

Gender, Race and the Construction of Refugee Identity in the Revolutionary Caribbean, 1814-15

Lucille Charlotte was almost forty years old in mid-November 1814, when she boarded a small launch that was carrying thirty other refugees into the Bocas del Dragón, the straits which separated war-torn Venezuela from the British colony of Trinidad. Thirteen years earlier she had fled her native Guadeloupe as Napoleon's army fought to restore slavery on that island.¹ Crossing from the French Antilles to Spanish Venezuela, Lucille Charlotte became a cotton farmer near the port of Güiria, which had drawn a heterogenous population of black immigrants displaced from France's Caribbean colonies by the revolutionary wars of the 1790s. On the margins of empire, Güiria provided a haven for those fleeing the increasing racial persecution that marked the British and French West Indies in the wake of the Haitian Revolution. Güiria's foreign black population were early supporters of the nationalist revolt that broke out in Venezuela in 1810, drawing on their previous experiences of military mobilisation and republican politics. However, in late 1814 as the royalist army surged through Cumaná Province towards Güiria massacring nationalist supporters and looting their property, Lucille Charlotte became a refugee for a second time.

The island of Chacachacare lies off the north eastern coast of Trinidad and was reached by the first refugee boats from Güiria on 18 November 1814. The launch carrying Lucille Charlotte had been accompanied by a sloop and five canoes carrying nearly 150 refugees, who were suffering the "greatest distress from the want of provisions".² A unit of Trinidad's militia quickly arrived on the outlying island to round-up the refugees and transport them to their colony's capital, Port-of-Spain. Chacachacare had been used a year earlier as a staging post for a small group of Venezuelan nationalists to invade the mainland and relaunch the struggle for independence, so British authorities were alarmed "that some of the worst characters who framed the expedition from that island in January 1813 had returned thither".³

Although the refugees who arrived in November 1814 were overwhelming women and children, they were each questioned and registered by British officials in Port-of-Spain who were concerned about their connections to the revolutionary conflicts of the Spanish Main. Lucille Charlotte was asked about her origins, her activities in Venezuela, and whether she had any ties to males fighting for the nationalist army. She testified that she had no

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husband, and that she had not seen the father of her child for a considerable time. These answers were recorded in a register of refugees where Lucille Charlotte was listed as a “coloured woman” and her nine year old son as a “black boy”.⁴ Their names were listed with the interviews of thirty-four other women from the Caribbean islands and their sixty-three children aged between nineteen years and two months old. Three of these women were described as white creoles, however the majority were registered as coloured or black. Seven of the female refugees were from Martinique, six were from Grenada, five were from Guadeloupe, five were from Trinidad, three were from St Vincent and two were from St Lucia – all islands which had suffered through war, slave revolt or racial repression during the period 1790 to 1802.

Lucille Charlotte's double exile provides an important counter-point to existing studies of refugees in the revolutionary Atlantic which have focused on the movements of displaced whites from Saint Domingue to the North American mainland during the 1790s. Whereas the Afro-Caribbean women who reached northern ports such as Charleston and New Orleans have largely been described as the enslaved property or concubines of white refugees, what is most striking about the exodus into Trinidad in 1814 is the independence of these women in repeatedly negotiating experiences of forced emigration.⁵ The high numbers of children that accompanied these women reveals their success in maintaining family structures despite their displacement and in reconstructing their lives in Venezuela after their initial emigration in the 1790s. While recent scholarship has emphasized the significance of family networks in shaping the migration of white refugees, this paper highlights how women of colour were active agents in crossing between revolutions in the Southern Caribbean.⁶

1) The Revolutionary Threat and Colonial Refugee Policy

To British authorities in Trinidad, the arrival of these Afro-Caribbean refugees from Guyria represented a significant threat to public order in the island colony. At start of August 1814, Governor Ralph Woodford had written to his superiors in London reporting on the continuing warfare in Venezuela. Noting the progress of royalist troops in Cumaná, Woodford stated

I am informed that considerable alarm prevails at Guyria, but as those likely to emigrate are generally Frenchmen, and well known here, it is not my intention to

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permit them to land in this colony... It is of less consequence to the individuals as they can probably return to the French colonies, but Your Lordship will doubtless perceive the importance of excluding from this Island a description of persons whose feelings must strongly partake of the revolutionary discontent that yet agitates and distracts the Spanish Main.⁷

Afro-Caribbean refugees were therefore twice condemned as revolutionaries, as they tainted as supporters of the 1790s uprisings in the French Antilles and the nationalist insurrection in Venezuela. Originating from the French islands, they were also portrayed as having no legitimate claim to asylum in a British colony.

Woodford's opposition to the refugees was both politically and racially based. Trinidad's governor was a strong sympathizer with the royalist cause in Venezuela, despite the atrocities reported by white creoles and Afro-Caribbean refugees. Woodford argued that he was entitled to refuse asylum to all those who had participated in the independence struggle, as the nationalists had compromised Trinidad's neutrality by using the island as a launching point for their invasion of Venezuela in January 1813.⁸ Though, he claimed that "royalist troops have generally behaved with humanity", Woodford faced increasingly public criticism by those who accused him of forcing white creole refugees to return to certain execution by the royalists.⁹

The British governor was also in constant conflict with Trinidad's free coloured population as he sought to establish a rigid racial segregation in the colony. In 1810, Trinidad's 2,495 white inhabitants were outnumbered by 6,264 free people of colour and 20,821 slaves. Woodford feared that the nationalist insurrection in Venezuela was a destabilizing threat amongst both the free and enslaved black population, and could ultimately encourage a revolution in Trinidad.¹⁰

Woodford was the newly-claimed British colony's first civilian governor when he took office at the age of 29 in June 1813, and many of free coloureds and blacks had hoped that he would reverse much of the discrimination they suffered under military rule. Yet as Jean-Baptist Philippe, a mixed-race doctor from a wealthy planter family in the west of the island complained, "that the acts of Sir Ralph J. Woodford's government have been more oppressive and galling to the persons of colour than that of any preceding governor".¹¹ Philippe was particularly aggrieved by Woodford's refusal to recognise free coloureds as

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having any claim to social status, for the governor went so far as to cross the title “Mr” from the passport of one coloured merchant, and to publicly deny that a free coloured woman could claim the title “widow” when he described as the product of concubinage and illegitimacy.¹² Such efforts to intensify formal segregation within Trinidad society was threatened by the sudden influx of black refugees, who Woodford feared would augment the racial disparity within the Trinidad’s free population.

Woodford gave his political and racial prejudices full vent in mid-August 1814 when he denied the application for residence by Josiah Robbins, a white American merchant at Güiria. In replying to the petition of Robbins, the Trinidad’s governor stated that,

It is inconsistent with the regulations by which I am instructed to guide my conduct, to admit to a residence here during the present disturbed state of the Spanish neighbouring colonies, persons not natural born subjects of His Catholic Majesty.¹³

Though he had no formal instructions from Britain on the admission of refugees, Woodford confessed that the final phrase of his reply “was used to discourage the application of those who were the much connected with the main, especially French” who he saw as providing the key troops for the nationalists.¹⁴ In seeking to deter applications for admittance from the Afro-Caribbean population at Güiria, the governor also wrote that “I considered it advisable to admit as few as possible of the white settlers who had submitted to a government composed of people of colour”.¹⁵ While Robbins was eventually allowed to enter Trinidad in October 1814, it was clear that Trinidad’s authorities were committed to preventing the arrival of free coloured refugees born in the French Antilles as a major security threat.

If Woodford had intended for his letter to Robbins to be a public deterrent for those seeking to emigrate to Trinidad, it drew a reply from Jean Baptiste Bideau, the free coloured Guadeloupe-born general of nationalist troops in Güiria. On 17 November 1814, Bideau sent a letter addressed to Woodford with the first flotilla of refugees. He wrote,

Quelques familles passent dans les colonies, pour y aller chercher un asile a l’abri des événements de la guerre, J’espère, Monsieur le Général, que vous rendrez les accueillir avec cette générosité qui distingue d’une manière si éminente la nation Anglaise, et dont elle a donné des preuves si multipliées envers les émigrés pendant tout le cours de la révolution Française. Je crois devoir vous répéter ici ce que j’ai déjà en l’honneur de vous écrire précédemment, que l’armée la plus dangereuse de nos ennemis est la liberté générale qu’ils donnent aux esclaves ce qui recrute et augmente

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continuellement leurs troupes. C'est pour mieux leur résister, et pour me débarrasser des bouches inutiles que je laisse partir les femmes et les enfans, et je ne dois pas vous dissimuler que si contre mon attente, vous leur refusiez un asile, je me verrois forcé quoique à regret d'user des mêmes armés que mes ennemis, ce qui, vu la proximité de nos côtés, ne manquerait pas de compromettre l'existence du système [sic] colonial dans votre île.¹⁶

Though Bideau accused the Spanish royalists of using slave emancipation to strengthen their armies as an attempt to claim solidarity of interests with Woodford, he was also prepared to threaten employing the same weapon of slave liberation against Trinidad if his people were not received.

In the same letter Bideau contrasted his actions to his fellow nationalist generals Santiago Mariño and Simón Bolívar, who he complained,

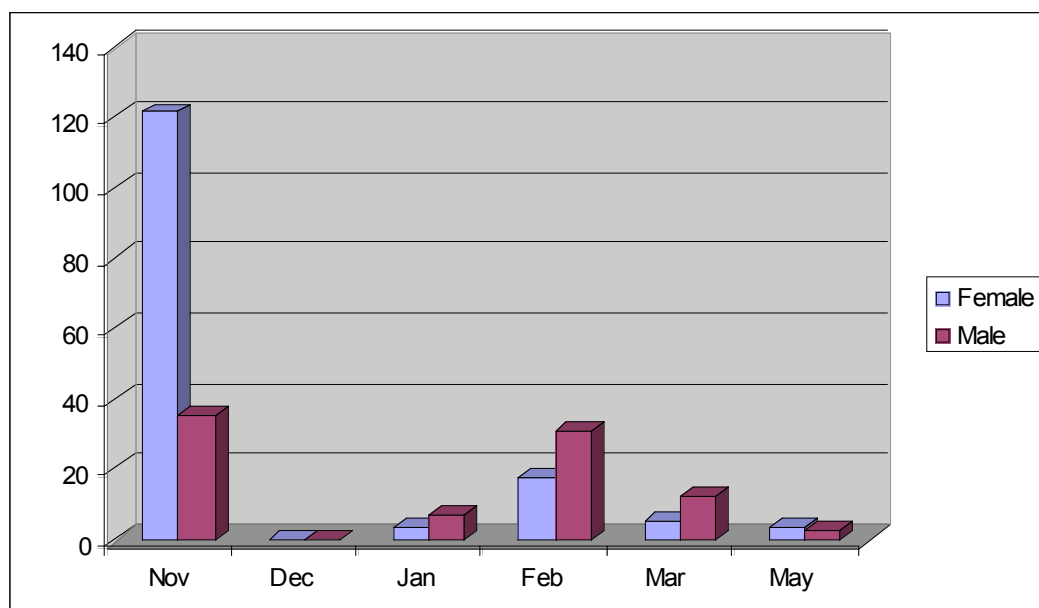
il se sont embarqués, laissant à la merci des ennemis une foule des femmes et d'enfants, qui n'ont eu d'autre ressource que de se jeter sur cette côté, et que j'ai accueilli avec l'humanité qui à toujours formé la base de ma conduite.¹⁷

Though Bideau justified the evacuation of women and children from Güiria in terms of military efficiency, his concerns were also shaped by his own experience of war and exile in Guadeloupe and the awareness that the French Caribbean community would form a visible target for royalist reprisals.

Bideau's order for all women to leave Güiria in November 1814, forced Woodford to reverse his exclusion policy directed at non-Spanish refugees from the main. The sudden influx of displaced women and children were described by Woodford as "people of colour for the most part".¹⁸ After a week of constant immigration, the governor and his council allowed for the temporary admittance of the refugees "under the impression that many of the Emigrants were original colonists in neighbouring Islands and that almost the whole consisted of old men, women or children".¹⁹ Given Woodford's conviction that "Guyria was a French colony, composed of persons who had been conspicuous in the revolutions of Martinique and Guadeloupe", it was only the arrival of women and children unaccompanied by male refugees that transformed government policy on refugees with Francophone origins from being grounds for exclusion to a rationale for temporary asylum (see Graph 1).²⁰

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Graph 1: Date of Arrival of Caribbean-Born Refugees in Trinidad, 1814-1815



The female-dominated exodus of November 1814 was therefore the path-breaking for other Afro-Caribbean refugees seeking refuge in the British colony and it is significant that with the reversal of Woodford's asylum policy males became increasingly prominent in immigration to Trinidad. In March 1815, Jean Baptiste Bideau was forced to flee to Trinidad as the royalist army entered Güiría. Despite his proclaimed opposition to admitting the leadership of the nationalist insurrection, Woodford allowed Bideau's wife and children to remain in Trinidad although the general was exiled to the French colony of St Barthélémy. The British governor wrote that, "I considered it expedient to afford him the means of removing in safety to a distant and neutral island, giving protection at the same time to his family and property".²¹ The treatment of female refugees was therefore an important marker of humanitarianism and respectability for Woodford, even if racial prejudice dominated the Trinidad governor's vision of gender.

2) The Migration Networks of Free Coloured Women

In commenting on Bideau's letter of 17 November 1814, Woodford picked up on the former's description of the female refugees as "bouches inutiles", which the governor translated as "useless persons".²² However, this construction of Afro-Caribbean women as dependents contrasted both to their own repeated migrations and the concern which British

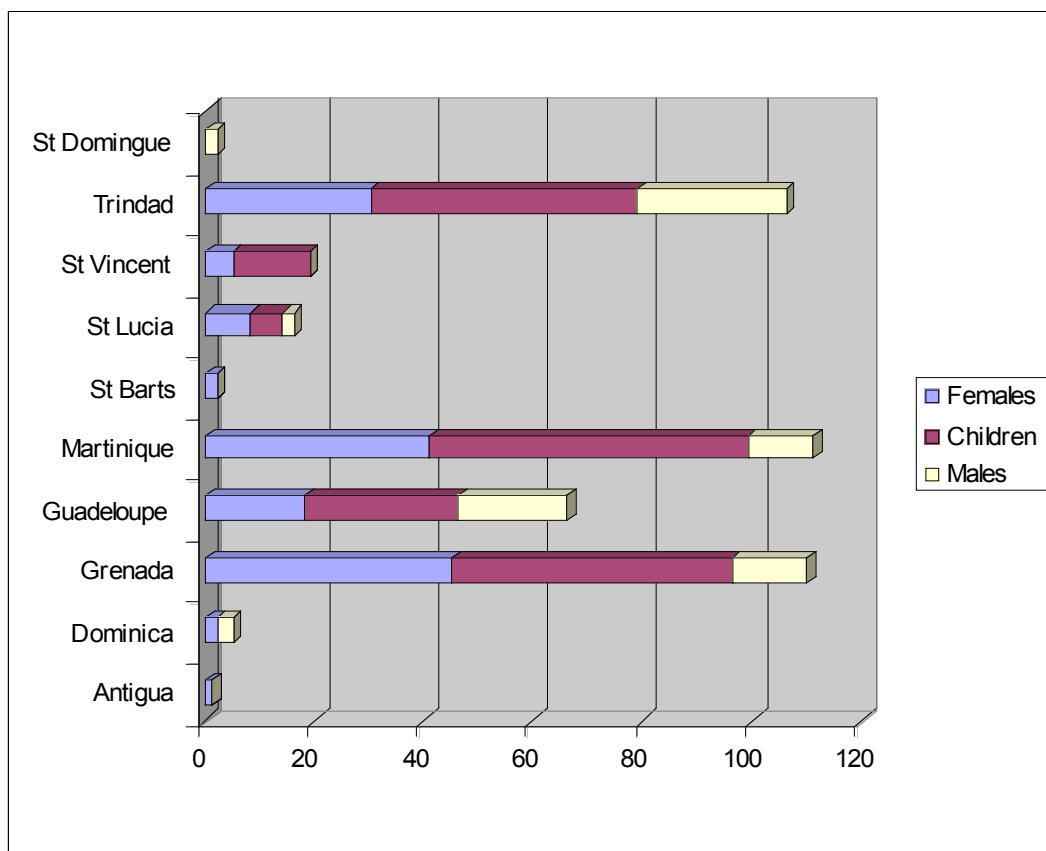
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authorities showed in recording their identities and attempting to control their movements.

Trinidad officials claimed that 2,145 refugees had arrived on the island between 19 November 1814 and 8 June 1816, comprising 731 men, 349 women, 993 children and 52 servants.²³ The register which listed over five hundred refugees arriving in Trinidad for this period, recorded 80 men, 152 women and 206 children as originating from Caribbean islands (see Graph 2).

Despite being part of a larger influx of creole white and black Venezuelans, both women and men from the Caribbean islands were singled out by the Trinidad administration due to racially-based fears that they carried with them revolutionary politics.

Graph 2: Island of Origin of Caribbean-Born Refugees, 1814-1815

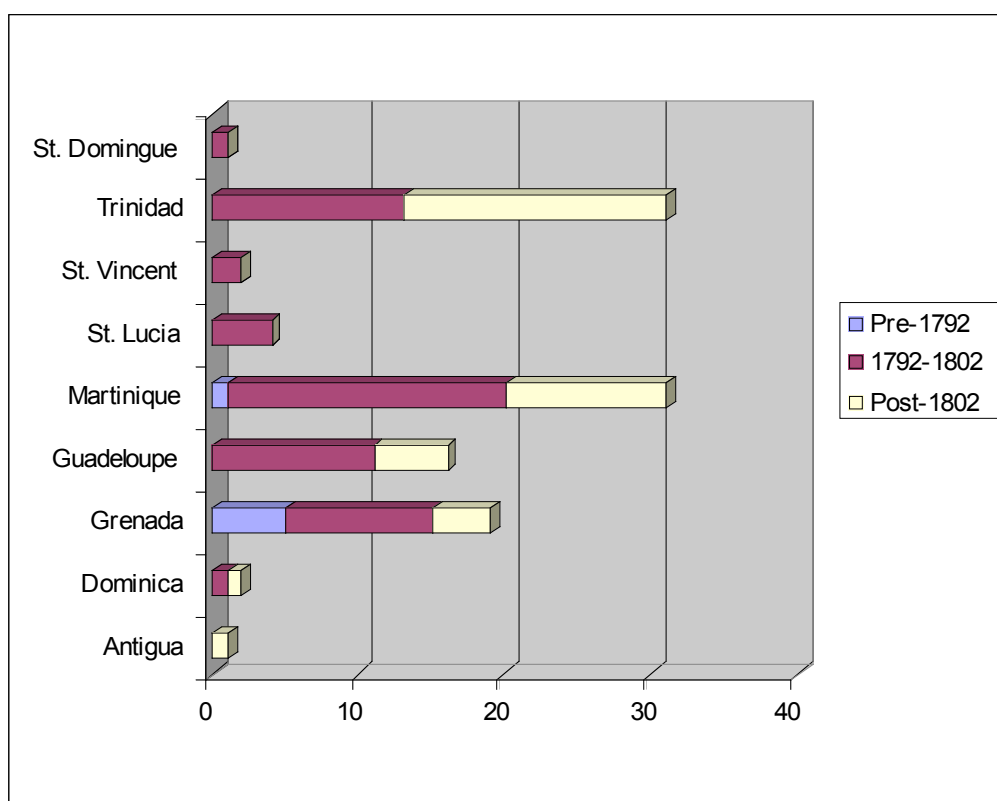


Though race lay at the heart of the registration of these black and mixed-race refugees, the surviving register provides only an irregular record of their colour. Half-a-dozen refugees were explicitly described as “white”, often with the recognition of their formal title of address. The remainder of the refugees originating from the islands were listed as “creole”, “coloured”, “black”, “native” or their colour was left un-described. Such inconsistencies contrast to the rigorous inscription of race in more established slave societies such as St

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Domingue or Jamaica where officials regularly positioned non-whites along a complex hierarchy of colour ranging from *nègre* to *mulâtre* to *métis*.²⁴ In Trinidad, British-born officials seem to have been more focused on formally marking the racial differences between whites and those of mixed race, than the internal ordering of the non-white immigrants.

Graph 3: Date of Migration from Island of Origin by Caribbean Refugees



The registration of refugees was much more precise in recording their island of origin and their date of migration which highlights significant social clusters in the movements to and from Güiria (see Graph 3). Sixty-one of the female and male refugees stated that they left their home islands during the period of revolutionary war or slave revolt (1792-1802). Of the forty refugees who claimed to have arrived in Venezuela, many of these were either from Trinidad or had passed through the newly-claimed British colony. Governor Woodford was certainly aware of the refugee's previous settlement in Trinidad in seeking to block their return, for he wrote,

Nor could I admit those French persons of colour, who had previously abandoned the protection of the British government, to settle themselves at Guyria (which place held

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out to them the allurements of an entire exemption from all lawful authority) and whose characters were particularly well known at Trinidad.²⁵

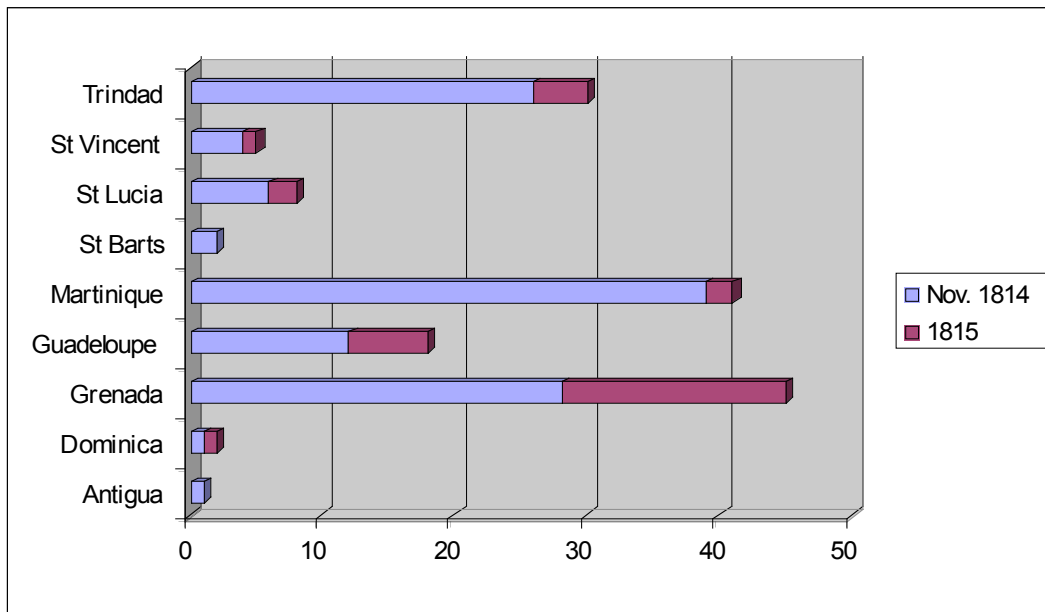
Woodford's claim that these free coloured and black refugees had sought to settle outside of imperial control was disingenuous, because many had been driven from the British colony by the escalating legal terror and racial discrimination of military rule. Despite having family and friends amongst Trinidad's heterogeneous free coloured population, their return to the island must have also filled some of these refugees with considerable apprehension.

Marcia Rosanna Franco had mixed emotions at returning to Trinidad as a refugee, for she had been born on the island as a slave, before purchasing her freedom and migrating to the Spanish Main. During her registration by British authorities on the 23 November 1814, she stated that all the women were leaving Güiria, so she joined them.²⁶ The following day, Anne Ramsay Barry from Antigua described how she "saw all the people running away and ran too".²⁷ Barry had left Antigua in 1808, and had spent three years travelling south through the Caribbean, before joining her brother in Venezuela. Julie Creny was a free black woman from Martinique who lived with Victor a fifty year old mulatto carpenter from the same island. Julie worked as a huckster, and had left Trinidad six years earlier. She assured her questioners that she "does not like revolution".²⁸

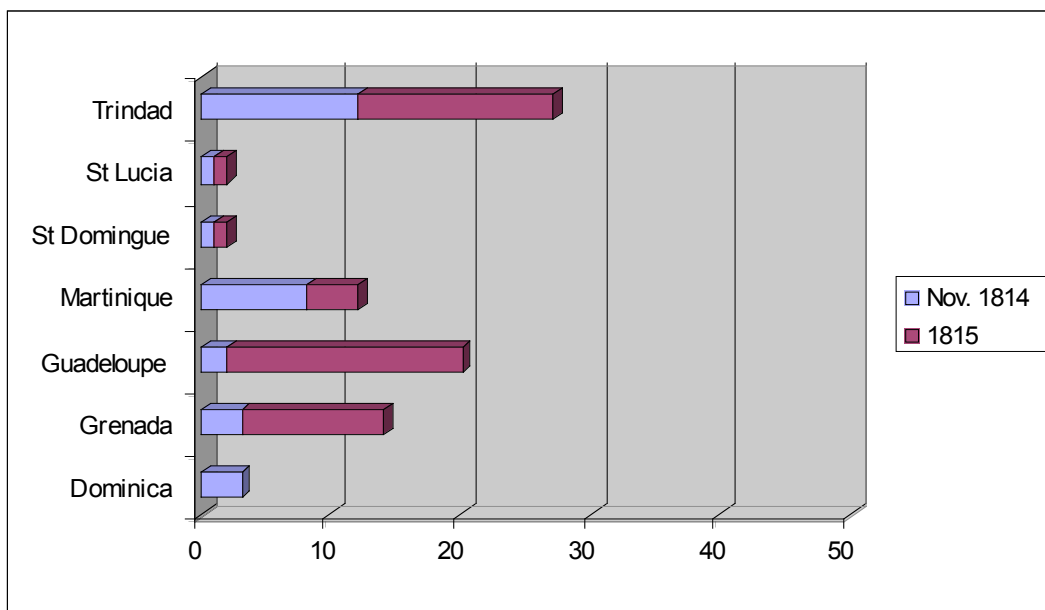
Another refugee who was a huckster was Mary Cecile, a free black woman from Martinique aged around thirty years old. She claimed to have been at Güiria since 1800, before fleeing in a canoe with 10 others. Whereas women like Mary Cecile from Martinique and Trinidad were amongst the quickest group to respond to the call for evacuation, it seems that many women from Grenada and Guadeloupe delayed their departure from Venezuela (Graph 4). A similar pattern emerges with male refugees, even though the proportion of November departures is much lower (Graph 5). The causes for the contrasting flight of refugees from Martinique and Trinidad and those from Grenada and Guadeloupe will be explored in the final section of the paper.

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Graph 4: Date of Female Refugee's Arrival in Trinidad by Island of Origin



Graph 5: Date of Male Refugee's Arrival in Trinidad by Island of Origin



Many of these female refugees were widows, perhaps reflecting the heightened male mortality during a decade of revolutionary and imperial wars. There were six widows amongst the first thirty-five women registered on 19 November, including Françoise Marie, a free coloured refugee from Guadeloupe. Accompanied by her two children, Françoise Marie reported that their father was dead and that she had first lived on an estate near Güiria before

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moving to town. Forty-five year old Marian Alexis of Dominica had left that island twelve years ago with her partner, who had also passed away. The husband of Marie Lucie Cesar was also dead, leaving her to care for her seven year old child. She was a free black woman who had left Trinidad in 1808 to become a cotton farmer on the Spanish coast. Another cotton farmer was Genevieve Jervis, a creole from Martinique who claimed to have been in Güiria since 1801. Her husband had died there, and she was now looking to stay with her aunt who lived in Trinidad.

Others families had been separated by the war in Venezuela, such as Adelaide Françoise, a mulatto refugee from St Vincent with her six children. Her husband was a carpenter from Martinique and soldier in the nationalist army. Celia Audot described her husband as a mulatto soldier, but the mother from Martinique with a three year old child emphasized to her British interviewers that she did not wish to return to him. Accompanied by six of her children and a godchild, Adelaide Drochon was registered in Port-of-Spain on 23 November. Born in Trinidad, she had spent twenty years at Güiria, where she had married a carpenter and cotton planter from Martinique. The following day, her husband François was interviewed by colonial officials, where he admitted his experience in the militia, but stressed that he did not support either side in Venezuela. It seems probable that the Drochon's arrived together in Trinidad, so their decision to present themselves separately to colonial authorities hints at the gendered strategies refugees used to establish asylum.

The preoccupation of Trinidad's government with black male military service in Venezuela and the French Antilles meant that all female refugees were questioned about their husband's or partner's occupations, which revealed many intra-island marriages especially amongst those from Martinique. Even more striking in the interviews was the importance of family connections in shaping migration networks, as most refugees had been accompanied by family members to the Main, and many had family in Trinidad. Thirty-five year old, Mary Sinon from Grenada had gone to the Spanish Main with her sister, although she arrived in Trinidad with only her three children and a fourteen-year old slave. Another refugee from Grenada was twenty-eight year old Rose Lemon who had first come to Trinidad when it was a Spanish colony, before emigrating to join her father in Venezuela.

The refugee register also provides fragmented information about the lives which these free coloured and black women were able to reconstruct for themselves in Güiria after having

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been displaced from their home islands. The partial recording of age, race and employment make it difficult to establish correlations of occupational status and colour, but it is significant that hucksters such as Julie Creny and Mary Cecile from Martinique were described as free blacks (see Table 1). Equally, the three laundresses from Grenada were listed as free blacks, whereas the skilled seamstresses from the same island were identified as “creole”, perhaps implying the racial division of gendered labour detailed by David Barry Gaspar.²⁹ Cotton farming was an occupation that transcended these distinctions of colour, and at least a third of women from Grenada and Guadeloupe identified themselves as planters. Many of the male refugees identified themselves as both cotton planters and artisans such as carpenters, suggesting that they may have been part of the skilled urban free coloured population in the French Caribbean before shifting to small farming in Güiria.

Table 1: Occupations of Female Refugees by Island of Origin

	Huckster	Seamstress	Laundress	Cotton Planter	Planter	Shopkeeper	Total Refugees
Grenada	2	3	3	9	4	1	45
Guadeloupe			1	6	1		18
Martinique	4			8	1	1	41

3) Crossing along the Borders of Slave Society

Economic opportunities were not the only motives for migration to Güiria, as for some of the refugees their migrations between the French, British and Spanish empires had been part of their own movement from slavery to freedom. Governor Woodford complained to the British Colonial Office that the Afro-Caribbean community in Venezuela were,

many of them recently emancipated slaves, and some who had never been manumitted by their owners; Guyria being the common place of resort of slaves deserting from Trinidad.³⁰

Though the above passage was intended by Woodford to justify excluding Afro-Caribbean refugees from asylum, it is also significant that he conflates formal manumission by law, informal manumission by custom and slave desertion. The crossing to Trinidad therefore

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became for many free coloureds and blacks an investigation not only of their political ties to republican revolution, but also of their personal claims to freedom.

Few of the refugees being interviewed by British authorities possessed the official documentation necessary to establish their legal identities. Françoise Meala who was formerly a domestic slave in Trinidad, was able to present her passport for Guïria and her manumission papers when she returned to the island. Marie Catherine from Martinique had been sold by her master in Trinidad, but also had her manumission papers. For those lacking written proof of legal manumission, they could turn to the testimony of influential whites, such as thirty-five year old Laurent from Guadeloupe. A carpenter, Laurent was able to claim endorsement from the son of his former master.

For those lacking formal manumission papers or white patrons, there were considerable difficulties in establishing their free status, especially if they had been freed informally. There were many who were *libres de fait* or *libres de savane*, who in the words of historian Bernard Moitt, “lived in a state of quasi-freedom, having been manumitted by their owners without the authority of the state or the official documents of free status”.³¹ Elderly Susannah Rabalte from Saint Vincent declared that she had been manumitted by her master in Venezuela. Many other refugees claimed that they had been freed on the death of their master, including Françoise from Grenada. On 1 March 1815, Port-of-Spain officials interviewed Marianne from Grenada and Margaret from Guinea who had lived together as slaves on Mariño's estate in Venezuela. Both stated that they had been manumitted on the estate, although it is interesting that the creole and African women were listed together as a family unit rather than given their own individual entries in the refugee register.

Registered on the 22 February 1815 as a 25 year old free creole from Trinidad was Mary Joseph Bethlehem. She informed her interviewers that she had left the island as a child, but with her return to Trinidad she was reclaimed as a slave by petition. A week later, Pierre Vend was interviewed where he described himself as a twenty-four year old cooper from Guadeloupe. Vend testified that his master had freed him before being killed in the revolution, however he was accused of being seized as a soldier for Bideau's nationalist army and so was re-enslaved. On 10 March 1815, six former slaves aged 17 to 28 were registered in Port-of-Spain. Though they argued that the death of their owner in Venezuela had set them free, they were reclaimed as slaves by his daughter. Anne Sogrin aged thirty five from Saint Vincent

reached Trinidad in late May 1815 with her two daughters aged eight and three. She described to her interviewers how her master had died in Venezuela at the start of the year, however she and her children were also re-enslaved after they were claimed by P.J. Anon.

Following the Royalist capture of Güiría on 17 February 1815, there were increasing cases of refugees being restored to slavery, suggesting that those who lacked the evidence of manumission had delayed their departure for as long as possible. Perhaps the differences already noted between the early flight of refugees from Martinique and Trinidad and the later movements by refugees from Grenada and Guadeloupe (Graphs 4 and 5) was due to the threat of re-enslavement. While individual refugees could be re-enslaved if they were claimed by whites, large transfers of slaves from Venezuela were blocked by British anti-slave trade legislation.

Governor Woodford was personally much more sympathetic to the immigration of white slave owners and their slaves than to free coloured refugees, yet in July 1814 he recognised that this conflicted with the abolitionist policies of the British government. In the year before the exodus of November 1814 Trinidad had been forced by the Colonial Office in London to complete an intensive registration of its own slave population to prevent the inter-colonial smuggling of slaves that abolitionists feared would follow Britain's abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in 1807. This process had take twenty-two months due to obstruction by the island's white elite and by its local authorities. Concerned for white planters in Venezuela, Woodford sought a waiver of the law and proposed to temporarily admit them and their slaves as long as the latter were registered.³² Such measures were not accepted by the Colonial Office and in November 1814, Woodford complained that he had been forced to refuse entry to two vessels carrying slaves from Venezuela. He wrote that it was painful to enforce such regulations, given that he was thereby "refusing Asylum to those unfortunate persons who are attached to and constitute the sole means of the existence of their masters".³³

Conclusion

The registration of Afro-Caribbean refugees in November 1814 was shaped by the concerns of the Trinidad government to preserve the enslaved property of white refugees and to establish control over what it feared were subversive revolutionaries. Free coloured and black

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refugees were the focus for interviewing and regulation, although their testimonies reveal the complexity of their trajectories that led to and from Güiria. The prominence of Afro-Caribbean women in the exodus from Venezuela of November 1814 forced British authorities to reshape their asylum policies. The migrations of these women reveal them as far from the dependents or concubines which were the common stereotypes of free women of colour held by officials such as Woodford. Moving between these revolutions, Afro-Caribbean women crossed between empires in their efforts to claim freedom for themselves and their children.

¹ CO 385/1, p. 10

² Papers relating to the Island of Trinidad, Parliamentary Papers 1823 XVII, p. 288

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ CO 385/1, p. 10

⁵ Philip Wright and Gabriel Debien, "Les colons de Saint-Domingue passés à la Jamaïque (1792-1835)", *Bulletin de la société d'histoire de la Guadeloupe*, 26 (1975); Gabriel Debien, "Les colons de Saint-Domingue réfugiés à Cuba (1793-1815)", *Revista de Indias*, 55 (1954), pp. 11-36; Gary B. Nash, "Reverberations of Haiti in the American North: Black Saint Domingans in Philadelphia", *Pennsylvania History*, 65 (1998), pp. 44-73;

⁶ R. Darrell Meadows, "Engineering Exile: Social Networks and the French Atlantic Community, 1789-1809", *French Historical Studies*, 23:1 (2000), pp. 67-102.

⁷ CO 295/33, Woodford to Bathurst, 1 August 1814

⁸ Papers relating to the Island of Trinidad, p. 268

⁹ Papers relating to the Island of Trinidad, pp. 252 & 287

¹⁰ D.A.G. Waddell, *Gran Bretaña y la Independencia de Venezuela y Colombia* (Caracas, 1983) p. 133.

¹¹ J.B. Philippe, *Free Mulatto* (Port-of-Spain 1824), pp. 63-64

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 70 & 142.

¹³ Papers relating to the Island of Trinidad, p. 284.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-284.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 271

¹⁹ CO 295/33, 23 November 1814

²⁰ Papers relating to the Island of Trinidad,, p. 396

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

²² *Ibid.*, p.268

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 291; A third of this influx (704 refugees) had arrived in the final six weeks of 1814 – *Ibid.*, p. 288.

²⁴ *Etat des Finances de la Colonie de Saint Domingue au premier Janvier 1790*, Table IV.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 268

²⁶ CO 385/1

²⁷ CO 385/1

²⁸ CO 385/1

²⁹ David Barry Gaspar, "'To Be Free Is Very Sweet': The Manumission of Female Slaves in Antigua, 1917-26" in David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, eds., *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas* (Urbana 2004), pp. 65-76

³⁰ Papers relating to the Island of Trinidad, p. 268

³¹ Bernard Moitt "In the Shadow of the Plantation: Women of Color and the *Libres de fait* of Martinique and Guadeloupe, 1685-1848" in Gaspar and Hine, eds., *Beyond Bondage*, p. 37

³² CO 295/33, Woodford to Bathurst 14 July 1814

³³ CO 295/33, 23 November 1814