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COVER PAGE

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Monuments of Rebellion against Caribbean Enslavement: An
Appraisal

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Abstract

The main subject matter of this project is monuments which have been erected in honour of slave rebellions. The monuments which have been selected for examination are the Desenkaden Monument and Tula Kenepa Monuments in Curacao, Bussa Statue in Barbados, 1763 Monument or Cuffy monument in Guyana and the Le Marron Inconnu and Toussaint L’Ouverture monuments in Haiti. The monuments will be evaluated by looking at the manner in which they have been represented, an assessment of the artist who designed and created the monument as well as the dimension and symbolic designs on them. The public responses to the monuments will also be evaluated. Through these evaluations, the monuments’ importance in understanding to the Caribbean’s past will be revealed and its honoring of slave rebels will also be highlighted.
**Thesis Title:**

“Monuments of Rebellion against Caribbean Enslavement: An Appraisal”

**Thesis Statement:**

The central position of this paper is that monuments existing today which honour the leaders and other participants in enslaved rebellions are important and ought to be examined since they provide an understanding of the past and honour those who fought for freedom.

**Objectives:**

One of the fundamental objectives of this study is to assess the Desenkaden Monument and Tula Kenepa Monuments in Curacao, Bussa Statue in Barbados, 1763 Monument or Cuffy monument in Guyana and the Le Marron Inconnu and Toussaint L’Ouverture by Richmond Barthe monuments in Haiti.

Another goal is to determine why the monuments were created and by whom.

This research will also disclose the symbolic meaning of the monuments and how they relate to the rebellions and the leaders of the rebellions.

Finally, it is the aim of the research to document and analyse various reactions by the public to the monuments mentioned in the research.
Literature Review

*Visualizing Slavery: Art across the African diaspora* offers insight into the symbolisation and the importance of the monuments. The book looks at the representation of artwork, including sculptures, of transatlantic slavery across the African Diaspora. The book is co-edited by Celeste-Marie Bernier and Hannah Durkin. Bernier is a Professor at the University of Nottingham, teaching African American Studies as well as a Co-editor for the *Journal of American Studies* which is published by the Cambridge University Press. Durkin is a Lecturer in Literature and Film at New Castle University in the United Kingdom. Their publication interrogates and analyses the influence of African artwork and how it aids in dispersing culture across the African Diaspora’s visual art industry.

*Visualizing Slavery: Art across the African diaspora* is useful for this project due to its information on two monuments discussed in the project. It analyses the Cuffy monument in Guyana that was dedicated to the Berbice rebellion of 1763 and the Toussaint L’Ouverture statue created by Richmond Barthe in Haiti. The book gives important information as it looked at the creator’s/sculptor’s symbolic intent when creating the Toussaint monument. Information of the sculptor’s influence and Afro-centric philosophy is important to understanding the statue’s design and meaning. Leon Wainwright, an author of one of the chapters in the book, comments on the importance of honouring and analysing the artwork because it “shows how Guyana looks back on its past.”\(^1\) The book adequately gives information on how the statue was honoured. This allows for the understanding of how the historical event and the leaders of these events were

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honoured. It shows how the people of the countries remembered their history and how important it was to them. It gives insight into the religious and national connection to the statue and to the historical event the statue represents.

In a chapter written by Hannah Durkin, focus is given to the significance of the Toussaint statue, created by Richmond Barthe, to the Haitian nation and the influence of the past on the present. It names the statue’s creator and gives its location in Haiti. This is useful for understanding the importance of the statue, as it resides near the National palace, already locating the statue’s place of honour among the Haitians. The chapter looks at the statue’s endurance as it stood erect during and after Haiti’s 2010 earthquake. Through this Durkin analysed the way in which the sculpture spoke for and to the Haitian people by being a representation of their struggle and their ability to endure and stay strong. Durkin also analyses the intention of the sculptor of the Toussaint statue located near to the Haitian national palace and the reception of the public to the sculpture. It also gives information on the creator’s style when producing artwork, critically important to analysing the sculpture’s symbolisation. A great amount of analysis is given on the representation of the monument. However, not much analysis is given on the Haitian response to the monuments. My project will attempt to close this gap.

Another piece of literature that contributes to the discourse on enslaved monuments in the Caribbean is David Lambert’s, “Patterns of Prejudice. Part of the blood and dream surrogation, memory and the national hero in the post-colonial Caribbean”. David Lambert is a professor of History at the University of Warwick in the United Kingdom and the former Director of Yesu Persaud Centre for Caribbean Studies, a department of the University of Warwick. The research paper looks at the Caribbean attempts at filling the voids, culturally and socially, as a result of colonisation. He analyses the processes and methods used in the decolonized Caribbean’s nation
building after getting independence from the metropolitan countries. He terms it “surrogation”, an ‘articulation of history and memory.’ Through this frame of thought, he analyses the conflict and division which arise when the decolonized Caribbean create or claim a National Conflict.

This study is important to the project as it analyses the surrogation of the Caribbean’s national heroes by looking at the Emancipation/Bussa monument in Barbados. The project evaluates the Bussa monument located in Barbados and its historical importance and the importance for the Bajans. It gives background information of the creation of the statue. The research paper by Lambert gives an in-depth analysis of the symbolic meaning of the statue, looking at the posture and material elements such as broken chain, that is part of the statue. He interrogates the statue’s link with the Afrocentric and the Barbadian national identity. It analyses the Barbadian reception of the statue as well as the historian debate over the use of Bussa as Barbados’ national hero. Hillary Beckles’ and Jerome Handler’s opinions on Bussa as a National Hero and the implication of his statue as a National monument and representation are presented in Lambert’s work. This analysis is important to the study as it contributes to pinpointing the importance of the monument to the study of history and the reception of the statue by the professional and public worlds. It also gives vital information on the level of honour that the historical event which the statue embodies attracts well as the level of honour reserved for the person captured in the statue.

which the slaves resisted the institution of slavery. It also engages in the analysis of the cultural and religious ideologies that influenced the desires of the enslaved to revolt and gain their freedom. The book offered valuable insight into the revolts and rebellions that the thesis specifically focuses on such servile wars as the Haitian Revolution and Bussa’s Rebellion in Barbados. It also mentions and assesses the debate of Hilary Beckles and Jerome Handler on Bussa as a national hero. This gives another perspective on the monument’s reception by an academic scholar. Jerome’s analysis of the revolutions also questions the relevance of the monuments to the revolution. In doing this, the significance of the monument is revealed and can be assessed.

**Limitations in Conducting the Study**

There are not many published sources available for the study of Caribbean slave monuments. Accessing sources becomes even more difficult when the question of language is considered. This can be seen, for example, with monuments from the French and the Dutch speaking territories for which most of the information is written in Dutch and French. For English speakers, translation of the information is difficult and costly to acquire._In this case language acts as a barrier for those who speak English only. Another issue in conducting this research is the lack of studies or analysis done on the importance of these monuments. While some sources identify the monuments, deep and informative analysis on them are lacking or non-existent. This was a major motivation for undertaking the research. In researching this topic, I wish to add to the discourse about how these monuments have a powerful role in educating the locals and foreigners about the history of Caribbean slave revolts. This research also wants to highlight the
importance of the monuments in representing or symbolising freedom. This would add to the present discourse on the topic.

**Methodology**

The study looks at four Caribbean territories where monuments honouring the leaders of slave rebellions are located. The study is confined to the Caribbean to keep within the requirements of Hist. 3003 – Caribbean Studies. The territories examined in the study are Haiti, Curacao, Guyana and Barbados. These territories were chosen to be representative of the linguistic diversity of the Caribbean; Dutch, French and English as well as to underscore the fact that enslaved rebellion erupted both in large and small territories. The monuments that will be evaluated are monuments that have been erected to commemorate and honour the slave revolts, only. The study, due to the word limit will only focus on the four Caribbean nations mentioned. There are many statues that honour slave rebellions but analysis of all these monuments would require extensive research beyond the limit permitted by this project. The study is also limited to monuments where published and reliable data is available. The study of monuments and its importance to the Caribbean is not a widely researched topic.

The methodology that is used to collect data is qualitative in nature. The qualitative research method that was used relied on secondary sources such as books, articles and journals. This method was chosen as it offered insightful information and analysis which fulfilled the stated
objectives of the study. The Caribbean nations chosen for the study were beyond the researcher’s monetary and geographical reach so conducting primary research in the form of interviews and observations were not possible. In analysing the secondary data for proof of reliability and validity, various sources were utilized to form a consensus of whether the information was consistent. The publishers of the source, the author and their references were analysed to ensure that their information could be trusted, was well researched and backed by valid sources. The content of the sources was read with only the vital and relevant data being included in the research. Regional history characterises this study as the study looks at multiple places in the Caribbean.

**Chapter Outline**

The project follows a specific chapter outline. In all the chapters pictures of the monuments are provided. Then the monument is discussed, its location, the physical features of the monuments, its sculptor, who funded and commissioned the monument as well as what event the monument commemorates. The chapter then looks at the revolt or rebellion that the monument honours with emphasis on the leader, location and consequence of the revolt. Next the chapter, looks at the sculptor of the monument and what type of works they have completed, medium that they work in and how well known they are. Afterwards the monument is compared to what the various sources, books, articles and journals say the person/event represented. Finally, the chapter looks at the various perspectives on the monuments.

The first chapter of the research begins with Curacao. The chapter looks at the monument, Desenkadena which was created to commemorate the slave revolt of 1795. Tula played a major role in this revolt and the Desenkadena was created to honour the Tula led struggle against
slavery. The Curacao Slave Revolt of 1795 began with Tula when he convinced forty to fifty enslaved persons to revolt with him and their numbers grew as they attacked plantations. They were eventually defeated and the leaders of the revolt including Tula were killed. The statue was commissioned to Curaçaoan artist Nel Simon who specialized in sculptures with Afro-centric themes. The statue was created to symbolise many traits of the revolt and its leader, such as power, liberty and strength. Frank Martinus Arion, Curaçaoan poet and language advocate, made positive remarks on the monument with claims that the monument invoked emotions of repentance and forgiveness. The chapter then discussed seven identical statues created by Curaçaoan artist Yubi Kirindongo to honour the slave revolt in 1795. It was commissioned by The Foundation National Park. These statues are in seven locations across Curacao, Kenepa, Saliña Sint Marie, Santa Cruz, Porto Mari, Seri Neger at the Fontein plantation, Savonet and Rif. These statues are important to the revolt as they symbolise the seven-week journey of the rebels. One statue is located where the revolt began, with the others are located in the places where the rebels were conquered until finally, the last statue is placed where Tula was killed. These statues were created to symbolise resistance and determination.

The second chapter in the research paper focuses on Barbados. This chapter looks at the Bussa statue created by Guyanese Karl Broodhagen to commemorate Bussa’s Rebellion of 1816. It was commissioned by the Bajan government and is located near the ABC Highway, in Haggatt Hall, St. Michael in Barbados. Bussa, an enslaved from West Africa, along with other enslaved persons planned a revolt for two months which eventually broke out on April 14, 1816. The revolt was suppressed by colonial forces and Bussa was killed. The statue symbolises the flight for and celebration of freedom. As previously mentioned, this statue created a debate among two scholars, Jerome Handler and Hilary Beckles, on whether Bussa could be classified as a national
hero. The statue also drew the admiration of foreign activist and data scientist, Samuel Sinyangwe, from New York, America, who praised the statue’s symbolisation of black empowerment.

The third chapter focuses on Guyana’s Cuffy statue. Unveiled in 1976, the statue was created to commemorate Guyana’s tenth anniversary of independence from the British and also to honour the slave revolt of 1763. Led by Cuffy, the revolt was created due to the deplorable treatment of the enslaved. The enslaved took control of southern Berbice but this control only lasted until the spring of 1764. The monument was created by Phillip Alphonso Moore of Guyana who was chosen to create the monument by answering a newspaper ad and submitting his design. The monument, according to the Castellani House, home of Guyana’s National Art Gallery, represented the defiance and resistance. The statue not only honours Cuffy but other leaders of the rebellion such as Accara. The monument received mixed views with some people claiming it was not realistic in its imagery and while others admired the West African characteristics of immateriality and spiritually that could be seen in the statue.

The last chapter focuses on Haiti’s Revolution of 1791 to 1804. The chapter looks at two monuments, Toussaint L’Ouverture by Richmond Barthe and Neg Mawon by Albert Mangonès. The statue of Toussaint L’Ouverture by Richmond Barthe was erected in 1954 to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Haitian Independence. It is located in Champ de Mar in Port-au-Prince where it shares space with other monuments such as the Neg Mawon. Both monuments were created to honour the Haitian Revolution in which the enslaved fought and succeeded in gaining their independence from their enslavers. Richmond Barthe, an American, famous for his black inspired works, created the Toussaint L’Ouverture statue to symbolise various characteristics of the freedom fighter such as great leadership, battle readiness and
strength. Margaret Rose Vendryes, an author, comments and compares the aesthetic of the statue to European and African style of creating the statue. The Neg Mawon, created by Haitian Albert Mangonès, paid homage to the maroons who joined the fight for independence during the revolution. The statue symbolises resilience, triumph and freedom. The statue was admired by Dr Joai Mukherjee, the medical director of Partners in Health non-profit organization, for its resilience during the 2010 earthquake, emerging undamaged and still erected.
CHAPTER ONE- CURACAO

Tula or Desenkaden Monument. (Source Looptt)

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Tula Kenepa Monuments (2 of the seven identical statues) (Source- Tula Museum at Landhuis Knip)

The Tula Monument was erected on the 17th August 1998 by the Curacao government. The statue was officially called the Desenkaden but over time the people of Curacao referred to it as Tula monument. Desenkaden in Papiamentu, Portuguese creole spoken in the Dutch West Indies, means “Cut the shackles”. It was erected to commemorate the slave revolt of 1795 in which an enslaved named Tula played a major role as the leader. The people of Curacao celebrate the 17th August every year to pay their respects to the freedom fighters. The statue is located on the South Coast of Curacao in Willemstad, near the Holiday Beach Hotel at Parke Lucha pa Libertat. This location is symbolic as it is the place where Tula was executed for the role he assumed in the revolt. The monument was created by Nel Simon, Curacaoan artist. The monument has three figures, two males and one female, the leaders of the revolt. One of the male figures, in the middle, is seen wielding a hammer and anvil while the other male figure, on the left, is seen shackled and holding a chain in his hand. The female figure is also shackled and holding the hem of her skirt.

The statue commemorates the Curacao Slave Revolt of 1795. Curacao in times of colonization was not a plantation colony but rather its main economic venture was the slave trade. The

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revolt was fought by approximately two thousand enslaved. Tula led the revolt along with Bastian Karpata and Louis Mercier on the 17th August.11 They gained inspiration from Haiti’s revolution which began in 1791. They claimed that the French could liberate their slaves then the Netherlands which was occupied by the French could liberate theirs.12 The revolt began on the Plantage Knip van Caspar Lodewijk van Uytrecht at Band'abou. Tula convinced forty to fifty slaves to revolt along with him and along their journey to freedom they freed other slaves who joined in the revolt.13 The enslaved moved from Knip plantation to Lagun where they freed twenty imprisoned enslaved from jail. As the slaves freed more slaves, many plantation owners abandoned their plantations and fled to the city.14 The white planters assembled a few men to fight the rebels. However, they were defeated.

The governor of Curacao at that time sent negotiators to the encampment of the enslaved rebels to negotiate to bring an end to the revolt. The revolt was sustained for almost a month. Several priests were sent to conduct the negotiation and among them was Jacobus Schink, a Franciscan priest.15 Tula wanted the freedom for all the enslaved. In his demands, he requested the end of collective punishment, the right to buy food and clothes from whomever they pleased and for


Sunday to be labour-free. His demands were rejected and the white planters accumulated a larger force and attacked the rebels once more. This attempt was successful and the rebel enslaved were defeated. Tula and his fellow ringleaders were executed, tortured and then killed to be an example to discourage other slaves from revolting. The revolt did have positive results as it forced the Dutch colonizers to investigate the system of slavery in their colonies. After the revolt, the Dutch colonizers reviewed and formulated new rights for the enslaved including no work on Sundays, less punishment and the right to adequate clothing and food.

The Tula Monument creator Nel Simon was born Narcisio Simon on October 12, 1938. He was born in Willemstad, Curacao, the city in which the statue is erected. Simon was self-taught in the arts. In the 1960’s he began working with clay he found in his neighbourhood, Sera Fortuna to make human forms and figures. He later went to the Ceramic Studio Sufficant in Curacao and the University of Burlington in Vermont, U.S.A. Simon’s sculptures are heavily influence by Afrocentric themes. His art looks at the struggles and oppression of African people and also how they are liberated. One of his many works that include this theme is his

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acclaimed ‘Mama Africa.’ Much of his work is exhibited around the world in places such as in the Royal Gallery, Amsterdam, Gallery Bunders in 1993, Sint Oedenrode, Nederland and Burlington University in 1974, Vermont, USA.

The monument was created to represent the struggles of the enslaved blacks and to celebrate their eventual liberation from slavery. The statue is a symbol of empowerment and embraced the strength with which to move pass the oppression of slavery. Frank Martinus Arion, a Curacaoan author and advocate for the Papiamentu language, emphasizes this when he claims that this statue is the “beginning of the healing process for descendants of the enslaved.”

The figure in the middle is a representation of Tula. He is the one holding the hammer and anvil, the only one freed of chains among the other figures and he is using his freedom to liberate the rest of his enslaved people. This is symbolic as it directly references specific aspects of the revolt when Tula freed several of the enslaved. His actions also allowed for his fellow ring leaders to become free as well. This image declares him as a liberator, a champion for independence and human rights. The figures in the monuments are sculpted with a chiselled build and confident expressions. This shows the physical and emotional power of the monument and of the enslaved. Simon did not want to present the enslaved as weak and focus too much on their oppression, so he created the chiselled physique to show the strength of the enslaved.

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The statue simultaneously reflects Curacao’s awareness of both its slavery past and the strength that Tula and others exhibited in fighting for freedom.\textsuperscript{31} Frank Martinus Arion believed that the monument is capable of invoking emotions such as repentance and forgiveness.\textsuperscript{32} He calls for the descendants of the slave owners to look at the statue and learn from the mistakes of their forefathers. And in learning, they should declare and mean it, that slavery should never again occur.\textsuperscript{33} The location of the statue is also heavily symbolic at it draws reference to the place where Tula was executed.\textsuperscript{34} This shows that the past is not only acknowledged but it celebrates the strength of the fight against slavery and oppression.\textsuperscript{35} UNESCO has declared the monument as a ‘Culture of Peace Messenger Site’. The statue was also admired by American singer Usher Raymond on his visit to Curacao in 2016.\textsuperscript{36} Using the monument as a backdrop, he called for acquisition of knowledge and also stated that Tula was a hero for Curacao.\textsuperscript{37}

Other monuments were created to honour and celebrate the efforts of the enslaved in 1795. The Foundation National Park created an initiative in 2009 that placed seven statues along the route in which the rebel enslaved took on their journey to fight for their freedom.\textsuperscript{38} The monuments were created by Yubi Kirindongo, a Curáçaoan artist. The statues are located in seven locations, Kenepa, Saliña Sint Marie, Santa Cruz, Porto Mari, Seri Neger at the Fontein plantation, Savonet and Rif. The statues are white pillars that depict fists clutching a broken chain. This like the Tula monument was created to symbolise and commemorate the fight against oppression and slavery.

Each statue has a plaque which has a discourse on the events that unfolded in that location at the time of the revolt. These statues focused more on the journey to freedom rather than on the figures or the enslaved involved. It draws attention to the risks and threat that the enslaved were under as they marched from one location to another. They faced the threat of ambush and capture by the militia. The allocation of the statue also enables citizens and foreigners to share in the history of Curacao and to appreciate the fight of the enslaved.

Yubi Kirindongo, the sculptor of the seven statues, was born on the 24th January 1946 in Willemstad, Curacao. Before Kirindongo became a professional visual artist, he was involved in various other professions in Europe. His journey to Europe began as a stowaway on a cargo ship in 1965 which went to Germany. He was skilled in drawing and this was noticed and admired by German novelist Hubert Fichte. Before his return to Curacao he participated in a large visual art exhibition in The Hague church, the Haagse Kerk in the Netherlands in 1973. He was among six people acknowledged for their work in the exhibition which featured three hundred artists. This boosted his interest further into making art a career. He worked as nurse and later a boxer before he married and returned to Curacao in 1976. He focused on creating art using discarded materials such as chrome car bumpers and materials made from iron and rubber. His work became popular locally and abroad with art curator from Netherlands, Thomas Meijer zu Schlochtern, writing his biography in 2012. His work was recognized in the

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Netherlands in 2014 with solo exhibition in honour of forty years, 1973 to 2013, of his
exceptional work. This exhibition attracted thirty thousand visitors for its run from January 30
to June 1st, 2014.

The seven monuments are simple but holds powerful symbolism. The seven statues represent the
seven-week long revolt and through this the journey the enslaved took as they conquered town
after town. The statues of the fist end at the spot that Tula was executed, marking it as a
historical place, for the population to remember and appreciate the struggles of the enslaved.

The tightly enclosed fists, shows resistance and determination. The enclosed fist closely
resembles Black power symbolisation with the raised and fisted hand. It is a symbol of
strength and the defiance. The broken chains present freedom, the breaking away from
oppression and enslavement.

51 Russell, Clancy. "Black Power in American Memory." Myth and History and American Memory. UNC at Chapel
CHAPTER 2- BARBADOS

Emancipation or Bussa Statue in Barbados. (Source- College of Charleston)

The Bussa sculpture in Barbados was unveiled on March 28, 1985, one hundred and sixty-nine years after Bussa’s Rebellion of 1816, to commemorate Barbados’ one hundred and fiftieth years of emancipation.\(^{54}\) Emancipation in Barbados is celebrated on the 1st of August every year since emancipation in 1838. The bronze statue was commissioned by the Barbadian Government to be created by Guyanese sculptor, Karl Broodhagen. The statue was meant to symbolise ‘the broken chains of slavery’. The statue captures a figure, representing Bussa, with his arms raised, and chains dangling from his hands. The statue is located near the Barbados’ main highway, ABC Highway, in Haggatt Hall, St. Michael. It is situated on a roundabout that is often referred to as the Emancipation Roundabout due to the Bussa statue that and is also often referred to as the Bussa’s Roundabout.\(^{55}\) Both sides of the statue have inscriptions. One side has the inscription of the Abolition Act of 1833. The other side has the inscription of the chants shouted by Barbadian ex-slaves on the abolition of slavery in 1834. It reads, “Lick an Lock-up Done Wid, Hurray fuh Jin-Jin [Queen Victoria]. De Queen come from England to set we free Now Lick an Lock-up Done Wid, Hurray fuh Jin-Jin.”\(^{56}\)

One of Barbados major slave rebellion was the Bussa Rebellion or Easter Rebellion. This rebellion was led by Bussa, a slave who was born in West Africa with suspected Igbo lineage.\(^{57}\) The rebellion took place on Sunday 14 April 1816. The rebellion was planned and organized by other senior slaves such as John Grigg, Nanny Grigg, Jackie, King Wiltshire, Dick Bailey, and Johnny.\(^{58}\) Slaves believed that the Imperial Registry Bill included information for their freedom.

When the Barbadian House of Assembly did not grant freedom in November 1815, the slaves were upset. This Bill simply required all slaves to be registered. Soon Bussa and the others began to plan the rebellion in February 1816. The rebellion began in southeast parish of St Philip and spread to other areas of Barbados such as most of the Southern and Central parishes of St John, St Thomas, Christ Church, St George and St Michael. The rebellion lasted three days when local and imperial troops suppressed it.

The army took control of the island from April 15th till July 12, 1816. Report of the rebellion claimed that over four hundred slaves participated. Bussa was killed in the slave revolt along with the other organizers. Sir James Leith, the then Governor of Barbados, reported that two hundred and fourteen people were executed and one hundred and seventy people were sent to other British Caribbean territories. During military rule, slaves suspected of participating in the rebellion were regularly flogged. The rebellion did not claim much white lives. Only two whites were killed. However, it remained in the history as one of the greatest rebellions of the Caribbean. And Bussa was recognized as one of Barbados’ national hero in 1998.

Karl Broodhagen was commissioned to create the statue. He was born in Guyana on the 4th of July 1909 and migrated to Barbados when he was fourteen. He moved to Barbados to become a tailor’s apprentice and subsequently became a tailor. However, he showed interest in painting and sculpting and by the 1930’s he began to study both forms of art. His tailoring profession gave him the knowledge of the human body, proportions and movement. He chose people he wanted for his muse and many came to him including, Frank Collymore, the then deputy

headmaster of Combermere School. Collymore assisted in getting Broodhagen a teaching job in Combermere school in 1947, as an art teacher. He was encouraged to establish an art department at Combermere and form a curriculum. In 1948 he won a scholarship, when he exhibited at the British Council, to study in Goldsmith’s College in London from 1952 to 1954. His art focused on the character of the person, the beauty within and his sculptures tended to show this. His sculptures tended to have Africanoid features, pouty lips, braided hair and big eyes. His other works include, Neferdine of 1961, Barbados’ first Premier, Sir Grantley Adams statue, cricketer Sir Garfield Sobers and a Benin Head of 1971. He has been celebrated and appreciated widely with his work featured in collections at UNESCO, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus and Drexel University in Philadelphia.

Emancipation statue or Bussa statue has a lot of symbolic meaning. The upraised hands, is a powerful symbol of freedom from slavery. The broken chains, captures the idea of going beyond freedom and a reference to how freedom was achieved. It emphasises the important fact that the enslaved were not emancipated by the legal authorities but fought for it. The statue is not only a reference to Bussa’s rebellion and but also an appreciation to all the enslaved and their sacrifice in participating in this rebellion. The upraised head, is a celebration of freedom. The figure is given an animated posture, left foot placed upfront with the right foot placed slightly back. Karl Broodhagen would often reference the statue as “slave in revolt”. The posture glorifies Bussa who is credited with organizing and fighting the 1816 rebellion. The inscription

on the statue makes reference to Queen Victorian who began her reign in 1837 and who, consequently, is seen in part as an agent in the freedom of the enslaved in the Caribbean.

Bajan people view the statue first and foremost as a celebration of black people commemorating the resilience of the enslaved and their emancipation. He is viewed by them as the Bussa is their “hero of heroes.” In his article, David Lambert claims that Bussa is used as a surrogate to showcase Africa and African-ness to the people of Barbados. Lambert also claims that due to the suppression and marginalization of Bajan history because of slavery and its post-colonial time, the people used Bussa as a surrogate of the unknown and marginalized. However, not everyone shares this sentiment and have critiqued the status given to Bussa. Lambert says many have questioned the surrogacy of Bussa in being the Barbados’ national hero, by questioning Bussa’s sole role in the rebellion. Jerome Handler claims it is inaccurate to credit Bussa solely for the 1816 rebellion and that there were others who helped in organizing the rebellion that need to be credited. Handler concludes that written historical data does not support the promotion of Bussa as a National Hero. However, other historians such as Hilary Beckles, have comments on the positive effect of using Bussa as a national hero. The article claims, that Beckles have worked in promoting Bussa’s role in the rebellion of 1816.

As late as 2016, the statue of Bussa drew admiration from foreign and Barbadian citizens. Activist and data scientist, Samuel Sinyangwe, from New York, America, posted pictures of the statue to the social media site, Twitter and this sparked a debate on the visibility of slave

monuments in America. He noted that on visiting Barbados, he passed the statue three times in one day. He supported Barbados’ stance on celebrating ‘the power of black liberation.’. Response to his twitter post were from Bajan’s living abroad who showed appreciation and pride in the statue. This is seen in the tweet by Camille Victoria who wrote, “My family is from Barbados and I see Bussa everytime I visit. It always makes me a proud Bajan. Thank you for your perspective in this way”.

Sinyangwe, in an article published in Vox, compares the presentation of Barbados and other Caribbean islands to America in honouring black liberation. He claims that it was only when visiting Barbados, he was exposed to a monument that represented black liberty and honoured struggle and dedication of the black enslaved. He compared this to growing up seeing monuments that honoured men that fought to keep the institution of slavery such as Robert E Lee and Stonewall Jackson. Sinyangwe was pleased to note that while the monuments honouring Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson were painful reminders of white supremacy, the statue of Bussa in Barbados signifies the triumph over black suppression.
Chapter 3- Guyana

1763 Monument or Cuffy monument (Source- Looptt)

The 1763 Monument was unveiled on May 23, 1976 in Guyana. It is also referred to as Cuffy monument and is located in Georgetown, the capital of Guyana. The statue was designed and erected by local Guyanese artist, Phillip Alphonso Moore. The statue was cast in England and the plaques were created there as well by Linden Forbes Burnham. This was done between 1975 and 1976. David Gillespie of Farnham, Dorset in England, was the model maker. The bronzed statue was commissioned by, the then prime minister in 1976, Linden Forbes Burnham. It was created to commemorate Guyana’s tenth Independence from British rule. Visualising Slavery: Art Across the African Diaspora, provides an account of the tributes that are placed on or near the monument; blue eggs and candles. The ritual is conducted by a ‘white clad’ figure of the Spiritist faith, who believe that world is divided by two elements, the spirit and the matter. Their aim is to achieve spiritual and physical health by being charitable, reading religious text and communicating with the spirits. The ritual is often seen in August, the month celebrating Emancipation in the former British colonies. It was also erected to celebrate the struggle of the enslaved and to appreciate their fight for their freedom. It stands at twenty-five feet, and weighs two and a half tons. The statue rests on a plinth, designed by Albert Rodrigues, with five plaques surrounding the plinth, depicting various aspects of the 1763 Berbice rebellion. The monument also showcases a fountain, which add an aesthetic or picturesque effect.

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The historical event which this monument honours is the Berbice rebellion of 1763. Berbice was under Dutch rule in 1763. The enslaved were subjected to harsh and inhumane conditions. They complained of inadequate food, cruel treatment at the hands of overseers and plantation owners and they wanted their freedom. It started on February 23, 1763 and ended in 1764. The rebellion was organised and led by Cuffy, an enslaved, along with other enslaved persons; Atta, Accara and Accabre. They were supported by approximately three thousand enslaved revolutionaries. The enslaved destroyed many plantations and recruited other enslaved as they took control of Southern Berbice. The whites were able to keep control of the North and awaited the assistance of troops in French and British colonies in neighbouring islands. Cuffy was chosen as the leader and proclaimed as the Governor of Berbice. It was only in the spring of 1764 that the neighbouring British and French troops were able to suppress the insurrection and regain control of Berbice, Guyana.

Kofi Badu, also known as Cuffy, was born in Ghana, West Africa and brought to the Caribbean as an enslaved. He was credited with leading the 1763 rebellion in Berbice, Guyana. In Guyana he is revered and celebrated for his attempt to gain freedom for his enslaved counterparts. Dr David Hinds, former lecturer of Caribbean and African Diaspora studies in

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Guyana and political activist, claims that Cuffy is remembered for his determination and spirit. Dr Hinds believe that Cuffy is a symbol of unity, struggle and freedom. He believes the sculpture embodies Guyanese resilience and defiance. Centuries after his attempt of freeing the enslaved, Cuffy was given the honour of being one of Guyana’s national heroes.

Phillip Alphonso Moore, also known as Emmanuel Kweku Moorji, the creator of the 1763 Monument or Cuffy statue, was Guyanese born. He was born on the 12th, October 1921 in Manchester Village, Guyana. He attained formal education at Manchester Church of Scotland School. In 1972, he was admitted into Princeton University as an appointed artist in residence and tutor in wood sculpture. He won the rights to create the 1763 monument after answering a newspaper advertisement for a design for a monument representing the 1763 Berbice uprising. Moore, for reasons unknown, has never approved of the statues moniker as the Cuffy monument. Many of his work was bought by the Guyanese department of culture and is exhibited in the National Art Gallery, Castellani House, in Georgetown, Guyana. He has received numerous awards such as the Cacique Crown of Honour and Guyana’s first Lifetime Achievement Award for art which he received posthumously.

The statue of Cuffy has many symbolic meanings connected to the 1763 rebellion. The figure of Cuffy, is seen with pouted lips. According to Castellani House’s, home of Guyana's National Art Gallery, leaflet, this represented the defiance and resistance of the enslaved. The face plastered on the chest of the statue, symbolises a breastplate or shield, the protection of the enslaved.
during battle. The leaflet continued to explain the symbolisation of the statue, commenting on the various grooves or lines that cover the statue’s surface from head to toes. The grooves are a symbol of strength and rigidity. The figure’s hands clutch tightly, a pig and a dog with the pig having a fish-like tail. This represents the enslaved taking control and destroying characteristics they believed their enslavers and the slavery system had. The pig with its fish like tail, signifies ignorance and the dog, greed and lust. This also symbolises, a call for the enslave to disown these traits themselves. The leaflet claims that the image of the dog and the pig clutched in the statue’s hand, recalls a biblical scripture, Matthew 7:6, “Cast not your pearls before swine nor give what is sacred to the dog.” This scripture calls for the individual to refrain from wasting their time or preaching before people who would not appreciate their knowledge. Instead, the enslaved should fight for their rights rather than lobby to their enslavers who did not care to understand their desire for freedom.

The statue has many more symbolisations. There are faces at the back of his head and body which represent the present-day leaders. The thighs of the figurine feature two horned figures. These figures represent other resistance leaders, Quamina and Accara. Quamina’s inclusion here is an acknowledgement of and appreciation to for his efforts in the Demerara rebellion of 1823 in Guyana. Also, an appreciation of Accara, who assisted Cuffy in organising and participating in the rebellion in 1763, is also given appreciation in the Cuffy Monument. The horns on these figures are representations of horns on oxes and other animals. This refers to the attack and defence of the animals, which were evident in the

strategy of the enslaved especially Cuffy, who led the rebellion. Moore interpreted Cuffy as a country man, which could be seen with the rope around his waist and a knife in a pouch at his waist.\textsuperscript{100} The statue also has a map of Guyana at its back meant to symbolise the unity of Guyana’s people.

The five plaques surrounding the plinth have heavy symbolism. One plaque is ‘Seeking Inspiration, and it shows Cuffy and other leaders of the 1763 rebellion consulting with the spirits of their ancestors for guidance in planning the rebellion.\textsuperscript{101} The second plaque is ‘Uniting People’ which shows six hearts with clenched fist presented on each. This symbolised the division that planters imposed on the enslaved through housing and labour. The slaves were believed to be united spiritually and the division did not divide their spiritual connection. The third plaque is, ‘Destroying the Enemies,’ which illustrated “two clenched fists with two long nails protruding from each and going into two large, disfigured hearts”. This symbolised the greed and materialism of the plantation owners.\textsuperscript{102} The fourth plaque, ‘Control’, presents two people holding to a wheel with a central hub. The central hub is meant to symbolise Cuffy taking control of the slavery system through the rebellion. The fifth plaque, ‘Praise and Thanksgiving’, illustrates four figures dancing, giving thanks to God from their liberation from slavery.\textsuperscript{103}

The monument was received with mixed feelings in Guyana. Some people argued that the monument was not realistic. They believed that the statue did not resemble any real person but

\textsuperscript{100} Writer, Staff. Stabroek News. 27 02 2013. Web. 04 11 2017.
rather its depiction was too imaginative. Others argued that its West African centric theme did not include other racial groups and was, therefore, inadequate as a national symbol. Yet, the monument did receive positive reviews with many echoing the sentiment of Dennis Williams. Dennis William, a project coordinator for the erection of the monument, claimed that the Monument had a strong West African sacredness. He claims, in a review of the statue, that it embodies the West African characteristics of “immateriality and spiritually”. Celeste-Marie Bernier and Hannah Durkin, also comment on the West African aesthetic utilized by Moore on the design of the statue. The disproportion of the head to the body, is a West African style of sculpting with great emphasis on the characterization of the face. In the review, he says that the West African style would be accepted by the Guyanese people as strange and unfamiliar as it lacks the European influence of artistic style. He believes that it is “ancestral” in the African context. He claims that Moore was guided by the defiance, intelligence and resolution of the enslaved and Cuffy, that was written in historical text.

CHAPTER FOUR-HAITI

Le Marron Inconnu de Saint-Domingue or Le Marron Inconnu with aliases such as Neg Mawon and Le Nègre Marron. (Source- NegroNews)

Statue of Toussaint L’Ouverture by Richmond Barthe. (Source- Caribbean Journal)

One of the most significant monuments to the history of rebellions against the enslavement of Africans in the Caribbean is a statue of Toussaint L’Ouverture erected in Haiti. The statue of Toussaint L’Ouverture was created by Richmond Barthé and erected in 1954 to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Haitian Independence.¹¹³ It was commissioned by the Haitian government led by Dumarsais Estimé. It marked the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary since Haiti battled for its Independence in the revolution led by the black enslaved. Independence Day in Haiti is celebrated every year on the 1st of January since the year 1804, when the country was declared independent by Jean Jacques Dessalines. The statue was erected in Champ de Mar in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. It is located in a square near to an old presidential palace. The statue shares space with other prominent figures in Haitian history such as Jean-Jacques Dessalines, which was also created by Richmond Barthé.¹¹⁴ It also is erected near to the statue Nèg Mawon or Le Nègre Marron, that reflects the fight for independence by the enslaved population in Haiti. This location is symbolic as it holds the monuments that Haitians use to honour those who fought for their independence as well as a reminder of the struggle to bring colonial rule to an end by 1804.

Bolstered with inspiration taken from the French Revolution, the enslaved, whites and the free coloured waged a war in Saint-Domingue for independence in 1791.¹¹⁵ The French Revolution inspired the slaves and free coloureds with the believe that they too can gain freedom and equality for themselves. The enslaved blacks were led by Toussaint L’Ouverture and would

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strike the first blow.\textsuperscript{116} They rose up against the planters and burned plantations and attacked their enslavers. L’Ouverture organised the enslaved into a capable army and fought against the whites. The enslaved coupled with the free coloureds had the advantage of numbers as they greatly outnumbered the whites and the free coloureds.\textsuperscript{117} The blacks had a massive number of five hundred thousand while the whites were merely forty thousand. Despite reinforcements from the French, the blacks were able to claim victory. They would even fight off the British attempts to capitalize on gaining control through the conflict. L’Ouverture’s forces, entered the Spanish controlled side of Hispaniola, Santo-Domingo and freed the slaves. L’Ouverture would die in a French prison in 1803 and the former enslaved under Jean-Jacques Dessalines would fight France’s attempt to regain control and restore slavery.\textsuperscript{118} Saint-Domingue would later be changed to Haiti in 1804 and Dessalines would declare Haiti independent. It became the first black republic in the world.

Hence sculptor Richmond Barthé, an African American was tasked with creating the Toussaint L’Ouverture monument. Barthé was born in Mississippi on January 28th, 1901.\textsuperscript{119} He had little formal education as a child but enjoyed drawing and painting. In his early twenties, Barthé, was recognized by his parish priest when he contributed two of his paintings for the church’s fundraising event.\textsuperscript{120} He was encouraged by his priest to attend the Art Institute of Chicago in Illinois in which he enrolled and attended from 1924 to 1928. Despite his training in painting, Barthé was recognized by the public for his sculpting ability. From 1928, he sculpted many

figures, typical of the Harlem Renaissance.\textsuperscript{121} His work included mainly black inspired figures or representation of black power. Some of his well-known work include Feral Benga, a bust of Toussaint L’Ouverture and African Dancer which represented and celebrated the black body.\textsuperscript{122} He was an associate of American poet and social activist Langston Hughes and African American philosopher and writer Alain LeRoy Locke.\textsuperscript{123} He was commissioned to work for the Social Security Building in Washington, D.C, Haitian government in the 1940’s and 50’s and the Whitney Museum of American Art. His work is featured in Smithsonian American Art Museum and he has won many awards such as the Rosenwald Fellowship in 1930 and the Guggenheim Fellowship in 1940. He was commissioned by the Haitian Government not only for the Toussaint statue but also a statue of Jean Jacques Dessalines.\textsuperscript{124}

The monument stands at forty feet in height and it is built to highlight the characteristics which Haitians and historians claim that L’Ouverture possessed. Celeste-Marie Bernier and Hannah Durkin offer a discourse on the symbolic significance of the L’Ouverture character presented in the sculpture.\textsuperscript{125} The sword he held in his right hand, is said to represent the power he wielded in battle and his might as a military leader. The relaxed position of the sword reflects his control which is juxtaposed alongside the brutish and savage imagery typical of the black Haitian race. The forward stance of his left foot in contrast to the backward stance of his right foot suggests that the figure is making a step or preparing a step. Bernier and Durkin, claims that this symbolised L’Ouverture’s strength and decisiveness in battling for his people and their
independence. Toussaint L’Ouverture’s sculpted figure, clutches the 1801 Constitution of Haiti, a constitution which he drafted upon the principles of republicanism and to which he was wholeheartedly committed. In, ‘Barthé: A Life in Sculpture’, Margaret Rose Vendryes claims that Barthé combined the aesthetic of European and African, taking inspiration from Earle Fraser’s statue of George Washington of 1939 which showed Washington in a similar pose minus the sword, to create the statue of L’Ouverture. The intention was to present a genteel visual through the figure’s posture and military clothing. This, clothing and posture, could be seen on Fraser’s statue of Washington, 1939.

The statue was created not only to commemorate the Haitian Independence but to pay homage to the people who fought for it and to symbolise black power. The Haitian government commissioned the statue to memorialise Toussaint L’Ouverture as one of the leading men who fought for Haitian independence. His impact on Haitian society is still felt, the freedom of the people from forced labour. His statue is a reminder to continue to fight for the liberation of the people. In honouring Toussaint L’Overture, in 2013, the then President, Michel Martelly and his wife Sophia Martelly stood near the statue and the former first lady, Mrs Martelly reminded Haitians to remember what Toussaint stood for and what he fought for. She praised Toussaint, calling him an “extraordinary visionary”, an “austere man” who ended slavery in Haiti. She also praised his moral qualities, intelligence and his “boundless courage”.

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Another statue erected to honour enslaved resistance in Haiti is The Le Negre Marron or Neg Mawon, in 1968. It was commissioned to Haitian sculptor Albert Mangonès and paid for by the Haitian Government led by its President, François Duvalier. Magrones completed the sculpture on the 22nd September 1967. It was erected to showcase Haiti’s fight for independence. It served to commemorate the abolition of slavery and the rebellion of thousands of black enslaved. Neg Mawon is also meant to symbolise the unbreakable spirit of the Haitian people. The statue not only pays homage to the enslaved on the plantations but to those who ran away into the forests and lived a life of freedom in the midst of slavery. The statue was used in 1989 by the United Nations as a design for the postage stamp to celebrate article 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Albert Mangonès, the Le Negre Marron sculptor, was born on the 26th March 1917 in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. His elite background gave him the advantage of going to an art institution in Belgium, Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts of Brussels in 1938 and Cornell University in New York from 1939-1942 where he studied architecture. It was at Cornell University he entered a competition for sculpting and won as well as winning a gold medal for architecture. He was one of the founding members and the General Secretary for the Centre d’Art located in Port-au-Prince in 1941. This organization aided in the discovery of painters and other artists in Haiti. He achieved fame in Haiti for his architectural work in renovating and rebuilding structures such as the Haitian National Cathedral. He also created Institut de Sauvergarde du Patrimoine

National, ISPAN, which was concerned with the preservation of Haitian national monuments. Under this institution he worked on the Palais San Souci, Henri Christophe’s palace in Nord Haiti and he also renovated the Parc National Historique. When he was in New York, Mangonès actively associated with the intellectual crowd many of whom were of Haitian origins when he was in New York. Anais Nin, a French novelist and surrealist artist, was one of the people with whom Mangonès socialized with.

Le Negre Marron is erected in Champ-de-Mars in downtown Port-au-Prince the capital of Haiti. The statue is 3.60 metres long and stands at 2.40 metres high. The statue is a bronze male figure with a conch placed near his lips, his head titled upward. The figure is shackled and has broken chains around his ankles. The figure uses his right feet to kneel while his left foot is outstretched. His right hand holds a machete to the ground. The name of the statue translated in English is Black Maroon. The statue is meant to represent a slave fighting for his freedom and using the conch, to rally his enslaved counterparts. The machete in his hands, shows his readiness for battle to secure freedom. The broken chain is a symbol of his freedom. On the panels or pedestals, there is a biblical inscription taken from the Jerusalem bible, 1 Maccabees 14:3-9. It speaks of the capture of King Demetrius by the general of King Arsaces of Persia and Media. And then relates the peace that came after Demetrius’ capture. The religious inscription is used to claim Haiti’s triumph after Independence and its satisfaction with its black leaders.

Reference:

The statue’s resilience during the 2010 earthquake in Haiti was admired and it also showed the significance of the statue. The earthquake shook Haiti on the 12th January 2010. The Haitian government claimed that three hundred thousand lives were lost in the earthquake, with major destruction of infrastructure in Port-au-Prince. However, the statue still stood, after the 7.0 magnitude earthquake and over fifty-two aftershocks. Dr Joai Mukherjee, the medical director of Partners in Health non-profit organization, related how she travelled after the earthquake to see the statue and saw it nearly undamaged and erect. It stood around other crumbled buildings, a testament to its strength. She wept at the sight but was comforted by an old Haitian woman who stood near her, who exclaimed, “Neg Mawon pap jamn kraze.” This meant, ‘The free man can never be destroyed.” The representation of black resilience and strength, that the statue was meant to signify was seen when the it stood firm. Like the enslaved that fought for their freedom and did not give up, the statue embodied this spirit, standing strong in the face of adversity.

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Conclusion

The research yielded various interesting results. One of the most interesting discovery was the dedicated and meticulous design of the monuments. These monuments were designed with the intention of symbolising various aspects of the rebellions and the outstanding traits of their leaders. Another interesting discovery was the international appreciation of the monuments by political activists and popular artists. The least satisfactory discovery was the lack of recorded local opinion on the monuments. Another dissatisfaction discovery was the lack of available information regarding the dimensions of the monuments. Overall, the research did provide the information that was sought, which was to show how the monuments are important not only to the study of history but in honouring the past leaders of slave rebellions today.

The study can be expanded in several ways. They study can first be expanded by further investigation of the leaders of the rebellions. Another way it can be expanded is by looking at the impact of the slave rebellions and comparing it to the significance of the monument in modern times. It is recommended that information for other slavery monuments that will be erected in the Caribbean be easily accessible. Information should be available in various languages, especially inclusive of the various languages spoken within the Caribbean and that the information be available online. Another recommendation for erections of slavery monuments is that there be a greater participation of the public especially the younger generation. This can be done by holding competitions in schools for students to make designs of their own. This enables the next generation to learn and teach the other generation of the sacrifices and struggles of the enslaved in the Caribbean and their fight for freedom.
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