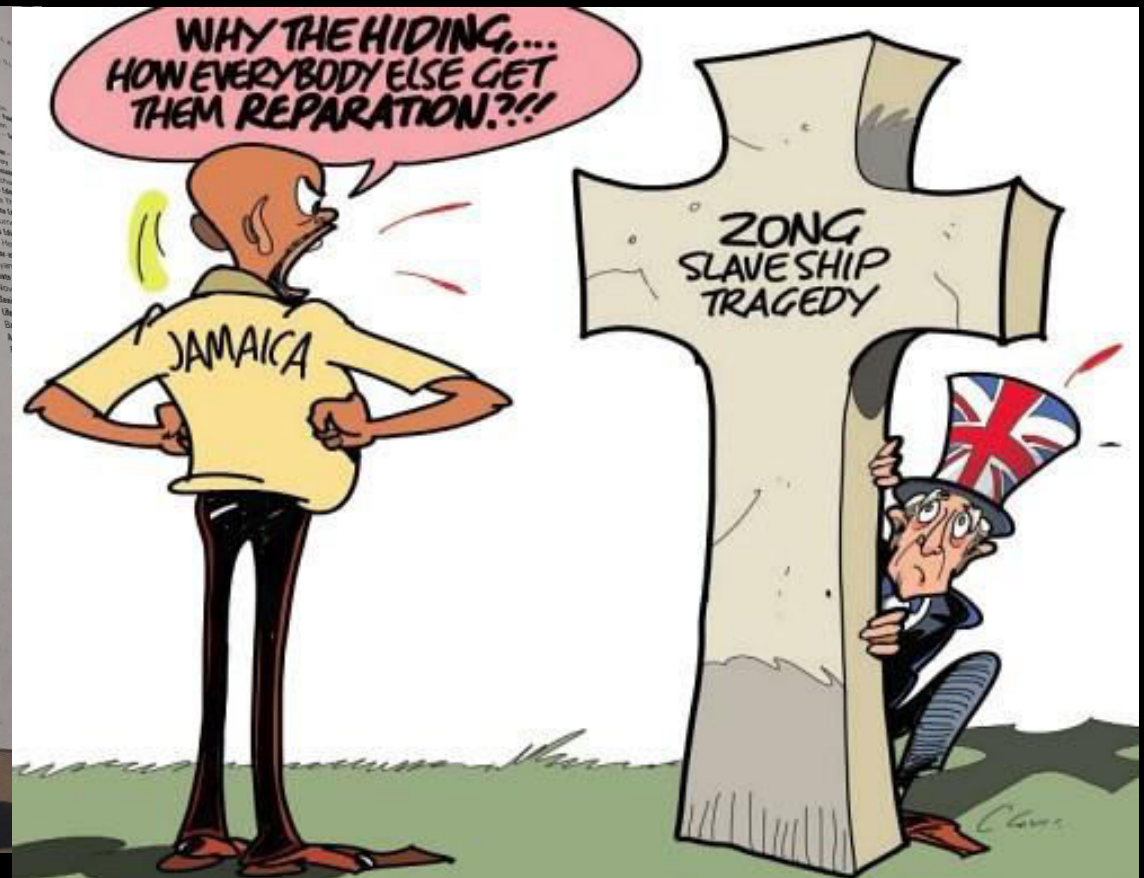




THE REPARATION MOVEMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN

PROF. VERENE A. SHEPHERD, CENTRE FOR
REPARATION RESEARCH
NOVEMBER 14 2019.

IN THE NEWS



A UNIVERSITY OWNS UP TO ITS PAST

- £200 M in endowments from slavery money (inc. from a St Thomas planter – Robert Bogle)
- As Glasgow University owns up to slavery wealth, others urged to follow

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ACT

- **Georgetown students vote to raise tuition by \$27.20 per semester to pay slavery reparations in a non-binding referendum (66% for)**
- **The school's undergraduates voted Thursday on the referendum, which would increase tuition by \$27.20 per semester to create a fund benefiting descendants of the 272 enslaved Africans sold to pay off the Georgetown Jesuits' debt -- a move that saved the university financially.**



OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

- PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY (27M USD)
- HARVARD LAW SCHOOL (ANTIGUA CLAIMING FROM THEM)
- BRISTOL (STUDYING THE ISSUE)
- CAMBRIDGE (STUDYING THE ISSUE)
- JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE (WORKING GROUP PUT TOGETHER)

US DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES TALK REPARATION



- **KAMALA HARRIS SAYS
SLAVERY LED TO UNTREATED
'PHYSIOLOGICAL
OUTCOMES,' SUPPORTS
REPARATIONS AS MENTAL
HEALTH ISSUE**



WHAT IS REPARATION?

- Comes from the Latin word for “repair”
- Means redressing a wrong which has been done
- Removing the long-term effects of that wrong or crime upon the victims and their descendants.

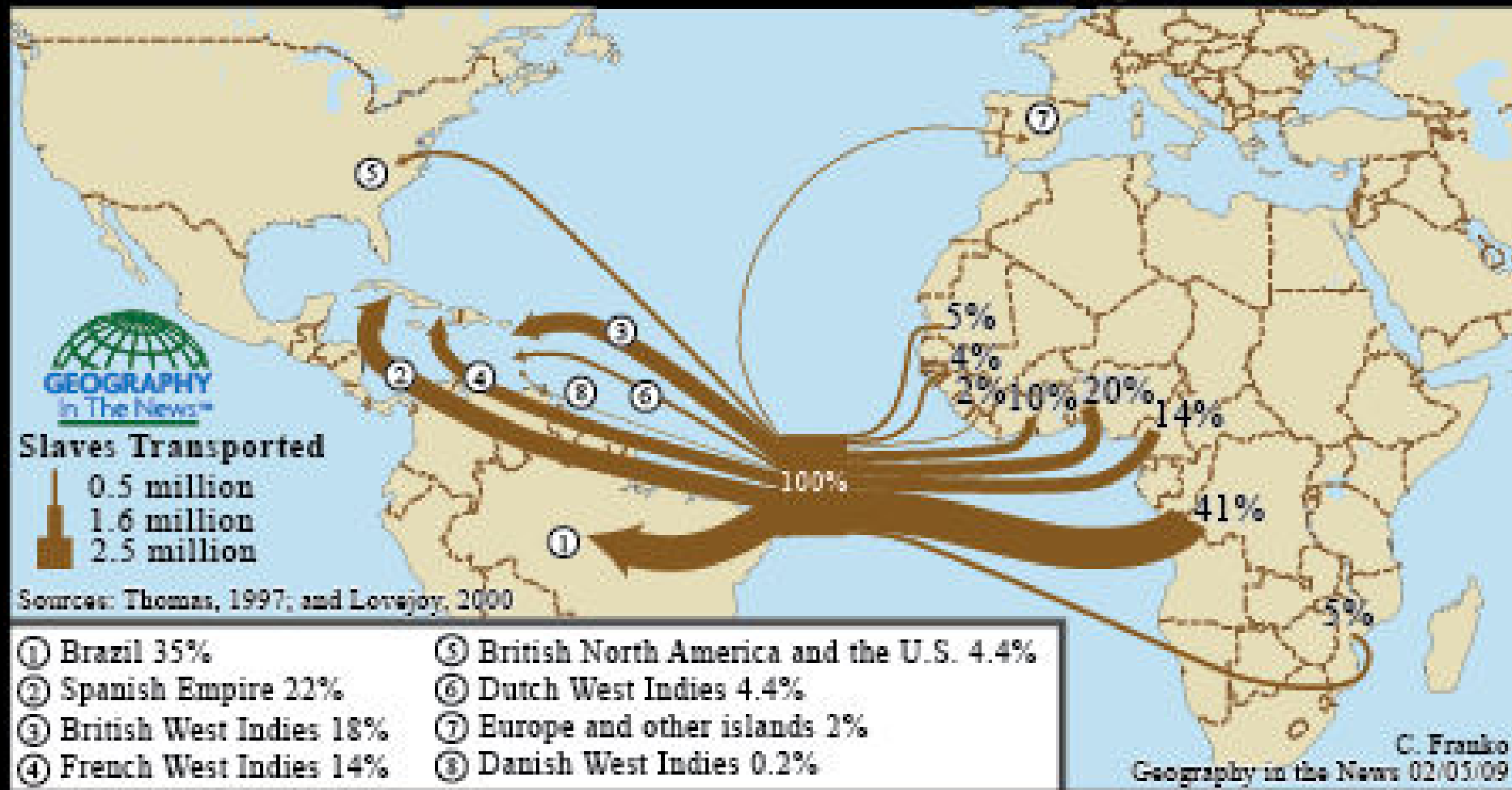
WHAT WAS THE CRIME?

In the case of the Caribbean, there are different components:

- Genocide against indigenous peoples
- Capture, sale & forced relocation of Africans
- Chattel enslavement (Ma'afa or Ma'angamizi – great tragedy)
- Forced Indian indentureship
- Murder/harsh punishment of those who resisted
- Unjust post-slavery & post-colonial policies.

ROUTES

Remembering the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade



| | Disembarkation | of Disembarkation | | | ty Rate |
|-----------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----|-----|---------|
| ied | Trinidad, port unspecified | 1606 | 588 | 470 | 20.07% |
| | Trinidad, port unspecified | 1779 | 25 | 23 | 8.00% |
| | Trinidad, port unspecified | 1788 | 109 | 8 | 92.66% |
| | Trinidad, port unspecified | 1807 | 192 | 173 | 9.90% |
| | Trinidad, port unspecified | 1790 | 150 | 139 | 7.33% |
| ulf rt | Trinidad, port unspecified | 1786 | 381 | 390 | -2.36% |
| | Trinidad, port unspecified | 1807 | 419 | 377 | 10.02% |

| e | Origin | Voyage ID | Ship Name | Arrival | Embarkation | Disembarkation |
|---|--------|-----------|---------------------------------|---------|-------------|----------------|
| | | 2955 | San Joao (a) Segunda Rosalia | 1826 | Lagos, Onim | Freetown |
| | | 2347 | Ana | 1825 | | Freetown |
| | | 2954 | Paquete de Bahia | 1825 | | Freetown |
| | | 2954 | Paquete de Bahia | 1825 | | Freetown |
| | | 2952 | Bom Jesus dos Navegantes | 1825 | Lagos, Onim | Freetown |
| | | 2952 | Bom Jesus dos Navegantes | 1825 | Lagos, Onim | Freetown |
| | | 2946 | Avizo | 1824 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown |
| | | 2970 | Dos Amigos | 1827 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown |
| | | 2970 | Dos Amigos | 1827 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown |
| | | 2970 | Dos Amigos | 1827 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown |
| | | 2970 | Dos Amigos | 1827 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown |
| | | 2977 | Conceição de Maria | 1827 | | Freetown |
| | | 2983 | Henriquetta | 1827 | Lagos, Onim | Freetown |
| | | 2965 | Principe de Guinea | 1826 | | Freetown |
| | | 2965 | Principe de Guinea | 1826 | | Freetown |
| | | 2965 | Principe de Guinea | 1826 | | Freetown |
| | | 2965 | Principe de Guinea | 1826 | | Freetown |

THEY EVEN TOOK BABIES!

- BABIES (ELTIS 2.0 DATABASE)

| ID | Name | Age yr | Height (in) | Sex/Age | Origin | Voyage ID | Ship Name | Arrival | Embarkation | Disembarkation | African Origins |
|-------|-------------|-----------|----------------|---------|--------|--------------|---------------------------------|---------|-------------|----------------|----------------------|
| 7934 | Daykussa | 1 | 36.0 | Boy | | 2955 | San Joao (a) Segunda Rosalia | 1826 | Lagos, Onim | Freetown | View |
| 6709 | Mangah | 1 | 30.0 | Boy | | 2347 | Ana | 1825 | | Freetown | View |
| 6956 | Bowsenee | 1 | 26.0 | Boy | | 2954 | Paquete de Bahia | 1825 | | Freetown | View |
| 6958 | Pyesor | 1 | 26.0 | Boy | | 2954 | Paquete de Bahia | 1825 | | Freetown | View |
| 5973 | Ahjarme | 1 | 26.0 | Boy | | 2952 | Bom Jesus dos Navegantes | 1825 | Lagos, Onim | Freetown | View |
| 5975 | Ahkenhaybay | 1 | 26.5 | Boy | | 2952 | Bom Jesus dos Navegantes | 1825 | Lagos, Onim | Freetown | View |
| 4927 | Omborloo | 1 | 32.0 | Boy | | 2946 | Avizo | 1824 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown | View |
| 10559 | Banjukoo | 1 | 35.0 | Girl | | 2970 | Dos Amigos | 1827 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown | View |
| 10561 | Isayto | 1 | 32.0 | Boy | | 2970 | Dos Amigos | 1827 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown | View |
| 10565 | Asaijo | 1 | 28.0 | Boy | | 2970 | Dos Amigos | 1827 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown | View |
| 10567 | Duballay | 1 | 30.0 | Girl | | 2970 | Dos Amigos | 1827 | Badagry/Apa | Freetown | View |
| 10812 | Allubah | 1 | 26.0 | Boy | | 2977 | Conceição de Maria | 1827 | | Freetown | View |
| 11752 | Morai | 1 | 34.0 | Boy | | 2983 | Henriquetta | 1827 | Lagos, Onim | Freetown | View |
| 8629 | Kissee | 1 | 28.0 | Boy | | 2965 | Principe de Guinea | 1826 | | Freetown | View |
| 8631 | Guah | 1 | 24.0 | Boy | | 2965 | Principe de Guinea | 1826 | | Freetown | View |
| 8649 | Acocoa | 1 | 29.0 | Girl | | 2965 | Principe de Guinea | 1826 | | Freetown | View |
| 8657 | Lajay | 1 | 30.0 | Girl | | 2965 | Principe de Guinea | 1826 | | Freetown | View |
| 8872 | Bosovee | 1 | 55.0 | Girl | | 2965 | Principe de Guinea | 1826 | | Freetown | View |
| 12782 | Awooshue | 1 | 32.0 | Boy | | 3012 | Vingador | 1828 | Lagos, Onim | Freetown | View |
| 39071 | Oseeahoo | 1 | 49.0 | Girl | | 3066 | Esperança | 1836 | Bonny | Freetown | View |

| Origin | Voyage ID | Ship Name | Arrival | Embarkation | Disembarkation |
|----------|-----------|-----------------------|---------|--|----------------|
| | 7510 | Gertrudis la Preciosa | 1814 | Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea Islands, port unspecified | Freetown |
| | 941 | Gallito | 1829 | Rio Pongo | Havana |
| | 941 | Gallito | 1829 | Rio Pongo | Havana |
| | 941 | Gallito | 1829 | Rio Pongo | Havana |
| | 941 | Gallito | 1829 | Rio Pongo | Havana |
| | 500022 | Seized at Rio Pongus | 1814 | Rio Pongo | Freetown |
| | 500022 | Seized at Rio Pongus | 1814 | Rio Pongo | Freetown |
| | 941 | Gallito | 1829 | Rio Pongo | Havana |
| | 2957 | Netuno | 1826 | Anomabu | Freetown |
| | 2482 | Norma | 1835 | Bonny | Freetown |
| | 2924 | Juliana da Praca | 1822 | Porto Novo | Freetown |
| Balanlah | 2898 | Conde de Villa Flor | 1822 | Bissau | Freetown |
| | | Seized in | | | |



SUMMARY

- The Caribbean accounted for about 30% of total trafficked Africans to the Americas
- The British Caribbean accounted for approximately 2-4 million, just over 1.2M to Jamaica up to 1808.
- Between 1626 and 1808, ca.3,429 voyages to Jamaica



LONG GENEALOGY

- Started by enslaved Africans (resistance)
- Post-slavery activism by freed people for social justice
- Rastafari & civil society
- Individual politicians (Ralph Gonsalves; Mike Henry; Dudley Thompson; Bernie Grant, Pearnell Charles e.g.)
- Academics and diplomats (Walter Rodney, Randall Robinson; Sir Ellis Clarke; Hilary Beckles)

LONG GENEALOGY

- Jamaica Reparation Movement post Durban 2001 (Blake Hanna)
- NCR Jamaica (2007-present); debates in Jamaica Parliament & UK in 2007
- Enter CARICOM 2013
- 12 National committees/regional sensitization
- The UN (WGEPAD)/DECADE/DDPA

CARICOM'S 2013 DECISION

- In July 2013, at their 34th Meeting held in Trinidad & Tobago, the Heads of Government CARICOM, shocked the world, not just the Region, by aligning themselves publicly with the reparation movement
- Heads agreed to set up a CARICOM Reparation Commission; urged States to establish National Committees on Reparation in each CARICOM State where none existed (patterning Jamaica which had first established a National Commission on Reparation in 2009)
- Mandate: to establish the moral, ethical and legal case for the payment of reparation by the former colonial European countries, to the nations and people of the Caribbean Community, for native genocide, the transatlantic trafficking in Africans and a racialized system of chattel enslavement.

THE REGIONAL STRUCTURE

- CARICOM Reparations Commission (CRC) is led by a Core Committee
- Comprises Chairs of National Committees and a representative of the University of the West Indies (UWI).
- The Core Committee and the Chairs of National Committees report directly to a Prime Ministerial Sub-committee on Reparations, comprising the Heads of Government of Barbados (Chair), St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Haiti, Guyana and Suriname who would provide political oversight. To date there are about 12 National Committees.
- UWI to establish a Centre for Reparation Research as the educational arm of the CRC (done in 2017)

MEMBERS OF THE CRC





DURBAN DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION (DDPA)

“Historical injustices have undeniably contributed to the poverty, underdevelopment, marginalization, social exclusion, economic disparities, instability and insecurity that affect many people in different parts of the world, in particular in developing countries;”



JUSTIFICATION

European governments:

1. Were owners and traders of enslaved Africans;
2. Instructed genocidal actions upon indigenous communities;
3. Created the legal, financial and fiscal policies necessary for the enslavement of Africans;
4. Defined and enforced African enslavement and native genocide as in their 'national interests';



JUSTIFICATION

5. Refused compensation to the enslaved with the ending of their enslavement

6. Imposed a further one hundred years of racial apartheid upon the emancipated

7. Have refused to acknowledge such crimes or to compensate victims and their descendants.

A PROFITABLE BUSINESS FOR ROYALTY

- Royal families throughout Europe developed financial interests in the trade
- Monarchs from King Louis XVI of France, King George 1 of England, King Christian IV of Denmark and King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had mutual interest in the trade's prosperity.
- State-sponsored companies, from Portugal's Cacheu, Maranhao, and Pernambuco Companies to Holland's West India Company, and Britain's Royal Adventurers, Royal African Company and South Sea Company were granted exclusive licenses to operate in the trans-shipment of millions of Africans.



A ROYAL AFFAIR

- With royal patronage, and the need to ensure a return on investment, the level of organisation that went into the capture and subsequent enslavement of Africans was unmatched.



BENEFIT TO BRITISH ECONOMY ALONE

- ◆ BRITAIN EARNED **£5,000,000 PER YEAR** FROM SUGAR DURING THE PEAK OF THE INDUSTRY.
- ◆ OVER A CENTURY ALONE BRITAIN MADE **£500,000,000** EQUALED TO **OVER £2.5 TRILLION**.



THE PRICE OF FREEDOM: COMPENSATION CLAIMS

- 46,000 enslavers compensated £20M at Emancipation (**NOW £16.78b/USD\$23B**).
- 40%-50% of the £20M stayed in UK/Other 50% was distributed among planters in the colonies.
- £27M more through Apprenticeship.

THE BIG PAYOUT

- £ 40%-50% of the £20M compensation money stayed in the UK, and was distributed among 3,000 people
- £ The other 50% was distributed among planters in the colonies 16, 114 claims were filed for enslaved people in Jamaica by enslavers in the USA, UK and throughout the Atlantic World, totalling approximately £10.98 million pounds
- £ Of those 16,114 claims, 13,000 were filed by enslavers resident in Jamaica and their pay-out was £4.10 M or £3B in today's money.
- £ Over 100 claims were submitted by members of the clergy.

PLANTER COMPENSATION IN THE CONTEXT OF “NOTHING BUT FREEDOM”

| Dominica | 45 | 8 | 7 ¼ | 14,384 | 275,923 | 12 | 8 ½ |
|-----------------|-----|----|------|--------|-----------|----|-------|
| Barbados | 48 | 1 | 3 ½ | 82,807 | 1,711,345 | 19 | 7 |
| Grenada | 59 | 6 | 0 | 23,536 | 616,444 | 17 | 7 |
| St. Vincent | 58 | 6 | 8 | 22,997 | 592,508 | 18 | 0 ¼ |
| Tobago | 45 | 12 | 0 ½ | 11,621 | 234,064 | 4 | 113/4 |
| St. Lucia | 56 | 18 | 7 | 13,348 | 335,627 | 15 | 113/4 |
| Trinidad | 105 | 4 | 5 ¼ | 22,359 | 1,029,119 | 1 | 3 ½ |
| British Guiana | 114 | 11 | 53/4 | 80,915 | 4,297,117 | 10 | 6 ½ |
| C. Of Good Hope | 73 | 9 | 11 | 38,427 | 1,247,401 | 0 | 73/4 |
| Mauritius | 69 | 14 | 3 | 68,618 | 2,112,632 | 10 | 113/4 |

COMPENSATION-TRINIDAD

| Names | No. Claims | Property | Enslaved Africans | Comp'n (£) | Modern Equivalent (£) in millions |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| Anne Penelope Dennistoun | 3 | Friendship/Exchange/ Belvidere | 253 | 12,544 | 10.8 |
| Marguerite Besson | 2 | La Fortunee | 102 | 5,245 | 4.52 |
| Nanette Riviere | 1 | St. Augustin | 87 | 4,459 | 3.83 |
| Jane Rose Onn | 1 | Aranjuez | 98 | 4,268 | 3.66 |
| Charlotte Lushington | 1 | Union Estate | 94 | 4,231 | 3.63 |
| Marie Reine Fortin Philip | 1 | Concord | 77 | 3,922 | 3.36 |
| Eliza Hunter (nee Eccles) | 1 | | 57 | 3,827 | 3.28 |
| Caroline Cachard | 1 | Peru | 60 | 3,277 | 2.81 |
| Jean Eugene de Lapeyrouze | 1 | La Paix | 60 | 3,043 | 2.61 |
| Mary Dow | 1 | | 59 | 3,016 | 2.59 |
| Total | 13 | | 947 | 47,832 | 41.09 |

WHO ELSE GOT THE MONEY?

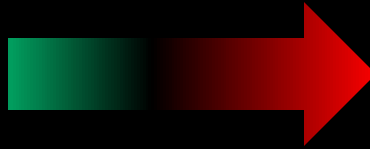
- Ancestors of former UK Prime Minister, David Cameron,
- Former Minister Douglas Hogg
- Authors Graham Greene and George Orwell
- Poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning
- Chairman of the Arts Council, Peter Bazalgette.
- One of the nation's oldest banking families, the Barings
- The second Earl of Harewood, Henry Lascelles, an ancestor of the Queen of England's cousin
- George Orwell's great-grandfather, Charles Blair, received £4,442, equal to £3m today, for the 218 enslaved Africans he owned.

#HISTORY FACTS – WHO GOT THE MONEY?



Sir James Duff
1752–1839

Ancestor of:



David Cameron
Current British Prime Minister

1. 2nd Earl of Fife
2. Compensated £3M for 202 enslaved Africans at Grange Plantation (Jamaica)

SOME WANT CASH SETTLEMENT

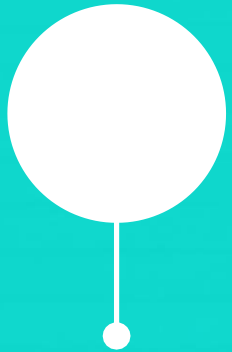


- Unpaid Labour = £4 trillion.
- Labour Cost = £4 trillion.
- Benefit to British economy = £2.5 trillion. Human cost (pain and suffering est.) £1 trillion. The total monetary reparation - an estimated £7.5 trillion owed by UK alone!

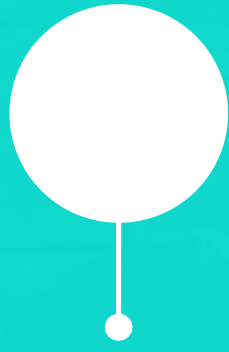
A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME



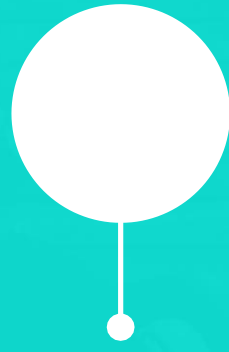
CARICOM
REPARATIONS COMMISSION



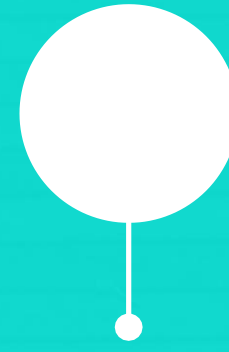
Full Formal
Apology



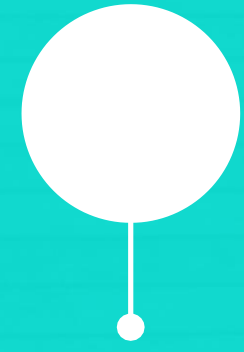
Indigenous
Peoples
Development
Programme



Repatriation
for those who
choose it

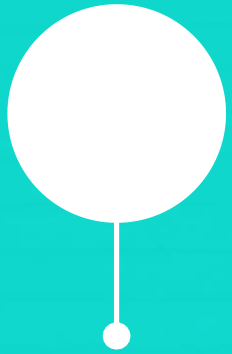


Building of
Cultural
Institutions

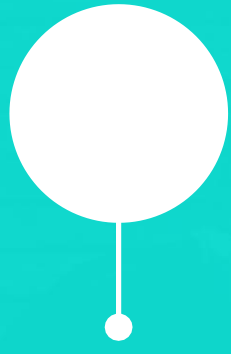


Attention to
the Public
Health Crisis

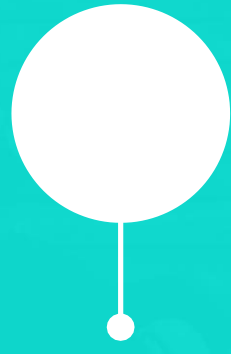
A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME



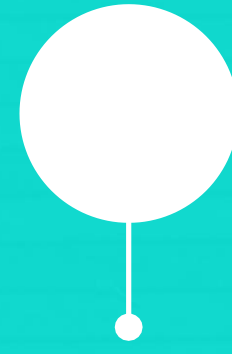
Illiteracy
Eradication



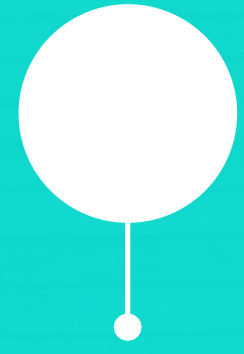
African
Knowledge
Programme



Psychological
Rehabilitation



Technology
Transfer



Debt
Cancellation
& monetary
compensation

ARGUMENTS FOR REPARATION

- **A defendant (or perpetrator) exists:** There is no doubt who is the defendant in the case of Jamaica, the wider Caribbean and the African Diaspora. There is incontrovertible evidence that European countries were heavily involved in human trafficking, and in the deaths of millions of enslaved Africans, which subsequently led to the criminal enrichment of their societies.
- There is no denying the fact that plantation slavery provided the scaffold for Britain's industrial advancement. In other words, the evidence shows the considerable value of enslaved people's labour to British/European economic development.

ARGUMENTS FOR REPARATION

- **The injustice is well documented:** Scholars worldwide have presented evidence of the brutal nature of the Ma'angamizi and the demographic disaster that was plantation slavery. For example, a total of about 5.5 million Africans were trafficked to the British-colonized Caribbean over two centuries; yet in 1834, just 800,000 remained.
- **The victims are identifiable as a distinct group:** The indigenous Caribbean people who survived the harsh policies of European countries and the descendants of enslaved Africans constitute identifiable communities. Should they decide to do so, descendants of indentured labourers, some of whom experienced forced relocation and violations of contractual obligations, also have a claim.



ARGUMENTS FOR REPARATION

- **The descendants of victimised groups continue to suffer harm:** The descendants of native Caribbean people and the descendants of enslaved Africans' post-slavery experiences are poverty, marginalisation, and social exclusion.
- This remains true today as the institutionalised racism of the colonial era has had a debilitating impact on Africans and people of African descent. Colonialism has economically disfranchised Africans and people of African descent.

ARGUMENTS FOR REPARATION

- **The right to reparation is recognised by International Law.** This has been outlined by the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ), the predecessor of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in its *Factory at Chorzow [Merits]* decision.
- **There is also precedent for the payment of reparation.** Perhaps the most blatant example of historic reparation is that of Haiti where under an 1825 agreement, that country was forced to pay 150 million francs (about US \$21 billion today). The second is that of reparation to the British planters at Emancipation. Reparation for the descendants of enslaved Africans is possible.



OPPOSING VOICES

- Too long ago in the past
- There are no victims/they are all dead
- Descendants cannot claim on behalf of their ancestors
- The majority of Caribbean people are not in favour of the movement
- Caribbean people are opposed to repatriation
- It was Africans who sold our ancestors
- Too complicated a matter
- Governments cannot pay




JUST NOT RIGHT THOUGH!!!

“An administering power...is not entitled to extract for centuries all that can be got out of a colony and when that has been done to relieve itself of its obligations...Justice requires that reparation be made to the country that has suffered the ravages of colonialism...”

- Sir Ellis Clarke, 1964.

STATES INVOLVED IN THE CLAIM

- BELGIUM 
- DENMARK 
- FRANCE 
- GERMANY 
- NETHERLANDS 
- NORWAY 
- SPAIN 
- SWEDEN 
- SWITZERLAND 
- PORTUGAL
- UNITED KINGDOM

WHY NOT AFRICA?

- Answer the following: in deciding:
 - who conceptualized the TTA and Slavery?
 - who provided the capital for the enterprise?
 - who developed industries to service the enterprise?
 - who outfitted ships with supplies, weapons and crew?
 - who bought enslaved Africans?
 - who shipped captives via the middle passage to the Americas and other markets?
 - Who build the forts and barracoons?
 - Who killed countless Africans (inc through deliberate drowning as on the Zong?)
 - - who made the profits? Who used Africans on western plantations/profited?

“The British Government
does not believe that
reparations are the answer”



Former UK Prime Minister, David
Cameron, in his response of April 2016

- “It would be better for Jamaica to look ahead and to maximise its potential through robust trade rather than to peer into history”; that his recent visit to the region “is not to look back in history, but to help chart an even richer association between Britain and Jamaica”



Lord Tariq Ahmad, British Minister of State with responsibility for the Caribbean, Commonwealth and the United Nations



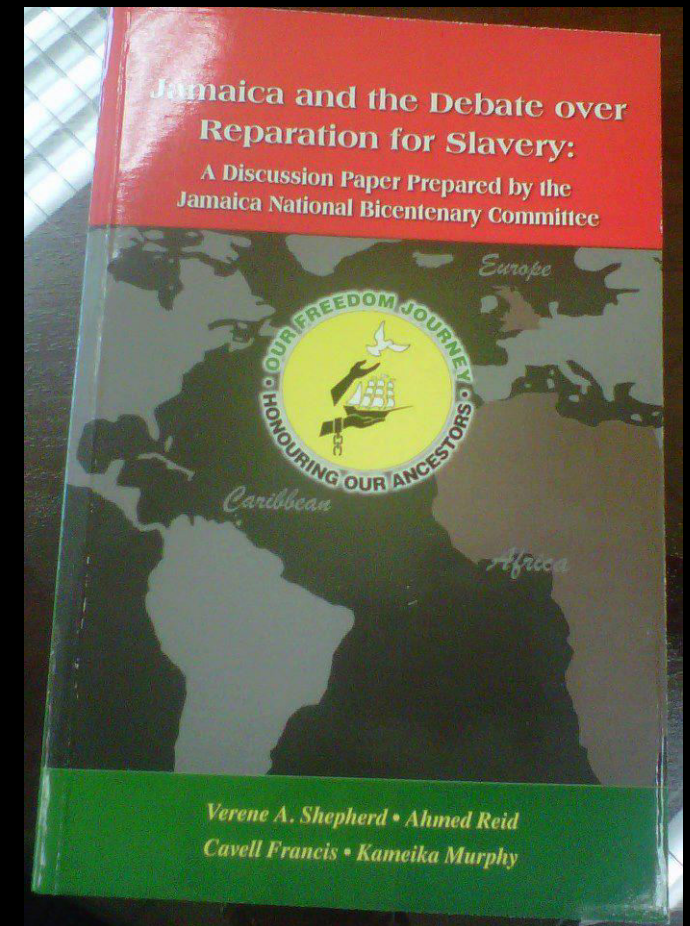
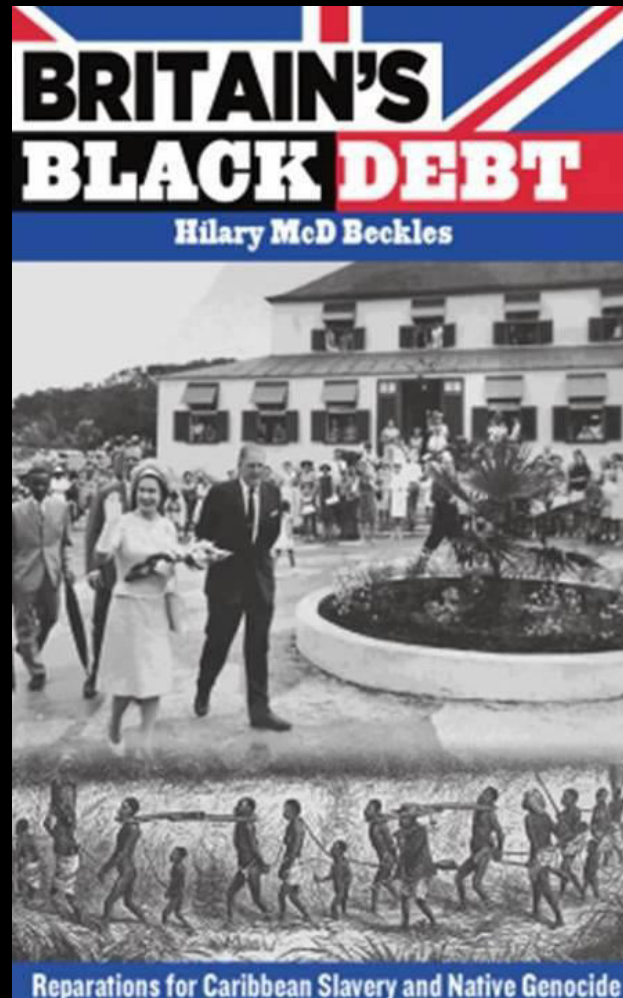
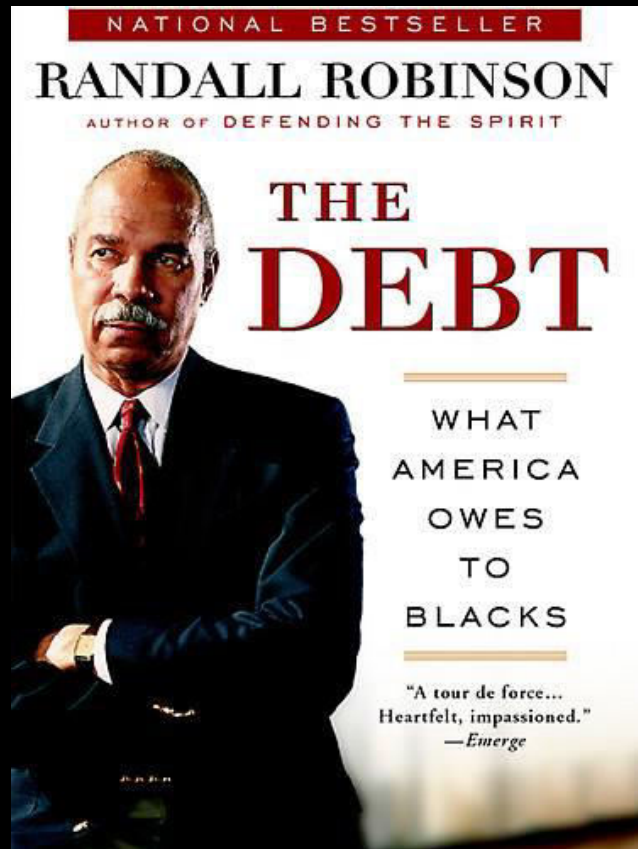
BENEFITS OF REPARATION

- **Reconciliation between victims and beneficiaries**
- **Can restore equity in social relations, equality before the law, and justice within the fabric of human diversity that typifies humanity**
- **Heal, atone, and bring closure to the human tragedy of mass slavery**
- **Restore a higher moral order by removing the shame and guilt that persistently poison the relations between descendants on all sides of the crime.**

MAIN TAKEAWAYS?

- ◆ PROOF EXISTS TO JUSTIFY CLAIMS FOR REPARATORY JUSTICE (INC WHO TO GO AFTER)
- ◆ THE MORAL ARGUMENT IS STRONG
- ◆ THE LEGAL ARGUMENT IS STRONG
- ◆ THERE IS PRECEDENT FOR PAY-OUTS

SOURCES





THANKS FOR YOUR TIME AND
ATTENTION!

- Want to contact the Centre for Reparation Research?
- Email: reparation.research@uwimona.edu.jm