their genocidal rhetoric, the number of Kalinagoes in territories claimed by Europeans

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<sup>97</sup> “... qu’une tradition perpetuelle, de père en fils, renderont toujours tres dangereux dans les esprits... qu’il fallait les mener le baton sur l’oreille, pour en etre le maitres.” ANOM FM C10A 1 dossier 3 n. 105, M. de Boulloc, 13 7bre 1706.

<sup>98</sup> “[A]vec des gens sans foy, et sans Religion et qui sont plus bestes qu’ils ne sont hommes, il n’y a nul fondement a faire,” ANOM FM C8A1 f.294, Jean-Charles de Baas Castelmore, June 1674.

<sup>99</sup> “l’expérience nous fait assez cognoitre qu’il n’y a plus d’assurances avec une si perfide nation; que celle d’y appliquer l’extrême remède à les detruire...” ANOM FM F3 26, f. 186, Compte-rendu de l’assemblée tenue au Marin...pour étudier les moyens de faire la guerre aux Caraïbes de St. Vincent et de la Dominique, August 27 1679.

did appear to decrease markedly as the seventeenth century wore on. However, this decrease may speak more to European designs than to lived realities. A 1671 census records only 72 “sauvages mestis et capouis” living in all of the Lesser Antillean islands to which France laid claim—51 in Guadeloupe, 19 in Saint Christophe, and two in Saint Croix, with Martinique and Grenada notably absent from the tally.<sup>100</sup> By 1683, that number had increased to 106, including 61 in Martinique, and as of 1685 officials reported a total of 116 “Caraibes libres” and 138 enslaved in the Windward Islands.<sup>101</sup> The discrepancy between these figures requires explanation; it is likely that officials who were primarily invested in the growth of the plantation economy neglected to count Native people who did not contribute to its growth.<sup>102</sup> It is also possible that some Kalinagoes or their children were re-classified by colonial authorities as members of other groups, such as ‘mulattoes,’ in order to facilitate or justify their enslavement.<sup>103</sup> Finally, the changing numbers of Kalinagoes

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<sup>100</sup> ANOM DPPC G1 498 N. 54, Table contenant le nombre des habitans et des bestiaux des Isles, 1671. No Kalinago were noted in Martinique, a stark contrast to the 1667 map that suggests that they held dominion over half of the island. It is unclear whether this phrasing is intended to indicate Natives, mestis—that is, people of Native and European parentage—AND Capouis (a term I have not encountered elsewhere), or whether it only encompasses people of mixed ancestry. If the former, it would seem to drastically undercount the number of native peoples in the islands.

<sup>101</sup> For 1683, see ANOM FM C8B 17 N. 9, Recensement des iles d’Amérique, 1683; for 1685, see ANOM DPPC G1 498, Recensement général de toutes les Isles 1685. Once again, these numbers would seem to undercount the number of Kalinago still living in islands claimed by the French, particularly Grenada. On a visit to the colony in 1705, Labat encountered several Kalinago, and noted that “lots of others” (“ beaucoup d’autres ”) lived on the Cabesterre, or Atlantic, side of the island. See Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, 146. On indigenous slavery in the Caribbean, Carolyn Arena, “Indian Slaves from Caribana: Trade and Labor in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean” (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2017); Woodruff-Stone, “Chasing Caribs”; Linford Fisher, “‘Dangerous Designs’: The 1676 Barbados Act to Prohibit New England Slave Importation,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 71, N. 1 (Jan. 2014: 99-124); Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slavery in New France* (Chapel Hill: OIEAHC for the University of North Carolina Press, 2012), especially 110-122.

<sup>102</sup> Many early censuses simply lack of category for ‘sauvages’ or Native people, suggesting that French authorities did not bother to count them. In some instances Kalingos re-emerge in the censuses of islands where they were previously absent; for example in 1718 officials in Grenada reported 124 ‘sauvages libres’ in the island, whereas in 1696 no category for ‘sauvage’ or ‘Carib’ appeared on the census. ANOM DPPC G1 498, Recensement de l’Isle de la Grenade de l’année 1696 & ANOM DPPC G1 498 N. 41, La Grenade Recensement année 1718.

<sup>103</sup> The status of ‘sauvages’ living in the households of French colonists in the Caribbean was often unclear; it is likely that as in other regions of early America, they were expected to work in those households for life. A nominative muster roll from Grenada, created in 1683, is instructive. The roll provides the names and ages of individuals residing in each ‘caze,’ with separate headings for ‘negres,’ ‘neigresses,’ and ‘sauvageses’ [sic]—no ‘sauvages,’ or Native men, are listed. One woman, Francois, is explicitly listed as the “sauvagesse de Jean Thomasson,” suggesting a relationship of ownership. ANOM DPPC G1 498 N. 29, Rolles des la Collonnelle, 1683,

listed in French colonial censuses suggests that they actively sought to avoid being counted. By removing themselves to spaces outside of European rule, Kalinagoes sought to reorganize their families, villages, and wider communities in neighboring islands where they could continue to exercise dominion.

Continued Kalinago success in maintaining domains free from European incursion is evident in the account of missionary Jean Baptiste Labat. As he travelled through the Lesser Antilles in the year 1700, Labat commented on the scale and characteristics of these Kalinago dominions. He speculated that there were no more than 2,000 Kalinago in Dominica, 1,000 fewer than the 3,000 reported by Provins some sixty years before.<sup>104</sup> Although “all of the old Caribs that [Labat] saw still knew how to make the sign of the Cross, and [say] the Christian prayers in their language, and even a few in French,” few could communicate fluently in the foreign tongue; instead, Labat relied on a Frenchman who had taken refuge among the Kalinago to act as an interpreter.<sup>105</sup> In addition to harvesting crops that predated European arrival in the Americas, such as manioc, the Kalinago in Dominica also raised pigs and poultry—livestock that accompanied European invasion of the region.<sup>106</sup> Despite living in close proximity to European settlements and integrating items introduced by Europeans into their daily lives, the Kalinago maintained their own domain. More than sixty years after the French and English began to establish permanent settlements in the Windward archipelago, the Kalinago maintained significant territories outside

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emphasis added. On the shifting racial status of Native peoples, see Erin Woodruff Stone, “Chasing Caribs”; Joanne Rappaport, *The Disappearing Mestizo*.

<sup>104</sup> Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, 103.

<sup>105</sup> “Tous les vieux Caraïbes que je vis, sçavoient encore faire le signe de la Croix, & les Prières chétiennes en leur langue, & quelques uns meme en François. C’étoit tout ce qui leur étoit resté des instructions que les père Raymond Breton, & Philippe de Beaumont Religieux de mon Ordre & de ma Province, leur avoient données pendant le long séjour qu’ils avoient fait avec eux...” Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, 102.

<sup>106</sup> Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, 103.

the sphere of European rule—ones where European languages, religion, and authority did not predominate.

This was especially true in St. Vincent. Identifying the island as “the center of the Carib Republic,” Labat observed that far more Kalinagoes resided there than in Dominica.<sup>107</sup> What the missionary found more striking than the size of the Kalinago population, however, was the presence of other people who had also settled in their domain. Labat wrote that “a very large number of fugitive slaves, most of them from Barbados,” also lived in St. Vincent, having arrived in the island in dugout canoes that carried them westward across the hundred-mile expanse of open sea.<sup>108</sup> Although the missionary was at a loss to explain why the Kalinago initially tolerated the presence of these runaways, he speculated that the growing population of maroons, “which greatly surpasses that of the Caribs,” would force the Kalinago “to one day find another island” in which to live.<sup>109</sup>

Labat’s observation about the growing number of non-Native people who had taken refuge in the “center of the Carib Republic” by the turn of the eighteenth century was echoed by Francois-Roger Robert, Intendant of the France’s Windward Islands from 1695 until 1702. In a discussion of the possibility of capturing the black inhabitants of St. Vincent in order to sell them into slavery, Robert speculated that in addition to arriving in canoes from Barbados, many of St. Vincent’s African inhabitants settled there “a long time ago, [when] a vessel loaded with slaves wrecked”

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<sup>107</sup> “C’est-là le centre de la République Caraïbe : c’est l’endroit où les Sauvages sont en plus grand nombre, la Dominique n’en approche pas.” Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, 148.

<sup>108</sup> The role of the “marine underground” in facilitating marronage from small islands is discussed Neville A. T. Hall, “Maritime Maroons: *Grand Marronage* from the Danish West Indies,” *The William & Mary Quarterly* 62, N. 4 (Oct. 1985: 476-498). On inter-imperial marronage, see also Linda Rupert, “Contraband Trade and the Shaping of Colonial Societies in Curacao and Tierra Firme,” *Itinerario* 30, N. 3 (Nov. 2006: 35-54); Simon P. Newman, “Rethinking runaways in the British Atlantic World: Britain, the Caribbean, West Africa and North America,” *Slavery & Abolition* 38, N. 1 (2017: 49-75).

<sup>109</sup> “Je ne sçai par quelle raison...les a portez a les recevoir parmi eux... le nombre des Negres s’est tellement accru...qu’il surpasse de beaucoup celui des Caraïbes...les obligeront peut-être un jour d’aller chercher une autre Isle...” Labat, *Nouveau Voyage*, 148.

off the island's coast. The shipwreck's survivors "were humanely received by the Caribs," and soon "many of these negroes married the daughters of Caribs, and from thence their numbers grew."<sup>110</sup> Robert's account—which, while vague and likely apocryphal, was frequently repeated in the ensuing decades—offers conflicting information about the relationship between Kalinago people and others who had come to reside in their domain.<sup>111</sup> Although the Intendant stated that "the Caribs of the island would like for the negroes who have established themselves there to be removed," he also noted that "many of these negroes are allied with the Caribs and live together" peaceably.<sup>112</sup> While some Kalinagoes were willing to form familial, social, and perhaps military alliances with refugees from sugar plantations, others remained wary of or openly hostile to the newcomers.

The Intendant's description of the multi-ethnic society evolving in dangerous proximity to France's Caribbean colonies offered a new origin story for the Kalinago, one that would later be harnessed to justify the actions of European colonists. In the respective accounts of both Robert and Labat, the indigenous peoples who had successfully used diplomacy and violence to carve out an autonomous existence amidst European encroachers were being subsumed. In their place were 'Black Caribs': people who had little right to freedom, much less title to the lands on which they lived. In the ensuing decades, this rhetorical transformation would have very real consequences,

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<sup>110</sup> "...il est arrivé il y a desja bien longtems qu'un vaisseau chargé de negres alla eschouer et se perdre a la Capesterre de la dite isle St. Incent, because de negres et negresses du dit V. se sauverent a terre, et y furent receus humainement par les Caraibes... divers de ces negres ont epousé des filles de Caraibes, de la vient qu'ils ont augmenté en nombre..." ANOM C8A 12 f. 100, M. Robert, February 12 1700.

<sup>111</sup> As is the case for other origin stories that remain vague and unsubstantiated, the significance of the shipwreck story lies less in its veracity than in the purpose it served: in this instance, to diminish 'Black Carib' claims to land later in the colonial era. For the origin story of rice in South Carolina and its role as "a genesis narrative of economic and social creation on Britain's colonial periphery," see S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 55-58.

<sup>112</sup> "...les Caraibes de la dite isle voudroient que les negres qui y son etablis en fussent dehors... il y a bien de ces negres allies avec des Caraibes et qui vivent ensemble en bonne intelligence." ANOM C8A 12 f. 100, M. Robert, February 12 1700.

as Europeans used the story of the shipwrecked slave ship to justify their usurpation of Native lands.<sup>113</sup> At the turn of the eighteenth century, however, the story served less nefarious purposes. Instead, Robert used the example of Afro-Kalinago cooperation to show that St. Vincent's native inhabitants would not tolerate the presence of French settlers among them. The intendant wrote that the Kalinago "would rather see two thousand negroes established in their island, than to see just fifty armed Frenchmen disembark" there.<sup>114</sup> Having successfully prevented formal European settlement of a small part of their pre-Columbian domain, the Kalinago were demonstrably unwilling to allow Europeans to infringe on their remaining territory. Yet as the respective accounts of Labat and Robert show, by the turn of the eighteenth century the Kalinago increasingly found themselves sharing space with others.<sup>115</sup> In maintaining dominions outside the sphere of European rule in the colonial Caribbean, the Kalinago inadvertently helped create a space in which ten of thousands of people marginalized by the advance of the plantation complex would soon seek refuge.

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<sup>113</sup> This rhetorical transformation and its consequences is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5. Neil Whitehead traces the gradual process by which 'Black Caribs' came to be seen as a group separate from—and often in opposition to—the supposedly peaceable 'red' or 'yellow' Caribs, see Neil L. Whitehead, "Black Read as Red: Ethnic Transgression and Hybridity in Northeastern South America and the Caribbean," in Matthew Restall, Ed. *Beyond Black and Red: African-Native Relations in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 223-243.

<sup>114</sup> "...ils aiment mieux veoir deux mil negres establis dans leur isle, que d'y veoir desbarquer seulement 50 francois armez." ANOM C8A 12 f. 100, M. Robert, February 12 1700.

<sup>115</sup> Another seventeenth-century observer noted the large numbers of runaway slaves in St. Vincent, writing that the maroons "have multiplied so much that they are now as powerful as" the Kalinago. "Il y a quantité de Negres qui vivent comme eux, particulièrement à St. Vincent où est leur fort. Ils ont tellement multiplié qu'ils sont à present aussi puissans qu'eux." Sieur de la Borde, *Relation de l'origine, moeurs, coustumes religion, guerres et voyages des Caraibes Sauvages des isles Antilles de l'Amerique* (Paris: Imprimerie des Roziers, 1684), 27.