PROCEEDINGS
OF THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
FOR THE STUDY OF
THE PRE-COLUMBIAN CULTURES OF THE
LESSER ANTILLES

Suzanne M. Lewenstein,
Editor

1980
Arizona State University
Anthropological Research Papers No. 22
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ACTAS
DEL OCTAVO CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL
PARA EL ESTUDIO DE LAS CULTURAS PRE-COLOMBINAS
DE LAS ANTILLAS MENORES

COMPTE-RENDU
DES COMMUNICATIONS DU HUITIEME CONGRES INTERNATIONAL
D'ETUDES DES CIVILISATIONS PRECOLOMBIENNES
DES PETITES ANTILLES

SUZANNE M. LEWENSTEIN,
EDITOR

1980
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH PAPERS NO. 22
Address of Welcome given by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Probyn Inniss at the Opening of the Eighth International Congress for the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures in the Lesser Antilles on Monday 30th July, 1979
It is a privilege and pleasure for me to extend a most cordial welcome to the distinguished Delegates to the Eighth International Congress for the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Lesser Antilles.

The beautiful and historic islands of our State have welcomed many renowned visitors from time to time, but I think that it must be unprecedented for them to be hosts to such a distinguished assembly of academic luminaries such as is gathered here today. We are acutely conscious of the fact that among your number are men and women who have illuminated the world of learning by their research and scholarship. It is with a sense of intense pleasure that we welcome you.

In extending this welcome to you I do so in the name and on behalf of all of the people of this State. I feel sure that every citizen with whom you come into contact will, by word and conduct, repeat and endorse this welcome.

The idea of convening this Congress here was conceived about two years ago and, as far as I am aware, it has always received the fullest possible encouragement and support from the highest levels of government. How I remember the excitement and the sense of achievement which greeted the announcement that the 1979 Congress would actually be held in this State.

It is, therefore, a cause for much sadness that our two recently deceased Premiers of this State are not present to witness with delight the convening of the Congress. They had worked with characteristic zeal and dedication to bring it to pass. I verily believe that it would be the fervent desire of both of these leaders that this Congress be a resounding success.

Implicit in the word 'Welcome' are two equally delightful words 'Thank you.' I thank you, first of all, for choosing our country above all the others that are normally vying for the honour of hosting such important international Congresses.

Secondly, I thank you for coming to our State because a Congress of this nature serves to intensify our awareness and appreciation of our cultural heritage. Ours is a rich heritage; rich not only in its antiquity and diversity but also in its capacity to contribute much that is meaningful and relevant to our continuing search as a people for a cohesive identity.

In terms of our historical perspective it is essential for us to realize that life on these islands did not begin in November 1493 with the arrival of Columbus who allegedly 'discovered' these islands; worse still our history did not begin in January 1624 when Captain Tomas Warner landed at Old Road. For thousands of years before Columbus came, our Amerindian ancestors inhabited these islands. It is of immense interest and importance to us to learn all that we can about the cultures of these peoples.
So much of this period of pre-history is shrouded in myth, mystery and prejudice. Even the name Carib, meaning cannibal, which the Europeans applied to some of the original inhabitants of this archipelago would appear to have been done to some extent for the purpose of providing a moral justification for some of the atrocities which ensued. The atrocities which were perpetrated against these people were tragic enough; but the myth which has been perpetuated that, for example, they had no culture, is perhaps even more tragic.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to assure you that, insofar as we are concerned, the task in which you are engaged is not one of merely academic interest. It has profound significance if we are ever to get to the roots of understanding why anything which is indigenous to these islands has been viewed with contempt. This process of self-contempt was first practiced upon the Amerindicans and then extended with devastating effects upon others peoples who became victims of colonialism. Some of these effects are still painfully visible today.

The archaeologist, like every other scientist, is a seeker after truth. If I may borrow a phrase from the legal profession, I declare that we have an interest—a vested interest—in the truth for which you are seeking.

This congress will also serve to remind us in the Caribbean that our cultural heritage derives from diverse roots; it is partly Amerindian, Anglo-Saxon, African and Asian and perhaps more. All of these influences have had an impact on us.

We thank the Congress for enhancing our awareness of important aspects of our pre-history. I anticipate that by the end of this Congress we will have derived a better appreciation of the contribution of Pre-Columbian peoples to our way of life. Some of our textbooks in current use seek to persuade us that their contribution is limited to a few place-names, for example, LIAMUIGA meaning St. Kitts, OUALIE meaning Nevis and MALLIOUHANA meaning Anguilla.

The story is told of a high school student who asked his teacher why he should be forced to learn history. 'Do you know what happens to a man who loses his memory?' the teacher is supposed to have asked in return. 'A man who loses his memory is in a sad plight; he loses a part if not all of his identity; insofar as he is concerned his past is wiped out.'

I have mentioned this in order to make a few observations, briefly. Over the years our country has lost many priceless artifacts which have been removed to other countries by persons unknown.

I wish publicly to thank Professor R. Christopher Goodwin, your distinguished Chairman, for the zealous efforts which he has exerted on our behalf resulting in the safe return of a limited number of these artifacts to our island. It is my understanding that the authorities at the learned institution in North America at which these artifacts had
been kept for years were very cooperative in ensuring their repatriation. I trust that this is the beginning of many such repatriations.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, for a time the science of archaeology was regarded as being primarily, if not totally, of academic interest. However, some of the more revolutionary developments of recent times suggest that archaeology can have a direct relevance to contemporary problems, and that its revelations may even provide a guide to the uncertainties of the future.

I trust that the beauty, tranquility and serenity of these islands will be found to be conducive to fruitful and illuminating deliberations. I wish this Congress great success. Thank you.
The Premier Hon. L. L. Moore

My first duty must be to welcome you in the name of the people and Government of this State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. I am particularly pleased to welcome you in my capacity as Minister of Tourism. For while many of us will not understand what is going on here among you over the next few days, this week all of us can understand that you are visitors—welcome visitors—who improve our Tourism statistics and whose stay will certainly make an impact on the circulation of the occupancy rate of the Royal St. Kitts Hotel, particularly during this traditionally slow period in summer.

In welcoming you, therefore, let me hope that all of you will find time to enjoy our island and the famed hospitality of our people. I have observed from the records that there are many distinguished scholars among you. I have accepted this information with pleasurable pride. I have always considered that it would be a matter of immense satisfaction if our country could play host to a thriving community of scientists. Your presence among us can do us nothing but good and I welcome you very sincerely. It is perhaps not amiss if I say a very special word of welcome to a few persons: such as Dr. I. A. Earle Kirby of St. Vincent, the President of International Association for Caribbean Archaeology who has just returned from Cuba where he attended the festival of Caribbean Art known as Carifesta; Professor R. Christopher Goodwin, the Chairperson of this Eighth International Congress of the Lesser Antilles and whose reputation in the field is growing so quickly that he has already been appointed as fellow of the prestigious Smithsonian Institution in Washington. I congratulate him; and finally, Prof. Olson, a noted scholar from Connecticut who has agreed to come here to deliver the Robert L. Bradshaw Memorial Lecture. (I hope to return to this shortly.)

Now that I have welcomed you all—and I hope everyone feels truly welcome—I should like to say a few words of thanks. I thank you for honouring us by choosing St. Kitts as the venue for your Conference. I trust you will find the arrangements adequate. A number of local people have worked very hard under the direction of Chris Goodwin, making preparations for the Congress, and I would like to thank them all. I would not wish to get into trouble by starting to call names and then forgetting some, so I will try to avoid that, but I cannot avoid mentioning Captain Errol Maynard who worked as Government Liaison Officer to the Congress. My understanding is that he has been doing a sterling job and I would like to offer him my own and the Government's sincere thanks.

GRATEFUL

While I am grateful to you for the honour you have conferred on me by inviting me to address this conference I must tell you in all
genuineness and sincerity that I feel very much out of place, for two reasons. The first is that I am a poor substitute for the man who would ordinarily be delivering your feature address today if such dramatic changes had not taken place since the idea of holding the Congress here was first discussed. You have, with a degree of accuracy, described the late Hon. Robert Llewellyn Bradshaw as an amateur archaeologist and it is he who was in the chair when the project was first mooted. I know that where he is, he is beaming with smiles today to see the project come to fruition. But I suspect that he feels a tinge of regret as I do, that he is not with us to take part. And I know that your Congress proceedings will be the poorer for having missed the scholarship and eloquence that he would no doubt have contributed if he were here. I am proud and I know the whole country is proud that you have elected to honour his memory by instituting the Robert L. Bradshaw Memorial Lecture in Caribbean Archaeology and the Robert L. Bradshaw Essay Award.

The Institution of the Memorial Lecture is by itself a great honour, but being able to associate with the inaugural lecture the name of so distinguished a scientist and so venerated a scholar as Dr. Fred Olson makes the honour double. I say welcome to him once more and repeat that we are profoundly grateful that he has agreed to honour our country and our late national leader in that way.

To some, it may appear curious--this recognition by way of a Memorial Lecture in Caribbean Archaeology for a man whose reputation is more widely acclaimed as one of the pioneers in trade unionism in the Caribbean, a redoubtable champion of the cause of the working classes, an undefeated politician of tremendous stature both locally and in the Caribbean as a whole, and who at the time of his death had become recognized as one of the mature statesmen of the twentieth century. Few people are as conscious of Mr. Bradshaw's deep and abiding interest in the preservation of the past of this country.

At a recent function one of my colleagues, the Hon. Charles Mills, Minister for Communications, Works and Public utilities, told of Mr. Bradshaw's keenness to preserve for posterity the remains of the Jewish Temple which is to be found on the site where was recently constructed the new Administration Building at Charlestown, Nevis. And in one of his own addresses some years ago, Mr. Bradshaw had spoken knowledgeably of a Jewish Cemetery also in Nevis. He had collected a number of artifacts--related to the earlier civilization of inhabitants of this country and he was consumed with a desire to see a museum established, going so far as indicating his preference for a site that being the little building known as the Old Fire Station on East Square Street which, alas, because it has fallen into a dangerous state of disrepair has had to be pulled down. All that remains of it is a memory and I believe a handpainting by a young English woman.

REPRODUCTION

Perhaps one day there can be a reproduction of that little building and perhaps it and its precincts can be constructed into a show place
for the past of our country that Mr. Bradshaw dreamed about. Mr. Bradshaw died before his dream could be fulfilled, but throughout the period of his critical illness he was obsessed with the need to preserve what was beautiful and what was best about our past. In particular, he was concerned that there should be no interference with the integrity of the architecture surrounding Pall Mall Square. His concern was so intense that during his stay in London, where he went a few months before his death, he had collected models of legislation designed to ensure the preservation of that area. It would be a great way of honouring his memory, by going ahead with such legislation to preserve this particular areas as part of the nation's heritage. My understanding is that Mr. Bradshaw's devotion to the preservation of the past as heritage was not in thought or words only. I understand that he left his own treasure collected in a lifetime—his paintings, the antiques he collected, and the artifacts he dug up or picked up, to the nation, to be enjoyed by succeeding generations.

The second reason why I feel out of place is my own inadequacy. Your official literature describes Mr. Bradshaw, as I have said before, as an amateur archaeologist. I'm afraid I'm not even that. It is true that as a child I dug up and picked up small bits of ceramics, but in those distant days I had no idea that there was a point in looking for names and dates on the bottoms or even that one could tell anything important from coloring or from the pattern. My interest was purely utilitarian. They were 'cup-shells' to us children and we used them as currency when we 'played shop.'

Nor can I pretend that my interest has grown with the years. Certainly, at the site of my present residence, especially during the period of building, I have dug up or picked up as many horseshoes as I could find. But I have not yet gone through the interpretation process, so I am afraid I cannot tell you how many horses were there, what breed they were and whether any were kept for racing purposes. In addition to the horseshoes I have also been able to find a weight of fifty-six pounds or half of a hundred weight and a branding iron with the name C. Mardenborough. Such little detection as I have been able to do suggests to me the man who lived there before me planted sugar cane and made sugar, and probably shipped sugar or molasses in hogshead which he branded with this iron. I understand that he was also a lawyer by profession so I have concluded that there is nothing new under the sun.

Perhaps, Mr. Chairman, I should have been more adequately prepared if during my school days I had been given as a prize a book written by Chris Goodwin and Cyd Heyman appropriately decorated on the cover and entitled 'Doing Your Own Thing Among the Archaic Middens of St. Kitts.' I am afraid that was not to be. Instead, what I was given was a book called 'Seeing Roman Britain' written by Leonard Cottrell. In the foreword to that book, John Morris, who wrote it, said that it was not written for the specialist whose interests are confined to Roman Britain
or for the archaeologists, but just for those people who wanted to do an ordinary tour round Britain by cycle or by car. Since in those days I had no idea that I would do a tour around Britain by any means whatsoever, I did not bother to acquire the information found at page 198—that when you go on the main road from Newcastle to Carlisle through a small town called Corbridge, you come to what was the little town of Corstopitum, which was the supply base for the eastern end of Hadrian's Wall, which has now been sufficiently excavated so that it is possible to know that there were four stages in its development and that it comprised a Headquarters House and other administrative buildings, a large part of the military compounds with their barracks and granaries, a series of temples, and so on.

But Mr. Chairman, your literature also says that your knowledge of the archaic period in the Lesser Antilles is not yet a great deal. If it is little now it must have been less when I was a boy and I am, therefore, not surprised that I did not get the literature for which I would have bidden.

In your proceedings here this week, you will be engaged in a study of the past. I was in Washington in June this year and I passed several times the building which houses the archives of the United States; there are two sayings inscribed on either side of the entrance to that building. One saying is 'What Is Past is Prologue,' the other 'Study the Past.' Out of that study of the past will come, we hope, the knowledge which will help us to cope with our problems in the present and which will point the way that we need to, and ought to, do in the future.

Some people are often confused by the appearance of a bunch of men with little bits of stone, little bits of pottery or bones that they picked out of sites that they dug. I, for my part, am neither confused nor misled.

I have just concluded the reading of a book which I saw advertised last time I was in the United States. The book is entitled EYE OF THE NEEDLE, and is a spy thriller. The book which is supposed to be fiction is built around a plot by the Allies during the last war, designed to give them a 50-50 chance against the Germans by creating a diversion for them in order to deceive them about where the landing on the Continent would be. The book opens with what one might describe as a 'fuddy duddy' character called Godliman, in a basement room in the British Museum, a professor of medieval history, whose clothes were baggy and whose mind was in a daze and who had no clear recollection of what hour of day it is. By the time the book ends it is the same Godliman who has come to life in excitement in order to prevent the secret of the deception being revealed to the Fuehrer by Die Nadel, the spy whom the Fuehrer trusted and who had discovered the deception and was on his way back to Germany with the proof of it.

I conclude, therefore, that beneath every grey flannelled professor walking around with little bits of bones and little pieces of cupshell,
there are men of excitement longing to jump out of them. It is equally important to me that before the book ended the point was made that the method Prof. Godliman used to solve the mystery in the spy thriller was the same method which he had used to build up his thesis about medieval history. I, therefore, believe that even if one may consider this madness there is bound to be method in your madness.

Mr. Chairman, there is another thing which has caused me some anxiety. I wondered what an archaeologist was doing imprisoned, as it were, with a group of monkeys over at the other end of the island. I did not myself quite understand the community of interest and then I read in this little book here, which is a series of essays edited by Sol Tax and called the HORIZONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY, what appeared to me to be the explanation.

EVIDENCE

'It will never be possible,' writes Irven De Vore, to reconstruct man's evolutionary past entirely, but three lines of evidence are particularly useful. The first of these is the evidence which the archaeologist uncovers at the living sites of pre-historic men—the bones of the men themselves, together with the tools they made and the food they ate. The interpretation of these archaeological data is augmented by studies of contemporary hunting and gathering tribes which constitute a second kind of evidence (and I note that you will be going into evidence of that kind at this conference as well). The economic base and ecological adaptation of some of these living hunter gatherers have changed very little in 500 thousand years. The third is the study of the natural history of monkeys and apes. Because of their close biological kinship with man, monkeys and apes have always figured prominently in discussions of the origin of human behavior. There I found the answer why Professor Chris Goodwin and Professor Frank Ervin are such close friends. One deals with digging up bones from the past and the other deals with the study of monkeys.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, as you pursue your proceedings over the next few days during this week, we hope that as you focus on the pre-history of the Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, as you examine the site at the Factory Pier, as you look at the petroglyphs which you will find throughout St. Kitts, as you pick up stones from the river to study the past, that you will make a contribution here which our youth, in time to come, will be able to settle upon and in that contribution to find records of their past, so that they may grapple with their national heritage.

I urge you to pursue your talks with that kind of dedication which men like you are familiar and I trust that the results of your proceedings here will be crowned with success.
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