

The Treaty of Paris and the First Carib War

Although the level of control that the French actually had over St. Vincent is questionable, this did not stop them from ceding St. Vincent to the British as part of the Treaty of Paris 1763 at the end of the Seven Years War. It is important to note that the Caribs, be they the Garinagu or Kalinago, were still in actual possession of much of the island, and were neither consulted about this process, nor even mentioned in the treaty text. This stands in contrast to treaties about lands in North America, where the native tribes' territories were discussed.

Treaty of Paris 1763 Article IX

The Most Christian King [Louis XV of France] cedes and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty [George III], in full right, the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada: And the partition of the islands called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right, and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

A commission was set up to survey the new British possession and to parcel up the land for sale. The price for these new lands was, however, high, with settlers claiming that they were asked to pay triple the standard going rate in the rest of the British West Indies. The Land Commissioners actively tried to encourage Britons and people from other British colonies to settle in St. Vincent, with one of their number, Sir William Young, writing a pamphlet for that purpose. He wrote, in an attempt to assuage those who may have been worried about the presence of the Garinagu on the island: *“That when the Black Charaibs’ of St. Vincent’s are duly apprized of the humanity and generosity of our gracious Sovereign, and assured of the enjoyment of their lands, freedom, favour, and protection, they may be gained over to our cause, and even rendered useful.”*

However, the Land Commissioners were given strict orders at first not to survey lands held or claimed by the Garinagu and Kalinago. The Garinagu, when they learned that St. Vincent was to be transferred to British ‘control’ after the Treaty of Paris, employed a French intermediary called Abbé Valladares to act and negotiate on their behalf. In return for both the sale of land belonging to them, and allowing the building of roads through their territory, the Garinagu were offered the rights and protections due to British Citizens. None accepted this offer and attempts to win them over through other means proved equally unsuccessful. Being unable to bargain with them, the Commissioners thus worked to have the Garinagu removed from the island. This included writing to the Lords of the Treasury in London. The Commissioners’ letter of 10th August 1765 claimed, *“That the Charaibs are altogether uncivilized, and the Blacks particularly of an idle untractable disposition. They live in huts scattered in an irregular manner, at a great distance from each other, without any established subordination, claiming large tracts of wood land intervening, of which they make no use; and are besides possessed of other lands in the cleared parts of the country, which interfere much with the laying out of plantations for sale. They had hitherto occasioned no disturbance, but still we are in doubt if they ever can be made useful; or whether ‘in many instances they may not prove dangerous. The measure that appears to us, from these considerations, to be the safest and most for advantage of the colony, would be as soon as possible to remove as many of them as can be prevailed upon to quit, on terms consistent with the humanity and honour of his Majesty’s*

government: and what seems the most probable for accomplishing that end, would be to buy the cleared land, and cottages, of those who are disposed to sell, satisfying them with money, or whatever else may be acceptable, and offering at the same time other lands in Bequia, where they cannot be hurtful, in lieu of those they quit; but not permitting them to take up any land again in any other part of St. Vincent's, except in such places, and on such terms, as may confine them to proper boundaries, and subject them to some regulations."

In 1768, after one of the Commissioners visited London at the request of British Government ministers, new rules were put in place, allowing for the survey and sale of Carib lands, under the condition that no Carib could be removed from their land unless they had the situation explained to them, that they understood the explanation, and that they were compensated for their land to the value of £10 an acre. When Valladares relayed all this to the Garinagu, one of their chiefs, Joseph Chatoyer, replied that he did not recognise the King of Britain, and that they would only listen to the French Governor of Martinique. Chatoyer was presumably a young man at this point, but was nevertheless amongst the leaders of his people and would become the main Garinagu figure that the Commissioners and British officially dealt with during the 18th century. However, after a meeting of Garinagu chiefs, several of their number visited the Commissioners and claimed that they recognised the King's authority and the proclamation of the sale of lands. Others later also claimed they were willing to recognise the authority of the King and the proclamation.

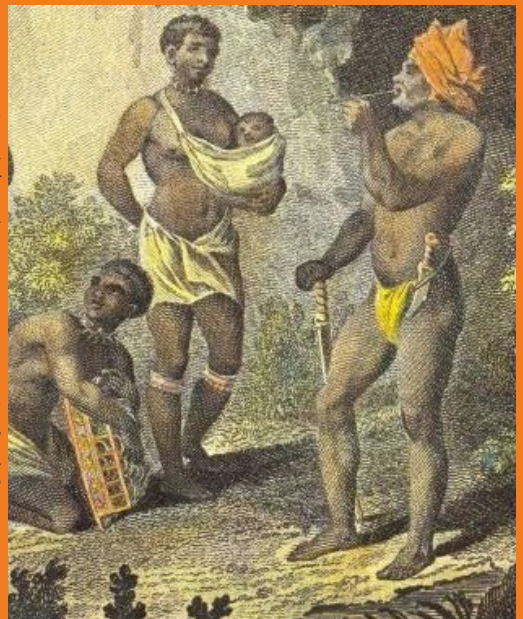
Joseph Chatoyer

Although he is now recognised as the National Hero of St. Vincent, very little is really known about the life of Joseph Chatoyer, including his date of birth. In one document, his father's name is recorded as Legottes and his original name was apparently Satuye. Like many Garinagu on 18th century St. Vincent, he adopted a French name.

His surname roughly translates to 'the shining one' in French. He first came to prominence in the 1760s, around the time that another major Garinagu leader, Tourouya, died. He was recognised as the chief of the Garinagu community at Grand Sable. It is clear that, for over twenty years, Chatoyer was very much a leading figure amongst the various Garinagu chiefs of St. Vincent, towards the end of his life being recognised as the Paramount Chief.

He has proven to be a controversial figure in history and is remembered and celebrated for leading his people and fighting against Britain as a colonial power to protect his people's lands. He is recognised as the father of Vincentian independence, over two centuries before the official independence of the modern nation of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. He certainly seems to have used his limited resources effectively. Others have criticised him for, at one time, owning slaves and failing to abide by the treaties that he signed, whilst accusing him of brutality against his enemies. Historian Charles Shepard remarked that, "*Cruelty rather than courage had always been the principle of this man's conduct.*"

However, what we know of Chatoyer largely comes from sources that were written by those opposed to him. Sir William Young and Charles Shepard, each colonists, both wrote explicitly in favour of the planters who Chatoyer fought against, and thus cannot be relied upon to provide an unbiased view of the man.



Joseph Chatoyer and his wives

Tensions would once again flare between the Garinagu and the British when the Commissioners attempted to build a road into Carib territory. The proclamation had made no mention of such a road, and the Garinagu resolved to stop it being built through their lands, allowing it no further than the boundary previously agreed with the Governor of Martinique. Captain Wilkie and forty soldiers of the 32nd Regiment were stationed at Massaricau, where construction of the road had reached. They were captured by the Garinagu and held hostage. As a condition for their release, the Garinagu demanded that the Commissioners make no further attempts to build roads within their country.



A soldier of the 32nd Regiment

Even though the rest of the armed forces on the island, some extra hundred men, had been assembled, the Commissioners believed they were not authorised to use military force under the terms of the proclamation and so took no military action. The hostages were released, but peace did not return. The Garinagu began to harass British settlements, even attacking the house of Valladares, who they had previously trusted as an intermediary. The Commissioners wrote to London, requesting military assistance to frighten the Garinagu into submission so they could carry out their instructions.

At the end of June 1771, Chatoyer and forty other Garinagu leaders met with the Commissioners and stated once again that they would not sell their land, would not tolerate any European settlers within their borders, nor recognise any King. The Commissioners recommended to the British Government that a road be forced through Garinagu lands. To this end, a military force was assembled in 1772, being finally ready for action in September. The Garinagu were not idle, also preparing for conflict. On 7th September, the terms offered the previous year were repeated to the Garinagu, which they refused, despite the military buildup, to the surprise of the Commissioners. Thus, the war commenced.

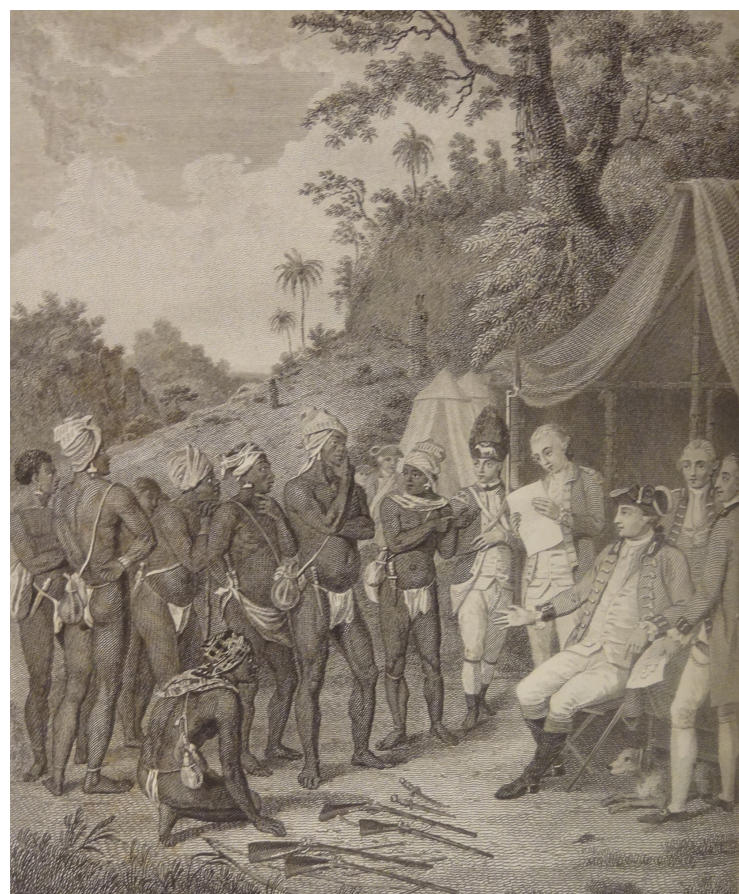
If you were to believe the writings of Sir William Young's son, also called Sir William, the Garinagu eventually asked for terms after the British successfully established a series of military posts throughout their territory over the five-month course of the war, but the truth is not so simple. The British found it difficult to fight against the Caribs, who made excellent use of the jungle terrain and the mountains and fought a campaign of Guerrilla warfare that the British Army was not trained or equipped to defend against. The Garinagu were by no means the only defenders in the Caribbean to utilise such tactics over the course of the 18th century, but they were amongst its most proficient practitioners. European armies, trained for fighting based around widescale manoeuvres in open country, stood little chance of success. In addition to difficulties that the army faced, there was also increasing discontent back in Britain about the war, its motivations and implications.

Many people felt that the war against the Caribs was unjust and should cease. Several opposition Members of Parliament, many also looking for a way by which to attack Lord North's Government, spoke against the war, including Lord Shelburne in the House of Lords and Colonel Isaac Barré, a veteran of the Seven Years War, in the House of Commons. Sir Richard Whitworth, the MP for Stafford, said in a Parliamentary debate on 10th December 1772 that: "*The French only ceded*

part of the island to us; that part was their property, and they had the right to cede it; but what claim have we to the other? None. The French could not cede to us what they had not; they by treaty with those people; and upon those conditions, I understand by the terms of the last peace, we are also to live with them. But I suppose some of our traders or planters have taken a fancy to their part of the island for country houses to divert themselves, and to satisfy the rapacity of those adventurers, the British arms are to be employed, and the miserable natives are to be cruelly dispossessed of their habitations and driven from their families and friends.... Nothing but the most wanton cruelty can induce us to dispossess the inoffending natives of their country.” British public opinion too turned against the war, with an anonymous letter in *The Scotsman* declaring; “Thus is the British Government reviving the Spanish cruelties at the conquest of Mexico, to gratify avaricious merchants, landholders, and venal commissioners.” The Government thus promised an enquiry into the situation.



Sir Richard Whitworth in 1779



The peace negotiations between the Garinagu and the British Army

The end of the war came when General William Dalrymple, commanding the British forces, was ordered by his superiors in London to negotiate with the Garinagu, even if it involved making concessions, whilst also making reference to the welfare and happiness of the Garinagu. The treaty was signed by several of the Caribs' leading chiefs, including Joseph Chatoyer. However, despite what Sir William Young believed, there is evidence that Chatoyer, notwithstanding his prominence, was not the most senior Garinagu Chief at this point in time.

The first of their number to sign the treaty was Jean Baptiste, who Governor Valentine Morris also held to be the key figure, although this did not necessarily mean he was a supreme leader. It must be noted that there were several leading Caribs who did not form part of the negotiations, neither

was the Governor of St. Vincent nor any of the leading Planters involved or consulted. With the lack of input from all the interested parties, and the fact that the treaty was made as quickly as possible, it was perhaps inevitable that problems would emerge in the future.

**TERMS OF THE TREATY BETWEEN THE CHIEFS
OF GRAND SABLE, MASSIRACA, RABACCA,
MACARICAU, BYERA, COUBAMAROU, JAMBOU,
COLONRIE, CAMACARABOU, OUARAWAROU AND
POINT ESPAGNIOL AND HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL
DALRYMPLE 1773**

1. *All hostile proceedings to cease; a firm and lasting peace and friendship to succeed.*
2. *The Charaibs shall acknowledge his Majesty to be the rightful sovereign of the island and domain of St. Vincent's: take an oath of fidelity to him as their King; promise absolute submission to his will, and lay down their arms.*
3. *They shall submit themselves to the laws and obedience of his Majesty's government, with power to the Governor to enact further regulations for the public advantage as shall be convenient. (This article only respects their transactions with his Majesty's subjects, not being Indians, their intercourse and customs with each other, in the quarters allotted them not being affected by it.) And all new regulations to receive his Majesty's Governor's approbation before carried into execution.*
4. *A portion of lands, hereafter mentioned, to be allotted for the residence of the Charaibs, viz. from the river Byera to Point Espagniol on the one side, and from the river Analibou to Point Espagniol on the other side, according to lines to be drawn by his Majesty's surveyors, from the sources of the rivers to the tops of the mountains; the rest of the lands, formerly inhabited by Charaibs, for the future to belong entirely to his Majesty.*
5. *Those lands not to be alienated, either by sale, lease, or otherwise, but to persons properly authorized by his Majesty to receive them.*
6. *Roads, ports, batteries, and communications to be made as his Majesty pleases.*
7. *No undue intercourse with the French islands to be allowed.*
8. *Runaway slaves in the possession of the Charaibs are to be delivered up, and endeavours used to discover and apprehend the others; and an engagement, in future, not to encourage, receive, or harbour any slave whatever: forfeiture of lands for harbouring; and carrying off the island a capital crime.*

9. *Persons guilty of capital crimes against the English are to be delivered up.*
10. *In time of danger to be aiding and assisting to his Majesty's subjects against their enemies.*
11. *The three chains to remain to his Majesty.*
12. *All conspiracies and plots against his Majesty, or his government, to be made known to his Governor, or other civil magistrates.*
13. *Leave (if required) to be given to the Charaibs to depart this island, with their families and properties, and assistance in transportation.*
14. *Free access to the quarters allowed to the Charaibs, to be given to persons properly empowered in pursuit of runaway slaves, and safe conduct afforded them.*
15. *Deserters from his Majesty's service (if any) and runaway slaves from the French, to be delivered up, in order that they may be returned to their masters.*
16. *The chiefs of the different quarters are to render an account of the names and number of the inhabitants of their respective districts.*
17. *The chiefs, and other Charaibs, inhabitants, to attend the Governor when required for his Majesty's service.*
18. *All possible facility, consistence with the laws of Great Britain, to be afforded to the Charaibs in the sale of their produce, and in their trade to the different British islands.*
19. *Entire liberty of fishing, as well on the coast of St. Vincent's, as at the neighbouring keys, to be allowed them.*
20. *In all cases, when the Charaibs conceive themselves injured by his Majesty's other subjects, or other persons, and are desirous of having reference to the laws, or to the civil magistrates, an agent, being one of his Majesty's natural born subjects, may be employed by themselves, or if more agreeable at his Majesty's cost.*
21. *No strangers, or white persons, to be permitted to settle among the Charaibs, without permission obtained in writing from the Governor.*
22. *These articles subscribed to and observe, the Charaibs are to be pardoned, secured, and fixed in their property, according to his Majesty's direction given, and*

all past offences forgot.

23. *After the signing of this treaty, should any of the Charaibs refuse to observe the condition of it, they are to be considered and treated as enemies by both parties, and the most effectual means used to reduce them.*
24. *The Charaibs shall take the following oath, viz.*
We A.B. do swear, in the name of the immortal God, and Christ Jesus, that we will bear true allegiance to his Majesty George the Third, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith; and that we will pay due obedience to the laws of Great Britain, and the Island of St. Vincent's; and will well and truly observe every article of the treaty concluded between his said Majesty and the Charaibs; and we do acknowledge, that his said majesty is rightful Lord and Sovereign of all the Island of St. Vincent's, and that the lands held by the Charaibs are granted through his Majesty's clemency.

On the part of his Majesty,
W. DALRYMPLE

On the part of the Charaibs.

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| <i>Jean Baptiste.</i> | <i>Simon.</i> |
| <i>Dufont Begot.</i> | <i>Lalime, Senior.</i> |
| <i>Boyordell.</i> | <i>Bauamont.</i> |
| <i>Dirang.</i> | <i>Justin Bauamont.</i> |
| <i>Chatoyer.</i> | <i>Matthieu.</i> |
| <i>Douncre Baramont.</i> | <i>Jean Louis Pacquin.</i> |
| <i>Lalime, Junior.</i> | <i>Gadel Goibau.</i> |
| <i>Broca.</i> | <i>John Baptiste.</i> |
| <i>Saioe.</i> | <i>Lonen.</i> |
| <i>Francois Laron.</i> | <i>Boyudon.</i> |
| <i>Saint Laron.</i> | <i>Du Vallet.</i> |
| <i>Anisette.</i> | <i>Boucharie.</i> |
| <i>Clement.</i> | <i>Deruba Babilliard.</i> |
| <i>Bigott.</i> | <i>Canaia.</i> |

The lands within the orange line (some 27,628 acres) were confirmed by the Treaty of 1763 to belong to the Caribs. The lands between the blue line and the sea were ceded to the settlers, who held the remainder of the island.

La Soufrière

Carib lands

Kingstown

