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**MAROON SOCIETIES IN
BRAZIL, JAMAICA AND MEXICO**

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in International Relations with Honors

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ABSTRACT

While many scholars concentrate their research on the enslavement of Africans, there are other stories to tell of African peoples in the Western Hemisphere. The Maroons were fugitive slaves who developed their own communities throughout the Americas. They were diverse peoples unified by their goal of freedom and self-determination.

This Honors Thesis Project explores the historical situation of the Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican Maroons and elucidates the similarities and differences between them. The aspects of Maroon life explored here are: lifestyle, leadership and politics. These three countries were selected to illustrate the diversity within the experiences of enslaved Africans throughout the Americas. Chapter I: Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Middle Passage outlines the journey from Africa to the Western Hemisphere. Chapter II: Enslavement, discusses the cruelties of enslavement which drove African peoples to maroon, to flee. Chapter III: Marronge explains the creation and use of the word “maroon” and “Maroon” and its different forms. Chapter IV: Lifestyle explores the different aspects of everyday life of Maroons and their communities. Chapter V: Leadership elucidates Maroon leaders and their contributions. Chapter VI: External Politics examines complex Maroon political relations with African, European and Indigenous groups. Chapter VII: Internal Politics reveals interaction between different Maroons in Mexico and Jamaica.

This inquiry revealed evidence of varied lifestyles, leadership and political relations, but no significant difference in the Maroons’ objective for freedom. Similar obstacles and methods to achieve liberty superseded any variances found in the lifestyles, leadership or political relations of the Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican Maroons.

Dedication:

I dedicate this to my parents
All people of African heritage around the world
And
Those who work against all forms of oppression and
injustice

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many people who have supported me throughout this Senior Honors Thesis Project process.

First and foremost, I want to thank my advisor Dr. John Burdick. I greatly appreciate his coaching, support and patience with such a research novice as myself. It was an honor to work with such a respected scholar. I know that I will benefit from his advisement for years to come.

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I thank the Program on Latin America and the Caribbean (PLACA) for inviting such interesting and knowledgeable speakers such as Reverend Antônio Olímpio de Sant'Ana and Shirley Campbell-Barr. Their research about the living conditions of African-Latino people and their personal insights were informative and thought provoking.

I want to give a special thank you to the African American Studies Department for all of their relentless work to provide academic and community programs which address the contributions of African people around the world. The Community Folk Art Center's First Annual Film Festival *Voices/Voces: Colonial Experiences from the Diaspora* helped

rejuvenate and expand my interest in the under recognized contributions of Africans throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Additionally I thank the department for the invaluable resources and serene and welcoming atmosphere of the Martin Luther King Library.

Last but not least, I want to thank the Honors Program for providing a key which allowed easy access in a space which I called my own, for independent study.

PREFACE

Since learning the Spanish language, I have been intrigued by the many different cultures within Latin America. I want to improve my Spanish to the extent that, one day, I can travel to Latin American countries and converse freely with the different people. Within the Spanish text books utilized during class, I noticed that, when cultural themes were introduced, Spain had the utmost importance. Second, select chapters would discuss the influence of Indigenous populations in Latin America. Relegated to the shortest chapter in the book were the influences of Africans on Latin-American culture. Africans were habitually cited as influencing Latin America in three ways: entertainment, food and religion. This to me, seemed unrealistic and perhaps an omission of the stories, lives and contributions of many people. An African presence had to exist in more than these three aspects of life.

During my semester abroad in Madrid, Spain, I enrolled in a course, “Human Rights and World Politics,” with Dr. Kwame Dixon. This course changed the way I view the world and myself. Many of the injustices and problems which I see throughout the world were examined in an academia arena. It was during this time that I began to learn about the contributions and plight of African peoples in Latin America. Throughout this class, I learned the historical and political dynamics operating when the United Nations was established. For a more complete understanding of the role and power of the United Nations, I also learned

the legal vocabulary used to specify the jurisdiction of the Security Council and the power of international treaties. I returned to the United States with a new perspective on human rights, a new passion and a broad thesis topic: Human Rights in Latin America.

While I did not enroll in another human rights class in the Fall, everything that I read, heard or wrote was influenced by what I had learned in Madrid. In the Spring of 2004, I enrolled in “Race, Democracy and Human Rights in Latin America.” This class built upon my prior learning and focused specifically on African descendants in Latin America and their plight for justice. I thoroughly enjoyed this class and learned much about the diaspora of African peoples.

I realized the many similarities that African descendants of the Western Hemisphere experienced. Though the manifestations of such injustices are different, there are many commonalities. This course was intellectually stimulating, as it allowed me to use the Spanish language as well as sparked my interest in Portuguese. During the progression of this course I decided to focus my Honors thesis project on African descendants’ struggle for human rights in Latin America. This topic seemed a perfect fit because it is a topic about which I have become passionate. Additionally, I believe this topic is immensely important, yet has been given limited attention by few scholars.

As I entered the research process, I realized that this topic, human rights in Latin America was too broad. I needed to choose a country. I

had difficulty with this until I received an invitation to travel abroad with the International Missions on Diplomacy. I chose Brazil. My decision was reinforced as soon as I learned that Brazil has the second largest African-descent population in the world!

In May of 2004, I spent three weeks in Brazil. I visited three cities: Brasilia, Manaus and Rio de Janeiro. Upon my arrival in Rio de Janeiro, I saw the great disparity between the “haves” and “have-nots.” Another undeniable observation struck me: the majority of the “have-nots” were Black, just like me. While my entire experience in Brazil was both enjoyable and revealing, the most moving and revealing day was spent traveling and learning with Viva Rio, a non-governmental organization. Through lectures and questions I posed to different guest speakers, I was able to get a realistic perspective about some of the topics discussed in “Race, Democracy and Human Rights in Latin America” and about which I had written. While in Rio de Janeiro, my delegation and I traveled to a *favela* (slum or shanty town). During this summer, I also began suggested readings from my advisor Dr. Burdick.

In Fall 2004, at the advice of Dr. Burdick, I enrolled in GEO 720: “Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Latin America” with Dr. David Robinson. Though the content of the course was not specific to ethnic NGOs, I focused my research on NGOs working to assess and increase the standard of living of African-Latinos. From this web based analysis I returned to learning about contemporary challenges African

descendants face. My newly acquired knowledge about disparities between Black Latinos and White Latinos led to the most fundamental and yet difficult question: In Latin America, who is Black?

Why would Black people, especially in Latin America, want to deny their African roots? Are there no Black role models or any groups promoting the rights of Black people? Most often, the history of Africans in the Americas focuses on the horrors of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the Middle Passage and enslavement. I wanted to discover the empowerment, courage, pride and the struggles against such inhumanity.

Within the USA, we tend to focus on the horrors of the Middle Passage and African enslavement. It is important to remember that the United States was only a minimal importer of Africans, accounting for an estimated ten to twelve percent of the Africans transported to the Western Hemisphere. The majority of Africans transported during the Middle Passage and their descendents reside in Latin America and the Caribbean.

In the USA, when we learn about Black resistance to enslavement we hear respected names such as Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Charles Lenox Remond, Reverend Henry Highland Garnet and Fredrick Douglass. All of these warriors exemplified the African resistance to their conditions as enslaved people. African resistance to enslavement was not a phenomenon restricted to the United States of America. There were hundreds or more Harriet Tubmans and Underground Railroads in each Western Hemispheric country where the institution of enslavement

flourished. Within this thesis project I will elucidate some of the other warriors who did not accept docile servitude, but instead decided to flee. The Maroons of Latin America and the Caribbean did exactly this.

I was intrigued but ignorant of their stories, the fundamental question which became the basis of my thesis was “Who were the Maroons?” After reading Richard Price’s *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* I decided to expand my research from Brazil to other countries as well. I chose Mexico because I was unfamiliar with the African-Mexican population, and this allowed me to improve my Spanish language skills. When Dr. Burdick suggested that I choose a third country, I chose Jamaica because of the prominence of its Maroon communities. This would allow me to research in three different languages and learn about three countries which are very diverse and yet unified by the presence of African peoples.

Through analysis of books, journal articles and websites I have found consistencies and inconsistencies among the lifestyles, leadership and political aspects of Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican Maroons. This thesis explores the basic but important question: Who were the Maroons? From this research, a comparative study of the Maroons of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico emerged. I have chosen these countries to illustrate the similarities and differences within the experiences of enslaved Africans throughout the Americas.

As the research process began, I encountered several challenges, the most prominent being lack of information. There was not an abundance of research in English or Spanish about the Maroons, and locating literature about Mexican Maroons was particularly challenging. Moreover the majority of the literature I did obtain was not focused on the topics of Maroon life in which I was interested. At first, the majority of information I found about Maroons was only from the perspective of colonial governments. These documents described Maroons as savage warriors attacking innocent colonial settlers. Military tactics were the most recorded. This indicates that the colonial governments were not interested in Maroons as humans. Obtaining information about the Maroons' ethnic backgrounds, lifestyle, and leadership required a more intensive search. It appeared that European colonial governments were more interested in annihilating Maroons than understanding who they were. This posed a challenge because many of the questions I had were either inferred by the authors or unanswerable.

In my efforts to locate a different view of the Maroons, I traveled to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, in Harlem, New York. This was an extremely productive trip as I gained access to hundreds of books, journals, archives, and art collections in different languages relating specifically to Black Culture around the world.

It was initially just as alarming to review the documents that I found at the Schomburg Center. My shock and confusion centered around

the treaties which Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican Maroons signed with their respective colonial powers, requiring them to pursue and capture fugitive slaves. As a Pan-Africanist, I was disheartened to think that Maroon communities were converted from refuge to entrapment. After much research and contemplation I concluded that Maroons and their mocambos agreed to sign these treaties and became fugitive slave catchers for the same reason they originally fled, freedom. Maroons signed treaties obligating them to become fugitive slave hunters to maintain the freedom for which they so desperately fought.

The process of writing my Senior Honors Thesis was the most challenging and rewarding academic experience of my four years at Syracuse University, because I gained a more global perspective about the history of African peoples around the world. I have learned more than can ever be expressed within this thesis. I challenged myself to be a better researcher and more analytical thinker. I hope this thesis enlightens each reader as it has done for me. This process has made me a better scholar and has given me even more pride in my African heritage.

CHAPTER I: TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE & THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

To address the question, “Who were the Maroons?” one must begin in their land of origin, Africa. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to voyage to Africa. The Spanish, British, French, German and the Dutch followed with their own explorations. 1444 marked the inception of African forced migration to Europe (Pescatello 33). Christopher Columbus’s arrival to the Americas in 1492 changed the history of the world. The first enslaved African arrived with conquistadores such as Columbus, Hernan Cortes and Francisco de Montejo (Richmond 1). As European colonization of the Americas began the need for labor exacerbated.

The Indigenous populations were the first enslaved peoples in the Americas. Throughout the Americas, Indigenous populations were destroyed through disease, slaughter and slavery. In 1519, 25 million Indigenous people inhabited Mexico; by 1548 they plunged to an estimated six million and in 1600 only 1.5 million remained (Richmond 2). The demise of the Indigenous population plus the objection of Indigenous enslavement by the Spanish clergy resulted in the change of policy towards Indigenous populations and Africans. In 1517 bishop Bartoleme de las Casas “returned to Spain [from Mexico] and advocated stronger legal restrictions against indigenous exploitation and lobbied successfully for humane treatment of Indians. Because de las Casas

argued for the substitution of black slaves for Indian subjugation, the bishop has been accused of having thus caused the introduction of African slavery into the New World” (Richmond 2).

The Portuguese and Spanish were the first European countries to arrive to Africa and the first to export its inhabitants through the triangle trade known as the Middle Passage. Hispanics dominated the slave trade, their American colonies flourished and they became the most powerful European countries.

The Hispanic nations of the Iberian Peninsula were the first to begin the slave trade, and the last to quit. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Spanish and Portuguese carried the rudimentary institutions of the South Atlantic System from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Islands, then to Santo Domingo and Brazil. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch, English and French dominated the slave trade, but, in the nineteenth century, Brazil and Cuba accounted for the vast majority of slaves imported-and by that time the northern powers had made their own slave trade effectively illegal (Curtin 36).

Chattel Enslavement was an institution profiting British, Dutch, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish economies which flourished by exploiting the land of the Indigenous Americans with the work of Africans. The origin of enslavement was economic, based upon sugar, tobacco and cotton industries. Large plantations were created to cultivate these main products and the cheap labor came from Africa. European

powers colonized Africa and divided its lands and people amongst each other. Although there is no concrete number of Africans that were imported to the Americas, there are estimates based upon the records of different European powers and their slave traders. Based upon these calculations the minimum estimate is 15-25 million African slaves landed in the Americas (Curtin 41) (Refer to Appendix A).

Brazil was by far, the western country which imported the largest number of Africans. For present purposes, the figure of 3,646,800 is accepted as the total estimate of the number of African slaves imported to Brazil during the Transatlantic slave trade (Curtin 41). These numbers reflect of the fact that Portuguese posts in Angola have produced longer time-series of slave exports than any other part of the African coast. Additionally, Brazil was also the last country to abolish slavery in May 13, 1888. “By 1798 there were 1.5 million slaves in Brazil, and the majority was of African origin. Statistics on the slave population of Bahia are even more difficult to establish, but a survey of some of the parishes of the captaincy in 1724 indicated that slaves constituted 50-65% of the total population” (Schwartz 204).

The Spanish Crown alone imported in the vicinity of 1,552,000 Africans over the span of the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Curtin 39). “African slavery in Mexico peaked between 1570s and the middle of the seventeenth century.” The number of slaves in Mexico during the apogee of slavery, ranged from 20,000 – 40,000 (Curtin 169). Beltran estimated

that 1595 - 1640 no less than 88,000 slaves entered Mexico. Thus, in this span of 45 years Mexico imported two-thirds of all the Africans exported to the Western Hemisphere. “In the sixteenth century, New Spain probably had more Africans than any other colony in the New World” (Richmond 1).

The Middle Passage

The Middle Passage refers to the voyage of Africans from Africa to the Americas. The conditions on the different ships were cruel and inhumane. Africans were chained together and taken underneath the ship. They prostrated though the majority of the voyage, which could range from three to six months. Africans were cramped so tightly that they could barely perform basic body functions such as breathing, moving and expelling waste. “...Africans tried to endure the pestilent, poisonous air, extreme heat, and the stench of their own defecation. Blood and mucus covered the floor, spawning numerous illnesses” (Richmond 3). Such illnesses included amoebic dysentery, scurvy, smallpox and measles. The multi-deck holds were separated by as little as forty inches, each packed with as many Africans as possible. Women and children could remain on deck but they were also susceptible to the sexual desires of the sailors and slave traders.

These harsh conditions in conjunction with low moral caused the death of Africans. On average, twelve to fifteen percent of the Africans

died during the Middle Passage. When men were allowed to come on deck they had to be strictly watched. To relieve themselves of the horrors of separation from their families and the barbarous conditions of the Middle Passage some slaves committed suicide. According to Captain Phillips of the British ship *Hannibal*, “While the slaves were on deck they had to be watched at all times to keep them from committing suicide. We had about twelve negroes did willfully drown themselves, and others starv’d themselves to death; for ’tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again” (Cowley and Mannix 107).

Ultimately, Africans were brought to the Americas as labor to cultivate the new European colonies of the British, Dutch, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish. The Africans were the backbone of the Europeans’ economies yet they were relegated to the lowest section of the social and economic hierarchy. The Africans brought to the Americas were mostly from West Africa, but this varied depending on which region the colonial powers colonized. While there is no exact number for the amount of Africans who arrived to the Americas, there were at least fifteen million Africans dispersed throughout the Americas. Once they arrived, their dehumanization was verified as they were viewed only as input whose sole purpose was to produce products and wealth for European colonies and their fatherlands. In the Americas, Africans became the main victims of enslavement.

CHAPTER II: ENSLAVEMENT

Enslaved Africans who survived the Middle Passage, were subjected to the enslavement conditions of the Western Hemisphere. While enslavement varied depending upon the policies of the colonial power, work conditions and work performed, ghastly conditions remained. This chapter will focus on the general trends of enslavement within Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico.

Brazil

African slaves brought to Brazil were apart of an economic machine whose primary products were based upon the region where they resided. Engenhos or sugar plantations were primarily located in Pernambuco and Bahia; Maranhão produced cotton and the mines of Minas Gerais were major sources of gold (Gomes 472). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the dominant ideology of slave owners was to extract as much labor for the least cost. This was reflected in the nature of work of enslaved Africans and the conditions in which they lived.

Brazilian enslavement in the Bahian plantations was especially grueling during the harvest months of July to November. During these months, a slave could expect four hours of sleep a day. They cut the sugar cane and transported it to the mills where the grinding began at four in the afternoon and worked until ten the next morning. Slaves consumed

manioc flour, fish and whale meat and raw brandy. Additionally, “plantation owners believed that only by severity could work be accomplished and discipline maintained, especially when the ratio in the fields was often forty slaves to one white sharecropper or overseer” (Schwartz 206).

The Portuguese Crown did try to regulate the harsh conditions in which the enslaved lived. “A royal order of 1688 stated that excessively cruel treatment could be denounced, even by the slave in question” (Schwartz 207). Though this law was implemented and had legal value, it did not greatly impact the everyday lives of most enslaved peoples. Ultimately, it was overseers and plantations owners who had the most immediate control of enslaved Africans and their living conditions. This law was not altogether futile. It did empower one enslaved Congolese woman, Ursula. In 1690 D. Anna Cavalcanti was forced to sell Ursula because of her excessive cruelty (Schwartz 207). While such laws prove that the Portuguese would not tolerate “extreme cruelty” there were no mechanisms present to monitor the conditions of enslaved Africans nor did it alleviate the true and rudimentary source of such unjust suffering: enslavement.

Jamaica

The Jamaican colonial economy was also forged by the contributions of African slaves. Jamaica has the largest proportion of

African people than Brazil or Mexico; ninety percent of the Jamaica population was of African descent (Patterson 249). Similar to the Portuguese royal order of 1688, the British had legislation that was supposed to protect slaves from the harsh inhumane cruelties of their masters. This legislation was not well enforced as only “occasionally, a white person might have had to pay a fine for murdering his slave, but in the majority of such cases no legal action could be taken even to inflict the mildest penalty, since a Negro could not give evidence against any white person” (Patterson 249).

Mexico

When Africans arrived to the Spanish colonies they already had owners anticipating their arrival for them (Richmond 3). Between 1519-1650 Mexico received at least 120,000 slaves (or two-thirds) of all Africans imported to the Spanish colonies of the Western Hemisphere. Africans brought to Mexico worked in diverse labor sectors. It depended majorly on the region in Mexico where African laborers were sent. “Virtually all the Africans arriving in Mexico in the colonial period were brought as slaves to work, not only on the sugar estates being established in Veracruz, but also in other branches of agriculture, in domestic work, in the gold and silver mines and in various aspects of the urban industry” (Pereira 94).

The majority of the African population was located in four main regions: Eastern between Veracruz and Pánuco; North and West of Mexico City; South and West, from Puebla to the Pacific Coast and Mexico City and the Valley of Mexico. Enslaved Africans of Eastern region were dock handlers and workers on the sugar plantations. North and West of Mexico City Africans labored in the silver mines and cattle ranches. In the South and West enslaved Africans slaved on the sugar plantations and in the docks of Acapulco. Its largest African population was found in Mexico City and the Valley of Mexico; there, Africans worked as peddlers, muleteers, craftsmen, day laborers and domestics” (Davidson 84).

As “...the colony grew, the Spaniards needed slaves to develop new mining towns....Africans slaves were among the first inhabitants of the city [Zacatecas] and among the first mine workers, performing hard labor for a highly profitable industry” (Richmond 3). Other than mining, sugar was also an industry in which many African slaves worked.

Ultimately, 88-85% of the African population who arrived to the Western Hemisphere survived to endure the tortures of enslavement. The enslaved of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico worked long hours performing arduous labor and were compensated with little food, or shelter. Overseers utilized brute force to “discipline” and subdue the enslaved that outnumbered them. These loathsome conditions and need for mental,

spiritual and physical freedom contributed to the motivations of enslaved Africans to escape.

CHAPTER III: MARRONAGE

Africans resisted European enslavement from the moment they embarked on the ships transporting them to the Americas. There are records of Africans throwing themselves and their companions into the Atlantic Ocean to escape. Upon their arrival to the Americas resistance took on new forms. Africans committed suicide, women committed abortions and infanticide, rebellions and revolts were incited. Revolts and rebellions were the prime opportunities for slaves to escape *en masse*. Once they escaped from enslavement, Africans were “fugitive slaves,” or Maroons.

The English “maroon” comes from “marronage” or flight. Though there is debate about the origin of the word most scholars agree that the English word “maroon” and the French “marron” are derived from the Spanish word “cimarrón” (Price 1). “Cimarrón” originally referred to domestic cattle that had escaped to the hills in Hispaniola. Later it referred to Indigenous people who escaped from the Spaniards and finally in the 1530s it was used in reference to Africans who did the same. “Cimarrón” was synonymous with “wild” or “unbroken” (Price 2). The transformation and use of the word “Maroon” reinforces that marronage was not specific to a specific region or European colonizer but the institution of slavery in all its forms.

The first Maroons were African-born Blacks, whom the Spanish called “*Bozales*.” Marronage began as soon as the *Bozales* touched

American soil. These original Maroons often escaped in groups, some in vain efforts to return to Africa (Price 2). If Bozales did not flee upon first arriving they fled after being enslaved for years. European colonizers found it more difficult to subdue Bozales as they had vivid memories of Africa and freedom.

Marronage occurred in several different forms. The majority of Maroons fled individually or in small groups *not* in massive uprisings. “Many slaves slipped away quietly, individually or in groups, to join Maroons or to fend freely for themselves” (Kopytoff 294). Isolated runways sought to lose themselves in towns or areas of Freedmen or Indigenous populations. Groups of Maroons often created small networks located near each other and formed bands of “gangs” and “bandits.” From their villages Maroons could rob and pillage nearby towns and travelers on the main road. They also illegally traded and bartered goods at market. Maroons who created their own large and relatively safe societies sustained themselves through agriculture or a hybrid of agriculture and robbing colonists (Pereira 97). Therefore, the lifestyle of Maroons was affected by the quantity of people with whom Maroons escaped. Location was also a significant factor in marronage.

Urban areas gave Maroons opportunities to participate in mainstream colonial America. “The city was a place where many escaped slaves headed, for it allowed them better opportunities to escape detection, retain anonymity and find employment” (Valdés 192). Once Maroons

established themselves as Freedmen, freedom was contingent on their abilities to remain inconspicuous and if necessary, maroon again. The majority of Maroons who escaped to urban areas were Mulattos (people with African and European ancestry) and Creoles (Africans born in the Americas); These two groups were more likely to successfully escape from enslavement in the cities because they were less distinguishable and were more acculturated to colonial American society. "...unlike Blacks, those Mulattos who escaped [enslavement] frequently could pass as free individuals without suspicion....they tended to lose their distinct physical and cultural characteristics" (Valdés 193). This does not imply, however, that Maroons were socially mobile; they almost invariably performed in the same capacity as they had as slaves. In Mexico City, Mexico, "... [Mulatto Maroons] would continue to perform the same occupational tasks as their enslaved ancestors" (Valdés 193). Ultimately one's form of marronage greatly determined one's lifestyle. "Individual runaways or very small groups might choose to remain for a time in the immediate area of their plantation, where they could receive aid from friends and relatives. But to avoid recapture, they eventually had to w/draw into the mountains" (Kopytoff 295). While many Creole and Mulatto Maroons escaped to urban centers, many other Maroons fled to inaccessible rural areas of the Americas also known as "bush marronage."

The majority of the Africans who escaped through "bush marronage" were *Bozales*; the founders and architects of their own

communities, Maroon societies. These communities were called *palenques, quilombos, mocambos, cumbes, ladeiras* or *mambieses* (Price 1). The presence of Maroon societies and their inhabitants elucidated vulnerability of European authority and threatened American economic and social stability. From the colonial European perspective, Maroon societies were plagues on the American system of enslavement that needed to be extinguished.

Marronage was not a passing phenomena; it existed in defiance of European colonization and enslavement. For the first Maroons, marronage was not a static concept ensuring liberty, but rather an effort to reclaim the freedom and humanity that was taken from them.

Chapter IV: Lifestyles in Maroon Societies

Bozales, or African-born Blacks, were the original creators and inhabitants of Maroon societies. These *palenques*, *quilombos*, *mocambos*, *cumbes*, *ladeiras* or *mambieses* were physical manifestations of African rejection of enslavement. They also became the source and cultivation of one of the most valuable but least recognized aspects of the African-American experience.

Mocambos were plagues on the American system of enslavement. The extermination of one *mocambo* led to the establishment of another. Maroon societies and their inhabitants elucidated the weakness of European authority and threatened American economic and social stability.

Maroons were a very diverse group of people unified by their African heritage and escape from enslavement. They were multiethnic, multilingual and multicultural peoples. The majority of Maroons were from Sub-Saharan and Western Africa; ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity within those regions was therefore represented in the Americas. Upon examining the documentation I have identified similarities and differences of the Maroons of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico. I will compare and contrast the lifestyle of Maroons of these three countries focusing on: ethnic background, language, integration of new members, location, layout of their communities and the role of women.

Ethnic Background

Because there are minimal records pertaining to African ancestry, it is difficult to distinguish the exact ethnic backgrounds of Maroons. Some slave traders took great care in recording from which kingdoms slaves were taken. In other instances Europeans recorded such information to ensure that there was a limited number of Africans from the same ethnic background. This was a European tactic used to insure that communication and therefore uprisings would be minimized. The diversity of African ethnicity can also be attributed to the colonization of different African regions by Europeans.

An additional reason slave traders recorded who they exported to the Americas was to provide some colonial societies with the Africans they preferred. European slave traders also documented the African origins of their slaves because particular Africans were renowned for specific desirable or detestable attributes. Particular groups of Africans, such as the Coromantee were notorious for their resistance (Kopytoff 39). The ethnic diversity of Maroons is reflective of the African areas which Europeans colonized. In the sixteenth century the majority of Africans imported to Mexico were from Cape Verde and West Africa. In the seventeenth century the majority of Africans were imported from what is currently Congo and Angola (Pereira 95). The majority of Africans in Brazil were Nagos (Yoruba), Angolan, and from the Ndongo kingdom.

The majority of Africans imported to Jamaica were from West Africa. The single largest population of African people to inhabit Jamaica was from current day Ghana. “The [African population] that made the greatest contribution to the Maroons [of Jamaica], were the Coromantee, or slaves from the Gold Coast [Ghana]. Ghanaian slaves played by far the greatest role in rebellions throughout the slave period in Jamaica. They were considered so dangerous that the Jamaican government considered a bill to impose an extra duty on them to discourage their importation” (Kopytoff 40). The Coromantee were Akan-speaking Africans. Nigeria is the country from which the second largest population of Africans was exported. Other African ethnic groups present in Jamaica were: Congos, Eboes, Mandingos, Pawpaws (Slave Coast) and Nagos (Yoruba) (Kopytoff 40). Jamaica appears to have the greatest amount of African ethnic diversity, but this probably attests to the massive amounts of African land that the British colonized. This could also be attributed to the fact that information about Jamaican Maroons is more prevalent within this study.

Jamaica has a larger representation of the different African ethnicities than both Brazil and Mexico. An African group exclusively represented in Jamaica was the Madagascans. “Sometime between 1669, and 1670 a slave ship with an unusual cargo of slaves from Madagascar was wrecked near Morant Point at the east tip of the island” (Patterson 257). Debate continues about the fate of these Madagascans slaves, but

the majority of scholars agree that they integrated into the dominant Coromantee Maroon culture and were absorbed by the Leeward Maroons.

Language

Different Maroons were able to maintain particular parts of their African languages. Communication is one of the most important aspects of identity and constructing societies. Originally, language was a barrier to constructing an integrated and sustainable Maroon society. Bozales who escaped upon arrival to the Americas were most likely not able to communicate with each other. While their languages may have been similar or related, it was difficult if not impossible to communicate verbally. In such cases, it was not the verbal ability to communicate which facilitated the creation of a cohesive and integrated society, but the shared experience of the Middle Passage and search for freedom.

As the Creole population increased language became less of a hindrance. Creoles were born and raised speaking the language of the European colonizer. Therefore, Creole Maroons communicated through Portuguese, English and Spanish. Speculation states that the Maroons from Spanish Jamaica and British Jamaica were able to communicate through Akan. “The ethnic provenience of the Spanish Maroons is not known, but since some of the slaves the Spanish imported were from the Gold Coast, it may be assumed that Akan traditions were represented among them, and a common African language may have provided the first

means of communication between Spanish and English Maroons” (Kopytoff 292). While there is no decisive evidence concerning the ethnicity or language of the enslaved Africans originally imported to Jamaica, it can be assumed, that they, like the majority of Africans were Coromantee. The importation of Coromantee by the Spanish in the sixteenth century and then the importation of Coromantee by the British in the seventeenth century suggests that though the Maroons did not speak the same European language it is possible that they could have communicated through their native language, Akan.

As the plantation Creole population increased amongst Maroons, they gained more knowledge about the language of the European powers. The Leeward Maroons of Jamaica spoke English. For a time, speaking the native African language was permitted at home, but English with African grammar was used to communicate with the Maroon society as a whole. Similar process took place in Brazil and Mexico as well. African grammar was infused into the European language as a mode of communication between Maroons of each country. “Each polity had a language by which its members could communicate with all other Maroons, a common ethnic identity, and a developing shared culture” (Kopytoff 46). Therefore, language was utilized as a method to promote a Maroon ethnic identity, culture and unity.

Integration of New Members

Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican mocambos all established systems of integrating and acculturating new entrees into their societies. All mocambo inhabitants were particularly suspicious of new members. The existence of mocambos depended upon their ability to remain inaccessible and hidden. Therefore, secrecy and unwavering allegiance to Maroons were necessary to maintain the lifestyle and success of all mocambos and quilombos. Each society established its own ways to evaluate newcomers and integrate approved maroons.

The suspiciousness of Maroons about newcomers was indicative of European relations. In efforts to locate and dismantle mocambos, all three colonial powers used other Africans to access mocambos. Europeans promised enslaved Africans emancipation if they were able to locate, infiltrate and collect military information about mocambos of their respective colonies. In other instances, when Maroons were captured, Europeans tortured them in efforts to extract information. Much information was obtained through these tactics. In order to minimize the number of spies included within their societies, each community created systems to evaluate and integrate new members into their communities.

In Araguari, Amazonia, Brazil, the Maroon *capataz* or overseer was responsible for monitoring the new Maroon. He decided if new entrees were indeed fleeing enslavement or if they were spies. The overseer was the authoritative figure in distinguishing between the different groups of escapees and their punishment if they were designated

as traitors. It was he who banished and persecuted all suspects and shared his “revelations” with the rest of the community (Gomes 489). In Araguari, new members were prohibited from leaving until they had lived in the mocambo for one year. After one year elapsed, new Maroons were able to travel to the nearest town, Macapá, but only with the permission of the Maroon “overseer” and accompanied by his trustees (Gomes 488). In the Araguari settlement there were specific exceptions to this rule.

Temporary residents-those who lived in the mocambos for a time and then chose to leave those communities and even return to their masters- were viewed with mistrust. They could become allies and establish contacts for the more permanent quilombolas (inhabitants of quilombos or Maroons), but they often turned into traitors and enemies, as they could serve as guides for anti-mocambo troops (Gomes 489).

Maroons wanted to ensure that the recent entrees were not used as ‘couriers’ to discover the location of the mocambos or quilombos. All indicators reveal that Maroons who were discovered conspiring with Europeans were immediately murdered. This policy was similarly implemented throughout the mocambos of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico. Manoel, an enslaved man conspiring with the Europeans was advised by João, a man who escaped from the Araguari quilombo warned him, “I advise thee not to flee, because they will soon kill them for they know thou art friendly with the whites and thou art of their nation” (Gomes 488).

Unlike Araguari, Palmares only obtained new recruits through razzias. This changed the evaluation process because all Africans who were forced to enter the quilombo were generally more suspect than those

who entered willingly. Therefore, Palmares's evaluation process was unique because all societies' new entrees entered under the same condition. This also relegated all new members to the lowest state of "citizenship." While it is debated, rhetoric such as "slave" and "apprentice" have been used to describe the nature of the entrees social status. To ensure acceptance and upward mobility within Palmares new entrees had to kidnap another African when raiding a town. "The main business of *palmaristas* [inhabitants of Palmares] is to rob the Portuguese of their slaves, who remain in slavery among them, until they have redeemed themselves by stealing another; but such slaves as run over to them, are free as the rest" (Kent 180).

Induction into Maroon societies of Jamaica contrasted Palmares of Brazil. Unlike Palmaristas, new entrees entered the Windward Maroons both voluntarily and involuntarily. The Windward Maroons are suspected to have a two-phase incorporation process for escapees. The first phase involves taking a ritual oath attaching the new recruit to the group and made him or her subject to the same supernatural sanction facing other Windward.

"They give encouragement for all sorts of negroes to join them, and oblige the men to be true to them by an oath which is held very sacred among the negroes, and those who refuse to take that oath, whether they go to them of their own accord or are made prisoners, are instantly put to death" (Kopytoff 304).

The second phase, or the probationary phase of Windward induction, is common to Maroon communities of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico. The second phase includes “a training period for the newcomer, allowing him to learn the group’s culture. By relegating him to an inferior position, the others prevented him from unduly influencing the political and social organization of the group, while he learned to conform to its norms. Thus a unity and continuity of culture could be maintained in spite of the frequent incorporation of adults” (Kopytoff 44). Kopytoff also provides examples of this second phase in the Leeward population:

...when any Negro man deserted from the Plantations and went among them [Maroons], They [Maroons] would not Confide in them [new entrees], until they had served a time prefix’d for their Probation; which made some of Them return to their Masters not liking the usage of treatment they met with...(Kopytoff 43-44).

Effectively, the second phase was also used as a weeding out process; only the most determined and committed to marronage and freedom remained. Integration in a mocambo consisted of a “probation” when new entrees were relegated to an inferior status while they proved their allegiance to the Maroons. While the specifics of the integration process varied, it was a two step process that was rewarded by citizenship into a Brazilian, Jamaican or Mexican mocambo.

Location

The majority of Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican mocambos were founded in two locations: within close proximity of, but inaccessible to

colonial societies, or deeply secluded within the land yet uncharted by Europeans. The location of mocambos impacted Maroon's defense and economy.

The majority of mocambos and quilombos were established in inaccessible remote locations. Quilombos flourished in harsh environments, such as jungles, mountains, hills and valleys. The difficulty of maneuvering through natural defenses deterred antagonist invasions. "Mexico's rugged terrain compounded the difficulties, for fugitives could establish settlements in the mountains and isolated ravines, which afforded excellent defensive sites" (Davidson 99). In order to secure protection, Maroons had to acclimate themselves to the same mountains, swamps and valleys that deterred invasion. In Jamaica, "two sections of the central mountain system became special retreats for maroons; they were so difficult of access and so inhospitable that they remain largely uninhabited even today. The Windward Maroons formed settlements in the Blue Mountains, which are the highest in Jamaica, with peaks reaching between six-thousand and seven-thousand feet..." (Kopytoff 290). Leeward Maroons on the western-central section of the island:

[The Leeward] men were placed on the ledges of rocks that rose almost perpendicularly to great height, on a ground which, compared to those precipices, might be called a plain, the extremity being narrowed into a passage, upon which the fire of the whole body might bear. This passage contract itself into a defile of nearly half a mile long, and so narrow that only one man could pass along it at a time. Had it been entered by a line of men, it would not have been difficult for the Maroons from the heights to have blocked them up in the front and in the rear, by rolling

down large rocks at both ends, and afterwards to have crushed them to death by the same means...The entrance was impregnable, the continuation of the line of smaller cockpits rendered the rear inaccessible, and Nature had secured the flanks of her own fortification (Price 6-7).

The topography of mocambos provided defense and drastically influenced the Maroon economy.

Nonetheless, Maroons of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico produced provisions within their mocambos. “A similar list of cultigens appearing in reports from almost all areas—manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, and other root crops, bananas and plantains, dry rice, maize, groundnuts, squash, beans, chile, sugar cane, assorted other vegetables, and tobacco and cotton” (Price 10). The Mexican mocambo of Mandinga adopted the local Indian method of *milpa* plots on the slopes of the mountains where “they grew corn, manioc, beans, peanuts, and chili” (Carroll 501). Sedentary agricultural life in Mexican mocambos involved “provision grounds of corn, tobacco, pumpkin, banana and other fruit trees...beans, sweet potato, vegetables...an abundance of chickens and a large number of cattle” (Pereira 99). Difficult topography and scarce resources limited the Maroons’ ability to become completely self-sufficient. Therefore, to different degrees, contact with colonial America continued.

Contrary to the Mandingan Maroons, the majority of Maroons of Bahia, Brazil, sustained their economies through attacking colonial settlements. “The Bahian quilombos were located close to centers or surrounding plantations and their economies were majorly based in

highway theft, cattle rustling, raiding and extortion” (Schwartz 211). The victims of Maroon pillage could be anyone who had resources which they need. “Victims of the Bahian quilombo, Buraco de Tatú, were not white sugar-planters but rather the Negroes who came everyday to the city to sell the food-stuffs they grow on their plots” (Schwartz 218). Several mocambos used both tactics. “Maroons raided and plundered frontier plantations, carrying off slaves, firearms, ammunition, foodstuffs and other moveables. At the same time they grew provisions and hunted wild boar and other game in the rugged interior parts of the island” (Sheridan 169). Piolho, Mato Grosso, a Brazilian quilombo composed of African Maroons, Indigenous people and their children *caborés* (people who are both African and Indigenous) “obtained their food by fishing and hunting, and cultivated corn, various types of beans, manioc, sweet potatoes, pineapple, tobacco, cotton and bananas; they raised chickens and made their clothes from cotton” (Bastide 194).

Mocambos which were inaccessible but close to colonial settlements, established allies both economically and politically. Maroon allies were European colonists as well as enslaved Africans and Freedmen. Maroons who were able to cultivate produce, often traded their products for firearms, ammunition and other dietary products they themselves could not produce. In addition to providing Maroons with produce, their allies also provided them information about the colonial governments. Allies warned Maroons if an expedition was being conducted to identify the

location of the mocambos or if colonists were planning an attack. Though there were amicable relations among Maroons and their colonial neighbors this did not eliminate the possibility of aggression. Maroons also attacked towns within close proximity. They raided plantations and kidnapped enslaved Africans in addition to stealing tools, arms and ammunition. Maroon-colonist relations were volatile depending on the need of either party. Maroons could trade with a colonist and later attack his plantation. A colonist could provide Maroons ammunition and then provide information to the colonial authorities. Essentially, there was no assurance of permanent allegiance or protection by either party.

Layout of Maroon Communities

The layout of mocambos varied greatly.

A description of Trelawny Town (Cudjoe's residence and Leeward capital):

Houses in the village were disposed irregularly on sloping ground to carry off the heavy rain which cut gullies or channels and left deposits of topsoil in the valleys. 'Here and there, in patches', he wrote, 'where the sweepings of the ashes from the houses had been collected, and also on the ground below their hogsties, which were appurtenances to every house, some clumps of plantain trees and smaller vegetables were nourished by the manure'. These productive patches, or 'kitchen gardens', together with the houses, were each surrounded by a fence made of a prickly shrub. Connecting each enclosure were small footpaths which were hardly visible to any except the inhabitants. Their houses were in general small cottages covered with thatch or long grass and having hard-packed clay floors and most probably wattle and daub exterior walls. However, the chief's houses were said to be roofed w/shingles and several had floored rooms (Sheridan 165).

The Mexican mocambo of Yanga, as described by Padre Juan:

We arrived at a fountain placed between two rocks...from whose water the Negroes take sustenance, for although it is far from their town, they have nothing else to drink. Next to the fountain was a large field of tobacco, squash, and corn which [we] destroyed to deprive our enemy of provisions. The spoils that were found in the town and huts of these Negroes were considerable. A variety of clothing that they had gathered, cutlasses, swords, axes, some harquebuses and coines, salt, butter, corn... (Davidson 95-6).

While the location of mocambos varies all the necessities such as housing and land for cultivating was present. The allure of mocambos was protection they provided to individual runaway slaves from recapture and enslavement. While the life in mocambos was difficult, it was much easier than fending for oneself in the jungle.

Role of Women

Only one-third of the African population transported to the Americas was female (Richmond 2). Within mocambos, where single males dominated, this sexual imbalance was only magnified. Accounts from 1743 state that in the Mexican mocambo, Mandinga, women were outnumbered four to one (Carroll 500). As societies developed the female population often increased. By 1749, the main Jamaican Maroon towns of Trelawny Town, Crawford Town (Charles Town), Accompong Town and New Nanny Town (Moore Town) were comprised of 211 women, 273

men and the total population was 664 (Sheridan 157). The chronic shortage of women profoundly affected male-female relations in Maroon societies. Maroon women of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico were highly valued, performed similar tasks and had important roles as spiritual and religious leaders.

The primary concern of Maroons was maintaining cohesive societies. The male to female ratio was so great that one of the greatest internal threats to solidarity was the sexual imbalance. Competition between men for a woman could have led to rivalries that could have destroyed the unity of mocambos and resulted in the community's extinguishment. In order to avoid such conflicts, Maroon societies created laws regulating men's interactions with women.

Within Jamaica the Windward and Leeward used two different systems to monitor male-female relations. Within Windward society, monogamy was strictly enforced. According to testimony of Seyrus, a recaptured maroon who resided with the Windward Maroon claimed that, "...there is hardly anything esteemed a crime...but the lying with one another's wives" (Kopytoff 298). This quote corroborates the importance of women; as "lying with another's wife" was the worst offense within Maroon society. Seyrus continued that, men found lying with another's wife was "instantly shot to death" (Kopytoff 304). As punishment for adultery, the woman was whipped. The Brazilian Maroons of Buraco de

Tatú also practiced monogamy but there are no records of such strict enforcement.

Leeward laws monitoring access to women differed greatly from those of Windward Maroons. Polygamy was permitted but it was strictly regulated. An account by an anti-mocambo soldier around 1740 stated that among the Leeward:

Each man is allowed as many Wive's as He can Maintain and should any of their Women be caught Playing loose with another Man, they are never Angry, and far from giving them Correction; on the Contrary, the Husband...agrees with the Galant, alternately to enjoy the woman, the former three days and the nights and the latter two: Nay further should any Man incline to share a Wife with a Husband, on Application, 'tis allowed under the aforementioned Regulation; and let which of them get the child the first Man Fathers all, and this for no other Reason, than an Encrease of Children to keep up their Gangs; fearing the Incapacity of One Man with One Woman (Kopytoff 303).

Though the Windward and Leeward utilized different methods of controlling the social implications of the sexual imbalance, they instituted regulations to protect their most valued citizens, women.

Because women were so scarce, different tactics were used for their physical protection. Some of the Windward Maroon settlements had a sexually segregated pattern “which ensured the protection of their womenfolk and children from the savagery of the white raiding parties” (Patterson 262).

Women also contributed economically to the survival of the mocambo. Women were responsible for agriculture. While men attended

to the livestock and defense, women tilled the land in large mocambos or cultivated small gardens. In Jamaica, the majority of the women burned trees and tilled provision grounds.

While the laws of Maroon societies and the literature indicate the importance of women and the repercussions of the sexual imbalance, there is no indication of power exercised exclusively by women. Religion was the facet of life in which women's prominence was noted. Their power and influence was utilized as obeah women. "Women were thought to have special magical powers, such as being more susceptible to ritual trance" (Bastide 198). There are several examples of women in positions of power in Brazil. "Klbanda, who supernatural intervention they had more confidence than in formal organization and political action" (Bastide 198).

There were several women who also possessed political power. In Brazil, there were two African Maroon women that governed quilombos of Africans and Indigenous peoples. Filippa Maria Aranha, of the Trombetas region, governed a quilombo with such power and vigor that the Portuguese formed an alliance with her settlement (Bastide 197). Saint-Hilarie, also governed a Brazilian mocambo, Caribocas of Minas. The settlement was comprised of Malali Amerindians and Maroons (Bastide 197).

The shortage of women in mocambos greatly affected the demographics of mocambos. In the early establishment of mocambos there were few numbers of women and even fewer children. If quilombos were able to exist long enough to negotiate treaties with the colonial power, they usually saw an increase in the number of females and children (Carroll). In Jamaica, “after about 1750 the Maroon population increased by natural means. Women came to outnumber men and births to exceed death in a population in which over half of the people were in the zero to nineteen age range” (Sheridan 170).

Male Maroons tried to compensate for the absence of African and Maroon companions in various ways. In Mexico, many Maroon men had relations with Indigenous women. Another unique trait in Mexico was documentation verifying that Maroons also mixed with other African-Mexican populations. There is documentation of Maroon men marrying free Black women in Mandinga. “Some of the free Black women that entered Mandinga married Maroons. María Carbajal, a mestiza from Orizaba married” a Maroon man. Joseph Ignancio, a free Afro-mestizo married a Creole Maroon woman (Carroll 501). The discrepancy between the male and female populations greatly affected Maroon politics, especially with Indigenous communities.

Essentially, the lifestyles of Maroons within different regions Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico illustrate the diversity of Maroons themselves. Maroons formed identities and communities of their own. Their societies

were a hybrid of different African peoples, as well as acclimating themselves to the harsh environments in which they resided. Diversity can be seen not only with the confines of the national borders but within the different societies which Maroons inhabited. The differences are very important to note, so as not to generalize and stereotype what it means to be a Maroon. Simultaneously there was and there remains a cohesive and unifying factor of Maroons: they are proactive escapees of American enslavement and they worked persistently to pursue and maintain their freedom. It was the shared goal of liberation that unified these Africans that were unique in language, culture and person but interconnected by their pursuit which ultimately shaped their identity. The differences should not supercede the commonalities found in the Maroons of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico. Maroons lived in the same general locations, developed their own languages, created methods of obtaining, evaluating and integrating new members. Women were a scarce and valuable resource whom male Maroons tried to protect.

CHAPTER V: LEADERSHIP

Although many of their histories are unknown or lost the leaders of Maroon societies were intelligent, skilled and commanding. The majority of knowledge of these leaders comes from three main sources: colonial government documentation, accounts of settlers/governmental officials and the oral history of Maroons themselves. These sources often contradict each other and have been manipulated by the opinions of their authors, translators and recipients. Regardless, these materials are the only sources available to gain knowledge about the leaders of Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican Maroon societies.

It is also important to note that leadership can take place in many different arenas: political, civil, military, religious, and cultural. This section will focus on political, civil, and military power. While there were innumerable leaders in Maroon communities who have not been historically recognized, I will focus on the leaders about whom I have sufficient information. There are several leaders, such as military leaders of the Jamaican Maroons, on whom I cannot elaborate. This is not a reflection of their importance, but a reflection of the research that remains to be explored.

Brazil

Zumbi

Zumbi was also known as Ganga-Zumba, Nganga-Nzambi or Great Lord. Zumbi was King of Palmares, the great African republic of Bahia, Brazil, until 1695.

[Zumbi] was recognized as king by those born in Palmares and by those who joined them from outside. He is treated with all respect due a Monarch and all the honours due a Lord. Those who are in his presence kneel on the ground and strike palm leaves with their hands as sign of appreciation of His excellence. They address him as Majesty and obey him with reverence (Kent 179).

Zumbi was a Bozal from Central Africa. He realized that Palmares and its inhabitants would never be truly safe or free from attack without accordance with the colonial settlers and governments. To obtain safety for Palmaristas, Zumbi sued for peace each time a new governor of Pernambuco was designated. He lived in Macoco, the capital of Palmares. As king, he and his family enjoyed privileges that other Maroons did not. “He had a palatial residence, *casas* [homes] for members of his family, and is assisted by guards and officials who have, by custom, *casas* which approach those of royalty” (Kent 179). In June of 1668 Zumbi signed a treaty with the Portuguese, securing freedom for members of Palmares. Ultimately, this treaty was not upheld. Planters from Alagôar who fought against Palmares were rewarded with 192 leagues of land (Kent 185). Within the peace treaty the boundaries of Palmares were not specified, and conflict reconvened when planters land claims encroached on Palmares’s territory. Only one year after the treaty was signed violence resumed between the Palmaristas and the settlers.

While there is no consistent information about Zumbi's death, Kent states that Zumbi was taken alive and decapitated on November 20, 1695. "The head was exhibited in public 'to kill the legend of this immortality'" (Kent 186).

Jamaica

Cudjoe

Cudjoe is renowned as the infamous Leeward leader who ruled the Jamaican Cockpit Country. Though the information about Cudjoe is inconsistent, he was undoubtedly a charismatic and influential leader.

Cudjoe was:

... 'a bold, skillful and enterprising man' remarkably adept at the techniques of guerrilla warfare. He was a short, stocky, powerfully built man with a humped back. On the occasion of his celebration confrontation with the whites who had come to his camp to sue for peace, he was dressed in knee-length drawers, an old ragged coat, and a rimless hat, and carried his right side a cow's horn of power and bag of shots, and on his left a broad, sheathed machete, which dangled from a strap slung around his shoulder. His black skin, like those of his followers, was tinted red by the bauxite-rich soil found in the part of the island that he controlled (Patterson 260).

There are conflicting accounts of his background but there are two prominent theories. The first states that Cudjoe inherited power from his father. According to this theory, Cudjoe's father was an unnamed Bozal who led the slave revolt on Sutton's plantation in 1690. From those who successfully escaped, the Leeward Maroons were formed. This inheritance of power was also distributed to Cudjoe's brothers.

“Accompong, Cudjoe’s ‘brother,’ was head of the other major settlement in the west, some eight miles away across the Cockpits; a second ‘brother,’ Johnny, was also an important captain, being listed in the treaty as standing after Accompong in line of succession to Cudjoe” (Kopytoff 2).

The second theory states that Cudjoe was a Coromantee Bozal, one of six siblings of an Ashanti family. Accordingly his siblings were Accompong, Johnny, Cuffee, Quaco (Quao) and Nanny. All of these siblings held leadership roles within Leeward communities. “[They] made their escape from slavery and assumed leadership of the Maroons, as well as the rebellious slaves” (Tuelon 20).

Though capital punishment was used to castigate violators of Leeward societal laws, it was not used as frequently as in the Windward communities. Cudjoe was the final judge in distinguishing innocence or guilt and administering the appropriate punishment. “Cudjoe’s people were not so quick to kill fellow Maroons; this was a right Cudjoe reserved for his own judicious use and which he applied to persons who defied his authority or broke his orders” (Kopytoff 304). Scholars have speculated that Cudjoe’s centralized government allowed him to use less violence, through capital punishment or through his defensive military tactics in warfare with colonial settler states:

Cudjoe, thought his centralized organization, was able to protect his territory by a deliberate policy of minimal provocation, thus reducing the chances of an escalating mutual harassment such as took place in the east [Windward]. Since Cudjoe prohibited killing

whites, his raids were not as threatening to the settlers as those by the Windward; and given the lack of provocation, whites seldom ventured into Cudjoe's territory or disturbed his rule (Kopytoff 306).

While there have only been positive descriptions of Cudjoe, he is most often criticized for his comportment with Windward Maroons and English officials. Cudjoe's reluctance to accept Windward after they were exiled from Nanny Town has tainted his image as an "idealized" Maroon leader. Cudjoe did not give permanent residence to the Windward but allowed them to remain in the Cockpit for two years. While there is no concrete evidence about the interaction between Cudjoe and the Windward upon their arrival, there is speculation:

His response was a bitter blow for the Windward refugees....First, he claimed that he did not have enough provisions for both parties. Second, He blamed them for great indiscretion in their conduct before the parties were sent against them and told them it was a rule with him always not to provoke the white people unless forced to it and showed them several graves where he had people buried whom he had executed for murdering white men contrary to his orders and said their barbarous and unreasonable cruelty and insolence to the white people was the cause of their fitting out parties who would in time destroy them all. Cudjoe's third reason...for rejecting all alliance with the Windward was the fact that as absolute master of his own party he was not prepared to incorporate within his domain independent companies who held allegiance to other leaders (Patterson 269-70).

In complete contrast to his behavior toward the Windward was Cudjoe's interaction with British Colonel Guthrie in 1739. The violence between the colonial government and the Leeward had escalated to full

out war. Upon Colonel Guthrie's arrival, Cudjoe approached Guthrie, shook hands and, it is claimed:

[Cudjoe] threw himself to the ground, embracing Guthrie's legs, kissing his feet, and asking his pardon. [Cudjoe] seemed to have lost all ferocity, and to have become humbly penitent and abject. The rest of the Maroons, following the example of their chief, prostrated themselves, and expressed the most unbounded joy at the sincerity shown on the side of the white people. After the 1739 treaty, Cudjoe continued to rule with strict abidance of his authority. Shortly after signing the treaty several of Cudjoe's chief men contacted enslaved Africans and incited them to revolt. Cudjoe responded quickly and decisively: The plot was wiped in the bud by Cudjoe, who arrest the four ringleaders and sent them to the governor [as the treaty stated]. They were tried, two of them were condemned to death, and the other two were ordered to be transported. The governor, however, as an act of goodwill, pardoned them and returned them to Cudjoe. But Cudjoe would have none of it. At least it could be said of him that he was a man of his word, however contemptible that word. He hung the two who were condemned to death and sent the other two back to the governor, insisting that they be transported. The governor granted his request and, like the rest of the white population, was doubtless very impressed with this zealous new ally (Patterson 272 -273).

After juxtaposing these two examples, some scholars conclude that Cudjoe was "a sell-out." As leader, Cudjoe was responsible for the protection and freedom of the Leeward. The British viewed the Windward as a threat to their government and enemies to colonial society. If the Leeward had allied with the Windward they, too, would have become subject to the same violence that drove the Windward from Nanny Town. Based upon these examples it cannot be accurately concluded that Cudjoe favored the British over the Windward. Ultimately, Cudjoe's actions do not necessarily represent his personal views or ideological beliefs, but rather strategic actions to protect the freedom of the Leeward.

Unlike several other leaders who divided political/civil power from military power, Cudjoe also commanded his troops:

Cudjoe ruled his captains, directed the affairs of his settlement, controlled a village some eight miles away across the Cockpits, set policy for all raiding parties in the western interior, and commanded acquiescence to the treaty. The organization that enabled him to extend his power to all parts of the western interior was inherited from his father and Cudjoe exerted his forceful personality to consolidate and expand it (Kopytoff 298).

Despite the fact that Cudjoe's origins and political decisions are debated within academia, his presence as an influential Maroon leader is not. Cudjoe's strength and ability as a Leeward leader has immortalized him as a legendary figure of African resistance in Jamaica.

Cuffee

Cuffee was the first known leader of the Windward Maroons. Cuffee set the precedent for implementing laws and policies of Nanny Town. "Cuffee ruled his band of 300 or so men with iron discipline, distinguishing himself from the rest by wearing a silver-laid hat and a small sword. All defectors and other delinquents in the group were punished by the gun" (Patterson 261).

Cuffee, as described by Seyrus, a recaptured maroon, was a "head man who orders everything, and if a man commits any crime he is instantly shot to death...if the head man should be guilty of any great crime, his soldiers (as they call'd) shoot him, and appoint another in his place" (Kopytoff 298). Cuffee ruled until his death in 1686.

Nanny (Granny Nanny)

Like Zumbi, Cudjoe and Cuffee, there is little concrete evidence about Nanny. The second theory of Nanny and Cudjoe's origins assert that they were brother and sister. "Nanny as a sister of Cudjoe and Accompong was clearly herself an Ashanti and her name may well be a corruption of the Ashanti word, Ni, mother" (Tuelon 21). Nanny was the most powerful Maroon woman in recorded history.

Unlike Zumbi, Cudjoe and Cuffee, Nanny also had religious power. She is portrayed as a religious leader (an Obeah woman), political/civil and military leader. As British soldiers feared Maroon males they were equally fearful of Nanny and other Maroon women. Not only were there fearsome Ashanti and Coromantee warriors to worry about, but Maroon women were famous for their skill in Obeah. Thickness' journal, published in 1788, described an encounter with a woman who may have been Nanny herself wearing bracelets and anklets made from the teeth of British soldiers. "The old Hagg had a girdle around her waiste (sic) with nine or ten different knives hanging in sheaths to it, many of which I have no doubt have been plunged in human flesh and blood." Nanny's reputed powers included the unlikely ability to catch cannon and rifle balls between her buttocks and return fire" (Reidell 47). Another story states that "she was supposed to have kept a huge cauldron 'Nanny Pot,' which boiled without the aid of the fire, into which were lured to a watery grave unsuspecting British soldiers and militiamen" (Tuelon 21).

While her capacity is still debated, Nanny greatly affected the Windward life. After Cudjoe signed the treaty with the British, Quao, the Windward leader, started negotiations with the British as well. It is said that “Quao wanted to accept, but Nanny did not trust the whites to keep their part of the bargain, and ordered the man’s head cut off” (Kopytoff 300). When a treaty was signed months later, Nanny did not become directly politically involved but the settlement was named in her honor, Nanny Town.

Nanny’s contributions remain paramount to Maroon and Jamaican culture, where she is as respected as highly as Cudjoe. Through oral tradition, Maroons continue relaying Nanny’s supernatural feats against the whites. While Nanny may not have been the only female Maroon leader, she is Jamaica’s first national heroine.

Mexico

Yanga

Yanga led the Mexican mocambo named in his honor, the first Mexican Maroon community founded through rebellion that was granted legal freedom. While Yanga did not live to witness the official establishment of the town, named San Lorenzo de los Negros/Cerralvo, his heir Gaspar Yanga did. Padre Juan, who accompanied the Spanish when they invaded Yanga (the settlement), he stated that the king was African royalty from the Bron nation. “[Yanga] had been the first maroon to flee

his master and for thirty years had gone free in the mountains, and he has united who held him as chief, who are called Yanguicos” (Davidson 94). Yanga, a runaway who claimed to be a Congolese prince, organized sustained revolts on the road from Puebla to Veracruz (Richmond 6).

Conclusion

Maroon leaders were either African royalty, leaders of plantation revolts or they inherited leadership through their kin. Another pattern this research revealed was the minimal or conflicting information about the leaders’ births and deaths. When the aforementioned Maroon leaders signed treaties with European powers they all designated that their heirs or kin succeed them upon death. The bid of kinship was ultimately the most utilized method of acquiring power. Once a mocambo leader had been designated he or she ruled until the destruction of the mocambo or quilombo. “Thus, a kind of family control of political office seems to have developed into a tradition of strong and permanent leadership bolstered by kin ties” (Kopytoff 296). Despite continual attack by European aggressors, Maroon leaders emerged, unifying Maroons and inspiring the fight for freedom.

CHAPTER VI: EXTERNAL POLITICS

Maroons were not immune from other hemispheric factors. Like any other nation or society they interacted, voluntarily or involuntarily, with other cultures, ideologies and peoples. The political atmosphere with other Africans, Europeans and Indigenous peoples was of the utmost importance. Maneuvering throughout the political situations with all of these groups was important to their survival. Conversely, Maroon external politics affected the policies of the colonial powers as well.

In Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico, Maroon allies were consistently changing. Relations between Maroons and others were very inconsistent. Maroon allies were participates in colonial societies: European colonists, enslaved Africans and Freedmen, who acted as trade partners and informants. Additional allies were Indigenous populations. These groups helped plot slave revolts and accepted individual and small groups of maroons into their communities. In Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico the government officials were aware of these Maroon ally networks but unable to destroy them.

Mexican Maroons had African, European and Indigenous allies. African populations were especially active allies. Mandinga had:

...an intricate system of informants at nearly all levels of local population. The livestock-feed gatherers from the port city of Veracruz who foraged along the coastal savannas periodically rendezvoused with the runaways. Most of the gatherers were slaves themselves. They accepted booty from the maroons, and sold it in the port for a commission. They also purchased

requested supplies for the fugitives, and notified them of impending slave-catching expeditions (Carroll 497).

Like Mexico, Brazilian Maroons also had other African allies.

“Blacks in the city of Salvador aided the quilombo by helping its inhabitants enter the city at night to steal powder and shot” (Schwartz 219).

Along the borders of colonial Amazonia, Brazilian Maroons used grazing areas to communicate with the enslaved herdsmen who provided information and stole livestock. Amazonia, at the border of Portuguese and French American colonies, was also a locale where Portuguese and French Maroons communicated with each other (Gomes 484). The inhabitants of Mandinga also had powerful European allies:

The district magistrate, don Andrés Fernández Otañes constantly was a source of information, supposedly provided the Maroons with arms, acted as the runaways’ extra-official intermediary with the crown, drafting and forwarding their petitions to the royal audience in Mexico City, he did not deploy district militia against them (Carroll 497).

As other African-descendants aligned with Maroons in Brazil and Mexico, they also did so in Jamaica. Enslaved Africans also functioned as informants and trading partners with Jamaican Maroons. In some instances, enslaved Africans even harbored Maroons in the estates where they resided. The British colonial government employed other Africans as anti-mocambo militia called Black Shots. These militia troops were composed of both enslaved Africans and Freedmen. In Jamaica, European efforts to use Black Shots against Maroons proved to be relatively futile as

Maroons often recruited allies from those same groups. Europeans were often unaware that many of the Black Shots were in communication with Maroons and also supplied them with arms (Patterson 269). The Windward of Jamaica were notorious for aligning themselves with Black Shots. Others Black Shots seized the opportunity to flee:

Desertion by these Negroes, though few, were of great military value to the Maroons, for the defectors took with them arms and ammunition, as well as some knowledge of the plans and tactics of the English. They were not only welcomed but sometimes actively solicited by Maroons who called out to them from the bush during battles, inviting them by artful Expressions to 'quite a Slavish life' (Kopytoff 294).

Indigenous peoples also played a significant role as allies to Maroons and other African peoples in Mexico. "By the 1560s fugitives slaves from the mines of the north were terrorizing the regions from Guadalajara to Zacatecas, allying with the Indians and raiding ranches. In one case the maroons from the mines of Guadalajara joined with the unpacified Chichimec Indians in a brutal war with the settlers" (Carroll 91). Similar alliances occurred in Brazil. In the eighteenth century there were several allegiances between Indigenous and Maroon Brazilians that led to revolt and attacks on colonial towns.

Complementary to increasing the rewards for rivaling Maroons, Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican colonial governments tried to strip Maroons of their allies by punishing those with whom Maroons consorted. In Mexico, several royal decrees from 1571 to 1574 increased the penalties for aiding fugitive slaves. "The decrees established rewards for

the capture of runaways and encouraged fellow slaves and returned fugitives to join or aid the posses. The Crown hoped to prevent any assistance for fugitives by placing heavy fines on those caught aiding slaves” (Davidson 92).

In many cases, Maroon adversaries were also Maroon allies. This exemplifies paradoxical relations between Maroons and other groups. The strength of Maroon alliances often depended on the political atmosphere distinguished by European decrees and colonial governments; under these circumstances a Maroon ally could become an adversary, and vice versa. Maroons’ who plundered created adversaries through attacking plantations and villages. In addition to penalizing Maroon allies, attempting to eradicate Maroon allies, colonial governments created incentives specific to African, European and Indigenous groups to capture Maroons.

To enlist the support of enslaved Africans, the Mexican colonial government promised freedom to those who turned in Maroons or identified the location of their mocambos. A 1574 law granted freedom to runaways who handed in other runaways (Pereira 97). In Brazil and Jamaica, colonists also used other Africans in their anti-mocambo efforts. The British utilized this tactic to rid Jamaica of Maroons who had escaped under Spanish control. In June 1658, the British allied with one faction of Varmahalys, Maroons who escaped when the Spanish controlled Jamaica (“Spanish” Maroons). Varmahalys who allied with the British were led by Lubola or Juan de Bolas, himself a Varmahaly. “In exchange for ceasing

to support the Spanish, the freedom of Lubola and all his men would be recognized as well as the right to govern his people. The next year Lubola and his 'Pelinco of negros,' about 150 were granted full civil rights and, each man received thirty acres of land. Lubola was made a magistrate and his men formed into a 'Black Militia'" (Patterson 254). The Brazilian and Jamaican colonial governments enlisted other enslaved Africans and Freedmen as into Black militia troops called Black Shots. In 1796, Jamaican Governor Balcarres, used enslaved Africans to execute his plan to destroy the Leeward Maroons. Balcarres's plan was to defeat the Leeward by starving them, "...large numbers of slaves were employed to destroy the Trelawny's provision grounds at the same time that the chain of posts around the Cockpit Country was strengthened in order to stop the Maroons from obtaining food from nearby plantations" (Sheridan 161). While this divide and conquer tactic was widely implemented, it was not always as effective.

Colonial governments provided monetary rewards to encourage Mexican colonists and Freedmen to pursue Maroons. "Monetary rewards were offered to those volunteering to hunt slaves; such bounty hunters were permitted to keep the escaped slaves, unless they 'were claimed by the owners.'" (Love 95).

As early as 1612 Brazilian officials established "bush captains" to capture Maroons. Bush captains were compensated on a commission basis, receiving a reward for each slave they captured. In Salvador, the

commission was determined by the distance from the slave's origins. The further the distance the more money the bush captain received from the slaves' masters. By 1637 these rewards were extended to anyone who returned an escaped slave. For free individuals such as colonial settlers and Freedmen, monetary rewards were the largest incentive to capturing Maroons.

External diplomatic relations took place between all three major groups: African, European and Indigenous groups. The three relations I will be discussing are Maroon-European, Maroon-Indigenous and European-Indigenous.

The Maroon-European political relations are more accurately defined as Maroon-settler or plantation owner. Antagonist colonial government behaviors against Maroons were mostly instigated by the complaints of the colonists. In Brazil, the Pernambucan authorities did not view Palmares as a real threat, but the government responded to the plantation owners concerns. The government eventually executed campaigns to destroy Palmares (Kent 182). Ultimately, the anti-mocambo practices of colonial governments were in response to the complaints of its elite and powerful contingences, the planters. The Maroon-planter strained relations stemmed from enslavement and the Maroon attacks to planter property. "Mocambo raids and thefts endangered towns, disrupted production, and cut lines of communication and travel. Moreover, a

mocambo either by its raids or by its attraction drew other slaves and slave quarters” (Schwartz 111).

While the majority of the Maroon-colonial government relations were negative, this was not always the case. In Mexico “...one of the leading petitioners for the establishment of the free Maroon village of Amapa in the 1760s, was the chief magistrate of Teutila [Andrés Fernández Otañes]. He used the Maroons as agents in the vanilla trade and provided them with supplies-even weapons” (Pereira 97). Therefore, the Maroon-Colonist relationship was malleable; but was primarily antagonist from both Maroon and European sides.

The Maroons were infamously dangerous for the expertise in executing guerrilla warfare. This type of warfare allowed them to raid towns, villages and to maintain their freedom for as long as they could. In some cases, such as in Jamaica, Maroons’ ability to wage guerrilla warfare was utilized by the British against the Spanish. Therefore, under particular circumstances, Maroons were not only allied among European groups for their own prosperity but for that of Europeans as well.

When the British invaded the Spanish occupied island of Jamaica, they were met by the guerrilla tactics of the Varmahaly Maroons. The British realized that they were not able to survive the attacks of the Varmahaly and the Spanish. Under Juan de Bolas, a group of Varmahaly agreed to rid the island of British adversaries, especially the remaining Spanish. While the majority of Maroon adversaries were comprised of

European colonial powers, these same powers utilized Maroons as means to resolve European politics. This corroborates that Maroon allies and adversaries are very much based in convenience and circumstance of the political climate.

African-Indigenous Relations

African-Indigenous relations were paramount to the development of Maroon societies in Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico. Mexico and Brazil had the most interaction between African and Indigenous peoples. The extremely minute population of Indigenous peoples in Jamaica caused limited interaction between African-Indigenous relations, and consequently affected relations between Maroons and other Jamaican groups.

Indigenous allies helped Maroons conceal their mocambos, taught them cultivation techniques, accepted maroons into their communities and helped plan rebellions. In Mexico, “moreover, Indian cooperation seems to have been instrumental to the success of various revolts and made the job of repression all the more difficult [for the Spanish]” (Davidson 99). One factor that fostered African-Indigenous alliance and collaboration was a shared experience of oppression. Both groups tried to escape from the confines of European colonization and enslavement; therefore many Indigenous and African peoples had common goals. Until 1640, in Brazil, Africans and Indigenous were even more apt to collaborate because they

were enslaved in the same plantations and worked in the same mines.

“...especially in the sixteen century, there were still many Indian slaves on the Bahian plantations. Extant account books and other records indicate that intermarriage between Indian and African slaves was not uncommon...”(Schwartz 216). Indigenous and Maroon allegiance increased in Brazil:

...as white civilization spread from the coast and began to penetrate the interior, the Negro fugitives found themselves coming into ever-increasing contact with the Indians who had been driven back previously. It has often been that the Africans and the Indians were enemies, and it is perfectly true that they often found themselves, due to circumstance, pitted against each other. But their common hatred for the white masters brought them to sympathize with each other and to join together (Bastide 196).

It was because of such collaborations between African and Indigenous populations that the Portuguese and Spanish implemented laws limiting integration between African and Indigenous peoples. “Spanish officials were particularly worried lest the defiant Negro slaves would play a role in inciting and uniting with the Indians in rebellion against the Spaniards. It was for this reason that the Spanish unsuccessfully tried to cut off all contact between the Negro and Indians” (Love 95).

In 1541, a royal decree “outlawed Blacks from even communicating with Indians. Later, authorities enacted a number of measures designed to enforce the prohibition against African-Indian commercial contacts” (Richmond 4). Ten years later, the Spanish implemented new legislation specifically restricting African men’s access

to Indigenous women. “In 1551 the Madrid government forbid Negroes, free, or slave, from being served by Indian women. This law established that ‘slaves found guilty of ‘mistreating Indian women’ were to be given one hundred lashings for first offense, and their ears to be cut off for a second offense” (Love 91). To secure fewer occurrences, the law also established a “fine of one-hundred pesos for slave owners who aided Negroes in acquiring Indian women” (Love 100). Spaniards were also particularly concerned about the union of African men and Indigenous women who resulted in the growing population of zambaygos, people who have both African and Indigenous ancestry (Love 95). Ironically, Spanish law created an extra incentive for African men to “couple” with Indigenous women. *Las Siete Partidas del Rey don Alfonso de Sabio* stated that “children born of a free mother and a father who is a slave are free because they [the children] always follow the condition of the mother...” (Love 101). Therefore, African men often sought out Indigenous women to secure liberty for their children.

In Brazil there were similar ordinances by the crown that discouraged African and Indigenous interaction. In 1706, it was ordered that “blacks, mixed bloods, and slaves be prevented from penetrating the backlands, where they might join with hostile Indians” (Schwartz 214). While European powers tried to curtail African-Indigenous interaction, they were ultimately unsuccessful.

These aforementioned examples do not negate that there were also antagonist relations between Maroons and Indigenous people. The main source of tense political relations between Maroons and Indigenous people derived from the strong sexual imbalance within the African population in the Americas. In order to compensate for the lack of African women Maroons, and other African men, found partners in Indigenous women. When Maroons raided nearby town-centers and villages they also kidnapped Indigenous women. Of the three nations in this study, this practice was most widely practiced in Mexico.

In addition to sacking villages for women, land became a point of contention between Indigenous and Maroon people. In Mexico, when the colonial governments signed a treaty awarding the Mandingan Maroons their own town, the land was taken from the Indigenous Soyaltepecs. “To make matters worse, Indigenous laborers were pressed into service to construct the new town’s public buildings” (Carroll 502). Deteriorating the relationship, the “Maroons engaged in an illegal sugar brandy trade...The Blacks had a tendency to use liquor as a medium of exchange instead of coin when dealing with the local Indigenous population. Indian leaders complained that the freedmen [Maroons] were corrupting the morals, undermining the health, and usurping the property of their people” (Carroll 502).

European colonial powers also affected Maroon-Indigenous political dynamics. Colonial powers often used Indigenous auxiliaries as a key element of their anti-mocambo military campaigns. It was the Indigenous fighters that knew how to maneuver through the forest, jungle and harsh landscapes where the Maroons lived. In both Mexico and Brazil where there were large Indigenous populations (many scholars state that the Spanish obliterated the Indigenous Arawak population), colonial governments used Indigenous auxiliary forces. In Jamaica where there was an extremely minute Indigenous population, the British imported Panamanian Indigenous men to fight the Jamaican Maroons. The most effective means of capturing Maroons and deterring slave revolts was the calculated use of Indigenous troops. Without the assistance of the Indigenous troops the colonial governments could not have survived the Maroon attacks or destroyed the mocambos.

In Brazil, Indigenous auxiliaries led by Portuguese officers were consistently and successfully employed against mocambos from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. “Within Brazil, the destruction of virtually every mocambo from Palmares to much smaller hideouts of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro depended on a large extent on Indian troops or auxiliaries” (Schwartz 214). Duarte Gomes da Silveira, a Parahiba, Brazil colonist corroborated the great contributions of Indigenous people to combating Maroons:

There is no doubt that without Indians in Brazil there can be no Negroes of Guiné [Maroons], or better said, there can be no Brazil,

for without them [Negroes] nothing can be done and they are ten times more numerous than the whites, and if today it is costly to dominate them with the Indians whom they greatly fear...what will happen without Indians? The next day they will revolt and it is a great task to resist domestic enemies (Schwartz 214).

European policies to deter marronage

The British, Portuguese and Spanish governments all used the same tactical progress to combat marronage. The first phase was to implement harsher laws requiring stricter surveillance, restriction of rights of all African-descendants and increased penalties for marronage. Secondly, they set up small militia whose sole purpose was to recapture fugitive slaves. Finally, they executed full military expeditions against mocambos.

In the 1570s, Mexican regulation increased the penalty of marronage: slaves absent from their masters for more than four days were to receive one-hundred lashes “with iron fetters to their feet with rope, which they shall wear for two months and shall not take off under pain of two-hundred lashes” (Davidson 92). The penalty for slaves missing from their master for six months was death; later this was decreased to castration. On April 14, 1612, an ordinance prohibited more than four Blacks to attend the burials of slaves or free Africans (Richmond 4). Another tactic during the first phase of colonial government efforts to end marronage was to establish stricter surveillance and establish small fugitive slave campaigns. “Local governments aided by rural police units

were to provide a vigilance system in the countryside, and overseers were to make nightly checks on plantations and ranches. The decrees stabled rewards for the capture of runaways and encouraged fellow slaves and returned fugitives to join or aid the possess” (Davidson 92).

In order to better identify enslaved Africans who were prone to marronage, a Portuguese royal order on March 31, 1741, decreed that slaves who had been recaptured after they first attempt to escape were branded with the letter “F” for *fugido* or fugitive (Schwartz 223). In Minas Gérais, the region with the second largest fugitive population, Maroons were incarcerated. A traveler passing through the “ancient towns of Minas Gérais was struck by the omnipresence of prisons with fortress-thick walls, which had become their architectural centers. These prisons were testimony to the brutal repression of fugitive slaves” (Bastide 192).

Of the Portuguese, British and Spanish, the Portuguese were least willing to negotiate with Maroons. The Portuguese “primary colonial tactic against runaway communities was simply to destroy them and to kill or re-enslave their inhabitants” (Schwartz 217).

The Portuguese often used military means to resolve “the Maroon problem” much more frequently than the British or Spanish. For most Portuguese colonists, accommodation and co-existence with Maroons was not an option as it had been for the Spanish. The colonial population that was most adamant about the physically destroying mocambos were the Brazilian planters and plantation owners. These people were also the elite

and powerful. On November 24, 1640, a town council meeting dominated by the planters of Salvador said, “Under no circumstances is it proper to attempt reconciliation nor to give way to the slaves who might be conciliate in this matter. That which is proper is only to extinguish them and conquer them so that those who are still domesticated will not join them and those who are in rebellion will not aspire to greater misdeeds...”(Schwartz 217).

Groups of Brazilian colonists constituted *capitães do campo*, or bush captains, which were the Portuguese colonial government’s initial efforts to destroy mocambos. The bush captains were not only composed of Portuguese planters but a group of about twenty Indigenous men as well. While these campaigns were executed “settler lives appear to have been lost in the numerous and forever unrecorded ‘little’ *entradas* into Palmares. They were carried out by small, private arms of plantation owners who sought to recapture lost hands or to acquire new ones without paying for them” (Kent 182).

The next passage is devoted to the last tactic used by Europeans to combat marronage, military force.

European Military Campaigns

The Brazilian quilombo, Buraco de Tatú, was destroyed on September 2, 1763. The majority of the soldiers was Indigenous auxiliary militia from the Giguriça peoples. Portuguese Joaquim da Costa Cardozo

instructed them “remain in the field without retreat until the quilombo has been destroyed, the blacks captured, the resistors killed, the woods searched, the huts and defenses burned, and the trenches filled in” (Schwartz 223).

The Brazilian Maroon-planter antagonist relationship escalated. The very presence of mocambos was an attraction to enslaved Africans and encouraged them showed by example that freedom could be obtained, “loss of plantation slaves, through raids as well as escape, emerges as the one solid reason behind the planter-Palmarista conflict” (Kent 182). In Brazil by the 1660s the price of slaves had increased dramatically, making each slave even more valuable. Similar circumstances occurred elsewhere in Brazil, once a slave was had attempted to escape, his/her value decreased, meaning lost revenue and extra headaches for an owner. These two factors made Palmares, the African republic that was the largest and longest-lastly mocambo, even more of a nuisance, and ultimately led to full combat between Brazil and Palmares.

Palmares, was the most resilient Maroon communities in all of the mocambos in the Western Hemisphere. Most scholars concur that Palmares lasted for nearly a century; from approximately 1605 to 1694.

‘Negro Republic’ of Palmares in Pernambuco spanned almost the entire seventeenth century. Between 1672 and 1694, it withstood, on average, one Portuguese expedition every fifteen months. In the last *entrada* [campaign] against Palmares, a force of six thousand took part in forty-two days of siege. The Portuguese Crown sustained a cumulative loss of four thousand cruzados [soldiers] (Kent 172).

Palmares, the most famous quilombo, survived attacks by the Dutch and the Portuguese. Palmares was the most resilient of all Maroon societies in the Americas. After six consecutive military expeditions at the end of 1686 Palmares remained undefeated:

It was apparent that the state of Pernambuco could not deal with Palmares out its own resources. In March of 1687, the new governor, Sotto-Maior, informed Lisbon that he had accepted the services of Portuguese-Indigenous soldiers from São Paulo specializing in jungle or bush warfare. The soldiers fought for another two years to reduce Palmares to a single fortified site. After twenty-two days of siege by the Paulistas [soldiers from São Paulo] the state of Pernambuco had to provide an additional three thousand men to keep it going for another twenty-two days (Kent 186-187).

It is important to remember that though there general trends seen consistent in Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico, there were no uniform Maroon-colonial political relationships; each Maroon group and colonial structure implemented its own policies. In Jamaica, the Windward Maroons of the east were more antagonistic than the Leeward. “The Windward...were more active in their raids on plantations, sometimes killing whites. Settlers cried out for protection, and the militia, and later regular troops, pursued the Maroons. By the 1730s the Windward were subjected to frequent attack, and their settlements were being burned” (Kopytoff 306). Therefore the level of active warfare between the Windward and Jamaican colonists was greater than that of Leeward Maroons. Ultimately, both Maroon groups engaged in warfare with settlers and evidently signed treaties but the circumstances of these signs differed greatly.

After years of skirmishing with the Maroons in 1732 the colonial government of Jamaica deployed two parties to destroy the Leeward and Windward Maroons. “The party pursuing the Windward was composed of eighty-six whites, 131 armed blacks and 61 baggage Negroes....The parties seemed to have met initially with some success, as three of the main [Maroons] settlements of the rebels, including Nanny Town [the Windward capital] was taken” (Patterson 265-266). The Maroons suffered several setbacks, but in early 1733, the Windward reorganized, retaliated and retook Nanny Town. “The war dragged on during 1734, with the planters getting the worst of almost all engagements. By now, however, ‘the greatest dangers’ from them was the remarkable number of slaves who were abandoning the plantations in order to join ranks with the main rebel bands or to set up their own guerrilla groups” (Patterson 268). Such concerns made colonists more determined to extinguish the Maroons and their societies. Later that year they attacked Nanny Town, and recaptured it from the Windward. War continued until 1736 until only three main Maroon towns, St. George’s parish, St. Elizabeth and St. James remained. After years of violent interaction, relative calm allowed Maroons and colonists to regroup:

Finally, in 1738 when the Windward began to reassert defenses of their [free] positions, the pattern and outcome of which were strikingly similar to those of previous years. The white population gradually accepted that nothing could be gained in military campaigns with the Leeward or Windward. A treaty appeared to be the only of settling the matter (Patterson 271).

On March 1, 1739 a treaty ending the First Maroon War was signed by the Leeward and Jamaica government (Refer to Appendix B). A treaty with the Windward was also signed in June of 1739. “At atmosphere at the [Windward] signing of the treaty was quite different from that of the agreement with the Leeward rebels. The Windward never ceased to be suspicious of the whites and made it quite clear that the treaty was signed with great reluctance and out of sheer necessity” (Patterson 274).

When mocambos did not fall to the military campaigns of colonial governments, European colonial tactics shifted from hostility to diplomatic means of achieving coexistence. The signing of peace treaties marked an extraordinary transformation in Maroon-colonial politics. Maroons had transformed from colonial power-renegades to an autonomous nation with whom colonial governments negotiated. “The solemnity which surrounded all these acts [treaties] gave a real importance to the Negro State which now the Colony treated as one nation would another, (for) this was no mere pact of a strong party concluded with disorganized bands of fugitive Negroes” (Kent 184). The terms of coexistence were, for the most part, the same in all mocambos of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico. The main points establish that: all hostilities would stop, the leader and his successors had absolute control over the Maroon settlement except in cases of murder and/or conflict ensued with a white person. The Maroon inhabitants were to fight for the colonial power

should it be attacked by a foreign power. Ultimately the most controversial and fundamental reconstruction of mocambos also took place when these treaties were signed. The Maroons who inhabited these mocambos were obligated to return any fugitive slaves who they caught. The Maroons who were descendents of runaway slaves, were then obligated to take the freedom of others to maintain their own. Within these treaties a date was often set so that those who escaped post that date would be returned to their masters. Ultimately, the treaties signed with colonial powers integrated Maroon and European colonial society more than ever before fragmented Maroon relations with enslaved Africans. The treaties stipulated that in order for Maroons to maintain their freedom they had to impede the freedom of others.

After decades of war intermediated with small time spans of peace, the Jamaican government took new step to rid itself of the Maroon plague, exportation. In 1795, after the end of Jamaica's Second Maroon War, Governor Balcarres decided that a stable colonial society could not be maintained with Leeward Maroons presence. He ordered their deportment. Finally, in 1796 an estimated 590 Leeward Maroons from Trelawny Town were transported from Jamaica to Nova Scotia, Canada. "Seventeen of them died on the voyage and others perished from exposure to the cold climate. After suffering untold hardships, the survivors were transported from Nova Scotia" to Sierra Leone in 1800 (Sheridan 161). While many other groups of Maroons remained on the Jamaican island, Balcarres

exported the Leeward, failing to honor treaties and exporting the most disruptive Maroons. This tactic was utilized after legislation, military expeditions and treaties had all failed to subdue Jamaican Maroons.

Indubitably, resistance to enslavement through rebellion, revolt and marronage impacted colonial policies. In reaction to several revolts and racial tension in Mexico City, the *Mendoza ordinances* of 1548 were passed. These ordinances “prohibited the sale of arms to Negroes and forbade public gatherings of three or more Negroes when not with their masters” (Davidson 90). The viceroy also declared a night curfew, prohibited African-descendants from riding horses, and prohibited African-Mexicans from wearing gold, silk or shawls (Richmond 4).

Mexican colonial society had the most extreme response to African resistance in the Western Hemisphere. Of the examined in this study, Mexico is unique in its suspension the Atlantic Slave Trade. In 1537, a group of enslaved Africans in Mexico City planned to revolt and occupy the city. The plan was never executed, as the conspiracy was uncovered before its execution date on midnight, September 24, 1537. The revolt was quickly extinguished and the twenty-four ringleaders were hanged and quartered. This insurrection was so alarming to the Mexican government that the viceroy warned the Spanish king, “If so small a number of Negroes in this country have dreamed of such an enterprise for the present the number of Negroes sent here should be curtailed because a quantity of them under similar circumstances could place the country in

grave danger of being lost” (Richmond 5). Following this 1537 revolt, the Spanish crown suspended the importation of Africans to Mexico for 8 years!

While there were no such strict restrictions of the slave trade elsewhere, following the establishment of the infamous Palmares, the Portuguese took extra care to stop the rise of another Maroon society as Palmares. The Brazilian colonists and government “organized special units under bush captains to hunt for mocambos and nip them in the bud. And they sought to prevent, at ports of entry, an over concentration of African slaves from the same ethnic group or ship” (Kent 187).

The strongest commonality in the external politics of Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican Maroons is their primary objective: maintaining freedom for the inhabitants of their mocambos. Because Maroons were not completely self-sufficient they relied on external politics as means to obtain vital resources such as ammunition, particular foods and information. These allegiances were extremely delicate agreements. Betrayal was a real and serious threat. Allies were needed to acquire resources but they could also divulge pertinent information to anti-Maroon groups.

Unlike in Jamaica, Brazilian and Mexican Maroons maintained political relations with Africans, Europeans and Indigenous peoples. Jamaican Maroons’ had diplomatic relations with only Africans and Europeans. Maroon-Indigenous relations in Brazil and Mexico were

essential. The role of Indigenous populations as allies or antagonist was vital to the survival of Maroons. In both Brazil and Mexico the groups allied to revolt and attack colonial society. In contrast, when Maroons and Indigenous people were enemies (European-Indigenous alliance) this ultimately led to the destruction of Maroon mocambos.

The most controversial and contested action of Maroon was their decision to sign treaties with the European powers. These treaties obligated Maroons to capture fugitive slaves who searched for their freedom. Signing of these treaties caused a cleft in non-Maroon African populations and Maroons; but at that time, signing of the treaties was the only viable means of protecting the liberty of mocambo inhabitants.

CHAPTER VII: INTERNAL POLITICS

After examining the role of politics between Maroons and other groups, it is important to expose the fact that Maroons, within their respective countries, also related and communicated with each other. In Jamaica and Mexico there are several documented examples of interaction between different Maroon groups. According to the documentation I have examined, the majority of documented internal political conflicts between the different Maroon groups of Jamaica related to external relations with Europeans. In Mexico internal conflict steamed from divergent ideas of marronage.

In Jamaica, there was interaction between the two main Maroon groups of the island, the Leeward and the Windward. The Leeward were located in the western part of the island in their two centers of Trelawny Town under Cudjoe and Accompong Town under Accompong. In the east the Windward resided in Nanny Town and Crawford Town. They were divided by the dense vegetation, topography and colonial Jamaica. These two Maroon groups were not only divided by the topography and colonial Jamaica but in their political structures and policies. The Windward were much more antagonist toward European colonial society than the Leeward. Leeward Maroons, conducted minimal military contact with colonial Jamaica.

After the Windward were exiled from Nanny Town for the second

time in 1735, they divided into two groups. A group of three hundred Windward men, women and children traveled an estimated one hundred miles from Nanny Town to Trelawny Town. While there is no “real” record of what occurred, Patterson speculates the Cudjoe reluctantly accepted them. Cudjoe’s general view of interaction with colonial society stated that “it would be advisable not to disturb them unless we could do it with some visible prospect of Success” (Patterson 270).

While their external policies with colonial European society differed, Cudjoe reluctantly accepted the Windward. The Windward refuged with the Leeward for approximately two years. In 1733 under the military expertise of Kissey, the Windward drove the colonists from Nanny Town and returned home. Ultimately, Maroon ethnicity and experience superceded divergent political tactics between the Leeward and Windward Maroons of Jamaica.

Contrary to Jamaica, Mexican Maroons were divided by political differences. The difference in political indoctrination in Mandinga led to combat. Years after its founding the demographics of the Mandingan palenques changed. The early and original residents of Mandinga had established themselves and their families. While there was a natural population, the major source of population increased came through an influx of new members from Córdoba-Orizaba district rebellions. “At

least two factions began to develop, one formed of the older maroons and their families, the other consisting of the newer arrivals” (Carroll 497).

The newer arrivals, like most Maroons, were young single men or men who had left their wives and families behind to flee. They were committed to marronage to ensure liberty. This group, led by Macute, was unwilling to compromise their freedom and thought marronage was the most effective technique to secure it. Conversely, the older members, represented by Fernando Manuel, desired to remain at Mandinga. This group had maintained contact with their ally, district magistrate, Andrés Fernández Otañes who was writing their petition for freedom and establishment of a free Maroon township in Mexico. The methodology for obtaining freedom ultimately led to civil war. Fernando Manuel and the “original” inhabitants won. As a result, “Macute’s followers were turned over to the authorities in Córdoba; Fernando Manuel and his followers moved off the secluded hilltop of Mandinga and moved to the bank of the Amapá River” where the land was more fertile for agriculture (Carroll 499).

Internal politics between Maroons was not always conflict or allegiance driven. From the aforementioned examples, I conclude that the goal and methodology for achieving the goal are most important to Maroon unification. The goal was consistently freedom, but different factions implemented different policies to achieve it. Maroons respected that there were different means of leadership, achieving and maintaining

freedom, but they want to implement the tactic that they believed to be most effective.

CHAPTER VIII: SUMMATION

Maroons were Africans who fled from enslavement to create their own societies throughout the Americas. Maroons were diverse and courageous African people whose main goal was obtaining and maintaining their freedom. The original Maroons survived the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Middle Passage to arrive in the Western Hemisphere. They were unable to understand the yelps of the slave traders, or communicate with each other, but the bond which united them was their quest for freedom.

Those who were divided and sold into enslavement worked on prosperous plantations, in the dangerous mines and as domestics throughout the Americas. While the majority of Maroons fled the deadly and dehumanizing conditions of enslavement alone or in small groups, slave insurrections provided the best opportunity for them to escape en masse. It was during many of these rebellions that the founding members of the most infamous Maroon societies escaped.

Many Maroons escaped to urban centers, but the majority of these people quickly lost their African traditions and a Maroon identity was not formed or maintained in the manner of maroons who escaped to the bush. In the harsh and remote areas of the Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican landscapes Maroons found refuge. There, they created cohesive and collective communities in spite of challenges such as limited verbal communication, different traditions and lack of basic survival resources.

Within the bush of the Americas, the Maroons created their own systems based upon their African way of life and their new circumstances in a foreign land.

The Maroon lifestyles, politics and leadership differed, based upon the available tactics which functioned best for each society's survival and freedom. The Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican Maroons designated leadership to a person who displayed great courage and intelligence through leading a revolt, to a person who came from African royalty, or to either's heir. While there is a dearth of scholarly information about the leaders and their origins, their contributions remain esteemed by their descendants through oral tradition. It was leaders such as Zumbi, Cudjoe, Cuffee, Nanny and Yanga who maintained order within their respective mocambos and implemented decisive political action to preserve freedom for their people.

External politics of Maroons broadly encompassed interactions with Africans, Europeans and Indigenous groups. These delicate relationships were ultimately vital to the prosperity or demise of Maroon societies. The principal groups with whom Brazilian Maroons related were the African, European and the Indigenous groups. In Jamaica, the Maroons' primary contacts were the European powers. Finally in Mexico, the Maroons main relations took place between the Spanish and Indigenous populations.

Although sixteenth century Mexico was the largest importer of African peoples in the Western Hemisphere, it has one of the least recognized African communities. Mexican mocambos had the most interaction with external groups, especially Indigenous peoples and colonial society. These relations, in conjunction with sporadic importation of Africans and a single colonial power, facilitated African-Mexican assimilation into mainstream Mexican societies. Throughout the centuries, African-Mexican and Mexican Maroons became the most assimilated.

Initially, Bozales who arrived in Mexico adamantly resisted enslavement. They caused the first violent response to enslavement in the Western Hemisphere. The African and African-Mexican rejection of enslavement was so fierce that, after the 1537 revolt, the Spanish suspended the slave trade to Mexico for an unprecedented eight years!

This suspension, in addition to a large Indigenous population, made the Mexican Maroon population distinct from their Brazilian or Jamaican counterparts in several ways. First, ceasing to import African peoples led to a decrease in their numbers especially relative to Indigenous Mexicans. During the eighteenth century the Indigenous Mexican population replenished itself, making Africans the second largest racial group. Mexican Maroons had significantly more contact with Indigenous peoples than their counterparts in Brazil or Jamaica. This increased contact resulted in the dilution of many African cultural expressions and

the formation of a strong Maroon identity. The suspension of the slave trade compounded the loss of African traditions, because no new Bozales arrived to “replenish” the diluted African traditions. Miscegenation between African men and Indigenous women occurred more often in Mexico than in Brazil or Jamaica. This also led to a dilution of African traditions in a new generation. Also unique to Mexican Maroons was their relationship with Spanish colonial society.

Spanish colonial society was well established and could more effectively acculturate Mexican Maroons. The Maroons of Mexico had the most diplomatic political relations with the colonial government. Fernando Manuel, leader of Mandinga, was in constant contact with the district magistrate, Fernández Otañes, to facilitate the recognition of Mandinga as a legitimate town within Mexico. Similar diplomatic relations did not occur in Brazil or Jamaica; both countries experienced colonization by two European powers. The transitions from one European ruler to another undermined the colonial power’s ability to govern and acculturate Africans. Africans seized these opportunities to maroon and establish mocambos, as exemplified by Palmares in Brazil and the Varmahaly in Jamaica.

Indigenous support may have been the single most important factor in the existence or destruction of Maroon societies. Whereas in Brazil and Mexico some Indigenous populations helped Maroons adjust to and learn the land, in Jamaica they were responsible for the suppression of Maroon

communities. Maroons and Indigenous peoples of Brazil and Mexico were the best of allies, aligning to revolt within enslavement and protect their shared land and resources against colonial attack. Conversely, the Indigenous population also played a decisive role in the eventual destruction of many mocambos. The Portuguese, British and Spanish colonial governments all employed Indigenous populations to find and attack Maroon mocambos which they could not. In Jamaica, the country with the smallest Indigenous population, the British had to import Indigenous men from Panama to defeat the Maroons.

In Jamaica, the minute size of the Indigenous population might also be a factor in the limited amount of assimilation. African people were the vast majority of the island's population accounting for approximately ninety percent (90%). The small Indigenous and British presence decreased the probability of miscegenation and allowed Africans in Jamaica to retain their African traditions. Continual importation of Bozales reinforced African-Jamaicans and Jamaican Maroons ties to Africa. Concluding that the Indigenous population allied with Maroons such as in Mexico or combated them as in Jamaica would be an over generalization and incomplete analysis of Maroon-Indigenous relations. The relationship between Indigenous Brazilians and Brazilian Maroons exemplifies the complexity of Maroons relations with Indigenous populations.

Brazil has the largest African descendant population in the Western Hemisphere. It is also the site of the largest, most infamous and enduring Maroon society, Palmares. Maroon-Indigenous relations were unique and paramount to these Brazilian quilombos. Indigenous peoples were both adversaries and allies to Brazilian Maroons. Africans and Indigenous alliances were especially prevalent before the mid seventeenth century because both were enslaved. Throughout Brazil the groups allied, inciting revolts on plantations and in mines. They often coexisted together on plantations and in quilombos. Individual or small groups of maroons encountered Indigenous groups who guided them through the Brazilian topography and provided them with protection and support. Over time, this relationship would drastically change. By the eighteenth century, Portuguese colonial governments employed Indigenous groups to find and combat Brazilian quilombos. Indigenous soldiers were the most effective means to dismantle the Maroon challenge to Portuguese colonial society. The greatest exploit between European and Indigenous soldiers was the destruction of Palmares in 1695.

The contact between Maroons and Indigenous peoples in Brazil was distinct from their Mexican counterparts. The Brazilian Maroons had a greater influence on Indigenous societies than Mexican Maroons. In Brazil, contact resulted in the amalgamation of Indigenous and African social and political systems where Maroons had influence and power. "It should be noted that each time such a fusion [between Maroons and

Indigenous peoples] took place, it was the Negroes who took charge of the new community, whether by reducing the Indians to slavery, as in Bahia in 1704, or by becoming the military or religious leader of the community, as in Mato Grosso in 1795” (Bastide 196). Essentially, Brazilian Maroon-Indigenous Brazilian relations were unique because of the Maroons’ prominence and leadership. Though both Mexican and Brazilian Maroons interacted with the large Indigenous populations present, Brazilian Maroons-Indigenous Brazilian relations were distinct. Rather than assimilating to Indigenous society, Brazilian Maroons held leadership positions and influenced the new communities in which they resided.

Another aspect of Brazilian Maroons’ societies was their unique ability to manage political relationships with a multitude of bellicose European colonial powers. The Maroons of Brazil had to interact with as many as three European colonial powers. In order to maintain their freedom Maroons of Palmares combated both the Dutch and Portuguese. The Araguari mocambos in Amazonia maneuvered through French and Portuguese anti-quilombo campaigns.

The Brazilian Maroons ability to adjust to inconsistent relationships between themselves and Indigenous populations, their ability to maneuver through three different European anti-mocambo colonial government campaigns and their ability to influence the creation of dual communities with Indigenous groups made the Brazilian Maroons the most versatile and adaptive Maroons of the three countries. The Maroons

of Brazil's ability to manage and influence their political interactions with both Indigenous and European peoples allowed them to maintain their freedom and create an environment conducive to the construction of the most enduring and recognized African republic in the Western Hemisphere, Palmares.

Essentially, it was the unjust system of enslavement that incited and perpetuated marronage. As slave insurrections and marronage became more frequent, colonial European governments further restricted the few rights that Africans possessed. Rather than preventing rebellion, ironically, these restrictive laws incited greater opposition from Africans. It was not until 1888, with the legal abolishment of enslavement that marronage ceased.

Though there was variance in the lifestyles, leadership, politics and the degree of assimilation into mainstream societies, the Maroons of Brazil, Jamaica and Mexico shared striking similarities. They lived in the most inhospitable locations conducive to marronage and defense. Each community established its own policies and laws to address the disproportionate ratio of male to female Maroons. Politically, each community grew formidable enough to be recognized as independent societies with whom European powers signed treaties. Brazilian, Jamaican and Mexican Maroons confronted similar obstacles which originated from their collective goal, freedom.

Descendants of the Maroons still live throughout the Western Hemisphere. They try to maintain as much of their traditional cultures as possible. Maroons' lives and that of their ancestors is a testament to the strength of the human spirit and their relentless quest for freedom.

APPENDIX B:
ARTICLES OF PACIFICATION WITH THE MAROONS OF
TRELAWNEY TOWN, CONCLUDED MARCH THE FIRST, 1738.

- Captain Cudjoe, Captain Accompong, Captain Johnny, Captain Cuffee, Captain Quaco, and several other negroes, their dependents and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility, for several years past, against our sovereign lord the King, and the inhabitants of this island Captain Cudjoe, and the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles:
1. That all hostility shall cease on both sides forever.
 2. That the said Captain Cudjoe, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a perfect state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by them, or fled to them, within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past; provided always, that if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to Captain Cudjoe and in friendship with us, according to the form and tenor of this treaty.
 3. That they shall enjoy and possess, for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between Trelawney Town and the Cockpits, to the amount of fifteen hundred acres, bearing north-west from the said Trelawney Town.
 4. That they shall have liberty to plant the said lands with coffee, cocoa, ginger, tobacco, and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply first to the custos, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a license to vend the same.
 5. Captain Cudjoe, and all the Captain's adherents, and people now in subjection to him, shall all live together within bounds of Trelawney Town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any settlement, crawl or pen; provided always, that in case the hunters of Captain Cudjoe and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties.
 6. Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, do use their best endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy, either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that service by his Excellency the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, all rebels wheresoever they be, throughout this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to Captain Cudjoe, and his successors.
 7. That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the said Captain Cudjoe, and his successors hereinafter named or to be appointed,

shall then, upon notice given, immediately repair to any place the Governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the said invaders with his or their utmost force, and to submit to the orders of the Commander in Chief on that occasion.

8. That if any white man shall do any manner of injury to Captain Cudjoe, his successors, or any of his or their people, they shall apply to any commanding officer or magistrate in the neighbourhood for justice; and *in case Captain Cudjoe, or any of his people, shall do any injury to any white person, he shall submit himself, or deliver up such offenders to justice.*

9. That if any negro shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into Captain Cudjoe's hands, they shall immediately be sent back to the chief magistrate of the next parish where they are taken; and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint.

10. That all negroes taken, since the raising of this party by Captain Cudjoe's people, shall immediately be returned.

11. That Captain Cudjoe, and his successors, shall wait on his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, every year, if thereunto required.

12. That Captain Cudjoe, during his life, and the captains succeeding him, shall have full power to inflict any punishment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only expected; in which case, if the Captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before any justice of the peace, who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of other free negroes.

13. That Captain Cudjoe, with his people, shall cut, clear and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawney Town to Westmorland and St. James's, and if possible to St. Elizabeth's.

14. That two white men, to be nominated by his Excellency, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with Captain Cudjoe and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island.

15. That Captain Cudjoe shall, during his life, be Chief Commander in Trelawney Town: after his decease the command to devolved on his brother Captain Accompong; and in case of his decrease, on his next brother Captain Johnny; and, failing him, Captain Cuffee shall succeed; who is to be succeed by Captain Quaco; and after all their demises, the Governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, shall appoint, from time to time, whom he thinks fit for that command.

Edwards, Bryan. In *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, ed., Richard Price. Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1979. 237-9.

APPENDIX C:

BRAZILIAN CHRONOLOGY

- 1502- Portuguese bring the first shipload of African slaves to the Western Hemisphere
- 1512 – Alexandre de Moura, captain of Pernambuco, petitionS to create “bush captains” that with the aid of twenty Indigenous peoples would hunt down escaped slaves (maroons).
- 1550 – The Portuguese begin to trade African slaves to work the sugar plantations
- 1575 – The first quilombo (Brazilian fugitive slave settlement) is recorded in Bahia
- 1591 – Jaguaripe quilombo is established
- 1601 – A quilombo cut the road from Bahia to Alagôas at Itapicum
- 1605/1606 - Approximation of the establishment of Palmares
- 1612 – By 1612 Palmares gains fame throughout Brazil
- 1613 – Maroons join Santidade villages of Tupinambá Indigenous Brazilians in Jaguaripe; they begin raiding nearby farms and freeing slaves
- 1625 – Salvador establishes “bush captains” on a commission basis based upon distance
- 1629 – Quilombo Rio Vermelho is established
- 1632 – A Bahian quilombo is destroyed
- 1636 –Itapicurú quilombo is established; a Bahian quilombo is destroyed
- 1637 – Anyone who captured a maroon is compensated on a commission basis
- 1640 – Quilombo Ríó Real is established; Dutch think Palmares is a real threat to their colonial society
- January 1643- Dutch attack Palmares
- 1646 – A Bahian quilombo is destroyed

- 1650 – Portuguese captians having difficulty destroying quilombos near Rio de Janeiro
- 1660s – Price of slaves increase - Palmares becomes an even larger threat
- 1660 – African population is 13,000-15,000 strong
- 1663 –Cairú quilombo is established
- 1674-94 – Palmares survives Portuguese attacks on average every 15 months
- 1676-7: Portuguese Captain Carrilho makes the first significant injury to Palmares, Palmarista women are captured
- June 18,1678 – Portuguese embassy arrive at Palmares
- June 21, 1678 – Governor Aires de Souza Castro proposes draft treaty to Zumbi
- March 1680 – Portugues ask Zumbi to surrender
- 1680 – 1686 – An accord is not established and the Portuguese attack Palmares six more times
- March 1687 – Governor Sotto-Maior, request back up from São Paulo in attacking Palmares
- 1688 – A royal order states that excessively cruel treatment can be denounced, even by the slave himself; the masters implicated could be forced to sell the slave in question
- 1689 – 20 days of siege by the Paulistas and Portuguese troops needed addition backups; 3000 men fight for another 22 day; On the 23rd day Palmares defeated
- 1690 – D.Anna Cavalcanti is forced to sell her Congolese slave, Urusula, beause of excessive cruelty.
- 1695 – Palmares is defeated
- November 20, 1695 – Zumbi decapitated
- 1706 – Portuguese Crown ordered that “blacks, mixed bloods, and slaves’ be prevented from penetrating the backlands, where they might join w/hostile Indians.”
- 1719 – It was rumored that Africans in Minas Gerais are plotting to massacre the whites while they are in church for Good Friday

- 1723 – Quilombo Camamú established; a report stated that there were over 400 quilombos inhabitants in Bahia alone
- 1724 – 50-65% of the Brazilian population is enslaved
- 1734 – French & Portuguese collaborate to irradicate the quilombos in the Amazon
- 1741- Quilombo Santo Amaro established; Jean Ferreira organizes an expedition against the region of Campo Grande and São Francisco that was overrun with Maroons
- March 31, 1741 – A royal order stats all slaves who escaped slavery be branded with an “F” for *fugido* or fugitive
- 1743 – Buraco de Tatú is established
- 1746 – Ambrósio, the largest quilombo in Minas Gerais is destroyed
- 1759 – Quilombo Grande is eliminated (the 2nd largest in Minas Gerais) w/1000 inhabitants fleeing
- 1763 – quilombo Itapoã established
- September 2, 1763 – Buraco de Tatú is destroyed
- 1765 – 51 Africans escape from Macapá, those not captured established their own quilombos along the River Araguari
- 1770- Quilombo Carlota in Mato Grosso is established
- 1772 – Maroons and Indigenous groups attack the village of San José de Maranhao
- 1780 – Filippa Maria Aranha governs a quilombo in Amazonia
- 1791 – Interrogation in Macapá revealed the maroons in both Portuguese and French territories communicated with each other
- 1793 – Macapá city council judge harshened the penalties for marronage – Maroons found in the quilombos would be sent to jail allowing their owners to sell them to another country (exporting the problem)
- 1795 – Maroons and Indigenous group attack Piolho in Mato Grosso; quilombo Carlota is destroyed
- 1796 – a Bahaian quilombo is destroyed

1797 – Quilombo Cachoeira is established

1798 – Approximately 1.5 million enslaved peoples in Brazil

1807 – 9 consecutive revolts start in Bahia

May 13, 1888 –Brazil is the last country in the Western Hemisphere to abolish slavery

APPENDIX D:

JAMAICAN CHRONOLOGY

- 1494 – Columbus arrives and claims the island Spanish territory
- 1509 – Spanish begin occupation of the island “Santiago”
- 1517 – Spanish begin bringing enslaved Africans to the island
- 1655 – British seize Jamaica
- May 10, 1655 – British seized Jamaica from the Spanish; Upon the arrival of the British; Varmahalys Maroons (Maroons who escaped under the Spanish) took to the mountains in Clarendon & their leader was Juan de Bolas; the Maroons supplied food to the remaining Spaniards (led by Ysassi) as they fought the British; de Bolas and his followers ally with the British
- 1660 – The last of the Spaniards leave Jamaica
- 1661 – British begin full colonization of what they name Jamaica
- 1664 – 8000 Africans are imported to Jamaica by the British
- 1669 – 1670 – Shipwrecked Madagascan slaves flee to Eastern Jamaica
- 1670 – British gain formal possession of Jamaica through the Treaty of Madrid
- 1673 – Approximately 200 slaves escape during a revolt of Major Seibly’s plantation and about 200 slaves escaped- they were the nucleus of the Leeward Maroons
- 1690 – In July 400 slaves revolted from Sutton’s plantation near Chapelton in the Parish of Clarendon - taking ammunition, they join with those of the 1673 revolt to form the Leeward Maroons
- 1703 – African population in Jamaica is approximately 45,000
- 1720- Slave revolt on Down’s plantation led by Madagascan slave set up camp behind Deans Valley
- 1722 – Planters expanded since the fertile land of the southern coast was taken – resulting in a cut off the Windward from the coast; unable

to access vital necessities), the Windward attack surrounding plantations and colonial land

1730- Approximate commencement of the First Maroon War

March 1732 – British troops are dispatched to fight both the Windward & Leeward. They take Nanny Town and the Windward retreated toward Carrion Crow Hill, where they sought refuge with the Guy's Town group (another group of WW); Leeward set up a new town west of the recently destroyed one, in the parish of St. James.

Early 1733 – Under the leadership of Kiskey the Windward retake Nanny Town

August 1733 – the Windward take possession of Hobby's plantation

Dec 1733 – Planters become more desperate and Governor Hunter relayed the severity of the situation to the British government. Africans revolt on both coasts and in the center of the island; Ayscough becomes governor of Jamaica and he leads the white defenses against the rebellions.

April 20th 1734 – Nanny Town is recaptured by the British

1735 – After being beaten by the whites and having to retreat from Nanny Town for the 2nd time, Windward split into 2 parties; Exodus of the Windward people from Nanny Town to the Leeward settlements; Cudjoe does *not* “welcome” them but let's them stay

1736 – In early 1736 there were three main Maroon towns: The Windward St. George's Parish and two Leeward towns St. Elizabeth (under Accompong), St. James (under Cudjoe)

May 1737 – Windward return to recapture Nanny Town

May 1737-1738 the Windward again begin raiding, ambushing and inciting rebellions

1738 – British decide to sue for peace

February 1738 – Cudjoe and Colonel Guthrie meet

March 1st 1738- Treaty with the Leeward ending the 1st Maroon War was signed [15pts]; enslaved Africans were appalled at the treaty & thought the Maroons traitors, the protested the irony that those who

had rebelled won their freedom but the loyal had not; Violence breaks out

June 23, 1739 – Against the warnings of Nanny, Quao (the last leader before the end of 1st Maroon War) signed a treaty on behalf of the Windward; The Windward made it clear that they were signing the treaty reluctantly, it only had 12pts

At the end of the 1st Maroon War there were 4 principal Maroon Towns:
 Leeward → Trelawny Town in St. James (under Cudjoe)
 Accompong Town in St. Elizabeth (under Accompong)
 Windward → Charles/Crawford Town in St. George's parish
 Moore Town/ New Nanny Town in Portland

1740 – 94 Different factions of Europeans create more restrictions to Maroon lifestyle & tensions grows; Europeans gradually whittled away the rights of the Maroons

1753: Slave population is approximately 130,000

1760 – Tacky (Coromantee) led an uprising which the Maroon quelled in accordance with treaties signed with the British

1795 – 2nd Maroon War begins

June 1796 – Jamaican Governor Balcarres exports 560 Trelawny Maroons (Leeward) to Halifax, Nova Scotia in the Dover

1800 – Leeward Maroons were shipped from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone; Jamaican slave population is an estimated 300,939

1833 – Emancipation Act was passed in England

1834 – Slave population continues to increase to 311, 070

1838 - Enslaved African-Jamaicans were free

APPENDIX E:

MEXICAN CHRONOLOGY

- 1492 – The first enslaved Africans arrive to the Americas with Christopher Columbus
- 1501 – Spanish throne officials approve the use of African slaves in the New World
- 1517 – Bartolome de las Casas encourages the use of Africans instead of Indigenous populations as slaves
- 1519 – Mexican-Indigenous population is approximately 25 million
- 1523 – Maroons begin establishing communities in western Mexico in Oaxaca ie) Cuajinicuilapa, Guerrero became one of Mexico's first predominantly independent communities
- May 11, 1527 – A large population of free zambos (African father & Indigenous mother) drives the Spanish crown to declare that Negro men should marry Negro women (this was redeclared in 1538, 1541)
- 1537 – The first recorded slave revolt of the Western Hemisphere takes place in Mexico City; in response the Spanish halted the slave trade for the 8 years
- 1541 – Royal decree outlaws communication between Africans and Indigenous peoples
- 1545 – Slave trade is reinstated in Mexico
- 1546 – African slave insurrections peak throughout the country
- 1548 – Continuous revolts prompt the “Mendoza ordinances” which prohibited the sale of arms to Negroes and forbid public gatherings of three or more Negroes without their masters. The viceroy also declared a night curfew in Mexico City; Indigenous population is approximately 6 million
- 1550s – As early as the 1550s the African population outnumbered that of Europeans

- 1551 – A law forbidding African men (Enslaved & Freedmen) to be served by Indigenous women
- 1560-1580 – Mexico experienced its first widespread wave of slave insurrections
- 1563 – A large mulatto population (from African women & Spanish men) causes the Spanish king to declare that Spaniards with children by slave women are able to buy them and free them
- 1570 – Two thousand (1/10) of the Black population has fled from enslavement (marooned)
- 1571-1574 – Royal decrees implemented for greater surveillance of Africans: Slaves absent from their masters for more than 4 days were to receive 100 lashes
- 1574 – A law grants freedom to a maroon who turns in another
- 1575 - Yanga (the person) imported to Mexico from Africa
- 16th century – Mexico has more Africans than any other colony in the Western Hemisphere
- 1600 – Indigenous population is approximately 1.5 million
- February 24, 1606 – The first military encounter between Spanish (led by Herrera) and Yanguico Maroons; after Herrera & Spanish attacked & defeated the Maroons there was an 11 point truce
- April 14, 1612 – An ordenanza makes it illegal for more than four Blacks to attend the burials of enslaved or free Africans
- April 19, 1612 – A plot by Africans to revolt and take Mexico City is discovered
- May 2, 1612 – Spanish hang 35 Africans (Africans, mulattoes and even women) in response to the conspiracy
- 1612 – The Yanga mocambo is established under the Christian township of San Lorenzo de los Negros/Cerralvo in Tlalixoyán, Veracruz
- 1616- African-Indigenous uprising in Durango

- 1641 – Gaspar Yanga (heir of Yanga) becomes leader and governor of San Lorenzo de los Negros/Cerralvo
- 1655 – After petitioning, the Yanga settlement is relocated closer to main roads, close to Cordoba) for better farming land
- 1725 – 1768 – there were five slave insurrections in the Veracruz region
- 1735 – Leaders of these revolts spread rumors that the (Spanish) king had freed all remaining slaves in Mexico but that Cordoba (a city in Veracruz) had ignored the order, there were massive slave uprising & destruction of property; Palaciosde Mandinga mocambo was established in the mountains of Teutila and Fernando Manuel was their leader
- 1743 – Mandinga inhabitants petitioned the royal *audiencia* for freedom and submitted a census of the entire settlement
- 1762 – After helping defend Veracruz from British invasion the Maroons under Fernando Manuel are promised freedom by Viceroy Marques de Cruillas
- 1767 – Tensions with Maroons of Mandinga and Indigenous begin because European authorities seize lands from the Soyaltepec Indians to provide a site for Amapa (the Christian name of Mandinga)
- 1768 – Andres de Otañes district magistrate of Teutila helped Maroons declare their freedom and established their town; Mandinga mocambo was established as a township and dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe
- 1791 – Census shows that less than 30% of Blacks in the Orizaba district slaves
- 1810 – When Miguel Hidalgo's call for Mexican independence proclaimed emancipation, slaves begin to enlist
- 1824 – A proclamation declares that slaves who fought for independence were free; many remain in hiding
- 1829 - Slavery was legally abolished from Mexico, slaves & Maroons come out of hiding

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