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TANGLED ROOTS: KALENDA AND OTHER NEO-AFRICAN
DANCES IN THE CIRCUM-CARIBBEAN

In this article I investigate the early history of what John Storm Roberts (1972:26, 58) terms “neo-African” dance in the circum-Caribbean. There are several reasons for undertaking this task. First, historical material on early Caribbean dance and music is plentiful but scattered, sketchy, and contradictory. Previous collections have usually sorted historical descriptions by the names of dances; that is, all accounts of the widespread dance kalenda are treated together, as are other dances such as bamboula, djouba, and chica. The problem with this approach is that descriptions of “the same” dance can vary greatly. I propose a more analytical sorting by the details of descriptions, such as they can be gleaned. I focus on choreography, musical instruments, and certain instrumental practices. Based on this approach, I suggest some new twists to the historical picture.

Second, Caribbean people today remain greatly interested in researching their roots. In large part, this article arises from my encounter, during ethnographic work in Martinique, with local interpretations of one of the most famous Caribbean dances, kalenda.¹ Martinicans today are familiar with at least three versions of kalenda: (1) from the island’s North Atlantic coast, a virtuostic dance for successive soloists (usually male), who match wits with drummers in a form of “agonistic display” (Cyrille & Gerstin 2001; Barton 2002); (2) from the south, a dance for couples who circle one another slowly and gracefully; and (3) a fast and hypererotized dance performed by tourist troupes, which invented it in the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, there is a line dance known as mabelo that is identical to a 1796 description of kalenda on Martinique, as well as a danced martial art, danmyé, that recalls the stick-fighting kalendas of other islands (though on Martinique it is done without sticks).

1. Kalenda is spelled kalinda, calenda, or calinda on different islands. For the sake of simplicity I will use the Martinican Creole spelling, except in quotations.

The problem of making historical sense of these kalendas and kalenda-cognates is made more complex by the ideas that surround them. In Martinique, members of a politically inclined cultural revival movement see aspects of Martinican identity in what they view as the Africanness of the solo kalenda and of *danmyé*, as well as in the African-European hybridity, or *créolité*, of the southern kalenda. The island's tourist troupes claim their own dance as authentic. Some local scholars, oddly enough, advance a historical image of kalenda quite similar to that of the tourist troupes, resurrecting unfortunate stereotypes of black eroticism and prerationalism (e.g., Rosemain 1990, 1993). My effort to understand what may actually have happened in early Caribbean dance is partially a correction of such representations.

In this article, I will not dwell on Martinique's contemporary interpretations of dance history. I have discussed these elsewhere in the contexts of an ethnography of musical revival and political ideologies in Martinique, and white representations of black Caribbean identity through dance (Gerstin 2000, in press). Instead, I concentrate on historical material. Some of this may be familiar to readers, as it has appeared in several well-known collections (e.g., Epstein 1977; Emery 1988). Other material is more obscure, although I hasten to add that I am an ethnographer, not a historian, and have worked largely from secondary sources.²

2. In tracing streams of musical influence and the spread of early transculturated dances, this article may recall the diffusionist studies that were prominent before World War II in anthropology and ethnomusicology. These studies often proved inconclusive, and fell out of favor as researchers turned towards deeper, "thick" explorations of single cultures. Recently, as new approaches to investigating oral cultures have created stronger bodies of evidence, a few researchers have returned to diffusionist/historical methodology (e.g., Thompson 1993; Kubik 1994).

Among these latter, a trenchant article by Samuel Floyd tackles widespread patterns in circum-Caribbean music. Floyd (1996:2-3) sensibly warns against easy conclusions: "in studying this music, its constitution as a large, complex, and tangled array of musical genres ... becomes apparent ... quite distinctive but identically named genres reside simultaneously in [different] geographical locations." Floyd's approach to sorting through the material is by a combination of rhythmic motif (the "cinquillo-tresillo complex"; see Pérez Fernández 1986) and name (the "calenda complex"). In effect, his approach seems to distinguish, respectively, the music of the large, Spanish-speaking islands from that of the smaller, creole- and English-speaking eastern Antilles. Floyd seems to base this distinction as much on contemporary music as colonial, dwelling on son in the Hispanic islands and calypso in the others. I am not sure that the result is either historically or musically justified. However, I admire Floyd's collecting and sorting through rhythmic motifs, and his overall project – establishing criteria for a reliable comparative approach – is akin to my own.

DANCE: CHOREOGRAPHY AND SEXUALITY

One of the best-known descriptions of early black Caribbean dance was published by the priest Jean Baptiste Labat in 1722, and describes Martinique:

What pleases them most and is their most common dance is the calenda, which comes from the Guinea coast and, from all appearances, from the kingdom of Ardá [in Dahomey]. The Spanish have taken it from the blacks, and dance it in all America in the same manner as the blacks ... The dancers are arranged in two lines, the one before the other, the men to one side, the women to the other. Those are the ones who dance, and the spectators make a circle around the dancers and drums. The most skilled sings a song that he composes on the spot, on such a subject as he judges appropriate, and the refrain, which is sung by all the spectators, is accompanied by a great beating of hands. As regards the dancers, they hold up their arms a little like those who dance while playing castanets. They jump, they spin, they approach to within three feet of each other, they leap back on the beat, until the sound of the drum tells them to join and they strike their thighs, [the thighs of] some beating against the others, that is, the men's against the women's. To see this, it seems that they beat their bellies together, while it is however only their thighs that support the blows. They back away immediately, pirouetting, to recommence the same movement with completely lascivious gestures, as often as the drum gives them the signal, which it does several times in succession. From time to time they interlace their arms and make two or three turns while always striking their thighs together, and they kiss one another. We see enough by this abridged description how this dance is opposed to decency. Despite this, it has not ceased being really the rage of the Spanish Creoles of the Americas, and so strong in use among them, that it forms the best part of their divertissements, and even enters their devotions. They dance it in their churches and in their processions, and the nuns hardly stop dancing it even on Christmas Eve upon a raised theater in the choir, behind a railing, which is open, so the populace have their part of these good souls giving witness to the Savior's birth. It is true that they do not admit men with them to dance such a devout dance. I would even believe that they dance it with a very pure intent, but how many spectators would one find who would judge them as charitably as I? (Labat 1972:401-3; my translation)

Compare another description of kalenda, as well-known as Labat's and as often cited, written in Haiti in 1796 by the scholar and politician Médéric-Louis-Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry (1976:54-55).³

A dancer and his partner, or a number of pairs of dancers, advance to the center and begin to dance, always as couples. This precise dance is based on a single step in which the performer advances successively each

3. Another report from a traveler to Haiti in 1799-1803 also mentions kalenda (Descourtiz, in Emery 1988:23).

foot, then several times tapping heel and toe, as in the Anglaise. One sees evolutions and turns around the partner, who also turns and moves with the lady ... The lady holds the ends of a handkerchief which she waves. Until one has seen this dance he can hardly realize how vivacious it is – animated, metrical and graceful.

Moreau de Saint-Méry's choreography of a couple or couples within a ring of onlookers who also sing, clap, and take their turn in the ring is common for entertainment dances in West and central Africa. It is quite different from Labat's formation, men and women in separate lines. This formation is not unknown in central Africa (J.H. Weeks 1882, in Cyrille 2002:229, 238). However, the line dancing observed by Labat was very likely the slaves' adaptation of the latest Parisian craze, *contredanse*, brought to the colonies in the mid to late seventeenth century. Several contradance styles continue to exist in Martinique today. On the island's North Atlantic coast, a distinctive musical region, they are considered part of the *lalin klé* or "full moon" genre (so-named because they used to be enjoyed on nights of the full moon). One of these dances, *mabelo*, as noted above, fits Labat's description of *kalenda* exactly (Bertrand 1966b; AM4 1992b:51, 77).⁴ It is no coincidence that Labat observed this particular dance. Labat managed a large plantation on the North Atlantic coast, just north of the town of Ste.-Marie. He portrayed a scene from his own slave quarters.

In addition to Labat and Moreau de Saint-Méry's reports from, respectively, Martinique and Haiti, *kalenda* is noted in 1881 newspaper article from Port of Spain, Trinidad, on the pre-emancipation Carnival of the 1830s (Cowley n.d.:8). Anthropologist and choreographer Katherine Dunham (1947:6-7) watched a *kalenda* in Trinidad in 1932; she described it as similar to Moreau de Saint-Méry's graceful couple dance, which she cited by way of comparison. *Kalenda* is also mentioned in a 1933 account from St. Croix (U.S. Virgin Islands) (Cowley n.d.:17). Dances called Old *Kalenda* and Woman *Kalenda* are part of Carriacou's contemporary Big Drum ceremony (McDaniel 1992:397, 1998a:19). The *sicá* style of Puerto Rican *bomba* includes, in its twelve variations, one called *calindá* (Vega Drouet 1998:937; Barton 2002:189).

In the United States, Antoine Simon Le Page de Pratz noted *kalenda* in Louisiana in 1758 (Epstein 1977:32). A better-known description is by George Washington Cable, in a celebrated article on dancing in New

4. Today's dance may have acquired its name from its most popular song, also called "Mabelo." The song is an extended pun on the game of marbles ("mabelo" in Martinican Creole). The words praise the prettiness of the "marble" and invite you to flick yours into the circle: "vini meté adan" (come put it inside).

Orleans' Congo Square. Cable's 1886 article includes much colorful (not to say stereotyped) language. Here is his description of kalenda dancing in its entirety:

it was the favorite dance all the way from [Louisiana] to Trinidad. To dance it publicly is not allowed this side of the West Indies. All this Congo Square business was suppressed at one time; 1843, says tradition. The Calinda was a dance of multitude, a sort of vehement cotillion. The contortions of the encircling crowd were strange and terrible, the din was hideous. (in Katz 1969:42)

Cable's description echoes Labat's in his mention of "cotillion," a popular contradance style. The word "multitude" also suggests a contradance, i.e., two lines of multiple dancers.⁵ However, we should not make too much of this. Cable's description of kalenda is both brief and, it appears to me, fanciful. Neither Cable nor his illustrator, Edward Windsor Kemble, were eyewitnesses to Congo Square's dancing, which was banned in the early 1840s (Southern & Wright 2000:34).⁶

CHICA, AND A POTPOURRI OF SIMILAR REFERENCES

Another widespread early dance was chica, which appears in Moreau de Saint-Méry (1976:61-62):

This dance consists mainly in moving the lower part of the torso, while keeping the rest of the body almost motionless. To speed up the movement of the Chica, a dancer will approach his danseuse, throwing himself forward, almost touching her, withdrawing, then advancing again, while seeming to implore her to yield to the desires which invade them. There is nothing lascivious or voluptuous which this tableau does not depict.

Bremer (in Emery 1988:26) also mentions chica in Cuba in the 1840s or 1850s.

5. Another reference to kalenda as a line dance may be found in Allen, Ware, and Garrison's 1867 *Slave Songs of the United States*, which includes a "calinda" annotated: "the 'calinda' was a sort of contra-dance, which has now passed entirely out of use" (Cowley n.d.:7). However, this is not really a separate and corroborating source; the song was contributed to *Slave Songs* by Cable.

6. On the other hand, Cable was among the group of white folklorists and scholars who, during Reconstruction, initiated serious research into black American culture. Besides contributing to the first major study of African American music, *Slave Songs of the United States* (see note 5), Cable collaborated with two other New Orleans writers-cum-folklorists, Lafcadio Hearn (who also lived and wrote in Martinique) and Henry H. Krehbiel (Katz 1969:31).

A number of later commentators equated *chica* with *kalenda*. Cable (1969:42) wrote that New Orleans' Congo dance, "called Congo also in Cayenne [French Guiana], *Chica* in San Domingo, and in the Windward Islands confused under one name with the *Calinda*, was a kind of *Fandango*." I am not certain where this equation got its start; it is repeated almost verbatim – not always with a reference to Moreau de Saint-Méry, but as self-evident fact – by Sully Cally-Lézin (1990:81), Janheinz Jahn (1961:81), and Jacqueline Rosemain (1990:38, 40). Similarly, a writer publishing in Haiti in 1889 equated Haitian *bamboula* with *chica* and quoted Moreau de Saint-Méry's description of the latter in lieu of his own description (Spencer St. John, in Emery 1988:26). Moreau de Saint-Méry (1976:60, 64-65, 67) indeed makes broad assertions about *chica*: it was found in the Windward Islands and Saint Domingue; it was also found in Curaçao, where it was danced by black women; it was widespread in Africa, particularly the Congo; it was a favorite of white society women; it (rather than *kalenda*, as in Labat) was the dance performed by nuns at Christmas; and, brought by the Moors from Africa to Spain, it was identical to *fandango*. But Moreau de Saint-Méry offers no corroborating evidence for these claims.⁷

Without implying that the following dances are identical, this is nonetheless the place to gather additional descriptions of flirtatious couple dances utilizing pelvic isolation and, in some instances, physical contact. Roger Bastide (1971:174-76) mentions three: an unnamed Mexican dance recorded in 1766 (which involved four couples: a *contradance*?); an unnamed line dance from Peru, which included belly bumping *à la* Labat's *kalenda* and was reported in both 1747 and 1791;⁸ and, in Uruguay, *kalenda*, *bamboula*, and *chica*. Brazilian *batuque* (Fryer 2000:95-102) and the rural *samba de roda* (ring *samba*), which is "simply the *batuque* under a different name" (Fryer 2000:102), both feature the belly/pelvic thrust, called *semba* in Angola (one hypothetical source of the word "samba") and *ombigada* (*umbigada*) in Brazil (Crowell 2002:17).⁹

7. Moreau de Saint-Méry (1976:56, 60) may have intended to portray differences between these dances as racial rather than choreographic. His discussion of *kalenda* is in a section devoted to black dances, while *chica* appears in a passage on creoles. In this context, "creole" could mean either whites born in the Caribbean (the original sense of the word), people of mixed blood, or perhaps people of Spanish descent; see Bremer's reference to *chica* in 1840s-50s Cuba (in Emery 1988:26). Moreau de Saint-Méry does not state which meaning he intends.

8. Nathan Hamilton Crowell, Jr. (2002:16) cites a similar account from Peru in 1763.

9. Kazadi Wa Mukuna (1978:74) lists sixteen styles of Brazilian dance with *ombigada*, including *lundu*, *samba de roda*, and *batuque*. Some are simply different regional versions of others. Mukuna considers these dances to be of Bantu origin, a point to which I will return.

In the contemporary circum-Caribbean, a major example of this type of dancing is the Cuban rumba complex. Rumba guaguancó can include contact: the man attempts to give the woman a *vacunao* (vaccination), gesturing toward her groin with his hand, foot, or pelvis. In another rumba dance for couples, *yambú*, the *vacunao* is suggested but not given. (A common lyric is “*yambú no tiene vacunao*” [yambú doesn’t have a *vacunao*]). The older Cuban dance *yuka*, considered the predecessor of rumba, includes a noncontact pelvic gesture called *ndoki*.¹⁰

Also in the contemporary circum-Caribbean, Martinican North Atlantic *bèlè* includes flirtation up to and including pelvis/belly contact, called *zabap* or *wabap*. On neighboring St. Lucia the same movement, found in the *jwé dansé* genre, is called *blotjé* (Guilbault 1993, 1998:943). There are photographs of dancers doing this move in a *bamboula* dance on St. Thomas in the 1940s (Leaf 1948:138-39). The *tambu* of Curaçao (Christa 2002:295-96), the *baile de tambor* of Congo dance groups in Panama (Smith 1985:192-95), and *baile de palos* in the Dominican Republic (Davis 2002:136) all feature sexy couple-dancing without contact. In the Panamanian dance the woman uses her long skirt as a prop, and in a photograph accompanying Davis’s description of *baile de palos*, a woman gestures with a handkerchief, as in Moreau de Saint-Méry’s *kalenda*. Finally, perhaps the paradigmatic modern example of pelvic isolation (usually without contact) is Trinidadian and Jamaican “*winin’*.” As recently as 1932 and 1953, newspaper reports from Trinidad described *kalenda* as consisting of “windings and contortions of the body” (Crowley n.d.:8-9). Still, there is no guarantee that modern *winin’* descended directly from *kalenda*.

EROTICISM EXAMINED

A remarkable feature in the history of writing on dance in the circum-Caribbean is how authors focus on eroticism obsessively, while reducing it to a single sensational image: frenzied black dancers revolving their loins and bumping together. This image appears to have formed fairly early. For example, Diderot’s encyclopedia (1751-72) followed Labat in depicting “*calinda*” as an erotic line dance (cited in Rosemain 1993:111). Moreau de Saint-Méry’s rather different description, as well as others, were ignored. In numerous works since, compilers have lumped Labat’s, Moreau de Saint-Méry’s, and other descriptions together as if they were the same, ignoring their variety and

10. Judith Justiz, personal communication. *Yuka*’s claim to rumba ancestry is based on the similarity of the choreography and musical ensemble (one-headed barrel drums played with the hands, i.e., *congas*). According to Vélez (2000:65), *makuta*, a dance related to *yuka* in that both are considered Congolese, also uses the pelvic thrust.

focusing, in the main, on sensational eroticism (Emery 1988:25). Kalenda is often the focus of this approach, and (at least in French Antillean writing) seems to have garnered a reputation as *the* proto-Caribbean dance.¹¹

The historical reasons for such reductionism seem straightforward enough. White colonials created an image of black identity that embodied both their own forbidden desires and their fears.¹² More recent Caribbean writers – political, literary, scholarly, and popular – tracing their own roots, have often sought the specific African provenance of one or another custom, or have attempted to designate a single neo-African dance as the source of today’s welter of styles. This is understandable: the search for origins can easily become a search for a singular, definite beginning; a desire to say, “*this* is my ancestry.”

But eroticism is a broad and variable realm. Given the tendency to lump descriptions together, it is worth reexamining such concrete details as we can find.

Labat’s and Moreau de Saint-Méry’s descriptions differ not only in their choreography but in their sensibility: Labat’s kalenda is “lascivious,” Moreau de Saint-Méry’s “vivacious” and “graceful.”¹³ It is difficult, however, to know exactly what to make of these adjectives. To my eye, for example, the movements of Martinique’s southern *belair* genre (*bèlè du sud*, which includes the dance *kalenda du sud*) are graceful, minimalist, and reserved; dancers circle one another slowly, there is little pelvic isolation or overt flirtation, and no contact. Yet some Martinicans find the dance “*très lascive et sensuelle*” (AM4 1992b:58-59). This recalls Moreau de Saint-Méry’s “lascivious or voluptuous” *chica*, yet that dance, with its flirtatious advances and retreats, seems more like Cuban rumba than *bèlè du sud* – or, for that matter, more like Martinique’s North Atlantic *belair* dances, which are full of flirtatious play.

11. Even in Lynne Emery (1988) and Dena Epstein (1977), *kalenda* is treated first and in the most depth, though the erotic fetishism is lacking. See Bill Maurer 1991 for a discussion of some issues of problematic stereotyping in Caribbean dance scholarship.

12. It is worth repeating that a focus on eroticism in black New World dance and music was an obsession of white observers rather than of the performers themselves. In a parallel article to this one (Gerstin in press), I examine ways in which dance served white hegemony as a key trope of black identity, a way in which blackness could be delimited and to a certain extent controlled – although an important aspect of the trope is that black eroticism cannot be entirely controlled. See Barbara Browning (1998) for an insightful study of recent ways in which this trope has resurfaced. Another aspect of the trope is its reductionism, that is, the extent to which black people became visible to whites only as carriers of dance and music.

13. The cosmopolitan traveler, Moreau de Saint-Méry, was not afraid to describe eroticism when he saw it; he called *chica* “lascivious” and “voluptuous.” He simply did not see *kalenda* as outstandingly erotic.

A distinction may be drawn between pelvic isolation (typically rotation) and contact per se. Not all dances using isolation proceed on to contact: Moreau de Saint-Méry describes *chica* dancers as “almost touching,” but does not say they actually touch. Today’s “winin” movement of Trinidad and Jamaica seems similar. In Martinique’s category of *lalin klé* dances, to which the line dance *mabelo* belongs, there is also a ring dance called *ting bang* that employs the *zabap* bumping movement, but the dancers do not meet. Cuban *yuka* also employs a bumping movement (*ndoki*) without contact.

In addition, there may be contact without pelvic isolation. In *mabelo*, partners grab one another’s hips and pull themselves together, with full contact from belly through thighs. Labat is clear about this: “it seems that they beat their bellies together, while it is however only their thighs that support the blows.” It is actually everything from bellies through thighs, but Labat comes very close for someone who in all likelihood never tried the dance himself.¹⁴

Moreover, there are varying manners of signifying erotic contact. It is not always pelvis to pelvis. In Cuban *rumba guaguancó*, the *vacunao* may be given by the man’s hand or foot to the woman’s groin, or simply in her general direction.

Yet another distinction is whether contact is prescribed or optional. In Labat’s *kalenda*, bumping was a set part of the dance, as it is in today’s *mabelo*, occurring regularly on the main beats. Likewise, St. Lucian *débòt*, *yonbòt*, and *fwé pòté* are ring dances similar to Martinican *ting bang*, but with obligatory contact (Guilbault 1998c:943). However, in most contemporary Caribbean dances that include contact, the man pursues, and the woman simultaneously entices and avoids him; whether they will make contact is left to their inspiration. Martinique’s North Atlantic *belair* genre (described further below) is of this latter type. In *rumba guaguancó* the *vacunao* is not obligatory; neither is it in the *ombigada* or *semba* in Brazilian *samba de roda*.

Finally, there are degrees of sexual intent. In Martinique’s North Atlantic *belair*, flirtation and even pelvic contact are usually treated as pleasant fun. One is rarely really pursuing one’s partner, unless there is some serious flirtation going on outside the dance as well. All kinds of games may be played with eyes, hands, and body, with approach and evasion, and with props such as skirts and hats. Even in *mabelo*, where body contact is prescribed, partners signal their willingness to interact through meeting or avoiding one another’s eyes, by withholding themselves tensely or thwacking solidly, and so on.

14. Martinican dance instructors are specific about the contact: it should be strong, not timid, so the force of the blow must be distributed, and this means it is not simply a pelvic thrust. As one teacher, Pierre Dru, puts it, “if you go around thrusting your pelvis at people you’ll hurt yourself.”

STICK-FIGHTING DANCES

Another form of kalenda in the Caribbean is a stick-fighting dance, done almost exclusively by men.¹⁵ It is not clear how the name shifted from dance to stick fighting, but stick-fighting calinda was part of Carnival in Trinidad and Grenada from the nineteenth well into the twentieth centuries (Hill 1972:23-31; Cowley 1996:2, 14, 45, 78, 85). It spread to the Carnival of nearby Carriacou in the twentieth century (Pearse 1955:30, 1956:6; Hill 1980:9; Anon 1994:156).¹⁶ It was also known on St. Thomas (Leaf 1948:190). Harold Courlander (1960:133) refers to a Haitian stick-fighting dance called *mousondi*, but identified by older Haitians as *calinda*. Courlander also mentions a stick-fighting “*bomba calindán*” in Puerto Rico.¹⁷ Jocelyn Gabali (1980:91, 109) lists a Guadeloupean stick-fighting art called *calinda* or *konvalen*.¹⁸ For Martinique I know of a single reference to a stick-fighting *calinda*, from the late nineteenth century (Hearn 1923:146). But though several styles of *kalenda* exist today on Martinique, none involve stick fighting.¹⁹

15. The subject of stick-fighting *kalenda* leads to the larger theme of martial art dances throughout the Caribbean world: *mani* in Cuba – said to be of Congolese origin (Veléz 2000:64-65; Daniel 2002:35); *mayolè*, *sovéyan*, and *bénaden* (three different forms of stylized wrestling) in Guadeloupe (Bertrand 1966a:21; Gabali 1980:137-38; Uri & Uri 1991:79-90; Guilbault 1998b:876); *danmyé* (a.k.a. *ladja*) in Martinique, *kokomakaku* in Curaçao (Christa 2002:298), *broma* in Venezuela, “knocking and kicking” from the Sea Islands of the southeastern United States (Fryer 2000:29). In Brazil there is both a stick-fighting dance, *maculelê*, and a combat dance without sticks, *capoeira*.

16. Lorna McDaniel (1998a:19) lists three *kalendas* in Carriacou’s Big Drum: Old *Kalenda*, *Woman Kalenda*, and *Trinidad Kalenda*. Of *Trinidad kalenda*, Andrew Pearse (1956:6) writes, “this is a Trinidad stick-fighting song appropriated to the Big Drum Dance, when it is not, of course, used for stick-fighting.”

17. According to Halbert Barton (2002:189) the name of Puerto Rican stick fighting, which is one variation of the *sicá* style of *bomba*, is *cocobalé*.

18. Actually, Gabali (1980:91, 109) mentions a Guadeloupean stick-fighting art twice, one time calling it *calinda* and the other time *konvalen*. Perhaps Gabali is simply assimilating Guadeloupean stick fighting to the better-known Trinidadian style.

19. The Martinican dance *larivyè léza*, which used to be performed at communal house-raisings, may have been a stick fight, but it may simply have been work music (AM4 1992b:59; see the song “*La Rivyè Léza*” on Gerstin & Cyrille 2001). On the other hand *larivyè léza* was found along Martinique’s North Caribbean coast near the city of St.-Pierre, an area of which Hearn often wrote; this lends Hearn’s brief mention some credence. Recently, cultural activists in Martinique have reconstructed distinct *larivyè léza* substyles for stick fighting and house-raisings, as well as forms of *kalenda* for both stick fighting (*je baton* or *konbat baton*) and mimed stick fighting (AM4 2003; Pierre Dru, Daniel Bardury, Maria Vincente-Fatna, personal communications). However even among these researchers, these reconstructions have been controversial.

BAMBOULA, DJOUBA, AND BELAIR

An 1881 newspaper article on Trinidadian Carnival of the 1830s reports, “at carnival time our mothers and grandmothers have even danced the *belair* to the African drums whose sound did not offend their dainty ears, and our fathers and grandfathers danced the *bamboula*, the *ghouba* and the *calinda*” (Cowley n.d.:8). All of these dances were widespread in the circum-Caribbean. We will begin with bamboula.

Bamboula forms the centerpiece to Cable’s article on New Orleans’ Congo Square. As noted above, Cable did not see the dancing, and his writing tends toward the exotic. Here is a representative example from his passage on bamboula:

Yonder brisk and sinewy fellow has taken one short, nervy step into the ring ... He moves off to the farther edge of the circle, still singing, takes the prompt hand of an unsmiling Congo girl, leads her into the ring, and leaving the chant for the throng, stands her before him for the dance ... Now for the frantic leaps! Now for frenzy! Another pair are in the ring! ... And still another couple enter the circle. (Cable 1969:38)

Assuming there is some truth to this, the basic choreography was a couple or couples within a circle. However, compare Benjamin Henry Latrobe’s 1819 account of Congo Square (an eyewitness account, this time). Latrobe (1905:180) describes the square filled with a large crowd and a number of dance rings; in most of the rings he observed “two women dancing. They each held a coarse handkerchief, extended by the corners, in their hands, and set to each other in a miserably dull and slow figure, hardly moving their feet or bodies.” Again the basic choreography is couples in a circle, but Latrobe depicts a same-sex version, the handkerchief recalls Moreau de Saint-Méry’s *chica*, and the dancers are reserved rather than frenetic.²⁰

Bamboula was also reported in Trinidad in the 1700s (Cowley 1996:7, 45) and in St. Lucia in 1844 (Breen, in Abrahams & Szwed 1983:267; Emery 1988:27). In Guadeloupe bamboula is considered the predecessor of today’s *gwoka* (Lafontaine 1986:85-90; Rosemain 1986:22, 53; Uri & Uri 1991:38-39).²¹ Bamboula existed within living memory in St. Croix (Oliver

20. Latrobe does not name the dances he saw, which he happened upon by accident when out for a walk. Another report on Congo Square dancing, from 1808, names the dance done there as bamboula (Laussat, in Epstein 1977:84).

21. Rosemain (1986:50-51, 53) is vague as to whether the term “bamboula” was used in Martinique as well as Guadeloupe. The only specific reference I have found to bamboula in Martinique is from the contemporary research group AM4, which describes bamboula as a drumming competition (AM4 1992a:96). AM4’s citation is taken from an anecdote recounted by Hearn (1923:82), who claims to have heard it from an old drummer. I would prefer more supporting evidence than this.

2002:208-10), and on St. Thomas is either recently extinct or recently reconstructed.²² Earl Leaf states that the St. Thomas version was danced by pairs of women, like the dance Latrobe saw in New Orleans (Leaf 1948:136-43). The name is also found in Haiti for a dance performed “on the occasion of building a new house” (Courlander 1960:136); in the Samaná region of the Dominican Republic (bambulá), where it is considered to be derived from Haiti (Davis 1998:856, 2002:142); and as one variation (bambulé) of the sicá style of Puerto Rican bomba (Barton 2002:189). An alternative name for one of Carriacou’s Big Drum dances, *quelbe*, is *boula*, a shortened form of “*bamboula*” (McDaniel 1998a:19).

Djouba (*djuba*, *juba*, *yuba*) is another frequently reported dance. On Haiti, *djouba* is also called *tanbou matinik* (Martinican drum) or simply *matinik*, indicating the importance of cultural ties between the French colonies. The newspaper article quoted on page 15 on Trinidad Carnival mentions “*ghouba*.” According to Roberts (1972:157, 223), *djouba* existed at one time in Guadeloupe. *Juba* is one of the Creole dances of the Big Drum ceremony in Carriacou (Pearse 1956:4; Hill 1980:8; McDaniel 1998a:19).²³ *Yubá* is one form of bomba in Puerto Rico (Vega Drouet 1998:937; Barton 2002:186). One of the dances of *tumba francesa*, a contradance style brought to eastern Cuba by the slaves of planters fleeing the Haitian Revolution, is *yuba* (Alén Rodríguez 1986:169; Szwed & Marks 1988:30; Armas Rigal 1991:29-32).

Cable (1969:48) briefly mentions *djouba* in New Orleans: “The *guiouba* was probably the famed *juba* of Georgia and the Carolinas.” But this seems to me to be a case of one name being used for very different things. *Djouba* as performed in Congo Square would probably have been a drum dance, whereas the *juba* of the rural South was a solo body-percussion style, “*patting Juba*” (Epstein 1977:141-44).²⁴

22. Courlander 1954:Band 21, liner notes 4; Bilby 1985:188; Lieth-Philipp 1988:8; Sheehy 1998:973.

23. McDaniel (1998a:185) mentions that one *Juba* song, “*Le Oue Mwe La*,” is danced by two women, like Latrobe’s dance and the *bamboula* of St. Thomas. Perhaps Carriacou’s *Woman Kalenda* is also a female couple dance.

24. *Patting juba* often accompanied buck dancing, a solo male competitive/display style. The minstrel entertainer William Henry Lane billed himself as *Master Juba*, and, since minstrel dancing was based on buck dancing, Lane perhaps took his stage name from that source. But *Juba* may also have been a character of folklore; he appears, for example, in a 1793 ballad (Hamm 1979:110). This does not clarify the connection between southern U.S. *patting juba* and the Caribbean drum dance *djouba*.

A similar conundrum is posed by Cuban friends who have suggested to me that the “*yuba*” of *tumba francesa* derives from the Yoruba word *moyuba* (praise), as in a Santería song to the deity *Eleggua* that begins, “*moyuba, moyuba orisa*.” However, since *yuba* belongs to the *tumba francesa* complex, a derivation from “*djouba*” seems more likely. I will argue in this article for a central African (Congolese) rather than West African origin for many of the early Caribbean musical traits, including both *djouba* and *tumba francesa*.

A recent publication cites Moreau de Saint-Méry's description of kalenda – a couple dance – to illustrate Haitian djouba (Frank 2002:111). However, several older works depict djouba as a line dance. Dunham (1947:45-46) describes the Haitian version as “a ‘set’ dance of several men and women facing each other in two lines, with movement and attention directed to a partner.” The yuba of Cuban tumba francesa is a contradance (as are the other tumba francesa dances). And in French Guiana, djouba is a contradance (Blérald-Ndagano 1996:179).

The final dance complex I will discuss is belair.²⁵ This dance is found today on Martinique (the Creole spelling is bèlè), St. Lucia (bélé) (Guilbault 1993:1, 3), Dominica (bélé or, according to Phillip n.d., bèlè),²⁶ and on Trinidad, Tobago, and Carriacou (bélé, bele, or belair).²⁷ Puerto Rico's bomba complex includes a style known as belén. Belair formerly existed in Grenada (Pearse 1955:31; McDaniel 1998b:865); St. Thomas, where it was danced only by women (Leaf 1948:184-90); and French Guiana (Beaudet 1998:437). In the latter case, the contemporary kaseko dance complex is considered belair's direct descendant (Blérald-Ndagano 1996). In most of these places belair features couple flirtation in the center of a circle.

A number of authors describe belair as “creole.”²⁸ I take it they mean to depict belair as a fully Caribbean synthesis.²⁹ In fact, I do not find references to belair before the late 1700s and early 1800s. Women's costume for belair suggests this creolization, as it is most often based on the French creole outfit of long skirts and petticoats, plaid waistcloth (madras), lace-trimmed blouse, and madras headscarf. (Men's costume varies more widely, but often includes the madras worn as a belt, and a high-crowned straw hat.) In Trinidad, as in Martinique's North Atlantic, belair uses quadrille or contradance choreography (Herskovits & Herskovits 1964:158-59). On Carriacou, the dances of the Big Drum ceremony are grouped into three major categories: nation dances, creole dances, and frivolous. The belairs

25. Here I use the French spelling, since the various creole orthographies are so different.

26. Caudeiron 1988:27; Honychurch 1988:36-37; Guilbault 1998a:841; Phillip n.d.

27. Pearse 1955:30-31; Herskovits & Herskovits 1964:158-59, 1956:4; Roberts 1972:117; Anon 1994:156; David 1994:162, 164; McDaniel 1998a:19, 1998b:865, 1998c:959.

28. For example, for kaseko in French Guiana, Blérald-Ndagano 1996; for Trinidad and Tobago, McDaniel 1998c:959.

29. Here we might distinguish Roberts's term “neo-African” from “creole”: “neo-African” suggests dance and music synthesized by slaves from African sources, retaining an identification with Africa if not with specific African ethnic groups; “creole” indicates dance and music that has been further indigenized, and which is identified as local. All the dances known as belair have taken this second step.

belong to the creole category, along with Old Kalenda, juba, and quelbe (boula) (McDaniel 1998a:19). Such details lend credence to the idea that belair was associated with the spread of French creole culture somewhat after the period of initial neo-African transculturations. The use of “kalenda” as a name for stick fighting may also be a later accretion, as may be the link of both kalenda and belair to satirical songs, discussed below.

CHALLENGE/DISPLAY DANCING

Challenge dancing (Crowell 2002:12) involves “agonistic display” (Barton 2002) between a dance soloist and a lead drummer, in which the drummer tries to mark the dancer’s movements in sound. I would expand the category of “challenge dancing” to include virtuoso solo display as well as challenge per se. This is a widespread African type, and it surely traveled to the New World, although I have found only a few colonial descriptions. An unnamed, men-only competitive display was performed in the Bahamas in the late nineteenth century (Edwards, in Emery 1988:29), while an 1844 account from Cuba tells of a woman dancing competitively with a succession of men (Wurdemann, in Emery 1988:27). Southern U.S. buck dancing also fits the type.

Modern examples include Cuban rumba colombia, Puerto Rican bomba, and at least two Guadeloupean gwoka dances, toumblak and kaladja. Dunham described djouba as “primarily a competitive dance of skill” (Emery 1988:27). In addition, some dances in the contemporary kalenda and belair complexes are competitive. Of Old Kalenda, one of the creole category of dances in the Big Drum of Carriacou, Pearse (1956:6) writes, “the dance, which now often incorporates some of the eccentric and violent movements of stick-fighting,³⁰ is by a man or a woman, and is a dramatic duel between the drummer and the dancer, in counterpoint. The drumming is extravagant and complex.”

There may be elements of sexuality in challenge/display dances – the moving human body is almost always erotic – as well as dimensions of challenge in erotic dances, that is, flirtation/avoidance between partners, or competition between men for a female dancer. But most dances seem to emphasize either challenge/display or eroticism, not both. For example, Cuban rumba guaguancó is clearly a couple/flirtation dance, while rumba colombia is a virtuoso solo display by a series of men (nowadays women as well), with some degree of dancer/drummer challenge.

30. Old Kalenda, a dance incorporating some stick-fighting movements, is distinct from Trinidad Kalenda, which incorporates a Trinidadian stick-fighting song (see note 16).

The style of kalenda danced in the North Atlantic region of Martinique, particularly in rural settlements surrounding the town of Ste.-Marie, clearly fits the challenge/display description.³¹ The dance is performed by successive soloists in the center of a circle, until recently always men. Some movements are fixed by tradition, but many dancers develop their own signature variations, which may be spectacular and acrobatic. Dancer and drummer (only one drummer plays at a time) match movements and drum rhythms together; there is an element of improvised reciprocity as well as competition. A well-known Martinican dancer from the North Atlantic region told Dominique Cyrille and me,

you make a turn around the circle before presenting yourself in front of the drum ... Now when you arrive before the drum and the drum goes *tipitip* and immediately marks for you whatever it is you have done. You come and the drum works with you; you come back and the drum is with you. Whatever you have done the drum works with you. (Vava Grivalliers, interview)

This is as neat a synopsis of the challenge/virtuoso aesthetic as any.³²

SATIRE AND SECULARISM

By the nineteenth century, kalenda and belair had become, in certain places, the vehicles of topical, satirical song. Cable (1886; in Katz 1969:43) writes, "in Louisiana, at least, [kalenda] song was always a grossly personal satirical ballad ... it has long been a vehicle for the white Creole's satire; for generations the man of municipal politics was fortunate who escaped entirely a lamponing set to its air."³³ Cowley and others describe both stick-fighting calin-

31. Martinique's North Atlantic coast is the part of the island closest to Guadeloupe, and there may be an historical connection between Guadeloupean gwoka and the North Atlantic kalenda (AM4 1992a:77).

32. In southern Martinique there may also have been a solo-display kalenda close to that of the North Atlantic, and distinct from the kalenda du sud dance of the southern belair genre. However, if this dance existed, it is "scarcely remembered" (AM4 1992b:58).

33. Cable's discussion of satirical kalenda songs and musical instruments is extensive (unlike his very brief account of kalenda as a dance) and he seems to have been familiar with these songs firsthand. Cowley (n.d.:10) notes that the calinda song transcribed by Cable for Allen, Ware, and Garrison's 1867 *Slave Songs of the United States* may also be found in Henry Edward Krehbiel's 1914 *Afro-American Folksongs* and in a 1930s collection, Irène Thérèse Whitfield's *Louisiana French Folk Songs*. These versions differ from one another, suggesting that they were collected from multiple sources. This, in turn, lends credence to the idea of calinda as a widespread creole/African American song form.

da and *belair* songs as predecessors of calypso (Hill 1972:11, 34, 63; Cowley 1996:7, 45). Similarly, in Martinique and Guadeloupe, we find references to nineteenth-century *belair* as “improvisations” or satirical songs of domestic slaves (Cally-Lézin 1990:69-70) and of urban free blacks (Hearn 1977:84; Rosemain 1993:53-54). H.H. Breen (in Abrahams & Szwed 1983:263-65), in 1844, described St. Lucian *belairs* as songs sung without dancing by the La Rose and La Marguerite societies. In Martinique, *belair* songs provided the melodic basis for *biguine* (Rosemain 1993:139-41), just as *kalenda* and *belair* songs did for calypso in Trinidad. In this context of emergent nineteenth- and early twentieth-century dance-band music, *kalenda* and *belair* were a vital part of urban, proletarian culture in the creole-speaking islands.

All of these dances – *kalenda*, *chica*, *bamboula*, *djouba*, and *belair* – appear to have been secular.³⁴ Apart from Labat’s and Moreau de Saint-Méry’s nuns, I am aware of very few references to *kalenda* that specifically involve religion. Epstein (1977:135) cites an 1885 report from New Orleans of a vodoun ceremony that included “the weird and strange ‘Danse Calinda.’” Courlander (1960:132) notes, “the word Calinda appears sometimes in songs of the Vodoun cult” in Haiti and also mentions the reputed existence of a Calinda secret society, though he is dubious about the latter’s reality. Finally, he mentions that the Haitian stick fight *mousondi* or *calinda* is associated with the Congo “nation” of vodoun (Courlander 1960:133, 166-67).

Funeral wakes are sometimes the setting for Haitian *djouba* (Courlander 1960:135), Carriacouan stick-fighting *kalenda* (Anon. 1994:156), and *belair* in both St. Lucia and Dominica (Guilbault 1998a:841). In Trinidad, *belair* is performed to honor ancestors (Herskovits & Herskovits 1964:158-63). However, occasional performance at wakes does not necessarily mean that a dance is religious. In Martinique and Guadeloupe, storytelling (*kont*) and vocalized percussion songs (*mizik djel*, *boula djel*) are associated with traditional wakes, yet are not considered sacred music.³⁵

The issue of religion is important because those who have attempted to counter the stereotype of hypersexuality in black dance have frequently

34. In light of the connection of these dances to the central African region, to be discussed below, it is worth noting Bastide’s (1971:11, 105-6) contention that Bantu influence in the New World survives more strongly in secular folklore than in organized religion. By and large, I have omitted discussion of the many central-African-derived religious groups and quasi-religious “nations” scattered throughout the New World and named Congo; they have little to do with the *kalenda*, *bamboula*, *djouba*, *chica*, or *belair* dance complexes, which are primarily secular.

35. Marie-Céline Lafontaine (1986) suggests that at Guadeloupean wakes, *kont*, and *boula djel* exist in symbolic opposition to the sacred: they are performed outside by men, in contrast to hymns sung indoors by women.

insisted on the art's spiritual, ritualistic quality. The "sacred fertility dance" trope finds its origins in European Romanticism, animates *The Golden Bough*, resurfaces in negritude, and continues today in New Age invocations of "spirituality" in regard to virtually everything. There may be truth in this idea, but too often it seems to be just another exoticizing, primitivist projection. Kalenda, chica, bamboula, djouba, and belair do not need such apology.

MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT: TRANSVERSE HEELED DRUMMING

So far we have looked at dancing per se. Links between styles proliferate further if we take into account musical instruments and methods of playing them.

The name bamboula (often shortened to boula) recurs on several islands as a term for supporting drums in percussion ensembles. The small drum in Labat's (1972:401-2) report on Martinican kalenda was called baboula; that in Moreau de Saint-Méry's (1976:52-53) Haitian kalenda was called bamboula. A 1798 account from Puerto Rico mentions drums called bamboula, as well as drums called bomba (Roberts 1972:42). Today, the smallest supporting drum of today's Haitian vodoun ensemble is still called boula, as are the large supporting drums in Guadeloupean gwoka, Carriacouan bele (McDaniel 1992:397; David 1994:167-68; 1998a:82), and Dominican bèlè (Phillip n.d.:5). In Cuba, one of the drums used in tumba francesa is called bulá (Alén Rodríguez 1986:169; Armas Rigal 1991:6). An exception to the supporting role of drums of this name is found in Grenada, where baboula was the lead drum for nineteenth-century belair (McDaniel 1998b:865).

Djouba, bamboula, and sometimes belair are associated with transverse drumming – that is, the drums are played lying on their side, the drummers sitting astride them, sometimes pressing one heel on the drumhead to change the pitch. Latrobe's (1905:180-81) New Orleans journal of 1819 describes drums played transversally and includes a sketch (reproduced in Epstein 1977:98); later, Cable's (1969:34) article and Kemble's accompanying engraving reiterated this information. A 1707 painting from Suriname includes two drummers playing transverse drums (Price & Price 1980), and there is a transverse drum in an 1835 engraving of Brazilian capoeira (Fryer 2000:28).

In many of these same traditions, a second percussionist plays a supporting ostinato with sticks on the side of the drum, behind the seated drummer. This accompanist can be seen in the 1707 Surinamese painting and possibly the Cable/Kemble engraving, although in the latter case it is hard to discern whether the man kneeling behind the drummers is playing sticks or another drum (Southern & Wright 2000:36). A 1796 report from Barbados mentions a drummer who, "sitting across the body of the drum, as it lies lengthwise upon

the ground, beats and kicks the sheep skin at the end, in violent exertion with his hands and heels, and [another man] sitting upon the ground at the other end, behind the man upon the drum, beats upon the wooden sides of it with two sticks" (Pinckard, in Abrahams & Szwed 1983:294; Epstein 1977:62).

Contemporary styles using transverse drumming include: Martinican *bèlè* and *kalenda* (in all their varieties); Guadeloupean *gwoka*; Haitian *djouba* (or *tanbou matinik*) as played by certain drummers (Courlander 1954: Band 21, liner notes 4; Fleurant 1996:30); *balsié* drumming for the dance *pripi* in the Dominican Republic (Davis 1998:852); *kanmougé* in French Guiana (Blérald-Ndagano 1996:60; Beaudet 1998:437); *chanté siay* in St. Lucia (Guilbault 1993:2); *kumina* and *tambo* in Jamaica;³⁶ *bamboula* in St. Thomas (Leaf 1948:136-43); *batuque* and *jongo* in the states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, and Minas Gerais, Brazil (Kubik 1990:149-50; Fryer 2000:104); Venezuelan *mina*, *cumaco*, *tambor grande*, and *burro* (Brandt 1994:271, 1998:526-28; Garcia & Duysens 1999:57-59); Cuban *yuka* (Veléz 2000:66); sometimes Cuban *tumba francesa* (Alén Rodríguez 1986:170); and on occasion *bomba* in Puerto Rico.³⁷

Contemporary examples of accompanying sticks on the side are Martinican North Atlantic *bèlè* and *kalenda*, in which the sticks are known as *tibwa*; *kanmougé* in French Guiana (also *tibwa*); Haitian *djouba* (Courlander 1954:Band 21, liner notes 4); Jamaican *kumina* and *tambo* (*catta* or *kata*) (Carty 1988:20; Lewin 2000:171, 243-44; Roberts n.d.:Side 2, track 1); St. Thomas *bamboula* (*catta*) (Leaf 1948:137); Cuban *yuka* (Veléz 2000:66) and *tumba francesa* (Armas Riga 1991:5-6) (the sticks are called *catá* for both styles); and the Venezuelan styles listed above (*palos* or *laures*).³⁸

Belair as played outside of Martinique (St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Thomas, Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada, and Carriacou) uses upright drums; however sticks are often played on the drum side or rim. As an alternative to sticks-on-the-side, sticks may be played on a piece of bamboo or hollowed wood. This occurs in Martinique (the bamboo idiophone is still called *tibwa*) and occasionally Guadeloupe;³⁹ Puerto Rican *bomba* (*cuá*); Cuban *rumba* and some-

36. Bilby 1985:187-88; Carty 1988:20; Lewin 1998:898, 903, 2000:171, 243-44; Roberts n.d.:Side 2 track 1.

37. Hal Barton, personal communication.

38. In the Barlovento area, the tall *mina* drum is leant against a wooden support and the drummer stands to play, in the manner of Ewe *atsimevu* drumming in Ghana, but *palos* are still played on the side (Brandt 1994:271, 1998:526-28).

39. Some Guadeloupean musicians say the practice was recently copied from Martinique, and some Martinican musicians say the opposite. I have seen *tibwa* played on bamboo in the Martinican work music *gran son* (part of the *lasoté* communal work party) and the merry-go-round tradition *chouval bwa*, so I believe it is traditional on that island.

times yuka (paila, guagua or catá) (Hill 1998:198); and in Jamaica among the Maroons (kwat) and in gumbay drumming of the west of the island.⁴⁰

Above, I noted a connection between belair and djouba, in that Haitian djouba is also known as tanbou matinik, and is played in the style of Martinican North Atlantic belair with transverse drumming and sticks on the side. A similar overlap is found in Trinidadian bele, which is also known as juba (Herskovits & Herskovits 1964:159). Bélé juba is one of several belair dances in Dominica (Honychurch 1988:36-37; Guilbault 1998a:841).⁴¹

ACCOUNTING FOR DISCREPANCIES

I have only scratched the surface of this tangle of names, places, and practices.⁴² It is obvious that certain dances were (and are) widespread but that

40. Kenneth Bilby, personal communication. Sticks may also be played as accompaniment on various other objects. One traveler to the British West Indies wrote, in 1793, "in general they prefer a loud and long-continued noise to the finest harmony, and frequently consume the whole night in beating on a board with a stick. This is in fact one of their chief musical instruments" (Edwards, in Abrahams & Szwed 1983:292). Another describes a kitty-katty, "nothing but a flat piece of board beat upon by two sticks" (Lewis 1815-17, in Abrahams & Szwed 1983:295; Emery 1988:18). The term "kitty-katty" may be a form of catta or kata. Similarly, a 1790 report from Jamaica mentions "a cotter, upon which they beat with sticks" (Beckford, in Abrahams and Szwed 1983:289).

I also have references to sticks played on a piece of wood for the Haitian stick fight mousondi/kalenda (Courlander 1960:131-32); and on a board (kwakwa) among the Aluku of French Guiana (Bilby 1989:57) and the Surinamese Maroons (Herskovits & Herskovits 1969:522). The Herskovits's note repeats a reference from Suriname in 1796 to a "quaque" board played in conjunction with transverse drumming (Stedman, in Abrahams and Szwed 1983:283-84). A bench or stool (tibwa) is used for kanmougé and kaseko among urban Creoles of French Guiana (Agarande 1989:100); a bench (kwakwa) by urban Creoles of Suriname (Herskovits & Herskovits 1969:522). In Jamaica, a bamboo bench or building support (kwat) may be used when a free piece of bamboo is unavailable (Kenneth Bilby, personal communication).

41. One last example of a connection between djouba and belair: Haitian djouba/tanbou matinik is the dance of the peasant *lwa* Zaka, who typically presents himself in farmer's clothing and carries a machete. In Martinique the dance mabelo, described below as the contemporary form of Labat's kalenda – a line dance with pelvic contact – is sometimes performed in Carnival and by tourist troupes under the name *négryé* or *danse de la canne* (dance of the cane): the dancers appear as cane-cutters, the men carrying stalks of sugarcane and machetes. In Cuba, the Congolese-derived yuka dance is sometimes done with sugarcane stalks and machetes (Vélez 2000:65).

42. Additional circum-Caribbean dance and music terms that would expand upon this article, but that I have not yet had the opportunity to collect systematically, include La Rose (léwoz), masón, ka, cata (catá, catta, cotter, cutter), piké (pitché), graj (grajé), gombay (gumbay, goombay), and tumba. Other terms such as shak-shak (Crowley 1958) and banjo (Epstein 1977) have already received such treatment.

observers' reports of them differ, sometimes quite drastically. We have various forms of dances with the same name: for example, *kalenda* as a line dance (Labat), as couples within a dance ring (Moreau de Saint-Méry), as stick fighting, as a type of satirical song, and in contemporary Martinique as a challenge dance (the North Atlantic version) and as a dance for multiple couples *sans* dance ring (the southern version). We have eroticism of many shades: graceful, voluptuous, lascivious, frenetic; as full-frontal contact, as pelvic isolation without contact; contact prescribed or optional. The historical records mix and match these features with bewildering complexity.

There are several possible reasons for such overlaps and discrepancies. The slaves often used a single term for multiple purposes. Breen (in Abrahams & Szwed 1983:266), writing of St. Lucia in 1844, states that any outdoors dance was called a *bamboula*, any indoors dance a *ball*. Such polysemy remains common in the Caribbean today. For example, *graj* (*grajé*), which means "grate" or "scrape" in French Creole, is both a dance and a dance step in southern Martinique, one of the *gwoka* dances in Guadeloupe, a contradance (Blérald-Ndagano 1996:125-28) or perhaps another form of dance (Beudet 1998:437) in French Guiana, and in Haiti both a musical instrument (a metal scraper) and a method of strumming guitar (by analogy to scraping). Also, as dances spread from island to island slaves adapted and altered them, resulting in quite varied styles with the same name.⁴³

White colonials' written testimony constitutes the bulk of the historical record, but white observers were not necessarily accurate. Having heard the name *kalenda* or *chica* in reference to one dance, they may have applied it indiscriminately to others. "It is evident," writes Courlander (1960:127), "that writers tended to use a single name, such as *Chica* or *Bamboula*, to cover virtually any kind of dance festivity, much as many white Cubans refer today to all sorts of Afro-Cuban cult dances as *Bembé*." I have already discussed how Moreau de Saint-Méry is often relied upon in such conflation, even today.

Many white writers were condescending towards black dances, while others found them offensive. Either of these attitudes could well have led to careless and superficial reporting. Even white observers who took the task of describing slave dances seriously may have lacked the cultural knowledge needed to discriminate between dances, musical instruments, the African provenance of

43. Folk etymology compounds the problem of polysemy, but researchers cannot seem to resist tackling the subject. For example, does the Guadeloupean term *gwoka* derives from French *gros ka* (big barrel) the rum barrels from which *gwoka* drums are made (Rosemain 1986:102), or from Bantu *ngoka* or *ngoma* (drum, drum dance) (Gabali 1980:91-96)? Does "bèlè" come from French *bel air* (pretty tune) or Kongo *boela*, a dance, or Kikongo *mbele* (sword) (Cyrille 2002:241)? Controversy over the provenance for Caribbean names often reflects, as in these examples, a desire to stress either European or African heritage.

slaves, the variety and meanings of African eroticism, and so on. "White commentators," Gordon Rohlehr (1990:15) points out, "tended to view Blacks as a single undifferentiated mass, and only a few would or could distinguish between nation and nation, let alone between dance and dance." Both sympathetic and antipathetic white chroniclers approached black dance with strongly held preconceptions and stereotypes that affected their accounts.

In the end, we may not be able to sort these dances by name. The surviving names have too broad a sweep of referents, and doubtless there were a great many other names that have vanished. But we can be assured that several basic choreographic styles existed: successive couples in a ring, line dances, challenge dances, and martial arts dances; and that these utilized various degrees of eroticism, from none (the martial arts dances), to light flirtation, to improvised or prescribed contact.

If the widespread recurrence of names and practices does nothing else, it provides evidence of the spread of creole culture from island to island in the Caribbean, from Brazil to New Orleans. I believe that we can use this fact to advance two hypotheses. First, slaves from Bantu-speaking central Africa played a large role in forming these early styles. Second, four of the five dances I have discussed – kalenda, djouba, bamboula, and belair – were particularly associated with the routes of French colonialism. Only *chica* seems to have been linked to Spanish rather than French slavery.

CONGOLESE/ANGOLAN INFLUENCES

A central African (Congolese, Angolan) connection is postulated for much of the dancing and drumming of the types described here.⁴⁴ Reports from New Orleans in the 1820s, for example, state that the Sunday afternoon dances of slaves were called "the Congo dance" (Epstein 1977:132-33), and, of course, the square where dances were held was known as Congo Square. Two of the choreographies discussed here – couple dancing in the center of a circle with flirtation, pelvic isolation, and sometimes contact; and challenge dancing between dance soloist and lead drummer – have also been associated with central Africa. The former, according to Brandel (1973:46), is "an integral part of many Central African dances" (see Crowell 2002:17; Fryer 2000:95-102).⁴⁵

44. For general studies discussing central African contributions to New World music, dance and other arts, see Bastide 1971; Kubik 1990, 1994; Thompson 1993; Crowell 2002.

45. Apropos of a possible Congolese etymology for *chica*, Kenneth Bilby (personal communication) suggests, "in KiKongo, the verb usually used to mean 'play' (as in to play an instrument) is *sika*. (In the Jamaican Kumina Kongo language, '*sika ngoma*' means 'to play the drum; to hold a dance' ...) The word-initial phonological shift from /s/ to /sh/ is fairly common in New World creole languages." *Sicá* is also the name of a major Puerto Rican bomba rhythm.

Transverse drumming with sticks on the side is of central African origins according to several authorities.⁴⁶ Photographs show the BaAka (Kisliuk 1998:91, 188) and BaBenzélé (Arom & Tourelle n.d.:Plates 4 and 5) of the Congolese rainforest performing in this fashion, and Tracey provides a good recorded example from southern Zimbabwe (Tracey n.d.:Side 1 track 5).

A second type of drumming associated with central Africa is open-bottom barrel drums played upright with the hands. Again, dances of the kalenda, bamboula, and belair complexes are associated with this style. Good contemporary examples are Puerto Rican bomba, Trinidadian bele, French Guianese kaseko, and Cuban rumba. The rumba complex includes both circle/couple/erotic choreography (yambú, guaguancó, yuka) and challenge (Colombia), both types being associated in Cuba with Congolese origin (Veléz 2000:64-65; Daniel 2002:35).⁴⁷ And, of course, one name of the drum used for these dances is conga (although the usual Cuban term is tumba).⁴⁸

The case for Congolese influence would be made stronger if it can be demonstrated that slaves from that area were important in the history of the places where kalenda, bamboula, djouba, and others existed and exist. To examine this issue, I turn to the history of the French slave trade.

THE FRENCH CONNECTION

Although the Spanish were the first to bring African slaves to the New World, their main interest lay in precious metals from the mainlands of Central and South America, and they used mostly Amerindian slaves to work their mines. It was the Portuguese who instigated the African slave trade in earnest, beginning in the early 1500s in the Senegambia and the Slave Coast (present-day Benin), then moving south to the kingdoms of Kongo by 1510 and Angola by 1550 (Reader 1997:379-80; Thomas 1997:221). Even so, the trade remained relatively small until the Dutch developed the sugar-plantation system in the early 1600s. The Portuguese and Dutch continued to domi-

46. Bilby 1985:187; Alén Rodriguez 1986:170, 1998:825; Szwed & Marks 1988:32; Kubik 1998:678; Lewin 1998:898.

47. Rumba, yuka, and makuta are distinct in Cuban thought from dances of Yoruban origin, e.g., those of the Santería religion. Drums for the latter include double-headed, hourglass-shaped batá drums and small, stick-played Arará drums, both of Yoruban origin and quite different from the congas used in the Congolese dances.

48. The drums used in the Haitian stick fight mousondi/kalenda are also called congo, and mousondi is associated with the Congo nation of vodoun (Courlander 1960:131-32, 133). Trinidadian belair, known also as djouba, is considered to be Congolese (Herskovits & Herskovits 1964:159, 284). The baile de tambor of Panama is performed by dance groups known as Congo (Smith 1985:192-95).

nate slaving through the 1600s, with the Portuguese controlling most shipments to Brazil and the Dutch those to the Caribbean (Thomas 1997:256; Fage 1999:244-48).⁴⁹ The Dutch system was soon copied by the British and French, who established their own plantations and slaving operations by the mid-1600s (Shillington 1995:174; Fage 1999:250-51).

According to Hugh Thomas (1997:189) Angolans and Congolese formed the largest percentage of the slave population in the 1600s and early 1700s, mainly because of Portuguese involvement. Virtually all Portuguese slaves went to Brazil, however, and may not have had much direct impact in the Caribbean. The British concentrated mainly on obtaining slaves from the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana and Togo) and Slave Coast, later drawing also from the Bight of Biafra (southeastern Nigeria) and Angola (Thomas 1997:247; Eltis 2000:252).

The French entered Senegal in 1539 and controlled the Senegambian trade through the 1600s – this was to remain the only area in which they had their own forts and trading centers (Rawley 1981:111; Thomas 1997:153; Fage 1999:249). However, this area was never a major source of slaves for the French, or any other European nation (Eltis 2000:164-69).⁵⁰ Even during the early years, 1650-1700, French slaving from the Bight of Benin outstripped that from the Senegambia, with 2,372 persons arriving in the New World from the former and 1,385 from the latter. In 1701-25, 9,547 arrived from the Senegambia and 38,411 from the Bight of Benin. By then, too, the French had moved into Congo-Angola, from which 9,690 slaves arrived (Eltis *et al.* 1999).⁵¹ Through the rest of the 1700s, Congo-Angola and Bight of Benin accounted for a decided majority of French slaves – the Bight of Biafra provided more than all the rest of West Africa together, 218,364 to 158,090, and

49. Over the course of the slave trade as a whole, the Portuguese brought a total of 3,646,800 Africans to the New World, the British 1,665,000 to the Caribbean and another 399,000 to North America, and the French 1,600,200 to their Caribbean colonies (Curtin 1969:268).

50. According to Eltis *et al.* (1999), the first slaves brought to the New World on French ships were from the Bight of Benin, not Senegambia, in 1670.

51. Other authors do not place the French in West Africa until about 1710 (David 1973:61; Stein 1979:78-79) nor in the Congo-Angola area until about 1730 (Rawley 1981:130; Thomas 1997:228). According to some authors (Rogozinski 1994:125; Fryer 2000:5-6), the center of slaving activity moved north again to the Slave Coast and the Bight of Benin in the late 1700s and early 1800s, but this may be more accurate for British than French slaving, as data on the French trade from Eltis *et al.* (1999) does not bear it out. My Eltis *et al.* (1999) data was generated by searching for numbers of slaves disembarked from French ships, by twenty-five-year period. Note that this is not the total for all ships arriving at French destinations, nor does it include interisland trade between French possessions.

central Africa still more, 333,013.⁵² In the Congo-Angola region, “although Portugal theoretically controlled maritime commerce along this section of the African coast, the French usually managed to conduct their business ... unhindered” (Stein 1979:79). During 1751-90, 258,240 slaves arrived from the region, including 68,399 in 1786-90 alone (Eltis *et al.* 1999). The French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars disrupted French slaving in the 1790s, but even so the 38,800 taken from Angola in 1791-1800, according to Curtin (1969:170), were the most from any region for that decade.⁵³ The policy of mercantilism meant that slaves were sold mainly to colonies of a ship’s mother country. (Apart, of course, from illegal trading.) Until 1730 French slavers almost always sailed first to Martinique; after 1730 Saint Domingue became the primary destination.⁵⁴

Additional factors should guide an interpretation of this data, including the importance of early and late arrivals and the conditions slaves encountered on different islands. I will treat only the matter of early versus late arrivals here.

Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price (1992), in their reconstruction of the dawn of Caribbean culture, write that adaptations and transculturations arose quickly, spread rapidly through commerce between islands, and laid down a basis for creole culture.⁵⁵ The speed of innovations was indeed remark-

52. Regional totals from Eltis *et al.* (1999) for slaves arriving in the New World on French ships in 1701-1800 are: Senegambia 52,169, Sierra Leone 22,192, Windward Coast 10,370, Gold Coast 34,502, Bight of Benin 218,364, Bight of Biafra 38,857, west central Africa (Congo-Angola) 333,013, southeast Africa 23,073.

53. Figures from other authors differ from those of Eltis *et al.* (1999). For example, according to Stein, in 1711-20, French traders took 10,300 Africans from the Senegambia and 3,200 from Angola (1979:12). However, other authors agree that the number of Senegambian slaves declined steadily while the Angolan trade increased. The best totals I have discovered from other authors place the total of slaves taken by the French in 1711-1800 at the following: Senegambia 77,100, Windward Coast 160,800, Gold Coast 146,700, Bight of Benin 175,500, and central Africa 342,300 (Curtin 1969:170; see also Stein 1979:23, 26, 211; Rawley 1981:129). Note that these are figures for slaves departing Africa, while my figures from Eltis *et al.* (1999) are for slaves disembarked in the New World.

54. Stein 1979:107, 109; Rawley 1981:105; Rogozinski 1994:125; Thomas 1997:192.

55. John Storm Roberts (1972:58) makes a parallel suggestion specifically regarding early musical transculturations: early musical adaptations spread rapidly and “provided the basis for the enduring elements in many mainstream Afro-American forms.”

The question of whether African retentions or New World creolizations account for various black New World culture traits has been of long-standing interest. The model of creative adaptation (creolization, transculturation) has dominated in recent years (see, e.g., Mintz & Price 1992). David Eltis (2000) makes a case for a greater homogeneity of African point of origin, and thus a greater likelihood of direct retention, than previously thought. It is not my intention to get involved directly in this debate, but rather to look for

able. In Martinique, for example, slavery began in the 1630s, an ordinance passed in 1654 prohibited slave dances, a second ordinance in 1678 mentioned kalenda by name, and the 1685 Code Noir extended the prohibition to all French possessions (Epstein 1977:27-28).⁵⁶

Recent data for the earliest arrivals (Eltis *et al.* 1999) again suggest the importance of the Bight of Benin and Congo-Angola in French possessions, in contrast to the Senegambia. The two earliest dance accounts cited here – Labat’s description from Martinique, and the Surinamese painting of 1707 – feature, respectively, belly contact and transverse drumming, which are purportedly central African in origin. By 1700, 2,171 captives had departed the Bight of Benin for Martinique, against 144 from the Senegambia. The figures for Suriname as of 1705 are 10,817 from the Bight of Benin, 9,360 from Congo-Angola, 5,688, and none from Senegambia.⁵⁷ Here the evidence for early central African influence remains inconclusive, especially for Martinique, where early arrivals appear to have been predominantly from the Bight of Benin.

The importance of French colonialism in spreading early Caribbean culture seems undeniable. Throughout the 1700s Saint Domingue, Martinique, and Guadeloupe were France’s richest colonies. They influenced one another, and other islands as well. For example, in 1776-77 New Orleans imported 2,500 slaves from Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Haiti; the city’s population was only 6,500 at the time – a 40 percent increase. Another 3,000 free black Haitians fled to New Orleans during the Haitian Revolution, and another 10,000 ten years later during the Napoleonic Wars. By 1810 New Orleans’ population had swelled to 24,500 (Fiehrer 1991:24; Washburne 1997:64). If these were the glory days of Congo Square – the dances there were shut down in 1840 – many participants would have been recent French Caribbean black and creole immigrants. The Haitian Revolution also sent thousands of slave owners, slaves, and freemen to eastern Cuba, resulting in the tumba francesa style, and to Puerto Rico. In Puerto Rican bomba, songs for the

references to music and dance connections, and, having found these, to treat them carefully. My thesis draws from both sides of the debate: I view early neo-African dances as creolizations, but also see some evidence for specific central African origins.

56. However, in these cases kalenda may have been a generic French label for multiple dances. And it is well to remember that French contradance spread just as quickly during the same time period, and was as quickly shaped into creole versions.

57. In addition, the Martinican figures include 293 captives from undetermined areas; the Surinamese include 954 from Bight of Biafra, 688 from the Gold Coast, and 4,046 from undetermined areas. Note that these are numbers for slaves leaving Africa, not arriving in the New World. These figures were generated by searching Eltis *et al.* (1999) for numbers embarked to Martinique, Suriname, and other countries by African region, by five-year period from 1661 to 1710.

figures yubá, leró, and corvé are still often sung in French Creole (Barton 2002:186; see Roberts 1972:42).

In addition, France exerted a strong influence on white fashion. Then as today, Paris was a world center of style. Dance crazes originating there included contredanse (contradance) in the late 1600s, quadrille in the mid to late 1700s, and various couple dances (polka, mazurka, waltz) in the 1800s. Such fashions were copied by the slaves, sometimes fairly strictly, sometimes in combination with neo-African traditions.

We should also consider the importance of late arrivals, including Africans brought after the end of slavery. In certain cases, late arrivals were able to use the already established basis of creole culture as a foundation for their own practices, preserved fairly directly. For example, Cuban batá drumming is a reconstruction of Yoruban practices instigated in the 1830s by recently arrived African drummers and woodcarvers (Ortiz 1952-55 vol. 4:315-17). In Jamaica, Congolese indentured laborers arriving in the 1800s, after the end of slavery, are linked to the development of kumina (Carty 1988:20; Lewin 2000:243-44). In other cases, however, it is difficult to be sure of the influence of latecomers. About 10,000 Congolese indentured laborers were brought to Martinique in the 1850s and 1860s, after the end of slavery (1848). These immigrants left the plantations behind as quickly as they could and founded their own communities, largely in the south of the island, which retained a distinct identity until very recently. Yet the southern belair style does not feature either the pelvic isolations and contact, or the challenge dancing, associated with Congolese dance. Martinique's North Atlantic dances seem to exhibit those features to a greater extent, yet most of the North Atlantic dances existed before the end of slavery.

Despite such obstacles, my thesis remains that French slavery was instrumental in spreading the dance complexes kalenda, bamboula, djouba, and belair. The places that recur in mentions of these dances were French colonies: Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Dominica, Trinidad, Grenada, Carriacou, French Guiana, Louisiana. Though some of these places are usually associated today with British dominion, each was colonized by the French before the British, and remained French until lost or ceded to the British in the Napoleonic Wars. In Trinidad, for example, French planters were the first Europeans to settle in large numbers, in the late 1700s. They brought slaves from Martinique and Guadeloupe with them, and kalenda, bamboula, djouba, and belair began appearing in Trinidadian records at this time. Although the British took over in 1797, French Creole speakers remained the largest population group, and the Franco-Creole cultural basis was refreshed by a wave of French Antillean immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s. Creole remained a living language until quite recently. Trinidad's small neighbors, Carriacou and Grenada, were also settled early on by the French and their slaves from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Haiti (Hill 1998:185).

SUMMARY AND CAVEATS

To summarize, I suggest the following scenario: slaves from the Congo-Angola region or, possibly, the Bight of Benin, brought to the New World dances of successive couples within circles, sometimes using pelvic isolation and contact, as well as challenge/display solo dancing. Both of these types were accompanied by transverse drumming with sticks on the side, or by upright barrel drums played with the hands. The slaves adapted these practices into early transculturated forms known variously as kalenda, bamboula, djouba, and chica. Transported by the French, they carried the first three of these dances widely around the Caribbean. Kalenda, bamboula, and djouba may have been names for the same or similar dances; there is a wide range of variation in the historical material. Chica may have been similar to the others but was possibly associated with Spanish settlement, or with creole (mulatto) rather than black slaves. Some of these styles, for example, kalenda and chica, were popular among white and creole as well as black dancers. In Brazil, batuque and lundu appear to have been the early Congolese/Angolan syntheses.⁵⁸ The first dances laid a basis for later developments, some idiosyncratic and others widespread. The latter include kalenda stick-fighting dances, belair dances, and topical, satirical songs also known as kalenda and belair. Large numbers of Congolese/Angolan slaves arrived throughout the

58. Peter Fryer's (2002) study of Brazil may serve as a model for examining origins without reductionism. Fryer traces the spread of batuque, an early Brazilian dance that was Congolese-derived and featured couples in a circle, pelvic isolation, and touching. By the late 1700s batuque had spread to Brazil's poor white population and began to appear in a cleaned-up version in the salons of major cities, under the name lundu. Lundu became so popular that it is widely described as Brazil's first "national" dance (Fryer 2000:98, 102, 119-21, 142-47, 154, 155-57). During the nineteenth century lundu acquired a new sung component, the modinha, which had developed in Lisbon as well as Brazil. The dance then incorporated aspects of new salon dances arriving in Brazil from abroad, polka after 1845 and Cuban habañera after 1860, emerging as the late-nineteenth century dance craze maxixe, which in the early twentieth century became a dance craze in Europe and the United States. Maxixe, re-Africanized through popularization among the poor and through recordings, and by the reincorporation of a primarily percussive orchestra, became modern samba.

The history of batuque/lundu/modinha/maxixe/samba is not only one of transatlantic and cross-racial fusion, fascinating though that is. It is also a demonstration of the limits of claims for singular origins. Fryer makes the case that batuque was a neo-African fusion similar in its derivation, choreography, and instrumentation, to many other black dances of the New World; and he demonstrates that batuque was tremendously important to later dance developments. He does not, however, claim that batuque was the sole direct ancestor of all later dances.

1700s, and still later arrivals, even after the end of slavery, reinforced central African influences.

We should treat this scenario cautiously. Although certain dance styles and musical practices appear Congolese/Angolan in nature, I can find little hard evidence of linkages. The history of each Caribbean island is complex and includes various waves of migration and influence. A few examples, in no particular order, should suffice to show the degree of caution necessary.

Pelvic isolation may be considered diagnostic of Congolese/Angolan influence, but Gerard Kubik (1994:38-39) warns that different dances in central Africa focus on different parts of the body, not always the pelvis. People in other African regions also practice sexy couple dancing. I have spoken of challenge dances as Congolese yet, surely, the impulse to competition exists in other places.⁵⁹ Very specific dancer-drummer interaction, as is found in challenge/display dancing, is certainly not absent outside the Congo.

Elements from different parts of Africa blended in the New World. In Cuba, the Yoruban sacred dances are usually played on the Yoruban-derived *batá*, but may be performed instead by an ensemble combining shekere gourds (West African) with a conga drum (Congolese). Transverse drumming with sticks on the side occurs in Cuban *abakuá* ceremonies (Vélez 2000:18-19), but *abakuá* is considered to be from the area of northwestern Cameroon and southeastern Nigeria, not Congo/Angola. Intra-African streams of influence are also important. I am aware of one style of transverse drumming from outside the Congo/Angola area, *gome*, from Ghana. (In this case the drum is square rather than barrel-shaped, and sticks are not played on the side.) However, *gome* is said to have been brought to Ghana by Liberian Kru sailors, who, in turn, may have picked up the idea from their travels to the Congo/Angola region.⁶⁰

We should beware of first impressions. Martinican choreographer Josy Michalon (1987:39) visited Benin, saw young men doing a form of wrestling called *kadjia*, and decided this was the origin of the martial art/dance *danmyé*, which also features wrestling and which is also called *ladja*. Yet wrestling is a popular young men's sport throughout West and central Africa. Michalon offers no evidence, apart from the coincidence of the similar name, that Benin was the specific source.

Nor should we neglect European influences. I have spoken of African antecedents of martial arts dances but have omitted the old French kick-boxing form, *savate*. Southern U.S. buck dancing appears to fit the African solo male challenge/display type, but what about flat foot, its white counterpart? Some square dances in the United States include a counter-clockwise, circular pro-

59. See Chernoff (1979:81) on musical "cutting" in Ghana.

60. Kofi Anang, personal communication.

cession by partners, similar to the counter-clockwise circles of West Africa. In Martinique's North Atlantic *belair* each couple in turn performs a *monté tanbou* (approach to the drum) as a dramatic climax to the dance. Trinidadian Carnival *calinda* also contained (in mid-twentieth-century accounts) such moments: "men and women 'hook' dancing up to a stage where the drummers were playing. The partners bowed three times, danced back and wound down to the ground" (Cowley n.d.:9). Such approaches to the drum are seemingly African moments, yet European and American *contradances* may also include a salute to the musicians, performed by each couple in turn.

Conversely, what appears to be European influence may not be. I have suggested that the line formation of Labat's *kalenda* stemmed from French *contradance*, yet a very similar dance – lines of dancers bumping bellies – was reported from the Bakongo area in the late 1800s (J.H. Weeks 1882, in Cyrille 2002:229, 238). Of course, by that date European *contradances* may have reached central Africa as well.

I especially want to avoid the impression that a single proto-Caribbean dance gave rise to the rest. This notion informs a great deal of popular literature, tourist performance, and even scholarship throughout the circum-Caribbean. *Kalenda* in particular, with its many historical references and its eroticized, romanticized re-creations by tourist troupes, is put into this role (e.g., Rosemain 1990, 1993). But we should not jump to the conclusion that every time we see the name "kalenda" we are reading about the same dance. A fresh approach would treat the labels attached by early chroniclers (*kalenda*, *chica*, etc.) with caution, and look instead at the details of the descriptions. If all mentions of circles and lines, or of sexuality, are not assumed to be the same, then we may begin to track a range of expression, a welter of creativity, that passed from island to island and was adapted into distinctive forms. The result might be less conclusive, but more accurate, and liberating in a different fashion.

The web of names and descriptions in the historical record is indeed striking and begs for an interpretation. I hope that this article has made a start, as well as shown the complexity of the project.

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DOUGLAS MIDGETT

PEPPER AND BONES:
THE SECESSIONIST IMPULSE IN NEVIS

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of the often twinned issues of “globalization” and “nationalization” in ethnographic discourse obscures, with new terminology, the fact that for *some* anthropologists these processes have been central to their work for a considerable period of time.¹ For those whose academic interest has focused on the Caribbean region and who attempt some sense of the historical determinants of these social formations, the current “discovery” of the importance of global forces in the lives of ordinary folks in locales removed from centers of industry, commerce, and intellectual production may be somewhat puzzling. There is a certain temptation to respond to this flurry of interest with the question, “so what’s new?” Likewise, in a region whose history is one of subjugated identities, repeated instances of resistance on the part of the powerless, and in many cases, only recent attempts at charting directions involving national sovereignty, issues of identity, community, peoplehood, and nationality have routinely received much attention.

The reception that has been accorded Benedict Anderson’s book, *Imagined Communities* (1991), has animated much inquiry into the nature of national sentiments and the direction of nationalist impulses. In this enterprise, Anderson’s book has stimulated much useful analysis. It is, however, a work whose arguments I find often nebulous and premised on certain assumptions about the nature of what determines the direction and content

1. The title of this paper refers to a statement allegedly made by the late premier of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Robert L. Bradshaw. Addressing Anguillians’ rejection of his party in successive elections, Bradshaw vowed to put “pepper in their soup and bones in their rice” (Westlake 1977:129). Although the statement is reported to be with reference to Anguilla, it is popularly believed to be addressed to Nevisians, as well. See the excerpt from a letter from Simeon Daniel to Bradshaw on page 56.

of nationalist sentiments, assumptions that do not seem to apply to the cases with which I am most familiar.

To illustrate my problems with the tone and direction of much of anthropologists' work premised on the ideas set out in *Imagined Communities*, I examine the case of Nevis, a small island in the eastern Caribbean. Nevis is a singularly appropriate site for such inquiry because of its colonial and post-colonial historical subjugation and because it has evinced, for the past forty years, a strong tendency toward political separation, if not independence. In this paper I suggest that Nevisian predilection for separation from its sister island in the two-island state of St. Kitts-Nevis is born less of some collective identity formation and more of a growing intolerance of what Nevisians regard as continued bondage in an unworkable state structure. Thus, the argument is that Nevisians are not imagining "community" leading to some nationalist impetus, but rather imagine a release from something they do not want to be, but without a necessary conception of what they might become.

To address this issue I examine at length the modern political history of the St. Kitts-Nevis state, and particularly Nevis' place within that entity. This examination involves a comprehensive and extensive chronicling of the period especially between 1952 and the present. The detail is necessary in that my argument is that Nevisian identity is primarily one of political affiliation and is conceived in terms of opposition to St. Kitts, or more explicitly, to membership in what Nevisians recognize as a Kittitian-dominated state. The detailing of the events of that period illustrate how this opposition has developed and how, in particular, it has focused on the St. Kitts-Nevis Labour Party as an anathema. This is a period that has significant antecedents, which, as we shall see, may not speak to the imaginings of Nevisians. That is, Nevisians and Kittitians, although they share much of a common history and are linked by actual kinship and other mutualities, evaluate certain aspects of their histories in quite different ways.

Finally, because the issue was brought to a decisive point in 1998, I examine the question of nationalism and national identity. In a global context this is a topic that has occasioned much recent discussion (Eriksen 1993; Hannerz 1993; Smith 1995, 1998). It has also been the focus of a paper by Olwig (1993a) with respect to Nevis. Faced with the prospect of becoming a nation-state apart from their historical political connection to St. Kitts, Nevisians were perhaps obliged to confront possibilities that their imaginings had not encompassed. This issue must also be examined in light of the occasion of the creation of the St. Kitts-Nevis nation-state and the circumstances and sentiments that attended it.

COLONIAL LEGACY: UNIFICATION AND LABOUR STRUGGLE

For Nevisians, difficulties with St. Kitts date from the decision taken by the British government in 1882 to reunite their island with St. Kitts and Anguilla for administrative purposes. From Nevis' earliest European settlement in 1628 by a party that set off from the new British colony of St. Kitts, the two islands have been linked. For the first century and a half of their colonial history, the islands were at times administered separately and at times jointly. During much of the seventeenth century, Nevis enjoyed considerable prosperity, escaping the British-French warfare that engulfed St. Kitts, serving as the entrepôt for the slave trade into the Leeward Islands, and boasting the largest European population in the Leewards.

Toward the end of the century, in 1680, however, the first of a series of disasters visited the island in the form of a devastating earthquake. During the century that followed, one violent occurrence after another: hurricanes, warfare, and epidemic disease contributed to the erosion of Nevis' early prosperity. During the same period, St. Kitts was transformed into one of the most successful of Britain's Caribbean sugar colonies. Despite this reversal of fortunes, the Nevisian colony continued to be administered apart from its larger neighbor and to enjoy the limited autonomy afforded under a colonial regime.

In the late nineteenth century, the realities of colonial administration resulted in a new arrangement for the islands. Crown Colony government was instituted in the 1860s, and moves to consolidate the islands' separate legislative bodies were undertaken during the next decade. In 1871 the Federal Colony of the Leeward Islands was established, comprising the presidencies of Antigua, Dominica, Nevis, St. Kitts, Anguilla, and the (British) Virgin Islands. The next step in consolidation was the establishment of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla as a single presidency with the seat of government, in the form of an administrator, in Basseterre, St. Kitts.

This last act continues to rankle, both in St. Kitts and Nevis, but the event evokes more feeling in the latter. The expressions relating to the 1882 consolidation constitute charters for political identity and ideology in both islands, resting on very different interpretations of the significance of the event. Consider the following two versions of the implications of the union of St. Kitts and Nevis (and Anguilla).

In an outline of Nevisian political history written in 1992, the author, a member of the Nevis Reformation Party, whose platform was secessionist at the time, includes this note after the entry of the 1882 event:

Following this union Nevis as it was became a colony of St. Kitts and despite that it continued to have representatives on the Presidency they had very little authority. As a result the quality of life in Nevis as well as its economy went into a great decline. (Murrain 1993:6)

This is the universal theme played in Nevis with reference to the yoking of the island to St. Kitts – that the prosperity of the island, unimpeded to that time, declined from 1882.

The Kittitian view differs markedly from that above in addressing the implications for St. Kitts of having to take on the burdens of Nevis and Anguilla. An example of this version is from the account of a Kittitian writer, a governor of the state during the 1970s. After detailing the rising prosperity of St. Kitts as a sugar producer and difficulties experienced by the industry in the late nineteenth century, he describes the plight of the island:

The troubled one-crop economy of St. Kitts was simply not able to generate enough revenue to meet the long-standing needs of Nevis and Anguilla, in addition to her own pressing requirements. (Inniss 1983:45)

The impression is left that St. Kitts was obliged, in 1882-88, to take on a Nevisian basket case that has proved to be a burden ever since.

St. Kitts has not been able to satisfy Nevis needs in the past one hundred years of union. St. Kitts will be even less likely to be able to do so in the future. Nevis' demands are likely to escalate because of the mistaken notion that St. Kitts owes her reparations for past neglect. The apparent harmony between the two islands will last for a time – as long as each party is getting what it wants out of an arrangement that is based solely on expediency. (Inniss 1983:74)

The question is raised here as to what were the fortunes of Nevis following its yoking with St. Kitts. The portrait presented in the first quotation and subscribed to by Nevisians is that the island suffered greatly precisely because of its subordinate position in the colony. It is certainly the case that commercial agriculture waned in Nevis even as St. Kitts maintained its position as a viable sugar producer. Although the decline indicated by the demise of sugar and cotton continued through most of the first half of the twentieth century, the Nevisian version ascribes the proximate causes not only to Kittitian dominance of the state, but more especially to the ascent of the St. Kitts-Nevis Labour Party. Olwig (1993b:141) states, "Nevisians believed that it [the Labour Party] ignored the economic and social problems of the small farmers on Nevis by, for example, neglecting to build up, or even to maintain, an adequate infrastructure there."

With regard to Nevisian agriculture the Moyne Commission, which undertook a comprehensive survey of economic and social conditions in the British West Indies in 1938-39, had some conclusions and recommendations for Nevis. The commission's agricultural report noted that Nevisian commercial agriculture was undercapitalized to the extent that much cultivation

was done by sharecroppers, a situation that they found undesirable,² stating that, "inquiry into many cases of sharing has produced convincing evidence that the system is bad in every way."³ They argued that sharecropping had detrimental effects on husbandry, in general, because "neither owner nor share-tenant has knowledge of the systematic agriculture by which alone use of the land could be permanently improved."⁴ Elsewhere it was suggested that Nevis, when compared to St. Kitts, had real disadvantages in soils and slope conditions, making agriculture a risky proposition. Despite these apparent disincentives, the commission in its main report proposed a scheme for instituting a small sugar factory in Nevis to process Nevisian-grown cane, and also proposed the phasing out of sharecropping in favor of a government-instituted land settlement scheme for small farmers.⁵ While making a case for certain innovations, the report presented a clear picture of the decline of Nevisian agriculture.

While Nevisian economic decline during this period is evident, the complete picture may be somewhat obscured. As a result of an economic survey done in the early 1950s, Nora Siffleet noted that Nevisian production, especially of vegetables, was hidden because figures could not be disaggregated from those for the colony as a whole. Thus, for Kittitians the impression could persist that "Nevis is a drain on the revenues of the Presidency" (Siffleet 1953:131), although "it is obvious that the provisions which are sent from Nevis to St. Christopher have an importance to the economy beyond that of their current market value" (Siffleet 1953:133).⁶ Notwithstanding, the picture of Nevis as economically destitute serves the production of both myths of Nevis and its relationship to St. Kitts.

The modern political era in St. Kitts was ushered in during the 1930s with the rise of the labor movement. The global capitalist depression struck particularly hard on the small, plantation-based economies in the Caribbean. A producer of primary commodities like St. Kitts experienced severe hardships, hardships that were largely passed on to the laboring population. Declining wages and a lack of social provision affected most severely the lives of the agroproletariat that composed the bulk of St. Kitts' rural population. Demographic indicators like a rising infant mortality rate point to a

2. The report notes that of 1,630 farmers 1,200 are sharecroppers, with 230 on government land settlements and 200 on their own land (*West Indies Royal Commission Report on Agriculture, Fisheries, Forestry and Veterinary Matters*, 1945. Cmd. 6608. London: HMSO, p. 193). (Hereafter *West Indies Royal Commission Report*)

3. *West Indies Royal Commission Report*. Cmd. 6608, p. 38.

4. *West Indies Royal Commission Report*. Cmd. 6608, p. 39.

5. *West Indies Royal Commission Report*. Cmd. 6607, pp. 305-6.

6. Figures on agricultural production in the presidency are not disaggregated in the annual reports produced for 1948 and for 1949-50.

stressed working class. It should, therefore, have been no surprise that these conditions generated a general uprising in the colony's larger island.

In the 1930s many of the British West Indian colonies experienced serious labor uprisings. In St. Kitts the spark point occurred on January 28, 1935, when a wildcat strike of sugar workers set off two days of unrest and confrontations with police throughout the island. The most serious clash took place at Buckley's Estate near Basseterre. An estate manager fired on a large crowd, and the situation portended great violence. A state of emergency was declared; the defense force was called out; the riot act was read; and when the crowd failed to disperse, they were fired upon, with resulting fatalities. In the aftermath thirty-nine men were brought up on charges and six were ultimately convicted and sentenced to prison terms of varying lengths.

In St. Kitts, the Workers League had been formed in 1932 to represent the cause of workers and small businessmen. In the wake of the 1935 events the League took on a more activist role, one which would be a precursor to the formation of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Trades and Labour Union at the end of the decade and, eventually, the St. Kitts-Nevis Labour Party. The League sought representation for the accused laborers and became the voice of the working class in St. Kitts.⁷

Similar activity did not occur in Nevis. Much has been made of the differences between the twentieth-century social formations of the two islands. The proletarian base of the rural Kittitian population was quite unlike that which had emerged in Nevis after the decline of sugar and plantation agriculture on the island. Nevis had become much more a society of smallholders growing vegetables and fruits for the local two-island market, so that during the Depression the condition of the island's rural workers was less desperate than that of their Kittitian neighbors. Thus, the signal event in the labor movement in St. Kitts had no counterpart in Nevis. The trade union movement there remained dormant and the organization of rural labor unattended.

In St. Kitts the rise of the union was attended by a corresponding development of political interest. By 1937, after constitutional changes, the League was able to elect two candidates to the Legislative Council, and it supported two others who were successful, even though most Kittitians were still not eligible to vote under the restricted franchise of the period. In subsequent elections in the 1940s, League candidates were similarly successful. One of these was a young employee at the central sugar factory, Robert L. Bradshaw, who by 1950 had become president of the union and the popular hero of Kittitian politics. With the 1951 constitutional changes in the colony ushering in universal adult suffrage, Bradshaw became the leading figure in

7. Joseph France, long-time secretary of the union and editor of the *Labour Spokesman*, chronicled these events in a series that ran in the newspaper in the 1970s.

the Legislative Council, and the course of his political destiny, as well as that of the three islands that made up the colony, was set.

THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD: 1951-67

In the first years of the colony after the 1951 constitutional changes the issue of Nevisian separation and autonomy was not prominent in political discourse. The first election under universal adult franchise resulted in a complete victory for the Workers League (later to be the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Labour Party). League candidates won seven seats and supported the candidacy of the lone independent victor in Nevis. The seven victorious League candidates captured more than 80 percent of the valid votes cast in the colony and over 90 percent in St. Kitts, the base of the union's strength.

In the years between the 1952 triumph and the next general election in 1957, support for the Labour Party in Nevis and Anguilla declined precipitously. R.J. Gordon and J.W. Liburd, elected with Workers League backing in 1952, withdrew their support of the party during the 1952-57 period. A growing impression in Nevis was that the affairs of their island were given little consideration by the Kittitian-dominated Legislative Council. A letter to the *Nevis Reporter*, under the heading "Nevis Enslaved," complained that "the present agricultural policy [is] to starve the people of Nevis."⁸

The 1957 general election took place in an altered political context. The final stages of the formation of the West Indies Federation had been completed, and the new state, comprising ten island units of the Commonwealth Caribbean, was to come into existence in 1958. A federal election would follow the general election closely in St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. By 1957 the Labour Party had lost support in Nevis to the point that they apparently could not find a candidate for the Charlestown seat. Liburd did not contest the election, and Gordon stood unsuccessfully as a candidate for the short-lived Nevis People's Party. The Nevis winners were Eugene Walwyn and W.B. Nicholls, both contesting as independents. The candidacy of Walwyn, in particular, proved an irritant for the Labour Party. During the campaign he was described by supporters as "not afraid of ten Bradshaws."⁹ In Anguilla the party's incumbent, David Lloyd, was defeated, finishing fourth out of six candidates with less than 20 percent of the vote. In St. Kitts, the Labour Party captured all seats and over 80 percent of the votes cast. Despite their overwhelming victory in St. Kitts, the Labour Party leadership felt the sting of rejection by voters in Nevis and Anguilla. A *Labour Spokesman* editorial

8. October 20, 1956.

9. *The Democrat*, July 6, 1957.

chastised, "we have no doubt that all and sundry in Nevis and Anguilla will realize the blunder they have made by allowing themselves to be misled."¹⁰

The federal election, following the 1957 general election by less than five months, provides the most dramatic indication of voter disaffection with Labour in Nevis and Anguilla. The Labour Party, affiliated with the West Indian Federal Labour Party, put up its leader, Robert Bradshaw and the recently defeated Lloyd. They were opposed by B.E. Samuel from Sandy Point Village and W.G. Hodge, a perennial also-ran from Anguilla. The tone of the election in Nevis was foreshadowed when Lord Hailes, the new governor of the federation, visited the colony. Signs went up in Nevis proclaiming "Nevis neglected," "Nevis oppressed," and "Nevis needs local government."¹¹ The extent of the emerging insular division is illustrated in the results of the election (Table 1). From this time the Labour Party would never be able to mount an effective campaign in Nevis.

Table 1. 1958 Federal Election Vote Percentages¹²

Island	Labour	Democrat
St. Kitts	89.2	10.8
Nevis	7.4	92.6
Anguilla	28.4	71.6
Total	70.3	29.7

The 1957-61 term of government underlines a widening breach between St. Kitts and her sister islands in the colony. In March 1958, just before the federal balloting, Walwyn was expelled from the Executive Council for his failure to support in the Legislative Council a measure that the Executive had passed.¹³ The expulsion was greeted with outrage in Nevis as another high-handed act by Labour Party politicians. Walwyn, in high dudgeon, personalized the issue, castigating Bradshaw, who had moved his expulsion, "for Nevisians this is one of the greatest insults that has been cast on them by the Hon. R.L. Bradshaw. We are all aware that Mr. Bradshaw has repeatedly disregarded the voice of the people of Nevis with dictatorial contempt."¹⁴ When Administrator Howard reinstated Walwyn in May, it was the Kittitians' turn to rage. The *Labour Spokesman* ran a front-page advertisement for 111 days calling for the administrator's removal. When Howard's action was finally

10. November 7, 1957.

11. *Nevis Recorder*, February 1, 1958.

12. Source: *Labour Spokesman*, March 26, 1958.

13. The issue was a proposed increase in the export duty on cotton shipped out of Nevis and Anguilla. Walwyn opposed this in Executive Council and abstained from the vote in the Legislative Council.

14. *Nevis Recorder*, March 8, 1958.

upheld by Alan Lennox-Boyd, secretary of state for the colonies, the resentful Kittitian Labourites were not placated.

When in 1958 the Nevisians' *bête noire* of Labour politicians, Robert Bradshaw, was elected to the federal parliament and served as minister of finance, he departed from the colony's political arena, but the deep rift between the two islands did not close with his absence. In 1960 Walwyn and others founded a specifically Nevis-based party, the United National Movement (UNM), reflecting their lack of faith in any aggregation that might emerge from the Kittitian milieu. In the 1961 general election the UNM won both Nevisian seats, with Walwyn unopposed (Table 2).

Table 2. General Elections Nevis 1961-71; E. Walwyn and the UNM¹⁵

Year	UNM			PAM*			Ind.		
	candidates	elected	votes	candidates	elected	votes	candidates	elected	votes
1961	2	2	876	—	—	—	1	0	530
1966	2	1	1,323	2	1	1,543	1	0	108
Year	UNM			PAM			NRP**		
	candidates	elected	votes	candidates	elected	votes	candidates	elected	votes
1971	1	0	647	2	1	1,216	2	1	1,127

* People's Action Movement, formed in 1965.

** Nevis Reformation Party, formed in 1970.

The 1961 poll was taken at a time when other events were occurring that would have a profound effect on the political future of the colony. In a June 1961 special referendum, the Jamaican electorate had voted to secede from the West Indies Federation. The federation had incorporated St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla as a single unit despite the advice of the Standing Closer Association Committee, which had recommended their inclusion as separate units.¹⁶ All of the units that comprised multi-island groupings under colonial rule retained this structure as federal units. However, the possible demise of the Federation generated new imaginings about what might constitute appropriate or desirable groupings or representation in any subsequent structures. Nevis representatives began pushing for secession and eventually resigned from the Legislative Council in July 1966, four months before the next general election.

In May 1962, the West Indies Federation was officially dissolved, following the withdrawal of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The consideration of a new grouping of the remaining islands into some kind of federal arrange-

15. Source: Midgett 1983:112-18.

16. *Leeward Islands 1953 and 1954*, (colonial reports) 1956. London HMSO.

ment, dubbed the "Little 8," gave rise to discussion among Nevisian politicians of the kind of participation Nevis might countenance. Robert Bradshaw had returned to St. Kitts after the demise of the Federation and, in a by-election held in August 1962, was elected once again to the Legislative Council. With his reintegration into the Kittitian scene and his probable elevation to chief minister after the next general election, the UNM declared their opposition to entry of Nevis into the Eastern Caribbean Federation as part of a St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla unit.

As the 1966 general elections approached, two important developments were to influence subsequent political directions. In early 1965, following demonstrations in St. Kitts over new electricity rates, the People's Action Movement was formed. Although PAM was initially vilified by Labour politicians as representative of the planter elites, the new party was able to pose a credible opposition in St. Kitts for the first time. More importantly, they also mounted a strong challenge to the UNM in Nevis. The UNM, and especially their leader, Eugene Walwyn, had lost some credibility with the Nevisian electorate.

When plans for an Eastern Caribbean Federation were abandoned in 1964 after Barbados opted out, the British government set about devising new constitutional arrangements for the remaining territories. This took the form of a new status, Statehood in Association, which would be conferred on each of the island units separately. It involved a considerable enhancement of local autonomy, especially with respect to finance and control of the police, and contained a provision for the state to move unilaterally to constitutional independence. At the London talks on constitutional reform in June 1966, Nevis was represented by Walwyn, who initially signaled an opposition to the entry of a St. Kitts-yoked Nevis into this new status. However, to the surprise of his constituents, he signed the document of agreement at the end of the conference.

A month later general elections were held in the colony. In St. Kitts the Labour Party again won all seven seats with 65 percent of the vote, and Bradshaw became chief minister. Although they fared poorly in St. Kitts, PAM did well in the other two islands, winning Anguilla and one of the Nevis seats. Walwyn, damaged by his acquiescence with the Labour politicians in London, was returned by a narrow margin. A few months later, his actions at the constitutional conference were brought into perspective. Following the implementation of the new constitution he affiliated the UNM with the Labour Party and was named the first local attorney general of the new Associated State.

During the ensuing three months a measure of turmoil afflicted the state. A rebellion in Anguilla expelled the Kittitian policemen stationed on the island, and the instigators refused to make any accommodation with the new government. Although its secession from the state would not be decided

finally for another two years, Anguilla was effectively effectively separated from St. Kitts by May 1967.¹⁷ In St. Kitts the trouble surfaced on June 10 when an assault on police headquarters in Basseterre led to a declaration of a state of emergency.

Although the political climate was stormy in Anguilla and St. Kitts during the first half of 1967, Nevis was relatively quiet. In February the Legislative Council passed a local government ordinance that would set up in Nevis and Anguilla local councils with elected majorities. Thus, although they were to have limited powers, bodies that did not owe their existence to Basseterre appointments had some decision-making power. In the first Nevis local council election, PAM candidates won five of the six seats, with a lone UNM victor.

As 1967 drew to a close, then, the political climate in the two-island state was one of intense divisions. Within St. Kitts, Labour and PAM were implacable enemies, especially following the May events and trials of PAM supporters that followed the state of emergency. For the Labour government the perfidy of Nevisians was exemplified in their support of PAM candidates and rejection of the Labour-affiliated UNM.

EMERGING AUTONOMY: A TWO-ISLAND ASSOCIATED STATE

In the years following the 1967 troubles, the Labour Party focused its political energies on combating PAM and the partisan struggles within St. Kitts. Nevis, represented by one parliamentarian (Walwyn) who had made an accommodation with the enemy (Labour), and a lone opposition member of a party (PAM) seen as traitorous by the government leadership, was given little attention by Basseterre. This dismissal served only to heighten Nevisian disaffection with the Labour government and with the arrangement that now bound them, apparently inextricably, to the larger island.

If Nevisians were at the back of beyond in the view of Labour politicians, they did not accept that relegation gladly. A signal event occurred in 1970 that galvanized a redirected opposition in Nevis. The *Christena*, a ferry operated by the government to transport goods and passengers daily across the narrow channel between the two islands, sank on its way from St. Kitts to Nevis. The ferry was seriously overloaded with passengers returning from August holiday outings in St. Kitts, and 227 perished. The tragedy struck nearly every family in Nevis, and the government was blamed for an abrogation of responsibility for the safety of the vessel. Two months later the Nevis

17. The formal reinstatement of Anguilla as a colony was not effected until December 1980 as a consequence of lengthy independence talks during the late 1970s and the defeat of the Labour Party in 1980.

Reformation Party (NRP) was formed, and it organized and led protests of the handling of the *Christena* case.

From its inception the NRP articulated a secessionist position, a stance that eschewed any continuing involvement of Nevis in the two-island state. In the general election in May 1971 the NRP made its first foray into electoral politics, winning one Nevis seat and nearly 40 percent of the island's vote (Table 2). Walwyn's duplicity (in Nevisian eyes) was rewarded when he lost his seat, and the UNM-Labour coalition was dead. The NRP continued their strong appeal to Nevisian voters in local elections in December, when it captured six of the nine seats.

PAM, following a dispiriting loss in the general election in which it made no inroads into Labour strength, opted out of the local Nevisian political scene and sponsored no candidates for the local elections. Thus, by 1972 Nevis was effectively outside the ambit of Kittitian partisan politics. Their local council was dominated by the NRP, and when Fred Parris, Nevis' one representative elected as a PAM candidate in 1971, crossed the floor to side with the Labour government in 1973, the NRP was the only game in town; secession, the only political position.

In 1974 the demand for separation from St. Kitts accelerated. In March, the local council passed a resolution demanding secession and in April, Ivor Stevens, the NRP parliamentarian in the House of Assembly, introduced a similar resolution in that body and followed with a four-day oration supporting the measure. When the House was dissolved before a vote could be taken on Stevens's resolution, it set off an uproar in Nevis. On June 2 a demonstration that included most of the population of the island marched in Charlestown in support of secession.

Before the 1975 general election, the NRP issued a manifesto (see Appendix on page 69) that was about secession and nothing else. The Labour Party manifesto placed three issues before the electorate, the third of which was "whether the island of Nevis should be allowed to secede from the state of St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla." (Murrain 1993:15).¹⁸ Voters were encouraged that a vote for Labour would constitute a "no" answer to this question. Labour, for the first time, slated two candidates in Nevis. In straight contests with the NRP, the Labour candidates, including Fred Parris, were badly defeated, receiving only 19 percent of the total Nevis vote (Table 3). Nevisians had cast their ballots unequivocally for separation from St. Kitts. In the local election, due a week later, only NRP candidates were nominated and were declared elected without ballot.

18. Despite the de facto separation of Anguilla from the state, the Labour Party leadership never countenanced the dissolution of the three-island unit. Anguilla continued to be present in all official documents issued by the government, and candidates for the Anguillan seat appeared on general election ballots up to and including the 1980 poll, although no votes were cast or recorded.

Table 3. General Elections Nevis 1975-84; NRP Dominance¹⁹

Year	NRP			LP		
	candidates	elected	votes	candidates	elected	votes
1975	2	2	1,987	2	0	465
1980	2	2	2,356	2	0	441
Year	NRP			PDP**		
	candidates	elected	votes	candidates	elected	votes
1984*	3	3	1,830	2	0	144

* One NRP candidate was unopposed in 1984.

** People's Democratic Party.

Because the statehood constitutions contained provisions for the islands to move to independence, this possibility became an issue in eastern Caribbean election campaigns in the 1970s. When Grenada attained independence in 1974, it was a blow to any lingering hopes for regional political integration, at least in the near future. Another question put before voters in the 1975 general election was "whether the State of St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla should seek independence alone or in partnership with one or more Caribbean States" (Murrain 1993:15). In the absence of any possible multistate arrangements, the vote for the Labour majority was taken by them as a mandate to move to independence.

This appeared to be the final straw for Nevis and the NRP. The first of a series of independence talks were held in London in March 1976; a subsequent round in April was attended by a delegation that included Simeon Daniel, the Nevisian Leader of the opposition in the House of Assembly. During these talks, which stretched into 1977, exchanges between Daniel and Bradshaw disclose an increasingly acerbic relationship between the leading political figures of the two islands. The correspondence contains numerous *ad hominum* attacks besides the airing of a multitude of grievances.

The March 1977 talks also made clear to the Nevisian political leader the limits to British patience with the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla situation. Daniel expressed the reluctance of Nevis to enter into independence with St. Kitts, proposing separation, reversion to colonial status – a course of action that was in preparation for the Anguillan case. British government representatives made clear their position that there would be no new colonies, that separation would mean Nevis would have to go it alone, and they urged the Kittitian and Nevisian leaders to continue to seek a common solution.

19. Sources: Midget 1983:120-22; Report on General Elections, 1984, Basseterre: Electoral Office.

In January 1976 the Nevis Council had passed a resolution that read:

Be it resolved that the people of Nevis through the Nevis Local Council call upon the Central Government of the State to introduce the necessary Legislation in order to give to the island of Nevis its own Legislative Council as expressed by the people of Nevis at the recent elections. (Murray 1993:57)

Simeon Daniel followed this with another resolution introduced to the House of Assembly that called for Nevisian autonomy and legislation leading to the secession of Nevis from the state. Finally, following unsuccessful attempts at island, state, and colonial levels to achieve this separation, the NRP organized a "referendum" in Nevis on secession. On August 18, 1977, Nevisian voters gave their verdict: 4,193 for secession, 14 against. Bradshaw declared the exercise null and void.

The frustration of Nevisians and the animosity that characterized the relationship between Daniel and Bradshaw may be indicated in this passage of a letter in which the former invokes a prominent piece of Nevisian lore:

The people of Nevis have grown accustomed to the neglect, spite and disregard for their political, social and economic welfare meted out to them over a quarter of [a] century at the hands of your Government. You must see to it that your promise of "Bones in our rice, pepper in our soup" is fulfilled during your lifetime, but we will not be beaten into submission.²⁰

On May 23, 1978 Robert Bradshaw died after a prolonged illness and was succeeded by Paul Southwell. Further talks were delayed ten months until a new round began in London in March 1979, but no resolution was forthcoming. Southwell died suddenly in May 1979 and was succeeded by Lee Moore. Moore's attempts to reach an accommodation with the NRP leadership were unsuccessful. Even though the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office reiterated its position that Nevis apart from St. Kitts would not be reincorporated as a colony, nor become a grant-aided territory, the Nevisians held firm to their resolve not to be included in a St. Kitts-Nevis independent state. Their recalcitrance finally led the British to impose a solution involving a Nevis referendum *after* independence, which was set for early 1980. More than three years of wrangling appeared to be over, but not to the satisfaction of Nevisians. The eventual solution, however, took a very different turn.

The impasse of the previous four years of acerbic negotiation was broken by an election. In February 1979 a by-election for the seat vacated as a result of Robert Bradshaw's death was won by Kennedy Simmonds, the PAM leader. Simmonds thus became the first non-Labour elected parliamen-

20. Dated December 1, 1977, this is contained in a collection of documents in Simeon Daniel's file housed in the NRP headquarters in Charlestown.

tarian in St. Kitts since the advent of universal suffrage. This appeared to be the chink in Labour's armor. When the next general election was held in February 1980, Labour could win only four of the seven Kittitian seats. With PAM capturing the other three and NRP winning both Nevis seats, the possibility for ending over thirty years of Labour Party dominance was at hand. When PAM and NRP leaders agreed to form a coalition government, Labour was relegated to the role of parliamentary opposition. Kennedy Simmonds became premier and Simeon Daniel, minister of finance.

INDEPENDENCE: UNEASY TRUCE

During the first two-and-one-half years of the coalition government there was little mention of independence. Both parties in the coalition had campaigned in 1980 on anti-independence platforms. Immediately following the 1980 election Daniel had reaffirmed his party's secessionist orientation (Bryant 1983:44), but in subsequent months the issue was rarely mentioned. Nonetheless, it was clear that the NRP, holding the political balance, was in a position to negotiate policy in a manner never before afforded Nevisian politicians, and that in any future independence talks their voice would be heard. In May 1982 discussions were renewed, and preparation of a constitution document begun. With the presentation in July 1982 of a government "white paper" outlining constitutional proposals, citizens of the two-island state had their first indication of the leverage exerted by the NRP politicians (Jones-Hendrickson 1984:759-70). Among other items, the paper for the proposed "Federation of St. Christopher and Nevis" called for a Nevis Island Assembly, an additional Nevis seat in the National Assembly, greatly expanded Nevisian autonomy, and the right, exclusive to Nevis, to withdraw from the federation (Bryant 1983:27-28).

Publication of the white paper occasioned strident criticism from the opposition Labour Party. Within days they had issued a "green paper" addressing what they felt to be features of the proposed constitution unacceptable to Kittitians (Jones-Hendrickson 1984:770-75). The green paper also proposed an alternate path toward independence that would allow considerable autonomy for both islands, in effect creating the most minimal political affiliation. At the London conference in December 1982 the Labour Party delegation eventually withdrew, and the British officials and PAM/NRP representatives reached agreement. After the British House of Commons approved the order in May, the Federation of St. Christopher and Nevis became independent on September 19, 1983.

The PAM/NRP coalition, born of convenience, continued through its first term of office until the next election in November 1984. By then, the PAM/NRP government had embarked on initiatives to neutralize their common

political foe, the Labour Party, through an attack on its trade union base.²¹ After 1980, the assaults on the union by the PAM/NRP government took the form of disabling legislation, lawsuits, and collusion with management. With its trade-union wing in disarray and the recent demise of its two longtime leaders, the Labour Party faced the 1984 elections with diminished prospects. An additional obstacle arose in July 1983 when the PAM/NRP government expanded the House of Assembly by two seats, one each in St. Kitts and Nevis. Both new seats could be expected to go to the coalition, the Nevisian seat because of the unchallenged strength of the NRP, and the Kittitian seat carved out of the Sandy Point area, traditionally hostile to Labour (Midgett 1985).

The results confirmed this expectation when PAM won six of the eight Kittitian seats, capturing over 53 percent of the Kittitian vote, and the NRP swept Nevis, one seat unopposed (Table 3). From this point the unity of the coalition would depend on the willingness of the PAM majority to continue meaningful involvement of NRP representatives in federation political decision-making and influence. Almost immediately this cooperative atmosphere was disturbed. Simeon Daniel was replaced as minister of finance and shifted to the newly created Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment. For Nevisians this act tended to confirm their suspicion of alliances with Kittitian politicians. Their misgivings now shifted to PAM and their plans for Nevis.²²

As part of the government coalition, the NRP in 1984 could hardly have run on a secessionist platform, abandoning that tactic for the first time since their original declaration of separatist intentions in 1970. Their relegation in the 1984-89 government placed them in a difficult position with their constituents, and in 1987 they were opposed in the Nevis Assembly elections by three other parties, including the recently formed Concerned Citizens Movement (CCM), led by one of the island's sports heroes, Vance Amory. The CCM lost four of the five seats to the NRP, but won a respectable 38 percent of the vote. Just over a year later, in March 1989, Amory was elected to one of the three Nevisian seats in the general election (Table 4). The NRP retained two seats, and PAM repeated their 1984 defeat of Labour, holding six seats and a parliamentary majority. Following the general election, a cabinet reshuffle left Simeon Daniel without a ministerial post, a further step in the exclusion of the NRP from participation in the inner workings of the federal government. After his relegation to a minor ministry in 1984, Daniel

21. This is detailed in an examination of anti-union practice in Antigua and St. Kitts (Midgett 1989).

22. Griffin (1994:230) has argued that the PAM/NRP coalition "helped to transform the political system in St. Kitts & Nevis from a low consensus regime to one that reflects a significantly higher degree of consensus." This contention is not borne out by events following the 1984 election.

had stopped going to cabinet meetings. Now he skipped the swearing in of the new government and ceased attending House of Assembly meetings. In May, Daniel announced that Nevis would secede from the federation on October 26, 1990, his and his party's first mention of secession since 1980.

Table 4. General Elections Nevis 1989-95; NRP versus CCM²³

Year	NRP			CCM		
	candidates	elected	votes	candidates	elected	votes
1989	3	2	1,948	3	1	1,135
1993*	3	1	1,641	3	2	2,100
1995*	3	1	1,521	3	2	1,777
2000	3	1	1,710	3	2	1,901

* In both 1993 and 1995 there was one independent candidate, each of whom received less than 1 percent of the votes.

In 1989 there was considerable labor unrest in Nevis with strikes at the electricity and water departments and in public works. 1989 also saw progress in the construction of a large Four Seasons golf and hotel complex at Pinney's Beach on the island's west side. Four Seasons, completed and opened in 1990, proved a significant boost to the Nevisian economy. The only AAA five-diamond property in the Caribbean region, the hotel could accommodate 550 guests fully booked, and it initially employed 700 Nevisian staff workers. The realization of the hotel construction was made possible by the autonomy the 1983 constitution granted the Nevis Assembly and premier to negotiate and conclude agreements with foreign business and financial interests.²⁴

THE LAST CONFRONTATION

With the declaration by Simeon Daniel that Nevis was again pursuing a secessionist agenda, the coalition appeared to be in shambles. There was

23. Sources: *Report on General Elections*, St. Kitts and Nevis, 1989. Basseterre: Electoral Office; *General Elections – 1993*. Basseterre: Electoral Office; *St. Kitts Nevis Legislative Election of 1995*. <http://psephos.adam-carr.net/stkitts1995.txt>; *St. Kitts Nevis Legislative Election of 6 March 2000*. <http://psephos.adam-carr.net/stkitts2000.txt>.

24. The prominence of Nevis as an offshore investment locale following the provisions of the 1983 constitution is attested to by the numerous website promotions by various consulting firms advertising their expertise in facilitating financial transactions. On one website the island is described as having “an official attitude of hearty welcome to foreign offshore corporations and asset protection trusts” (www.cyberhaven.com).

dissension within the NRP over this course of action, and ultimately little came of his declaration. October 1990 came and went with no serious steps toward invoking the constitutional provision for separating Nevis from St. Kitts. Nonetheless, the possibilities for a continuing collaborative relationship between PAM and NRP were poor.

In June 1992 the NRP narrowly lost control of the Nevis Assembly in local elections. Although they outpolled the CCM, the NRP captured only two of the five seats, and Vance Amory assumed the premiership. This placed the NRP in the curious position of being part of the ruling coalition in the federal government while relegated to minority party opposition in the Nevis Assembly. Following the election, Daniel retired as leader of the NRP although he continued to serve in the parliaments. Thus, a political career founded on the principle of Nevisian secession came to an end as leadership of the party was transferred to Joseph Parry, who had been named minister for trade and industry.

The outcome of the 1992 Nevis Assembly election had other portents as the 1993 general election approached. The Labour Party was enjoying a resurgence with new leadership. Lee Moore, last in the line of direct political descendants of Bradshaw, had retired and been replaced as party leader by Dr. Denzil Douglas, a physician whose entry into politics was not clouded by an early association with the old Labour Party leadership. In Nevis the success of CCM in the 1992 local elections suggested that they could win at least two of the three Nevis seats in the House of Assembly. Were that to have happened, the party would have had to decide upon a course of action relative to participation in the federal government, especially if their votes turned out to be the balance, a situation the NRP had faced in 1980. The CCM position in their manifesto and campaign statements stressed nonalignment with any Kittitian party. Nothing specific was said about secession, but it seemed that the CCM, if successful, would be absenting itself from any meaningful role in the federal government.

The election produced exactly the kind of stalemate the CCM might have envisioned. In St. Kitts, Labour and PAM split the eight seats, although Labour won a substantial majority of the popular vote. In Nevis the CCM won two seats, the NRP, one (Table 4). The governor was faced with a situation where neither Kittitian party could persuade Amory to back away from his party's campaign position – even where the prize allegedly would have been a prime ministership for himself. Governor Arrindell then took a precipitous decision to offer to the old PAM/NRP coalition the opportunity to form a minority government, a solution as unpopular as it was unworkable.

The stalemated parliamentary situation led eventually to a new election, called for November 15, 1995. In that contest Labour won an overwhelming victory in St. Kitts, taking seven seats to PAM's one, while the Nevis outcome repeated CCM's 1993 victory (Table 4). Labour was now the majority

party in the state, and the Nevisian politicians found themselves in the familiar position of minority representatives in a Labour-led government. Given the prevailing CCM position of nonalignment, the prospects for meaningful Nevisian participation in state affairs were remote.

An issue of long-standing concern was the 1983 constitution. The document was generally regarded as a deeply flawed instrument for governance, and in June 1996 discussion began between Amory and Parry regarding constitutional review. Shortly after these initial steps, however, Amory reversed himself and invoked the secessionist provision of the constitution (Griffin 1998). An election for the Nevis Assembly in February 1997 returned the CCM majority, and Amory declared it to be a "mandate to lead Nevis to independence from St. Kitts."²⁵

Since 1996 the story of Nevisian politics has been a renewed movement toward secession. The 1983 constitution provides for separation of Nevis from St. Kitts by first taking a vote within the Nevis Assembly. That vote must be a two-thirds majority for the issue to then be presented to the general electorate after a minimum of six months. A two-thirds vote by the electorate in favor of separation is required for what would amount to Nevisian independence. In June 1996 the secession bill was given its first reading in the Nevis Assembly, with all five members of both parties speaking in favor. By 1996, however, the issue of Nevisian secession had come to interest a much larger constituency than the small, thirty-nine-square-mile island.

CARICOM concern over the prospect of Nevis's imminent move had grown acute. The specter of secession haunts a number of multi-island Caribbean states, most of which have endured their own separatist tendencies. In 1997 Sir Shridath Ramphal, chancellor of the University of the West Indies and former secretary general of the Commonwealth, and Alister McIntyre, his vice chancellor, were enlisted by the prime minister of Antigua and Barbuda, Lester Bird, in an effort to mediate the Nevisian situation. Bird had been mandated to be the CARICOM point man to negotiate a solution to the impasse, one that would head off Nevisian secession and negotiate an accommodation between St. Kitts and Nevis, presumably involving constitutional reform. His efforts failed, and the Nevis Assembly meeting to vote on the issue was scheduled for November 13, 1996. The vote failed to take place when the two NRP representatives boycotted the meeting, thus frustrating the requirement for a two-thirds majority vote. The NRP reversal did not indicate a change of mind, but rather, that a local election was in the offing, one the NRP felt they might win.

After their 1997 loss there was little left for the NRP representatives but to vote in favor of secession. The CCM had made the issue a pledge of their 1997 campaign, and the results seemed to confirm Nevisian intentions to

25. *LARR Caribbean and Central American Report*, March 25, 1997.

proceed with the political separation from St. Kitts. On October 13, 1997, a unanimous vote of the Nevis Assembly set in motion the process that would end with the Nevisian electorate deciding in 1998 whether or not to opt out of their long association with St. Kitts. Continued pressure and lobbying of the electorate from regional interests were apparently having little effect up to the date of the vote on the referendum. And then, on August 10, 1998, unaccountably and to the surprise of nearly all observers, Nevisians failed to give the secession proposal the two-thirds vote it required for enactment (Table 5). The decisive moment for Nevisians to give meaningful expression to a sentiment seemingly held by a large majority for nearly thirty years had come and gone, and the issue of Nevisian secession had been retired, at least for the present.

IDENTITY, SEPARATION, SECESSION

In the aftermath of the August 1998 referendum the question repeatedly has been raised: what happened? Why had the Nevisian secessionist movement, which had for so long apparently animated the political imaginations of the island's people, failed to muster the two-thirds majority of votes required to realize their political separation from St. Kitts? In attempting an answer to this question we need to separate some notions that are frequently conflated or discussed without much precision. Accordingly I take note of "identity," "separation," and "secession."

Table 5. 1998 Secession Referendum²⁶

Valid voters*	Votes	% votes	% total voters
	3,925		57.85
For	2,427	61.83	35.77
Against	1,498	38.17	22.09

* There were 10 rejected ballots. The total number of voters was 6,785.

Before moving to this discussion it is useful to raise the issue of nationalism as it pertains to the 1983 attainment of independence by St. Kitts-Nevis. It is a dubious proposition that this move was motivated by a strong nationalist impulse. Certainly we know that there had never been such an impulse that had united all residents of the state. At most one might argue that there were indications of what Eriksen (1993) has described for "informal nationalism." If we view Kittitians and Nevisians separately, this sentiment was probably stronger among Nevisians, but directed toward a much different end. For

26. Source: *Nevis Secession Vote Result* (<http://website.lineone.net/~stkittsnevis/secvote.htm>).

Kittitians it is not clear that any impulse to independent nationhood necessarily involved Nevis, except as it was expressed by the political leadership of the Labour Party. Finally, I suggest that Olwig's verdict on the imaginings of Kittitians/Nevisians captures the essential aspects of the situation, that

the move for independence was hardly characterized by the nationalistic zeal often associated with the declaration of political autonomy. In fact, nationalism, understood as the belief that political entities coincide with ethnic ones and that the total population share a common culture which is closely linked to the division of labor and mode of production of the society, was only minimally present except at the most formal level. (Olwig 1993b:1)

Elsewhere, referring to Benedict Anderson, she continues the theme: "The Afro-Caribbean population of St. Kitts-Nevis certainly did not constitute an 'imagined political community,' another definition of a nation" (Olwig 1993b:3).

Regarding Nevisian identity, let us examine aspects that Anderson (1991) posits in his discussion. In addressing the issues of community and identity he examines geography, census, cultural legacy – including language, and history. First, there seems little doubt that residents of the island maintain a separate and, for them, meaningful identity. That this may often be expressed in opposition to a corresponding identification of "Kittitian" is hardly remarkable. One aspect of ethnicity is always a structural element involving segmentary opposition: we are not only "we," we are not "them," and much of what "we" are may be presented in reference to the contrasted qualities, behaviors, appearances of "them." When one gets beyond this oppositional factor, however, Nevisian identity becomes harder to grasp. For example, although O'Loughlin (1959:380) is certainly on track when she notes that "the natural boundary of the sea has tended to give each island a different history; (and) this, combined with differences in geographical and geological features, has led to the emergence of differences in social and economic patterns," there are many born in Nevis who live on St. Kitts and continue to identify as Nevisians. Others have been born in St. Kitts of Nevisian parents. Moreover, many have mixed parentage, a completely expectable consequence of the centuries of traffic between the two islands. All of these facts of birthplace and parentage are frequently cited in assigning identities to individuals.

In terms of the 1960 census designations there were no "Nevisians" or "Kittitians," only people resident in one island or the other. Therefore, one Nevisian-born but residing in St. Kitts is enumerated there without reference to his/her "ethnicity" or island "identity."²⁷ Moreover, in an election a "Nevisian" resident in a Kittitian constituency, and enumerated, there cannot

27. One's place of birth is noted, however, and we may draw some conclusions from these patterns.

vote for an NRP or CCM candidate, who are not on the ballot in his area. The census constructions and categories are certainly colonial legacies, reflective of what the British considered to be significant classifications – race, color, “national” origins like Indian, Chinese, etc.

Are there perceptible cultural differences that mark Nevisians? Richardson (1983:169) suggests as much in his discussion of the political gulf between the islands, “cultural differences between the two islands will not be bridged easily. Further compromise will be necessary before St. Kitts and Nevis can achieve peaceful independence as a two-island state.” But elsewhere he seems to opt for an explanation that emphasizes resource competition, indicating that “probably more important in explaining insular rivalry is that it manifests jealous protection of island resources” (Richardson 1983:170). Ralph Premdas (1998, 1999), who has written extensively on the topic of ethnic nationalism, suggests that “primordial categories” have played a significant role in defining Nevisian identity and in the determination of the impulse toward separation. In quoting a long passage that is a laundry list of Nevisian cultural traits, he asserts that it “is pregnant with the riches of culture which define Nevisian sense of uniqueness and rootedness in their society” (Premdas 1999:453). This focus tends to reify “culture” and fails to recognize that ethnicity cannot be determined by cultural content, but is a structural feature, affirmed and sustained by cultural invention.²⁸ Apart from differences in economy, other writers are hard pressed to locate cultural distinctions that mark off Nevis from St. Kitts. Olwig (1993a, 1993b) discusses Nevisian culture at length, but much of what she adduces would seem to apply generally to “marginalized people (who) have developed in those scattered niches within the colonial order where they have been able to interact relatively undisturbed” (Olwig 1993a:364), a characterization applicable to most West Indians.

Despite this apparent ambiguity as to cultural differences, there are some suggestive directions revealed in census data. In the 1960 census, a rather complete and usefully disaggregated source, and one that is representative of the period when some of the more dramatic political differences were surfacing, there are some telling indications. These are of two kinds: demographic indicators and figures from which we may confidently impute cultural/economic differences.

In the first case there are distinct differences in the propensity to migrate within the state. The St. Kitts population included 9.7 percent Nevisian-born, while Nevis had only 4.2 percent Kittitian-born. Because St. Kitts is much more populous, the Nevisian-born population living in the state out-

28. In Nevis the institution of Culturama, a festival celebrating Nevisian culture begun in 1974, is such an example of “invented tradition” (see Olwig 1993b:187-92). This is not to suggest that there is anything bogus about the celebration or its importance in defining Nevisian cultural identity.

side the island of their birth is even more striking. In 1960, 22.9 percent of all Nevisian-born residents were living in St. Kitts. Despite this, Nevisians display a greater propensity to remain in the districts of their birth, while Kittitians are more mobile, especially in a rural-to-urban direction, indicating the primacy of Basseterre, the capital.²⁹

Culturally, we can also discern differences. The dependency ratio³⁰ in St. Kitts was 0.97, in Nevis, 1.16, likely an artifact of greater out-migration from the latter. This is also suggested by sex ratios in the 15-64 age groups. For Nevis the figure is (m:f) 0.71; for St. Kitts, 0.85.³¹ More telling, however are indicators that point to economic pursuits and family structure. Nevisians were more likely to own land (29.9 percent) than rural Kittitians in the Windward (13.2 percent) or Leeward (18.1 percent) districts and to have larger holdings. Most Nevisians had 0.4-1.6 hectares; most Windward and Leeward residents had less than 0.4 hectares.³²

A commonplace assertion by Nevisians refers to an imputed superiority in terms of education and, presumably, awareness and refinements associated with educational levels. This is sustained by the figures comparing Nevisians with rural Kittitians. Only in Basseterre did the educational level approach that of Nevisians. In addition, Nevisian literacy exceeded that of rural Kittitians (Table 6).

Table 6. Educational Level (15+)³³

District	% primary or more
Leeward	71.9
Windward	75.2
St. Kitts	80.3
Nevis	86.5

In other respects indicating economic orientation and culture, the differences are even more striking. 1960 Nevisian rural patterns confirmed the image of them as small cultivators and fishermen, as opposed to rural Kittitians, who were landless estate employees (Table 7). Additionally the pattern of home

29. *West Indies Population Census 1960: Census of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla*, 7 April, 1960, Vol. 2. Kingston: Department of Statistics, p. 7.

30. The dependency ratio is the ratio of non-working-age population (0-14 plus 65 and over) to the working-age population (15-64). It is usually seen as an indicator of underdevelopment and a young population. However, in the Nevisian case the migration pattern resulted in a large number of young and aged left behind on the island.

31. *West Indies Population Census 1960: Census of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla*, 7 April, 1960, Vol. 2. Kingston: Department of Statistics, p. 10-11.

32. *West Indies Population Census 1960: Census of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla*, 7 April, 1960, Vol. 2. Kingston: Department of Statistics, p. 22.

33. Source: *Census of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, 1960*. Vol. II, p. 19.

ownership and size of dwelling unit for Nevisians in 1960 was significantly different from the Kittitian rural population (Table 8).

How do we interpret these indications that seem to confirm widely held beliefs about the differences between Kittitians and Nevisians? While there is no disputing the objective criteria suggested here for distinguishing the two populations, these differences do not appear profound enough to explain the rupture that characterizes political culture in the state. More likely is the assertion of differences and stereotypical depictions of the “other” to sustain the argument that Nevisians cannot comfortably be a part of a political unit with St. Kitts. For example, in a discussion of Nevisian/Kittitian differences, a Nevisian politician points out features described above – smallholder versus estate laborer, home ownership versus renter, higher educational level of Nevisians – all contributing to a sense of pride and superiority. However, he continues with a litany of political and economic grievances:

They [the Labour Party government] didn't make use of their stewardship when they had it, and they didn't draw the people (of Nevis) to them... We were geared for a take-off [but] the powers that be didn't do anything to bring them [financial, credit institutions], and so we were vexed.³⁴

Table 7. Labor Categories³⁵

Category	Windward	Leeward	Nevis
<i>Male</i>			
Cultivators (no employees)	55	63	536
Farm laborers	1,580	1,253	438
Fishermen	17	61	224
Seamen	0	3	41
<i>Female</i>			
Cultivators (no employees)	9	13	386
Farm laborers	958	982	446
Fishermen	–	–	–
Seamen	–	–	–

Table 8. Dwelling Ownership and Size³⁶

Area	Dwellings	% owner occupied	1 room	%	2-4 rooms	%
Leeward	2,738	45.2	1,165	42.5	1,340	48.9
Windward	3,030	58.7	1,042	34.4	1,764	58.2
Nevis	3,050	82.7	487	16.0	2,195	72.0

34. Interview with Fred Parris, October 7, 1985.

35. Source: *Census of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, 1960*. Vol. II, pp. 146–47.

36. Source: *Census of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, 1960*. Vol. II, p. 202.

This is a pattern repeated in numerous letters and web postings by Nevisians supporting some form of separation from St. Kitts. The cultural differences are asserted, but the crux of their arguments rests on past – back to 1882 – political injustices, most significantly under Labour Party rule.

In this respect what seems uniquely Nevisian is a charter created by them from a reading of historical materials, one that speaks directly to their perceived political and economic plight. The elements of this charter have been noted throughout this paper, but to summarize, they are an interrupted autonomy in 1882 and a consequent long slide into degradation and penury; prolonged discrimination at the hands of a Basseterre-based government, especially as this was administered by the St. Kitts-Nevis Labour Party (the name itself is an affront, given the minimal Nevisian influence in the Party); and the idea, sustained for forty years, that respite from this situation could only be attained through political separation from St. Kitts.

How, then, does this identity translate into a political movement that might realize the goal of political separation? Here we examine the distinction made by Smith (1998:62-69) between “separation” and “secession.” Although he and many others who write about nationalism and secession focus on ethnic cleavages (see also Horowitz 1985; Kellas 1991), his discussion is apposite here. In discussing land and place Smith (1998:63) notes that these are vital to separatists “not simply for its economic and political uses” but equally for their “cultural and historical dimensions.” Both of these are addressed in the Nevisian charter. However, the economic and political have been the pivot of the present struggle. If, as Smith (1998:66) suggests, secession involves ideological opposition, this is hard to discern in the Nevisian case.

In an article on the tendency toward Caribbean insularity David Lowenthal (1984:112-13) locates Nevisian separatism within a general West Indian pattern of “particularism.” He notes that this “particularism is not in the main based on social and cultural differentiation ... but is a consequence ... of local hegemony against imperial control.” Nevisian separatism can thus be seen as an instance of a tendency that has been manifested in repeated failures of federal attempts, in insularity born of fear of competition and dependence, and in impulses in other small dependencies, like Barbuda, Anguilla, and Tobago, toward separation from their larger partners in state frameworks.

Can it be, then, that Nevisians may remain ardent separatists, desirous of removing the yoke of the perceived domination of Basseterre, but that many are not, in their final analysis, willing to take the *political* step of re-creating themselves as a nation-state?³⁷ This would seem to be the message of the 1998 referendum vote. The contrast with the plebiscite vote in 1977

37. One is reminded of the situation of the sister island of Montserrat (in pre-volcano times), where residents, faced with the decision about independence, repeatedly invoked a principle of “unripe time” to explain their ambivalence to a new status.

is instructive. The 1977 vote was little more than an opinion poll. Hopeful as they might have been of some kind of resolution of their plight after this dramatic evidence of Nevisian disaffection, NRP leaders had no realistic expectation that the British would acquiesce to the secession sentiment. In 1998, however, a positive vote on the referendum would have had direct and well-defined consequences. A two-thirds vote for the measure would have thrust Nevis into a new status, constitutionally separate from St. Kitts and independent of Great Britain. A substantial number of Nevisian voters could not take that step.³⁸

A final note concerns Nevis in a global context. Olwig argues persuasively that the "external orientation" of Nevisians, an outcome of a long colonial history and subsequent emigration, has created a transnational community and field of action. She posits that Nevisian "sense of identity...is closely related to the global community, the most significant framework of the form of life of Nevisians" (Olwig 1993a:374). An irony of the secession attempt is that the economic underpinning of the proposed new nation is almost entirely attributable to developments that have followed from the 1983 constitutional arrangements and subsequent enabling legislation. The growth of tourism, largely as a result of the construction of an impressive facility owned by a transnational enterprise, and the rapid proliferation of offshore financial services have arguably made Nevisian independence viable. Hence, the grounding for this attempt at national sovereignty relies on the vastly expanded globalization of the Nevisian economy, quite a contrast from that earlier depiction of Nevis' plight, which emphasized its penury and forced isolation.

Since the referendum vote new proposals and discussions have centered on constitutional reform, a necessity on which all parties apparently agree. Should a new constitution be fashioned for the two-island state, however, it will not magically create a national identity to which Kittitians and Nevisians alike can subscribe. Instead, it will recognize the separate identities while seeking to ameliorate the grievances Nevisians have voiced for so long. Such an arrangement is likely to construct a governing apparatus where a unity state is only minimally manifest. For Nevisians that is likely to be quite enough.

38. Another curious fact of the vote is the low turnout, given the significance of the issue. Voting turnouts have declined recently from a high in the 1993 election.

APPENDIX

The Manifesto of the Nevis Reformation Party for General Elections 1st December, 1975³⁹

1. THE NEVIS REFORMATION PARTY will strive at all costs to gain secession for Nevis from St. Kitts – a privilege enjoyed by the Island of Nevis prior to 1882.
2. The present relationship between St. Kitts and Nevis makes Nevis a Colony or ward of St. Kitts. The people of Nevis oppose and detest the idea of Nevis going into Independence under a St. Kitts administration. The Nevis Reformation Party will strive at all costs to gain for the people of Nevis a new Council with similar powers and functions as the Council of Anguilla as provided in Section 109 of the St. Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla Constitution Order 1967.
3. The Nevis Reformation Party undertakes to hold Elections in Nevis as soon as the desired political status is achieved so that the people of Nevis will have a chance to vote for the Party or Candidate of their choice to look after their own affairs.

Dated, this 20th day of November, 1975.

S. Daniel, President of the Nevis Reformation Party
L. Morton, Secretary

39. Source: Murrain 1993:40-41.

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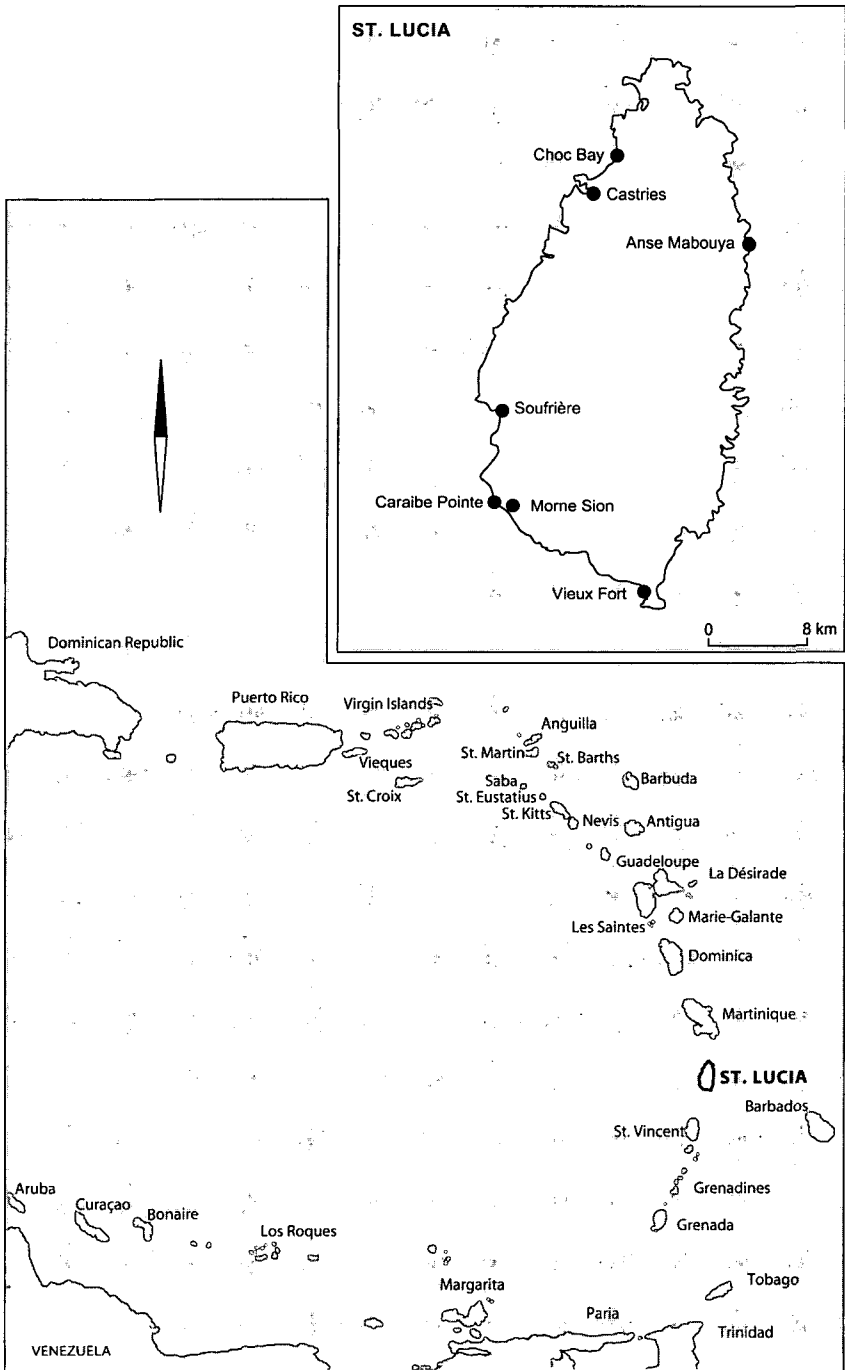
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FROM SUAZOID TO FOLK POTTERY:
POTTERY MANUFACTURING TRADITIONS IN
A CHANGING SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
ENVIRONMENT ON ST. LUCIA

INTRODUCTION

St. Lucia (Map 1) has a very long history of pottery production. The first evidence of pottery on the island dates from pre-Columbian times, that is, around AD 200. During that time a richly decorated pottery known as the Saladoid series was made. Quantitatively, pottery production reached its climax during late pre-Columbian times, with pottery from the so-called Suazoid series or Suazan Troumassoid subseries, as recently redefined by Irving Rouse (Rouse & Morse 1995). It is assumed that Suazoid pottery, still regarded by today's islanders as "Carib" pottery, did not survive into the early colonial period and is therefore unrelated to the pottery of the contact-period Island Carib mentioned by the early and mid-seventeenth-century chroniclers of the Windward Islands. The slaughter of the Amerindian population on the islands by European colonists and the introduction of slaves from West Africa led to a breakdown of the indigenous culture and the replacement of the indigenous local pottery tradition by a series of Afro-Caribbean wares. From a technological point of view, the Afro-Caribbean ceramics can be regarded as local Caribbean adaptations integrating a blend of skills and techniques from African, European, and Amerindian – "Carib" – pottery manufacturing traditions both in form as well as in function (Heath 1999). However, there is no consensus among scholars regarding the exact composition of the influences going into the blend (Petersen, Watters & Nicholson 1999:160). The Afro-Caribbean wares once had a wide distribution throughout the Lesser Antilles, contrary to the present-day situation. Traditional potters producing "folk pottery" survive to this day on the Lesser Antillean islands of Nevis, Antigua, Martinique (St. Anne), and St.



Map 1. Map of the Lesser Antilles, detail showing St. Lucia

Lucia (Caraïbe Pointe, Morne Sion).¹ Archaeological fieldwork on these and other islands has shown that it is often very difficult to distinguish the modern earthenwares that remain in use today from late pre-Columbian/early colonial Amerindian pottery.² Yet, vessel shape, temper, and thickness of the ware are characteristics that may be employed to distinguish between the two traditions (Armstrong 1990; Meyers 1999:208).

This paper focuses on the technological sequences of the pottery manufacturing process through time, based on the fact that the successive traditions are all characterized by handmade, low-fired pottery. We do not want to enter the debate regarding the so-called Island Carib problem, that is, the uncertainty about the identification of the archaeological ceramics that can be ascribed to the Amerindians of the colonial period of the Windward Islands, and the relationship of this earthenware with the modern folk pottery of the Antillean archipelago. While the Suazoid series has been seen as the material remains of the pre-Columbian ancestors of the historic Island Carib by Ripley Bullen and Adelaide Bullen (1972, 1976) and Dave D. Davis and Christopher Goodwin (1990) others, notably Louis Allaire (1977, 1984, 1991) and Arie Boomert (1986, 1995), have suggested that this pottery complex should display features showing a derivation from the littoral portion of the Guianas and, moreover, a relationship to the present Kari'na (Carib) of this region.

In addition, we do not want to participate in the current debate on Afro-Caribbean wares, which has tended to revolve around origin, stylistic diversity, and related ethnicity questions (Hauser & Armstrong 1999; Heath 1999; Petersen, Watters & Nicholson 1999). Rather, we provide a picture of the pottery manufacturing process on St. Lucia through time between diachronic, geographically bounded pottery traditions with markedly different origins. We do this by using the results of the analysis of Suazoid ceramics, combined with information gathered from the early ethnohistorical accounts from the Windward Islands and recent ethnoarchaeological fieldwork among traditional potters on St. Lucia. An overview of pottery manufacturing techniques and production from late-pre-Columbian and present times follows, resulting in an insight into the whole sequence of operations of the manufacturing process embedded in the sociocultural realms of the Suazoid, Island Carib, and Afro-Caribbean cultures (see Lemonnier 1986, 1993; Gosselain 1998). It is believed that technological knowledge embedded in one society's manufacturing tradition, which passes from generation to generation, is stable through time (Stark 1998; see also Hofman & Jacobs 2001/2002). However, it cannot be assumed that this knowledge is transmitted from one tradition to the other. The manufacturing processes in the different cultural traditions should

1. Victor 1941; Vérin 1963; de Roo Lemos 1979; Wernhart 1986; Beuze 1990; Petersen, Watters & Nicholson 1999; Keegan, Hofman & Hoogland 2003.

2. DeWolf 1953; Howard 1965; Mathewson 1972; Keegan, Hofman & Hoogland 2003.

be clarified by comparing the production steps of each ware. The reconstruction of the production technology involves, in all cases we present, identifying the raw materials used (like clay and temper), studying the shaping, finishing, and decoration techniques and firing process. By studying the changing social and cultural environment over a period of time, the developmental trajectory of the pottery manufacturing and the choices made by the potters will be given a place in the history of the island.

HISTORIC PREAMBLE

St. Lucia has a long habitation history that begins around AD 200 with the first Amerindian settlers on the island. These first inhabitants originated in the northern part of South America and brought ceramics from the Cedrosan Saladoid subseries with them.

However, the island seems to have been most densely occupied during the later period of pre-Columbian times termed the Suazoid period (from approximately AD 1150 to 1500). For the next few centuries the situation is less clear. The Lesser Antilles and the Windward Islands in particular have a markedly different colonial history from that of the Greater Antilles. The same lack of interest evinced by Columbus in bypassing swiftly the *islas inutilas* seemed to pervade the European attitude toward these islands for the century and a half after Columbus. Archaeology in the Leeward Islands has pointed to a possible depopulation of these islands, bar St. Kitts, Antigua, and Nevis, before the arrival of Europeans in the area. Various hypotheses have been proposed to explain this depopulation, ranging from resource depletion and Amerindians fleeing other Amerindians, to disease and slave trading. European settlers pouring into the region from the seventeenth century onward reported most of the Leeward Islands to be deserted, some of them only recently. However, the Windward Islands and certain Leeward Islands harbored a more lasting and resilient Amerindian population, which initially offered considerable resistance to the foreign occupiers. The Island Carib, regarded as a post-Columbian culture, were the inheritors of all the cultural traditions of the native Caribbean people and the mainland Kari'na, and they temporarily manifested themselves on the almost empty stage of the early colonial period (Allaire 1977; Boomert 1986, 1995; Whitehead 1995:105).

The French-Island Carib peace treaty of 1660 allowed the remaining Island Carib to seek refuge in reserves on Dominica and St. Vincent (Wilson 1997). Over the years, the reports of skirmishes and other contact dwindled, until the Amerindians were ultimately marginalized and relegated to the footnotes of European colonial history. Of course, this is a rather general view that does injustice to the period of about two hundred years during which the Amerindian population of the Lesser Antilles, particularly the south, under-

went a remarkable resurgence (Honychurch 1997). A final factor contributing to the decline of the Amerindian population and their cultural heritage was the influx of African slaves into the region, which resulted in the preservation of certain indigenous elements and the introduction of new ones from Africa. A people known as the Black Carib, a fusion of Island Carib and escaped black slaves, offered considerable resistance to the European powers until they were finally defeated in 1797, ending Amerindian resistance in the Antilles (Boomert in press).

Thus it is not surprising that the pottery produced by Africans newly arrived on the Leeward Islands showed little Amerindian influence (see Petersen, Watters & Nicholson 1999) because there may have been few Amerindians left to pass on the tradition. On the other hand, because Africans did mix with the dwindling Amerindian population in the Windward Islands, they took over certain customs and aspects of material culture as part of the process of trans-culturation. An interesting dimension is added to the question of Amerindian influences by examining the Puerto Real ceramics on Jamaica. It has been suggested that a slave trade in North American, not Caribbean, Indians may have had a minor effect on Afro-Jamaican folk traditions (Meyers 1999).



Map 2. Map of St. Lucia by Thomas Jefferys (1775).
Detail of Anse Mabouya on the east coast. Map courtesy of the
David Rumsey Map Collection (www.davidrumsey.com)

On St. Lucia, the Amerindian presence was so lingering that it left its marks on eighteenth-century maps. Both Thomas Jefferys's (1699-1775) map of 1775 and a map drawn by J.N. Bellin (1703-72), dating to the mid-eighteenth century, make mention of an Amerindian locale along the coast near Anse Mabouya (Map 2).

The dwellings were depicted in a cluster, accompanied by a notation referring to Carib. While lacking extensive documentation on the Amerindians on St. Lucia during these times (but see Vérin 1961), archaeologists are aided by a body of mainly French chronicles focusing particularly on the Windward Islands and dating to the early colonial period.³ These documents form an invaluable account of early colonial-period interaction between Europeans and Amerindians and offer an overview of the customs and material culture of the Carib inhabitants of the islands. Although none of these documents deal with St. Lucia outright, the situation outlined in these writings must apply to a certain degree to St. Lucia and its variegated postcontact population. There are indications that people near Caraïbe Pointe on the west coast of St. Lucia have maintained a somewhat stronger link with their Amerindian roots than other St. Lucians (Vérin 1961, 1963). African slaves manned the many European plantations on the island, such as Balembouche Estate, La Haut, Fond d'Or, and others. Over the years, the different populations coalesced, and most modern-day St. Lucians embody to a certain degree this mixed heritage. While under the yoke of European planters, these people managed to retain their own cultural traditions and belief systems, as well as their material expressions.

St. Lucia had a comparatively late start economically, only turning into a sugar-producing economy based on African slave labor in 1765. However, the continual struggle for supremacy between the French and English, who were both bent on possession of St. Lucia for its importance as a military stronghold with its excellent harbor facilities, retarded exploitation of St. Lucia's economic resources. The island's economy suffered further setbacks in the wake of the American Revolution and through violent hurricanes that destroyed many plantations. Fortunes vacillated between France and England, and St. Lucia exchanged hands countless times between the mid-eighteenth century and 1814, when the island was finally ceded to the British. Only then, at the start of the nineteenth century, did St. Lucia begin to prosper, with products like sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton in full cultivation (Ragatz 1963:218; Breen 1970:53).

Archaeology on St. Lucia

The island of St. Lucia played a central role in the earliest systematic study of Caribbean prehistory. Despite its early role in stimulating archaeological

3. De la Borde (1674); Labat (1742); Breton (1892, 1900); du Tertre (1973); Moreau (1987).

research in the Caribbean, very little formal archaeological work has been conducted on the island in the past twenty-five years. Notable exceptions are the research undertaken by the University of Vienna in the 1980s (Friesinger 1986; Friesinger & Devaux 1983) and current research by the University of Bristol at historical sites. However, before these excavations, the last major field investigations were conducted by Marshall B. McKusick (1960) as part of his Ph.D. research in 1956 and 1957, William G. Haag (1964), and the Bullens (1970, 1973 with Branford); the last major summary of St. Lucian archaeology was compiled by Charles Jesse in 1960 and revised in 1968.

In 2002, an international cooperative program was established between the St. Lucia Archaeological and Historical Society, the Florida Museum of Natural History, and the Faculty of Archaeology of Leiden University (Keegan, Hofman & Hoogland 2002, 2003). The aims of this project are to develop an inventory of archaeological sites on the island, to develop a better classification of the unique styles of pottery and decoration found on St. Lucia and in a broader context in the Windward Islands,⁴ and to conduct ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological investigations on the island.

FROM SUAZOID TO FOLK POTTERY

The Suazoid series in the Windward Islands was preceded by a thousand years of successive pottery traditions, which originated on the mainland of South America. Early horticulturalists introduced ceramics of the Cedrosan Saladoid subseries into St. Lucia around AD 200. Ceramics of this series are characterized by their thinness, hardness, and overall quality. They are richly decorated with paint, incisions, and modeled-incised adornos. Cedrosan ceramics have been found on St. Lucia at the site of Grande Anse, Black Bay, and others. A Troumassoid series divided into Troumassée A and B developed around AD 350 and a late Troumassée around AD 750. The Saladoid-Troumassoid succession does not imply an interruption in stylistic modes between the two series. Troumassée A corresponds well with Late Cedrosan Saladoid, and Troumassée B shows a clear continuity from Troumassée A. This smooth transition demonstrates an uninterrupted local development over time (see also Boomert 2000:244-45).

4. Following a culture-historical approach, studies of pre-Columbian ceramics from the Caribbean have long been oriented toward the construction of relative chronologies by means of typological frameworks and did not incorporate the sociocultural aspects of society. Most of these studies focused on stylistic aspects of decoration and morphology. Technological studies in which the whole sequences of pottery production are analyzed have rarely been conducted, but are certainly of increasing interest among Caribbean archaeologists and ceramologists (e.g., Hofman 1993; Bloo 1997; Curet 1997; Reed & Petersen 1999; Hofman & Jacobs 2001/2002).

Troumassoid ceramics are thick with relatively soft, grit-tempered paste, which crumbles easily. Vessel shapes are varied; forms include boat-shaped, kidney shaped, pedestal, bottomless, double, hemispherical, and inverted bell-shaped bowls. Rims tend to be thickened with a variety of forms including flanges and rim bevels. Painted decoration is common, including bichromes and polychromes with red, white, and black. Some modeled-incised motifs are present. Over time the painted decoration disappeared, as did fine-line crosshatching. Tripod griddles were introduced and modeled-incised decorations became more elaborate. The type-site for the Troumassoid series is the site at Troumassée River, St. Lucia. Troumassoid ceramics are found all over the Windward Islands (Troumassan Troumassoid subseries) and in the Leeward Islands (Mamorán Troumassoid subseries) (Petersen *et al.* 2004).

From AD 1150 on, the Troumassoid series was followed by the Suazoid series, or Micoid series, as it was called by McKusick (1960). This series includes the Choc style, named after the site in the northwestern part of St. Lucia, and the Fannis style is named after the proprietor of a property at Micoud on the southeast coast (McKusick 1960:152-54; Jesse 1968a). The Suazoid series extends from as far south as Tobago to as far north as Martinique and Les Saintes (Boomert 1986, 1995; Allaire 1991; Hofman 1995). Recently discovered sites on St. Lucia that yielded late Suazoid pottery are Saltibus Point, Parc Estate, and La Ressource (Keegan, Hofman & Hoogland 2002, 2003).

Several researchers have focused their attention on the origin and development of the Suazoid series, which includes the latest pre-Columbian pottery of the Windward Islands. The discussion began in the late 1950s when McKusick identified ceramics of the Fannis style on St. Lucia that resembled ceramics made by local potters today. He further suggested that Fannis would be ancestral to the Island Carib pottery described by the early and mid-seventeenth-century French chroniclers. These chronicles describe a number of characteristics regarding their fabrication, vessel type and their nomenclature, surface treatment, and function (see also Barbotin 1974; Allaire 1977; Boomert 1995:25). Despite several attempts, Island Carib pottery has never been positively identified in the archaeological context, and Suazoid pottery seems to have little in common with Island Carib pottery (Allaire 1977; Boomert 1995). Other attempts to correlate the Island Carib with similarly late complexes on the islands such as Cayo also have never been fully accepted and are still the subject of exploration and discussion (Boomert 1986, 1995). The current scenario views Kari'na people (predominantly men) with their pottery traditions coming from the mainland to the Antilles during late prehistory and replacing the Suazoid culture. This would explain the resemblance of Kari'na vessel types to those described by the seventeenth-century chroniclers. Boomert (1995:28, 31) claims that Island Carib and Kari'na pottery both developed from one and the same predecessor (i.e. the Koriaban subseries), the most widespread Amerindian cultural tradition of the Guianas

in late prehistoric times. Cayo pottery, which is very similar to Koriabo pottery from the mainland and which has been found on St. Vincent and sparingly on Grenada and Dominica, would then be the pre-Columbian precursor of the historic Island Carib pottery styles (Boomert 1986). Recently, Cayo pottery has also been reported for Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe (Richard 2002, 2003), and St. Lucia.

Similarly, several attempts have been made to correlate Island Carib pottery with modern folk pottery (Fewkes 1914:675). However, with the exception of some similarities in techniques and the survival of a few indigenous names for specific vessel types, little correlation has been found as yet (Vérin 1963; Jesse 1968b; Allaire 1977). In fact, the colonial or Afro-Caribbean ware, which dates back to at least the early eighteenth century, is more likely to be ancestral to modern folk pottery (e.g., Petersen, Watters & Nicholson 1999). It seems that a considerable number of studies have focused on the production sequences of the earthenwares that are associated with African populations in the Caribbean.⁵ Although the precise date cannot be pinpointed, it is apparent that African slaves started making pottery soon after they arrived in the Antilles. These wares probably circulated in an internal or "underground" economy initially, before gradually reaching colonial markets as well (see Meyers 1999). This pottery bore little resemblance to either European or Amerindian ware, although certain production techniques or conventions may have been similar. These earthenwares have come to be known under a variety of monikers, including Yabbas or Creole (or *criollo*) ware, African ware, Afro-Caribbean pottery, colono-wares, and folk pottery (perhaps the least pejorative and most inclusive term). Island-specific designations such as Afro-Jamaican and Afro-Cruzan also exist. It should be pointed out that the more general terms mentioned above have not been applied to Caribbean contexts exclusively; they are also applied to North American contexts. Most studies have yielded similar conclusions on the ceramics. The authors agree that these wares began to appear in the seventeenth century (and in some places even earlier, see, for example, sixteenth-century Cristophe Plain ceramics from Puerto Real, Jamaica), as a result of intermingling between indigenous peoples and African slaves, and that was in turn influenced by colonial pottery traditions. As far as manufacturing processes are concerned, the techniques applied to the northern Lesser Antilles Afro-Caribbean ware included coiling and hand modeling rather than wheel manufacture, and open firing (low-fired) conditions rather than firing in a kiln. Furthermore, little or no use was made of glazes, and the pottery tended to be heavy and coarse.⁶ Kiln-fired and wheel-thrown pottery has been termed Euro-Caribbean pottery,

5. Watters 1980; Hauser & Armstrong 1999; Heath 1999; Hauser & DeCorse 2003.

6. Watters 1980, 1997; Nicholson 1990; Heath 1999:197; Meyers 1999; Petersen, Watters & Nicholson 1999:160.

although it appears that there are exceptions to this rule, such as the wheel-and-kiln, slave-produced sugarpot industry of Barbados (Meyers 1999:207-8). Interestingly, a correlation may exist between Amerindian pottery and folk pottery in terms of the mineralogical content of the pastes (i.e. predominantly local provenance), whereas the Euro-Caribbean pottery is more likely to have completely divergent pastes, often imported from different locales (Meyers 1999:206).

From the mid to late eighteenth century, folk pottery manufacturing seems to have gone through a period of declining production, perhaps giving way to inexpensive, imported ceramics and cast-iron pots (Armstrong 1990:157). By the early nineteenth century interest in the imports waned, and folk pottery went through a resurgence that lasted until the onset of industrialization and the modern era. Folk pottery now leads a rather marginal existence, often in the more rural settings some distance from towns and cities, and predominantly among poorer members of society. Very little is known about gender and Afro-Caribbean pottery manufacture in colonial times, because the very phenomenon of Afro-Caribbean pottery has gone unstudied until recently. Contemporary Afro-Caribbean pottery is made exclusively by women, however (Handler 1964; Petersen, Watters & Nicholson 1999). Besides the widespread local use of clay pots, most pottery production is oriented toward markets and the tourism industry.

Morphology and Style

Suazoid pottery in the Windward Islands, including the Troumassan and Suazan subseries, comprises both a coarse and a fine ware (Boomert in press) (Figure 1-2). Dominant vessel shapes of the coarse ware include simple contours, often with unrestricted or independent restricted orifices. Most vessels are thick and poorly made and tempered with a great variety of materials. Surfaces are often scratched or scraped, but polished surfaces occur as well. Rims are simple rounded, rounded and slightly thickened, or inward thickened. Finger-notched rims are predominant in the later phase of the series. Bowls may have wide or flat handles, extended rim handles or rim lugs. Peg-shaped lugs are sometimes added to the end of bowls. Bases tend to be flat, but low ring bases and legs are present as well.

Along with that coarse ware, there is a finer ware with more composite, complex, and boat-shaped vessels made of hard-fired, fine clay and with polished surfaces. Decoration on these vessels tends to be garish – finely or heavily incised lines in parallel designs, circles and dots, wings or scrolls on the rims or exterior sides and complicated modeled-incised lugs, frequently with human faces. These faces are flat, with appliqué noses and eyebrows, punctate or slashed mouths, nostrils and eyes, and pierced ears (Rouse 1992:129). Red paint is common overall, and bichrome is rare. Painting consists of aerial and linear designs. Other characteristics of the Suazoid series

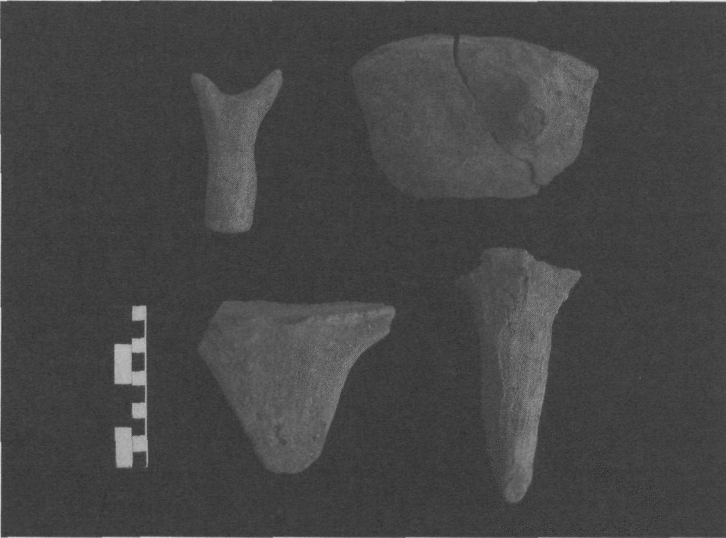


Figure 1. Suazoid pottery from St. Lucia (after AD 1000).
Clay pestle, griddle and vessel legs and rim fragment

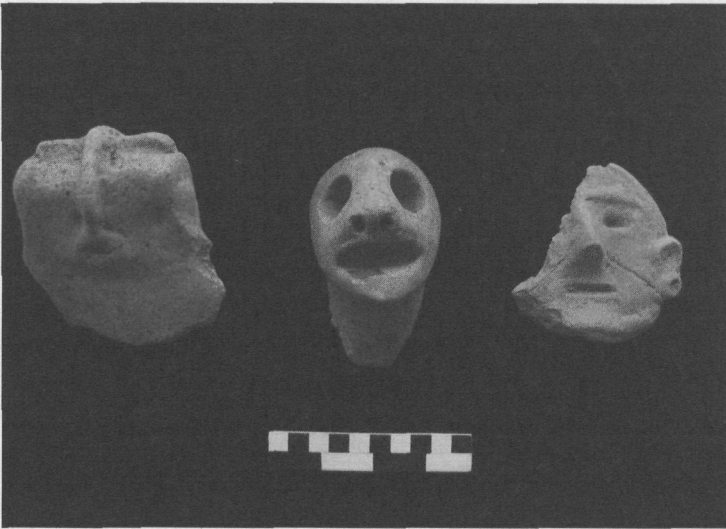


Figure 2. Suazoid pottery from St. Lucia (after AD 1000).
Anthropomorphic adorns

are legs and footed griddles, pot stands, spouts, body stamps, spindle whorls, pierced cylinders known as loom weights, freestanding (female?) figurines and clay pestles.⁷ These clay pestles may also be decorated with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures.

On St. Lucia this series includes the Choc and Fannis styles. The Choc style is characterized by a paste that is grit-tempered and hard. Coiled construction is often apparent from unsmoothed surfaces. It is characterized by extreme simplicity of vessel form with round or slightly concave bases. Annular bases are rare. The presence of bowl legs in addition to tripod griddles is typical, decoration is simple, and emphasis on unthickened rim lips, thickened rims are uncommon and only appear in combination with red paint. The surface finish tends to be coarse, brushed or uneven, rather than smooth. Decorated pottery only exists in the form of red paint with a deeper and darker red than the lighter Troumassée reds. Incision occurs, with a typical design being horizontal bands alternating with a vertical line or dot. Choc style is very distinctive from Troumassée pottery. However, its overall appearance is nondiagnostic as a result of the simplicity and relative crudity of sherds (McKusick 1960:115, 141-42).

The Fannis style shows continuities from the Choc style in the exclusive use of overall red paint and the absence of limited-area red. The paste is grit-tempered, black, and hard. There is a trend toward heavier and thicker pottery. Several new vessel shapes were introduced, including shallow, very crude, tripod and tetrapod bowls and large globular pots with slightly flaring rims. Vessel shape is frequently asymmetrical or irregular.

The Fannis style sees the introduction of notched rims, elbow-shaped legs, crude spouts surmounted by a horizontal loop handle, legged ringstands, and more frequent use of modeled-incised designs. Crude, irregular incision also occurs along with finger indentations on the rim (McKusick 1960:116-17).

Regarding Island Carib pottery, the early chroniclers mention different pottery vessel types, each with a specific function. Most pots that were used for cooking were raised over the fire by resting them on three stones, the *manbácha* (Breton 1892:350).⁸ The most recurrent vessel types are the *canalli*, the *boutéicha*, a cooling jar, the *chamacou*, the *taóloüa*, the *ouchou*, a clay pot to heat the *ouïcou*, the *rouïara*, the *ialigali*, the *tourae*, a kettle, pot, or marmite to cook vegetables, fish, and meat which resembled the *rouïara*. The

7. Bullen & Bullen 1970:68-71; Bullen, Bullen & Branford 1973:205; Allaire 1977:318; Rouse 1992:129; Boomert & Kameneff 2003.

8. "Manbácha: trepié, sont trois roches qui soustiennent le pot qu'on met sur le feu qui est au milieu de ces roches, c'est aussi le foyer" (Breton 1892:350). Note that in text reproduced from primary sources, we have retained the original spelling and typography.

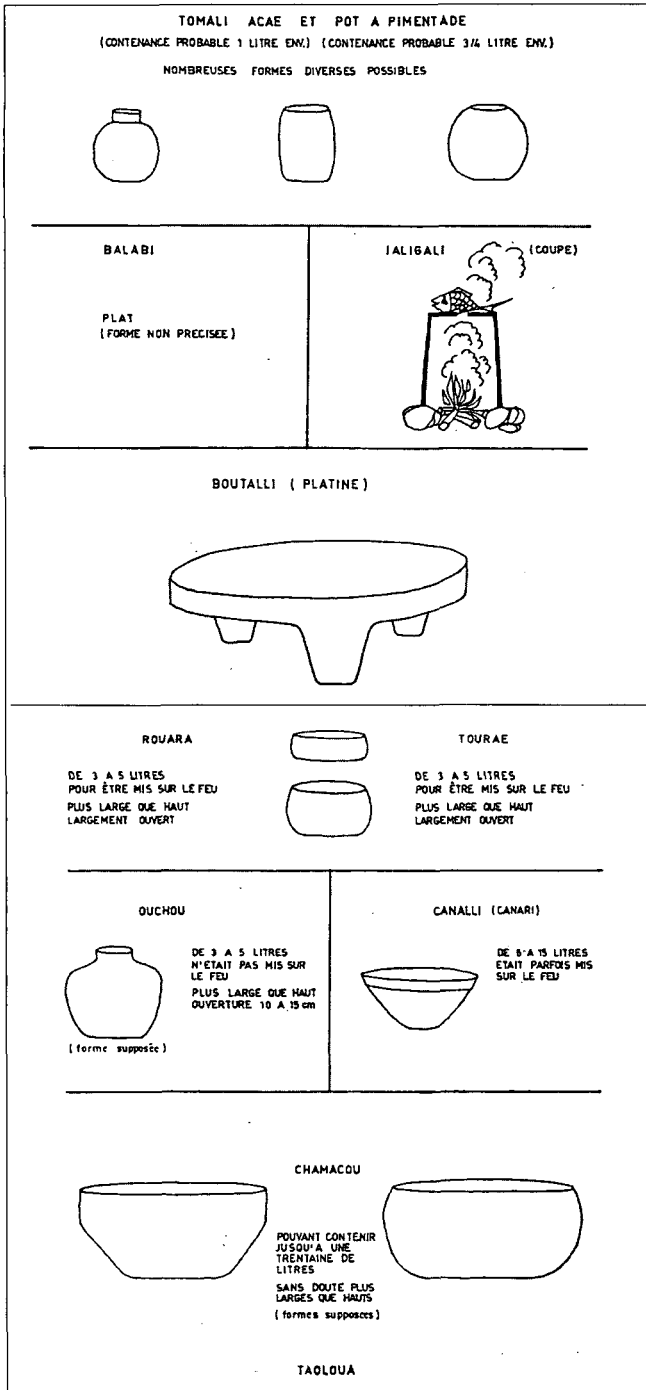


Figure 3. Reconstruction of Island Carib vessel shapes by Barbotin (1974, plates XIII and XIV)

tomáli-ácae (male form) or *toma-hiem* (female form)⁹ is the pot in which one makes a sauce of crab and pepper, the so-called pepperpot, the *balábi*, dish or plate and last but not least the *boutalli*, which is the griddle for baking cassava (Breton 1892:67, 93, 94, 107-8, 418, 467, Barbotin 1974) (Figure 3). The eighteenth-century Anonymous of St. Vincent mentions “for their pottery utensils, their principal ones are two large vessels, one to hold water and the other to hold *ouïcou*, ... one or two marmites, and a vessel to store the *roucou* ... They also make a number of others more or less big for other purpose” (Pinchon 1961:79).¹⁰

The *canalli* or *canari* is a vessel with a big orifice meant for storage of dry food and liquids. Breton mentions “f. *canali*” (Breton 1900:59) which means that this is a word used by the women. There are also the words *mónca*, *imoucali*, which he translates as “canari, my canari” (Breton 1892:361). Various sizes exist, and the contents could range from six to fifteen liters. The Anonymous of Carpentras (Moreau 1987:132) is more precise about the size and adds,

and when they want to make their wine, they have large vessels which are named “*canali*” which have no other use, and contain close to a muid [also spelled *muiz*; 3,456 liters], and similar height, of which the base is like a plate, becoming ever broader toward the end, which is sometimes four to five feet in diameter. There are also smaller ones that are used when their feast is not so large.¹¹

According to de la Borde (1674:20, fig. 3, 8, 10), “the canary is a clay vessel with a pointed base” (Figure 4).¹² This vessel could also be used as a vessel for boiling and fermenting cassava beer or *ouïcou* (Breton 1892:107;

9. It appears that two categories of vessels can be distinguished in Island Carib earthenware. The first one is associated with the male sphere of activities, bearing Cariban names; the second one with the female sphere, bearing Arawakan and European names. The first category includes well-finished, more or less ceremonial wares for communal use during meals (*chamacou*, *taóloüa*, and the *toma-hiem*), the second is related to domestic use (*rouara*, *bourrelet*) (Boomert 1995:25).

10. “Pour leurs ustancils de terre, leurs principaux sont deux grands vases, l’un pour metre leur eau, l’autre pour garder de l’*oikou* ... une ou deux marmites, et un vase pour metre le *roucou*. Ils en font aussi quelques autres plus ou moins grands pour d’autres usages” (Pinchon 1961:79).

11. “Et lorsqu’elles veulent faire du vin, elles ont des grandes terrines qui se nomment ‘*canali*’ qui ne servent à autre usage, et contiennent aucune près d’un muiz, et hautes de même, dont le fond est comme une assiette, s’élargissant toujours jusqu’au bout, qui a quelquefois quatre ou cinq pieds de diamètre. Il y en a bien aussi d’autres plus petites qui servent lorsque leur festin n’est guère grand” (Moreau 1987:132).

12. “Canary est un vaisseau de terre cuite dont le fond finit en pointe” (de la Borde 1674:20).

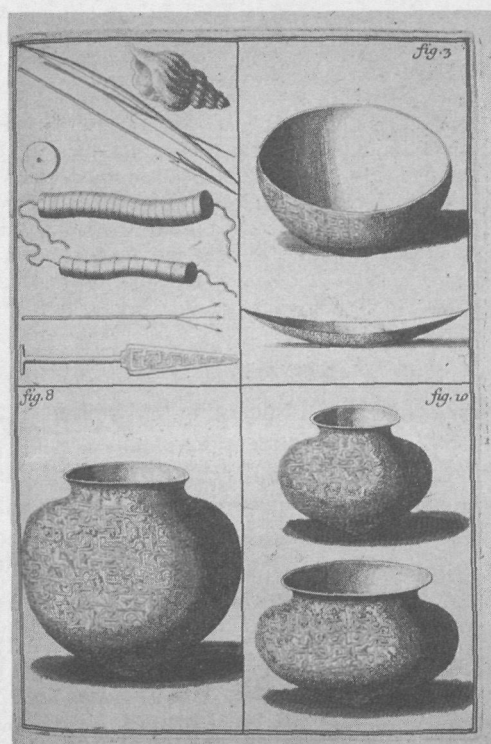


Figure 4. Bottom half: drawing of *canary* by de la Borde (1674)

Moreau 1987:132).¹³ De Rochefort (1658:436) reported that the small ones (called *taumalis*) were used for stew (pepperpot), and the large ones were used to make their drink, the *oüicou*.¹⁴ Barbotin (1974:plate VI) believes that the *canari* was placed over the dead body, to contain food for the after-life. This detail, however, is not mentioned by Breton. Others believe that the term *canalli* was used for all the domestic pottery and that the pot had multiple functions (Boomert 1986:99). According to Löven (1935:249) it could be of Spanish origin and a copy of the Spanish olive oil jars (see also du Tertre 1973:111). The term is still often used today in the Guianas and on the islands. *Conaree* is used on the British islands to describe iron cooking vessels with a restricted opening.¹⁵

13. "Les petits ne servent qu'à faire de ragouts, que l'on appelle taumalis. Mais les grands sont employez à faire le bruvage, qu'ils nomment oüicou" (Rochefort 1658:436).

14. Regarding the use of the *canalli* Breton (1892:107) mentions, "grands vaisseaux de terre dans lesquels les sauvages font leurs vins."

15. Boomert, personal communication.

Concerning the *chamacou*, the *taóloüa*, the *roüara*, and the *íaligali* Breton (1892:107-8) writes:

The first two serve to pour oüicou, which has boiled and is passed around, we pose them in front of them, full instead of jugs, there are those which can contain twenty to thirty pots, the others have smaller ones, depending on whom they are presented to; the third one serves to cook potatoes; the fourth one serves to roast fish, there is a fire underneath and at the mouth below on several rocks. In order that the fire has air [can breathe], it is narrow at the top, the top is decorated with small sticks that are laid across and on which they put the fish, which can slowly cook over a low fire (the heat is conserved within the canari).¹⁶

Regarding the latter, Breton (1892:267) adds, “*íaligali oulépe ábarou mónca*, the *canari*, which has no ass.”¹⁷ Concerning the *boutalli* (male) or *bourrêlet* (female), Breton (1892: 93-94) reports more extensively, “it has the shape of a griddle on which the women from that time dry their starch [paste] and of which it retains the name, it is of clay, placed on three stone rocks elevated half a foot or more, heated by the fire, the manioc flour is poured over to be baked on it, such is the oven of the savages.”¹⁸ La Borde (1674:25) mentions in addition the dimensions of the griddle, “the griddles are made from clay one finger across in thickness, round, and one foot and a half in diameter: they put them on three stones or rocks large enough to serve as a support and put fire underneath.”¹⁹ The Anonymous of Carpentras speaks instead of the *toucqué* as being the griddle and describes the use of three stones underneath (Moreau 1987:131).²⁰ Breton (1978:46) also mentions the *toucqué* in this respect but as being used without stones.

16. “Les deux premiers seruent à mettre l’oüicou qui a bouilli, & qui est passé, on les pose deuant eux, pleins au lieu de pots, il y en a tel qui contiendra vingt à trente pots, les autres sont plus petits, suiuant les gens ausquels on les presente: le troisiéme sert à faire cuire des patates: le quatriéme sert à faire rostir le poisson, il y a du feu dessous, & á la bouche en bas sur quelques roches, affin que le feu aye de l’air, il est estroit par haut, le dessus est garny de petits bastons qui font en trauers, sur lesquels ils posent les poissons qui cuisent à loisir, & souuent à petit feu (la chaleur se conseruant dans le canari)” (Breton 1892:107-8).

17. “Canari qui n’a point de cul” (Breton 1665:267).

18. “À la forme v-platine sur laquelle les dasmoiselles de deça font secher leur collets empesez & elle en retient le nom, elle est de terre cuitte, plâtée sur trois roches esleuées de terre d’vn demy pied ou plus, le feu clair l’ayant eschauffée, on y verse de la farine de magnoc qui cuit dessus, voila le four des sauuages” (Breton 1892:93-94).

19. “Les Platines sont faites de terre cuite d’un trauers de doigt d’épaisseur, rondes et d’un pied & demi de diamettre: ils les mettent sur trois pierres ou cailloux assez gros pour servir de trépied, & mettre du feu dessous” (de la Borde 1674:25).

20. “Platine ronde faite de terre qui a environ deux pieds de diamètre qu’ils nomment ‘toucqué,’ laquelle n’est appuyée que sur trois grosses pierres” (Moreau 1987:131).

Finally, Breton (1892:94; see also Breton 1900:98) describes the *boutéi-cha* as a “clay pot in which the Spaniards put their wine, the French use it to get water and call it *jar*.”²¹

The chronicles mention particularly large sizes for some of the vessels, which consist mostly of open bowls and necked jars with pointed and rounded bases and sometimes handles (see Boomert 1995:26). Breton mentions *liále tomáli ácae*, the body of a clay pot (Breton 1892:266) and *tiále*, the body of a bottle (Breton 1900:98). The upper part of a pot or vessel is named *tioúma*, *atálouragle* (Breton 1900:115). Breton mentions *cambakêtaali lirâcaeáli*, the *canari* is cracked or broken (Breton 1900:171). He further mentions *arerátina*, meaning “piece” or “scale” (sherd) of “broken pot” (Breton 1892:51) or *barrerátina*, *talouláchagonê*, piece of broken pot (Breton 1900:291). This could indicate that broken potsherds were of particular importance and may have been reused for other purposes (see Allaire 1977:51).

Vessel types that are popular in the folk pottery on St. Lucia today include simple shapes such as the *kannawi* (*canari*) or cooking pot and the *bésin* (*basin*), which is a large bowl. The *kannawi* is a vessel with a simple contour and a handle at opposite ends. The dimensions of this vessel vary from small to very large. For cooking, these pots are put on three stones called *fouyé* (*foyer*). The *tèson* (*tesson?*) or coal pot is an outward flaring vessel sometimes with finger indentations on the rim, wider at the top than at the bottom.



Figure 5. Assorted folk pottery vessels
(Morne Sion, St. Lucia)

21. “Vaisseau de terre ou les espagnols mettent leur vins, les François s’en seruent pour aller querir leur eau, & l’appellent vn iarre” (Breton 1892:94).

A perforated base separates the top from the bottom, which has an opening for the placement of fuel. The *chòdyè* (*chaudière*) is a large, flat-shaped vessel for frying. This flat-shaped pot is placed on top of the coal pot. Then there is the *pòt a flè* (*pot à fleur*), the flowerpot, the *jar* (*jarre*) as a water container, the *pla* (*plat*), to put food on at meals, the *téwin* (*terrine*), with two loop handles to wash or cook food or used as water container, and a pot (name is undetermined) to store (Figure 5). Finally there is the *platin* (*platine*), a very large plate to bake cassava bread.²² The rim portion of some vessels is occasionally decorated with finger indentations.

The Pottery Manufacturing Process

Clays are ubiquitously available in the southern part of St. Lucia, and it seems that from pre-Columbian times through to today they have been used for the local manufacture of pottery.

The pre-Columbian clays from St. Lucia have local provenances. Fabrics of the pottery from Saltibus Point are of volcanic origin and have a consistent quantity of quartz. This may point to an origin in the island's youngest volcanic deposition (Belmond Pumice). Fabrics are quite uniform and only differ in the proportion of volcanic rock versus mineral inclusions (plagioclase, quartz, hornblende, augite) (Faupl 1986). At Giraudy, the Bullens (1970:68) identified Suazoid fabrics characterized by grit- and crushed-shell temper. Suazoid shaping techniques involve coiling, but techniques such as flattening, slab building, pinching, and molding were also employed. Ceramic or calabash molds were probably used for the latter technique (Hofman & Jacobs 2001/2002). These techniques have been applied independently, but also in combination, depending on the size and shape of the intended vessel. Scraping has been done with a shell or calabash sherd (Hofman & Jacobs 2001/2002). Vessels have rather thick walls and a clumsy appearance. Finishing techniques include smoothing, burnishing, and polishing with a polishing stone, although most Suazoid vessels are crudely finished and often have scratched surfaces. These scratches are a result of rubbing the surface with grasses when the clay was in a leatherhard condition. Decoration comprises finger-notched rims, incisions, and modeled human figures. Vessels have fired in an open fire in a rather controlled way, under oxidizing to neutral conditions at temperatures generally not exceeding 800°C. The fire was built up as an open structure, so that the wind could blow through it. Vessels were placed upside down in the fire to obtain a more equal spread of the heat. Alternatively, firing furniture (e.g., rocks or broken vessels) could have

22. The terminology for the various vessel shapes is given in patwa or patois, the kwéyòl or Creole language spoken on St. Lucia today (Frank 2001).

been in the lowest part of the pile for the same reason (Hofman & Jacobs 2001/2002).

The chroniclers mention that in Carib Island society, probably women were usually the potters. As de la Borde (1674:21-23) writes, “the men are so foolish, and so ridiculous, that they do not want to have touched the labor, nor to put their hands on women’s tasks, although they can do as well as they. For example, they would rather starve than make the cassava, make the kettle, the canary, plant the manioc.” “The women are less idle than the men, they are like their slaves ... They make the *hamacs*, look for firewood, make palm or *calaba* oil; they make the *roucou*, comb and titivate each other, prepare the *couy*, and the calabashes, make the *ouïcou* [cassava beer], the *canaries*, the griddles and kettles.”²³ Other sources are more equivocal as to the sex of the potters (Pinchon 1961:72; see also Petitjean Roget 1995). The clay used to make these pots is called *allinéteu* (*terre à pottier*) or *Teutéli* (Breton 1892:29, 458). An anonymous manuscript from the early eighteenth century on St. Vincent adds the following regarding the manufacturing process:

These utensils [pots] were made of certain clay or greasy earth, well moistened and well kneaded, which they find at the foot of the hills, but, because they are no potters and because they do not have wheels, this is how they proceed: they collect quantities of this greasy earth, which they expose to the sun to dry it out and make it into dust. It is then passed through various sieves until all the rocks are gone. It is then kneaded with a little water and the gum of certain wild palm trees to consolidate the paste. They then take the necessary quantity, which they spread on a flat stone and little by little gets a larger width, and if it is to make a pot, while it hardens, they carefully raise the edges of that paste, which they bring closer to the centre by raising it higher, then with the palm of their hands, just like our potters, they shape the bottom while at the same time with their other fingers, they polish the exterior and close the cracks produced by making it round. Finally, they have a pot, but they have no proportions, nor determined shapes and very little solidity, while being too massive in some places and too brittle in others. They often even have difficulties using them when they are dry because since the base is not exactly flat, it tends to lean more on one side than the other. Regarding the large vessels [*marmites*], there is more time and work needed. After they finish making them, they have to look for the most friable parts and cover them with slip

23. “Les hommes sont si sots, & si ridicules, qu’ils ne voudroient pas avoir touché à la besogne, ni mettre la main au travail des femmes, quoy qu’ils peussent faire aussi bien qu’elles. Par exemple, ils mourroient plutôt de faim que de faire de la Cassave, faire la marmite, le Canary, planter le Manioc ... Les femmes sont moins oysives que les hommes, elles sont comme leurs esclaves ... elles font les amacs, cherchent le bois pour le feu, font l’huile de Palmiste & de Calaba; elles font le Roucou, peignent et ajustent les autres, accomodent les Couys, & les Callebasses, font l’Oüïcou, les Canaris, les platines, & les marmites” (de la Borde 1674:21-23).

both in the interior and exterior, and then with a fish scale or cutting stone, they polish them in the way that the vessels do not tend to crack when put to the violence of the fire (Pinchon 1963:78-80).²⁴

This manuscript mentions the following regarding the drying process: “to dry their vessels, the Carib keep in their dwellings an area built for that purpose, sheltered from the sun and where they manage to keep some wind through the openings in the walls ... they [finally] put them near a large fire, which gives them a good firing without cracking them” (Pinchon 1961:79-80).²⁵ About the firing du Tertre 1973 (1621:326) says that after piling the fuel all around and over them, they set fire to it, producing a slow fire, which baked the vessels as well as the European furnaces.

Vessel surfaces were smudged. Breton (1892:13) mentions *achálaca coina*, “making the black, heating gum from the *elemi* under a clay pot”²⁶

24. See also Allaire 1977:46; Petitjean Roget 1995:166. The information used by Father Pinchon comes from an eighteenth-century anonymous manuscript on the Carib of St. Vincent. Allaire (1977:46-49) cites this source extensively. His translation of the original French text is partly used here. “Ces ustansils sont faits avec une certaine argile ou terre grasse bien détrempée et bien paित्रie qu’ils trouvent à la chute des montagnes, mais, comme ils ne sont point potiers et qu’ils n’ont point de tour, voicy comme ils s’y prennent: Ils ramassent quantité de terre grasse, qu’ils exposent au soleil pour bien la sécher et la metre en poussière; ils la passent dans différents tamis jusqu’à ce qu’il n’y reste aucune pierre, ils les paित्रissent ensuite avec un peu d’eau et de la gomme de certains palmiers sauvages pour consolider cette patte; ils en prennent ensuite la quantité nécessaire pour l’ouvrage qu’ils se sont proposés, qu’ils étendent sur une pierre plate et peu à peu luy donne une grande largeur, et si c’est pour en faire un pot, à mesure qu’elle durcit, ils soulèvent doucement les extrémités de cette pâte qu’ils rapprochent du centre en l’élevant, et, avec le pouce, ainsy que nos potiers, ils forment le fond dans le tems qu’avec leurs autres doigts ils en polissent l’extérieur et cimentent les fentes qui se ferment par l’arrondissement ; enfin avec l’aide du tems, ils ont un vase, mais qui n’a ny proportions, ny figure déterminée et très peu de solidité et est trop massif en certains endroits et trop foible dans d’autres ; souvent même, ils ont peine à s’en servir quant il est sec, parce que, la base n’étant exactement plate, il penche plus d’un côté que d’autre.

A l’égard des marmites, il leur faut encore plus de tems et travail, car après qu’ils ont fait cette marmite, il faut qu’ils cherchent les endroits les plus foibles pour les enduire avec de la terre glaise tant en dedans qu’en dehors, et ensuite, avec une écaille de poisson ou une pierre tranchante, ils le polissent de manière que le vase soit uni de crainte que la violence du feu ne le fasse éclater” (Anonymous 1961:78-80).

25. “Pour faire sécher leurs vases, les Karaybes ont dans leur habitation un endroit fait exprès, à couvert du soleil et où ils ménagent un peu de vent par les ouvertures qu’ils y font, et quant ils ont assez secs, ils les mettent auprès d’un grand feu qui leur donne une bonne cuisson sans les faire fender” (Anonymous 1961:79-80).

26. “Faire du noir, allumer de la gome d’elemie sous un pot de terre” (Breton 1892:13).

and *achalácani*, “is the smoke or soot of this gum, which adheres to the *canari* and which makes this nice black color.”²⁷

All over red painting and black motifs on a red background have been reported for additional serving cups and bowls made out of calabash (*comori*, *rita*, *lita*, *taba*) by the Anonymous of Carpentras (Moreau 1987:108-9; see Boomert 1995:26 who erroneously classifies these categories as earthenware). “The *comori*, in which they put the wine that they want to take out of the villages ... which is similar to the *rita*, is painted red, and the *rita*, which is to put water in is not. And the one that is to serve wine also named *rita* is painted red with black designs on top.”²⁸ The Anonymous of St. Vincent also describes the painting of the calabashes in addition to their engraving (Pinchon 1961:81), “they paint this vessel with different colors, and decorate it with different motifs and use for this painting the juice of certain trees which is like a varnish which conserves this fruit in all its beauty and prevents the heat or the humidity from causing alterations or fissures.”²⁹

Women manufacture today’s “folk pottery” (Figure 6). However, men may assist in carrying out of some tasks, such as quarrying the clay and cutting the wood for firing. Clays (*tè gwa*) are collected from neighboring quarries. The potter may, in some cases, have to pay for the clay if the “quarry” does not belong to her. When quarried, the clay is put into piles. The people from the village know which pile belongs to whom and would never take clay from someone else’s pile. The potter collects from the pile big chunks of red clay that is of a good quality for making the pots. The chunks that have black in them are rejected. The clay is then transported back to the potter’s shed in a bag on her head. Behind the shed is another “quarry”; white clay from the bottom layer of the pit is collected here. The mixing of the red and white clay with water makes it suitable for making pots. A large stone is wetted with

27. “C’est la fumée ou suye de cette gome, qui s’attaché au Canari qui fait ce beau noir” (Breton 1892:13).

28. “Le *comori*, où il mettent le vin qu’ils veulent porter hors des villages ... qui est semblable à *rita*, est peinte de rouge, et *rita* qui est pour mettre de l’eau ne l’est point. Et celle, qui est à mettre du vin aussi nommée *rita* est peinte de rouge avec des ouvrages noirs par-dessus” (Moreau 1987:108-9). See also Breton (1892:176): “*cómori*: aux Isles on dit *callebasse*” (on the islands one says calabash); and Breton (1892:439-40): “*ritta bátêna*: c’est une petite *callebasse* coupée en deux, & peinte par les femmes, qui sert de verre, de tasse, & de coupe aux sauvages” (A small calabash cut in two and painted by the women, used as cups and bowls for the savages).

29. “Ils peignent ce vase de différentes couleurs, l’ornent de différentes figures et se servent pour cette peinture du suc de certains arbres qui est comme un verni qui conserve ce fruit dans sa beauté et empêche que la chaleur ou l’humidité luy cause quelque altération ou le fasse fender” (Anonymous 1961:81).



Figure 6. Different steps in the folk pottery manufacturing process.
 Clockwise from top left: collection of the clay, pounding the clay, shaping the vessel, drying in preparation for firing (Morne Sion, St. Lucia)

some water and the mixed clay is put on top of the stone, forming a small pile. The potter splashes a little more water on the pile and then uses a long wooden tool, like a pestle, that is thin at the top and thick at the bottom, to pound the clay. She stops every few minutes to turn the clay and put it back on the pile. She works the clay with her hands, in between the pounding. The process takes about five to ten minutes. The pounded clay is then taken in to her workshop.

To shape the clay the potter uses a clay bowl with rounded edges, and places it on her lap. She takes a handful of clay from a pile to her right, and begins to work the clay with her hands. She makes a long coil and begins to smooth it out, forming the base of the pot. Then the clay is flattened with her hands. She takes more clay from the pile and forms shorter lumps. These lumps are worked into the clay she has in her hands. She works the clay by turning the base and adding the lumps and forming the walls of the pot. The

potter adds more lumps, turning and working the sides of the pot with the coils, going higher and higher. To scrape the clay on the inside and outside of the pot, the potter uses a calabash sherd or scale (*cau* or *kay*; see *couebi* in Allaire 1976, 1977:64).³⁰ She wipes the rim of the pot with a wet cloth. Then the pot is left to dry until the next day, because the clay is too soft to smooth. Sometimes, depending on the shape of the pot, a ceramic mold is used to form the base part. To decorate some of the pots, she makes finger-notched impressions on the rim. A polishing stone is used to polish the vessel's surface. The potter gathers these stones from the beach. She does not fire the pots that she has made until she can fire a large batch at once. So she waits until more pots are finished, before stacking them. Wood is placed on top of the pile to cover the pots. Then more pots and pieces of wood are piled on top of that up to a height of about 1.60 metres. More wood goes around the boundaries and up the sides of the pile, and it is lit until all the wood has burned (Figure 7).



Figure 7. The firing place (Morne Sion, St. Lucia)

SYNTHESIZING REMARKS: CHANGING CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS

St. Lucia's fascinating history from late pre-Columbian through colonial to present times reflects the changing social and cultural environment in which the pottery manufacturing traditions must be studied. All three tra-

30. This word resembles the Island Carib word *coy* mentioned by the Anonymous of Carpentras. This word means "calabash" (see Moreau 1987:109).

ditions include hand-built and low-fired pottery. While all the clays used seem to be of local origin, their composition is different. As far as shaping is concerned, coiling is considered the most common shaping technique used for the Suazoid pottery, albeit often combined with flattening, slab building, pinching, and molding. Although coiling is reported for today's pottery, fashioning with smaller lumps of clay is done by the potter in Morne Sion and has also been reported for Antigua (Allaire 1976). Molds are used in both cases. The chroniclers give no details for the Island Carib pottery regarding the shaping techniques. Calabash tools are used in all three cases to scrape to equalize and make the surface thinner.

During the finishing process, Suazoid vessel surfaces are often scratched or scraped, but polished surfaces occur as well, whereas folk-pottery surfaces are exclusively smoothed and polished. Island Carib vessel surfaces are reported to be smudged with a black soot. Smudging also occurs among various Amerindian people on the mainland, notably those of the Guianas coastal zone and the Orinoco Valley. The resin used for smudging is the *simiri* (derived from the bark of the locust tree *Hymenaea courbaril*), and it ensures a water-proof surface (Boomert 1995:27). Smudging is also known from earlier pre-Columbian pottery, often occurring on the inside of the vessel. The tools used to scrape and polish the vessels have remained the same.

Decoration is rare but consists of finger-notched patterns on rims, common to the late Suazoid ceramics on the Windward Islands and St. Lucia. It is not mentioned by the chroniclers, but is still applied occasionally today on folk pottery. On other islands, like Martinique, finger-notched rims are not a common feature on modern pottery (Victor 1941; Allaire 1977). The fine ware of the Suazoid series has incised, painted, and modeled designs, often on red slipped surfaces. The chroniclers do mention varnishes of grey, red, and yellow and of many other colors. Today's folk pottery is largely undecorated and does not bear any slip. Firing is done in an open fire on which the clay pots are piled up as was done in pre-Columbian and early colonial times.

In general, simple vessel shapes characterize all three traditions. Interestingly, Suazoid vessels and bowls have flat bases and low ring bases, but legged bowls are present as well. The Island Carib canary is reported to have a pointed base. Flat bases are common in today's folk pottery. The griddle for baking cassava bread occurs throughout all three periods, although their shapes and sizes differ. During the Suazoid, griddles have three legs. The chroniclers mention griddles that rest on three stones similar to today's griddles. The dimensions of the latter are, however, far greater.

Vessel nomenclature attests to their divergent origins. Close correspondence has been noted between the Island Carib names and the nomenclature used by the Kari'na of the Guianas and the Middle Orinoco Valley (Allaire 1977:55-61, 1984). The *chamacou* is similar to the Kari'na *samaku*, and the Island Carib *toura*, *balabi*, and *tomahiem* to the Kari'na *touroua*, *parapi*, and

tuma-yene, respectively. On the other hand, the term *canari*, used by the chroniclers, is still in use today among St. Lucians. It has been suggested that the term is derived from the Spanish and is used in areas colonized by the French, while the English use the term *conaree*. The term *boutéicha* mentioned by the chroniclers is also derived from the Spanish. The term *chaudière* mentioned by Breton (1966:71) is also still in use on St. Lucia today as *chòdyè* in kwèyòl.

Pottery manufacture was a household affair in these traditions. Women have been the principal potters through time. However, according to Biet (1896:39), the manufacture of pottery was a male activity among the Island Carib, who were related to the Kari'na of French Guiana, in the mid seventeenth century. Apparently this changed to a female activity during the early eighteenth century (Boomert 1995:32). Boomert speculated that it might be possible that the Island Carib men, assuming that they moved to the islands, continued to manufacture a mainland-derived pottery repertoire motivated by the desire to express strong feelings of ethnic unity with the Kari'na of the mainland. According to Boomert (1995:32) the resulting contact may well explain why there are two pottery repertoires (one female related and one male related) among the Island Carib – a situation that is expressed in a distinct nomenclature for certain vessel types and their physical appearance. Today, although men may assist during some parts of the production process, pottery manufacturing remains a woman's affair.

The island of St. Lucia is certainly one of the most interesting places in the Lesser Antilles to study the development of pottery traditions because one can clearly observe nearly two thousand years of pottery manufacture on this island. To this day there is a very strong survival of traditional craftsmanship on the island, not only of pottery manufacture, but also the making of fish pots, mats, baskets, and of cassava processing. These traditional crafts are still very pertinent to contemporary society as is evident from the establishment of the Folk Research Centre in Castries, the capital of St. Lucia. This interest coincides with other developments such as the opening and maintaining of historical parks at Pigeon Island, Mamiku Garden, Balembouche Estate, and Fond d'Or. This heritage is not only significant in terms of tourist revenue, but equally, or more, so as the foundations of a national identity.

This study hopes to have fulfilled the aim of illustrating the distinctiveness of each pottery manufacturing tradition rooted in the divergent origins, whilst on the other hand acknowledging the resemblances resulting from a blend of traditions. Suazoid pottery represents an indigenous, pre-Columbian development of the Windward Islands. Island Carib pottery shows strong cultural affiliations with the mainland of South America, especially, but not exclusively, in the Kari'na earthenware of the Guyana coastal zone (Boomert 1995:27) also bears European influences, specifically in its nomenclature

and folk pottery has its roots in the West Africa but is undisputedly the result of mingling with Amerindian and European traditions.

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DEBATING THE VIABILITY OF ETHNICITY

Immigration and the Political Economy of Home: West Indian Brooklyn and American Indian Minneapolis, 1945-1992. RACHEL BUFF. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. xv + 240 pp. (Paper US\$ 18.95)

Black Cuban, Black American: A Memoir. EVELIO GRILLO. Houston TX: Arte Público Press, 2000. xvi + 134 pp. (Paper US\$ 13.95)

West Indian in the West: Self Representations in an Immigrant Community. PERCY C. HINTZEN. New York: New York University Press, 2001. x + 200 pp. (Paper US\$ 18.50)

Caribbean Families in Britain and the Transatlantic World. HARRY GOULBOURNE & MARY CHAMBERLAIN (eds.). Oxford UK: Macmillan, 2001. xvi + 270 pp. (Paper £15.50)

Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation. ALEJANDRO PORTES & RUBÉN G. RUMBAUT. Berkeley: University of California Press/ New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001. xxiv + 406 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

“Ethnicity” and its meaning, both as an identity and as a resilient cultural influence, has dominated late twentieth-century social scientific analyses of the process of immigrant incorporation. Perhaps we may mark the crowning of the term with the publication of Glazer and Moynihan’s *The Melting Pot*, one famous tome that “explained” varying “assimilation” outcomes among the “new” (post-1965) newcomers by examining their ethnic culture for flaws or strengths that justified socioeconomic failure or success. Muddying the ensuing policy debate was the use of buzzwords, like mainstream, deviant, assimilated, minority, black matriarch, absent father, and underclass,

that were themselves categorizing and hierarchical. The tautology of hierarchically labeling groups and then asking why groups with different labels have different outcomes seems to be perpetually invisible to the parties in the assimilation debate, but the debate itself rages on. Newer scholarship has added a different voice to that debate, arguing that variance in “assimilation” is instead explained by incorporation into social hierarchies (like racially segmented societies). The books reviewed here all speak in some way or another to these themes. They also examine the web of complex relationships migrants construct when defining and creating support institutions like “home,” “community,” and “family.”

Rachel Buff's *Immigration and the Political Economy of Home* argues that while the assimilation model requires “[swapping] economic success for cultural identity,” American Indians and black Caribbean immigrants resisted assimilation defined in this way (p. 124). Indians fought termination policies (designed to “emancipate” them from reservations by terminating the federal trust relationship to allow exploitation of Indian lands) and, further, made new demands for rights of Indians largely coerced into urban migration. For their part, West Indians fought the enforcement of a monolithic and homogeneous “blackness” and sought empowerment instead. Buff insists scholars misread such resistance as “ethnic” assimilation, but their goal is neither to identify as separate ethnic groups based on national or tribal origins nor to assimilate. Instead, American Indians and West Indians learn to create alternative identities to resist racism's effects. Over time they create Pan-Caribbean and Pan-Indian identities, refusing to identify themselves as separate nationals. By celebrating powwow and carnival, and transmitting new forms of cultural representation to their youth, they commemorate their island and reservation homelands, and reshape their experience of “home” in the United States. Caribbean people move toward decolonized thinking and a new sense of self in postindependence years, as they also celebrate a new awareness of African roots. Among Indians a sense of nationalism prevails as well, and they forge new links between the urban spaces Indians begin to occupy and the reservations from which urban transplants come.

Buff argues for the comparative compatibility of the West Indian and North American natives' experience because the groups share a history of forced removal from their respective original homelands that required, after a period of re-migration to urban centers, a complete reconstruction of their sense of peoplehood and the rebuilding of cultural memory that is newly distilled in the performance of festivals. She spends the book's pages on two tasks: a history of im/migration, and a more ethnographic analysis of the performance of memory. Buff challenges us finally to open our eyes and our disciplines to new ways of comparative thinking. I wish that the book had a title exciting enough to match the ideas inside – because of its title, I might have overlooked the book myself had I not been asked to review it.

The immigrant's challenge to adopt a new identity in a context complicated by race is Grillo's own "assimilation" story, *Black Cuban, Black American: A Memoir*, a personal history of black incorporation in the fast-changing place and time that is the twentieth-century United States. Grillo is a good writer; he well details his continually negotiated reality in this easy read, juggling race, gender, nation, and language simultaneously. "'*Es Negro, pero es Negro blanco*' (He is a black man, but he is a white black man) was an expression I heard often" (p. 7). Grillo agrees that ethnicity and assimilation are way off the mark in describing his experience, at least for him as a black Cuban: "Our choices became clear: to swim in black American society or drown in the Latin ghettos of New York City, never to be an integral part of American life ... Integration presented us with simple options: join the black American society, with its rich roots deep in this country, or have no American roots at all" (p. 12).

One of the most striking characteristics of this text is Grillo's humility. He describes himself as the beneficiary of so much help. He confesses that social mobility in the context of (nonwhite) racialization comes to those who have others who believe in them. "Had it not been for Mr. Martin and our black American teachers, it would have been very difficult for us to land places in black American life and, however limited, in the American society. They shoe-horned us in, the very few lucky ones among us" (p. 51). I feel a twinge of recognition as he recounts the subtle impact of progressive black teachers who insisted he and his classmates regularly sing the "black national anthem," *Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing* (and he reprints the lyrics in full to convey to the unfamiliar the song's pride and passion). His book describes a complex process of forging racial solidarity across ethnicities to gain the rewards of higher class status, a process in which it doesn't matter that he's Cuban and the teachers are not, for "mainstream" society treated them often enough as one and the same. This is not ethnicity at work but, instead, the story of identity construction by the racialized immigrant.

Buff and Grillo focus our eyes on the ways immigrants re-create home and identity against the thorny backdrop of the U.S. racial hierarchy. In Hintzen's *West Indian in the West*, the actors play at simultaneity in their identity formation. In their social lives, the West Indians with professional or otherwise high status "perform" that status by holding exclusive house and dinner parties, and socializing in clubs, associations, and university groups, while marginalizing those West Indians who don't have similar status. At the same time that they exclude African Americans in word (using stereotypical thinking), they still depend upon the strength of their political and organizational structures. When social connections with African Americans are advantageous, they use them. In the economic sphere, West Indians criticize the education system and way of American life, but seek for themselves economic success and academic achievement. Such duality allows them to

embrace and exploit the aspects of the United States they find beneficial while rejecting U.S. inequalities, particularly the U.S. racial hierarchy, in their process of identity construction.

Hintzen bases this duality in the localized nature of the identity he studies. This specific kind of duality is available to West Coast West Indians because of the peculiar environment in which they live. Due to the strength of their numbers in Silicon Valley and other good jobs, they can, and do, promote a professional-class image onto a desired collective identity, that of the “permanent foreigner with a legitimate claim of belonging” (p. 163). Permanent foreigners have little desire to become “American” (for, despite their aspirations, they maintain that America fares poorly compared to their memories of life back home) at the same time that they claim a foothold in American society as economic successes. West Indians in the West try to protect a space for themselves outside of the social spaces constrained by racial hierarchy. Like the first two authors reviewed here, Hintzen agrees that the “ethnic question” is not the relevant one when speaking of immigrant “success,” not only because there is no monolithic ethnicity that survives without the influence of the group’s locale, but because that localized ethnic difference is itself constructed in response to the oppression of racial structures. Thus, West Indian identity construction on the West Coast becomes another example of the (localized) importance of race in the immigrant incorporation process.

The introduction to Goulbourne and Chamberlain’s *Caribbean Families in Britain and the Transatlantic World* is addressed to the assimilationist who would make policy for black British Caribbean families using simplified racialized understandings about society’s “norms” and the “deviants” who don’t adhere to them. They argue that applying nuclear-family norms to Caribbean families makes one see dysfunction where it is not – Raymond Smith’s article in the book also tackles this subject – for historical Caribbean living arrangements work quite well and are successfully reproduced in Britain. Moreover, kin help one another, women are key, and transnational families retain strong ties to their members. Theoretical and empirical essays included in the volume help to make these points. For example, Trevor Noble’s description of Guyana-based kinship networks shows social support is broadly available (distributed across three generations in twenty-seven separate households, one-third of these in North America). Elsie Le Franc *et al.* found that the character and quality of relationships were more important determinants of abuse in Jamaica than family structure. And Tracey Reynolds’s article on fathering presents a corrective to stereotypic images of the absent (and therefore assumedly unsupportive) black father.

Together with Goulbourne’s chapter (where he situates the Caribbean family in a larger sociopolitical context) and Chamberlain’s own contribution (which reminds us that cultural and structural forces that influence inter-

national migration also shape family life), the book, though uneven, clearly shows how localized/nationalized racial policies (and not personal or collective ethnic construction) shape the immigrant experience for lower-class blacks in the First World.

Legacies, Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut's volume on the immigrant second generation, unlike the other texts in this review, does not constitute a racial analysis and critique of the ethnic assimilation tradition. Their book discusses the incorporation processes of the immigrant generation and their offspring. Immigrants, they argue, must contend with modes of incorporation (the degree to which society fails to accept them and the class in which the immigrant community fits), a sense of optimism/pessimism, and role reversal (when their children must literally translate American life for them) in their adjustment process. The offspring must choose among "reactive ethnicity" (becoming rebelliously "ethnic" when faced with systematic outsider status), immigrant identity, or other identity choices. (In re-interviews, it seems that young people often change their minds about the identity choices they once made.) Published jointly with an edited volume, this text presents the idea that, as the title to Chapter 3 puts it, "Not Everyone is Chosen" for success, but that "Making it in America" (Chapter 4) depends on these and other factors outlined in the first nine chapters.

The first chapter and mid-text photographs paint poignant and verily anti-stereotypical portraits of immigrant parents and their offspring. Interview material is mainly used to illustrate points developed in the statistical analyses. The authors do not conclude their book with a formula immigrant parents could employ to ensure their children's success. Instead, they advocate recognizing the effect of globalization on our society and preserving our gift of a generation of multilingual and multicultural youth who can breach lingual differences and generational barriers (i.e., national origin differences between themselves and their parents) if they are allowed to express the best of their blended selves.

The lack of assimilability of the second generation is addressed when the authors project (in the preface) the specter of an impending "rainbow underclass" with the potential to negatively transform American society on a level akin to the ways the "implosion of the inner city, the demise of the traditional family, [and] the drug epidemic" have done (p. xvii). Portes and Rumbaut say they critique assimilationist thinking, but they actually build on its theoretical foundations, explaining the failure to enter the higher classes by reintroducing concepts developed in other writings like downward assimilation, segmented assimilation, and modes of incorporation. When they do discuss the relevance of race to second-generation chances, their writing indicates a rejection of common theoretical articulations of race as socially constructed and consisting of deliberate strategies to exclude regardless of the motivations and aspirations of those racialized as "other."

They have an understanding of race as a concept based on phenotype, not as one that wields the weight of a system on nonwhite aspirations – in their analysis, it’s what you look like that matters, for they do not consider that phenotype is a trope for a racializing process replete with enforcement mechanisms and unequal consequences for groups in varied hierarchical positions. Some examples should illustrate. They write that the nonwhite second generation suffers because

their enduring physical differences from whites and the equally persistent practice of discrimination based on those differences, especially against black persons, throws a barrier in the path of occupational mobility and social acceptance. Immigrant children’s perceptions of discrimination in American society, their ethnic identities and self-esteem, their aspirations, and their patterns of school behavior are affected accordingly. (pp. 55-56)

There is an awkward circular logic here. If upward occupational mobility – the main avenue to the social mobility the authors claim to study – depends upon being hired and retaining or being promoted from a job, and if white employers are discriminating against workers of color (Moss & Tilly 2001), then blaming the failure to become mobile, even in part, on “their enduring physical difference” is just plain wrong. One’s phenotype does not cause one’s failure to become gainfully employed. This is only the *mechanism* that white employers use to block that gainful employment. That the second generation’s economic aspirations are higher than those of the parents (p. 58) only increases the contrast between their frustrated ambition and the stark reality of the discriminatory power of labor market.

In another example, they present an osmosis theory of racial identification for black children (who differ in this process from other youth): West Indians learn to call themselves black because they are socialized by “native-born peers, who, in inner-city schools, are mostly other minorities. These learning effects combined lead predictably to heightened awareness of a racial minority status” (p. 188). Presumably, then, either these children would not be (or know they were) black if they were in all-white schools in the suburbs, or that somehow their white counterparts would have no investment in educating their black classmates about their racial difference.

Similarly strange is the authors’ suggestion that the successes of the “Irish, Italian, Polish, and other early immigrants [who] were originally defined as separate races and subjected to extensive discrimination” ended when (or because) “their phenotypical similarity with members of the mainstream American population eventually asserted itself” (p. 55). Who is that “mainstream” if not the whites they are supposed to already be? Only now do we think of these groups as phenotypically similar, as disused stereotypes about Jewish noses, Irish ruddiness, and Polish swarthyness attest. (See Waters 1990 for a brief historical summary of stereotypes of this kind.) Rather than

recognizing formerly invisible sameness, the “white” label was broadened to include these groups previously deemed “unassimilable.”¹ Many other scholars read the U.S. history of racial incorporation quite differently from these authors, opposing such a passive understanding of the means by which distinct “ethnicities” were placed on their various trajectories of cultural, political, and economic acceptance.²

Read together, these texts lead to the conclusion that there is a need to privilege race in the discussion of immigrant incorporation, and signal a move away from the social scientific application of the ideals of ethnic assimilation. The texts recast light upon assimilation as a process based on the European “model” in ways that highlight the importance of race (and the local practices in racial differentiation) in immigrant identity construction processes in a racialized First World. This scholarship continues a tradition of newer research that redraws immigrant incorporation along racialized lines.

1. Ignatiev 1995, Haney López 1996, Brodtkin 1998.
2. Steinberg 1989, Zinn 1990, Takaki 1993, Omi & Winant 1994, Marx 1998, Winant 2001, Glenn 2002.

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BOOKSHELF 2003

“Perhaps this is the start of a golden age for the reviewer,” said the *Times Literary Supplement* last fall, “an era in which a previously rather under-regarded skill might become highly prized and well rewarded. Already some critics are being asked to sign exclusive deals. Can it be long before experienced reviewers are involved in bidding wars and transfer fees, powerful agents and lucrative contracts?”¹

Would that such observations applied to *NWIG* and other scholarly journals! In last year’s Bookshelf we wrote, “We can’t be sure, but we do have the impression that fewer and fewer academics are taking the time to write book reviews (or even to answer requests to review a book).” The intervening months have not altered things – indeed, other book review editors have told us that they are experiencing similar difficulties. So, it is with very special gratitude that we acknowledge the generosity of those scholars who have taken the time to provide reviews for the *NWIG*, allowing the journal to continue its role as the premier site for reviews of Caribbean scholarship.

In this same vein, we are pleased to announce that this year’s Caribbeanist Hall of Shame includes only three titles – works that have not been discussed in the journal because the scholars who agreed to review them have, despite reminder letters, neither provided a text nor relinquished the books so that we could assign them to someone else. As has become our custom, we indicate slack reviewers’ names with both initial and final letters in an attempt to forestall false accusations and protect the reputations of the innocent.

- *Protestantism and Political Conflict in the Nineteenth-Century Hispanic Caribbean*, by Luis Martínez-Fernández (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002. xiii + 246 pp., paper US\$ 30.00) (F—o A. S—o)
- *Òsun across the Waters: A Yoruba Goddess in Africa and the Americas*, edited by Joseph M. Murphy & Mei-Mei Sanford (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001. x + 274 pp., paper US\$ 29.95) (H—y J. D—l)

1. September 19, 2003, p. 16.

- *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom*, edited by Verene A. Shepherd (New York: Palgrave, 2002. x + 538 pp., paper US\$ 22.95) (D—d V. T—n)

The following pages include a large number of books for which we were unable, after several tries (sometimes five or six!), to find a reviewer, as well as a smaller number of titles that did not seem to merit full review. We present them promiscuously, grouped in very rough categories, with occasional comments, in this year-end wrap-up.

It is our custom to begin with literary works (which by tradition do not receive full reviews in *NWIG*) and, since we are in Martinique, with that island's continuing rich production. Edouard Glissant's *Ormerod* (Paris: Gallimard, 2003, paper € 22.50) takes readers on a vertiginous ride through time, place, and language, moving outward from the vertical hills of Ste. Marie, the author's birthplace, with their Andean inflections (Morne Pérou), to the hills of eighteenth-century St. Lucia with its heroic Brigands led by Flore Bois Gaillard, but also taking in Maurice Bishop's revolution, betrayal, and death, the author's schooldays at the Lycée Schoelcher, and even the Mapuches and Cossacks, as well as a brief history of the guillotine and readings of Melville's novels, and moving between the ever-present *plage du Diamant* and the beaches and hills across the channel. Glissant positively sings the archipelagic Caribbean, in sentences that sometimes go on for pages, paying homage along the way to friends old and new. For fans of this *maître à penser*, there is much heady material (including numerous echoes of earlier imaginative works – as well as *Le discours antillais*) in the various peaks and valleys.

New novels have also been written by two of the self-proclaimed three musketeers of *créolité*: Raphaël Confiant has published the last of his “sugarcane trilogy,” *La dissidence: récit* (Paris: Ecriture, 2002, paper € 18.95), and Jean Bernabé his (masturbatory) first novel, *Le bailleur d'étincelles* (Paris: Ecriture, 2002, paper € 18.95), whose hero has not one but two unusually long and effective penises, which operate independently (or, rather, in alternance) of one another. And, from the only woman sometimes included in the *créolité* orbit, Guadeloupean Gisèle Pineau, a 1995 novel (*L'espérance-macadam*) has appeared in English translation – *Macadam Dreams* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003, paper US\$ 20.00) – recounting a woman's experience and memory of two hurricanes.

Three novels reprinted with excellent notes and comments in Macmillan's Caribbean Classics series: *Creoleana and: The Fair Barbadian and Faithful Black*, by J.W. Orderson (edited by John Gilmore) (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2002, paper £8.00), first published in 1842 and perhaps the first Caribbean novel written by a native of the region; *Lutchmee and Dilloo: A Study of West Indian Life*, by Edward Jenkins (edited by David Dabydeen) (Oxford UK: Macmillan Caribbean, 2003, paper £7.95), first published in

1877 and the earliest novel of Indo-Guyanese life; and *With Silent Tread*, by Frieda Cassin (edited by Evelyn O'Callaghan) (Oxford UK: Macmillan Caribbean, 2002, paper £8.00), first published in Antigua in the 1890s. *Busha's Mistress or Catherine the Fugitive: A Stirring Romance of the Days of Slavery in Jamaica*, by Cyrus Francis Perkins (edited by Paul E. Lovejoy, Verene A. Shepherd & David V. Trotman) (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003, paper US\$ 16.95), written in the mid-nineteenth century and first published in 1911, presents a window on many aspects of Jamaican slave society and is here presented with extensive notes and commentary.

Turn Thanks, by Lorna Goodison (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999, paper US\$ 13.95), is the seventh published collection by this acclaimed Jamaican poet. Two books by Monserrat-born E.A. Markham: *A Rough Climate* (London: Anvil Press Poetry, 2002, paper £8.95, US\$ 11.95), his seventh collection of poems which was shortlisted for the 2002 TS Eliot Prize, and *John Lewis & Co.: A Little Play with Interludes* (London: Anvil Press Poetry, 2003, paper £5.00, US\$ 7.95), a play within a poem (or vice-versa) with West Indian migrants evoking London and Paris. *Black Woman and Other Poems/Mujer negra y otros poemas*, by Nancy Morejón, translated by Jean Andrews (London: Mango Publishing, 2001, paper £9.99) is a rich Spanish/English facing-page collection of more than sixty poems, selected by the noted Cuban author.

St. Martin playwright Louie Laveist has brought out *The House That Jack Built and Other Plays* (Philipsburg, St. Martin: House of Nehisi Publishers, 2003, paper US\$ 15.00), a collection of three plays written in the 1990s and staged on several Caribbean islands, dealing with family relations, drugs, and other contemporary issues.

The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing, edited by Peter Hulme & Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, cloth £45.00), is a stimulating compilation but contains only glancing references to the Caribbean. *Literary Occasions: Essays Including His 2001 Nobel Prize Lecture "Two Worlds"* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003, paper US\$ 24.00) gathers a miscellany of V.S. Naipaul's reflections on literature and writing. Finally, *Act of God: A Collection of Caribbean Short Stories*, edited by Undine Giuseppi (Oxford UK: Macmillan Caribbean, 2003, paper £5.45), is intended mainly for secondary-school use.

Leaving behind imaginative literature, we begin with the French Antilles and two works on Martinique. Raphaël Constant's *Quelques affaires de justice à la Martinique* (Case Pilote, Martinique: Editions Lafontaine, 2003, paper € 20.00) is a relentless but reasoned attack on continuing colonialism in the justice system. With barely controlled irony, Constant – a leading human rights lawyer – analyzes a number of local cases, some obscure and others better known, ranging from gendarmes hauling innocent families from their beds on anonymous tips that a St. Lucian (by local definition a

likely drug dealer) might be present to the jailing of alleged political terrorists (independentists). He shows clearly how the system works one way for white Creoles and their associates and for French people living in the island and quite another way for the mass of Martiniquans. Case after case (from summary expulsions of Haitian immigrants to the frequent decisions of state prosecutors to look the other way when they do not wish to bring certain kinds of people or companies to justice) show both why the rate of prosecution and incarceration in Martinique is twice that in France and why the rich and powerful are so infrequently brought to justice. *Sang mêlé: Les miens dans l'humaine condition*, by Emile Désormeaux (Lamentin, France: Editions Désormeaux, 2003, paper € 20.00) is at once a meditation on the human condition, from the perspective of a Martinique *mulâtre*, and a history of his ascendants since the eighteenth century, wrapped up in a pseudo-philosophical genre that only the French could have invented.

La pêche aux Antilles: Martinique et Guadeloupe, edited by Gilles Blanchet, Bertrand Gobert & Jean-Alfred Guérédrat (Paris: IRD Editions, 2002, paper € 27.00) is a varied, up-to-date collection covering all aspects of local fishing, from marine biology to economics, social organization, and belief systems; it's the best starting place for anyone interested in the problems and potentials of small-scale commercial fishing in the two islands. *Vichy in the Tropics: Pétain's National Revolution in Madagascar, Guadeloupe, and Indochina, 1940-1944*, by Eric T. Jennings (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 55.00), provides an intriguing, comparative perspective on French colonialism, analyzing some of the ways that (local) culture and history make a difference. *Forms of Protest: Anti-Colonialism and Avant-Gardes in Africa, the Caribbean, and France*, by Phyllis Taoua (Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2002, paper US\$ 24.95), explores some of the long-range intellectual relationships among anti-colonial, avant-garde writers in the French empire (with the Caribbean largely represented by Césaire and Fanon). *Retour de Guyane*, by Léon-Gontran Damas (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 2003, paper € 20.00), republishes this mordant, classic 1938 assessment of the colony, accompanied by a couple of Damas's contemporaneous journalistic pieces.

Several works on the Netherlands Antilles. *St Martin Yesterday Today*, by José Speetjens (Philipsburg, St. Martin: Foundation History St. Martin, 2003, cloth US\$ 85.00), is a luscious scrapbook of miscellaneous prose and color photos about the island's history, tourism, artists (including sojourner Romare Bearden), writers (claims are made on Derek Walcott, whose grandfather was from the island), hospitals, politicians, agriculture, stamps, and currency. *1963, A Landmark Year in St. Martin: A Retrospective Look/1963, Année charnière à Saint-Martin*, by Daniella-Pilot (Philipsburg, St. Martin: House of Nehisi Publishers, 2003, paper US\$ 18.00), is a bilingual piece of local history drawing heavily on local newspaper accounts and memo-

ries of girlhood, examining the year that marks, for many St. Martiners, the transition from “tradition” to “modernity.” *Hoge hakken, wereldbaan! Vrouwen in sleutelposities op Curaçao*, by Paula Kibbelaar & Clarisse van Haersma Buma (Zutphen, The Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2003, paper € 13.95), analyzes the careers of some of the island’s most occupationally successful women, discusses the problem of glass ceilings and other reasons for continuing discrimination, and sets agendas for the future. And A.M.G. Rutten’s *Magische kruiden in de Antilliaanse folklore: Etnofarmacologie van het Caribisch gebied* (Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 2003, paper € 27.00) is a Dutch pharmacist’s wide-ranging, idiosyncratic survey of psychotropic and other “magical” plants used in the Netherlands Antilles (and elsewhere in the tropical Americas); to mention just one reflection of the author’s non-anthropological perspective, stories of “magical flight” (as in Saramakas’ First-Time stories, which he cites at length), are said to depend on *obia*, which he reduces against all ethnographic evidence to a “hallucinogenic concoction.” Thus – as elsewhere in the book – it is largely matter over mind.

As usual, there are many books on Cuba, the region’s most populous and contested isle, for which we were unable to find willing reviewers; several were turned down by five different scholars, and the quality of the books does not seem in any way determinant. *The Virgin, the King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670-1780*, by María Elena Díaz (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2000, cloth US\$ 49.50), is an ambitious and fascinating historical analysis of this famous mining (and now religious) center, emphasizing the ways that enslaved Africans and their descendants reshaped their own lives and identities. *State and Revolution in Cuba: Mass Mobilization and Political Change, 1920-1940*, by Robert Whitney (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001, paper US\$ 18.95) focuses on this somewhat neglected period of twentieth-century history. *Centenario de la República cubana: 1902-2002*, edited by William Navarrete & Javier de Castro Mori (Miami FL: Ediciones Universal, 2002, paper US\$ 35.00), dedicated to republican ideals, is a miscellany by twenty-seven specialists about Cuban life and institutions during the twentieth century. *Secret Missions to Cuba: Fidel Castro, Bernardo Benes, and Cuban Miami*, by Robert M. Levine (New York: Palgrave, 2001, cloth US\$ 31.95) examines the continuing influence of militant Cuban exiles on the Cuban American community, as well as the consequences for state and national politics. In *Constructing National Interests: The United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, paper US\$ 18.95), Jutta Weldes uses a nontraditional approach to deconstruct the concepts of “national interest” and “crisis,” analyzing the public discourse surrounding the events of 1962. *Inside the Cuban Revolution: Fidel Castro and the Urban Underground*,

by Julia E. Sweig (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2002, cloth US\$ 29.95) focuses on the fifteen months from November 1956 to July 1958, when the leadership of the urban underground played a key role in revolutionary decision-making. *Vida Clandestina: My Life in the Cuban Revolution*, by Enrique Oltuski (New York: Wiley, 2002, cloth US\$ 24.95), is an important memoir by one of the organizers of the urban guerrilla movement. Two books that form a rather different pair: *Bay of Pigs: An Oral History of Brigade 2506*, by Victor Andres Triay (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001, cloth US\$ 24.95), which borders on hagiography as it attempts to tell "the personal stories of the invasion in an account that restores the human dimension to a pivotal moment in the history of the Cold War," and *Embracing America: A Cuban Exile Comes of Age*, by Margaret L. Paris (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002, cloth US\$ 24.95), which presents the story of three sisters who were among the 14,000 children airlifted to a new life in the United States in 1961 by Operation Pedro Pan (which Victor Triay also wrote a book about).

This is Cuba: An Outlaw Culture Survives, by Ben Corbett (Cambridge MA: Westview Press, 2002, cloth US\$ 26.00), is the fruit of several years of journalistic wanderings. *Cuban Legends*, selected and introduced by Salvador Bueno, illustrated by Siegfried Kaden, translated from Spanish by Christine R. Ayorinde (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003, paper US\$ 22.95), presents varied tales, largely without commentary. *Rumba: Variaties op een Cubaanse bekkengeweging*, by Huib Billiet (Berchem, Belgium: EPO, 2001, paper € 20.00), is a readable, serious account of the dance's history and performance, by a journalist who has long written on world music and Cuba. *Canada, the United States, and Cuba: An Evolving Relationship*, edited by Sahadeo Basdeo & Heather N. Nicol (Coral Gables FL: North-South Center Press, University of Miami, 2002, cloth US\$ 49.95), provides a varied set of essays on international relations. *Alejandro García Caturla: A Cuban Composer in the Twentieth Century*, by Charles W. White (Lanham MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003, cloth US\$ 55.00, with a CD of Caturla's works), offers analysis of the life and music of the composer who Alejo Carpentier called "the richest and most generous musical temperament that has appeared on the island." And *José Martí: Selected Writings*, edited and translated by Esther Allen (New York: Penguin Books, 2002, paper US\$ 15.00), is the best selection available in English.

Three on Jamaica. *A Narrative of Events, since the First of August, 1834*, by James Williams (edited by Diana Paton) (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2001, paper US\$ 16.95), reprints one of very few autobiographical texts by former Caribbean slaves, with extensive notes and historical contextualization. *A Slaving Voyage to Africa and Jamaica: The Log of the Sandown, 1793-1794*, edited by Bruce L. Mouser (Bloomington:

Indiana University Press, 2002, cloth US\$ 27.95), is one of the few first-hand accounts of the trade. And given the constraints imposed by the genre, *Culture and Customs of Jamaica*, by Martin Mordecai & Pamela Mordecai (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 45.00), does a reasonable job of presenting the island to a general audience of outsiders.

Two on Puerto Rico. *Taino Revival: Critical Perspectives on Puerto Rican Identity and Cultural Politics*, edited by Gabriel Haslip-Viera (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2001, cloth US\$ 38.95), includes some fascinating essays on attempts by neo-Tainos to refashion Puerto Rican identity, often at the expense of the African legacy. *The Politics of Language in Puerto Rico*, by Amílcar Antonio Barreto (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001, cloth US\$ 55.00), analyzes the controversial 1990s language policies of the Puerto Rican government.

Three books on the Dominican Republic: *Sugar and Power in the Dominican Republic: Eisenhower, Kennedy, and the Trujillos*, by Michael R. Hall (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2000, cloth US\$ 58.00); *Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies: The U.S. Intervention in the Dominican Republic, 1965-66*, by Eric Thomas Chester (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001, paper US\$ 22.95), which provides a critical account of the U.S. manipulation of Dominican affairs and assessment of its consequences for the region; and *The Transnational Villagers*, by Peggy Levitt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, paper US\$ 18.95), which provides a sophisticated analysis of the ongoing ties between Dominicans who live in Jamaica Plain (Boston) and their home town of Miraflores.

Diverse: *Surinamistiek. Jagernath Lachmon: Een politiek testament*, by Roy Khemradj (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2002, paper € 12.50), consists of a series of wide-ranging interviews with the dean of Surinamese politicians, only weeks before his death in 2001. *Suriname 1650-2000: Een politieke studie*, by Henk Waltmans (Oosterhout, The Netherlands: Henk Waltmans, 2002, paper n.p.), is a self-published attempt at "objective" history by a Dutch journalist-politician. *Ethnic-Cultural and Socio-Economic Integration in The Netherlands: A Comparative Study of Mediterranean and Caribbean Minority Groups*, by Arend Odé (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 2002, paper € 18.50), compares the adaptations of Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Dutch Antilleans in the Netherlands. *De kleine geschiedenis van de slavernij: Sporen in Amsterdam*, edited by Renske de Jong & Annet Zondervan (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2002, paper US\$ 7.00), presents prose, poetry, and photos relating to often-hidden traces of slavery in the Dutch city. *Sexual Behaviour and Sexually Transmitted Diseases among Saramaka and Ndjuka Maroons in the Hinterland of Suriname*, by Julia Terborg (Paramaribo: Medische Zending and Prohealth, 2001, paper n.p.), is a brief survey based on scanty fieldwork which mixes misinformation with occasional insights, including a couple of interest-

ing pages on the importance of “dry sex” (the drying and tightening of the vagina) and on some alarming new techniques, sometimes inspired by porn films. Moravian historian Hartmut Beck has published, annotated, and introduced his father Siegfried Beck’s *Erinnerungen an die Brüdermission im Saramacca-Gebiet* (Karlsruhe, Germany: Transatlantische Moravische Dialog Korrespondenz, 2003, paper € 5.00), focusing on the nineteenth century along the Saramacca River. And Silvia W. de Groot has published in a limited edition *Suriname Maroon Chiefs in Africa in Search of their Country of Origin* (Amsterdam, 2003, n.p.), an abridged English version of her 1974 *Surinaamse Granmans in Afrika*, with some additional color photos.

Index of Vernacular Plant Names of Suriname, by Charlotte I.E.A. van ’t Klooster, Jan C. Lindeman & Marion J. Jansen-Jacobs (Leiden, The Netherlands: Nationaal Herbarium Nederland, Blumea supplement 15, 2003, paper € 50.00), attempts to tie scientific plant names to vernacular names in several of Suriname’s languages, with uneven results – not surprisingly, since (for example) Saramaka plant names were collected “in a Surinamese shop in Amsterdam” as well as being checked in the Saramaka village of “Pikin Slee,” where it “proved quite difficult for the inhabitants to recognize the [already recorded] Saramaccan plant names.” In the opening sections, the degree of authorial parochialism about sources beyond botany strains credulity: “Much has been written about when and how the different [Maroon] tribes came into existence ... We recommend reading Hoogbergen (1992), Arends (2002), and Smith (2002).”

Guyane, Guyanes: Une géographie “sauvage” de l’Orénoque à l’Amazone, by Emmanuel Lézy (Paris: Belin, 2000, paper € 22.00), conjures up a fascinating vision of the Guianas, envisioned as an island zone defined by the Oronoco, Rio Negro, and Amazon, and touches on populations, economy, history, literature, and much else, particularly the fabulous dreams of generations of explorers, from Raleigh to Crevaux and beyond, and their legacies for the mapping of the region. Sometimes wrong on details (Lézy claims, for example, that the “Village Saramaka” of Kourou is “populated for the most part by Boshi Nenge [Ndjuka] from Suriname”), this work by a French geographer nonetheless offers an unmatched panorama of the region’s soaring possibilities and brutal realities. And in this same vein, we might mention Candace Slater’s evocative *Entangled Edens: Visions of the Amazon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, paper US\$ 19.95), which contains a fine chapter on descendants of *quilombos* in the Amazon, just across the border from Suriname.

Two on Haiti: *Le Créole haïtien de poche*, by Dominique Fattier (Chennevières-sur-Marne, France: Assimil, 2001, paper € 8.00) which is a useful phrase book, and *The Use of Herbal Remedies in Two Haitian Communities and Implications for Health-Care Providers Worldwide*, by Riché C. Zamor (Lewiston NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 109.95).

We've been sent several guidebooks. Three by Harry S. Pariser – *Explore Barbados* (3rd edition, 2000, paper US\$ 18.95), *Explore the Virgin Islands* (5th edition, 2002, paper US\$ 17.95), and *Explore Puerto Rico* (5th edition, 2003, paper US\$ 17.95), all published by Manatee Press in San Francisco – have a strong authorial voice and stand a notch above others of this genre. *Cycling Cuba: Discover the World on Two Wheels*, by Rosa Jordan & Derek Choukalos (Oakland CA: Lonely Planet, 2002, paper US\$ 21.99), appears to contain pretty much everything a would-be cyclist-tourist might need to know. And two French guidebooks, *Geoguide Martinique 2003/2004*, by Frédéric Denhez, and *Geoguide Guadeloupe 2003/2004*, by Thierry Théault & Frédéric Denhez (both Paris, Gallimard, 2003, paper € 12.90), are filled with fine-print detail on every bar, beach, and road; they leave little to the imagination or to adventure, yet for all their detail, the amount of misinformation (historical, geographical) remains substantial.

A miscellany of books no one wished to review: *Hispanas de Queens: Latino Panethnicity in a New York City Neighborhood*, by Milagros Ricourt & Ruby Danta (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2003, paper US\$ 17.95), which focuses on the development of a new transcultural identity among women in Corona who were born in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and elsewhere in the hemisphere; *C.L.R. James: A Life*, by Farrukh Dhondy (New York: Pantheon Books, 2001, cloth US\$ 24.00), a controversial biography of this towering figure; *Slavery, Freedom and Gender: The Dynamics of Caribbean Society*, edited by Brian L. Moore, B. W. Higman, Carl Campbell & Patrick Bryan (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 35.00), which collects thirteen Elsa Goveia Lectures delivered between 1987 and 1998 by various luminaries; *Kitsch tropical: Los medios en la literatura y el arte en América latina*, by Lidia Santos (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2001, paper € 16.80), an excellent critical study of the phenomenon from Argentina and Brazil to Puerto Rico (mainly, in the work of Luis Rafael Sánchez) and Cuba (mainly, Severo Sarduy); *The Snakes of Trinidad and Tobago*, by Hans E.A. Boos (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001, cloth US\$ 47.95), which includes careful detail (nicely illustrated) about the more than sixty species of snakes found in the twin-island nation; and *Barbadian Popular Music and the Politics of Caribbean Culture*, by Curwen Best (Rochester VT: Schenkman Books, 1999, paper US\$ 18.95).

Finally, several classics in Caribbean studies have been reprinted. We can be grateful to Markus Wiener for publishing two of them: Germán Arciniegas's *Caribbean: Sea of the New World* (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003, paper US\$ 24.95), which first appeared in Spanish in 1945 and in English in 1946, and Leslie B. Rout, Jr.'s *The African Experience in Spanish America* (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003, paper US\$ 24.95), originally published in 1976, which remains the

only survey of its subject. Even more useful is the republication in affordable paperback of the second edition of *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, edited by F.G. Cassidy & R.B. Le Page (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2002, paper US\$ 30.00), which remains a joy to consult.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Columbus's Outpost among the Tainos: Spain and America at La Isabela, 1493-1498. KATHLEEN DEAGAN & JOSÉ MARÍA CRUXENT. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2002. x + 294 pp. (Cloth US\$ 37.50)

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Columbus's settlement at La Isabela constituted the genesis of European colonialism in the New World. Though it was a short-lived and abortive enterprise, during its five-year existence Spain's pragmatic monarchs began to develop improved strategies for expanding their empire, while at the same time the foremost colonists themselves learned to adapt to unfamiliar physical and social surroundings, exerting their own agency in the initial process of Spanish colonization in the West Indies. As such, the archaeological investigation of La Isabela promised to reveal meaningful insight not only into the particular circumstances of Spain's first settlement in the New World, but into the social transformation that began when European, African, and American cultures came suddenly and catastrophically together for the first time.

Deagan and Cruxent's collaborative effort does just that. The result of a decade of joint archaeological research at La Isabela, *Columbus's Outpost among the Tainos*, along with its more technical companion volume, *Archaeology at La Isabela*, chronicles in rich detail both the history and the material remains of the New World's first European town. While the two books are complementary, each effectively stands alone; *Outpost* presents an archaeologically informed interpretation of the Columbian enterprise intended for a wide audience, and *Archaeology* provides the technical details of sampling, excavation, and analysis used to reach this understanding. Throughout *Outpost*, there are cross-references leading readers to further information in the companion volume, and this binary approach seems

to work well in providing a comprehensive understanding of the site and its Spanish and Taíno inhabitants.

During his first voyage, Columbus lost his flagship off the northern coast of what is today Haiti, close to the principal village of the region's dominant chief, Guacanagari. Timbers salvaged from the wrecked ship were used to build a fortification adjacent to the village, which was named La Navidad. Assured by a positive rapport with the Taíno leader and confident that the seemingly timorous natives offered no threat to well-armed Spaniards, Columbus left much of the *Santa Maria's* crew behind in order to return to Spain and report what he believed to be his successful discovery of a western route to the riches of the Orient. Once back in Spain, a country flush with a victorious and religious fervor brought on by the Moorish expulsion, Columbus had no trouble finding royal favor, private backers, and voluntary participants for an immediate and more substantial colonization enterprise. In 1493 he left with not three but seventeen ships, and over 1,200 men, to found the first *factoría* (a Crown-licensed, long-distance trading settlement, based on Portuguese and earlier Mediterranean models) in the New World.

The venture was beset with problems as soon as landfall was made. Columbus found his entire complement at La Navidad slaughtered and could get no clear answers from his supposed host and ally. Wisely deciding against further provoking Guacanagari's people, the colonists sought a more protected site elsewhere, enduring sickness, exhaustion, food shortages, and contrary sailing conditions before finally staggering ashore at the site which would become the first intentional Spanish community in the New World, La Isabela, some twenty-eight miles west of Puerto Plata in the present-day Dominican Republic.

Deagan and Cruxent provide a rich contextual overview of the ensuing five years of "Hell in Hispaniola," a phrase unashamedly borrowed from Morrison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*. Their outline is accentuated by a well-placed sidebar that provides highlights from seven different eyewitnesses' accounts of the settlement. By 1498, food supplies were catastrophically low, no significant gold had been produced, the Taínos were suffering and perishing in increasing numbers, and the Spanish colonists were in open conflict with each other. The *factoría* model had failed, and only with major restructuring of both the organization and conception of colonization would Spain's hegemony further expand in the Americas.

The authors go on to analyze the patterns of daily life in Isabela and the reasons that Spain's original model of colonization proved ill-suited for the realities of this unprecedented environment, using the "stereoscopic view" of archaeology to bring into focus aspects of the historic record that would otherwise remain fuzzy. Topics of interest include Columbus's approach to spatial organization and the layout of what was essentially a medieval enclave on an alien physical and social landscape; social hierarchy among the settlers

and interaction between Spaniards and Taínos; domestic, religious, and military life in the settlement; and the institution of crafts and industries such as masonry, woodworking, lime and charcoal production, blacksmithing, smelting and assaying, pottery, brick and tile production, and shipbuilding. The archaeological record preserved traces of each of these activities, providing information not easily garnered from historical documentation.

Only one of many notable examples is that of Columbus's arrangement of the settlement in response to local physiography and environmental conditions. Scholars have long believed that one of the primary reasons for Isabela's failure was Columbus's poorly-chosen location for the settlement. The archaeological evidence, however, suggests that the settlement was much larger than previously thought, consisting not only of the main town site (fortified on the "well-situated rock") known to historians, but also an outlying satellite industrial station designed to maximize exploitation of locally available resources such as limestone, clays, fuel, rich agricultural soil, and water power. Columbus's arrangement of fortified buildings, domestic area, and a separate industrial center implies a more sophisticated strategy than he has traditionally been credited with.

Deagan and Cruxent offer an exemplary and unparalleled study, using both documentary and archaeological insights to interpret and present a comprehensive overview of Columbus's Isabeline project. Well-written, profusely illustrated, and easily accessible to a general readership, this book and its counterpart are an important contribution to the understanding of Spain's colonial enterprise that permanently united two worlds and forever changed the course of history.

Racism: A Short History. GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002. x + 207 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00, Paper US\$ 14.95)

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"Racism is a scavenger ideology," notes George M. Fredrickson on page 8 of his compelling new book, *Racism: A Short History*. The no-nonsense

title captures both the style and tone of this comparative history of what Fredrickson calls “overtly racist regimes.” Concerned with rather ambiguous definitions of the term racism, Fredrickson does the work to delineate what should and should not be considered racism when exploring the historic and contemporary manifestations of this malicious social practice, particularly as it relates to nation-states.

“My theory or conception of racism,” Fredrickson writes, “has two components: *difference* and *power*” (p. 9). He situates these two concepts as the keystone for his very tight and well-executed argument that seeks to preserve the analytical purchase of the term “racism” because it is now “in danger of losing the precision needed to make it an analytical tool for historians and social scientists” (p. 151).

In his carefully crafted introduction, Fredrickson quickly and deftly dispenses with what he obviously views as types of discrimination that blur a precise definition of racism. For example, he distinguishes racism from religious intolerance, xenophobia, tribalism, and other forms of discrimination based on difference. What makes racism unique, he argues, is the idea that racial difference is believed to be innate, indelible, and unchangeable. It is a difference based on what people are, as opposed to how they behave or what they believe. Although he draws a firm distinction between religious intolerance and racism, he admits there is “substantial gray area between racism and ‘culturalism’” because “culture can be reified and essentialized to the point where it becomes the functional equivalent of race” (p. 7). His conception of racism could encompass discrimination against Japanese-born Koreans or Tutsi domination over the Hutus, but he adds another important distinction to this concept to justify his “focus on racism in Europe and its colonial extensions since the fifteenth century.” “What makes Western racism so autonomous and conspicuous in world history,” he explains, “has been that it developed in a context that presumed human equality of some kind” (p. 11). The way that Fredrickson develops this particular theme as an integral component of “overtly racist regimes” makes this an important contribution not only to the history of racism and the state, but also to theories of democracy.

Fredrickson’s primary goal is to document the rise and decline of overtly racist regimes. Beginning with the Middle Ages, he argues that the climax of racist regimes occurred in the twentieth century. His principal examples include the southern United States under Jim Crow segregation (1890-1950s), the Jewish Holocaust under Nazi Germany (1933-45), and the system of apartheid under the South African government (1910-50). Drawing on his lifetime of research and writing on race and racism in the United States and South Africa, Fredrickson has creatively synthesized his own work as well that of other historians and theorists to develop a comprehensive and surprisingly detailed survey of how these particular overtly racist regimes emerged,

while explaining how other governments in Central and South America, colonial Africa, and Europe may have been racist, but did not reach a critical threshold that Fredrickson reserves for a very specific type of racial order.

Fredrickson outlines five criteria and then carefully demonstrates how they emerge and converge to establish an ideological, political, and psychological rationale to oppress and repress racial groups in ways that were supported by government, church, and scientific organizations. The “most persistent and malignant manifestations” (p. 99) of these overtly racist regimes were underpinned by white supremacy for Jim Crow, a color-coded culturalism for apartheid, and both a secular and naturalistic form of anti-Semitism (which he takes pains to distinguish from religious intolerance) in the case of Nazi Germany. Briefly, the five criteria Fredrickson deploys to gauge whether or not a regime crossed the line to become an overtly racist regime include the following (p. 101):

(1) when, in “an official ideology that is explicitly racist,” differences between the people in authority and the people being subordinated or eliminated are believed to be “permanent and unbridgeable”;

(2) when there is an ideal of race purity, and laws forbid intermarriage between groups;

(3) when social segregation is mandated by legislation and “all forms of contact that might imply equality between the segregators and the segregated” are outlawed;

(4) when subordinated groups are denied the franchise and forbidden to hold public office;

(5) when access to resources and economic opportunities is limited to the oppressed group who “are either kept in poverty or deliberately impoverished.”

The book is structured brilliantly with three well-argued chapters that cut through a wide swath of time and space. Carefully detailing the role of religion, science, and folklore as constituent elements of racist regimes, Fredrickson is at his best when he grapples with these regimes’ philosophical underpinnings. In his discussion of the Enlightenment and Thomas Jefferson, for example, he explains the remarkable paradox that pre-Darwinian racist science flourished in France and the United States. Both countries shared “revolutionary legacies of nation-states premised on the equal rights of all citizens” (p. 68), and both were forced to equate men of color with women and children while maintaining a façade of equality. Similarly, he cogently demonstrates how the work of philosopher Johann von Herder was used to support color-coded culturalism in South Africa while helping to answer the Jewish Question in Germany. Although Fredrickson’s analysis eschews any discussion of the way class and gender shapes racism, his straightforward prose and persuasive arguments go a long way to clarify that amorphous term – racism.

The Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba. SHERRY JOHNSON. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. x + 267 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

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Much historiography on colonial Cuba has focused on the spread of plantation slavery and sugar production. Sherry Johnson's *The Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba* explicitly resists this historiographic trend by focusing on Cuba before the island's sugar revolution of the nineteenth century. Her intent is to offer an alternative to "the important body of scholarship dedicated to perpetuating the myth of the importance of sugar cultivation" (p. 27). She focuses on the time period from 1763 to 1800 to reexamine several widely studied trends in Cuban history: the growing prosperity of the island, demographic growth and the expansion of the city of Havana, and Cuba's ultimate loyalty to the Spanish empire as the mainland colonies won their independence. For this era she convincingly shows that the spread of sugar cultivation is not the only factor that stimulated population growth and prosperity or bound colonial Cuba more tightly to metropolitan Spain. Instead she focuses on the importance of warfare and military policy and experience in shaping Cuban society in the eighteenth century. The Crown's response to the British occupation of Havana between 1762 and 1763 made Cuba the first colonial site for the military, administrative, and commercial reforms of the Spanish Bourbons. As millions of pesos poured into Cuba to shore up its defenses, thousands of Spanish officers and common soldiers poured into the island as well.

One of the great strengths and contributions of the book is Johnson's insistence on taking this militarization seriously as a force for change as potent (or even more so in this period) as the spread of plantation production or more abstract forces like world capitalism. Rather than trying to document and explain economic transformation, which has consumed so much of the extant scholarship, Johnson focuses on the social "to see [colonial Cuban] society as it saw itself" (p. 7) and to understand the Spanish roots of Cuban identity, by discarding the "refractive prism of sugar, slavery, and Saint Domingue" (p. 2) as anachronistic for the era before 1800.

Demographic and social changes brought about by military immigration occupy the first five chapters of the book. After a lucid introductory chapter, Chapter 2 introduces readers to the city of Havana through the eyes of the arriving immigrant soldier, Bartolomé de Morales, forebear of the well-known nineteenth-century anticolonialist, Felix Varela, providing a novel and charming way to describe the city and its people in the 1760s. Chapters 3 through 5 discuss, in considerable detail, the military reforms after 1763 and how these reforms remade Cuban society. Through Morales, Johnson introduces readers to a family that exemplifies the social transformations she explores throughout the book – the marriage, both literal and figurative, of the Spanish military to all levels of Creole society in Cuba and the strain put on these ties of fealty and affection by changes in imperial policy from the mid-1780s onward. Johnson deserves credit for sustaining a comparative thread here to understand the uniqueness of Cuba within the Spanish imperial system. While military reforms in other parts of the empire were met with hostility and rebellion, in Cuba, Johnson shows, the army was a force for co-optation and closer incorporation into the imperial system.

These middle chapters are the strongest in the book, extending research done for Johnson's 1995 dissertation, "Honor Is Life." Her conclusions here are based on an exceptional depth and breadth of archival sources from Spain, Cuba, Florida, and other U.S. repositories. If there are any problems in these chapters, they are not with her emphasis on the importance of military reform to a radical transformation of Cuba's economy and society between 1763 and 1800. Questions do arise, however, with regard to her insistence on the irrelevance of sugar or slavery to the development of Cuban society up to 1800. For instance, in the section that brings some new and useful demographic information to light on the number of Spanish military men in Cuba, she relies on older estimates of African slave imports during the same period rather than using the latest work of scholars such as David Eltis or even a closer reading of J.R. McNeill's work on the slave population around Havana in the 1760s, which she cites elsewhere in the book (Eltis 1987, Eltis *et al.* 1999, McNeill 1985:33-45). She states that "large-scale slave imports, both legal and illegal, may be ruled out" (p. 57) as an explanation for the significant population growth in and around Havana in the 1760s and 1770s. Her estimate of 17,000 men garrisoned in Havana from 1763 to 1782 is, indeed, significant as a partial explanation of population growth (p. 58). But the estimated 4,000 slaves imported during the brief British occupation and another 4,000 slaves imported by the state itself by 1765 would also have had a substantial impact on the demographics of Havana and its environs. In addition, Johnson's excellent work documenting the military ties of Havana's elite families would have benefited from some attention to those families' economic interests in sugar. Familiar elite clans such as the Montalvo were central to the Spanish military and colonial administration of Cuba, as Johnson

shows, but their wealth and power did not come exclusively from military and public service. They also invested in sugar plantations and engaged in slave trading before 1800, as other studies have shown (Knight 1977:249 and Bergad 1990:14-15). Johnson is correct that sugar and slavery did not dominate Cuban society in the eighteenth century, but even the military elite seem not to have found either irrelevant to their prosperity and position.

These concerns do not negate the great value of Johnson's careful attention to a topic largely neglected in scholarship on Cuba – the centrality of transformations wrought by warfare in the eighteenth-century Caribbean to the island's later socioeconomic development. The wealth of archival evidence and the interpretive synthesis she offers in this book will be an essential point of departure for all subsequent work on the subject.

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The Island of Cuba: A Political Essay by Alexander von Humboldt. Translated from Spanish with notes and a preliminary essay by J.S. THRASHER. Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener; Kingston: Ian Randle, 2001. vii + 280 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

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*Habent sua fata libelli.*¹ Paul Gilroy (1993, esp. pp. 46-58), criticizing the first writers of European “modern self” in his great book, *The Black Atlantic*, does not make any mention of Alexander von Humboldt or, for that matter, Henri Grégoire (see Goldstein-Sepinwall 2001:49-61). Is that because J.S. Thrasher erased the Humboldtian sermon against slavery, the most important voice against racism and slavery of the European Enlightenment project, in his version of Humboldt’s “Essay on Cuba”? Or is it because the younger Humboldt is so much less known to English-speaking intellectuals than Hegel, Kant, or Marx?

In the last fifteen years there have been several new critical editions of the “Essay on Cuba” published in France, Spain, Germany, and Cuba, as well as a great deal of new research on Humboldt.² The French and Spanish editions are the best for scholarly purposes. The University of Potsdam is publishing a modern network review entitled “Alexander von Humboldt im Net – in the net – en la red.”³ But in the United States and in the Anglo-American scholarly community the reception of Humboldt has been shaped by the framing established by the proslavery and annexionist journalist Thrasher, whose flawed translation appeared in 1856.⁴ The reception of Humboldt and its flawed translation has interesting historiographical roots, but is it a good thing?

1. Books have their own destiny.

2. See Minguet 1989, Beck *et al.* 1998, Humboldt 1998. See also Puig-Samper 2000.

3. <http://www.uni-potsdam.de/u/romanistik/humboldt/>

4. The reception of the “Essay on Mexico” has apparently gone other ways in the Anglo-American world; see Rupke 1999.

This edition, published by Markus Wiener, declares in an introductory publisher's note (p. vii),

two translations into English of Alexander von Humboldt's 'Essai politique sur l'île de Cuba' (Paris 1826) exist. The first is a little-known literal translation from the French edition by Helen Maria Williams (Humboldt 1829), which is written in a nineteenth-century German academic style. The style is very old-fashioned and, for today's reader, nearly unreadable. A second translation, by J.S. Thrasher, was published in New York in 1856. Thrasher was a journalist, and he translated and edited the text to appeal to a wider audience. He used colloquial language ... his translation reads well today." Imagine proposing to reprint an unreliable translation of Hegel or Kant based purely on the claim that it could appeal "to a wider audience...[using] colloquial language...[which] reads well today!

This 2001 edition of the *Island of Cuba* deviates very little from Thrasher not only in its non-Humboldtian title, but in nearly all respects. The introduction by Luis Martínez Fernández does not present anything new about Humboldt, about his now-published diaries, or about his published works (the *Opus Americanum*⁵) in relation to, for example, Atlantic history or his journey at the beginnings of modernity (Ette *et al.* 2001, Zeuske 2003), but instead explains Thrasher's intentions and Cuban-American relations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is good enough nationalist history, but it is poor as modern Humboldt research or research into the history of science (what Susan Cannon [1978] calls "Humboldtian science"). The relatively good additional translation of the chapter "Slavery" of Humboldt's (2001, pp. 253-65) original *Essay on Cuba* – replacing the one Thrasher had intentionally omitted – is thus left hanging in the air without any explanation of its structure, of its basis in Humboldt's work, or of its role as one of the most important liberal voices (if not *the* most important) against the economically very successful slavery in the Americas of the 1820s.

In 1827 Francisco Arango y Parreño wrote to Humboldt:

My esteemed friend and sir: I asked my cousin to extend my heartfelt thanks for the favor he granted me in his precious Essay on this Island, to which I added at the same time that he would offer some of my observations on the principal facts to be found in the work. It was presented to me with the deadline fast approaching, and due to that rush I am not sure whether I have been too extensive, or whether I have said all that I could. What I am sure of is my good intentions and that I have had another motivation to expand these notes and to send these documents, which in my utmost friendship and sincere gratitude to the traveling philosopher, admired by all educated nations...⁶

5. That is, his great essays about Mexico, Venezuela, and Cuba.

6. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung, Nachl. A. v. Humboldt, K 7b, Mp. 68. Letter from Arango to the Baron de Humboldt, Havana, July 30, 1827,

Thus Arango sends his marginalia to the “Ensayo sobre Cuba” to Humboldt – an extraordinarily direct link between the intellectual architect of the expansion of slavery and one of its prime critics. Nothing of this direct link appears in the short text “Humboldt and Arango y Parreño: A Dialogue,” written by Frank Argote-Freyre, and included in the volume (Thrasher pp. 273-80). Instead the text reproduces old debates and old research and is absolutely unequal to the current state of research on either Arango or Humboldt. As for the other parts of this book, they are good enough at repeating what we have long known about Cuban-American relations in the nineteenth century, and they are moderately interesting for American or Cuban nationalist intellectual history, but they are poor in modern Humboldtian research. Nor do they reflect new knowledge about Humboldt’s importance for Atlantic history, for the history of slavery, or for the debates in race or diaspora history. Perhaps the reason that Humboldt is not present in the work of writers like Gilroy is precisely this: for English-speaking readers Humboldt continues to be mediated through Thrasher and republished in editions that do not capture the vitality and the centrality of the project in which Humboldt was actually engaged, or the vitality of the reevaluation of his work that is currently underway (see Ette 1999, 2002). Scholars of the Caribbean and of the intellectual history of modern ages deserve better.

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Whose America? The War of 1898 and the Battles to Define the Nation. VIRGINIA M. BOUVIER (ed.). Westport CT: Praeger, 2001. xi + 241 pp. (Cloth £54.50)

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Whose America? The War of 1898 and the Battles to Define the Nation examines the important last years of the nineteenth century when dramatic political, social, cultural, economic, and military changes resulted in ending more than four hundred years of Spanish colonialism in the Caribbean. The idea for the book and some of the chapters grew out of a conference held in 1998 entitled "Challenges to Peace, 1898-1998: Visions from the Past, Lessons for the Future." Collectively, the chapters analyze how Spaniards, Cubans, Cuban-Americans, Americans, and Puerto Ricans, as well as imperialists,

anti-imperialists, and nationalists all engaged in a process of reexamining and reformulating their own political and national identity during the war and after. The editor and the contributors do not shy away from addressing the imperialistic designs of the United States that other scholars have tended to minimize, especially in U.S. historiography (see the discussion in Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States & Cuba in History and Historiography* [1998]). The idea of the “splendid little war” still influences academic discussion and debate a century later. A co-sponsor of the conference “made it clear that there were explicit political limits to what might be discussed under its auspices” (p. 3).

Bouvier has judiciously divided the book into three sections: “Historical Underpinnings of Foreign Intervention”; “The War of 1898”; and “Legacies of 1898.” Lester Langley analyzes the idea of the term “Americas” to show that there have always been “two Americas” defined in contrast to each other. In the United States, the concept “Americas” served to justify and explain intervention in the Hemisphere, whereas in Latin America, for Simón Bolívar and José Martí the notion of a common “Americas” culture emphasized the absence of Anglo and U.S. influence to resist imperialism.

In Part II, the chapters by Sylvia L. Hilton, Lillian Guerra, Virginia M. Bouvier, and Kristin L. Hoganson employ nuanced perspectives to examine the reaction by Cubans, Spaniards, and Americans to the War of 1898. Hilton analyzes how the opposition to “Monroeism” in Spain directed criticism not only at U.S. intervention, but also served to destabilize the Spanish government at home by the inability to maintain possession of their colonies. Guerra provides a carefully argued and detailed discussion of the different political priorities of Cuban rebels in the United States and those fighting on the island. She demonstrates how an “imperialist nationalism” defined the activities of the U.S.-Cuban émigré community’s political strategies that resulted in their pursuing a policy that the “nation not only extended forth from an imperialist nationalist identity; its future depended on it” (p. 65). Bouvier turns her attention to ways in which images in the form of political cartoons provide a different perspective to assess the discourses that debated U.S. participation in the war. Cartoons served to create the image of a unified country behind the war for U.S. audiences. When the drawings depicted Spanish colonial subjects, they were portrayed as devious, ungrateful children, with exaggerated stereotypical racial features to buttress an argument of their inability to control their own affairs. Hoganson extends the need to see U.S. imperialism from cultural perspectives by demonstrating how a gendered discourse of masculine honor served to justify intervention. Not only would defeating Spain restore an abused U.S. male honor both at home and in the world caused by the Panic of 1893, but any opposition to the war became regarded as a dishonorable action with feminine connotations.

In Part III, the chapters by Louis A. Pérez, Jr., Francisco A. Scarano, and Jim Zwick analyze the long lasting legacies of the War of 1898 as it relates to Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the United States. Pérez argues that the demographic, political, and economic dislocation produced by the thirty-year struggle for Cuban liberation provided an atmosphere for U.S. cultural imperialism to thrive. He demonstrates that for the Cuban middle class, “much of what was incorporated into national identity after 1898 was assembled from an environment by North American forms” (p. 155). Francisco Scarano’s chapter on Puerto Rico analyzes U.S. policy as an action not of “intervention,” but of “possession.” He argues that unlike other military occupations during the twentieth century, “at the moment of initiating the imperial project, key U.S. policymakers made the controversial decision to invade Puerto Rico for keeps” (p. 163). Jim Zwick focuses on the Anti-Imperialist League from 1898 to 1921 that formed in opposition to the annexation of territories newly conquered by the United States. Zwick effectively charts their role in national and international politics, revealing the tensions that the War of 1898 created in the ways in which North Americans began to define their national identity in relation to foreign interventions and imperialist designs.

Virginia Bouvier provides the edited volume with an insightful introduction and conclusion, and a bibliographic essay that situates the important findings of the chapters in their larger historiographical context. *Whose America? The War of 1898 and the Battles to Define the Nation* should find a wide audience among scholars in Caribbean, Latin American, colonial, anti-colonial, and diplomatic history because the lessons and legacies of 1898 continue to influence U.S. policies of imperial domination that have their roots in events over a century earlier.

Sin azúcar no hay país: La industria azucarera y la economía cubana (1919-1939). ANTONIO SANTAMARÍA GARCÍA. Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Universidad de Sevilla y Diputación de Sevilla, 2001. 624 pp. (Paper € 27,00)

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The pages of this monumental book open with a prologue by Carlos Malamud paying homage to Manuel Moreno Fraginals's classic *El Ingenio* and its impact on Cuba's economic and sugar history. Santamaría's book is forged in the same academic tradition and destined to play a similar role. The enormous size of this oeuvre – 624 pages, 250 tables and graphs (mostly concentrated in an appendix), and some 3,000 bibliographical entries – is matched by its scholarship, sophisticated analysis, and important findings. Santamaría worked more than a decade on this book, basing it on library and archival research in Spain and in Cuba, and received the prize "Nuestra América" of 1999 from the Deputación de Sevilla. Although there are solid historical works on the sugar industry in the nineteenth century, the early decades of the twentieth century, and the years immediately before and during the revolution of 1959, there was a vacuum for the period 1919-39 that is filled by this book. Intertwined with the study of the sugar industry, Santamaría analyzes both entrepreneurial history and the external economic sector, while making frequent comparisons with the sugar industry elsewhere.

The sentence in the title, "there is no *country* without sugar," originated at the end of the eighteenth century, and eventually became the slogan of Cuba's sugar barons to defend their interests, as well as the "outward" model of development based on exports of primary products, comparative advantages, and free trade. On the opposite side were the industrialists whose motto was "there is no *nation* without industries"; they took advantage of the sharp decline in world prices of raw materials and the exhaustion of the previous "outward" approach (after World War I), to support an "inward" model of development and demanded tariff protection (a position that later was articulated by the CEPAL structuralist school and its strategy of import substitution industrialization). The principal task of the book is to explain, using the decades of the 1920s and 1930s, why Cuba preserved an economy based on sugar concentra-

tion to export basically to one market (the United States) during more than a century, instead of shifting to the new paradigm of development. Why did Cuba become in this period one of the least diversified economies in Latin America but at the same time one of the most developed?

The book provides a useful review of the antecedents and status of Cuba's sugar industry until World War I, enriched by three contributions: (1) a quantitative analysis that reinforces previous viewpoints on the coordination between different elements of the productive chain; (2) a refutation of the conventional view that the sugar mills neglected the plantation (agrarian component); and (3) the transformation that occurred in the sugar industry during the Great War in terms of concentration, entry of banking and financial capital, and the disconnection between increments in production and the modernization of the mills and cut in unitary price. The book focuses on the period between the two world wars, starting in 1919 with the readjustment of the world economic order after World War I, and going on to Cuba's sugar boom (Dance of the Millions), the recession and financial crisis of 1920-21 (induced by a sharp decrease in sugar price and strained trade relations with the United States), the end of the sugar expansion in 1925, the subsequent restructuring of the sugar industry and start of state intervention, the crisis of 1930, and the Great Depression. The book ends in 1939 on the eve of World War II. Santamaría argues that despite the noted antagonisms there were elements of continuity, and that the crisis of 1930 was the culmination of the strong economic oscillations provoked after World War I. He also contends that Cuba was almost unique in Latin America in maintaining sugar specialization (albeit with adjustment measures) based on integration and tight trade relations with (and preferential treatment from) the United States, as a better alternative to the internal/external adjustments and diversification implemented in other countries in the region. His major hypothesis is that Cuba's sugar adjustment to world market fluctuations in between the wars caused a structural economic and sociopolitical crisis but also established the foundations that permitted it to confront such a crisis. Furthermore, in the 1930s there was a change in the relations between the sugar industry and the island economic and sociopolitical system, made feasible by the continuous expansion and horizontal concentration of that industry that facilitated state intervention, although ownership remained in private hands.

It is impossible with a limit of 800 words to make an adequate assessment of this book. I hope that this review will open the appetite of those interested in Cuban history and economy, as well as the sugar industry in the island and elsewhere to read it.

Havana: Two Faces of the Antillean Metropolis. JOSEPH L. SCARPACI, ROBERTO SEGRE & MARIO COYULA. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. x + 437 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95, Paper US\$ 21.95)

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Every now and then, the discourse of urban studies produces a book that helps to define a city in the world-historical sense. For much of the 1990s, the venerable firm of John Wiley and Sons published a series called "World Cities." While not all of the volumes in the series proved to be especially distinguished, *Havana: Two Faces of the Antillean Metropolis* most certainly was. The collective labor of three noted *urbanistas* and aficionados of the "Pearl of the Antilles" and first published in 1997, *Havana* won a choice book award from the American Library Association and the sobriquet of "outstanding urbanography" from the editors of *Lingua Franca*. Despite such effusive, well-earned praise, Wiley chose to discontinue the "World City" series, and the book went out of print. The decision by University of North Carolina Press to publish an updated, and much more affordable, edition of the work is therefore extremely welcome to readers interested in not only Cuba and Latin American/Caribbean studies, but global urbanism more generally.

Much of the book's strength derives from the three authors' rich, varied, and temporally deep associations with the city. Roberto Segre is the former director of the *Grupo de Investigaciones Historicas de la Arquitectura y del Urbanismo* at Havana's Instituto Superior Politécnico José Antonio Echevarría and is widely acknowledged as being "the man" on urban architecture in revolutionary Cuba. Mario Coyula is a Havana-born architect, planner, former ISPJAE professor, poet, and current director of the *Grupo para el Desarrollo Integral de la Capital*. Joseph Scarpaci is a professor of Urban Affairs and Planning at Virginia Tech and has spent much of the last ten years investigating the shifting physical and social landscapes of the city. Joint authorship is a difficult enough endeavor when authors share a common mother tongue and often the result is a hydra-headed Frankenstein with lots of visible suture lines and multiple heads speaking in different voices. Such is not the case with this volume. Despite their varied backgrounds, the three authors share a common tone, point of departure, and deep, abiding attachment to Havana.

The polarizing political vortex of cold war intellectualism has been an occupational hazard, and challenge, for those seeking to write about Cuba since 1959. Indeed, in some ways, Cuba's ongoing experiment with market forces and global capitalism since the early 1990s has only intensified the ideology-driven divide between dedicated dogmatists of both extremes. In this context, *Havana* is notable not only for what it tells us of the city's past and present, but as an attempt to side-step, if not transcend, the divide that has fractured the discourse of Cuban studies. Although the authors do not provide a terribly critical take on the city's politics and society, they do not shy away from drawing attention to the failure of officials to recognize, let alone rectify, errors of urban design, planning, and policy. More importantly, they explicitly acknowledge and value the concern that some expatriate groups in Miami have for the conservation of Havana's heritage. A brief forward to the revised edition by Andres Duany, a noted Cuban-American architect active in some exile circles (principally those that are not eagerly waiting to return to Miami), provides reciprocal acknowledgment of some of the positive steps that have been taken to safeguard the heritage of a city sacred to all Cubans.

Aside from the foreword by Duany, the organization of the original volume remains intact: ten chapters arranged in chronological order dealing with the city's history, the impact of the Revolution (especially upon planning and housing), and some of the recent changes posed by the Special Period in Time of Peace. Updates from the 1997 edition are appended to existing chapters and are, on the whole, rather modest. Indeed, this reader was frequently left wishing that more had been provided.

The revisions are concentrated in the later chapters of the book. Chapter 7, "The Changing Nature of the Economy," has an additional section that describes some of the "new entrepreneurs" that have emerged following the relaxation of government prohibitions on self-employment. A rather extensive section on *paladares*, the informal restaurants that some entrepreneurially minded *habaneros* have set up in their homes, has gone missing in the transition from the original to the revised edition. Likewise, while there is some recognition of the rise in prostitution, the authors do not comment extensively on this and other forms of illegal, and very widespread, entrepreneurial activity. Chapter 8 retains its somewhat awkward title, "The Value of Social Functions," and its focus on the areas of transportation, retailing, education, healthcare, sports, leisure, and tourism. Virtually all of the revisions are concentrated in the latter area, including a short section on the increasing role of the military in the tourist industry. Chapter 9, "Havana Vieja: Pearl of the Caribbean," features a profile of the Office of the City Historian and the constituent entities by which it manages the revitalization of the historic core of Havana.

The most substantive and significant revisions are to be found in the final chapter on "risks and opportunities." In this section, the authors are quite frank about some of the negative consequences of recent changes, such as the

dollarization of the economy and the consequent increase in social inequality, as well as the visual pollution brought about by poor coordination between planning authorities and joint ventures in areas outside the historic center, such as Miramar. One of the most intriguing additions to the revised edition is a section entitled “Rescuing Havana’s Cultural Meanings: From Lenin to Lennon in the New Millennium.” The Lennon in question refers to a statue of the former Beatle that was dedicated – in the presence of Fidel Castro himself – in a park in the city’s Miramar neighborhood in December 2000. As Beatles music and other aspects of a Lennon-ist lifestyle were actively suppressed in Cuba in the late 1960s, the authors interpret the dedication of the statue as symbolic of a desire to rehabilitate and embrace artists and intellectuals formerly regarded as outcasts. Given the crackdown on dissidents during the winter of 2003, the claims of such an embrace may ring hollow to some, but progress in Cuba has always been a matter of fits and starts.

The book concludes with a meditation on Havana’s uniqueness and “ambiguous destiny” (p. 371). The authors frame a series of difficult questions, chief of which is “how to handle changes that will prepare the city for a competitive market so as not to jeopardize the notability of its built environment or undermine its social accomplishments” (p. 376). To this they have no answer, although they do hint enigmatically that “there may be a middle course of action [between reckless embrace of the market and holding on to the command economy] that is both prudent and possible” (p. 352). What such a “middle course” or “third way” might look like is a natural topic for the next iteration of this illuminating and valuable text, long may it be in print.

Kuba Heute: Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur. OTTMAR ETTE & MARTIN FRANZBACH (eds.). Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Vervuert, 2001. 863 pp. (Paper € 45.00)

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“Cuba today: an island not only in a geographical but also in a temporal sense including the time of yesterday, but evenly in real time,” writes Ottmar Ette in the introduction to this volume. *Kuba Heute: Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*

(Cuba today: politics, economy, culture), by the Romance philologists Ottmar Ette and Martin Franzbach, consists of thirty-one essays (including some by Germany's most outstanding specialists on Cuba) divided thematically into five sections. The first section concentrates on geography and town development. The second and third are concerned with politics and society, as well as economics. The fourth (and largest) section, with a total of fourteen contributions, deals with culture. And the two chapters of the fifth section focus on the relationship between Germany and Cuba. This organization reflects the breadth of the book's coverage, its interdisciplinary approach, and its goal of approaching topics from different perspectives. Chronologically, contributions run from background information on Cuban history and culture of the twentieth century up to the present, with special emphasis, however, on the period from the Cuban Revolution to the *período especial* of the 1990s, which saw fundamental changes of socioeconomic parameters.

Starting from the discovery travels of Christopher Columbus, Ette outlines in a clear and vivid introduction the four globalization processes of the fifteenth through twentieth centuries, and thus the essential structures of Cuban history and its situation today. The globalization phases worked as catalysts and determined Cubans' changing space-time experience. A central role for their self-image, both historically and in the present, is derived from Cuba's character as an island-territory, for it is in reality an archipelago (shaped like a caiman) that includes not only the many smaller islands around the main one, but also the islands of exile communities. Even the main island can be thought of as a juxtaposition of different "community islands" with contrasting developments.

Castro's Modern Age project transformed Cuba into the *primer territorio libre de América* and brought the accelerating sense of time to a standstill. From the perspective of the new dimensions of cultural self-reflection, both on the island and in the exile communities, the utopian moment for Cuba, in the beginning of the twenty-first century, hinged on the simultaneousness of present and past, and on the cancellation of territorial reference points: "Cuba is not a postnational but a transterritorial phenomenon" (p. 21). Finally the multiethnic and transcultural development of Cuban and other Caribbean societies contains elements to create a transcultural world society.

The essay by Guenter Mertins offers new facts concerning the recent population and regional developments as well as population distribution. As a comparative context for his extensive statistics, Mertins selects the Third World, although even before the Revolution the demographic development in Cuba did not correspond to so-called developing countries. Between 1899 and 1998, the portion of the Cuban population living in Havana grew from 18.1 percent to 19.8 percent, thus remaining nearly constant over the past hundred years. In the 1970s and 1980s Cuba achieved a reduction of both interregional and urban/rural disparities in such areas as medical-hygienic supplies. Because

of the chances for higher income, the "Ciudad de La Habana" remains the most attractive city for migration within Cuba; however, many immigrants also intend to emigrate from Havana because it offers the best conditions for emigration to the United States. Due to the economic crisis after 1990, the regional mismatches and "potential unemployment" intensified, particularly in the eastern part of the island which is populated by the majority of Afro-Cubans and mulattos. Axel Borsdorf analyzes the town geography in an especially informative contribution and refers again to regional policy. Two other excellent chapters are those dealing with changes in the housing policy (by Kosta Mathéy, ISPJAE/Havana) and with the problems of urban renewal in Cuba (by Hans Harms, University of Hamburg-Harburg).

Cuban foreign policy and relations with the United States, including changes and continuities since 1989, are analyzed by Bert Hoffmann, the author of many important publications on the subject. Susanne Gratius, who worked at the Institute of European and Latin American Relations (IRELA) in Madrid, investigates the European-Cuban relationship and the antagonism between economic rapprochement and political distance (see Gratius 2003). Raimund Kraemer, formerly a diplomat in Havana and now at the University of Potsdam, examines the role of Fidel Castro as well as the uncertainty of the Cuban elites in the face of increasingly personalized and paternal power structures. An insight to the interesting topic of sexual policy is offered by Monika Krause-Fuchs, who has been working in an executive post in Cuba in the field of sex education for thirty years (see Krause-Fuchs 2002). Frank Niess's contribution deals with the former myth of the Cuban Revolution. And Peter B. Schumann writes about forms of political and cultural opposition, pointing out, for example, that despite an increase in the number of dissidents during the 1990s, no functioning opposition exists in Cuba, as the arrests in April 2003 have demonstrated.

Hans-Juergen Burchardt reflects on the economic crisis since 1990 and reform measures for its stabilization: the development of the Cuban economy still depends on foreign-exchange transfers from Cubans in exile, direct foreign investment, and expansion of the tourist industry, because until today the scale of home-market development has remained low and its importance and promise for the Cuban economy are still underestimated. In a second contribution, Burchardt analyzes the agricultural sector and the reform requirements of the current agricultural policy. Knut Henkel analyzes biotechnological research, as well as the strengths and the weaknesses of Cuban high-tech products on the world market. Birgit Beier's essay describes and evaluates the economic and social importance of the tourism sector.

The book emphasizes the creative and internationally successful work of Cuban artists via contributions by Miguel Barnet, Martin Lienhard, Svend Plesch, Martin Franzbach, Hans-Otto Dill, Diony Durán, Monika Walter, Frauke Gewecke, Doris Henning, Matthias Perl, Peter B. Schumann, Torsten

Eßer and Patrick Froelicher, Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger, and Raúl Fornet-Betancourt. The broad spectrum of topics ranges from avant-garde trends in painting, music, philosophy, history, and cultural policy (focusing on the Casa de las Américas and on Cuban film) to the Cuban enclave in the United States, the language situation in Cuba, Afro-Cuban oral literature, and the abundance of globalized Cuban literature. In addition to Martin Franzbach's clear and demanding outline of Cuban literature since 1959, there are chapters on *testimonio* literature, poetry, storytellers in the 1990s, and exile literature.

The two last contributions – one by Ralf E. Breuer on the gradual change of course in German-Cuban relations in the 1990s (after the reunification) and another by Matthias Hucke on the German colony in Cuba (1933-44) – are exciting and substantial. At the same time, however, they reflect problems in the organization of the book: Breuer's contribution could have been part of the section on politics and society, which would also have been the appropriate placement of Doris Henning's "Cuba in Miami," which appears in the section on culture. But then the study about German National Socialism could not have been integrated into the book. In the first and second subject area the contributions overlap partially and have similar focal points. Unfortunately there is no specific analysis of developments relating to domestic politics and to the media system. Domestic politics are mentioned only in the context of other subjects (see Massmann 2003): for example, the dissolution of the Centro de Estudios Americanos (CEA) in 1996 comes up as a side issue in the chapter on Cuban film. And this otherwise deep-ranging book offers only scant information about the magazines *Pensamiento crítico* and *El caimán barbudo* (both important for culture and politics in the 1960s) and the present-day magazines *Temas* and *Encuentro de la cultura cubana*. Similarly, it would have been interesting for readers if Schumann's study about political opposition had mentioned the involvement of Guenter Grass, who obtained the release of some dissidents on his first trip to the island in the 1990s.

Despite these comments, Cuban reality is so complex that any book on the subject must by definition appear incomplete; otherwise it would be an enumeration of details detached from the context. *Kuba Heute* is an excellent compilation, an essential contribution to the literature on Cuba that belongs in each library. Its end matter includes a subject and person index as well as a chronology of Cuban history. It not only constitutes a first-class reference book for "Cubanologists," but also offers stimulating reading to a broader public, thanks to its well-written texts. While many other publications focus narrowly on Fidel Castro or provide only a summary of the history of the island, *Kuba Heute* does much more: its abundance of expertise and information results in profound insight, embracing Cuban reality in all its complexity.

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Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean. KAMALA KEMPADOO (ed.). New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. viii + 356 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.95)

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Gay Cuban Nation offers an important contribution to a growing body of scholarship on the meanings and artistic representation of homoeroticism in Cuba, thereby complementing recent social scientific work with a critical reading of diverse literary, cinematic, autobiographical, and journalistic sources over the past century. Its time depth permits Emilio Bejel to engage in his rather ambitious project of tracing the changing trends in cultural constructions of same-sex desire and the ways that these reflect the evolving historical relationship between homosexuality and Cuban nationalism. The book thus provides a useful case study of the relationship between citizenship, national identity, and sexual (im)morality in the context of a country that has undergone a series of dramatic political changes during the past century.

In the first of the book's three parts, Bejel examines the ways that certain Cuban texts in the late nineteenth century were situated between Spanish colonial and North American neocolonial projects, and their references to

homoeroticism therefore reflect engagement with “foreign” constructions of sexual deviance and the purported position of Cuba within an international framework of racial/sexual difference. His analysis of the written work of José Martí in Chapter 1 interprets the Cuban founding father’s concern with purging Cuba of cross-gender behavior as a defensive response to late-nineteenth-century political rhetoric in the United States, which opposed Cuban annexation because of the country’s presumed lack of “virility” (pp. 11-12). Martí’s novel *Amistad funesta* (1885) thus provides a subtextual warning that “the danger to [the] ideal ‘national family’ comes from the transgression of the established gender limits, from the ‘effeminate man’ and the ‘manly woman’” (p. 27). Benjamín de Céspedes’s surprising book *La prostitución en la Ciudad de La Habana* (1888), analyzed in Chapter 2, details the author’s “research” on poor Spanish immigrants who allegedly prostituted themselves to wealthy Cuban men, and “correlates the illness of the pederasts with the moral illness of the city of Havana” (p. 31).

Part 2 of the book describes works published in the 1920s and 1930s, when the nascent feminist movement began to open a space for the publication of works that were more radical in their depiction of homoeroticism. Chapter 3 analyzes two novels by Ofelia Rodríguez Acosta, described by Bejel as the most radical Cuban feminist of the period (p. 47). Rodríguez Acosta’s novel *La vida manda* (1929) presents a highly progressive and favorable view of homosexuality, but simultaneously illustrates the continuing oppression of gender “deviance” in the fact that the frustrated protagonist, Gertrudis, “cannot overcome the social and psychological forces opposed to the radical change of society” (p. 58). The discussions of Alfonso Hernández Catá’s novel *El ángel de Sodoma* (1928) and Carlos Montenegro’s *Hombres sin mujer* (1938), in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively, similarly illustrate the relative openness to progressive homosexual themes characterizing this period. At the same time they demonstrate the paradoxical ways that the radical dimensions of these texts are undermined by the persistent association of homosexuality with pathology, foreign corruption, and the unnatural.

Part 3, focusing on the Cuban revolutionary period, argues that the initial years of the Revolution were characterized by an “extremism” and “institutionalization” of homophobia (p. 96), dramatically symbolized by the emergence in the late 1960s of the UMAP camps for the rehabilitation of homosexuals. While homosexually themed works continued to appear in this period, their authors – such as Virgilio Piñera, José Lezama Lima, and Reinaldo Arenas – suffered varying degrees of repression and censorship as a result of the transgressive dimensions of their work (see Chapters 6-8). Toward the end of the book, Bejel turns to a number of works that have emerged since 1980, a period generally characterized by increasing openness to homosexual themes in Cuba. The film *Fresa y chocolate* (1994), examined in Chapter 9, is an illustration of this trend, since its attempt to reach a resolution of the

ideological tension between the two main characters – an openly gay man and a young (presumably heterosexual) revolutionary – represents a modern Cuban generation that is striving for a “new vision of the nation and the revolution” (p. 164). The final three chapters (10-12) bring into focus a number of works – such as Pedro de Jesús’s *Cuentos fríos*, the short stories of Ena Lucía Portela Alzola, Bernaza and Gilpin’s documentary film *Mariposas en el andamio*, Elías Miguel Muñoz’s *Crazy Love*, and Sonia Rivera-Valdés’s collection of short stories, *Las historias prohibidas de Marta Veneranda* – which collectively illustrate a trend toward a transnational metanarrative that increasingly frames homoeroticism within an eclectic space that creatively combines elements of nostalgia for the Cuban “homeland” with “foreign” cultural elements and places.

One of the disconcerting elements of *Gay Cuban Nation* is its occasional linguistic slippage and lack of precision in its use of analytical terminology. “Nationalism,” for example, is never clearly defined, resulting in a necessary collaboration on the part of the reader in ascertaining one of the primary objects of study. Similarly, Bejel’s use of such terms as “gay” and “queer” in reference to inappropriate historical contexts may cause a momentary rupture for those readers familiar with current debates in lesbian and gay studies on the historical emergence and international diffusion of such terms. For example, in his discussion of Rodríguez Acosta’s work in the 1920s, Bejel notes that her radical feminism could “make new associations that allow for new spaces for gay men and lesbians” (p. 65). Such incautious usage – reflected somewhat in the very title of the book – curiously undercuts the historical specificity and attention to context that otherwise characterize his astute analysis of Cuban homoeroticism.

The edited volume *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean* represents a crucial contribution to the study of sexual-economic exchange in the contemporary context of the region’s growing dependence on the tourism industry. Based on a multisited study in eight Caribbean countries (Belize, Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Jamaica, the Netherlands Antilles, Suriname, and Colombia), the contributors conducted largely qualitative interviews and ethnographic observations with male and female sex workers and clients, focusing on a broad range of issues, from motivations for participation in sex work, to the “othering” practices of sex tourists, to the political-economic forces that have shaped the historical emergence of the sex trade, to the implications for health and policy-making. The breadth of the volume is, perhaps, both its strength and weakness, as it provides an impressive survey of many of the issues relevant to sex work in the region, while occasionally leaving the reader unsatisfied with the somewhat cursory treatment of specific points (particularly regarding male sex work).

Kamala Kempadoo’s introductory chapter provides an astute historical analysis of the “continuities and change” in sexual-economic exchanges from

the time of slavery to the present, emphasizing especially the ways in which the “sexual labor” of slave women (male slaves are not addressed) provides a backdrop for understanding the transformation of women’s sexual labor in the contemporary context of global capitalism and tourism dependence. Kempadoo’s early citation of Franz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth* (p. 4) indexes a conceptual framework that reverberates throughout the volume, highlighting the region’s disadvantaged position in relation to the industrialized, “developed” world, and the exploitative consequences of this global asymmetry for Caribbean peoples. For the contributors, sex work is thus positioned within international power relations that, particularly in the late twentieth century, have been characterized by a rapid transition from economies based on the export of raw materials to a fundamental dependence on tourism; structural adjustments that have forced local populations to search for new survival strategies; the expansion of the informal sector and of combined formal-informal economic activities; changing migratory patterns both within and beyond the region; and a shift to the use of local populations (and racial-sexual stereotypes) as an erotic resource aimed at the provision of pleasure to foreign visitors.

One of the book’s powerful and recurring themes is the complicit role of local nation-states in implicitly or explicitly using racialized stereotypes of Caribbean sexuality to market the region to tourists seeking intimate encounters with the “natives.” As Beverley Mullings (Chapter 3) argues in her discussion of Jamaican sex tourism, the usefulness of exoticizing imagery for the country’s tourism industry places Caribbean governments and the authorities in a contradictory position, since while they demonize sex workers for “harassing” the tourists, they simultaneously benefit from the income produced by sex tourism. This point is reiterated for Jamaica in Chapter 6, in which Shirley Campbell, Althea Perkins, and Patricia Mohammed emphasize the irony of police abuses perpetrated against sex workers, given that police officers often benefit from their own work as “gigolos” and “pimps” (pp. 133, 141). The harsh critique of the ways that Caribbean states participate in the sexual exploitation of local populations – what Kamala Kempadoo and Ranya Ghuma describe in Chapter 13 as “state pimping” (p. 301) – adds a complexity to the volume that would be lost by a one-sided critique of global capitalist interests. Indeed, the contributors show that often it is precisely the ambiguous legal (and practical) position of the state in relation to sex tourism that perpetuates abuses against sex workers, leading several contributors to advocate the legal recognition of adult sex work as a form of labor deserving the protections afforded to other professions (see, for example, Chapters 1, 3, 7, 13, and 14).

Partly because of the ambitious nature of the volume, *Sun, Sex, and Gold* suffers from a few gaps, perhaps most glaringly as regards its treatment of male sex work, which is given primary attention in only one chapter (Chapter 8, by Joan Phillips, on Barbadian beach boys). Of 191 interviews conducted by the contributors, only 21 were with men, and 20 of these were conducted in

Barbados for Phillips's chapter. Given the comparatively superficial research on male sex work, some of the claims that surface occasionally in the volume must be taken as highly tentative. For example, the notion that male sex workers are more oriented toward "romantic" liaisons with female tourists – an argument more extensively developed by Phillips but which is also alluded to in Chapter 6 (p. 142) and Chapter 3 (p. 48) – would benefit greatly from additional ethnographic support. Further, the related idea (suggested by several contributors) that male sex workers suffer from less social stigma than their female counterparts points to an even more significant oversight in the volume: sexual-economic exchanges occurring between male sex workers and gay male sex tourists. Importantly, homosexual exchanges were observed by several of the contributors (for example, by Joan Phillips in Barbados [p. 200] and Jacqueline Martis in St. Maarten and Curaçao [p. 205]), but in all cases were explicitly marginalized from analysis. Perhaps the rationale for this marginalization is provided by a footnote to Chapter 12 by the Red Thread Women's Development Programme: "Given the taboo nature of homosexuality, discussing such matters would also have been difficult in light of the short timescale of our research" (p. 287). Whatever the reason, such oversights weaken some of the assertions made by the contributors regarding "male sex work" – perhaps particularly regarding the presumption of its lesser stigma – suggesting that the volume's references to male sex work should be read as "heterosexual male sex work."

Caribbean Dance from Abakuá to Zouk: How Movement Shapes Identity.
SUSANNA SLOAT (ed.). Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xx + 408 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

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Susanna Sloat has edited an ambitious book, one that succeeds best for what it is rather than for what it does. As she notes in her introduction, it "is a centralized repository for information that can be hard to come by" (p. xi). And indeed she has gathered an impressive range of materials examining social dance,

religious ritual, and theatrical dance including ballet and modern dance and staged “folklore.” Twenty-two essays cover dance topics from Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Martinique and Guadeloupe, Trinidad and Tobago, and Curaçao. Authors are mainly from the islands they write about, although several now reside in the United States, and they include professional dancers and choreographers, journalists, anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and performance specialists.

Some authors tell their stories in personal narrative, others sketch broad historical overviews of dance types, and still others offer detailed case studies of specific dancers or dance institutions. In scale they range from extensive articles with well-documented academic citations to more informal, very short essays that draw primarily on personal observation and experience. While in theory this eclecticism of writing style and professional background would provide a stimulating richness as the essays are read in the context of each other, in fact the book feels uneven. Many articles hold only passing interest, but a few others stand out, including those by Yvonne Daniel, Martha Ellen Davis, Alma Concepcion, Halbert Barton, Cynthia Oliver, Dominique Cyrille, and Gabri Christa. These writers bring an analytic slant to bear on movement that they describe with accuracy and kinetic passion. Unfortunately the dryness of an Arthur Murray instruction manual (“right foot goes in, left foot goes out”) deadens some of the other articles.

The book is organized by island, usually with two articles for each locale. These locale essays are bookended with two opening pieces briefly introducing the idea of Africanisms, or African-derived movement styles, and closing with two works exploring the connection of Caribbean islands’ dance traditions to the United States. Of these, the essays by Brenda Dixon Gottschild and Susanna Sloat are particularly effective, but none of the bookending essays explicitly engage with the rest of the book, missing an opportunity for much-needed synthesis.

Despite this lack of integration, the specificity of geographic locale in the majority of the articles is welcome. Part of the goal of the book is to emphasize just how complex are the variants among “Caribbean dance,” a term that sometimes conjures up genericized images of salsa, merengue, and the chachacha, especially when these popular dances circulate commercially from Tokyo to Helsinki.

The importance of African-derived movement and dance patterning is emphasized for each of the dance forms considered, even when their creolized history is fully acknowledged and boldly evident. In some cases, this represents a recuperative gesture, making up for past histories that masked the African contribution while emphasizing the French or Spanish one. What comes through clearly by the end of the book is that the specificity of “Caribbean dance” lies precisely in these historical mixings, remnants, and revivals, which give bodily expression to racially marked colonial pasts and

struggles to imagine postcolonial futures for diverse populations, each with a particular history.

Despite its size, the book seems thin, with many of the essays light on analysis and conceptualization. There is no reason why each essay in a collection such as this should make an academic argument. Case studies of individuals like "The Dance World of Ramiro Guerra: Solemnity, Voluptuousness, Humor, and Chance," in which Melinda Mousouris traces the career of this "founder of Cuban modern dance" (p. 57), can provide important historical information. But such case studies are even more powerful when they critically examine the larger issues which such studies raise. For example, after the Cuban Revolution, Ramiro Guerra was appointed director of the dance department of the national theater with a charge to develop "a Cuban technique of contemporary dance" (p. 63). Later, after a premier of his new work *El decalogo del apocalipsis* (The Ten Commandments of the Apocalypse) was abruptly cancelled in 1971, he was removed from his post "for unspecified political reasons." (The government issued a formal apology in 1988.) The article notes this information, but does not then move to analyze the larger issue of the role of the state in arts censorship and arts development.

Similar questions arise with the promotion of folkloric styles and the linkage of folklore to the promotion of national identity and of tourism. These topics come up in several of the essays, including that by distinguished scholar and director of the National Dance Theatre Company of Jamaica, Rex Nettleford, and Lois E. Wilcken's essay on the performance of Haitian folklore. It would have helped considerably had the editor commissioned several opening and closing essays for the book that could have actively articulated and critically engaged with these broader issues that arise from our experience of reading the essays together.

Without such framing the book will be limited in its appeal, garnering interest primarily from Caribbeanists, but probably not drawing in additional readers from performance studies, postcolonial studies, or critical race studies who might otherwise have found the book useful.

From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration.
NANCY FONER. Chelsea MI: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000. xvi + 334 pp.
(Paper US\$ 17.95)

Georges Woke Up Laughing: Long-Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home. NINA GLICK SCHILLER & GEORGES EUGENE FOURON. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2001. x + 324 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

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Reading these two books together gives an excellent impression of major theoretical and empirical concerns in research on Caribbean migration to the United States. Nancy Foner's comparative study provides a general overview of some of the main characteristics of immigration to New York during the early and the late twentieth century, two periods of massive population movements into the country. Her analysis of migration from Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, in her discussion of the late period, highlights central features of Caribbean immigration to New York – perhaps the single most important migration destination for Caribbean people during the twentieth century.

Glick Schiller and Fouron adopt a more specific focus than Foner does, examining Haitian migration to New York during the last decades of the twentieth century through the experiences of Fouron, a professor of education at the State University of New York at Stony Brook who is himself a Haitian migrant. They are not primarily interested in Haitian immigration as such. Rather they wish to examine the ways in which Haitian migration has developed as a response to the political, social, and economic difficulties faced by Haitians in the present era of globalization. Thus, they examine the extensive networks of relations that integrate Haitians in the United States and Haiti into a single transnational community, and the role of long-distance nationalism in sustaining this community. With its global and transnational approach, their book therefore has a broader perspective than Foner's, which addresses migration primarily from the vantage point of a student of American immigration.

Drawing on an impressive multidisciplinary body of literature, Foner presents a highly informative synthesis of the main features of the two main twentieth-century migratory waves to New York. She discusses the immi-

grants' backgrounds, patterns of settlement, occupational structures, the position of women, racial discrimination, transnational relations, and the role of education in migrants' socioeconomic mobility. For each topic, she outlines similarities and differences in the two periods of immigration, with special emphasis on Jewish and Italian migrants in the first period, Jamaican, Dominican, and Korean migrants in the second.

An important theme addressed throughout the book is the American idea that immigration leads to upward mobility. This notion maintains that impoverished and downtrodden immigrants from other countries can improve their social and economic position significantly in the United States. Thus, if only they work hard enough and dedicate themselves to the American way of life, they will be able to become part of affluent American middle-class society. This idea has been so important that one may, perhaps, characterize it as a foundational myth of American society. Through careful analysis, Foner shows that while this view of immigration, and the integration processes that it sets in motion, may have corresponded in general terms to the long-range migration experiences of the early Italian and Jewish migrants, it no longer seems to hold true, partly because immigrants' educational and class backgrounds are more varied today, partly because a rigid racial hierarchy has been established which makes it exceedingly difficult for people classified as black or Hispanic to enter mainstream American society. Both these changes are relevant for Caribbean migrants, because many of them are well educated and black or Hispanic. This means that they may not be able to obtain jobs at their level of qualification, and though they may improve their material condition of life by migrating to the United States, they will experience a loss of social status. Those who do succeed in acquiring well-paid jobs corresponding to their educational qualifications will be expected to settle in black, not white, middle-class neighborhoods. While West Indians may behave as "good" Americans who value education, hard work, and owning a nice home, "race – and racial isolation – put severe constraints in their way" (p. 152).

Most immigrant groups apparently experienced such "racial" discrimination during their early period of settlement in the United States. Jews and Italians, for example, were regarded as "belonging to different races" until they established themselves in American society and became viewed as "white" (p. 143). Today, Asians seem to be undergoing a similar whitening process, and many have moved into "affluent white communities" (p. 162). Being grouped within a large, discriminated native black population, West Indians have not experienced this kind of mobility. Many therefore try to dissociate themselves from black Americans by developing a West Indian identity (p. 154). Others continue to maintain their ties to their Caribbean place of origin, the subject of Schiller and Fournon's book.

A major reason for the emergence of Haitian transnationalism, according to Glick Schiller and Fournon, is the racial discrimination that Haitians

encounter in the United States, which makes it difficult for them to perceive American society as their new home. Rather than considering themselves Americans, they therefore see themselves as Haitians and maintain close ties with family and friends in Haiti. Another important reason for the development of transnational ties, they argue, can be found in the extreme economic, social, and political hardships suffered by the population in Haiti, which create, for those who have been fortunate enough to migrate to the United States, a strong obligation to help by sending economic remittances and other kinds of aid. These two factors contribute to the development of extensive networks of ties that integrate Haitians in Haiti and the United States into a tightly knit transnational community. In an ethnographically thick and insightful account of Fouron's visit to Haiti in 1996, the authors detail the intricate and elaborate economic and social transactions that this community requires at a personal level – not just the extensive distribution of material goods and money brought from the United States, but also constant encounters with people who express requests, expectations and just hopes for a better life to the presumably well-to-do relative and compatriot.

The burden of meeting a seemingly ever-growing need for help is overwhelming and endless, the authors argue, because conditions in Haiti have continually deteriorated during the last decades of the twentieth century, when Fouron and other Haitians migrated to New York. The problem is that Haiti is only what they term an “apparent state.” As the United States and international lending agencies set the terms for social and economic development (p. 227), the governments in Haiti and many other countries have “almost no independent authority to make meaningful changes within their territorial borders” (p. 211). Haitians, however, continue to regard their state as responsible for their well-being, and appeal to compatriots abroad to become engaged in the Haitian cause. Since Haitian migrants remain involved emotionally, socially, and economically in their country of origin, they contribute to making an “apparent state” like Haiti viable and thereby help to “revitalize the illusion of national sovereignty” (p. 209). Most Haitians see little possibility of disengaging themselves from their commitments to Haiti, partly because of their personal ties to people who obviously need help, partly because Haiti offers an important source of pride and identification in American society, where they are regarded as blacks with no history and culture of their own (pp. 38-39).

Both these books present new and interesting perspectives on Caribbean (and other) migration to New York; both are written in an unusually clear and straightforward prose that could serve as a model for other scholars. It is apparent that the authors are not only presenting the results of scholarly investigations, but also an area of research that is of personal interest to them as citizens in a society of immigrants. This makes for engaged and interesting reading, but it also, at times, makes for somewhat programmatic statements, particularly when, in each of the two books, the future of transnational relations among migrants and their descendants is being discussed.

Foner notes, after considered analysis of existent studies of transnational immigrant New Yorkers, that it is too early to say anything about whether transnational relations will be maintained in the long run. She suggests that more research is needed on the importance of such ties for the second generation of children who are born and raised in the United States (p. 242). Yet on the next page, she states that these same children will be “primarily oriented to people, institutions, and places in this country – and it is the implications of growing up in America, not ties to their parents’ homelands, that should be our primary object of study” (p. 243). Glick Schiller and Fouron, predictably, present an entirely different conclusion. They call for a reconceptualization of the whole notion of the second generation, so that it comes to include not only those “born and living in the United States,” but also “people born in Haiti who live within transnational fields” (p. 176). Members of this transnational second generation, they state, do not grow up under the same conditions, but they “share a nostalgia for the Haiti that never was and a commitment to a Haiti that will be” (pp. 176-77). “This shared destination,” they add later, “binds Haitians across national borders and generations” (p. 177).

These books basically disagree about whether future generations of immigrant Americans should be studied as people “growing up in America” or growing up in “transnational fields.” Good ethnographic fieldwork with the immigrants’ children, wherever they are, could help clarify this by elucidating how they experience growing up inside and outside the national and transnational institutions and fields of relations they engage.

The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870-1960. LARA PUTNAM. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xi + 303 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 19.95)

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Rarely have the working men and women of the Caribbean been depicted in such rich and vivid detail, and rarely has the migrant circuit been such a coherent centerpiece to a study of working life and culture. In Limón, Costa Rica, during the years Lara Putnam examines in *The Company They Kept*,

two migrant worlds overlap: the Central American, encompassing primarily Nicaragua, Guanacaste, and the Costa Rican Central Valley (which Putnam refers to as “Hispanic”), and the Caribbean, encompassing the British islands and the Central American Caribbean coastline from Colombia to Guatemala (which she refers to as “West Indian”). These two worlds are distinguished by national origin, skin color, language, and what is variously understood as race or ethnicity. But two other worlds, that of migrant men and that of migrant women, cut across the ethnic categories. Putnam manages to skillfully navigate these various worlds, never assuming and never over-generalizing, but always staying close to the words and actions of these working men and women themselves.

The book’s arguments are many and multilayered, and its strengths are abundant. Perhaps the central issue Putnam wishes to interrogate is the nature of working-class culture, male and female, in the context of state formation and multinational expansion, both of which structure life on Costa Rica’s Caribbean coast. In contrast to what scholars have found in other cases, however, neither deliberate state nor multinational projects seem decisive or even particularly influential in shaping the cultural sphere in Costa Rica’s banana zone.

Nor are the sending cultures of the two groups the key to understanding their behavior in the plantation zone as other scholars have assumed. Putnam does briefly sketch the history and historiography of Jamaica, the main Caribbean sending site, and Costa Rica with respect to family and gender. In both cases, structural conditions were far more important than elite values or official projects in shaping the evolution of popular ideas and practice (pp. 15, 21). Once in the Limón banana zone, structural conditions continue to play a key role in shaping migrants’ lives, ideas, and behavior (p. 154).

Rather than controlling ideas and behavior, culture provides a variety of models or “scripts” which are available to individuals. Indeed, Putnam argues that the literature on honor, shame, and patriarchy in Latin American studies and that on reputation, respectability, and matriarchy in the Caribbean need to be “read in tandem” and that “Hispanic and West Indian migrants show considerable cultural overlap” (pp. 140, 141). But structural conditions and cultural background can do no more than create context or suggest scripts. “The divergent patterns of men’s and women’s lives were forged in the daily give-and-take through which migrants reworked the cultural scripts they brought to the coast, trying to keep their feet in a new and shifting setting” (p. 215). Within the context, and making use of the scripts, working people continually made and remade their own histories.

Putnam explores popular ideas and practice in an almost dazzling variety of imaginative ways. The heart of the book is made up of four chapters that focus on prostitution, varieties of kinship, insults, and power and violence. The theme of gender links these seemingly disparate topics in several ways.

The first is women's autonomy, and the ways that women maneuvered in a world that seemed to offer them few choices, to maintain economic stability, raise children, create networks of solidarity, and maintain dignity and status. The fluid nature of migrant society opened options for women in terms of economic independence and ties of female solidarity. Yet women's very independence made them vulnerable to male violence. Limón had the highest rates of deadly violence against women in Costa Rica, Putnam argues, because of women's relative autonomy. "Where a woman on her own could earn a decent living and where new suitors were standing in line, individual men's authority within intimate relationships depended on force" (p. 194).

A second theme is the nature of masculinity, and the various "scripts" available to men to define themselves in the world of the plantation. Violence and power, she argues, were inherent to definitions of manhood among all races and social groups. At the public level, in the absence of effective institutions, "the threats and bloodshed reflected neither a coercive project from above nor a revolutionary wave from below... Rather, bloodshed between bosses and workers was part of a spectrum of masculine confrontation through which power relations were tested, adjusted, confirmed" (p. 182). At the intimate level, Costa Rica's legal system essentially authorized male violence against women, justifying murder, for example, in the case of adultery (p. 190). However, the manifestation of aggressive masculinity is one area in which Putnam sees cultural heritage as playing a role: "West Indian men were less likely than Hispanic men to kill each other in duels and in drunken brawls, which I attributed to a repertory of masculinity in which nonviolent exits – laughter, self-parody – were easier to reach for" (p. 215).

Working for a wage was another measure of male identity. While employers could benefit from the competitive nature of this identity, "notions of male honor were perfectly consistent with class consciousness, its articulation, and its sometimes violent expression" (p. 202). West Indian and Hispanic workers shared a vision of masculinity that valued collective as well as individual strength and valor.

Interestingly, masculinity is a much more salient theme in the book than femininity. Women struggle to survive and to gain self-respect and the respect of others in a way that is much less self-consciously gendered than the way men do. I would have liked to see the author engage with this apparent disjuncture in her findings. However, this is a small lack in a book so full of information and insight.

Black Seminoles in the Bahamas. ROSALYN HOWARD. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xvii + 150 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00, Paper US\$ 24.95)

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I looked forward with anticipation to reviewing this book on the Black Seminoles of the Bahamas, the least-known community of the Seminole Maroon diaspora. Rosalyn Howard has collected both archival and oral historical material and combined it with ethnographic research conducted primarily in the community of Red Bays, Andros Island. However, the book's many omissions diminish the scholarly quality of the work and overshadow its contribution to our knowledge of Seminole Maroon history.

Howard states that her mission is "to address the historical, structural amnesia that obscures African and indigenous peoples' interactions and negates their integral roles in the historiography of the Americas and the Caribbean," thus consigning them to an "obscure footnote" (pp. xvi-xvii; 1). She attributes this neglect to a Eurocentric "hegemonic project" that she undertakes to counter in her study (pp. 1-2). She is equally critical of what she terms "traditional" historical studies of the American Southeast, asserting that they have "systematically ignored" the unique relationship formed between the Seminoles and Africans in Florida (p. 16). However, she provides no examples of the supposedly deficient "traditional" studies, and makes no attempt to discuss critically or even cite most of the existing scholarly literature. This leads readers to conclude either that Howard is unaware of the significant and growing body of historical and anthropological studies dealing with contacts between Africans and aboriginal peoples in the Americas, or that she has chosen to ignore or reject the majority of it. If the former, it is difficult to understand how she could have embarked upon her research without any kind of grounding in the literature; if the latter, she should tell us *why* she considers previous studies irrelevant.

Howard's failure to locate her study within an existing body of knowledge makes it difficult for readers to evaluate the book's contribution to any particular area of study. In the first chapter, where one might expect to see an overview of the relevant literature, she instead presents an extremely cursory discussion encompassing the political economy of slavery; frontier labor

requirements; slavery in the Carolinas; and resistance and maroon communities – all in seven pages. This chapter contributes nothing new nor does it address the chapter's title of "The Significance of African and Indigenous Peoples' Contacts in the Americas." The discussion of the ethnogenesis and historical background of the Seminoles and Seminole Maroons in the next chapter is somewhat more developed, yet we are left wondering just who the ancestors of the Andros community were, what their relationships may have been to one another and to the Seminoles, and how they resembled or differed from the maroon communities that remained affiliated with the Seminoles in Florida. One clue is provided by the names of the Andros settlers listed on the 1828 roster of "foreign Negro slaves." Many individuals were listed with a surname, and with a few exceptions, such as Bowlegs, the names are quite distinct from those of the Seminole Maroons who ended up in Oklahoma, Texas, and Mexico. This could prove a fruitful topic for further investigation.

Howard collected oral traditions about the arrival in the Bahamas of the ancestors of the Andros Black Seminoles and about the community's connections to the Florida Seminoles. But again, her analysis of this material suffers from the lack of a comparative perspective that could have helped her to interpret and contextualize what she was being told. Based on the brief excerpts included in the book, the Andros oral histories seem to focus on the founders' trip by canoe and raft from Florida; the sites on Andros where the original settlers landed, and the locations where they subsequently established communities; connections among families; and a rather vague sense of the ancestors' affiliation with the Seminoles. In other words, the stories focus on their origins (through escape); their settlement of the land and relationship to it; kinship and group cohesiveness; and the aspect of their history that makes them unique (in this case, their "Seminoleness"). I think that it is not too great a generalization to say that these emphases can be found, in varying combinations, in the oral traditions of most maroon societies throughout the Americas.

The ethnographic portions of the book describe a community that has remained isolated by choice, and that is regarded by other Bahamians as consisting of people who are just a bit on the "wild" side, which is quite similar to the situation of the Oklahoma and Texas Seminole Maroons, and is based upon the same belief in the "mixed" Indian and African ancestry of those groups. Howard's brief discussion of kinship and domestic organization within the Red Bays community needs much more grounding in the Caribbean literature and in studies of other communities comprising people of African and Indian origins (such as the Garífuna [Black Caribs] and Miskito) where the complex relationship between domestic organization and group identity has been explored.

My overall sense of this book is that it was published prematurely, before Howard had taken the time to reflect upon her dissertation research, immerse herself in the relevant literature, and think seriously about how her work

could contribute to the bigger picture of the Seminole Maroon diaspora, and our understanding of maroon communities. As is, the book presents more of a sampling of a variety of topics and perspectives (e.g., oral history, domestic organization, group identity) rather than a thoroughgoing discussion and analysis of any particular subject. There are enough leads and tantalizing bits of information here to provide others with topics for further research, but unfortunately, Howard does little with her research data herself.

The Belizean Garífuna: Organization of Identity in an Ethnic Community in Central America. CAREL ROESSINGH. Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 2001. 264 pp. (Paper € 21.50)

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The subjects of Carel Roessingh's book, who have a complex history of contested and shifting identities, are known to anthropologists and historians by a variety of names. One of the earliest on record, reportedly self-chosen and strategic for dealing with Europeans, was *les Caraïbes noirs*, or Black Caribs. Europeans referred to them as well by other, pejorative names such as "Wild Negroes." After their deportation from the island of St. Vincent to the western Caribbean at the end of the eighteenth century, the Black Caribs became *los Caribes negros* in Spanish Central America and simply Caribs in the colony of British Honduras.

As a people who fought to remain free while living on the margins of slavery-based plantation societies in the West Indies, they have been classified as maroons. Because of their African ancestry, in Central America they have often been identified with Creoles and *morenos*. Their Amerindian heritage and language have led some observers to associate them with neighboring Miskito Indians in Nicaragua.

During the 1980s in Belize, they began to identify themselves to others by using names from their own language: Garífuna (singular) and Garinagu (plural). By the last decade of the twentieth century they were formally recognized as an indigenous people of the Caribbean region and routinely

referred to as Garifuna or Garinagu by scholars and politicians. The shifting and sometimes confusing nomenclature had stabilized by the 1990s when Carel Roessingh focused his research in Belize on Garifuna ethnic identity and national identity.

His book is based in part on field and archival research that he carried out during four trips of unspecified length between 1990 and 1994. During each spell of fieldwork he visited or lived in two communities – a multiethnic town, Dangriga, where Garinagu form a majority of the population, and the nearby village of Hopkins, where nearly all of the residents are Garinagu. This provided an opportunity to learn how ethnic and national identity are expressed and experienced in two different settings. To this end, he also interviewed several widely recognized “gatekeepers” of Garifuna culture in Belize, all of them in their sixties or seventies and residents of Dangriga or Hopkins.

Transcriptions of the interviews appear in one of the book’s six central chapters. These chapters provide an overview of what Roessingh considers the primary markers of Garifuna ethnic identity. Most Belizean Garinagu, as well as their ethnographers, would no doubt agree that these include their language, history, ancestral rituals, music and dance, foods, and certain distinctive aspects of material culture. Describing these in some detail, Roessingh draws on his own fieldwork and also quite extensively on the large body of published ethnographic research that has been contributed by several generations of scholars. They include Belizean Garinagu as well as European and North American cultural anthropologists and linguists who worked in Belize during the last half of the twentieth century. By incorporating material from so many secondary sources, he provides a useful synopsis of a widely scattered body of work.

His conceptual framework, outlined in the book’s first chapter, builds on several propositions that characterize a “basic anthropological model” of ethnicity (p. 26). One of these is that ethnicity has both collective and individual, external and internal dimensions. With reference to individual, internal aspects of ethnic identity, Roessingh concludes that the ways in which Garinagu experience their ethnicity differ by degree. At one end of the spectrum is commitment to ethnicity as “a way of life” (p. 197), and at the other end, denial. Intermediate positions range from partial acceptance to situational and strategic use. He finds that ethnic identity and national identity are not competing identities for Garinagu in Belize.

It is proverbial that one can’t judge a book by its cover. *The Belizean Garifuna* appropriately bears the photograph of an old woman wearing a *musue*, the headscarf that immediately identifies a woman in Belize as Garifuna; and some passages in the book suggest that older adults, and especially women, show greater commitment to ethnic identity than younger people do. This is something that I have observed in Belize; ethnic identity as Garifuna seems often to become more meaningful with increasing age. The

questions of how age and gender figure in the expression and experience of ethnic identity, and why, do not receive attention here. Rather, Roessingh's interest lies in showing that a strong sense of identity as a Garífuna does not foster separatism or preclude a strong sense of national identity as a Belizean. In doing so, he provides a comprehensive account of Garífuna history and life in Belize at the end of the twentieth century.

Cuba: una literatura sin fronteras / Cuba: A Literature beyond Boundaries. SUSANNA REGAZZONI (ed.). Madrid: Iberoamericana/Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Vervuert, 2001. 148 pp. (Paper € 12.80)

Boricua Literature: A Literary History of the Puerto Rican Diaspora. LISA SÁNCHEZ GONZÁLEZ. New York: New York University Press, 2001. viii + 216 pp. (Paper US\$ 18.50)

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These would be important books simply on the strength of the subject matter covered in each: Cuba and Puerto Rico share a common cultural history and both texts identify and, to a large extent, explore the literary histories of these two Hispanic Caribbean countries. In each there is an appreciation of the cultural dynamic that constitutes the literary histories of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Susanna Regazzoni's introductory chapter "Cuba, cubanidad y cubanía: Identidad y escritura" offers a dense overview of several areas of interest or concern in present-day Cuba: authors of renown both past and present both on and off the island, the economic embargo, proximity to the United States, exile, socialism's international fall from grace, the Cuban diaspora, and race relations. The essay ends with a short biographical overview and commentary on the oeuvres of Cuban authors Mayra Montero (who lives in Puerto Rico) and Mirta Yáñez and Abilio Estévez (who live in Havana), showing how their writings (re)present good examples of the variety in themes and differing narrative styles and techniques present in Cuban literature today.

The book is further enriched by its two-part presentation. Part One, "Crítica," centers on critical scholarly writing; the much shorter Part Two,

"Creación," comprises one story in the *testimonio* genre and one short story. "Domicilio desconocido," by Nancy Alonso, is a narrator's nostalgic memory of Cuba while serving in Africa, and in "Nada, salvo el aire" by Mirta Yáñez, the narrator holds a short conversation in a park with an indigent vagabond. In both, the protagonists reinforce the idea of freedom of thought and the popular voice, as tools that express Caribbean identity. Another appealing aspect of the work lies in the all-inclusive nature of the seven essays in Part One, which cover several literary genres and focus specifically on Cuban women writers.

In Chapter 1, "Las antepasadas," Regazzoni (Venice) documents a literary history of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda and La Condesa de Merlin (María de la Merced Santa Cruz y Montalvo), presenting them as literary "mothers" of Cuban feminist thought in the case of the former, and of a literature that first dealt with the concept of identity and exile in the case of the latter. In "Autoras cubanas en España durante el siglo XIX," the Spaniard María del Carmen Simón Palmer provides an overview of the theme of exile as presented in the works of Cuban writers living in Spain in the nineteenth century. In the main this chapter will be of great interest to scholars for its extensive bibliography of published works and for its biographical information on these exiled Cuban authors. In addition, it features a listing of scholarly writing on the works of Gómez de Avellaneda.

Also of interest in this text is the editor's inclusion of a most welcome chapter, "From Exile to Double Minority: Women Writers in Cuban Exile Theatre," by American (Miami-based) critic Maida Watson. One of only two essays in the book that are written in English, it explains that this largely unknown body of literature comprises an extensive corpus of writing; Watson both provides an overview and presents the thematic foci of several of the plays discussed.

Feminist criticism only came to life in Cuba in the 1980s. In "Fragmentos de un (cotidiano) discurso amoroso," Irina Bajini (Milan) suggests that Cuban *écriture féminine* began with poets Carilda Oliver Labra, Fina García-Marruz, and Dulce María Loynaz, and she praises these women who in their poetic musings explored language, as well as language use and its vital link to identity. Narrative informs the final three chapters of the book and specifically that of Cristina García and Mylene Fernández Pintado. In "From 'the-world-in-the-home to the-home-in-the-world': Cristina García's *The Agüero Sisters*," Daniela Ciani Forza (Venice), writing in English, suggests that García's novel provides readers with an in-depth exploration of Cuban cultural identity by means of an examination of the fluidity of history.

To end the book, Diony Durán (Cuba) sheds some light on Mylene Fernández Pintado both in an essay entitled "Wendy quiere volar" and in a lengthy interview with Fernández Pintado that reveals thematic areas of concern as well as her obsession with writing, with the future, and with love. There can be no doubt that the diversity of backgrounds of the critics included in this collection increases its appeal. Ironically, they add to the comment on hybridity that is a central element in Cuban identity.

In *Boricua Literature*, Lisa Sánchez González explores themes of race, identity, life writing, and music, presenting them as markers of national and ethnic identity. A part of the interest of her book results from the varied ways in which it contributes to our understanding of Puerto Rico, its diaspora, and its incipient survival in the context of a crushing U.S. hegemony. However, in the same vein, Sánchez González is clear from the onset that her intention is to “explore the diaspora as an integral community with its own political, aesthetic, and philosophical agency and agendas” (p. 17). Moreover she purports to assess this literature based on “its own specific assessment of its own unique predicament as a U.S. community of color” (p. 17). This text is long overdue in Puerto Rican Studies scholarship. Chapter 1, “For the Sake of Love: Luisa Capetillo, Anarchy and Boricua Literary History,” is a study of this radical anarcho-feminist. Luisa Capetillo’s writing is presented as a unique work which embodies an invaluable knowledge of Puerto Rican cultural history. Chapter 2, “Boricua Modernism,” argues that the work of Arturo Schomburg and William Carlos Williams epitomizes a generation of Puerto Rican writers who build a cultural literary history, reaffirming them as *Boricua* icons of modernism and negating their historically accepted status as founding fathers of American modernism.

Although none of the chapters gloss over the problems inherent in any discourse on identity and literary history, several stand out for their attention to detail and in-depth argumentation. Chapter 3, “A Boricua in the Stacks,” for example, presents the life and work of Pura Teresa Blepré, an Afro-Latina, Boricua, children’s librarian, researcher, civil rights activist, storyteller, and writer. Sánchez González reiterates throughout the text that Blepré’s work would have continued to exist within “a pattern of neglect” (p. 84) were it not for her concern with the expression of Puerto Rican identity and her insistence on the value of confronting issues of race, gender, and culture in narrating or exploring “Boricua” critical consciousness.

The next chapter, “‘I Like to Be in America’ [*sic*]: Three Women’s Texts,” also stands out because it at once details the “minority condition” and posits the theory that most “Latinos” – or in this case “Latinas” – allow the United States to commodify them. Puerto Rican culture, Sánchez González argues, is corrupted to please a U.S. publishing market. She bases this on extensive explorations of the works of Carmen de Monteflores, Judith Ortiz Cofer, and Esmeralda Santiago. This chapter can only be deemed obligatory for any serious scholar of Puerto Rican studies or Caribbean cultural studies.

The final chapter, “¡Ya deja eso! Toward an Epi-fenomenal Approach to Boricua Cultural Studies,” reclaims salsa both as a social text and as a vibrant link between Puerto Rican and other communities of color. Sánchez González reclaims this oral art form from the racist definitions that have been placed on it by Western culture.

While any Caribbean scholar or student of Caribbean literature and history should consider this book essential, it must be noted that its scope is large and that parts of it are a difficult read because of the theoretical language. However, the result is a variety in scope, coverage, and aesthetic.

Overall, these two texts offer succinct coverage of a broad range of fields, providing in-depth documentation, analysis, and criticism. At the start of the twenty-first century, both underscore the merit that should be afforded to Caribbean cultural and women studies.

Passages II: Histoire et pouvoir dans la littérature antillo-guyanaise. ANGE-SÉVERIN MALANDA. Paris: Editions du Citef, 2002. 245 pp. (€ 23.00)

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At first sight, the title of Malanda's essay promises to provide a better understanding of the relationship between history and power in French-Caribbean and French-Guyanese literature, the latter being generally overlooked, in sharp contrast with the literature produced in Martinique and Guadeloupe. French Guiana of course has fewer well-known writers, but the few (Serge Patient, Elie Stéphenson, and Bertène Juminer) who, since Damas, have continually struggled for greater recognition of Cayenne and the "*arrière-pays*" do deserve to be given more critical attention.¹

Malanda's essay attempts to establish a genuine dialogue between concepts springing from a variety of horizons and disciplines, and to apply those theoretical tools to a body of literature from both the French Antilles and French Guiana. Malanda is a well-read scholar, and he includes solid references in his work. His approach is enriched by concepts of French philosophers (Derrida, Deleuze, Bourdieu, Althusser, Aron, de Certeau, and even Léo Apostel, a philosopher from the University of Ghent [p. 192]), and his knowledge of anthropologists (Lévi-Strauss, André, Hazard), lin-

1. The website for these authors is currently in preparation: <http://www.lehman.cuny.edu/ile.en.ile>

guists (Greimas, Jakobson), psychoanalysts (Freud, Lacan), literary theorists (Genette, Barthes, Caillois), and critics is sound.

In Chapter 1, Malanda summarizes the rare essays and surveys that have been done of Guianese literature, with critical words for almost everyone who has taken tentative steps to make this literature known. He is disappointed in the authors of the *Introduction à la littérature guyanaise* (1996), Monique Blérald and her husband Biringanine Ndagano, both of whom teach at the Cayenne campus of the Université des Antilles-Guyane. Locating themselves “halfway between the defenders of *créolité* and those of *guyanité*,” he writes, “they close themselves off from the lessons of narrative and discursive semiotics, theories of historicity, and theories of the process of knowledge, esthetics, and poetics” (p. 21). Malanda is equally negative about writers from the Caribbean. Raphaël Confiant and Patrick Chamoiseau are criticized for minimizing the impact and legacies of slavery in French Guiana and for insisting, in their *Lettres créoles*, on a separation between literature of the French Antilles, on the one hand, and that of French Guiana on the other (p. 20). While I can agree with Malanda’s plea for a more unified treatment, I consider his harsh treatment of others who have written substantial criticism on the literary production in the French Antilles unjustified. Mireille Rosello, Richard Burton, and even Maryse Condé are in his opinion “neither renewing nor innovating in any way the methods of reading and approaches to interpretation” (p. 23). Their work suffers, according to him, from the fact that they have mainly studied French Caribbean literature from a thematic perspective.

This being said, Malanda promises to interrogate the relationship between history and power in Antillo-Guyanese literature. Much to my surprise, however, most of the authors whom Malanda discusses and whose work he analyzes are from the *départements d’outre-mer* (Confiant, Condé, Schwarz-Bart), and not from French Guiana. Apart from his discussion of the poet Elie Stéphenson (*Ou [sic] se trouvent les orangers*, p. 142), his attention goes mainly to authors who have already benefited from widespread critical attention: Confiant in Martinique, Roumain and Alexis in Haiti, and Condé and Schwarz-Bart in Guadeloupe.

The moment when Malanda writes at his best and really examines the nature of an author’s *mimésis* is when he tackles Martinique’s most famous pair of authors. He argues that Chamoiseau, while addressing the problem of widespread domination in the French departments, is basically unable to understand the structures and methods that make such total domination possible (p. 120). Indeed, the real issue is the question of the *paralogismes aporétiques* of the *créolité* movement (p. 121), the *dénégation de la dénégation* of Martinique’s most subversive, controversial author, Raphaël Confiant. Breaking with the general “hagiographic trend” (p. 185) of French literary criticism pertaining to Martinique and Guadeloupe, he unravels some of

the paradoxes and inconsistencies of Martinique's most prominent authors. There is much to say, I agree, about the "posture" that Confiant takes and the violent accusations he levels at Aimé Césaire. Like Annie LeBrun, Roger Toumson, and Maryse Condé before him, Malanda takes on the legitimate defense of Césaire, the founder of Martinican poetry and the "father" of French Caribbean literature. Coming from an African scholar, the charge that Chamoiseau and Confiant have engaged in "*la conjuration ou l'élimination de l'Afrique*" (the erasure of Africa) has to be taken seriously. Other critics and readers have also picked up on this and interpreted it as patent proof of denial, a "*complexe de culture narcissique*" (p. 193). In unmasking these authors in particular, and the whole movement of *créolité* more generally, Malanda is right to point out the "excès de la perception carnavalesque du monde" (p. 53) and to argue that "la dénégation de la dénégation va très loin; elle assure la promotion de n'importe quoi: toute puissance de la haine de la pensée, nouvelle mise en scène du génie de la déraison" (p. 186).

In the final chapter of the book, Malanda surprises us with what was really at the core of his preoccupations, the relationship (or better, distance) between language and reality, the question of orality and writing, of reading and writing, of "affects, percepts and concepts" (p. 18). Here he shows how the language of black diaspora authors is a language reinvented and recreated, a language that is precisely retaught to represent the gap and the "broken word," the dispersion of meaning when it comes to represent the Middle Passage, the plantation universe with its violences, and the series of centuries-long oppression, racism, and discrimination. He proves this by twice quoting the same lines by Foucault (pp. 150, 197), and alluding to Toni Morrison (pp. 196-97), who indeed has beautifully shown in *Beloved* (1987) how the slave's experience is "beyond" language, how the alphabet is "*en-deça*" of the Peculiar's Institution's "unthinkable and unspoken" brutalities against blacks. He quotes from her important essay, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992), and from Foucault:

La littérature, ce n'est pas le langage se rapprochant de soi jusqu'au point de sa brûlante manifestation, c'est le langage se mettant au plus loin de lui-même; et si en cette mise hors de soi, il dévoile son être propre, cette clarté soudaine révèle un écart plutôt qu'un repli, une dispersion plutôt qu'un retour des signes sur eux-mêmes. (cited on p. 197)

Having read this essay, I am not convinced that Malanda has succeeded in his goal of "methodological innovation," or even in fulfilling the promise of his title to supply a sound study of the relationship between "power" and "history" in French Guianese and Antillean literature. While attempting to cast light on this neglected area of postcolonial literature, and to extrapolate postmodern and poststructuralist concepts, he only rarely succeeds in applying Freudian notions such as *le malaise de la culture* (p. 60) to Francophone

Caribbean literatures, as seen in several novels of a carnivalesque nature. Indeed, another interesting example is the discussion of Derrida's concepts of *polemos* and *eros* in Césairean theater (p. 102). Aside from these interesting and insightful pages, readers will learn little about French Guianese literature and its representations of "power" and "history."

Overall, this is a richly documented essay and a highly polemical approach to the recent (dominant) movement in French Caribbean literature. Aside from minor weaknesses, for example, misspellings such as Wilmor instead of Wilnor (p. 138) or Simone Henry Valmore instead of Simonne Henry-Valmore (p. 135), overly long sentences, which make the reading at times difficult, and loose grammatical structures, one can only praise Malanda for his daring demonstration of some of the most obvious paradoxes in Martinican literature, for his effort to cast light on a largely neglected area of postcolonial literature (French Guiana), and for the extrapolation of post-modern and poststructuralist concepts to this "peripheral" body of writing. On the other hand, another format and the use of an index would have made for more agreeable reading.

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Mother Imagery in the Novels of Afro-Caribbean Women. SIMONE A. JAMES ALEXANDER. Columbia MO: University of Missouri Press, 2001. x + 215 pp. (Cloth US\$ 32.50)

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Like just about every other critical study of Caribbean literature, this one focuses on identity, the predominant concern of Caribbean writers. Here the subject is the search for identity by female characters in the novels of three authors, Jamaica Kincaid, Maryse Condé, and Paule Marshall, as well as, by

extension, the authors themselves and black women readers. Although the focus is on women, Alexander accords considerable discussion to some male characters, notably Deighton Boyce, in Marshall's *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, Ibrahima Sory, in Condé's *Heremakhonon*, and Lebert Joseph, in Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow*. Indeed this last figure ranks with such other characters as Mama Yaya in Condé's *I, Tituba, Black Witch of Salem* and Ma Chess in Kincaid's *Annie John* in emphasizing the importance of the role of the mediator in directing the protagonist toward a sense of self, which is also a sense of community and history.

Alexander's reason for choosing these three authors is somewhat muddled. Although, she says, "Caribbean women authors and their writings have received little critical attention, and as such their works have seldom been given the serious scholarly attention or sustained critical scrutiny they deserve" (p. 1), she concentrates on the three who have received the most attention, apparently because they have received it, not because, as she contends, of "their unique perspective" in sharing "blackness, femaleness, and Caribbeaness" (p. 2), all of which the neglected authors likewise share. Thus what we have in this book is, except for Alexander's notable interview with Condé (not listed in the bibliography), a reiteration of previous readings by other critics meshed with Alexander's own reading, at the expense of leaving the unrecognized Caribbean authors and their writings still unrecognized. Readers are teased with Selwyn Cudjoe's contention that Caribbean women's writings "cannot be viewed in isolation" (p. 2) and Toni Morrison's observation that black writers have more "affinity for the village or village values" (p. 191) than white writers because urban settings offer them less of a sense of belonging. But Alexander seldom allows comparisons with other authors to infiltrate her study of Kincaid, Condé, and Marshall. Not only would some comparisons with other Caribbean women writers be welcome (remedying to some degree their having been ignored), but the inclusion of some comparisons with other postcolonial and civil rights women writers of the diaspora (Cudjoe), with white writers (Morrison), and with writers of "mainstream European culture," with whom "Caribbean women's writing is in dialogue" (p. 2) (Alexander), would have enriched and advanced the discussion. Moreover, because Alexander focuses on the significance and pivotal role of the "ancestral presence" in the search for identity, one automatically yearns for some reference to African women's writings. Where and how are the values and teachings and traditions of the indispensable ancestral voice presented in African women's novels? Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* or Tsitsi Dangaremba's *Nervous Conditions*, for example, might have offered some valuable insights.

Alexander makes use of the vocabulary of a variety of other writers in her discussion of mother imagery, for instance, Susheila Nasta's "motherlands" (p. 3), Gloria Wade-Gayles's "othermother" (p. 7), Benedict Anderson's

“imagined communities” (p. 10), Erna Brodber’s “zombification” (p. 19), and Toni Morrison’s “another way of knowing things” (p. 137). All of these notions she uses to explore the basic theme of identity as characters confront motherlands and Motherlands; mothers, grandmothers, and surrogate mothers; natural mothers and spiritual mothers; Carib mothers and colonial mothers; living mothers and dead mothers. They search for imagined homelands, fight off colonization of the mind, and construct their own histories. The protagonists vary in the fulfillment of their quest, some of them ending up fragmented and alienated, but all who do make any progress do so because of the guidance of mothers who are part of a history that has not been written – ancestral mothers. Although there is some hope that some of these protagonists, like Annie in *Annie John* and Selina in *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, will ultimately attain a sense of self (Annie by leaving Antigua for England and Selina by leaving the United States for Barbados), it is Tituba in *I, Tituba, Black Witch of Salem* and Avey (Avatara) Johnson in *Praisesong for the Widow* who are the most successful in this endeavor. Moreover, aside from Annie, it is those characters who search in the Caribbean, the motherland, rather than in Africa, the Motherland, or in either the United States or England, the colonizing mother countries, who seem to have the most luck.

For both students and teachers, this volume is a good introduction to the works of Kincaid, Condé, and Marshall and a valuable source of information on their preoccupation with the search for identity. Just as important, it is a thoughtful response by a sensitive and probing critic to a topic that never ceases to be interesting and that any reader of this fiction will appreciate.

Islands at the Crossroads: Politics in the Non-Independent Caribbean. AARÓN GAMALIEL RAMOS & ANGEL ISRAEL RIVERA (eds.). Kingston: Ian Randle/Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001. xxi + 190 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

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Two centuries after the Haitian Revolution, the formal decolonization of the Caribbean is still incomplete, a situation not likely to change in any near future. Of the four major European colonizers, only Spain was forced to

retreat from the region. With Puerto Rico, which was taken by force from Spain, and the U.S. Virgins Islands, the United States has the largest share of the nonsovereign Caribbean, followed by France with its *départements d'outre-mer* (DOM), the Netherlands with the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, and the United Kingdom with its British Overseas Territories. In all, some 15 percent of all 37 million people living in the Caribbean inhabit non-sovereign territories. The overwhelming majority of citizens in these islands (and in the one continental territory, French Guiana) are adamantly opposed to a move toward full independence. This is not surprising, bearing in mind that standards of living in most of these territories are very high by sovereign Caribbean standards. Moreover, the citizens of these nonsovereign islands have metropolitan citizenship and thus full residence rights in the metropolis, which large numbers of them have indeed exercised. Moreover, there are metropolitan guarantees of territorial integrity and the observation of human rights and liberties which – to mention but some postwar republics – would well have served Guyana or Suriname.

There are, of course, drawbacks to this sheltered constitutional status. The most obvious of these is the issue of national identity and the frustrations which inevitably come with the continued subordination to the erstwhile colonizer. In fact, easily glossing over the constitutional subtleties of the various arrangements, the editors and several contributors to this collection of essays simply refer to the nonsovereign territories as “colonies.” Next there is the frustration, most strongly felt by local administrators, over metropolitan interference with local rule. Then there are two dimensions in which the presumed advantages of nonsovereignty produce unexpected disadvantages as well. Metropolitan protectionism and often massive financial transfers may have helped to boost per capita income, but also served to create uncompetitive consumer economies and, particularly for Puerto Rico and the DOMs, “aid addiction.” Likewise the easy outlet of migration may have served to release population pressure in these densely populated islands, but at the same time it results in a brain drain and an exclusive orientation toward the metropolis which serves to further isolate the islands from their Caribbean surroundings.

The body of scholarly literature on the nonsovereign Caribbean is anything but abundant. Moreover, fully in tune with real life intraregional divisions, most of this literature tends to lack a serious comparative perspective. *Islands at the Crossroads: Politics in the Non-Independent Caribbean* is therefore a very welcome addition to this literature. This collection of essays presents both useful analyses of the various blocs of nonsovereign Caribbean territories and two attempts by the editors to provide a comparative perspective and to chart courses for future development. Most of the contributions are well written, informative, and devoid of oblique ideological jargon. This is a commendable feat, as studies on the “colonial” Caribbean

tend to focus on identity issues in highly frustrated registers, leaving little room for nuance.

In the preface it becomes clear that the initiative to publish this volume was Puerto Rican. Yet the editors, both attached to the University of Puerto Rico, have managed to arrange for broad coverage. Of the eleven contributions to *Islands at the Crossroads*, three have a general focus: the introduction, the conclusion, and one paper discussing ways of allowing the non-sovereign Caribbean to participate more fully in the United Nations. Of the remaining eight chapters, two focus on Puerto Rico, no less than three on the French DOMs, two on the major Dutch Caribbean islands (Aruba and the largest island of the five-island Netherlands Antilles, Curaçao) and one on the British Overseas Territories. Unfortunately, the U.S. Virgins Islands and the Dutch Windward Antilles, of which St. Martin is the most important, are not discussed. In the introduction and conclusion one does sense an emphasis on Puerto Rican concerns. This does not really need much excuse. After all, of the 5.3 million citizens living in the nonsovereign Caribbean, 3.8 million are Puerto Ricans.

In his introduction, Ramos rightly states that “Political life in the colonies is thus determined by a deep-seated tension between seemingly contradictory inclinations: the preservation of social and economic gains, and the consolidation of the cultural communities” (p. xvii). In the conclusion, Rivera attempts to point a way out in which the nonsovereign Caribbean will obtain far more autonomy without as yet attaining full sovereignty. His vision, sadly at odds with the reality of the past decades, includes a gradual diminishing of the gaps between the sovereign and nonsovereign Caribbean, more “interdependent dependency” and the eventual creation of a “supranational regional identity” (p. 175) – all of this in a region still seemingly hopelessly divided by colonial legacies and contemporary interests and alliances.

Two critical observations seem appropriate. First, there is a remarkable neglect of the significance of the diaspora in the metropolitan centers. Thus, no serious discussion of the political clout of these overseas communities, nor an attempt to fully explore the consequences of the emergence of truly transnational communities to the never-ceasing language debates in Puerto Rico and the Netherlands Antilles.

Second, in one crucial aspect the editors have missed a golden opportunity. The very basic statistical profile at the end of the book leaves much to be desired. Ramos and Rivera apparently have not asked their contributors to provide data on issues such as per capita metropolitan transfers to their dependent territories, unemployment, and migration and the volume of the diaspora in the metropolis. Nor have they attempted to collect and compare such data by themselves. There are therefore only scattered references to some of these data throughout the book. This is an inexcusable shortcoming in a collection of essays that claims to provide a truly comparative perspec-

tive. (This complaint, I should perhaps elucidate, reflects my own frustration of having to spend several weeks collecting data before finally being able to fill in such statistics in the comparative chapters of a recently published study on Dutch decolonization policies in the Caribbean [Oostindie & Klinkers 2003]. The absence of any serious previous attempt to compare such data illustrates how the study of the nonsovereign Caribbean has suffered from a neglect of hard facts.)

In spite of these flaws, the volume is a timely contribution to the scholarly literature on Caribbean decolonization and particularly on the present state of the nonsovereign Caribbean. Whether the optimistic projections offered by the editors will materialize remains to be seen. I, for one, find it difficult to believe that they will. In spite of the inevitable ambivalence and frustrations that go with their status of de facto subordination, the “colonies” will continue to prefer this sheltered existence above a move toward a risky full sovereignty. The metropolitan centers in turn will not be inclined to transfer substantial political power to these remnants of empire. Meanwhile, through a process of liberalization, economic performance might improve as all parties so desperately hope, yet it is highly unlikely that islands such as Puerto Rico, Martinique, or Curaçao will ever reach the standards of living and opportunity of their respective metropolises. Hence, in spite of the phenomenon of circular migration, a persistent surplus of migration to the erstwhile “mother country” will remain a prime ingredient of these postcolonial bonds.

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Opacity: Gender, Sexuality, Race, and the "Problem" of Identity in Martinique. DAVID A.B. MURRAY. New York: Peter Lang, 2002. xi + 188 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.95)

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The goal of David Murray's *Opacity* is to demonstrate how queer theory, combined with performativity theory, helps expose the instability and "opacity" of group identities, whether they are heterosexual, homosexual, racial, or gendered. During Murray's year-long residence in Martinique in 1992, he sought out prospects for his study of sexuality by joining a theater workshop located in the Cultural Action Center of the island's urban capital, Fort-de-France. The group of about fifteen people met over the course of a year; the first seven months were devoted to improvisational skits, and the following four to rehearsals for the play staged annually for a general audience.

Besides the small troupe of actors he worked with and the few gay men he met and relied on most heavily for his discourse analysis, Murray makes no mention of how many people he interviewed for his study. However, he does include occasional comments from others, such as a local administrator, a friend of a workshop participant, people on the street, men at a gay bar, and several Carnival participants and spectators.

The book, however, is not primarily about Martinique, but makes use of Murray's collection of ethnographic snapshots from the island to test the muscle of newer theories about identities. Queer theory positions itself as a necessary corrective to the idea of "essential" identities that continue to be assumed in many studies of social difference. In fact, because queer theory is so devoted to blurring group boundaries, it contests the identity politics that leads "homosexuals" to organize as a single group in order to win acceptance among "heterosexuals." Such efforts, say queer theorists, merely reinforce the binary oppositions that underlie political oppression.

Murray attempts to avoid this impasse, arguing for both the instability of sexuality as a category and its simultaneous political necessity. He also calls on Judith Butler's (1990:6) theory of "performativity" to show that it is through "the effects of discourse" that one experiences a subjectivity about the self and that these experiences are always ambiguous.

Opacity is theoretically mapped into two sections: "Privileged Performatives" and "Disruptive Performatives," according to the relative opportunities to interrupt or challenge normative discourses. The chapters of the first section are devoted to research in more explicitly public venues, including city streets and the city-financed theater workshop during the months of play rehearsal. Murray shows readers, for example, how, in public spaces, men reproduce the discourses of heterosexual masculinity in a variety of ways, such as when they express their desire for women, when they signal their fear of women, or when they insult homosexuals or behaviors they believe are associated with it. Gay men must also reproduce these narratives of desire when in public.

In the second section, Murray shows how less public spaces present greater opportunities for discourses that may disrupt assumed normative standards. He draws the material for these chapters from months of improvisational exercises with the theater group, informal discussions with gay men about their problems living in Martinique or Paris, their fantasies about life in Canada, and research into the sexually charged events and street parades of Carnival.

The overarching strength of *Opacity* lies in its theory-driven effort to make sense of disparate discourses and contradictory practices among a group of men who self-identify as *gai*. In addition, Murray's fieldwork represents both a bold attempt to document what lives in the shadows in Martinique and a conscious effort to implicate his own white, foreigner presence in the nature of responses he gets from informants.

The difficulties readers might encounter with *Opacity* relate partly to its strengths. Because Murray wants to show the instability of categories, he works to identify multiple voices and interpretations of a given topic, such as desire, oppression, etc. The problem is not the inclination to demonstrate instability through multiplicity, but the tendency to leave these multiple voices unexplored ethnographically. For example, Murray uses a single, disembodied statement from a woman he meets at a bus stop to make a point about local racial understandings. Elsewhere, he makes theoretical use of the jeering of teenagers in a balcony without bringing readers into a meaningfully developed ethnographic landscape. When the abstract idea about people is tethered to a world of real people with only a thin string, the argument itself risks losing its moorings altogether. The analytical claims in chapters that focus on the theater group are compelling precisely because they rise from a context.

From a strictly technical point of view, careful editing of the book could have simplified unduly complex language and eliminated whole passages that recur in the text. On page 34, for example, Murray notes, "I could find no straightforward correlations between the speaker's racial classification and that of his ideal partner." He then repeats the passage on page 119. The

repetition is particularly noticeable given Murray's general rejection of positivist research and the fact that his sample is not suited for such analysis.

On balance, however, the book makes an important contribution in its use of theory to break down the door of a closeted phenomenon in the Caribbean. With such an opening, it will now be easier for researchers to explore other dimensions of nontraditional sexualities, including the fullness of struggles, contradictions, and sites of liberation experienced by Caribbean women as well as men. We have much more to learn on the topic, and *Opacity* has taken a bold step in this important new direction.

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Comfa Religion and Creole Language in a Caribbean Community. KEAN GIBSON. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001. xvii + 243 pp. (Paper US\$ 21.95)

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Kean Gibson's *Comfa Religion and Creole Language in a Caribbean Community* is a thorough and insightful ethnographic analysis of a highly eclectic and often confusing Guyanese religion. Given the fact that Comfa and similar religions (Trinidadian Orisha, Haitian Vodoun, Brazilian Candomble, and others) have been forged by peoples who are pragmatically adapting Old World cultures to New World contingencies, "highly eclectic" and "confusing" are common assessments of these African-derived religions of the New World. In my mind, it is Gibson's working assumption that Comfa is a viable religion in its own right, quite independent of the "great" or "world" religions of Guyana (Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism), that enables her to conceptually wade through the various symbolic, ideological, and liturgical

manifestations of this religion and emerge with a coherent, clever, and readable analysis.

In her introduction, Gibson states that three primary objectives provided the motivation for writing the book. The first objective was to document the beliefs and practices of a religion that has been overlooked by other scholars; she accomplishes this and then some. Not only are the specific details of a number of different rites and ceremonies of Comfa provided, these rituals are also contextualized vis-à-vis the continuum of religious practices ranging from highly African (or “Creole”) to highly Christian.

Her second objective was to establish Comfa as an autonomous religion, certainly syncretic, transformative, and multicultural but, nevertheless, a significant “member” (with all the autonomy that label confers) of the community of religions one finds in Guyana. Unfortunately, up until perhaps the 1970s, the term “syncretism,” when invoked to characterize African-derived religions, was understood to be a pejorative term for describing what was considered by some to be no more than a hodgepodge of beliefs and practices derived from any number of different cultural traditions cobbled together in a haphazard fashion. This notion was only partly correct; the beliefs and practices were (and are) undeniably culturally diverse but the borrowing and incorporation that accompanies the syncretic process is rational and pragmatic. (See Houk 1995 for a discussion of a similar process that occurred in the Orisha religion in Trinidad, a religion that is similar in many ways to Comfa in Guyana.) In fact, all religions, from Buddhism to Christianity to Zoroastrianism, were syncretic in the rudimentary stages of their development. In the case of Comfa (and Orisha in Trinidad), we are actually witnessing the birth pangs of religions that are in the very early stages of what will apparently be a long developmental process.

This brings us to the final and, in my mind, the most important objective noted by Gibson in the introduction to the book: to demonstrate that the classical or traditional notion of decreolization is not credible. According to the classic model of decreolization, creole languages, and (by analogy) creole (or African-derived) religions, would gradually but inexorably undergo a transformation into forms that would increasingly resemble the “exemplar” – in the case of language, standard English (in former British colonies) and in the case of religion, Christianity. One is reminded here of the putative absolute and inherent “Truths” of the metanarratives of modernity that were embraced by the culturally myopic and ethnographically uninformed as standards by which ideologies of the “other” were to be judged. Again, Gibson successfully accomplishes her stated objective.

In the introduction, Gibson notes that she will attack the classical model of decreolization analytically and substantively (through “data analysis,” in her words) and also by demonstrating that the theory itself was the by-product of Eurocentric bias. I do have one small complaint here; one does not

establish the validity or wrongness of a theory by undermining the epistemology or intellectual mindset that produced it. Yes, Eurocentrism is a biased perspective that has produced a number of flawed and inaccurate notions and ideas concerning the non-European (or, more generally, non-Western) world. Nevertheless, the germ theory of disease, to cite one example, is superior to the Tsembaga's demon theory of disease in regard to the strict etiology of sickness (see Rappaport 1967). To be fair, Gibson does demonstrate that, at least in this case, the racial and cultural bias of Eurocentrism did, in fact, produce a theoretical model (decreolization) that appears to be at best dubious and at worst totally inaccurate. Her negative comments regarding the decreolization model notwithstanding, Gibson does note that the classical basilect/mesolect/acrolect continuum that accompanies the model can serve as a strictly descriptive tool; in fact, she notes that creole religion and language in Guyana could be considered basilects and mesolects with the appellation "acrolect" reserved for "standard" English and Christianity. I was a bit surprised (and, frankly, somewhat disappointed) that Gibson did not simply throw out the baby too; the etymology of terms such as *basilect* suggests a hierarchy within which some types are considered to have a lower status than others. I am quibbling a bit here, but I do feel that a change in terminology is called for.

Most Caribbean scholars will no doubt agree that this book is a valuable contribution to the academic literature on the region. Gibson's postmodernistic foray into the modernistic "metatheory" of decreolization is well documented, insightful, and convincing. I would consider this work a "must read" for those with interest in these areas.

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Hosay Trinidad: Muharram Performances in an Indo-Caribbean Diaspora.
FRANK J. KOROM. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. viii
+ 305 pages. (Cloth US\$ 62.50, Paper US\$ 24.95)

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This is an essentially ethnological study that seeks to trace the transmission, from Iran through India to Trinidad, of the sacred Shi'i or Shi'iah commemoration of the death of the Prophet Mohammed's grandson, Husayn, at Karbala in Iraq in 61 A.H./ 680 C.E.¹ The commemoration called by the creolized name, *Hosay*, in Trinidad takes place during the first ten days of the month of Muharram, the first month in the Islamic calendar.

The study consists of an introduction and six chapters, plus an epilogue, extensive endnotes, and a comprehensive bibliography. In his introduction Korom provides the rationale for choosing the concept of creolization, rather than synthesis or hybridization, to interpret the process of adaptation and accommodation that the commemorative rituals have undergone in India and Trinidad, a rationale to which he returns in his conclusion. His fundamental argument is that the concept of creolization is "an appropriate alternative to the outdated and problematic concept of syncretism," which allows him to "emphasize human agency, the conscious decisions made by human actors" in his analysis of the rite's historical transformation (p. 5); that hybridization is a postmodernist rendering of creolization; and that creolization is a "well-established part of Caribbeanist vocabulary" (p. 11). The last part of this rationale is undoubtedly true. As early as 1871, Rev. John Morton, head of the Canadian Mission Church in Trinidad, referred to the term *Hosay* as a "creolism" (*Trinidad Chronicle* April 11, 1871). It's debatable whether "creolization" (like its obverse, "decreolization") with its changing Latin/Caribbean nuances over time, should be applied to countries like India, as Korom does (p. 227). The concept was originally political and used to distinguish Hispanic whites born in Spanish America and the Caribbean (*Criollos*) from Hispanic whites born in Spain (*Peninsulares*). How over time and in what specific

1. Owing to a miscommunication, this review was accepted by two journals simultaneously – *NWIG* and the *Journal of Anthropological Research*. We regret the error.

contexts it came to be applied to French whites, to people of mixed ancestry, and eventually to people of African ancestry in the Latin/Caribbean region, as well as to their evolving cultures, could be a subject of fresh historical study, to which this work would make a significant contribution.

The creolization/decreolization dichotomy is linked to another – that between the esoteric and the exoteric (Arabic *bātin/zāhir*). Together these four concepts form the basis of Korom's interpretation of the evolution of the commemorative rites of Muharram through the centuries, following the migration and settlement of Shi'iah from Persia to India, and of Indians to Trinidad and other parts of the Caribbean. The argument is that because the Shi'iah were a small minority even among the Muslim component of the population of India and Trinidad (sometimes regarded with hostility by the Sunni majority or the colonial state, which were critical of some of the features of the street rituals – the exoteric or *zāhir* level of the commemoration), they had to build a popular base of support by accommodating and incorporating at the exoteric level of the commemoration some features of the popular culture in the host society. This is what facilitated the "creolization" of the commemoration in both India and Trinidad. This cultural accommodation required a certain degree of dissimulation (*taqiyyah*) on the part of the Shi'iah. In order to prevent the intrinsic religious values of the commemoration from being wholly absorbed into the creolization process, the small Shi'iah community in the host country preserved at the private or esoteric level (*bātin*) the core religious values of the commemoration. This was the "decreolization" dimension of the commemoration.

Whatever might be thought of the interpretation, the book is a major work of patient scholarship. Utilizing an impressive array of ethnographic and historical literature, supplemented by his own field work over a decade, Korom traces the development of the "Karbala paradigm" in Iran around the "master narrative" of the events leading to the tragic death of Husayn in Iraq, showing the different stages of its evolution as religious belief and drama, as well as its use as a unifying ideology in sixteenth-century Persia (later Iran), the motifs employed, and the passionate emotions evoked among the majority Shi'iah population of Persia/Iran. The Karbala paradigm's transmission to India inevitably required cultural accommodation to some Hindu practices, but the genealogy of certain motifs, like the Indian *sipars* (symbolic shields), goes back to Persian/Iranian progenitors like the teardrop-shaped *nakhl*. Korom provides considerable evidence of the substantial Sunni and Hindu participation in the commemoration in India and of the tendency for the professional rituals to become more ornate and secular in the Indian environment than in Persia/Iran (pp. 62-64, 70-75, 83-86).

The greater part of the book focuses on the contemporary commemoration in Trinidad at its main venue, the suburban town of St. James, part of the municipality of Port of Spain. In Chapter 5, Korom goes into elaborate and

graphic detail about preparations for the rituals undertaken by the tiny minority of Shi'iah families: the esoteric rites and discipline; the construction of the model cenotaphs (*tazyias* or *tadjahs*) and the two symbolic moons, which he surmises were modeled on the Indian Sipars; and preparation of the drums by the various "yards" among which there is both competition and collaboration. An interesting feature of the discussion is the significance of the different drum rhythms or "hands" played in the course of the street processions, rhythms which tell the "master narrative" of the events leading to the Karbala tragedy, the common thread linking the commemoration wherever it survives. Korom also looks at the creolization of the exoteric phase of the commemoration in its sociological context: the consumption of alcohol; the role of local owners of retail establishments in financially supporting the annual event; the seemingly festive dancing by some members of the crowd participants; and the Hindu and African involvement in the events. This chapter is perhaps the most valuable in the book.

Korom's epilogue is cast in a somber mood. He has misgivings about the future of the Muharram commemoration in Trinidad, as the annual event once more faces new challenges, especially from religious purists or fundamentalists presuming to correct the errors of the traditional organizers of the event. The issues of Indian identity and assimilation into Creole culture are also addressed. The book is well written and documented and will in all probability be a standard reference work on the subject of the Muharram commemoration for some time to come.

Renegades: The History of the Renegades Steel Orchestra of Trinidad and Tobago. KIM JOHNSON, with photos by JEFFREY CHOCK. Oxford UK: Macmillan Caribbean Publishers, 2002. 170 pp. (Paper £16.95)

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There are plenty of pretty picture books about the steel bands of Trinidad and Tobago, and there are plenty of picturesque accounts, written with more or (usually) less historical care, of the now well-worn track of the "story of

the steel band,” from the lower-class areas of Port of Spain during the rough times of World War II to the glittering and melodious source of national pride that pan is today. But this book soars above the run-of-the-mill to give us a detailed account of one specific steel band. Its distinct advantages arise from the in-depth description and analysis of the historical and musical development of the Amoco Renegades Steel Orchestra within the general context of the movement’s history.

The book is organized into four chapters. The first, “Genesis,” describes the social context of the early steel bands and the beginnings of Renegades. “Badjohns” focuses on the steelbandmen, generally considered “mad, bad, and dangerous to know.” “The Road to Success” explores the art of pan tuning and arrangement and the role of corporate sponsorship in band success. “The Band Today” focuses on touring, women in the band, and future directions. Plentiful sidebars and set-ins include diagrams and explanation of pan tunings, portraits of important individuals, accounts of interband conflicts, and the fine points of competition judging. The short sections and readable text reflect a journalistic style; a helpful bibliography and index add to its utility for academic researchers. The photographs, both archival and new, are superb. The extensive oral interviews with players, participants, and observers of Renegades included here are invaluable. Of particular interest are the accounts by its star pan tuner Bertrand Kellman, and its outstanding arranger Jit Samaroo, of their experimentations and insights into the band and its music.

Like other well-known early steel bands, Renegades began in East Dry River, the poorest section of Port of Spain. Like the others, its early days seemed to be marked more by gang warfare than by musical appreciation. Nonetheless, there are significant differences; indeed, the history of each individual steel band would show those unique contributions that make up the steel band “movement.” Perhaps the most significant difference between Renegades and most contemporary bands was that it was not community-based, and that it has drawn its players and supporters from beyond an immediate physical locality – even from non-urban areas. The model for this band, rather than that of community, is that of an extended family. Furthermore, the band has had an unusual relationship with its arranger, Jit Samaroo. For a steel band, that quintessentially Afro-Creole invention, to have as its musical arranger an Indo-Trinidadian trained in both classical European and Indian musical traditions is unexpected. The contributions of Samaroo – the blending of African and Indian rhythms with a European melodic sense – are unique in the history of pan music. Considerable attention is paid to the importance of the long and fruitful sponsorship between the band and Amoco (later BP), a relationship which has lasted longer than that of any other band.

From the specific to the general, this book offers a fascinating account of the individual band within the steel band movement. Would that every band had such a dedicated account.

Race, War and Nationalism: A Social History of West Indians in the First World War. GLENFORD DERROY HOWE. Kingston: Ian Randle/Oxford UK: James Currey, 2002. vi + 270 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

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Race, War and Nationalism comprehensively explores the multidimensional experiences of Caribbean blacks from their recruitment in the British West Indies to their participation in World War I. This includes negative interactions with whites in the military that undoubtedly radically transformed the blacks' perception of Britain.

One of the noteworthy aspects of the study is its avoidance of parochialism. There is continuous emphasis on the interconnectedness among the local, regional, and international levels. The fluidity is evident as Howe shows the relation among a Jamaican parish, the views of the Colonial Office, and the experiences of the British West Indies Regiment (BWIR) in Egypt. Furthermore, illustrations have not been limited to the larger colonies such as Jamaica and Trinidad, but include frequent references to St. Kitts, Grenada, and Barbados.

By November 1918, an estimated 15,200 West Indians had enlisted as members of the British West Indies Regiment. Most of the recruits were drawn from the region's working class. Chapter 5, "Military Selection and Civilian Health," with its recruitment statistics, offers a synopsis of the dismal health conditions facing the majority of inhabitants in the British West Indies. By 1917 in British Guiana, 1,453 out of 2,046 applicants for military service were rejected in the screening exercise as physically unfit. Likewise, in Jamaica, 13,940 men were screened and the most common cause for rejection (3,765) was being undeveloped and underweight. Other grounds for rejecting applicants were malnutrition, poverty, poor diets, and deplorable medical services.

To a large extent, the soldiers' travel abroad helped them become more enlightened and aware of their surroundings. The exposure to different cultures, customs, and people in Palestine, France, Italy, and Belgium made the black soldiers more acutely conscious of their identity and sensitive to racial attacks.

Howe notes that the West Indian soldiers in Egypt and Mesopotamia endured racial slurs from British troops. The response of blacks, especially those from the middle class, was to contact the newspapers from their homeland: "Their intention was to mobilise West Indian public opinion in the hope of getting proper representation and possible relief from the daily harassment" (pp. 122-23). But the issue of racism was complicated by the fact that in some parts of Europe the blackness of these soldiers was treated as a novelty, rather than mocked.

Howe and other scholars seem to have placed undue emphasis on the impact of the discrimination, inequalities, and segregation experienced by West Indian blacks on the battlefield. Indeed, these soldiers would have been exposed to deep-rooted racism from the coloreds and whites in the British West Indies. In addition, upper-class whites and middle-class blacks refused to grant political privileges to working-class blacks. Thus, prejudice in the military was neither the blacks' first encounter with racism nor the sole factor to increase their consciousness. Encounters with racism abroad would have created a conducive environment in the Caribbean for the radical ideologies of F.E.M Hercules, Robert Love, and Marcus Garvey to have greater appeal among blacks. Furthermore, Howe does not offer an explanation for the racial consciousness or nationalism of black soldiers who returned with white wives to the Caribbean.

In Chapter 4, Howe notes that attempts were made to recruit the Caribs in British Honduras, but that these failed due to "cultural indifference" and "illiteracy" (p. 42). Certain questions remain unanswered. Why were the East Indians and Chinese, of which large numbers were located in Trinidad and British Guiana, not recruited to be part of the BWIR? Did the Chinese and East Indians ignore the call of the mother country because they were less patriotic or because they suffered more from physical defects? This is relevant because on the battlefield the West Indian blacks fought alongside Indian and Chinese units that were recruited directly from Asia.

Another shortcoming of the study is Howe's treatment of major denominations – Catholics, Wesleyans, Baptists, and Anglicans – who openly supported the war, viewing it as a conflict for peace and justice, and proclaiming it the ultimate battle between Christ and Satan. Apart from providing superficial evidence to support these claims, Howe should have also considered the views of the Presbyterians. Discussion of this denomination, which comprised mainly East Indians, might have explained the absence of a segment of the population from the military.

It is unfortunate that the book's theme, "nationalism," is neither clearly enunciated nor adequately delineated. Howe's analysis tends to focus overwhelmingly on the issues of race, recruitment, and overseas working conditions. The book does not provide a yardstick for readers to judge the extent of nationalism or its fluctuations over time.

Chapters 4 and 6, "Recruitment Strategies" and "Resistance to Recruitment," should have been merged to create a more coherent study. Undoubtedly, *Race, War and Nationalism* presents new material, for example on the incidence of venereal diseases and recreation among the West Indian soldiers. Its findings are a welcome addition to the field of Caribbean history and will be especially appreciated by military historians.

Pidgin and Creole Linguistics in the Twenty-First Century. GLENN GILBERT (ed.). New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2002. 379 pp. (Cloth US\$ 67.95)

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Glenn Gilbert celebrated the millennium with a symposium – and resulting volume – predicting trends in pidgin and creole linguistics for the new century. Most of the twelve articles in this volume are in fact assessments – and valuable overviews – of the past and present achievements or shortcomings of creolistics, with only occasional forays into future visions. This may be because the field of creole studies has been doing some intense soul searching, going so far as to question its own independent identity in the last decade or so. One article (Chapter 12, by Mikael Parkvall) even darkly evokes "disciplinary suicide" (p. 363). The rest of the volume offers a more positive interpretation of knowledge acquired: One century after the pioneering work of Lucien Adam (1883) and Hugo Schuchardt, creolists have developed theories, abandoned them, discovered historicity, and initiated empirical methodologies – at least to a certain extent.

There are a few exceptions to the general emphasis on past accomplishments. Two contributors in particular take a definite stance toward future research.

Jeff Siegel (Chapter 2) identifies research in *applied creolistics* as the field most needed if language-related inequities are to be remedied, and social justice implemented. He identifies two major applied areas showing promise of social benefits for speakers of minority dialects, such as creoles, which are still stereotypically stigmatized. The importance of linguistic differences in

legal and medical contexts is just beginning to be recognized, for example by legal organizations in Australia, and it is hoped that this promising trend will become a priority in years to come. Education is the other context in which much work remains to be done to best serve speakers of stigmatized varieties. Siegel clearly identifies crucial obstacles to be overcome, including “negative attitudes and ignorance of teachers, negative attitudes and self image of the students themselves ... repression of self-expression because of the need to use an unfamiliar form of language, and difficulty in acquiring literacy in a second language or dialect” (p. 14). Siegel’s article is a forward-looking piece, which redeems the extensive groundwork done by creolists as a prerequisite for social applications.

In Chapter 6, Armin Schwegler refers to racial prejudice in Latin America as a crucial obstacle to be overcome in the twenty-first century. He argues convincingly that the apparent absence of Spanish-based creoles may well be due to the lack of interest Latin America has typically displayed for its African ancestry. Some scholars, such as John Lipski and Schwegler, have started exploring the putative place of contact-induced elements in the formation of Latin American Spanish. It is clear that more careful empirical investigations, including research on African language sources, will yield information on prior language contact and its effects on Spanish, or native, varieties.

Other contributors suggest directions for research through their critiques of current shortcomings: Michael Aceto (Chapter 5) remarks that several Caribbean creoles with limited speakership have been neglected, and provides a useful list of varieties to be investigated. Jacques Arends (Chapter 3) points out that historical-demographic evidence is still under-represented, though essential, in research on creole genesis. He advocates the development of “an historically realistic theory of creole formation” (p. 56), that would better account for the three processes he identifies as crucial determinants in creolization: selection, adaptation, and integration of lexical items. Peter Bakker (Chapter 4) considers that certain issues popular in the 1980s and 1990s should be dismissed to leave room for others he considers more productive. For example, he wants to “forget the Portuguese Pidgin Theory” (p. 76), but advocates a better definition of the term “substrate,” more emphasis on pidgins and their typological differences from creoles, and more attention to functionalist models and pragmatic features.

Another group of scholars addresses an issue that has become increasingly accepted in creolistics, namely, that pidgins and creoles are structurally no different from other natural languages. Ingo Plag (Chapter 9) comments on the place of universal principles of grammaticalization in creole development. Anand Syya (Chapter 8) argues that creoles inevitably acquire synthetic structures, but some will have trouble accepting his endorsement of the position that contact-related (externally-motivated) changes are non-natural,

given the fact that all languages are subjected to social constraints, and that human history is rife with traumatic clashes.

A final group of contributors summarizes progress made and discusses implications for further research. John Holm (Chapter 7) reviews the notion of semi-creolization. Claire Lefebvre (Chapter 10) provides a comprehensive summary of her theory of creole genesis (the relexification hypothesis), with reference to the three processes (relexification, reanalysis, and dialect leveling) that she identifies as the basis of creole formation and development. Donald Winford (Chapter 11) evaluates past and current orientations, from creole formation to contact-induced change, in his usual clear presentative style, suggesting that creoles have now moved into “the new field of contact linguistics” (p. 293). One might argue that “contact” is just a new label for the old “mixed,” or “hybrid” notions of language situations, already developed by Adam (1883), also quoted by Lefebvre (p. 249). But our century-long search has not been in vain. It has equipped creolists to evaluate theoretical claims on language development and has confirmed the amazing insights of nineteenth-century linguists. Contrary to Schuchardt, Adam derived his insights from extensive field data. All the contributors agree on one empirical area, and that is that more reliable comparative data are needed – both diachronic and synchronic.

This volume is a fine achievement that aptly reflects Glenn Gilbert’s extraordinary contributions to the development of creolistics during his long tenure as the editor of the *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, still the major forum for pidgin and creole linguistics.

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Atlas of the Languages of Suriname. EITHNE B. CARLIN & JACQUES ARENDS (eds.). Leiden, The Netherlands: KITLV Press/Kingston: Ian Randle, 2002. vii + 345 pp. (Paper € 37.50)

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This book is commendable on many counts: it aims to “reach beyond the linguistic community ... a point of reference for the Surinamese themselves, and for all students of the Caribbean: linguists, anthropologists, historians, sociologists, economists, and the like” (p. xix); it for the most part succeeds in that aim; it covers, to varying degrees, all the languages of Suriname; it presents history and geography of the languages and their speakers alongside overviews of some of their structures; it combines main text, sidebars, photos, drawings, and maps in a mutually supportive way; and it keeps in mind the importance not only of the languages, but also of the human beings who speak them.

The editors’ introduction is followed by “Vernacular Languages and Cultural Dialogue,” André Kramp’s opening address at the January 1999 symposium on the languages of Suriname on which the book is based. This prologue is no mere *pro forma* symposium opening by a knowledgeable dignitary (Kramp was then Director of UNESCO’s Unit for Small Member States), but includes seven recommendations for a sustainable language policy for Suriname.

Part I, “The Amerindian Peoples and Languages” begins with Eithne B. Carlin and Karin M. Boven, “The Native Population: Migrations and Identities,” a sympathetic history of Suriname’s Amerindian peoples, comprehensive without excessive detail. It includes a sidebar by Carlin with a few comments and text for the pidgin based on Trio and Ndyuka. In the next chapter, “Patterns of Language, Patterns of Thought: The Cariban Languages,” Carlin manages the difficult task of presenting with clarity a survey of phonological and grammatical features of three languages: Kari’na (“Carib”), Wayana, and Trio. Within grammar, a good deal is made of the important system of evidentiality marking on verbs, presented as one reflection in the language of the general Cariban worldview with respect to truth and evidence. The strong Whorfian suggestion of causal connections between language

structure and worldview may arouse skepticism among many linguists, but has the virtue of added interest for the general reader. This gain is particularly important in light of the fairly extensive use of unexplained technical linguistic terms that may be hard going for uninitiated readers not ready to consult the glossary of over 200 linguistic terms. The last chapter in Part I, Marie-France Patte's "The Arawak Language," likewise demands frequent recourse to the glossary for nonlinguists. Of special interest in this chapter is the sidebar by Carlin on Mawayana, an Arawakan language spoken by four people in the otherwise entirely Cariban language area of southern Suriname.¹

Of the four chapters of Part II, "The Creole Languages," three focus on history, beginning with Jacques Arends's "The History of the Surinamese Creoles I: A Sociohistorical Survey." Covering the entire period from before the English colonization of 1651 to 2000, Arends presents much of interest to specialists in creole origins, taking different strands of current research into account, while still speaking clearly to the general English-reading educated public. In "The History of the Surinamese Creoles II: Origin and Differentiation," Norval Smith manages a similar balance, arguing for positions on matters that he warns the reader are controversial among creolists. These include the extent to which forms of speech elsewhere in the Caribbean before 1651 contributed to what has become Sranan, when Sranan became a full-fledged creole rather than a pidgin, and the relation of Saramaccan to the earlier "Dju-tongo." He also proposes an explanation for why the language of the Kwinti, whose territory is geographically close to the Maroons of central Suriname (the Saramaka and the Matawai), resembles the creoles of eastern Suriname, in general, arguing that the details of each creole of today are more a function of *when* its speakers left the plantations than of precisely *where* in Suriname those plantations were located. "The Structure of the Surinamese Creoles," by Adrienne Bruyn, provides an interesting and readable overview of a variety of creole features: European, Amerindian, and African sources of lexicon (which includes some general comments on phonology); ideophones; word formation (multifunctionality, reduplication, compounding, agentive nominalization); word order and function words; noun phrases; complex prepositional phrases; tense, aspect, and mood; and serial verb constructions. Part II closes with Arends's "Young Languages, Old Texts: Early Documents in the Surinamese Creoles," which not only surveys the extant Sranan and Saramaccan documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also brings out noteworthy linguistic features attested therein, such as the 1783 observation by C.L. Schumann of "logo-

1. Grimes (2000:268, 310) assigns the name Mawayana only to a dialect of the Arawakan language Aruma (Wapishana), and reports it as being spoken in Guyana and Brazil, without mention of Suriname.

phoricity” in Sranan – the use of different pronouns in sentences like “John says that he will come,” depending on whether “he” refers to John or to someone else.

Unlike the book’s first two parts, Part III, “The Eurasian Languages,” does not include separate chapters focusing on history, but presents history and language description together in each of its four chapters. Christa de Kleine’s “Surinamese Dutch,” should be both interesting and helpful to speakers of European Dutch and Surinamese Dutch (particularly as spoken by Creoles of Paramaribo) who are aware that their varieties of Dutch differ and want to see more specifically where those differences lie. But this chapter also deserves careful reading by creolists and students of second language acquisition for the light it sheds on the correlations between a population’s first language and the ways in which their second-language acquisition differs from other varieties of that language. Where Surinamese Dutch grammar differs from that of European Dutch, the former is in many cases seen to parallel the grammar of Sranan (and other creoles of Suriname); for example, the use of verb forms unmarked for past tense throughout a narrative, once the past-time reference of the narrative is established. The survey in this chapter of the history of the use of Dutch in Suriname will also be of interest to sociologists of language and to educators.

“Kejia: A Chinese Language of Suriname,” by Paul Brendan Tjon Sie Fat, summarizes the history of the Chinese in Suriname since 1853, the sociolinguistic situation (which includes the recent shift from predominantly “Hakka” to more Cantonese and Mandarin, reflecting shifts in immigration patterns), and a few linguistic features. This last topic is especially welcome, given the dearth of publications on the speech varieties of the Chinese of Suriname, but is limited to four pages on phonology (chiefly comparing the Surinamese Kejia tone system with that of the Qingqi dialects of the area from which many Chinese came to Suriname), syntax (some tense and aspect differences between Surinamese and Chinese Kejia), and lexicon (expressions current in Suriname but now archaic or obsolete in Chinese Kejia, and examples of loanwords from Sranan), and five pages on code-switching and other interference from Dutch and Sranan.

Theo Damsteegt’s “Sarnami as an Immigrant Koiné” also leaves the reader wishing for more about the language, though more has been published on this language of the descendants of indentured laborers from India than is the case for Kejia. A paragraph each on sounds, “word and sentence structure,” and lexicon, a page on tense, aspect, and mood – all interesting, but far less than we are given for the Amerindian and creole languages and even Surinamese Dutch. As its title suggests, most of the chapter is given over to demonstrating the language’s status as a koiné, in the context of current literature on other varieties of Overseas Hindi. Also interesting is the claim that “no influence

from Sranan or Dutch has been demonstrated beyond doubt in the structure of Sarnami," (p. 262) although there are loanwords from both those languages.

For Javanese, even less information is given about most of the language's structure, since the next article, "Javanese Speech Styles in Suriname," by Clare Wolfowitz, focuses on a comparison of the well-known elaborate system of different lexicons appropriate to different social statuses of speaker and hearer in Javanese of Indonesia with the minimal, but still significant, system in today's Javanese of Suriname. This comparison is detailed and related to contexts of usage and dimensions of interpersonal relations in a way that makes it of interest to sociolinguists as well as a broader public.

Arends and Carlin's "Epilogue: The Languages of Suriname Today and Tomorrow" briefly surveys the current language situation in Suriname, and then closes the book with several appropriate recommendations about further documentation of all of the languages of Suriname and the special role that the government and scholars in the Netherlands might be expected to play in realizing these recommendations.

The *Atlas* should enrich any reader's awareness of the human (and sometimes inhuman) dimensions of Suriname's history, her peoples and their languages, and, especially for the Amerindian and creole languages, of the ways languages can differ radically in structure from the languages of Western Europe. A general bibliography of nearly 250 entries, a separate list of 47 early Saramaccan and Sranan sources, 20 maps, 30 figures and tables, and 50 photos and other illustrations all contribute to readers' interest and greater understanding. Typographical and bibliographical errors are very few.

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