N. González

New evidence on the origins of the Black Carib, with thoughts on the meaning of tradition

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NEW EVIDENCE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE BLACK CARIB

WITH THOUGHTS ON THE MEANING OF TRADITION

INTRODUCTION

Twenty-seven years ago, I first undertook ethnographic field research among the Black Carib—then a relatively little-known group of peasant-fishermen/wage laborers on the coast of Central America. Over the years I have revisited them repeatedly, working primarily in Livingston, Guatemala, but also in Honduras, Belize and New York City. Since that time also, numerous studies have been made by other anthropologists. We have examined their ethnohistory (Beaucage 1966; Gullick 1976; Palacio 1973a), social and economic organization (Cosminsky 1976; González 1969; Kerns 1983; Sanford 1971), religion (Foster 1981; Palacio 1973b; Taylor 1951), food system (Beaucage 1970; Palacio 1981), language (Holm 1978b; Taylor 1951), folklore (Hadel 1972; Kerns & Dirks 1975); and physical status and blood types (Crawford et al. 1981; Firschein 1961; González 1963; Tejada, González et al. 1962). Nevertheless, in spite of all this work there are still a number of fundamental puzzles remaining to be solved in relation to the origins and history of these people and their culture.

The Black Carib are a hybrid group living today in Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, as well as in urban centers in the United States and England. Phenotypically Negroid, they speak an Amerindian language (Island Carib, which is actually Arawakan), and exhibit cultural patterns similar in many (but not all) respects to other creole populations in the West Indies (see González 1959). Their ethnogenesis took place largely on the island of St. Vincent in the Lesser Antilles over several centuries,

where by the early 1700s two political groups, one "Red" (or "Yellow"), the other "Black", were distinguishable (Taylor 1951: 74). After the so-called Carib War of 1795–1797, the British removed all those Black Caribs who surrendered (nearly the entire group of survivors), to the island of Roatan in the Bay Islands off the coast of Honduras, keeping their more Amerindian, "Red" counterparts in St. Vincent. Historians have placed the number of emigrants variously at about 5000 or 2000, and until now convincing documentary evidence has not been found to establish the actual figure, nor to clear up other details concerning the relocation.

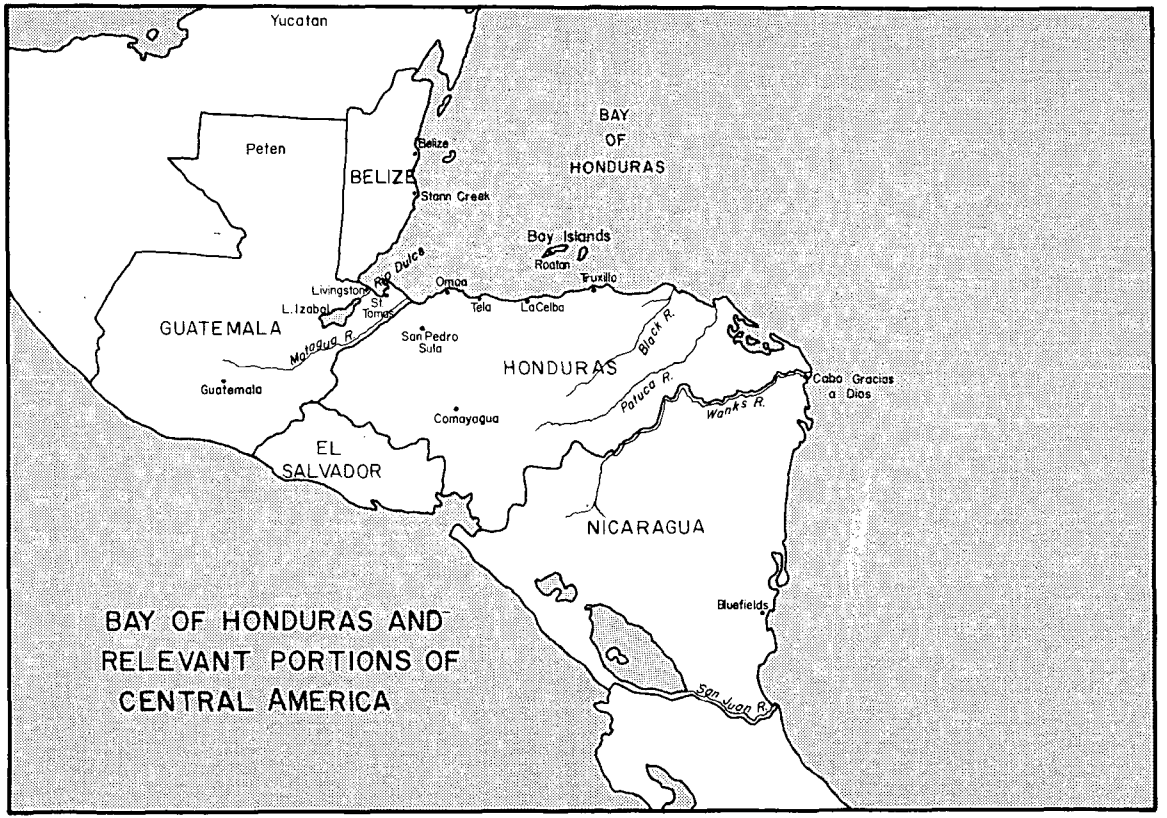
Given the fact that all this occurred in the not too distant past, historical documents should have been more helpful than they seem to have been so far in settling some of the basic questions concerning when, how and under what circumstances they were removed from St. Vincent to Roatan, and just when and why they crossed to the Central American coastline, which has been their primary home ever since. The answers to these questions are crucial for an understanding of the demography and physical character of the population today, the nature of their culture, and its relationship to other cultures in the Caribbean area generally. In addition, they should be of value as a case study of cultural persistence and change.

Although some historical research has been done, most ethnographers of the Carib have depended only upon oral traditions and secondary written sources, and even those using eye-witness accounts by travelers and missionaries, myself included, have not been properly critical of these in drawing conclusions and forming hypotheses. Some might attribute our failings in this regard to the fact that we are not trained as historians, but I fear this is no excuse for what I now see as having been a critical deficiency in the historical reconstructions made by anthropologists for the Black Carib. This paper will outline information uncovered during three months of archival work in England during the summer of 1982, plus two weeks in the General Archives of Central America (Guatemala) in January, 1983. I will present some new interpretations to which I believe the evidence lends itself.[1]

St. Vincent and the Carib War of 1795–96.

The prevailing scholarly view among anthropologists has been that the British drove the Carib out of St. Vincent because (1) they wanted their lands, the most fertile on the island; (2) they feared their slaves would be influenced to escape and join this free black population;, and (3) they feared the depredations of the Carib, who were highly skilled in guerrilla warfare and not reluctant to fight back when they thought their rights had been infringed upon. Another, probably more deep-seated fear, alluded to but not developed in any of the anthropological interpretations, was that the Carib provided a base and a springboard on St. Vincent for the French Republicans in the Windwards. A kind of ethnomyopia has prevented us from remembering that there was another St. Vincent in this long, bloody and expensive struggle, which fully occupied the British forces both in Europe and in the West Indies.[2] In the latter, the French Republican cause of "freedom, equality and fraternity" took on a special meaning in relation to slavery, and in 1795 the so-called "brigands" — often led by mulattos, but including blacks and whites as well — had succeeded in gaining a strong position on St. Lucia, Grenada, and Dominica, as well as St. Vincent. The British had their hands full countering the French in all these places, as well as in trying to gain a foothold on the rich island of Hispaniola which was simultaneously torn by the same strife. From the point of view of the Carib, the French were a valuable ally in the struggle to retain their homeland, but in the larger scheme of things, the Caribs were merely a pawn in the French plan to take over the entire Antilles.[3]

Thus, when it became clear that the Carib-French forces in St. Vincent were being continually augmented by replacements landing secretly on the Carib-held windward coast, the British sent more troops, activated a local white and free black militia, and finally, even armed slaves in the effort to rid themselves of their antagonists. But this still might not have been effective had it not been for the onslaught of an epidemic disease which appears to have struck down the Carib in a manner terrifying to them, and



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disastrous to their cause. Although a detailed description of this pestilence must await another article, it is important to note here that mortality exceeded 50% among those finally captured, and there is no way to know how many it had killed before the first major surrender in July, 1796.[4]

The Removal to Roatan

We can now clear up finally and with certainty the mystery of how many Caribs actually landed on Roatan, and why it is we have had different estimates of the numbers involved. The widely repeated figure of 5000 is a rounding off of the number reported as captured or surrendered at St. Vincent and sent to the nearby island of Baliseau while the British War Office decided how to render them forever harmless. The records show considerable official concern for their physical welfare, but almost no sensitivity to their psychological, social and cultural needs. While wanting to

Table 1.

Numbers of Black and Yellow Caribs & Slaves captured, showing losses between time of surrender and arrival at Roatan (July 1796–April 1797)

	Landed Baliseau				Embarked for Roatan				Landed, Roatan		
	M	W	Ch	T	M	W	Ch	T	M	Ch & W	T
Black Caribs	1004	1779	1555	4338	722	806	720	2248	664	1362	2026
Yellow Caribs	23	45	34	101							
Born on Baliseau			3	104							
Returned to St. Vincent	18	56 (W & Ch)									
Slaves (All sold & removed)	10	15	16	41							
				4584							

keep them far from St. Vincent, it was also hoped that in some way they might be made useful to the British colonial and war efforts. The plan eventually adopted would have been ingenious had it worked.[5]

The evacuation from St. Vincent to Baliseau lasted from July 21, 1796 until Feb. 2, 1797, during which time 4,195 Black Caribs, 41 slaves belonging to them, and 102 Yellow (or Red) Caribs were landed.[6] The small island was inadequate for such a large number even under the best of circumstances, but in the presence of contagious disease, the over-crowding, lack of fresh water, and poor food supply were devastating. When the transports finally loaded on March 3, preliminary to sailing for Roatan, only 2,248 Black Carib were left to make the trip. Three hundred of these were ill on embarkation, and only 2,026 arrived (See Table 1), According to contemporary accounts, the disease struck hardest among the woman and children, and it is also likely that it tended to eliminate disproportionately the elderly, as well as the very young. It is therefore probable that the surviving group, which parented succeeding generations and preserved, modified and molded the culture by which we know them today, included an unsually large percentage of women of childbearing age. In addition, many of these would have just lost suckling infants and thus have been subject to early pregnancy. This, of course, would have increased fertility in the first few years.

The official British landing roster at Roatan listed 664 men, but lumped together the woman and children, who numbered 1,362. Because there were 806 women who embarked, and because mortality on the five week journey had been 10.7% for the entire group, I estimate there to have been 720 women and 643 children among those landed on April 12, 1797. Many or most of the children may have been pubescent or prepubescent, but unfortunately, we know neither the age structure nor the sex ratio among them.[7]

The orders to the commander of the small convoy had been to land their charges at Roatan if possible, and if not, then anywhere on the Spanish Main. Provisions, consisting of food, seeds, tools, fishing tackle, cloth, tobacco, rum, and even muskets and ammunition, had been provided in large quantities, though not

enough to have lasted more than about six months (See Table 2). Supplementary supplies were loaded and approved for dispatch from England in October, 1797, but by that time most Caribs had joined the Spaniards on the mainland and thus altered their own fate and perhaps, the course of diplomatic history as well (WO 1/799:759; WO 1/82:719.)

Because the Spanish were in possession of Roatan at the time, it has never been clear to modern scholars just what the British strategy was in landing the Carib on that island. One writer has suggested they wished to send "a poisoned pen letter" to the Spaniards, with whom they were intermittently at war during that period (Holm 1978a:25). That may not be far off. When the British fleet, consisting of at least six ships, arrived at Roatan, the island was occupied by a few Spanish troops who, when presented with an ultimatum to surrender or be attacked capitulated without a shot. Given the apparent size of the British fighting force, as judged by the number of ships, it is no wonder. British accounts state that these troops, an indeterminate number, were then sent off to the mainland port of Truxillo, to be exchanged for the 300 Carib passengers and the crew of one transport which had been captured by the Spanish on the passage between Jamaica and Roatan. The British seemed quite anxious to return this captured group to the main Carib body, and went so far as to shell Truxillo in this effort.[8]

Having reunited the exiles, the British decided rather suddenly to leave the Bay Islands when they learned that a Spanish fleet of some consequence was approaching. They were in poor shape for serious battle, since many of the troops, also attacked by the mysterious malady on Baliseau, were still sick or convalescent. The Caribs were left with one ship, the captured barracks in which to house themselves, a supply of landed provisions, and British expectations that they would form a permanent colony.[9]

The Flight to Honduras

At this point the historical record becomes more spotty, but there are enough clues to put together a more accurate picture of what

happened than we have heretofore accomplished. Although it is not clear who initiated the idea, certainly an alliance between the Spanish and the Carib at this point was desirable and advantageous to both. As soon as it was clear that the British fleet had departed, the commandant at Truxillo discovered that the Carib, either because they were still weakened by the ravages of disease and lack of food, or because they had no love lost on the British and their cause, were not in a belligerent mood. At least one faction among them, unhappy with the leaders appointed by the British, chose to join the Spanish immediately. On May 18 they delivered up the island again to Spain, and by June most of the Carib were resettled at Truxillo, although some remained on Roatan.[10] The record suggests that both the British and the Spaniards expected to use the Carib as soldiers in their struggle for control of Honduras and the Mosquito Shore, but the Carib had a mission of their own — namely, ethnic survival — and this was to guide their actions over the next 185 years.

As has been previously suggested (Beaucage 1970; González 1969; Porter 1980), the Carib in 1797 were already partially dependent upon a cash economy, having hired out as transporters of goods while on St. Vincent, as well as having engaged in trade themselves. There were numerous necessities which they could only obtain through purchase, and although the British had given them some supplies, there were not enough to sustain them until harvest, and without canoes, they could not even fish. Although there were trees aplenty on the island from which to fashion canoes, this is a time-consuming process, and the tools they had been given may not have sufficed. Furthermore, Roatan was not extensively cleared, not having been inhabited recently, and there were too few heavy tools for this purpose (Table 2). This, plus the fact that only about a month remained before the onset of the rains, made it impossible to do more than clear a small area.[11] In addition, many of the seeds and cassava cuttings had been ruined by seawater and exposure on the voyage, and probably would not have germinated. Thus, it was imperative to find job opportunities, and these lay on the mainland.

The news that the Carib had joined the Spaniards was both shocking and frightening to the British settlement at Belize, which

Table 2.

List of provisions landed on Roatan for the use of the Black Caribs (April 20, 1797) Source: WO 1/82

Flour	449	pounds
Farina	11,000	pounds
Biscuit	43	casks
Beef	4	barrels
Tasso	17,000	pounds
Salt Fish	41,749	pounds
Indian corn	7	barrels, for planting
Guinea corn	4	barrels, for planting
Pidgeon pease	3	barrels, for planting
Sweet potatoes	8	barrels, for planting
Yam plants	9	barrels, for planting
Ocre seeds	1	barrels, for planting
Pepper seeds	1	bag for planting
Cassada	21	bundles, for planting
Osnaburghs (cloth)	35	pieces containing 5000 yds.
Fishing tackle	2	cases, containing 16,700 hooks and 325 lines
Griddles	21	
Graters	53	
Sugar	1820	pounds
Cocoa	916	pounds
Oatmeal	105	bushels
Rum	26	gallons
Hoes, bills, felling axes, cutlasses, adzes, saws, etc.	1591	
Muskets	about 300	
Ammunition	5	boxes
Gunpowder	10	barrels
Balls	6	cases
Flints	2	cases

Nine guns mounted and the ammunition found in the Spanish store at Roatan.

lived in constant fear of being attacked by His Catholic Majesty's forces. The fact that the logcutters, who with their slaves were the principal settlers, had continually violated the formal agreements between Britain and Spain as to what territories might be cut and what the nature of the British settlement should be, was provocation enough for the Spaniards, even had the countries not been

formally at war. Indirect evidence makes it clear that the Belizeans had expected the Carib to help support their occupation of the territory, and were terrified by the knowledge that these famous warriors were not only lost to the British cause but had been enlisted by the enemy.[12] Caribs, along with a number of free black French soldiers who had settled near Truxillo only a year earlier, were used in an attack on the British settlement at Black River (Rio Tinto) during the War of 1799.[13] In this, they fought against the Miskito Indians, longtime partisans of the British.

By 1802, however, the Carib seem to have had a change of heart, for they began to travel to Belize to cut wood, as well as to hunt and fish for the British settlers as the "Miskitomen" had been doing for generations. It seems likely that the Carib were influenced to look upon the British with a less prejudiced eye by at least two circumstances. First, they had begun to make friends with the Miskito, near whom they had settled at the Patuca River, and probably in other places (Beaucage 1970: 57). But they had also begun to grow restless and resentful because of what several observers termed "poor treatment" given them by the Spaniards at Truxillo. In 1805 the Superintendant of the Settlement at Belize was given secret instructions to do everything possible to further the friendship between the Carib and Miskito, and to assist the latter in attacking Truxillo "to liberate the Caribs from their situation there" (Burdon 1931: 84). Whether a Miskito attack took place, I cannot say, but in 1807 the Caribs at Truxillo revolted and fled, seeking succor among the Miskito. The Spanish pursued and brought them back. This suggest a slave-like position, which would have been intolerable to a people who had fought so long and so persistently against being reduced to such a status.

At the same time, the settlers at Belize were trying new ploys to keep their enterprise operative. Emboldened by a decisive victory against a Spanish invading force in 1798, and driven by the exhaustion of wood in the north, illegal cutting was begun in the Stann Creek area as early as 1799–1800 (CO 123/18, May 1, 1809). Since there were no permanent settlements there at the time, the cutters would have had to relocate their slaves or import other labor. Slave ownership was already expensive in Belize

because the Spanish forbade the British from growing much food, and the nature of the logging industry prevented the slaves from maintaining gardens. Thus, most food was imported. Furthermore, slaves found it an easy flight to Yucatan, the Peten, and Omoa (an important port and fortress in what is now Honduras). The more escapes, the more harshly slaves were treated, and this in turn spurred more to seek their freedom, through purchase, military service, or flight. Too, by 1807 the slave trade was outlawed, and local (i.e. Caribbean) supplies were both scarce and expensive. Furthermore, they were likely to have been "infected" with revolutionary fervor. In short, the logcutters were eager to recruit good workers, and despite how it was viewed by the authorities, many of them clandestinely employed Carib men. We can assume that undocumented or illegal immigrants were then, even as now, obtainable at lower than ordinary wages.

Livingston, Guatemala, like nearly every other Carib village or town, seems to have been settled originally because of nearby wage labor opportunities. Though the town did not achieve national and international prominence until the last few decades of the 19th century, Carib were settled there or in its vicinity by 1820 or earlier. The best routes to Guatemala City from the Atlantic or north coast passed through the Río Dulce and Lake Izabal. The fortress of San Felipe lay at the entrance to the lake itself, and Caribs were employed early in the century to man this deterrent to pirates and revolutionaries. In addition, they freighted goods and people in both directions on the river and lake in their large and well-built canoes.

Caribs also settled near the ports of Omoa and Santo Tomas, and later, when new port facilities were developed, in villages near Puerto Cortez, Tela and La Ceiba in what is now Honduras. In 1849 a traveler placed them at every river mouth on the coast east and south of Truxillo down to Bluefields (Bard 1855: 316). Always they stayed near the seacoast, which was their highway to the exterior world. Unlike the Shoremen, the Miskito and the Belizean Creoles, they did not venture upriver with their habitations, even though the soil was usually better there. This would seem to confirm the view that agriculture was not their primary consideration. Beaucage (1970: 61) believes that the contempo-

rary settlement pattern became established and stabilized by 1820–30. It is my impression, however, that the population even today shifts and clusters in relation to job opportunities.[14]

Aside from brief references to "friendship" between the Carib and other groups on the shore, I have found no documentary evidence to suggest that they engaged in any widescale ethnic intermarriage. Rather, oral tradition and travelers' accounts stress their endogamy. However, because the sex ratio among adults had been considerably altered by the epidemic (See Table 1), and because the Island Carib were known to have practiced polygyny and to have kidnapped women from other groups for wives, it may be that a few Miskito or other Indian women were captured or enticed into joining them in the early days. Too, children sired by Black Caribs born to non-Carib women may have been raised by their fathers' kin, as is sometimes noted today (González 1976–77; McCommon 1982). As I have mentioned elsewhere, it is also likely that some intermixture took place with the so-called French Negroes living in and about Truxillo at the time of the first settlement (González 1959b).[15] Finally, a few present-day Black Carib surnames are identical to those of slaves who escaped from Omoa in the late 18th century, thus suggesting possible intermarriage. But all in all, the evidence is that the Carib preferred to keep their villages isolated, and it may be that this tendency served them well as a survival mechanism. Women were in short supply among all the foreigners along the Shore and in the Bay settlements, and by establishing remote villages, the Carib were more certain to keep their own females to themselves. To the extent that the men also refrained from sexual intercourse with outsiders, they may have kept down the rate of venereal disease, thus decreasing infertility and fetal losses.[16]

Analysis

These new data help undo the tangles in our earlier analyses, though some old problems remain and a few new ones have intruded. Taylor's argument about population pressure on St. Vincent, which Gullick thought he had demolished, must now be

reconsidered.[17] Not only was a 1795 Carib population of six to eight thousand likely, but they may also have supported as many as another thousand runaway and French soldiers or "brigands" of various hues. Most of the battle reports from the time indicate high numbers of the latter fighting side by side with the Carib. Furthermore, there is evidence of extreme hardship and malnutrition among those who surrendered and were sent to Baliseau, which may have contributed to their defeat, as well as to the high mortality suffered during the subsequent epidemic.

The new population figures presented here should interest those physical anthropologists who have been studying gene frequencies of various hemoglobinopathies and other conditions. Contrary to my earlier published view (González 1969: 25), the original emigrant group was probably heavily African because of the deliberate separation of "Yellow" (or "Red") and Black Caribs.[18] There was much discussion in the local press, as well as in diplomatic correspondence concerning their racial identity, with many observers insisting they were pure Negroes. Central American 19th century travelers' reports, upon which I relied before, may have confused the Carib with their friendly neighbors, the Miskito.[19] In order to test the extent to which the Carib today resemble the latter, we need physical data comparable to those now in hand for Belize, Guatemala and St. Vincent (Crawford 1983). It will be interesting to see whether there is any similarity between Black Caribs and Sambo-Miskitos, perhaps deriving from the earliest period of contact between them (1797–1820). We should also consider the possibility that both the Carib language and ethnic group have declined in Nicaragua because they were largely absorbed by the Miskito, who were numerically stronger there than further north and west (Helms 1971).

A sideline problem has to do with the manner in which peoples of partial African descent replaced the native Amerindians along the coastline of Mosquitia and the Bay of Honduras at a fairly early date. The Blacks' greater resistance to malaria and yellow fever, both diseases of African origin, was an important factor in their survival rate. Another likely advantage was the native Africans' probable exposure to smallpox in childhood, with con-

sequent adult immunity. It can now be documented that there were Blacks on the shore from the early 17th century onward, arriving not only via shipwrecks, but as slaves brought in Spanish and English schemes to mine, cut wood, and generally exploit the area (FO 15/9: 105; AGCA). They accompanied the buccaneers, the various European settlement attempts, and were even brought in by the Spanish king to help build Omoa. Runaway slaves from Belize formed villages in the Peten and the Motagua Valley of Guatemala, while those from the Shore joined Indians and mestizos near San Pedro Sula and Comayagua, as well as along the many rivers in what are now Nicaragua and Honduras. Blacks, or "people of color" came to be the major population element along the coastline during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Carib would have been, at first, simply another group of refugee Blacks with a passion for freedom and a reputation for "fighting desperate", as one contemporary described it.[20] They also very soon acquired a reputation as hard workers, and the fact that they were sought after by Europeans may have contributed to the development of their outcaste status, which has been noted by most ethnographers. This was exacerbated, of course, by their inclination for privacy and the retention of their esoteric language.

One of the most persistent of our ethnographic puzzles has been the sorting out of the various roots of their language, and my research has little, if anything, to contribute here. However, their command over other languages is mentioned by nearly all observers. Interaction with the French over many generations had, by 1796, given them both a familiarity with that language and a set of Gallic surnames. Holm (1978b: 424) speculates that they were familiar with English upon arrival on Roatan since they had presumably used it in negotiating with the British on St. Vincent for a generation earlier. Yet, missionary accounts, both from St. Vincent and from Belize in 1826 note that the Carib were not generally fluent in English. I would guess that only a few men had achieved this by 1796, and that the epidemic and ravages of warfare eliminated most of these.

It is certain that they could not have been familiar with Spanish before arrival, yet from the beginning of their Central American residence they seem to have managed rather well. The French-

speaking blacks at Truxillo may have served as translators, and perhaps, general facilitators at first. But the oftnoted Carib linguistic ability served them well, and within a generation, even many women were fluent in Spanish (MMS Box 133, No. 183). Mosquito Coast Creole English, which served as a kind of *lingua franca* in the area, was probably also learned very quickly and certainly served as the means of communication when the Carib men first ventured to work in the woodcutting operations in Belize in 1802.[21]

The Idea of Tradition

Finally, I wish to take up the matter of persistence and borrowing in relation to cultural tradition. Several years ago I coined the term "neoteric" to describe a type of society which, springing from the ashes of warfare, forced migration or other calamity, had survived by patching together bits and pieces from its cultural heritage while at the same time borrowing and inventing freely and rapidly in order to cope with new, completely different circumstances (González 1970). It seemed to me then that most examples would come from the fairly recent past, by which I meant the last two or three centuries during which colonialism has run rampant throughout the world, often riding roughshod over peoples and cultures which survived as best they could.[22] Although Mary Helms (1976, 1981) has criticized my characterizing the Carib in this way, my recent historical research has further convinced me of the utility of the model I suggested. Let me add some new material and new ideas which I think strengthen my argument.

It is often noted that the culture of the contemporary Black Carib is unique, yet shows resemblances to many others. Taylor (1951) said they resembled an African cake made up of Amerindian ingredients. If one wishes to emphasize their Indianness, it is necessary only to point to the language, to the practice of couvade and to cassava with its associated technology. On the other hand, as has been noted by countless travelers, their African heritage is also striking, especially in the rituals and beliefs related

to the ancestors, much of the musical style, rhythms and dance steps, and most of the modern diet (though this better illustrates convergence). But as anthropologists, we should reflect that in both instances the resemblances are merely superficial generalizations based on inadequate observation and/or analysis. In fact, the more closely we apply our professional scrutiny, the more elusive the resemblances. Everyone "feels" there are African and/or Amazonian traits there, but the more we press, the farther we seem from proof.

The "West Indian" characteristics of the Black Caribs (González 1959) are recent innovations, and therefore, perhaps, more obvious. But even the John Canoe dance, now performed in Central America exclusively by the Black Carib, was said to have been "recently introduced from Jamaica" in one of the 19th century missionary documents I perused.[23] But this attempt to trace "origins", in the sense of "provenience", does not seem to me to be very fruitful, and smacks more than a little bit of 19th century "comparative" anthropology. Unless we admit to out and out antiquarianism, I can see little value to scholars or to the Carib, in dwelling upon the question of where this or that trait came from, especially when the so-called "traits" are themselves so non-distinctive, so broadly distributed and so ambiguously defined.

Instead, I submit, we should be directing our attention to the problem of tradition itself. Anthropologists often use the term with the implication that it has some special technical meaning. But can we really expound with any sense of professional or intellectual security on the concept? When do novelties and fashions become traditions? Are the latter really unchanging, or are they at any given moment merely what the elders (or reformation minded youths) say have existed from time immemorial? After all, there may be considerable value in celebrating something everyone believes is old, even if it was borrowed or invented yesterday. And if the belief, (or custom, artifact, institution) has been borrowed, perhaps it will be accepted more readily or more happily if the people can come to believe that it has derived from their own more ancient past. Borrowing is a very common and universal occurrence, and some anthropologists of yore spent their professional

lives tracing the diffusion of certain traits throughout the world, but we still know very little about just how the process takes place — how the new items become so well integrated into the total cultural fabric that the people believe they are old when they are in fact relatively new. Herskovits, with his concept of syncretism (1938), made a start in this direction, and Barnett's seminal book on innovation contains many insights which we should reexamine (1953). In a sense, the whole anthropological field of interest sometimes called "directed culture change" has been concerned with these questions — yet we have not the answers.

The question is not unrelated to recent thinking about the nature of ethnicity. Following the important work of Barth and his associates (1969), several anthropologists have described how peoples caught between two or more cultures may adopt characteristics of both, and how individuals may define their own ethnic identities in several ways and move in and out of them virtually at will and according to the situation (See Cohen 1974 and Metcalf 1982 for a few examples).

The Black Carib case is important, perhaps uniquely so, because it allows us to examine in some detail what happens to a people when they are suddenly faced with the imperative of adapting to new conditions or dying out. The fact that they did not succumb seems amazing when one realizes the dreadful circumstances in which they found themselves, and which proved disastrous for so many other colonies which tried to establish themselves in the same area.[24] It is, perhaps, of value to the people today to hear their ancestors' successes praised, but it is also potentially instructive in a much larger sense.

What happens to the parts of a culture, not to mention its integrity or "wholeness" when disaster strikes suddenly? What components disappear without a trace, and which ones remain, inevitably undergoing modification? How many people, with what kinds of knowledge and skills does it take to preserve a social organization and a symbolic universe? Do traditions enhance or diminish the chances for group survival? For that matter, and keeping the Ik (Turnbull 1972) in mind, how is individual survival balanced against group survival? The evidence shows that even the 2000 Caribs who were landed on Roatan were split

asunder by internal squabbling within a month. Perhaps dissension or factionalism furthers survival by providing platforms for new ideas and alternative courses of action.

My sense is that Black Carib culture is what it is today because some members of that tiny group put down on Roatan were willing and able to make quick, opportunistic decisions without the burden of a traditional political and religious system which might have urged caution. Put another way, the crisis must have removed many cultural restraints, thus allowing them to become more adaptable. Or, as in the example of migratory wage labor cited earlier, it might be argued that the exiled generation had grown up on St. Vincent in the shadow of nearly perpetual warfare and threatened loss of land and life, and were thus preadapted to crisis. This would have served them well as they continued to face what for many would have seemed insurmountable problems over and over again during the first decades after arrival in Central America.

It is my contention that the Black Caribs survived by making use of what they had, which included whatever seemed to work and to fit from their past, but more importantly, by borrowing freely from all the ethnic groups they found on the mainland, including Amerindian, European, and Creole populations of various origins. They adopted a new religion (Roman Catholicism) with many of its ritual observances, while retaining some (probably not all) of the old; a new set of surnames; several new language devices; new foods; dances, songs, rhythms (did they have drums at all on St. Vincent?) — the list goes on and on. And if the various items sometimes resembled what they had known before, so much the better, though they appear to have had little difficulty reconciling the new with the old. It is just this quality that I tried to capture when I used the term "neoteric", for it seemd to me that what we had here was something truly new under the sun — that the culture as a whole could be said to be without roots, though this did not mean, of course, that there was nothing in it of antiquity. All cultural items must come from somewhere, but I have been more interested in the conditions which have helped mold the total picture than with arguing about where the pieces "originated" or whether they are really the same pieces.

The Carib continue today to invent new ways based on old and borrowed forms as they begin to colonize New York City and London. Their oral traditions are now enriched by the printed word. There is a story, quoted by Gullick (1976: 29) which attributes the founding of Livingston to a "witch-doctor" named Marco Sánchez Díaz. In 1956 I had also heard this name mentioned, though as a "Haitian", and without reference to witchcraft (González 1969: 26). In seeking Gullick's source, I discovered that a 1939 Guatemalan travel book (Kelsey & Osborne) had an almost identical account. I now suspect my Carib informants had also read or heard of this book.[25] In 1956 I was also told another story. An elderly man said that the settlement had been named for one of the two famous English explorers who had set out in the 19th century to "know" the world. One man, Stanley, reconnoitered Africa, while his friend, Livingston, (sic) had gone to Central America! Both stories demonstrate literacy, or at least a familiarity with some of the literature of the Western world. And why not? Both neatly tie Carib history in with two of the many traditions which have given it life.

But to show that they are eclectic and have not necessarily sold out to a European view of history, I should also point out that there has been in the past quarter century a considerable change in the Carib view of Africa. A comment reported by Taylor (1951) and repeated *ad nauseum* by too many ethnographers about "wanting to kill every Negro in Africa for having spoiled their race", just doesn't fit any longer. Many young Carib men and women today, whether or not they have traveled overseas, are fond of wearing modern African styles in clothing and hair arrangements, and are not surprised or distressed when told that their blood types link them with that continent. In fact, even some of my more elderly friends told me they were "relieved" to hear that they were not closely related to "los Indios". Already in 1956 *Ebony* was known and read in Livingston.

What has happened to their Indian "tradition"? I suggest it is still there, but has been largely submerged by a newer sense of unity with modern Blacks in the United States, Africa, and elsewhere in the Caribbean. In a recent letter from Livingston the son of one of my early informants offered to educate me further in

the "Afro-Caribbean" background of his people. For the Black Carib, and perhaps for some other "neoteric" groups, tradition is what they make it, and that has proved to be useful now for quite a long time. The really important thing is to keep the idea of tradition alive, because it is, perhaps, the cement which keeps the group together. In this effort, oral tradition is far superior to written history, for it allows a flexibility which the latter resists. Of course, revisions of history occur in all societies, especially in those accounts labeled "Whiggish" by Butterfield (quoted in Stocking 1968: 3). Also referred to as " presentist", these serve to ratify and glorify the present and the events the present society believes brought it about. When the pace of change is rapid, written history can be an embarrassment, especially if the "facts" do not fit a new ideology or encourage new behavior patterns perceived to be more in line with continued survival of the unit. This is true even when the history has been written for the sake of understanding the past on its own terms, as in Butterfield's historicism.

Ethnographies, of course, may be classified in a similar way, depending upon whether they have been written primarily for the sake of the living indigenous peoples, or to understand the culture on its own terms, whether in reference to the actual present or to a long lost "ethnographic present". Until the late 1960s most ethnographers seem to have been aiming at the latter, even though it seems probable that most of them were sufficiently involved with "their" people to want to present them in the best possible light. Tenets of cultural relativity also would tend to slant the records in this direction. Yet, the leaders of modern ethnic minority groups have often been unhappy with and even contemptuous of the ethnographic record, much to the puzzlement and distress of well-meaning anthropologists. Failure to understand the "real" culture has been the most common charge, implying ethnocentrism and incompetence, if not a deliberate playing into the hands of an elite colonial establishment (see DeLoria 1969 for an example of the charge, and Hymes 1969 for discussion of the problem by anthropologists.) The distinction anthropologists make between etic and emic accounts (Harris 1968: 568 ff.) is also relevant here, for any attempt to "see things from the perspective of the natives" must inevitably incorporate the biases of the living peoples.[26]

I suggest that it takes a secure people to accept an historicist account of their past or an etic account of their present. The issue seldom arose in the early days of our profession because the majority of our informants never saw what we wrote, or if they did, they were already marginal to their own culture and thus, perhaps, less sensitive to the implications of having their system recorded for posterity. When political goals require altered images of the past, oral traditions, ethnographies, and written histories may all be affected, but the three are not equally susceptible to revision. Discrediting the anthropologist, or better yet, the profession itself, may be seen as an appropriate mechanism for rewriting the ethnographic record, which thus clears the way for new folk traditions to be conceived and promulgated. At a later time, when (or if) societies move into periods of greater affluence and political security, their members may choose to turn again to the earlier historicist accounts in an effort to understand their own past in relation to other events of the time (history) or in comparison with other societies of a similar type or condition (ethnography.)

What this means for the anthropologist in the field is that detailed description of even apparently trivial minutiae may one day be more important than we have lately thought it to be. It is not enough merely to record things as they seem to be, either from our own or our informants' perspectives. The "scientific method" generally scorns collection of data which seem not to have bearing on a particular hypothesis. Though it is true that we cannot hope to observe, much less record everything out there, it seems to me that the essence of the scientific ethnographic method, which distinguishes it from more casual observations made by untrained persons, or by those with vested interests, is the wide angled lens, which at the same time is capable of zooming in on selected subjects so as to give a lasting data set useful to others. Things and events which may seem unimportant or peripheral at one time may take on great significance later. In my 1959 work on the Carib, I did not report the "Stanley and Livingstone" version of the founding of Livingston, for it did not seem to me to be "traditional". Now I realize that the other story may also have derived from literary, rather than folk culture. Thus time, con-

tinued observation, and most importantly, archival research, have led me an understanding that some ideas are born with tradition in mind, and if they serve their purpose well, may become such in a very short time. How many people under 30 know when Rudolph the Red-nosed Reindeer joined Santa Claus as a traditional Christmas character?

It behooves us and the people among whom we study to take meticulous notes and to strive for the greatest possible objectivity. The selection of topic and the interpetations we make are themselves, of course, subjective endeavors, and we should be prepared for the possibility, or even probability, that much of our interpretation may not suit the present needs of the people, and may therefore be denied or rejected. A responsible stance might be to produce both a "historicist" and a Whiggish version of our data, taking special pains that the latter does in one way or another ratify and glorify the present. One might even call it "applied anthropology"!

NOTES

1. A preliminary version of this paper was read at the Afro-Indian Symposium, 44th International Congress of Americanists, Manchester, England, Sept. 7, 1982. My thanks go to the Graduate School of the University of Maryland for the basic grant which made the research possible, as well as to the British Council for supplementary assistance. Faculty and staff of the the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London were instrumental in providing a pleasant and scholarly environment in which to work. I am also indebted to the staffs at all the libraries and archives consulted, which included those at the British Museum, the Public Record Office at Kew, the National Maritime Museum at Greenwhich, the Bodleian Library and Rhodes House Library at Oxford, Quality Court at Chancery Lane, the Senate House Library, the Institute for Historical Research and the Institute for Latin American Studies at the University of London, and the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine. In January, 1983 I spent two weeks in the *Archivo General de Centro America* in Guatemala. I am grateful to the personnel there who assisted me valiantly during a bitterly cold and rushed research stint. Michael Fry and Larry Feldman were especially helpful in identifying key documents.

William Stuart made invaluable editorial suggestions, and my knowledge of the 18th century Caribbean was enhanced by discussions with Edward Cox and Roger Buckley. Eric Wolf's thoughts on the nature of tradition and its relationship to the concept of ethnicity were provocative and stimulating. I am grateful to all of them for their collegial support.

Finally I am indebted to Jonathan Wright, who did the map.

2. St. Vincent was not only one of Nelson's most famous naval victories of the same period, but it was also the name of an important contemporary British admiral and statesman.

3. It will require a full length monograph to do justice to the new materials and understandings acquired during the course of this research, and in that I expect to document more extensively the impact of the French Revolution on the Carib. At the time of the final order directing that they be removed to the Bay Islands, Spain and Britain were not yet at war, but high ranking officials clearly expected that it was imminent (WO 1/82, f. 583).

4. We may never be able to determine the actual disease, but I am inclined to think now, on the basis of considerable deductive reasoning and with the assistance of epidemiological colleagues and texts, that it was a spirochetal disease with symptons similar to typhus.

5. The British considered several different sites before they decided upon the Bay Islands. Among others, these included Africa, the Bahamas, and the peninsula of Samaná on the island of Hispaniola. In each case they considered not only whether the Carib would be able to find their way back to St. Vincent, but also what benefits their presence in these other spots would produce for the larger British good. In fairness, it should be noted that they sought a place which might also be healthy and attractive to the Carib themselves. See WO 1/82, f. 583; WO 1/640.

6. The totals listed on the actual return are about 10% higher. Whether this was a product of a clerk with poor arithmetical skills or whether they had some reason to inflate the totals reported (or both) is not clear. The higher figures were reported to the War Office and have been repeated by various historians. The return I found lists numbers of men, women and children by date of surrender, which are more likely to be accurate than the totals (WO 1/82: 645.)

7. On September 23, 1797, the Spanish took a census of the Caribs who had been brought to Truxillo from Roatan. There was total of 1465 persons (incorrect addition made this 1490 in the document itself), of whom 722 were male (496 labeled "men") and 743 female (547 "women"). A separate document listed names, ages and religious affiliation for a group of 206 Caribs still on Roatan on October 16, 1797. The oldest female was 50,and the oldest man, 42 years old. and only nine persons were 41 or over. A similarly startling fact is that there were only six nursing babies — one of whom was three years old and the others apparently over one year. This leaves only 355 of the original 2026 unaccounted for. Some may have died, but others probably remained on the island, perhaps at Punta Gorda, where some of their descendants still live. All this would be consitent with a population recently devastated by disease (AGCA: A3.16/2025/194.)

8. Spanish accounts differ somewhat in that the captured ship with Caribs aboard was only an incidental point in the battle. Residents of Truxillo perceived the attack as being sudden, unprovoked and aimed at the capture and/or sacking of the town itself. Black French soldiers were the major factor in repelling the attack, and the whole affair seems to have ended in something of a standoff. The

British retrieved the Caribs and their own men and fled the area. Such attacks were presented to the local Honduran Spanish public as pirate depredations (*La Gaceta de Guatemala*, 26 June, 1797.)

9. The Prince William Henry was left with the Carib when the convoy departed on May 1. Provisions werde carried on all or most of the ships, as were passengers and crew. I have found no evidence to support the oral tradition that "the provision ship" was wrecked off the shore of Roatan, thus forcing the Caribs' removal to the mainland (Roberts 1827: 273). Furthermore, when the British ships left Roatan at the end of April, the Carib were reported to be busily clearing land and settling in. The Experiment's logs hint, however, that when the British departed, some Caribs may have been left aboard the Prince William Henry at sea. It is possible, perhaps, that the ship went aground while they were trying to land her. The Ganges did that in Port Royal harbor on the first night of the convoy's arrival (WO 52/2976).

10. As mentioned in Note 6, a portion of the exiles was taken to Truxillo in May. At that time they were promised transportation for the rest, and even though no further description of their movement has been discovered, the August and October census listings suggest that at least 80% of them had been removed during the first six months. The Spanish records are a bit confusing in that they suggest that a portion of the 2000 were not Caribs at all but "pure French" [blacks]. Although they may have seemed so because of their names and their fluency in French, there is no mention of such in the British materials, all of which stress that they were Caribs.

11. The rainy season in that part of the world may set in any time from mid-May to early June. It may not be coincidental that the surrender to the Spanish occurred on May 19. Given the other problems mentioned, the onset of the rains before extensive planting could occur would have been fatal to the future of the settlement. Food would have been extremely low by the time of harvest anyway, but with only a small planting, they could not have held out another year. Of course, they did not know that efforts were being made to replenish their supplies from England (WO 1/82: 719, 727; WO 1/690).

12. Minutes of the Meeting of the Magistrates, Settlement at Belize, Burdon 1931: 233.

13. I have deduced this from a number of bits of evidence, but the key document is a letter to Prince Stephen of the Miskito Nation from General T. O'Nielle, CO 123/15.

14. We may never be able to reconstruct the actual settlement patterns of the Central American Carib. Davidson (1974) has given us an exhaustive and authoritative account of present-day locations, and comparison with early maps indicates several places where dwellings were once said to be, but are no longer.

15. Numerous French traders, including a French Marquise were resident in Truxillo in the late 1790's. Presumably they owned some slaves. In addition, former slaves from Santo Domingo and perhaps from elsewhere in the French

Caribbean were deposited by their British captors all along the Spanish Main during this period. One group was mentioned as having landed in Truxillo in early 1796 (Burdon 1931: 217). This may have been the nucleus of the contingent of soldiers which is mentioned frequently and with great respect in the Spanish materials.

A Spanish census of Truxillo in 1815 lists 5,000 Caribs, certainly far too many, since there had been no more than 2,026 immigrants 18 years earlier. Possibly the French blacks had merged with the Caribs by then, or it may be that the Spanish, for one or another reason, did not distinguish between the two populations. On the other hand, Wells (1857) quotes an anonymous source giving a total of 400 inhabitants for Truxillo in 1811, three quarters of whom were black. This is more consistent with other data concerning numbers of arrivals and suggestions that the Caribs had begun to disperse after 1807. There is reason to believe that the local authorities had become fearful of the Caribs and exaggerated their fecundity and numbers in order to support their desire to move them out of Truxillo. In fact, their dispersal may have been at least partially engineered by the Spanish themselves (AGCA A.1/26357/2875).

16. Bard (1855: 68) describes a case of syphilitic leprosy and says that the disease was held in such terror that the interior tribes of Nicaragua prohibited sexual relations with the coastal Sambos. If Caribs had been aware of the danger, they might have moved more toward sexual exclusivity by the mid 19th century.

17. Taylor 1951, Gullick 1978. See also CO 123/14, 31 Oct., 1796, which mentions concern about British navy deserters being concealed on St. Vincent. See also 1 May and 9 Nov. (1797) entries in the same file. The various documents frequently allude to the presence of non-Carib in the latter's territory throughout the 1795–1797 period.

18. Although the "Yellow" Carib were generally thought to be quite harmless and rather pitiful by British officialdom, the Vincentian planters were never happy about having even this small group of Indians returned to their shores. It soon became clear that the latter were in sympathy with their darker counterparts, as well as with the French, but the planters' pleas to have them removed fell upon generally deaf ears (CO 123/14; HO 30/2, f. 50).

19. I am at a loss to understand how both Squier (same as Bard) and Young could have described such extreme variability among them. However, having reread their accounts now, some 25 years later, I am more inclined to believe that Squier took his cue from Young, and that both let their imaginations soar. Actually, their descriptions better fit the Miskito, who do in fact range from "yellow as saffron" to darkest black. All other observers of the late 18th century and early 19th century Black Carib, both on St. Vincent and the mainland, describe them as being uniformly negroid.

20. Letter cited in Note 11.

21. The multiplicity of languages spoken in the Amazon area today by both Carib and Arawak peoples has been the subject of renewed interest among both linguists and ethnographers (Sorensen 1971). A Methodist missionary in Stann

Creek found that by 1835 Carib men spoke considerable English, but the women only understood Spanish, and that imperfectly (MMS Box 133, No. 183). This suggests either a very recent arrival, or a Belizean isolation for women more extreme than that in Honduras.

Holm (1978b) has a description and analysis of Mosquito Coast Creole, and his 1977 publication offers some comparison with Belizean Creole. For the latter, Young (1973) is the definitive analysis to date. "Miskitomen" appear to have been frequent visitors to Belize from the 17th century onward, and I assume there must have been at least some mutual intelligibility between the two dialects.

22. In a personal communication, Eric Wolf has opined that there have been many situations throughout world history which have created neoteric societies — e.g. in the shatterbelts of the Roman Empire. Population size itself must be an important variable, however. In the Amazon area indigenous groups whose size becomes drastically reduced simply unite with others (Symposium on Amazonian Caribs, International Congress of Americanists, Manchester, England, September 1982). There have been too few instances described in the literature, perhaps in part because anthropologists have been too prone to see "tradition" rather than its lack.

23. MMS Box 132, No. 144, 1829.

24. There were numerous ill-fated attempts during the 19th century to establish other colonists in what is now Central America. These included Belgians, French, Prussians, Germans, and English, as well as both white and black Americans. They had varying degrees of success, but that is another story.

25. Documentary evidence exists that a man named Sánchez Díaz was commissioned by the Central American government in 1821 to "settle" Livingston, but the town had clearly been established before that — probably by the turn of the century. It seems unlikely that he was either Haitian or a "witchdoctor."

26. It is strange how anthropologists often tend to dislike or distrust books which do not show the "natives" in a favorable light. Both Fortune's The Sorcerers of Dobu (1932) and Turnbull's *The Mountain People* (1972) suffered intense criticism, at least partially on this account.

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ADM Admiralty Records, Public Records Office, Kew and National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.
AGCA Archivos Generales de Centro America, Guatemala City.
CO Colonial Office Records, Kew.
FO Foreign Office Records, Kew.
MMS Methodist Missionary Society Records at School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of London.
WO War Office Records, Kew.

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NANCIE L. GONZÁLEZ
Deparment of Anthropology
University of Maryland
College Park MD 20742, U.S.A.

THE FIRST COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF CARIBBEAN ARCHITECTURE

Historic architecture of the Caribbean. DAVID BUISSERET. London, Kingston, Port of Spain, and Exeter NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980. xviii + 93 pp. (Paper US$ 16.00, £4.00)

Caribbean Georgian: the great and small houses of the West Indies. PAMELA GOSNER. Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1982. xiv + 296 pp. (Cloth US$ 26.00, Paper US$ 12.00)

Kaz Antiyé: jan moun ka rété (Caribbean popular dwelling/L'habitat populaire aux Antilles). JACK BERTHELOT & MARTINE GAUME. Translators: KAREN BOWIE (English), ROBERT FONTÈS, JEAN-PIERRE & JULIETTE SAINTON (Creole). Paris: Editions Caribéennes, 1982. 167 pp. (Paper US$ 30.00, available from Editions Perspectives Créoles, Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe)

Until recently, anyone seeking scholarly information on Caribbean colonial or vernacular architecture was faced with an arduous search through the obscure journals of several languages and many countries. Such a search would eventually reveal that there existed no broadly based comparative studies of this most deserving topic. The few relevant articles that did exist were devoted to particular communities or limited subjects, for example, the West Indian hip roofed cottage (Doran 1962), or Georgian architecture of the British West Indies (May 1933; Acworth 1949, 1951). Very few monograph-length treatments of Caribbean house types had appeared, and they remained as deeply mired in obscurity as the shorter works (Lovén 1935; Pérez de la Riva 1952; Otterbein 1975).

Beginning in the 1970s, a few glimmers of light had begun to appear on the Antillian architectural horizon. John Vlach completed the first comparative study of (shotgun) houses in Louisiana, Haiti, and Nigeria (1975, 1976). Another anthropologist, Carol F. Jopling, conducted an as-yet unpublished survey of the vernacular houses of Puerto Rico (n.d.). Preservation groups on various islands began to take a more serious interest in their architectural heritage. The Georgian Society of Jamaica produced a 28-page inventory of the historic structures of Falmouth (n.d.). Robert Gamble & José Augusto Puig Ortíz published an inventory of the historic architecture of Puerto Plata, D.R. (1978). The Caribbean Conservation Association, the Island Resources Foundation, and other groups began promoting research and popular interest in island architectural heritage. Television documentaries on West Indian vernacular architecture were produced in Barbados and the Virgin Islands.

Each of these projects, as well as others undertaken in this time period, was valuable and important in its own right. At the same time, all suffered from a common failing. What was missing from all studies of Caribbean historic and vernacular architecture was a common focus and a common methodology. Each of the studies asked different questions; each produced different kinds of data so that none was comparable with any of the others. While it may seem naïve to expect common goals from so diverse a collection of scholars, it might be pointed out that in those countries where national surveys have been succesfully undertaken (for example, Italy, Spain, France, Switzerland, the U.S., and Canada), the result has been a data base which may be used for many different interests, i.e., planning, public health, sociology, history, ethnology, and architectural history. In some ways, the Caribbean *is* like a nation. It is a single complex region sharing a great many common historical, economic and cultural themes. Because of its peculiar problems of political, linguistic and geographic diversity, nothing could be more important to the development of an understanding of the culture history of each individual insular community than a shared approach to the study of the entire region. It is exactly because of this diversity that a stronger than usual emphasis on common methods is required to insure that common goals will be met.

But what goals and methods could find common agreement in the diversities of interest among those who study Caribbean architecture? Perhaps the suggestion is not as problematic as it first appears. Architectural history and ethnography already share much that is common in their goals and methods. Both depend heavily on the same approaches to the problem of gathering data (survey work, historical research, and comparative analysis), though each may tend to emphasize one at the expense of the others. Together the tripartite methodological orientation provides an established basis for agreement on more specific tactics of data gathering.

First is the collection of data through field surveys of standing structures and, occasionally, through historic archaeology. We badly need detailed descriptive studies of the kinds and variations of buildings in each of the island communities of the Caribbean. Since not every building can be surveyed, sampling methods and levels should be established by common agreement, at least as something to aim for. These need not be a single, rigid, standard, for different methods may work best under different circumstances. What *is* important is that the methods be carefully thought out so that they are as comparable as possible. For example, random sampling, traverse sampling, and ecozone sampling might each be used in different communities. Provided the proportions of buildings surveyed are sufficiently high, the data bases generated should all be functionally comparable.

Surveys should aim to sample the widest possible variety of buildings of each community. No types, such as huts or outbuildings, should be omitted, simply because of aesthetic or other prejudices. Each survey should also attempt to sample many buildings of each major type, so that inter-type variations, as well as intra-type variations may be documented. The formal description of any type will ultimately rest, in large part, on the kinds and degrees of variation within that type. Ideally, one product of field surveys should be architectural drawings, particularly measured plans and elevations. Plans are essential. It would be helpful if a single standard of measurement could be employed in all cases. Certainly, the metric system would provide the best basis for comparison, though the English system might also be em-

ployed on those islands in which builders used it in building layout. Sections, framing methods, and architectural detail (window coverings, gingerbread decoration, gallery forms, partitions and screens, roof coverings, etc.) should obviously also be illustrated. Survey reports should include professional quality photos and brief histories of each building, together with ethnographic descriptions of their social and economic milieux. Ideally, such surveys should combine the professional skills of historians, ethnologists and architects. A common method of locating each building geographically should be established. In this, I favor the Universal Transverse Mercator system, now available on many topographic maps.

It is also important that the raw field survey data be readily available and widely disseminated, either through some form of inventory publication or via a computer network such as that being developed for the Louisiana State Division of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. This will provide access to the same information by all interested parties.

The second approach to data gathering is the examination of historic documents and archival materials. Here the principal aim is to establish a temporal scale of architectual events. Detailed architectural histories of each class of building need to be developed. This will remain a difficult task in many Caribbean communities, where with even the best efforts, the historical record remains impervious to the kinds of questions we would ask of it.

Take, for example, the so-called "chattel house" of Barbados. Today, these delightful little cottages represent an amalgam of many distinct architectural currents which have swept over that island during the past three and one-half centuries. In the culture history of these buildings we may well discover the influences of African tribes, Bostonian entrepreneurs, English and Irish peasants, Jacobean roofing forms, Georgian geometry, English naval architecture, Victorian trim, Guyanese (ultimately French-Italian) shutter forms, twentieth-century California bungalow porch post styles, and many other themes from diverse sources. The story of exactly when and how these elements were incorporated into the chattel house tradition needs badly to be told, but it will not be an easy task. It will have to be teased out of widely

scattered archival sources through a concerted effort by dedicated, culturally oriented historians. Multiply these difficulties by the number of different architectural types of the Caribbean and you have some idea of the magnitude of the historical research waiting to be done.

Third is the comparative method. This method functions in part as a substitute for historical research. It is useful in cases where historical documentation is incomplete, as it so often is in the West Indies. It becomes absolutely essential in the study of vernacular architecture where good historical documentation is almost totally lacking. Though comparative study of foreign vernacular and popular traditions may seem tedious and unnecessary, it often provides the only solid basis for understanding precisely in what manner a local tradition was influenced to develop along certain lines. It need hardly be pointed out that comparative study proceeds hand in hand with historical study. The selection of what particular foreign architectural traditions to survey is guided by a knowledge of the history of settlement and the times and places of origin of the major colonizing populations.

In the case of the Antilles, not one, but *two* levels of comparative study are called for. Influences on the architecture of the various Antillian communities have sprung from Europe, West Africa and the Americas, and also from neighboring islands. It is often the case that a foreign architectural theme such as Georgian styling has been creolized or syncretized on one island, only to be passed along at a later time to other islands, where it is again reworked. Thus, the architecture of the West Indies is a complex patchwork of partially shared, partially unique architectural themes. The timing of the development of these themes is often quite separate from the timing of the rise and fall of the parental European and American traditions. In the Caribbean, architectural innovation and borrowing is often an artifact of local island history: economic boom periods, settlement, conquest and trade relations. This implies that we must have a reasonably detailed knowledge, not only of the architectural traditions of North America, South America, Europe, West Africa and the autochthonous Antillian heritage, but also of the timing and causes of the development of the local traditions of the other Antillian communities. This is

particulary true of influential communities such as Hispaniola, Barbados and Jamaica, which functioned as models during periods of settlement and resettlement of other islands. Systematic comparative studies of both international and regional scope have been almost totally absent from the study of Caribbean architecture.

Bringing these three methodological orientations to bear on a substantial number of Caribbean communities will result in a more realistic synthetic view of the historical development of West Indian architectural traditions. Survey and historical research are preliminary to the application of the comparative method. Without them, the synthetic perspective will always remain general and hypothetical, but *with* the specific information provided by local surveys and broadly based historical research,we should finally be in a position to begin to answer many important questions about the processes of Caribbean cultural history. A few brief examples must here suffice.

The fascinating question of the contribution of African culture to the early vernacular traditions of the West Indies has yet to be successfully explored at the comparative level. Despite excellent preliminary work by Herskovits & Herskovits (1936, 1937) and Vlach (1975), we have only scratched the surface of this problem. These scholars have shown that certain compound structures (in Suriname) and linear house forms (the shotgun) may have direct African antecedents, but the question of the influence of the widespread West African gabled roof cottage, indigenous shrines, granaries and burial structures, as well as the psychological and spatial preferences of West Africans in the New World, remain to be explored in greater detail (see Edwards 1980a).

Without a rather complete historical description of the possible foreign sources of architectural form, we shall never be able to assess the relative contribution of direct and stimulus diffusion, as it relates to Caribbean creole innovation. We know, for example, that the veranda/gallery/piazza achieved the prominence of a major cultural theme only after being carried into the West Indies in rudimentary forms in the 17th century. Each of the European cultures developed favored forms of this feature. The Spanish favored flying balconies, the English galleried façades, and the

French encircling galleries. I have read at least a dozen theories of the development of the West Indian gallery and its influence on North American vernacular and plantation architecture. Nearly every North American architectural historian has commented on this phenomenon, and new explanations are constantly being developed. Interestingly, there is little agreement among them. Most such theories are overly simplistic and take little account of the complexity of the development of this tradition, both in its cultural antecedents and its synthesis and development in the entire Caribbean (see Edwards 1980a).

From the perspective of the architectural historian, it would be useful to develop a systematic basis for comparison of European and Antillian architectural traditions. For example, just what is "creole" Georgian architecture at the domestic level, and how does it differ from its European progenitor? Is West Indian Georgian better viewed as an integrated set of styles and features, or is it in part at least something completely different, for example, a series of locally developed vernacular types which participate to varying degrees in European styling (Georgian Society of Jamaica n.d.: 2)? Is *any* West Indian building which carries features of Georgian styling properly described with this term, or should we restrict the term to those buildings which carry a core of definitive features?

Does the boundary between West Indian academic and vernacular architecture differ in a significant way from that of Europe? Surely, a larger proportion of Caribbean buildings may be classed as vernacular, but do the differences reflect differences of principle or differences of degree? In what sense is plantation architecture vernacular architecture? How about the commercial and urban forms? In attempting to answer these questions, we may find ourselves faced with the task of describing the social principles upon which folk, vernacular, popular, industrial and polite (academic) architecture differ in different types of societies. The result of such research could easily lead to an improved understanding of the social bases of the development of the built environment.

These are but a few of the many worthwhile questions which will be raised as the study of Caribbean architecture becomes

more widespread and more scientifically oriented. It is not unfair, I believe, to judge new studies of Caribbean architecture against the kinds of questions raised here.

For the first time in recent years, comparative studies of larger scope have begun to appear. The first three comparative architectural studies were published between 1980 and 1982. They have several features in common. None of them is based on rigorous field surveys of the type called for here. It appears that the method of all of the authors was to visit a variety of islands and select what they felt to be representative samples of the different important types of buildings of each island. Each of the studies treats the history of the development of typical architectural forms, though each in quite a different way. Indeed, one surprising aspect of these three studies is how few of the same "typical" buildings are used for illustration by the different authors. Because of this the three books complement one another nicely. The approach to the use of historical documentation is also generally shared by the authors of these studies. These are not in-depth historical treatises. No new historical insights are revealed. Where references are cited, they are published sources, rather than archival materials and documents. This is due to the fact that the three books are aimed at a popular, rather than an academic market. I will now briefly review each of the studies in the order of their appearance.

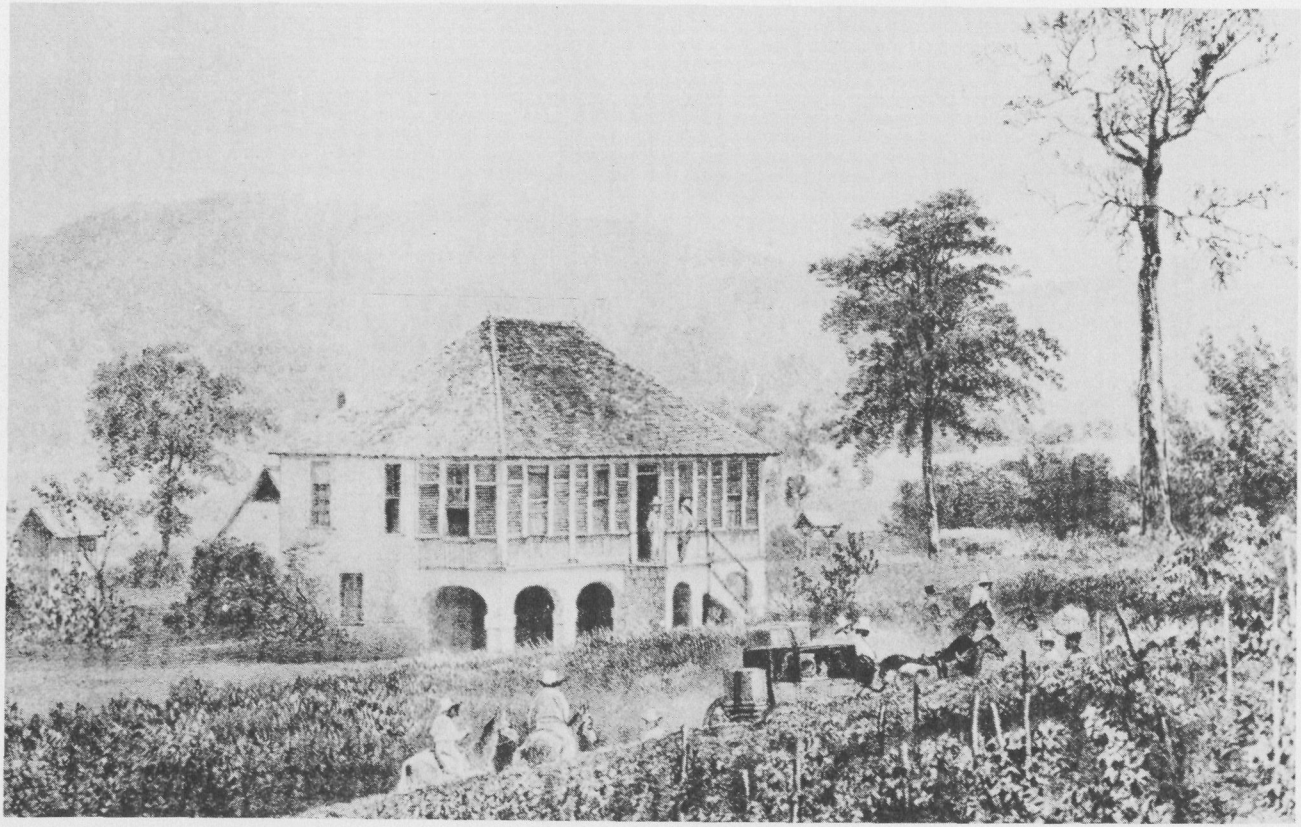
Historic Architecture of the Caribbean is the result of years of research by the architectural historian, David Buisseret (formerly at the University of the West Indies at Mona, now at the Newberry Library at the University of Chicago). Buisseret is the author of several previous books on the history of Jamaica. In this work he describes a sampling of the architecture of the Antilles. A disproportionate share of his examples are drawn from the island of Jamaica, though buildings from other British, French and Dutch West Indian islands are also represented.

In a brief introduction, the author attributes the forms of Caribbean architecture to three principal factors: tradition, the availability of materials, and the climate (p. xvi). Cultural influences are described as stemming primarily from Europe and

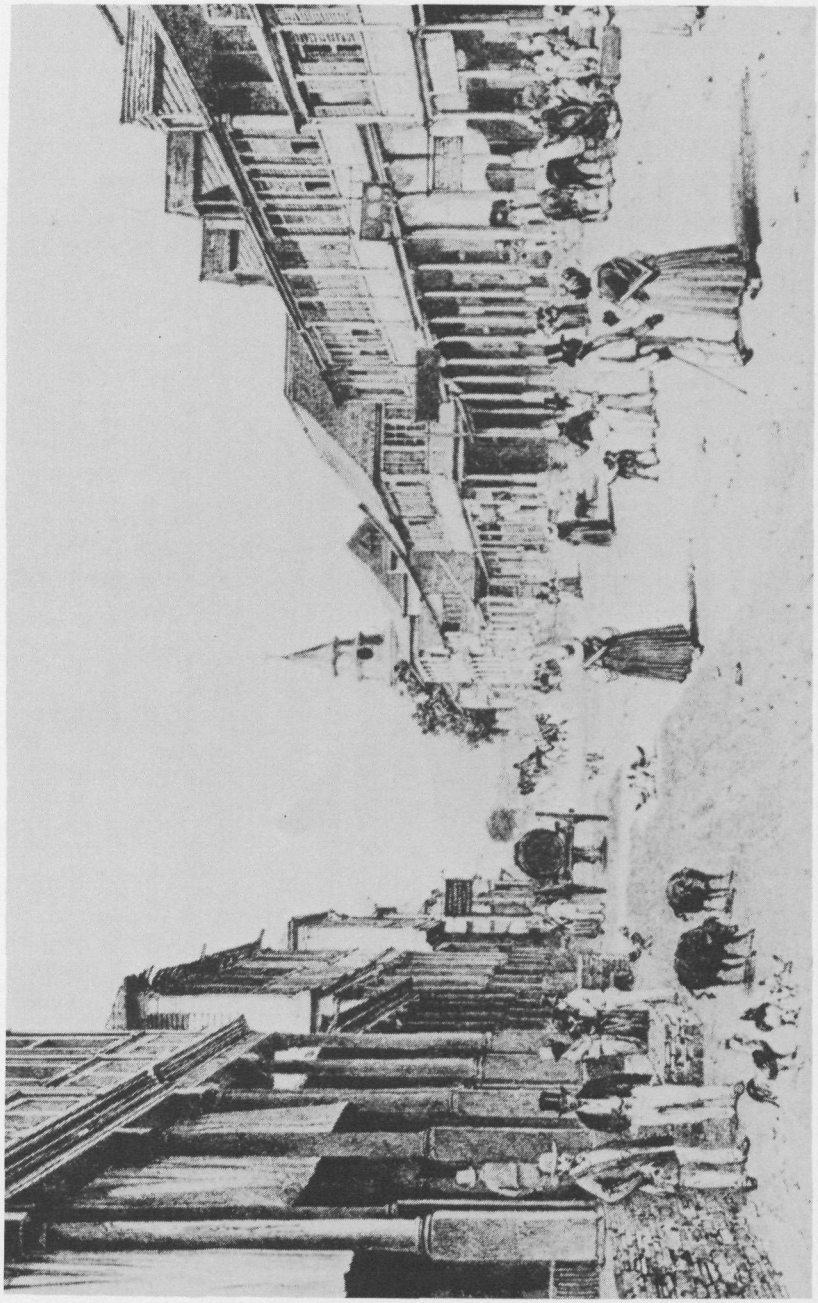
North America, though "the more subtle influence of Africa... is only beginning to be appreciated" (p. xiv). Materials are described as varying widely from place to place, with brick, tiles and some stone being imported from Europe, and lumber coming from North America following the exhaustion of indigenous hardwoods. Primary among the environmental considerations were: intense solar radiation, torrential rainfalls, orientation to the trade winds for cooling, and protection from (and resistance to) the effects of hurricanes and earthquakes.

Each of the five chapters of the book is devoted to a different type of architecture. The first deals with domestic architecture, which is classified by size rather than by form. Houses are typed as: huts or cabins and small, medium, and great houses. The use of a typology based on size, rather than form, may stem from the work of Cordingly (1949) and Brunskill (1965–66, 1971), students of English vernacular architecture. In Buisseret's system, huts are distinguished from small houses because they are devoid of decorative or comfort-seeking features. The original small Spanish houses of Jamaica are said to have disappeared, leaving little influence on current British styles. It is possible to take issue with at least one aspect of this interpretation. Hans Sloane's 1689 description of the surviving Spanish houses of St. Jago de la Vega and the surrounding countryside clearly indicates that the Spanish employed porches and galleries. Colonel Barry's house, for example, formerly owned by a wealthy Spanish widow, is described as "all galleried round" (Sloane 1707: lxxiii). This raises one of the important open questions in British West Indian culture history. Did the British regularly employ piazzas on their West Indian dwellings *before* the conquest of Jamaica, or did they fall under the influence of the piazza because it was usurped and found to be a useful component of the Spanish architecture of Jamaica after 1655? Only good historical research will answer this question.

The second chapter of Buisseret's book traces the history of the development of commercial towns throughout the Caribbean, as well as their architectural styles. Many fine old prints, including those of Adolphe Duperly, are used as illustrations (see Figures 1 and 2). Old plans and maps also supplement the modern photo-



1. View of Moneague Tavern, St. Ann, Jamaica, by Adolphe Duperly, ca. 1860. (Buisseret, p. 82)



2. A street scene from Kingston, Jamaica, by Adolphe Duperly. (Buisseret, p. xiv)

graphs. A chapter on industrial architecture describes wind, water and animal mills, sugar houses, hospitals, coffee mills and lime kilns. Chapter Four is devoted to military and naval architecture, a subject on which Buisseret is at his best. Again, old plans and diagrams complement the descriptions of forts, dockyards, signal stations and barracks. The final chapter is devoted to religious architecture, tombs, bridges, lighthouses, inns, spas, government buildings and schools. The text of each chapter is brief and descriptive in tone. The book is well illustrated, though no color prints are used between the covers. In some cases, the reproductions of photographs and prints are disappointingly small, but in general the figures provide pleasing support for the text.

Professor Buisseret has provided a nicely balanced sketch of the development of Caribbean architecture between the 17th and 19th centuries. The book is too brief to be called a survey, or to provide the reader a balanced view of the complexities of West Indian architecture, but it is suitable as a brief introduction, particularly for those less familiar with the wonderful range of variation of Caribbean architecture.

Caribbean Georgian is Pamela Gosner's second book on Caribbean architecture. It covers most of the larger non-Hispanic islands of the region. The stated purpose of the volume is to "provide an introduction to the architecture of the 17th–19th centuries on all of the West Indian islands except the Spanish ones: to trace the European roots and the New World influences which molded it" (p. xiii). Gosner states that the book is written as a guide for travelers and observers, but it is more than that. Indeed, it is the beginning of a comparative culture history of the architecture of these islands.

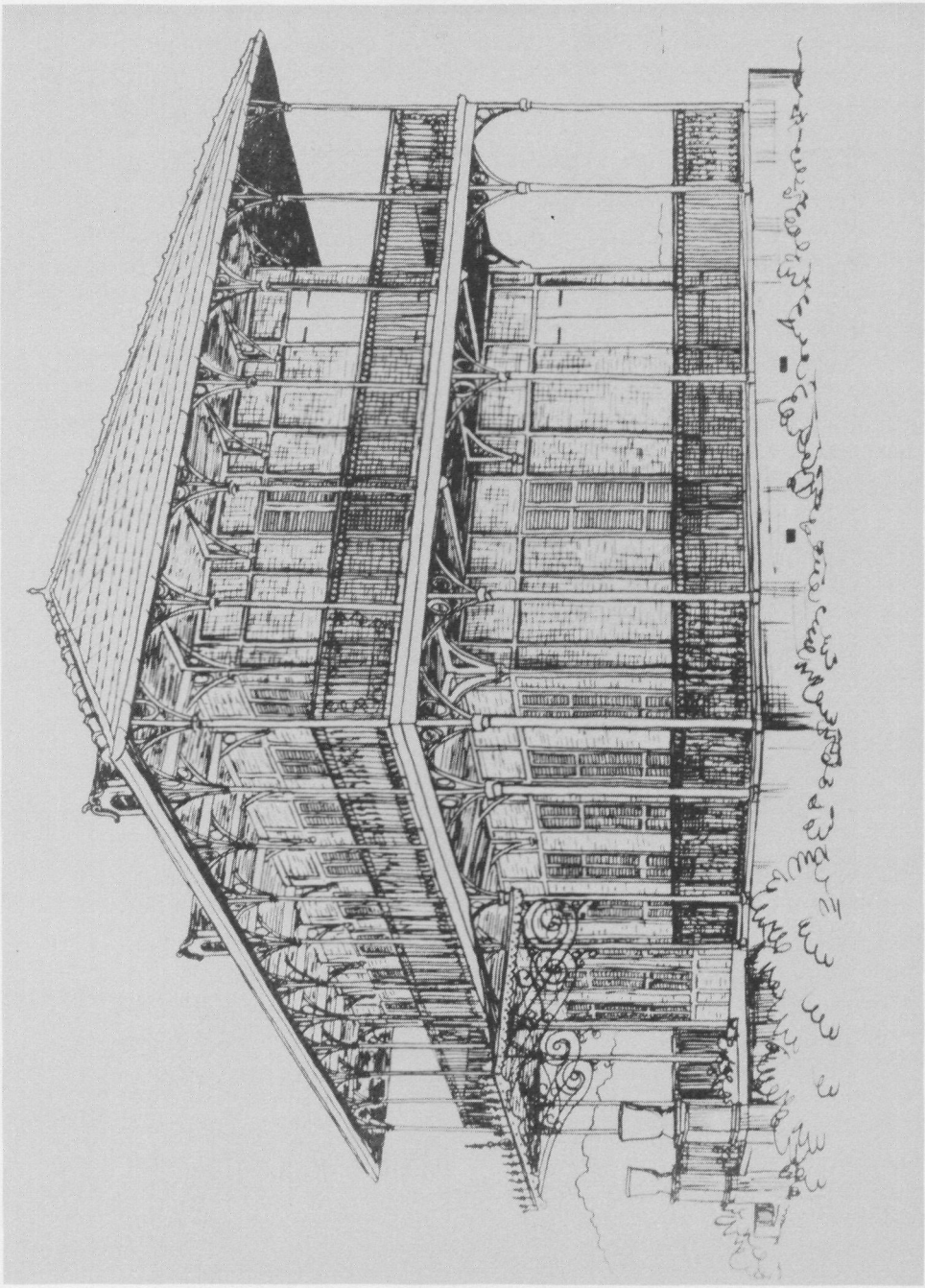
The twenty-one chapters of *Caribbean Georgian* are divided into two main groups. Nine chapters provide general background information on the history and geography of the Antilles, the development of Georgian architecture, and its various principal manifestations: military buildings, plantation houses, and urban, religious and folk architecture. The final chapter summarizes the evolution of West Indian architecture in the post-emancipation

period. Chapters 9 through 20 are devoted to specific islands or groups of islands, including most of the non-Hispanic Caribbean except Trinidad and Tobago, which are apparently classified as Spanish. The plantation architecture of French Louisiana is briefly (and properly) included within the geographic scope of the volume, though the Carolina-Georgia tidewater is not. Bermuda is included, but the Guianas are not, nor are the smaller but culturally related English speaking communities of the Western Caribbean. Each of the regional chapters includes a brief discussion of the island or archipelago, and a larger section devoted to its architecture. These discussions are divided into the same five basic architectural categories.

The use of graphics in this volume is notable. Though handsomely illustrated, there is not a single photograph in the work. About one-half of its pages are graced with detailed sketches of Antillian buildings (179 in all). In some cases, these were drafted from photograhs, but most were drawn by the author on site. The sketches are generally perspectives rather than elevations; all are well detailed and artfully crafted (see Figure 3). Together they establish a visual coherence seldom matched in books of this type. *Caribbean Georgian* is not just a book of pretty sketches, however. It is well written and packed with valuable information on the culture history of Caribbean architecture.

This is not a formal or an analytical study. The author's perspective is that of an art-oriented architectural historian, rather than that of a social scientist or historian. She focuses on individual buildings and on their stylistic features and devotes little space to the formal, geometrical relations between buildings, or to typology. No measured floorplans are included, though some typical plans are described. The addition of even sample floorplans would have permitted a better basis for comparing the genetic relationships of many of the buildings described. A few drawings and descriptions of building interiors are given, but little detailed information on construction methods or roof trusses is provided.

Perhaps the most irksome problem faced by Gosner is the difficulty of determining precisely what is and what is not Georgian architecture in the West Indies. Necessarily, Georgian must



3. A house near Zévalos (Moule) Guadeloupe. (Gosner, p. 181)

be defined broadly. "In North America especially, 'Georgian' has come to mean all 18th century colonial buildings with quoined corners, pediments, and engaged pilasters, and a similarly loose definition may prove useful for this book" (p. 13). In one of the best sections of the work, she describes the development of Georgian architecture in England and its subsequent diffusion and transformation in the West Indies (Chapter 3). She traces the primary European influence on West Indian architecture to the Georgian/Palladian designs of Christopher Wren, as reinterpreted in the pattern books of James Gibbs (1728) and his immediate followers. The flood of Georgian pattern books which flowed from 18th-century English presses strongly influenced the builders on all of the non-Hispanic islands.

Though Georgian architecture is generally associated with the various classical features mentioned above, the Caribbean creole variety may be devoid of most or all of them, particularly in the smaller forms. It is, rather, to such characteristics as the use of symmetry and axiality that we must turn to identify creole vernacular Georgian. Gosner's solution is even less specific, however, for in the end she includes nearly all forms of Caribbean architecture within the scope of her study. Whether they are all to be classified as Georgian is not clear, for apparently any structure constructed between about 1650 and 1900 is potential grist for her mill, including structures as diverse as windmills, French and Spanish style townhouses, the Haitian *caille*, Henri Christophe's castle, Martello tower forts, the strikingly Jacobean St. Nicholas Abbey (Barbados), the Greek Revival theater at St. Pierre, and gingerbread chattel houses of Barbados. In fairness, though, it must be said that the majority of the buildings used by Gosner as illustration, do fall within her definition of Georgian styling. Incidentally, she fails to explore the strong likelihood that the narrow, box-like front porches added to so many of the Barbadian chattel houses (p. 113) derive from the grander formal porticos of some of the Georgian plantation houses of that island. In this sense, at least, the chattel house may be said to reflect Georgian styling.

The few problems I found with Gosner's interpretations were more of a specific nature than of a general one. The definitions of

4. Carbet of maroon slaves, engraving from Le Breton. (Berthelot & Gaume, frontispiece)

folk and vernacular are rather uncritically limited to "the houses of the laboring classes" (p. 71). Understandably, folk architecture is given the least attention in this work. The African contribution to West Indian vernacular architecture is seen only in the role of labor and craftmanship (p. 20). The possibility of a syncretism of European, aboriginal and African traditions, is not considered. Nevertheless, this book contains a wealth of historical, geographical and architectural detail of many of the major islands of the Caribbean. One will find in its pages an abundance of well organized and highly useful information. It is by far the best summary yet published on this fascinating topic. I would recommend this work to anyone interested in the history and culture of the West Indies.

Kaz Antiyé is the most recently published study of West Indian architecture. Where the two previous works focus primarily on British contributions, Berthelot & Gaume take the French Caribbean as the principal target for their work. Where the other authors deal largely with polite (academic), commercial, military and public architecture, *Kaz Antiyé* is primarily limited to a consideration of domestic vernacular architecture. Its authors are more ethnologically oriented in their approach to the study of architecture. An outstanding feature of this book is the fact that its text is presented in three languages. Though originally written in French, each page has parallel translations in English and French Creole.

The book is excellently illustrated in both color and black and white. Several fascinating historic drawings are used. Of special note is an engraving by Le Breton (see Figure 4). It is said to illustrate a maroon village (*carbet*) in the forest of some unspecified island. The scene is strikingly similar in form to that of an early Louisiana plantation. There is a raised big house with tall hip roof and encircling galleries. Before it are seen two straggling rows of low huts, reminiscent of quarters — all this surrounded by jungle and recently felled trees. The buildings are constructed of vegetal materials and roofed with thatch. Two *aiguilles* (king post "needles") pierce the roof ridge of the big house, in typical French colonial fashion. If the original sketch was, indeed, drawn from

life, it provides us with a different insight into the maroon village. It is a view which reflects the hierarchial social structure of a displaced African kingdom.

The authors of this study are to be congratulated, both for their innovative methods of presenting materials and for their use of novel approaches in explaining architectural form. An analytical comparative approach is employed at the outset. The heart of the introductory chapter is a table of architectural features common to (or absent from) seven Caribbean islands and the Boni (Aluku) maroon population of French Guiana. The locations are listed in a general order from most to least European, with the Boni representing a relatively unacculturated African-based society, and the island of St. Bart the most European. Not only French islands are included in this table, but also Puerto Rico and Barbados. Fifteen architectural features are tabulated. They are grouped into sets representing European culture (main entrance on the long side, axial façades, jalousies, and frame construction raised on posts), features of colonization (modular construction, the corner verandah, and mobile huts), the black population (gabled end façades, solid shutters, and gabled roofs), and domestic French architecture (the hip roof, and "shipbuilder's carpentry").

It is possible to take issue with the completely binary nature of many of these identifications. For example, the hip roof (described as French) is common to English domestic and colonial buildings beginning in the 17th century. Many purely British islands, such as Barbados and Antigua, to say nothing of the mansions of the Virginia tidewater, abound in hip roof structures (see Figure 1). The only purely Gallic form of the hip roof is the one with high, steeply pitched ends and less steeply pitched front and rear sheds, and this form is not specified. The gabled roof (identified as a black feature) could as easily be considered French, English or general Caribbean colonial. Houses with gabled-end façades are common in certain parts of France, and they are not common to West Africa, as Vlach discovered. The shotgun (gabled end) family of American vernacular architectural forms is probably ultimately the result of a syncretism of Spanish-aboriginal forms from Hispaniola, mixed with African stylistic and spatial preferences and French construction techniques (Vlach 1975). Most

problematic of all is a feature called "ship-building carpentry". This refers to the use of mortise and tenon joints and pegging, in opposition to the use of nails for joining. It is defined as a French feature. The authors note the occurrence of this feature in the houses of the strongly British island of Antigua (p. 27). One possible explanation might be found in the importance of ship carpentry in that most important British Caribbean naval base; however, that would represent a facile and incorrect explanation. What Berthelot and Gaume have apparently discovered is the differential survival of Medieval framing and carpentry techniques on different islands. Mortise and tenon construction is common in the older, timber framed buildings of Barbados and any other island where true 17th – and 18th – century structures survive. Antigua abounds in early buildings with timber frame construction, but so does Louisiana, where wooden ship building was never practiced. Prior to the early 19th century, when less expensive, machine-made iron nails were introduced, essentially all construction was of the timber frame variety. Nails were used increasingly after that time, until balloon frame construction was introduced in the 1830s and timber frame joining was dropped entirely from wall (stud) construction. The differential survival of timber frame construction in the Caribbean is a worthy subject for future investigation. The presentation of a table of comparative features, while representing a valuable line of research, fails to take account of the complexity of the development of the architectural history of Colonial America. Without a solid data base of the type generated through intensive surveys and historical research, no comparable effort can do more than scratch the surface of the architectural reality.

A most valuable aspect of the introductory chapter is a series of architectural drawings of typical small frame cottages from twelve different islands. One page is devoted to each house type. Each page includes a locational map, perspectives and photographs. Cottage types are presented in plan, elevation and section. To my knowledge, this is the first time that a formal comparison of Caribbean vernacular buildings has been presented in published form.

A second chapter, written by the translator, Jean-Pierre

Sainton, describes the social and architectural history of the French West Indies. Caribbean history is divided into four principal epochs: the pioneer age (1635–1700), the period of sugar and slavery (1700–1848), the post-emancipation period (1848–1946), and the period of French assimilation (1948-the present). Each period is characterized by a different set of social and architectural problems. For example, the plantation period is dominated by the dialectic opposition between planter and slave, as reflected in the opposition between the big house and the hut.

Additional chapters deal with other dimensions of West Indian architectural ethnography. The setting of the rural house, particularly its garden and the landscape settings are examined. The forms of settlement cluster of the extended family kin groups on Guadeloupe and Martinique are described. Another chapter describes the role of the *kaz* ("hut") in the social life of the rural peasant. Its importance in the mating institution of *plaçage*, its construction by a cooperative work group (*coup de main*), the mobility of the hut, and magical practices surrounding it, are all briefly explored.

Another chapter deals with the methods and principles of cottage construction. The principal parts of the hut are described, as are different methods of building foundations and walls. Perspective diagrams illustrate the different framing traditions of Martinique and Guadeloupe. The description of styling and decoration of modest West Indian houses might have been couched in terms of a performance orientation, but it is not. An innovative color chart for Guadeloupean houses is most welcome. It illustrates the different ranges of shade and hue commonly applied to roofs, walls, gallery façades and wooden trim. All of this is compared with the range of naturally occurring colors of the plants and minerals in the local environment. The typical forms of cottage expansion, and some forms of the larger planter's house, are also treated in separate chapters. Town architecture is briefly treated. Several comparative vignettes describe aspects of the architecture of the Anglophone islands.

The quality of the English translation is high. The translator occasionally fails to employ the clearest technical terms, as for example, where *jambes de force* are described as "triangulations,"

rather than wind braces (p. 125). Occasionally, local names (Madrepore brick, p. 128) are employed at the expense of more comprehensible general terms (coraliforous limestone blocks). On a few occasions the translator was apparently unable to discover a suitable English term, and so the French term was simply left in place. My only serious reservation about the translation concerns the most basic term of the book. In my opinion, the English term "hut" is not the best rendition of the Creole *kaz*, though it may be close to the French *case*. The English word carries strongly negative connotations, close in feeling to hovel. The term "hut" fails to convey to the reader the warm, familiar domestic feelings associated with the small West Indian abode. Probably the word "cottage" is the best translation in American English.

In the final chapter, the authors raise some of the most provocative questions yet asked of West Indian architectural research: "Can the dwelling system in West Indian society be considered a semantic system?" (p. 148) and, "Can the architecture of the Caribbean be called 'creole' in the linguistic sense of the term?" (p. 149). Both questions are eventually answered in the affirmative, correctly in my opinion. The nature of their answers, however, requires comment.

The authors begin by defining a creole language as a pidgin (non-domestic lingua franca) expanded into a fully functional domestic language, in an environment of multiple language contacts and, in the West Indian case at least, under domination by a powerful elite (pp. 149–51). In such circumstances, the creole language will employ the forms (vocabulary) of the European standard (acrolect), but acquire the basilect meanings and syntax of the now relexified pidgin (p. 151). This model seems both useful and productive, as far as it goes. When it comes to the description of architectural analogues, however, the authors fail in my opinion to select the most useful examples. Rather than attempting to trace analogous *processes* of cultural dynamics in architecture (their stated purpose, p. 149), they find correspondences between *specific forms* of creole languages, and the forms of vernacular architecture. The modular, lineal or tandem approach to cottage expansion peculiar to the Barbadian chattel house is compared with linguistic reduplication. The isolating morpho-

syntax of creole languages in which word order defines syntactic function, is compared with the standardized modular units of the Guadaloupean cottage, in which different functions are given to comparably sized geometrical spaces. The phenomenon of diglossia or code switching, so common in bilingual areas, is compared to the Guadaloupean *case amenagée*, which employs two "incompatible" materials, a wooden core surrounded by concrete expansions. Considerable emphasis is placed on the symbolic contrast between wooden construction, as local, poor, familiar, private and old (read basilect), and concrete construction as European, wealthy, formal, public and modern (read acrolect). The dynamic wooden hut is said to lose its freedom of expression when it becomes surrounded by concrete expansions.

It is my belief that analogies between creole linguistic patterns and West Indian vernacular architecture are valid and important. When well constructed, they should open up many important avenues for further research in Caribbean architectural ethnography. They must not be drawn too specifically, however, or they will remain unproductive. Similarities between these two institutions of West Indian culture relate more directly to sociocultural processes than to specific forms. One should begin not only with the forms of the creole language, but with the dynamic interrelationships between all levels of the post-creole speech continuum. Both architecture and language are forms of social symbolic communication. In both, the adoption of specific forms from a scale of possible alternatives symbolizes one's identity, values and aspirations.

In terms of the linguistic analogy, each house may be considered a sentence with its own grammatical structure (in the formal, "structuralist" sense) and its own texture (superficial elaboration, style). Some houses are spoken in basilect, some in mesolect, and some in acrolect. At any single lectal level, houses may be expressed in more or less formal or familiar style. Style ranging applies as well to architecture as it does to language (see, for example, Edwards, Roseberg & Hoy 1976). The rules of stability and change that apply to sociolects in a creole-standard continuum apply equally well to colonial and post-colonial architecture. It is critically important that the cultural system (lin-

guistic or architectonic) be considered in the broadest possible expressions of its diachronic and synchronic dimensions. Portions of this system may be poorly represented on certain islands. Such deficiencies may be overcome by the comparative method through which historical and structural relationships between all parts of the overall system may be explored. Among the French islands, basilectal housing survives primarily in Haiti today, though its presence there remains critically important in the story of the vernacular architecture of Guadeloupe and even Louisiana.

Perhaps more in architecture than in linguistics, a "healthy" basilect is generally characteristic of a population mired in poverty and cultural isolation, unable to affect any meaningful change in its condition. Basilects are characteristic of powerless populations of colonial society: maroons, slaves, peasants and poor laborers. Such populations may harbor high levels of alienation and resentment, but at the same time, they have little possibility for real change or improvement. As long as this condition persists, resistance to change of creole forms remains relatively high. Little change can be expected in either language or architecture. Few true basilectal communities remain in the Caribbean today.

The people of mesolectal society, on the other hand, maintain social aspirations. Their cultural forms are continually modified toward the standard or elite end of the scale. It is at the level of the mesolects that we find many of the most important analogies between language process and architectural process. To understand the cultural dynamics of the mesolectal community is to understand much about its architecture. The special problems characteristic of mesolectal speakers result from the peculiar structure of West Indian society. Here, individuals are caught between two opposed systems of value, sometimes referred to as "reputation" and "respectability" (Wilson 1973). Most people participate in both systems, but identify completely with neither. They are simultaneously torn between antithetical motivations: imitation of elite forms and symbolic solidarity with their relatively poor and powerless peers. The continuing conflict in values and goals is productive of a unique cultural dynamic which is reflected in a variety of patterns of cultural change. The meso-

lectal West Indian is strongly motivated toward change. He aspires to become more modern, sophisticated and socially acceptable. He sometimes accomplishes this by borrowing directly from the elite forms of local culture, but too much emulation of the elite results in disapproval (reflected in numerous West Indian aphorisms such as, "The higher up the monkey climbs, the more he shows"). Social peer pressure provides powerful constraints against "putting on airs", or becoming too "uppity". Therefore, other patterns of cultural change are commonly found at this level. Their general aim is to make available entirely new and distinctive cultural forms, not precisely modeled on acrolect norms, yet also not stigmatized by previous association with the basilects.

This may be seen in the admittedly subjective, but very widespread, tendencies toward hypercorrection and creative assertiveness in the adoption of language forms. It results in the reordering of standard language patterns into entirely new and sometimes elaborate compositions. The love of polychrome decoration and elaborate gingerbread fretwork on even small cottages may be generated by comparable social motivations. Another such pattern of change involves the expansion of previously restricted elements into entirely new environments with new functions. Though not named, this process has been well documented in creole linguistics (Washabaugh 1977, 1978). It seems to apply equally well to the elaboration of once relatively minor folk architectural forms. The progressive up-grading of the primitive West Indian wattle-and-daub hut into the elegant, artistically decorated and dramatically expanded frame cottages, so well illustrated in this book, certainly represents something akin to this principle. The ubiquitous popularity of the once insignificant gallery in West Indian mesolectal architecture also reflects the same process.

Despite the suggestion by Berthelot & Gaume that a structure built from both wood and concrete is a form of code switching, there is really no good analogy for linguistic code switching in architecture. A *case amenagée* seems to me more like a novel, expanded over an extended period of time, than like a bi-dialectal conversation. The builder is probably using the best material available at the time of each construction. He is not switching back and forth, but progressing in a single direction.

There may, however, be an architectural structure that provides a more appropriate, if somewhat more distant, analogy for code switching. The social motivation for code switching is to enable the speaker to symbolize an adjustment of his personal identity over a range of partially contradictory sociocultural loci within the overall plural cultural system (depending on his immediate motivations). When in contact with representatives of different social loci, he may wish to symbolize solidarity with some, but formality with others. With some, he may wish to appear more worldly, with others more provincial, etc. The highly dualistic nature of social life in West Indian society requires of its culture that it provide readily available mechanisms for mediation of recurring social oppositions. To me, the best candidate for such a mediation mechanism in West Indian mesolectal architecture is the gallery. The gallery provides a form of power and control over social interaction which is not available to the owner of an ungalleried house. The gallery is a half-way stage between the intimacy of the hall and the formality of the road. Its owner may easily control the level of contact between himself and the outsider by adjusting the site of interaction to symbolize the degree of formality he wishes to adopt for any particular interaction. By constructing and then controlling ranked sociosymbolic spaces, he also controls the level of interaction with relatives, friends, strangers, creditors, debtors, superiors, inferiors, and others.

Of course the gallery is more than just this. It is an architectural show piece, and an environmentally adapted living space. It expands the control of the resident over the social spaces surrounding the house by providing more direct observation of the immediate area and more direct contact with passers-by. The cultural materialist will point to the fact that in the days when wall materials were more perishable, it had strong protective, and therefore economic, benefits. While this cannot be denied, it is insufficient as an explanation. These and other functions would not, in themselves, completely explain the adoption of the gallery, as opposed to other possible architectural forms which *might* have been emphasized in mesolectal West Indian architecture (additional rooms, an "upstairs" house, broad eaves, enclosed gardens or patios).

In the Caribbean, only the tourists seem to remain immune from the dynamics of the sociosymbolic system. Though that system is patterned on the strongly hierarchical structure of West Indian society, the adoption of vernacular and even socially stigmatized cultural forms regularly occurs even at the highest levels of society. West Indian "standard" French, English, and Spanish have all been affected by their intimate contact with local forms of basilect and mesolect speech. Members of the educated classes, so long as they have been raised in the Caribbean, speak West Indian French or English, rather than European French or English. Although acrolectal borrowing may be more subtle than the relexification of pidgin into creole, it is nonetheless pervasive. The same principle may be applied to the architecture of plantation and town houses. Berthelot & Gaume note that the "master's house" evolved directly out of the primitive pioneering cottage (p. 58). Although some large West Indian residences are direct copies of forms of the European motherland, a far greater number represent locally developed creole housetypes. One of the most distinctive, found mainly on the French islands, is one room deep, several rooms long, two stories high, capped with a hip roof, and nearly or completely surrounded by one or two story galleries (Berthelot & Gaume pp. 12, 122; Gosner pp. 108, 163–667 197; Buisseret p. 7). This and other prestigious forms have sprung directly from the vernacular cottage of earlier days. While the encircling gallery of the big house does not mean exactly the same things, in a social sense, as the gallery of the cottage, the form of the gallery has nevertheless been adopted by the elite of West Indian society as an indigenous symbol of dominance and power. On the Caribbean big house the gallery is there, not because it was originally European or elite, but rather because it was inherently West Indian.

In each of these books you will find enjoyable reading. I learned something different from each one. Though each has its particular focus and its own limitations, each provides a useful addition to the pool of knowledge on West Indian architecture and culture. In reading these volumes together, one is struck more than anything else by the remarkable architectural continuities between the islands. Though each island is unique, each island is also tied

to all others through shared patterns of social adaptations, and by specific cultural forms which have evolved and diffused to meet those shared requirements. Perhaps nothing better symbolizes this than the West Indian gallery. Its outer visual charm masks its many important functions. Though these functions have changed over the years, the popularity of the gallery has increased steadily. The more we explore the history of those functions, the more we are lead to a deeper understanding of the complex unity that is the West Indies.

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JAY D. EDWARDS
Department of Geography and Anthropology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge LA 70803, U.S.A.

BLACK THOUGHTS FROM THE CARIBBEAN: I-DEOLOGY AT HOME AND ABROAD

Dread: the Rastafarians of Jamaica. JOSEPH OWENS. London and Exeter NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1982. xix + 282 pp. (Paper US$ 10.00, £ 3.95)

Jah Music: the evolution of the popular Jamaican song. SEBASTIAN CLARKE. London and Exeter NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980. x + 216 pp. (Paper US$ 12.50, £ 4.95)

Movement of Jah People. JOHN PLUMMER. Birmingham: Press Gang, 1978. 72 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Rastaman: the Rastafarian movement in England. ERNEST CASHMORE. Winchester MA: Allen & Unwin, 1980. vii + 263 pp. (Cloth US$ 22.00, Paper US$ 9.95)

Subculture: the meaning of style. DICK HEBDIGE. New York: Methuen, 1979. ix + 186 pp. (Cloth US$ 16.50, Paper US$ 6.50)

In 1953 the anthropologist George Eaton Simpson carried out a study of religious cults in the severely depressed outskirts of the Jamaican capital of Kingston. There, in the midst of dire poverty, he happened upon a sociological goldmine. Alongside the "Pocomanian" and Revivalist traditionalists, with their otherworldly blends of Christian doctrine and African "survivals," was blossoming a newer phenomenon which could not have failed to whet a social scientist's appetite. The Rastafari Movement, Pro-

fessor Simpson was quick to note, was a form of "political cultism", embodying a clear, albeit mystical, expression of protest against its members' desperate living conditions. It involved an explicit rejection of the values of the ruling Jamaican elite, the assertion that emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was the living God, and the prophecy that the faithful were soon to be transported and repatriated, by divine means, to the "homeland" of Ethiopia/Africa, while the iniquitous Western world would be left to perish in flames. Here was a phenomenon whose general outlines would be instantly recognizable to the alert anthropologist, if only because similar religious manifestations were being identified, described, and catalogued by his professional colleagues in nearly every corner of the colonized non-Western world. (The terms used by Western observers to label such phenomena have by now become commonplace in social science literature: "crisis cults", "religions of the oppressed", "charismatic", "millenarian", "messianic", "cargo cults", and so forth.)

To have anticipated the future trajectory of the Rastafarian movement at the time would have been to imagine the unimaginable. Writing in 1955, Simpson glanced at this rather exotic object — this "crisis cult" belonging to an inconsequential speck of land in the Caribbean sea — and from a comfortable distance, bravely ventured a forecast:

> ... Ras Tafarism is an adjustive activity which helps its members to live with poverty, squalor, and the disdain of the better-off. Ras Tafarism will grow or decline as the economic and social conditions of lower-class Jamaicans change and as its functional alternatives increase or decrease in appeal. It is one index of the integration, or lack of integration, of Jamaican society [Simpson 1955: 149].

Owing to a series of improbable linkages and unpredictable conjunctions of events, the Rastafari movement's future impact was far to exceed the wildest imaginings of either Professor Simpson or any of the other early social commentators. Consider the following implausible but more or less true-to-life scenario (taking place in one of the remaining colonial outposts of a major world empire), which in the 1950's would probably have struck anyone but the Rastafarian brethren themselves as a most ludicrous projection of

what might lie ahead for them. Around the time of independence, a search for a national cultural identity is set in motion, and a new form of indigenous popular music emerges. Members of a local politico-religious protest movement — a bona fide millenarian "crisis cult" — and popular musicians, fellow ghetto-dwellers, forge a creative alliance which is to continue over the next few decades. Many popular musicians become members of the movement, while a number of traditional cult musicians join forces with them, and a new and more complex popular music form is born. Although this music becomes a primary vehicle for the expression of the movement's ideas, it is a thoroughly "modern" electrically-amplified music, and is performed by an instrumental ensemble which differs little from that employed by American and European rock bands. The burgeoning local music industry continues to expand, and contributes to the rapid spread of the movement's influence. The ideology of the movement begins to penetrate national politics.

Meanwhile, an astute entrepreneur from the local elite realizes the potential appeal and marketability of local popular music abroad, particularly among white middle-class Americans and young Europeans, but also among fellow "sufferers" in other parts of the postcolonial world. A highly talented and "charismatic" musician is selected from the ranks of the movement, cast in a "pop star" mold, and promoted internationally. The timing is right, and the exotic "product" clicks. The way is paved for the acceptance abroad of other cult artists, and the music — which remains largely faithful to local aesthetics and continues to be a primary vehicle for the movement's ideas — finds significant markets in Europe, North America, Africa, Japan, and other parts of the world. Along with the music travels a rich body of cultic texts and visual symbols, which are interpreted variously by the consumers of the music in different parts of the world, but which nearly everywhere have a similar, more general ideological appeal, based on the movement's apparent "utopian" thrust and anti-colonialist, anti-capitalist (or more vaguely, rebellious, anti-authority) stance. The movement becomes firmly established within the "world system" and, by the good grace of various interlocking social, economic, and political forces, scores "converts" and sympathizers in every corner of the globe.

While admittedly something of a caricature, our little sketch will be recognized by any long-term observer of Rastafari as no flight of fancy. Consider briefly the state of the movement over the last few years. During the 1960's, the Rastafari movement — whose original exponents had been reviled by the larger public, persecuted by the police, and declared madmen by the press — began to win substantial support in Jamaica. (For a discussion of the process of gradual acceptance, see Nettleford 1972.) By the end of the 70's one prominent social scientist had already felt it necessary to assess (albeit with negative conclusions) "The Potential of Ras Tafarianism as a Modern National Religion" (Cumper 1979). But the true coup came about through the international trade in vinyl; the liaison with the popular music industry opened doors for Rastafari which might otherwise have remained closed. The other critical factor was the ongoing exodus of Jamaicans and other West Indian immigrants to major urban centers in England and the United States, where they were able (and in some instances, forced) to maintain a distinct ethnic identity, and could help spread the Word, electronically and otherwise. Thus it is that as of this writing, Rastafarian ideas have begun to pierce the very heart of the Babylonian West.

By way of example, one could cite the sudden appearance of dreadlocked black urban-dwellers throughout the eastern Caribbean, in the United States, and in parts of England, Holland, France, and other European countries.[1] And then there are the numerous fragile alliances and ideological liaisons between white youth and young Rastas (starting with a shared preference for reggae music) which have cropped up in Europe now and again — the most obvious example being the limited Punk movement-Rastafari rapprochement in England.[2] Perhaps the most interesting development in the internationalization of reggae (and Rastafari ideology along with it) is its growing impact across the African continent ("Zion" to the Rastaman); in countries such as Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa, reggae has become a favored music, and a number of local popular musicians have begun to grow dreadlocks and preach their own versions of Rastafari. Through all its convolutions and ideological permutations, what was once widely thought of (at best) as a mere cult of poverty

— a pathological response to extreme deprivation — has come to be viewed as a major cultural force, a powerful call for black liberation reminiscent of négritude, and at a more general level, an ideological weapon capable of stabbing the conscience of the industrialized West, even as it stirs revolutionary consciousness in the underdeveloped rest.

The sudden excitement has inevitably resulted in an increase of publications on reggae/Rastafari (often treated in the literature as inseparable). In the last few years, such publications have appeared not only in English, but in a number of other languages, including German, Norwegian, and Italian.[3] More serious publications on the Rastafarian movement have so far been few and far between. The five small volumes reviewed here (perhaps with the exception of Owens' *Dread*) represent, in different ways, responses to the recent boom of interest in reggae and Rastafari, and may be seen as attempts to straddle the popular/scholarly divide. This in itself says something about the distance the Rastafari movement has traveled since its early pariah days.

Joseph Owens' *Dread: the Rastafarians of Jamaica* is a good book with which to begin, for it is in some ways the most satisfying of those examined here. Originally published in Jamaica in 1976, and in England in 1979, Owens' book has probably played a greater role than any other single piece of writing in helping Jamaicans unsympathetic to the movement to see Rastafari as an actual *religion*, as opposed to a pathological and lunatic collection of superstitions and delusions. Father Owens, a Catholic clergyman who came to Jamaica as a social worker, spent the better part of two years during the early 1970's living in West Kingston. Equipped with a tape recorder, a genuine sense of respect, and an obvious devotion to his task, he set out to engage as wide a selection of Rastafarian brethren as possible in an ongoing dialogue.

Owens approaches his subject not as a social scientist but as a sort of liminal theologian, drawn to the beauty and power of Rastafarian images and ideas — ideas that are dialectical transformations of a sacred text with which he is already intimate — and yet unable fully to make the transition to the reconstituted

reality confronting him. As a man of God himself committed to the irreducibility of religious experience, Owens refuses at the outset to objectify that which he is studying:

> The main section of this work shall attempt to abide by the canon that the only legitimate exposition of another person's religious faith is in terms and propositions that the other person can understand and accept. No other approach is justified... Any further analysis which attempts to judge a religion according to its 'truth', its functionality, or its integration with the larger society must be subsequent and secondary to the type of exposition which the believer himself finds orthodox... In attempting to be faithful to this canon of orthodoxy in this work, I shall also be fulfilling the oft-repeated request of the Rastas themselves: "Write as if you were a Rasta yourself! Make people think that you are in fact a Rasta!" [p. 13].

It is perhaps only because the author does not always succeed in obeying this admonition that he provides us with a rare and valuable document which is ethnographic, yet not just another ethnography. In spite of his genuine empathy, Father Owens cannot become a Rasta, nor is he able to write quite as if he were one. But his communicative skill and sensitivity, and a largely shared mode of discourse, have allowed him to hover on the very edge of identification with those whose thoughts he is attempting to understand. Like the best participant observers in the social sciences, he is able to strain the limits of the "self" without crossing over into the "other," and to maintain this balanced state of tension. For this reason — and also because he permits the brethren to speak throughout the book in their own words, by means of interspersed quotations — *Dread* turns out to be a first-rate piece of "cultural ethnography". In ten compact chapters the author explores the complexities of Rastafarian doctrine and belief, symbolism and meaning, progressively building a coherent picture of the integrated but flexible worldview which the faithful possess.

But as ethnography, *Dread* is no more than a beginning. Owens cannot be faulted for this, for he makes no pretense at being a social scientist. Yet the usefulness of his study for non-theologians is greatly limited by its singular lack of concern for actual behavior as opposed to verbalized thought. The author appears to have been more "participant listener" than participant observer, and the result is a series of texts which read as if they were timeless

gospel truth. The reader — especially if he happens to be an anthropologist or sociologist — cannot help but feel that some tremendous nether world of doubt and compromise, manipulation and adjustment, underlies this pristine portrait, though never quite surfacing to sully it.

In spite of its drawbacks (and there are other minor ones which cannot be covered in this space), *Dread* remains, seven years after its first publication, one of the finest studies available on Rastafari. Perhaps because Father Owens chose to concern himself from the beginning with knowing and understanding Rastafari thought, rather than hastily explaining it, he has been able to penetrate it to a greater depth than most. Add to this the fact that the range and number of his informants were unusually large for a study of this sort — though limited primarily to the environs of Kingston, the "sample" consisted of 61 Rastafarian "circles" — and one can begin to appreciate the author's achievement. Although *Dread* goes only part way as ethnography, telling us what Rastas say and think but not what they *do*, it nevertheless does this with unusual perceptiveness and sensitivity. For this reason, it will remain an indispensable companion volume, to be consulted in conjunction with those studies of Rastafari which adopt a more etic approach.

A very different work is *Jah Music*, by Sebastian Clarke. It is probably fair to say that the Rastafarian movement has gained widespread recognition primarily through its vital musical expressions, and a serious study of this process is long overdue. Unfortunately, Clarke's study has little to offer in this regard. As the first book-length treatment of the history and development of Jamaican popular music, *Jah Music* leaves much to be desired. Although the author states in his preface that his goals are modest, and seems to disclaim any scholarly intentions, he nonetheless uses footnotes liberally and writes with an air of authority. It is thus all the more irritating that the text is littered with minor errors, mismatched footnotes, facile platitudes, and sweeping assertions which betray the author's limited control of the already-existing literature on Caribbean and African music.

Clark's study begins with "History and Roots", and moves from discussions of Rastafari and the birth of Jamaican popular

music (predictably with a chapter on the Wailers) through to dub music and the growing British reggae scene. The author is at his weakest when dealing with the traditional roots of popular music. His discussions of the African background, slave religion and culture, and post-Emancipation developments are musically, linguistically, and sociologically naive. He seems to be oblivious to the work that has already been done on traditional Jamaican music. At one point (p. 25) he quotes a passage from a well-known article on Jamaican drumming by the ethnomusicologist Helen H. Roberts (see Roberts 1924) — citing an uncredited manuscript copy which he found at the West India Reference Library — and attributes it to an "anonymous" British observer. In short, this book offers nothing new on the subject of traditional Jamaican music, and much that is superficial and misleading, based on a limited acquaintance with what *is* already known.[4]

On the positive side, *Jah Music* makes a real contribution to the historiography of reggae music. Although Clarke does not go as far as one might wish, he makes considerable use of oral sources in his attempt to document the beginnings of the Jamaican popular music industry and the various phases and styles through which the music itself has passed. His interviews with a number of key figures in the development of reggae (most of them conducted in Kingston during the late 70's) provide an important inside viewpoint, even though only bits and pieces are incorporated into the text, and will continue to be of use to future researchers. The book also includes a valuable appendix with mini-biographies of important figures in reggae; in spite of several glaring omissions (for example, Junior Byles, Eric Donaldson, and Clancy Eccles), this appendix shows that the author went to considerable pains to compile the basic facts on those whose creative efforts lie behind the flowering of Jamaican popular music. Clarke is at his best in his chapter on "The British Reggae Scene," for it is obvious that this is the area he knows best. The book closes with a few comments on the possible future directions that reggae might take, and an astute analysis of its international potential, its marketing relationship to other forms of black popular music, and its systematic exploitation by British and other commercial interests (even as it is opposed and discriminated against).

The final three books reviewed here can be treated together, for they all deal with some aspect of the same phenomenon — the growth of the Rastafari movement among West Indians in Britain. Plummer's book deserves no more than a brief mention. A sort of public relations tract written by a British "community worker" who lived in the heavily West Indian Handsworth section of Birmingham for seven years, *Movement of Jah People* was produced with the primary aim of offsetting the negative publicity from which the British Rastafarian movement began to suffer during the late 1970's. Although it serves its purpose well, it offers the serious student of Rastafari little more than the broadest overview of the shape taken by Rastafari ideology following its transplantation to British soil. The latter half of the book, devoted to relations between Rastafarians and the wider community, is dominated by descriptions of the persecution of Rastafarians and their clashes with authority. A brief glance at this slim little volume, which captures the sudden eruption of Rastafarian consciousness in England and the equally sudden and violent backlash against it, is enough to convince one of the power of Rastafarian ideology and its potential adaptability to social contexts which have little to do with that from which it originally emerged.[5]

Ernest Cashmore's *Rastaman*, also a product of the British crisis in race relations, attempts to explain the sudden growth of the movement in England. Cashmore, a sociologist by training, has produced a highly problematic account which would seem to offer very few explanations beyond the more obvious ones — regurgitated in new guises page after page — having to do with the need for a positive sense of identity among children of West Indian immigrants, who face constant discrimination in British society. The study is annoyingly long-winded and repetitive, and could be cut down to half its size without losing much of its substance. Cashmore gives the impression that his study is based on many hours of interviewing and discussion with Rastafari brethren, yet he tends to use the same two- or three-line quotes from a few informants over and over again in different places, to make different points.

One of the more interesting parts of the book concerns what the author calls "reality creation" — the process by means of which Rastafarian ideology has been recreated and adapted to the British context. Yet one has to wonder about Cashmore's grasp of this new ideological reality when he writes that the word "natty" (as in "natty dread") is "derived from 'nutty', meaning weird and unstable" (p. 102); given his supposedly close rapport with the Rastas, Cashmore ought to have been able to ascertain that "natty" (i.e., knotty) refers to the texture of the hair during the early stage of growing dreadlocks. Likewise, if Cashmore were really "tuned into" Rastafari culture, one would expect him to know that the name of the popular Rastafarian drum ensemble is Ras *Michael* and the Sons of Negus, and not "Ras Joseph" (p. 58), and that the well-known Wailers song is "Put It On," not "Put It Down" (p. 111). There are additional subtle, but significant, lapses in accuracy which serve to lower one's confidence in Cashmore's comprehension of Rastafarian ideology.

Cashmore also seems to be poorly acquainted with more recent developments in the literature on Caribbean culture and social organization, as becomes apparent whenever he discusses the background of the first-generation West Indian immigrants to England. He claims, for example, that Rastafarian male dominance is a reaction against the "matrifocal emphasis" stemming from "the lack of family structure in the days of slavery" (p. 78). And he asserts that the slave ancestors of the West Indian immigrants were stripped of their culture and prevented from developing a "true" culture to take its place because "the diversity of background of the slave populace of Jamaica militated against the development of any shared meanings" (p.163). Little wonder then if their present-day descendants in England speak a "heavily slurred patois" (p.119, and repeated frequently thereafter) and suffer a condition of relative "cultural vacuity" (p. 171, and see pp. 182–190).

Although *Rastaman* may have its redeeming insights, it is difficult to look kindly upon a book which is comfortable drawing parallels between the early Rastafarian movement and the Family cult of Charles Manson (p. 26), and which suggests that the present-day Rastafarian movement in Britain may be treated

as the functional equivalent of Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, the Hare Krishna followers, and the UFO cults (pp. 145–146). By making absurd functionalist comparisons such as these, and "explaining" Rastafari with reference to abstract models and obtuse charts and little boxes (pp. 24; 89; 142), the author insidiously negates the issue of the modern movement's possible legitimacy, and by extension, the legitimacy of that part of its ideology that offers a wide-ranging critique of contemporary English society. This sort of careless objectification is a luxury that students of the movement may soon have to forego, as Rastafari ideology makes further inroads into the industrialized Western world.

Dick Hebdige's *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* is a fitting book with which to end, for it is the only study of those reviewed here that concentrates not on Rastafari itself but rather on its interplay with other social and cultural forces sweeping Britain during the 1970's. It is an intriguing analysis of interpenetrating ideologies, fluid symbols and signs, and cross-cutting codes, in which Rastafari plays a relatively small part, as but one of several "subcultures". Hebdige's semiotic analyses manage never to become too obscure, and whether or not one happens to agree with his particular structuralist approach, its application in this case makes for fascinating reading. Rastafarians make only occasional appearances in Hebdige's tableau, mainly as fellow pariahs and cultural inspirers of the emerging British Punks. As fragile and short-lived as the Punk/Rastafari liaison was, it nevertheless showed that the ideological boundaries between what were once thought of as separate worlds — home and abroad, colonizer and colonized — are far from indissoluble.

One could fault Hebdige's study for a number of misunderstandings regarding Rastafarian ideology or the nature of the creole language of Jamaica, but that would be beside the point. What makes this study important is the way it highlights the increasing vulnerability of the "West" to ideological currents once easily dismissed as distant illusions belonging to foreign lands and peoples. The power of Rastafarian ideology can no longer be ignored, as the riotous citizens (both black and white) of English

cities such as London (read: Brixton), Liverpool, and Bristol taught the world during the summer of 1981.[6] By the same token, social scientists and other observers will find it increasingly difficult to avoid becoming entangled in the ideological web that becomes more thickly woven with each confrontation between Babylon and the new faithful. Lesser mortals have already succumbed, including Shiva Naipaul, who used the British press in the summer of 1982 to "tell the truth about" the Rastas, and ended up merely battling ideology with ideology:

> His existence confirmed by the slack-jawed wonderment of his Babylonian audience, the Rastaman is not required to justify either himself or his faith. Rastafarianism does not bring its devotees closer to self-comprehension. If anything it has led them further away from understanding. At best, it gives the black a congenial image of himself. At its worst, it stimulates lethal visions of grandeur ["The Rise of the Rastaman", *The Observer Review*, Sunday, July 4, 1982].

As Johannes Fabian (1979) has pointed out, modern religious movements such as Rastafari, with their shifting modes of discourse and political volatility, strain the concept of cultural relativism to its limits. This is acutely recognizable with Rastafari, now that its ideology has begun to enter the Western "mainstream" and has gained access to the mass media. The time is past when total detachment could be feigned, for the movement's ideology, transformed though it may be, is now a part of "us." Its challenges can no longer be dismissed as narrowly context-bound. Overconfident students of exotic religions, eager to "explain" what they see, would do well to watch this Caribbean upstart, for its painful lessons to the West may not be the last of their kind.

NOTES

1. An indication of Rastafari's increasing acceptance, in England and elsewhere, as a full-fledged religion is the recent addition to the British-based Ward Lock "Living Religion Series" of a volume called *The Rastafarians* (Williams 1981).

2. A curious booklet (Kaagman 1982) dealing with a similar example of rapprochement in the Netherlands (involving the Dutch Punk movement, such as it is, and Surinamese as well as Jamaican Rastas) bears the ironic title *Papua Punk* (a sidelong reference to Dutch colonialism).

3. I list but a few examples here: in Dutch, Breeveld 1980; in German, Hoppe 1981 and Michels 1980; in Italian, Assante 1980 and Pedote & Pinardi 1980; and in Norwegian, Morgenstierne 1979. Although I have not had the opportunity to look at most of these (which run the gamut from glossy pop journalism to serious studies), I list them here for the interest of readers who may have access to some of these languages.

4. For recent discussions of the roots of Jamaican popular music in traditional forms, see Logan & Whylie 1982, White 1980 and 1982. See also Bilby & Leib 1983.

5. For another interesting "public relations" pamphlet of this sort, which is oriented, however, more to the black community itself, see Garrison 1979.

6. In an interesting discussion of the riots in England, Terry Jones (1982: 380–83) points out a number of similarities between the situation of the West Indian immigrants in England and that of the Surinamers in the Netherlands. Taking the comparison yet further, he notes the recent growth of the Rastafari movement among the urban black population in the Netherlands, and suggests that worsening economic conditions there could lead in the near future to disturbances similar to those that rocked England in 1981.

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KENNETH M. BILBY
Department of Anthropology
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore MD 21218, U.S.A.

THE PRODUCTION OF SPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS: A CARIBBEAN CASE

Atlas critique d'Haïti. GEORGES ANGLADE. Montreal: Etudes et Recherches Critiques d'Espace, Université du Québec à Montréal, and Centre de Recherches Caraïbes, Université de Montréal, 1982. 80 pp. 18 maps. (Paper Canadian $24.75)

Espace et liberté en Haïti. GEORGES ANGLADE. Montreal: Etudes et Recherches Critiques d'Espace, Université du Québec à Montréal, and Centre de Recherches Caraïbes, Université de Montréal, 1982. 143 pp. (Paper Canadian $12.50)

Hispaniola. G. ANGLADE, R. E. YUNÉN, & D. AUDETTE. Montreal and Santiago de los Caballeros: Etudes et Recherches Critiques d'Espace, Université du Québec à Montréal, and Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, 1982. 1 × 1.4 m. (Canadian $7.50)

Le commerce du café en Haïti: habitants, spéculateurs et exportateurs. CHIRSTIAN A. GIRAULT. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Mémoire du Centre de Géographie Tropicale, Bordeaux, 1982. 293 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Soon after Columbus' second voyage verified the viability of trans-Atlantic excursions, Europe created the Caribbean. To be sure, there had previously been an archipelago that spanned the ocean for more than 2,000 miles at the junction of two hemispheres. There had surely been a native consciousness of that arc and of the spatial configurations that Arawak and Carib cultures

had fashioned upon it. But the genocide occurred swiftly, and the Caribbean — as we know it — stands out, even in today's world, as a prime example of a fabricated area, the complex product of a long and continuous exercise in colonialism and neo-colonialism, and of the responses that this enterprise provoked among voluntary and coerced migrants from three continents. Many now-common features of the "natural" environment also came from all parts of the Old World: sugar cane and coffee, of course, but also coconuts, okra, rice, mangoes and breadfruit (Mintz 1983). The landscape itself carries the mark of the plantation system and bears witness to the rise and growth of the peasantries. One need only recall that, as early as the 1680s in Barbados and a decade later in Jamaica, planters thought themselves forced to sell lands that had become "worn out" for their practical purposes (Dunn 1972). In 1782, an independent observer noted that coffee production in the highlands overtopping the cane fields of Saint-Domingue had "totally changed the climate of the colony" (Girod de Chantrans 1981 [1785]).[2] But perhaps the strongest evidence of the Caribbean's existence as a socially produced environment comes from the unavoidable inclusion of large chunks of the continental land mass (Belize, Guyana, Suriname and French Guiana) within its historically defined boundaries. Hence it is puzzling that students of the Caribbean have yet to show sustained interest in the recent trends in geographical (and other related) studies that emphasize the production of spatial configurations.

The break between Caribbean studies and geography can be traced as far back as those long decades of incubation and contest of the first half of the 19th century during which the discipline prepared its academic institutionalization.[3] Previously, geography branched out of the philosophy of nature, without specialized practitioners; and the scholars who visited the Caribbean in the late 17th century and throughout the 18th conformed to, and at times prefigured, the major European trends in geographical thought.[4] Diderot saw fit to include in the *Encyclopédie* plates probably copied from Labat and Du Tertre; and Moreau's masterful *Description de la partie française de l'isle Saint-Domingue* (1958 [1797–98]) anticipated by decades the establishment of geography as both a natural and a social science.

But geography's conquests were themselves sequential, and as the discipline gradually solidified in the 19th century, many practitioners strove toward legitimacy among the natural sciences at just about the time that all sorts of concerns attracted students of the Caribbean toward the social, the economic, and indeed, the immediately political. The Haitian Revolution, the abolition of the slave trade, Emancipation, the decline of cane sugar on the world market, and the massive and forceful migration of Asian laborers had pushed "Science", as the world knew it, into the hinterland of intellectual discourse on the Caribbean. Moreover, as physical geography favored, among colonial territories, the Old World's largest reservoirs of natural resources for the benefit of current conquerors and eventual investors, theory and practice in human geography favored metropolitan studies in regionalism attuned to the dominant nationalist debates of Europe. The Caribbean ill-fitted those modes, while those who wrote about it largely ignored geography. After Breen's *St. Lucia* (1844) and Schomburgk's *History of Barbados* (1848), writings with obvious geographical concerns stood as left-overs of a long gone era. [5] In fact, as the century neared its end, the most active branch of Caribbean geography may well have been the cartography produced in the United States for strategic purposes, a feat by no means unique in the history of the discipline (Lacoste 1982).

The larger corpus that flowed from Europe in the 20th century did not necessarily bridge the gap between Caribbean studies and the interests of geography as a discipline. At a time when larger numbers of geographers in the West started to see themselves as social scientists, the renewal in Caribbean studies was led by historians such as C. L. R. James and E. Williams, and anthropologists such as Melville J. Herskovits. Titles implying geographical interests of a kind sprung from England and the Netherlands, but up to at least the early 1970s, they rarely went beyond superficial descriptions of "the land and the people." Entries of uneven importance came rather from the Geographical Institute of McGill University in Montreal, the Department of Geography of the University of California at Berkeley (then dominated by the long and impressive presence of Carl O. Sauer), and the Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale of Bordeaux. French geo-

graphers Lasserre and Moral produced the two most detailed monographs of the time, with the published versions of their doctoral theses on Guadeloupe and Haiti (Lasserre 1961, Moral 1961).[6] But on the archipelagic scale, Helmut Blume's comprehensive study remains the most incisive treatment of the Antilles' "cultural landscapes" (Blume 1974 [1968]).

Yet it was left to other social scientists, anthropologists (e.g. Steward *et. al.* 1956; Mintz 1959; Horowitz 1960), or economists (Demas 1965) to broach in unequal and unrelated terms the question of national space organization. Though the late 1960s and early 1970s saw an upsurge of interest in geography in the Caribbean itself — with specialized centers of teaching and research opening in Cuba, Puerto Rico and Jamaica — the results remain modest or, especially in the Cuban case, not readily available outside national borders. Meanwhile, the most widely diffused essays published in Europe or the United States (e.g. Clarke 1975; Cross 1979) rarely outreach the urban setting.[7]

The Caribbean case is by no means unique, and many students of "developing" societies have kept an undue distance from the geographical revival of the mid-1960s (Lacoste 1965; Soja 1968; Johnson 1970) which was to lead — after critical evaluation — to specific strategies in the analysis of "spatial inequalities" within the so-called "Third World" (De Souza & Porter 1974; Slater 1976, 1978; Smith 1979). Latin America, for instance, provided a fertile milieu for a "dependency theory" couched in terms of a spatial metaphor; yet the sub-continent as a whole — where indigenous geographical research remains largely confined to the most industrialized nations (Reboratti 1982) — does not seem to have benefited from the new trends any more than the Caribbean (Gilbert 1981). Thus the point is not so much the uniqueness of the Caribbean scholarship, but rather that, given the extent of the successive reorganizations that the Caribbean has gone through at the local, national and archipelagic levels, the general indifference to spatial aspects of social structures is perhaps more puzzling there. One wonders if the small size of the islands has not contributed — quite ironically, then — to conceal from geographers and non-geographers alike the range and significance of those overlapping spatial arrangements. One wonders, indeed, if

researchers have not unwillingly reduced the dimensions and complexity of the networks involved to the actual physical space into which they fitted.[8]

It is in that context that the recent work of geographers Georges Anglade and Christian Girault bear their full significance. In an Antillean continuum that may find Dominica at the other end, Haiti is the territory where physical degradation has reached such extreme proportions that the urgency of remediation compels attention to the social forces behind spatial distribution. Significantly, both authors not only note Haiti's material depletion, but convey the image of an organic or systemic collapse, and their descriptions often stand astride past and present.

Girault's *Le commerce du café en Haïti* is the first comprehensive study in any language of the marketing of a crop that has been, for nearly two centuries, Haiti's most important commodity.[9] Coffee production and/or commercialization involves at least one out of every five Haitians. Coffee export taxes remain the most important source of government revenues. As a major agricultural commodity, bound, on the one hand, by the immobility of the land on which it is produced, but driven, on the other, by necessities of a market that inherently implies physical movement, coffee lends itself particularly well to a spatial analysis. Indeed, Girault sees his marketing as a "total geographical phenomenon" that offers to the researcher a cross-section of the nation through which he can study social articulations. Says Girault: "in the spatial organization of underdeveloped countries, there exist points of the territory that seem to be privileged relays of the *dependency chain*, and the identification of those points, and of the social and economic mediations they translate, can turn into interesting and fruitful investigative trails" (p. 32).

The idea is not entirely new, but Girault distances himself from the pioneering work of Mintz (1959; 1960a; 1960b) which, he believes, overemphasizes the marketing of locally-consumed commodities. To be sure, Mintz's work has led to inferences about perfect competition in all aspects of the Haitian economy.[10] But Mintz himself, citing the very example of coffee, did stress "the neat separation of the internal market system from the channels by which agricultural commodities reach the export house" (1971: 262; 1959).

Girault's tracking of the crop along those channels, from the peasant gardens to the export houses, richly documents mechanisms of exploitation that had been only sketched in previous writings (e.g. Luc 1976). Though the book barely succeeds in fleshing out the Haitian peasants, it offers the best treatment in print of the oligopsonistic control exerted by coffee exporters. Likewise, it penetrates more deeply than ever before the world of the *spéculateurs en denrées*, those licensed middlemen whose subordination to the exporters on the one hand, yet tight control over the peasantry on the other, link the city docks to the most remote hinterlands.

The rich analysis of the interchange between *spéculateurs* and peasants brings out the most important discovery of Girault's journey: the Haitian *bourgs* (rural towns most often defined by law as "centers of *spéculation*") emerge as nodal points of the Haitian social, political and economic structure. Of course, the word *bourg* (and especially its Creole equivalent, *buk*) has long been used in Haiti; but the notion received little attention in the literature (even though Moral [1961: 251–258] was intrigued enough to inventory the places so labeled). But Girault's search for spatial specificity emphasizes morphology over size and, building on the local notion, conceptualizes the *bourg* as a territory of exchange, the internal relay point between the actual rural zones and the coastal towns, at which the peasant loses physical and social control over his production.[11] Marked by this spatial and functional specificity, the *bourg* also maintains the political tendencies distinctive of intermediate strata (*spéculateurs* are most often rich peasants), a point no doubt neglected in analyses of contemporary Haiti.

This "discovery" leads Girault to a tripartite division of Haitian spatial structure (rural zones, *bourgs*, coastal towns) that strongly qualifies the rural-urban continuum, but also nuances Anglade's presentation. Anglade identifies three "dominant" spatial structures in Haitian history. Within the "partitioned" structure of colonial times (1664–1803), atomized plantations directly reached out to the metropolis. The "regionalized" structure of the 19th century (1804–1918) regrouped different sub-areas into "financial districts" under the tutelage of the eleven

export-oriented coastal towns. Today's "centralized" structure reflects the overwhelming centripetal power of the capital city, Port-au-Prince (*Espace et liberté*, pp. 86–92).

That historically oriented geography is certainly stimulating, and relevant, I believe, to a few Caribbean cases. But because such analysis could easily fossilize into a "model", one needs to rectify some of its current excesses. Underlying Anglade's "structures" are particular organizations of "geographical forms" which themselves express the economic control and political management of the society. The ongoing construction of a national market and the equally continuous reproduction of the mechanisms of state control are the national processes behind those "forms." The dangers of structuralism inherent in that position are obvious (Thompson 1978: 83), and indeed, Anglade — not inevitably, I believe — builds a spatial dynamics that cannot outgrow its structures. Part of the problem, of course, is empirical. The extreme partition of the colonial structure suggested by the text and its graphic representation (*Espace et liberté*, pp. 87–88) neglects the breach opened in the plantation system by the slaves' control of their provision grounds and their subsequent participation in local markets (Lepkowski 1968–69; Mintz 1979). Likewise, metropolitan merchant houses often developed spatial specialization in the colony (Thésée 1972), while the dynamics of coffee production generated space-specific conflicts (Trouillot 1981; 1982).

But a deeper search in *Espace et liberté en Haïti*, the collection of essays and interviews that serves as the theoretical and political arm of Anglade's triptych, fails to reveal the analytical tools necessary to follow the passage from one structure to another. Indeed, in his final text which accompanies the maps of the *Atlas critique d'Haïti*, Anglade is forced to retreat to the unhelpful suggestion that the "regionalized" structure might be thought of as the transition from partition to centralization (p. 23). Those structuralist impediments, in turn, facilitate careless jumps into "space fetichism", of the kind that has marred "spatial analyses" (Smith 1981; Harvey 1982). Too often, indeed, the "Motor of space" (*Atlas*, p. 49) is made to determine social relations (pp. 19, 23, 40).

But such impediments do not invalidate Anglade's most telling

achievement: the 18 maps of the *Atlas* and the mural map of *Hispaniola*. First, most of the maps and inserts visually organize a mass of information hitherto neglected or unprocessed — for example, the map of Saint-Domingue, which corroborates the spatial preeminence of coffee, a thesis recently advanced by this writer (Trouillot 1982). Second, because of the efficiency of that organization, and because of the very nature of the medium, the author's inability to transcend the structures matters less than it does in the written text.[12]

But the best "reading" may be that which the *Atlas* provides through six maps that counterpoise the networks of economic and political power (maps 9, 13, 14) and the "nuclei of [popular] resistance," notably the rural agglomerations (*les bourgs-jardins*, map 7) and the markets (map 8). Some of those findings are encapsulated in the map of the "centralized space" (map 3) and the mural map of *Hispaniola* (produced jointly with R. E. Yunén and D. Audette). Besides being a nice example of cross-national Caribbean collaboration, *Hispaniola* expands "the space of conceptualization" (Lacoste) not only by including the whole island, but also with insets of Santo Domingo, Santiago, Port-au-Prince, the Haitian Diaspora and the Caribbean Context. Anglade also tests different scales with three maps of the Northwest province, and three maps that richly evidence the differential spatiality of the Port-au-Prince area (maps 4, 5, 6). On the large scale (1/8,400), downtown Port-au-Prince is a tightly structured commercial, political and cultural metropolis of a few square kilometers.[13] As we perceive the extent of its immediate social impact, the city proper seems to encompass suburbs and ghettoes of various densities: the scale is now 1/50,000. On a much smaller scale (1/285,000) we fully discover a metropolitan area, a "republic within", which extends for hundreds of kilometers to subordinate to its center the plains and hillsides that have become its granaries, the towns and villages that have been turned into its touristic appendages.

These are stimulating propositions for all Caribbeanists. We needed to be reminded that the units we so often take for granted are rarely given by Nature, and are too often products of imagination. Our cities not only expand beyond their administra-

tive boundaries, but draw within the metropolitan spheres rural areas far beyond the last shanty town. Likewise, while the plantation may serve as an analytical microcosm of slavery, and while parishes and districts open quite large windows on the post-slavery period, the spatial reorganization that followed the continental Pax Americana, the growth of the cities, and the consolidation of the nation-state may have impaired the appropriateness of small geo-social units jealously guarded by anthropologists in the name of academic security, or by "development economists" in hope of a still uncertain future. The visual representation of the Haitian national territory as a country of "projects", cut up in unrelated morsels by international "aid" (*Atlas*, map 15), effectively questions the ultimate consequences of such arbitrary segmentations. And Girault's analysis of the *spéculateurs* reminds us that economic and political control often passes through the power of a class to effectively delineate a "territory".

Further understanding of the space-specific aspects of Caribbean social life may require explorations in three related directions. Solid empirical fieldwork of the kind produced by Girault will eventually verify the applicability of more general concepts drawn from Caribbean or other Third World cases. Second, for this accumulation to bear full relevance, the question of the spatial specificity of *the Caribbean itself* will need to be integrated in a vision of a world-economy typified by the mobility of commodities and capital and the relative immobility of labor. The third area of inquiry — analyses of the role of *individual territorities* within the Caribbean, a pre-requisite to any "regional" project — necessitates that larger framework. For instance, the sequential rise and demise of light industries or tourism in different Caribbean territories — a pattern perhaps analogous to Eric Williams' image of a relay race in sugar history, each Caribbean territory, exhausted, passing the baton to its successor — verifies the need for a new awareness of differential spatialities. Obviously, Anglade's "centralization" is at work in any particular territory. But one cannot dismiss the spatial specificity of *the Caribbean:* its proximity to the United States, its opposition to "industrialized" territories of South East Asia, and the very fact that an archipelagic distribution may eventually facilitate "island hopping" by investors but

inherently limits the movement of labor. To be sure, all these factors — mentioned here only as examples — may well turn out to be irrelevant. But no one can rightly dismiss them until Caribbeanists, in general, pay more attention to the recent trends of a discipline which, though declining, may not yet have said its last word.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price for their comments on this paper.

2. All translations from French sources are my own.

3. My admittedly sketchy periodization of geography as a discipline draws from Clavel 1982, Lacoste 1982, Sack 1980, Granö 1981, and Capel 1981.

4. Among the numerous works dealing with the "natural history" of Caribbean colonies in the 17th and 18th centuries, one notes Ligon's *True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (1657), Rochefort's *Histoire naturelle et morale des Antilles* (1658), Du Tertre's *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François* (1667), Labat's *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amérique* (1722), Smith's *Natural History of Barbados* (1750), Brown's *Civil Natural History of Jamaica* (1756), Abbad y Lasierra's *Historia geographia, civil y natural de la Isla de San Juan de Puerto Rico* (1788). These works are treated in diverse degrees in the bibliographies of Goveia (1980 [1955]), Pressoir *et al.* (1953), Price (1976), and Williams (1970). For the later periods, in addition to the above, I have also relied on Aubourg 1976, Blume 1974, and Comitas 1977.

5. Both Martin (1851–57) and Lucas (1887–1920) did excellent geographical work on the Caribbean, but it occurred in the course of a general assessment of the British Empire.

6. Interestingly, the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (which published historiographies by both Goveia and Pressoir *et al.*) did not stimulate much of an increase in geographical studies of the Caribbean, although Sidney Mintz has pointed out to me the distinctiveness of Harris (1958). I also thank Mintz for making me aware of the work of Merrill (1965).

7. The Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer, in France, has recently published an impressive set of atlases of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana. Also, Longman Jamaica Ltd. has announced the forthcoming publication of a specialized journal, *Caribbean Geography*.

8. The relatively high numbers of titles suggesting geographical concerns in Price's survey of the literature on the Guiana Maroons (1976) may be due to that author's bibliographical skills (see also Price 1980). Nevertheless, the almost

obvious necessity on the part of planters and rulers to battle, on the coast, with an environment quite unfit to plantation agriculture, and to circumvent, in the interior, the maroons' and peasants' access to land, may have induced past and present writers to recognize more easily the spatial and environmental aspects of social life (see Rodney 1981 and Price 1983).

9. Since 1972, products of the light industries have replaced coffee at the top of Haitian export statistics. While the change is significant in light of the long preeminence of the crop (1801–1971), it must be noted that the new leading category in fact groups many more than one product.

10. See Lundahl 1979; but see also Trouillot 1980 for a critique.

11. Trying also to build from a native notion, Anglade calls the hinterland areas that enclose peasant house and gardens "*bourgs-jardins*", and he rightly challenges the alleged chaos of the spatial distribution (*Espace et liberté*, pp. 103–114; *Atlas* pp. 38–41). Unfortunately, the expression does not have the wide recognition of *buk* or *bourg* and may provoke confusion.

12. Though certainly a neophyte in matters of geography, I am not totally convinced that the map, as a medium, implies structural inertia. Explorations in the genre continue (Muehrcke 1978), and Anglade's work certainly suggests parallel reading of many maps. But even the tension produced by graphic distortion of familiar contours (as in Kidron and Segal 1981) does not seem to equate the *potential* dynamism of a written text. Thus the neatness of the presentation (and Anglade's maps *are* neat) may mask to author and public the pitfalls of structuralism.

13. In cartography, the *smaller* the scale, the *larger* the area the map represents.

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MICHEL-ROLPH TROUILLOT
Department of Anthropology
Duke University
Durham NC 27706, U.S.A.

BOOK REVIEWS

Terre-de-Haut des Saintes: contraintes insulaires et particularisme ethnique dans la Caraïbe. JEAN-LUC BONNIOL. Paris: Editions Caribéennes, 1980. 377 pp. (Paper FF 82.50)

There exist, in the Caribbean, islands which were not part of the plantation system because of their small size and the nature of their soil, and as a consequence their social structure, economic life, and culture took on special characteristics. Without being totally apart, these islands avoided certain influences that were important in shaping life in plantation America (patterns of land tenure, massive importations of African slaves and Asian indentured laborers, etc.), but felt others (poverty, lack of land for cultivation). In the nooks and crannies of the plantation world, these islands built a set of societies that cannot be fully understood without reference to that world, but which also differ from it in important ways.

What are these Caribbean islands without sugar? How are they similar to and different from other Caribbean societies? How can we best approach an understanding of them, given their double character — geographically at the heart of the Antillian arc, but sociologically set off at a distance? Certain of these islands, such as Saba and St.-Barthélemy have maintained a significant European population and this is considered, by their inhabitants, of crucial importance in distinguishing their societies from others in the Caribbean.

First of all, there are ecological and historical features that are closely tied to the ethnic make-up of these populations. These are

closely interrelated, and it becomes necessary to understand their respective roles as well as the ways they interact. It is on this task that Jean-Luc Bonniol focuses, as the subtitle of his book implies. As historian and anthropologist, he conducts simultaneous fieldwork and historical investigation, with each posing its questions for the other.

The first part discusses the ecosystem of the small archipelago of Les Saintes, situated to the south of Guadeloupe, and particularly the island of Terre-de-Haut. The biotope, the flora and fauna, and human activity are presented in both their present state and their evolution. This ecosystem is then studied as the framework and means of a social life in which the sea exerts a particularly important influence on both economic and cultural activities.

Passing on from ecology to history, Bonniol then devotes two substantial chapters to tracing the development of the population of Terre-de-Haut. He does this in several stages. The first considers Les Saintes within the context of the colonial Caribbean. Mismanaged by a centralized state which sometimes turns them into a military base and frequently neglects them, Les Saintes are subject to external pressures, without enjoying any autonomy, as their own society develops at a very slow pace. Once Guadeloupe became a French *département*, for example, Terre-de-Haut experienced the simultaneous shocks of tourism and administrative reorganization.

This history resounds with echoes of the tensions and dramas that have played themselves out in other islands. Ethnic diversity and a past of slavery and revolts rarely exert a direct influence there, but they do color the values attached to particular ethnic groups and help shape a cultural identity in which these latter play a role.

The history of a small island society is, however, taken much further. Demographic analysis reconstructs — sometimes in broad outline, often with specific examples — the genealogy of this population. We are very far, in this book, from the sorts of ethnographies in which demographic data are given superficial treatment. Working with excellent documentation (census materials, government archives), Bonniol examines the demographic situation with real thoroughness — analyzing the main demo-

graphic variables and their development over more than a century and reconstructing genealogies according to information from birth registrations. Social structure and genetic structure are presented, then, not through anecdotal information or oral inquiry, but upon a firm base of documented demographic history.

It is, however, in addressing the contemporary situation that this long incursion into history takes on its real significance. Working with solid genealogical resources, the author was able to view this situation against the people's own ideological construction of themselves, their history and their ethnic origins. From this emerges an ethnic identity, constituted from both biological realities and the social interpretation of those realities, for "the people of Les Saintes, while instilled with a 'white' identity by the play of social relations, are not — genetically speaking — entitled to that status..." (p. 350).

Pulling together the various aspects of his study (historical, ecological, and ideological), Bonniol emphasizes how their interplay reinforces the people's cultural understandings within the context of insular boundaries, and reinforces the boundaries through the ideological view of an ethnic identity. Drawing together natural environment, biological history and cultural experience, he demonstrates their continual interaction in the construction and development of this island population.

This is a beautiful book which draws as much on French historiography as on the Caribbean anthropology whose resources it utilizes so thoroughly. *Terre-de-Haut des Saintes* fills an important gap — a geographical gap created by the scarcity of good anthropological studies of the French Caribbean and of small, marginal island societies, and a theoretical gap created by the clustering of research in the areas of plantation life, domestic organization or political structure. The book would have been enriched by comparisons with St.-Barthélemy or Saba, which could have been based on the author's own experience. It could also have benefited from a more unified presentation of economic life within the special context of departmentalization. But these are more traditional areas of inquiry, which other authors are equipped to explore, while there are few people who have the multiple qualifications that permitted Bonniol to write a book of

real interest to historians, geneticists, demographers, ecologists, and of course anthropologists.

JEAN BENOIST
Laboratoire d'Ecologie Humaine
University of Aix-Marseille III
13628 Aix-en-Provence, France

The complete Haitiana: a bibliographic guide to the scholarly literature, 1900–1980. MICHEL S. LAGUERRE. Millwood NY and London: Kraus International Publications. 2 vols., lxxiii + 1562 pp. (Cloth US$ 250.00)

Michel Laguerre, a Haitian anthropologist who teaches at the University of California at Berkeley, has done a great service for those who seek to go beyond the sensationalism and superficiality of so much that is written about Haiti and its people. These impressive and handsomely bound volumes will facilitate Haitian research on a variety of topics, while appealing to Caribbean and Latin American specialists concerned with cross-cultural studies.

The Complete Haitiana supplements *The Complete Caribbeana, 1900–1975* (Comitas 1977), which did not attempt to cover Cuba, the Dominican Republic or Haiti. It makes a laudable attempt to fill gaps and overcome organizational difficulties which have hampered the use of previous Haitian bibliographies in systematic research (e.g., Duvivier 1941 and Bissainthe 1951, 1973). And the technical quality of *Haitiana*'s layout and typography enhances its contribution in this direction. I detected only a few typographical errors, although the names of authors such as French historian Gabriel Debien and 19th-century Haitian writer/politician Démesvar Delorme are accented improperly, and the use of diacritical marks in foreign language titles is erratic.

Haitiana lists 9,945 entries, only two of which are reduplicated. The entries include books, contributions to edited books, journal and newspaper articles, pamphlets, and reports prepared for governments and international organizations. The bibliography also brings together a large selection of doctoral, master's and bachelor's theses submitted to Caribbean, European, Latin

American and North American universities. Moreover, it is the first convenient guide to the steadily increasing number of publications in Haitian Creole.

The entries are distributed among eleven thematic sections (e.g., History of Haiti, Haitian Culture, and Political and Legal Processes), and each section is subdivided into topical chapters, of which there are 65 (e.g., Post Independence, 1804–1914, Macro- and Micro-Analysis of Haitian Society, and Politics and Government). Primary entries are listed by author in the topical chapter whose subject matter corresponds most closely to that of a given work, and they are numbered sequentially in boldface type in order to distinguish them from secondary entries. Works by individual authors are ordered by year of publication, and those works published in the same year are alphabetized by title.

Haitiana's primary entries contain the complete reference for a work, as well as three types of supplementary information: the numbers of chapters where the entry is cross-listed, a library code indicating where the work may be consulted, and a geographical code for publications dealing with countries other than Haiti. The translations provided for all non-English titles are generally accurate, except for a few mistranslations and misleading ones (e.g., "Santo Domingo" for "Saint-Domingue").

The instructions for using the bibliography are clear, and the lists of periodical abbreviations and library and geographical codes which precede the text complete the information presented in the primary entries. (The Library of Congress appears to be the only library that is coded in the text but not listed in the Code to Libraries.) Annotated chapter headings, together with the author index, guide users to entries they might find interesting. However, the logic of classification is sometimes baffling. One wonders why an article on "stream piracy" is listed in the chapter on slavery, marronage and emancipation [12.0708], or how a study of philately [24.0161] found its way into the one on folklore. Moreover, users who know a work by title alone may discover that it takes some doing to track it down in the larger chapters. The bibliography would have been more useful to me if it had included the years of publication for journals and newspapers. Similarly, it would have been helpful to know the life-span of authors, and to

be informed consistently of cases in which they used pseudonyms.

Having become all too familiar with the pitfalls of Haitian bibliography myself (Lowenthal & Woodson 1973, 1974), it is perhaps unfair for me to dwell on them. However, given Laguerre's criticism of previous bibliographies, some comments on *Haitiana*'s bibliographic shortcomings, as opposed to its strengths as a reference guide, are in order.

Laguerre compiled entries from several sources, including publication lists solicited from some fifty colleagues, but there is no indication that the works themselves were ever consulted in Haitian or North American libraries. This departure from standard bibliographical methodology may account for the significant number of inaccurate or incomplete entries. Perhaps it also explains why Albert Mangonès, rather than his late father Edmond Magonès, is credited with assembling the Collection Mangonès, and why Laguerre is unaware that the Collection Price-Mars has been catalogued (p. xvi).

A spot check of works in my own library revealed nearly forty erroneous citations, including reversals of authors' first and last names and inaccurate publication information for books and journal articles. Moreover, aside from the omission of useful works on various topics, *Haitiana*'s coverage of translations of books by Haitians or about Haiti is sporadic, and its coverage of significant scholarly exchanges in Haitian journals is incomplete.

Space limitations preclude extensive citations, but three examples will illustrate the point. The Spanish translation of Jean Price-Mars' *La République d'Haïti et la République Dominicaine* [47.0032 and 47.0033] has been omitted despite the fact that it was published simultaneously with the French edition (Price-Mars 1953). Likewise, his critical essay (1948) on the third volume of *La République d'Haïti* by Joseph Verschuren (pseudonym of Henri Op-Hey) has been overlooked, even though Verschuren's book [25.0509] and his reply to Price-Mars [25.0511] are listed. And while inclusion of Lepkowski's history in Polish of the formation of the Haitian State [11.0163] illustrates the bibliography's international scope, it is regrettable that the more accessible Spanish translation was not also listed (Lepkowski 1968).

Finally, *Haitiana*'s failure to indicate the total number of vol-

umes for books whose volumes are given separate primary entries, or to note the conclusion of articles which were continued in several issues of a journal makes it difficult to determine when a given work has been cited in its entirety. In addition, inconsistent notation of original dates of publication, particularly for anthropological and historical works by Haitians, leaves users concerned with such information in the dark. The justification for the selection of editions (p. xxiii) is convenient, but thoroughly inadequate for comprehensive bibliography.

These comments are not intended to belittle Laguerre's substantial accomplishment. Despite the fact that bibliophiles and bibliographical specialists will still turn to Bissainthe to guide them through the labyrinthine world of Haitian bibliography, *Haitiana* is the most wide-ranging source of publications for the period 1900–1980 available today.

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DREXEL G. WOODSON
Dept. of Anthropology
University of Chicago
Chicago IL 60637, U.S.A.

Haitian Creole — English — French dictionary. ALBERT VALDMAN, with SARA YODER, CRAIGE ROBERTS, YVES JOSEPH *et al.* Bloomington: Indiana University Creole Institute, 1981. 2 vols.: xx + 582 pp., 142 pp. (Paper US$ 38.00)

This is a trillingual dictionary. English and French are the target languages. The source language is referred to by the authors as "Haitian Creole". The first question this raises is whether the source language is indeed a language, and if so, why "Haitian creole"? (Do we write *Creole* with an upper case *C* or *creole* with a lower case *c*?) Why not simply *Haitian*? These questions are less trivial than they seem; they are related to several deeper issues including some that are relevant to the very nature and purpose of the work under review.

The dictionary's major purpose is to "aid in the comprehension of spoken and written Haitian Creole by speakers of English and French who have some knowledge of the structure of the language." Thus the main section of the dictionary, taking up virtually the whole of Volume I, is devoted to the presentation of "an inventory of Haitian words as described and listed in available glossaries and as illustrated by some current written material in the language." There are about 10,000 articles in the dictionary. Volume II then gives target language indices; English and then French words that appear as meanings in Volume I are cited as head words in Volume II, and their Haitian equivalents are given.

The dictionary, however, provides much more information on Haitian than merely the French and English equivalents of a select set of Haitian words, and this may be the great merit of the work. The introduction (pp. i-xx), in addition to supplying the

usual information on structure and scope and the usual advice to users, also makes very useful and interesting statements on word classes (parts of speech) in Haitian. Orthography remains a current burning issue in Haiti and the introduction not only presents an orthography for Haitian (with copious illustrations of its application contained in the material of the articles of the dictionary), but also regales the student of language planning endeavours in Haiti with a comparative lay-out of the differences between three of the most important competing orthographic systems proposed: that of the Institut Pédagogique National d'Haiti (IPN), which was declared Haiti's official orthography by presidential decree (September 1979), the one devised by Charles Pressoir, a Haitian linguist and nationalist, and another that was proposed by Americans (McConnel-Laubach) for Americans. The author wisely opts for the first of the three (the IPN orthography) in writing words for this dictionary, or at least opts for one that "most closely approximates it." The author, perhaps unwisely, fails to indicate explicitly the areas where his orthography deviates from the IPN. Finally, the introduction makes a further contribution to the language planning process in Haiti by making certain codification decisions having to do with choice among morphophonemic alternants and the use of hyphens and apostrophes.

The dictionary entries contain a wealth of information, including grammatical description of the head word, English and French equivalents, sentences illustrating usage, geographical and stylistic restrictions on usage, synonyms or related words, and cross referencing. This then is a very substantial publication which achieves its goals quite admirably. In terms of the achievement of its stated goals, we may only reproach the rather large list of *errata*, which suggests a not-too-careful initial editing and proofreading. The author informs us, however, that the work is "preliminary". Though we do not know what is to follow in the definitive stage, we can expect that the *errata* will be eliminated.

I cannot end this review without returning to the question posed in the first paragraph concerning the deeper implications of the dictionary. Although it is obvious that scholarly and practical works such as this dictionary will assist greatly in the promotion of Haitian as a full language, it is also obvious that a trilingual

dictionary with Haitian as source language falls short of looking at Haitian as *objet en soi*, but rather looks at it as an *objet en relation*. The treatment of Haitian as *objet en soi* can only be achieved with a monolingual dictionary in Haitian. The absence of such a dictionary is indicative of the persistence of low status for Haitian, a status which is in turn reflected in the continued use of such designations as Haitian Creole, French Creole of Haiti, etc. This is no reproach of the dictionary under review, since the author clearly states his goals. One cannot help but be intrigued, however, at the way in which this trilingual dictionary symbolises the current competition/collaboration between France (French) and the United States (English) to influence the destiny of Haiti (Haitian).

MERVYN C. ALLEYNE
Dept. of Linguistics
University of the West Indies
Mona, Kingston, Jamaica

Jean Price-Mars and Haiti. JACQUES CARMELEAU ANTOINE. Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1981. v + 224 pp. (Cloth US$ 18.00, Paper US$ 9.00)

Jean Price-Mars, the acknowleged precursor of "Négritude," lived a long life as Haitian scholar, diplomat, senator and interim medical practitioner. He aspired to the presidency of his country, hoping to devote its powers to the interests of the black country people whose wisdom and hard work he praised, at a time when European notions prevailed at the capital among the educated elite. He hoped that agriculture, the way of life of most Haitians, could become more productive. The Tuskegee Institute was a model to emulate, early in the century.

Among his works, one has prevailed: *Ainsi Parla l'Oncle*, published in 1928, when Haiti had been occupied for a decade by the U.S. Marines. The 'Uncle' was the African one, whose strength and courage were now to be drawn upon again, as they had been during the war of independence from France. The author of this biography, a Haitian exile, devotes a whole chapter to the book,

stressing not only its argument, but also its effect on the younger (1930s) generation of intellectuals, among them Jacques Roumain (founder of the Institut d'Ethnologie), Suzanne Comhaire and others. One of these, the poet Jean Brierre has written a preface to this biography: I would like to quote a paragraph, in Antoine's translation:

> The stature of the man [Price-Mars], with his self-esteem bound up with the true Haitian people, his unrivalled cultural activism, his exemplary humility which was not without its controlled anger, cries and barbs demands that his magi's profile, his sage words, his venerable kindness so similar to that of African teachers and elders in the shade of the palaver tree ought not to be shown in a private study for the "happy few", but on the vast screen of life lived differently by all its varied protagonists; the screen itself of *history*, beautiful, painful and tragic, of the Haitian people ... In his time [1910–30], he was the only leader in the bosom of a perfectly assimilated elite, who was conscious and proud of his African origins [p. 5].

A part of this stress on Africa was the awareness and defence of *voodoo* as a popular religion, whose ideological role in the wars of independence and present day practice required, according to Price-Mars, understanding and careful study. Alas, one of his students at a Port-au-Prince lycée, François Duvalier, took his master's definition of Haitian peasant cults to the presidential palace, where it was used to justify the reign of terror by the president's *Tontons Macoutes*.

When he died at 93, Price-Mars had watched and participated in countless régimes, many of which he had served more or less reluctantly. Generation after generation of young Haitians have criticised this tendency to collaborate with the very people who defeated or outmaneuvered him. But in the long run what has endured was pointed out by Leopold Sendar-Senghor:

> ... at the Sorbonne I had begun to ponder on the problem of a cultural Rennaissance in Black Africa, and I was looking for ... a sponsor who could insure the success of that undertaking .... And I read *Ainsi Parla l'Oncle* at a breath as one drinks water from a cistern, in the evening, returning from a long trip in the desert. I was gratified to the full. The Uncle was supporting the reason for my search, approving what I had felt. For, as he showed me the wealth of Négritude he had discovered on and in Haitian soil, he taught me how to discover the same value, but virgin and stronger, on and in African soil [quoted by Antoine, p. 144].

JOHN V. MURRA
Institute of Andean Research
Ithaca NY 14853, U.S.A.

The transatlantic slave trade: a history. JAMES A. RAWLEY. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1981. xiv + 452 pp. (Cloth US$ 24.95)

Rawley's work is organized into sixteen major chapters, all but three of which center on the involvement of national carriers and the activities of slave merchants and traders. Since the author is primarily interested in the business of slaving, three quarters of the text is devoted to the participation of national carriers. The role of the Portuguese, Spanish, French, British, and to a lesser extent the Swedes, Danes, and Brandenburgers in the transatlantic slave trade are discussed, as are the involvements of colonial territories in the New World, particularly that of the British mainland. Stress is placed on the interaction of these national groupings in the pursuit of their interests in the acquisition and distribution of Africans. Drawing on recent scholarship, Rawley has also included some discussions of the role of various African slave traders, and the changing power relations between those African societies that largely provided individuals to be enslaved and those that provided traders. One gets a fair sense of the competing interest groups — merchants vs. the crown of the state vs. New World planters — and of competing economic ideologies — *laissez-faire* vs. mercantilism — and of the accomodations made by various national groups and individuals in the pursuit of profitable markets.

Rawley relies heavily, and sometimes unquestioningly, on secondary sources for his discussion of Iberian, Dutch, French, and Danish participation in the trade, but makes extensive use of primary documentation for his analysis of the role of the British and American participants. Considerably more space is devoted to the involvement of Britain and the British colonial territories, particularly the North American mainland. Indeed, the disproportionate attention to English and "American" involvement is reflected in Rawley's decision to focus the bulk of his analysis on the development of the trade in the 18th century — the period marked by increased participation of British North American colonies in the slave trade. Thus, although Rawley writes that his aim is to consider the three and a half centuries of the trade and the activities of both major and minor participants, the work does not

provide a balanced account. The overall result is that discussion of the Iberian, French, Dutch, and other national carriers sometimes seems to serve merely as the backdrop against which the activities of the British and increasingly independent Americans are contextualized.

Focus on the national trades is complemented by two chapters on the economies of the slave trade and on the middle passage. Here, Rawley confronts much of the debate within the historiography of the transatlantic slave trade concerning slave mortality, the volume of slave imports into the New World, and the impact of the slave on metropolitan economies. While these chapters offer little in the way of new interpretations, they succesfully provide the most comprehensive synthesis of recent scholarship on these subjects. Once again, however, Rawley's arguments are weighted heavily towards the data from British and North American involvement in the trade. Thus, for example, in a major thesis of his work, Rawley argues that profits from the slave trade were "modest" for all national carriers, and had little effect on the accumulation of capital and the rise of industrialization in Europe, yet supports this sweeping statement primarily by reference to statistics from the English trade. Rawley's final chapter serves as a summary of his major conclusions and, in a work profuse with information often offered with little guidance as to its relative significance in the broad schema of the history of the transatlantic trade, this proves to be a useful addition.

Quantification, more than any other issue, dominates the historical controversy surrounding the study of the transatlantic slave trade. Philip Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969) was the first systematic analysis of the available primary sources of the volume of slave imports into the New World. Much of the subsequent historiography has centered on the modification and refinement of Curtin's original estimate that upwards of nine million Africans were transported into colonial regions of the New World. Rawley, like other historians, while not deviating from the sources or calculations used by Curtin (and in fact offering his revisions "with great diffidence" [p. 429]), has forwarded a remodified version of these importation figures. He calculates that the total volume of the trade was 11,354,000 Africans,

an increase of roughly 18% over Curtin's original estimate. However, Paul Lovejoy (1982), in a discussion of recent revisions of Curtin's census, has argued that Rawley's number is incorrect. Rawley, he maintains, failed to make a clear distinction between slaves *transported* by national carrier and those actually *received* into the variety of colonial markets. Lovejoy also writes that this error is compounded by Rawley's miscalculation of Brazilian imports and his misreading of David Eltis's compilations for the 19th-century trade, all of which results in an over-calculation of about one million Africans.

But whether Rawley's estimate is incorrect seems unimportant in the long run; attention to the number's game has for too long eclipsed more substantive issues. For example, while Rawley sees fit to revise the volume of the trade upwards by such a significant amount, he rarely explores the socio-economic, cultural, or political implications of such a large increase in the numbers of Africans transported out of the sending societies. Indeed, if upwards of one million more Africans came across the Atlantic than previously estimated, surely this would have had a qualitative effect on the societies which they left and those to which they came. Yet by his emphasis on studying the slave trade as a business in human commodities, Rawley misses the opportunity to take the quantification debate beyond the narrow boundaries within which it has so often been confined. Historians of the slave trade can no longer be satisfied, as is Rawley, with merely offering numerical updates every few years.

The quantitative debate has created an enormous political and emotional backlash from those who have insisted that Curtin's original projection is too conservative and reflects a denial of the negative consequences of the slave trade on the African continent. A similar response has been generated by the recent literature on the mortality of slaves during the middle passage. This study will undoubtedly fuel the controversy. Rawley argues that much of the literature describing high African mortality during the Atlantic voyage has exaggerated actual conditions. He writes that most of the slaves died as a result of illnesses contracted, and conditions existing in the pre-embarkation environment, rather than as a result of inhuman conditions aboard slave ships or as a result of

cruelty of ship captains and crews. He argues that historians who have calculated mortality rates have ignored a number of factors that would have the effect of lowering the calculated rate of slave deaths: length of voyages (with shorter voyages resulting in fewer deaths), region of provenance of Africans, experience of slave traders and its effect on their treatment and care for slaves on board ship, changes in design of slave ships to lessen time at sea, economic incentives which encouraged shippers to protect the health of slaves in board, and government regulations limiting the carrying capacity of slavers. Additionally, he maintains that the practice of counting pre-embarkation deaths in mortality figures for the middle passage has inflated percentages for the voyage itself. Rawley also suggests that inhumane treatment of Africans as a factor contributing to their mortality has been given undue credit. He points out that sailors aboard slave ships died in proportionately larger numbers than did Africans. In these regards the author places the stress on the disease environment from which Africans were departing as a major variable in their mortality during the voyage.

While one appreciates Rawley's call for more nuanced analyses of the rates of African mortality during the middle passage, his moral and methodological approach needs further exploration. First he does not adequately distinguish between legislation which set guidelines for the operation of slave ships and the actual behaviour of captains and crews. He assumes, for the most part, that there is a convergence between *de jure* expectations and *de facto* behaviour. Second, in keeping with the slave trade as business perspective, he suggests that shippers' rational pursuit of profits would in itself lead to conditions conducive to the welfare of Africans. In this view, therefore, Rawley maintains that abolitionists in writing of the trade have exaggerated the cruelty of captains and crew. Cruelty in Rawley's moral framework is to a large extent just a reflection of poor management and lack of experience on the part of captains, crew members, surgeons, and ship owners, rather than as illustrative of behavior generated by racism and the relations of domination between enslaved Africans — "commodities" — and those responsible for transporting them.

Specialists who study the development of slavery in the colonies

in North America may find Rawley's work of interest, for he offers a solid discussion of American participation in the slave trade. They may be disturbed, however, by a few misconceptions on his part. For one, Rawley accepts Peter Wood's thesis that the development and succes of rice agriculture in South Carolina was due in large part to the presence of West Africans who had been rice cultivators in their natal societies, despite recent literature, which suggests that there is little evidence to substantiate such a claim.

By readily embracing the commonly held assumption that planters preferred black African slaves to white indentured servants, Rawley misrepresents the nature of the transition from an indenture system to a slave system in the Chesapeake region. The data suggest that, for the most part, throughout the 17th century planters actually preferred to use white indentured servants and that the shift to the use of African slaves came about as a result of an increasing shortage of available white labor. In his discussion of Virginia Rawley correctly notes the relationship between the fortunes of the tobacco industry and the volume of imports of African slaves into the Chesapeake; but his timing and numbers need adjustment. He pinpoints the 1680's as the highpoint for both the exportation of Chesapeake tobacco to England and the importation of African slaves into the region and argues that, in the case of Virginia, the slave population tripled during this decade. Yet there is ample evidence to show that from the 1680's through the first decade of the 18th century, the Chesapeake tobacco industry was in a period of slow growth, while the available demographic data for the period in question indicates that the likelihood that the black Virginian population tripled, either through importations or natural increase or a combination of both, is close to impossible.

Rawley's study is a highly problematic one. He says in his introduction that his aim is to write a one volume "objective" history of the trade. His definition of objective, however, calls into question the entire enterprise. In his view to write an objective history is to "de-emphasize the trade's undoubted horrors" and to write in "keeping with the historical climate in which the trade flourished" (p. 7). As a historian, therefore, Rawley ostensibly takes on the role of dispassionate bystander. But he seems to be

basically unaware of the manner in which the perspective from which he writes is highly circumscribed and subjective. If previous authors who have written about the trade were moralizers and wrote through the eyes of abolitionists, as Rawley suggests, then rather than providing the balance so sorely needed in this literature, this study is yet another history of the trade, told this time around through the historical lens of the powerbrokers, for whom the slave trade was a business. The major flaw of this study is Rawley's assumption that a discussion of slave trading as a business, whether from the perspective of James Rogers, an 18th-century Bristol merchant, or Tegbesu, a Dahomean monarch and slave trader, leads to a value free history. Ironically, the study fails ultimately even to offer a vision of the perceptions of the "businessmen" in the trade, for Rawley's definition of business rationality is basically a twentieth century one.

Slave trading as business is Rawley's controlling metaphor and it underlies his examitaion of the three and a half centuries of the forced migration of upwards of ten million Africans to the New World. There is some use to exploring the data on the transatlantic slave trade through the application of the "business" metaphor. However, the problem for these reviewers is the degree to which metaphor becomes explanatory variable in Rawley's study. The author has missed the opportunity to reassess the parameters of the arguments surrounding the transatlantic slave trade and instead becomes mired in old and worn debates. In the final analysis the work may be useful as a comprehensive synopsis of some of the classical arguments in the historiography of the trade, but in our view it provides nothing new, and fails as an "objective" study of the trade or as a history of the trade in general.

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REGINALD BUTLER
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
Williamsburg VA 23187, U.S.A.
and
GERTRUDE FRASER
Dept. of Anthropology
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore MD 21218, U.S.A.

A social history of black slaves and freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555. A. C. DE C. M. SAUNDERS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. xviii + 283 pp. (Cloth US$ 49.50 £ 27,50)

Among the flurry of studies on the Atlantic slave trade, emancipation, abolition, and slavery in the New World, it is easy to forget that the Iberian peninsula provided a crucial point of reference for two seminal works which provoked this scholarly activity: Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and citizen* (1946) and Stanley Elkins' *Slavery: a problem in American institutional and intellectual life* (1958). Both attributed alleged benignity of slavery in Latin America to preconditions in the Iberian peninsula. Tannenbaum, Elkins, and their successors drew a veil over distinctions between Castile and Portugal, ignored the absence in Portugal of a codification comparable to the *Siete Partidas*, and placed both nations in a unitary system characterised by Elkins as the "conservative, paternalistic, Catholic, quasi-medieval culture of Spain and Portugal and their New World colonies." Subsequent research has revealed how erroneous is the attribution of uniformity to colonial Latin America. Diversity, and not homogeneity, characterised New World slavocratic societies. But to date little attention has been paid to slavery and race relations in Portugal which were to have repercussions throughout the Atlantic world. This *lacuna* has been remedied by Saunders' *A social history of black*

slaves and freedmen in Portugal. Based on archival and published sources, this book questions some assertions on which Tannenbaum built his thesis, and provides a firm foundation for those seeking a Portuguese dimension to Old or New World systems of slavery and race relations.

Saunders has adopted a conventional approach: overview of the volume, logistics and institutions of the trade and its legal and philosophical justifications, demographic distribution in the receiving country, occupations and life styles, and roles of persons of African descent vis à vis Church and State. Evaluations of the impact of the trade and of slavery on labor systems, on regional economies in Portugal, on the national economy, and on Portuguese commercial relations with Europe run through the book, as do considerations of sociopolitical repercussions on Portugal, Europe, and the Americas. Saunders provides the reader with the timely reminder that the trans-Atlantic slave trade was the successor — in organizational terms — to a trade firmly in place by the mid-15th century. This trade in the African Atlantic exhibited those self-same complexities and intricacies which were to characterize the trans-Atlantic phase after the 1530s. Concentration on demand factors leads Saunders to underplay the contribution of what has been referred to as "elasticity of slave labor supply". He suggests that tight packing was less important in determining mortality than were delays at ports of embarcation, time afloat, and supplies of food and water. Saunders provides the most comprehensive figures currently available on slaves landed and sold in Lisbon. In the period 1490–1530, arrivals in Lisbon numbered 300–500 slaves annually. Data for other Portuguese port cities are scant, but Saunders does treat a largely unexplored area — re-exports to southern Spain, Castille, Italy, and even Flanders, of 800–1000 slaves annually in the early 16th century. Portugal had become the purveyor of slaves to early modern Europe, as had Genoa and Venice for the later Middle Ages. But West African trades generally, except for Mina gold, were minor in the overall Portuguese economy, although with the decline of Indian trades in the 1560s, Guinea trades were to comprise an increasingly important part of crown revenues.

Saunders provides the first comprehensive demographic assess-

ment of the slave population in Portugal. His conclusions are as follows: by the mid-16th century, slaves made up 10% of the populations of Lisbon, Evora, and the Algarve; Estremadura and the Alentejo counted 5% slave populations; northern towns (with the exception of Oporto, at 5%) were 1–2% slaves. Freedmen were insignificant, counting at most 1% in those communities where slaves were most numerous. Saunders estimates the minimum number of persons of African descent in Portugal at 32,370 slaves and 2,580 freedmen, that is, 2.5–3% of the national population. Local concentrations of 10% were high for 16th-century Europe, but Portugal confirms the view that traditional Mediterranean economies could not absorb many slaves. Distribution of slave population supports Faria's thesis (1655) about the inequilibrium and defective organization of the Portuguese economy. Males predominated slightly over females, and females were favoured slightly in manumissions.

Occupations of slaves have been of consuming interest to students of Carribbean history and much debate has centered on elite jobs as perceived by owners or slaves. In Portugal the only elite slaves were females in attendance on queens and princesses who were treated virtually as maids of honour. Such examples illustrate a wide pattern of personal servants and royal retainers who were underemployed and contributed nothing to the economy. The coexistence of slaves and free labourers suggests that in terms of occupations, wage slavery differed little from formal slavery. A wider range of occupations was open to men than to women, but on estates there was a division of labor by sex, with women engaged in domestic activities and males tending herds and cultivating crops. In the absence of occupational distinctions between black slaves and freedmen or white manual laborers, choice of free over slave labor was dictated by regional and seasonal differences and social and financial considerations. Saunders qualifies the view that blacks were imported to offset the siphoning off of Portuguese manpower overseas, concluding that at no time did blacks threaten the livelihood of the white labor force. In Lisbon slaves supplemented rather than supplanted free labor, although this changed in the 1550s when rural population growth made available to the metropolis a ready supply of cheap free labor.

Saunders has attempted to depict the life of a slave: clothing, shelter, food, language and education, festivities, religious activities, punishment, diseases, and the cycle from birth through marriage to death. He has made a valiant effort to give flesh and blood to individual lives, but the absence of data has led to a monochromatic picture of a ghetto-like existence in which — despite attempts at social integration through baptism, marriage, and funerals — persons of African descent socialised together, held their own festivals, were linked by marriage and family, and spoke their own languages or a distinctive form of Portuguese. It would be interesting to learn more about the bestowal of names (apparently chosen by the owner in most cases) and the degree to which names denoted occupations, alliances to places, or African origins. In contrast to Brazil at a later date, the godparents of baptized slaves in Portugal were invariably white, although Saunders does not discuss factors determining choice. Most slave children were born out of wedlock, but there is no consideration of what comprised wedlock in early 16th-century Portugal, how stable and permanent slave unions were, and whether there existed alternative forms of marriage. Saunders accepts without comment the "casual sexuality of a slave-owning society" and notes that transactions dividing slave families "are known to have occurred" (p. 92) — a lame explanation for a complex issue studied by Frederick Bowser for 16th-century Peru. The section "sexual relations and marriage" (pp. 102–105) makes no distinction between household and houseful nor do sources provide data on dyads within the family. Shortages of data and few freedmen of color lead to a cursory treatment of manumission (pp. 138–41). Because Saunders has eschewed an interpretative approach for the more descriptive, he leaves unanswered many questions that scholars of Caribbean and Latin American history have become accustomed to addressing — for example, the role of urbanization in determining incidence and nature of manumission. If the road to freedom was disheartening, no less so was the outcome, namely: absence of social mobility; employment prospects comparable to those of poor whites; and discrimination in police regulations on the grounds that freedmen had more in common with black slaves than with free whites and would aid and abet slave criminals. The

impression left by Saunders is that the black community essentially hunkered down in the face of discrimination. The brotherhood of the Rosary provided shelter, psychic reinforcement, and some protection against owner's abuses, and was the advocate and representative of black interests. Saunders has not addressed mechanisms (other than flight) of resistance — abortion, suicide, sabotage, rebellion — nor discussed responses by blacks studied by Genovese or Gutman in the New World context emphasising resilience and adaptation.

A Social History is a well researched, scholarly monograph, and the best account to date on this subject. Saunders is at his strongest analysing quantitative data. Less successful are sections on life styles of blacks. Saunders has kept close to his sources. Broad questions remain. Did forced migration make blacks different from other migrants to Lisbon? How important were distinctions of pigmentation rather than of race in determining attitudes? Can one discuss the position of persons of African descent without considering the concept of estates in a seigneurial society? What were relations between blacks, mouriscos, and Jews? Biomedical aspects receive scant treatment, and there is no discussion of blacks as bloodletters, midwives, or bonesetters. Saunders does not explain the absence of ethnographic interest on the part of the Portuguese in persons from sub-Saharan regions.

There is a tendency to examine Iberian models of slavery as forerunners of the American experience. The Portuguese inaugurated a trade which was to make black slavery the most constant and persistent characteristic of New World societies. The organization of slave labor and social and racial attitudes in Portugal foreshadowed those in the New World in general, and in Brazil in particular, but for Brazil there developed a greater variation of nuances than existed in late medieval Portugal. As Saunders notes (p. 177), if "the blacks [were] accepted; the mulattoes, half Portuguese as they were, [were] preferred." In Brazil racial polarities did not correspond with moral polarities. It was the mulatto, and not the black, who was "audacious", "lazy" and "insolent". Saunders asserts that relations established between races in 16th-century Portugal "set a pattern which had effects throughout the Atlantic world until today". Perhaps he

was too conscious of the role of the Portuguese as precursors of New World practices and attitudes. In fact, the Portuguese example represents an extension to the Atlantic coastboard of practices and attitudes prevalent in late medieval Europe: economies not dependent on slave labour; slaves supplementing rather than supplanting the free work force; and distribution primarily urban and in ports. Saunders has provided a corpus of knowledge about blacks in early Renaissance Portugal and has opened the way for further studies of persons of African descent in Portugal in the 17th and 18th centuries. He has completed a mosaic of studies of black slavery running from the western rim of Christendom to the Levant. The time is ripe for a comparative study of persons of African descent in those countries bordering on the Mediterranean and Crete and Sicily. Students of Latin America and the Caribbean, and of comparative race relations and systems of slavery, will find much of interest in Saunders' authoritative work. But this cannot detract from the desirability of seeing New World phenomena through New World rather than European eyes and recognizing that the values, privileges, attitudes, and mentalities were — within a decade of initial contact, conquest and settlement — no longer European but American.

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A. J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD
Dept. of History
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore MD 21218, U.S.A.

The idea of race in science: Great Britain, 1800–1960. NANCY STEPAN. Hamden CT: Archon Books (Shoe String Press), 1982. xxi + 230 pp. Cloth US$ 27.50)

Today the subject of race is still a sensitive and volatile issue, although the attitudes of the past have to a large degree been

replaced by feelings of guilt and embarassment — at least within the scientific community. Indeed, I can remember that, as a graduate student, the first time I read the work of Edward Drinker Cope and other late 19th-century racial theorists I was appalled. Even now when I read passages from these works to my students, I can appreciate and understand their shock and often repugnance. Although such a reaction is commendable in an enlightened student, it is something to be avoided by a professional historian. Surprisingly, however, Nancy Stepan has found it difficult to detach herself and thereby avoid imparting her obvious distaste of 19th-century racial theory to her readers. This lack of objectivity, I believe, prevents the reader from looking at the many well-intentioned scientists who dealt with this subject as highly moral individuals. While stopping short of calling them pseudoscientists, Stepan clearly reveals her ideological bias, and as a consequence these workers are more often than not presented simplistically as being either right or wrong. Though well intentioned, this approach has imposed on Stepan's narrative the attitudes and scientific facts only lately known.

Another problem with this book is that Stepan takes a sociological view rather than a strictly scientific view of the history of science. The scientists are examined for their ideological views rather than looking at their techniques for data analysis and the methods by which they arrived at their particular conclusions. As a consequence of this, a reader unfamiliar with the complexities of 19th-century anthropological theory is unable to follow and fully appreciate the subtle twists and turns (not to mention frequent inconsistencies) in the various arguments presented by scientific workers during this period. Furthermore, it is evident that this approach has led Stepan to suggest that the emergence of racism and racial theory in Europe was due in large part to slavery in the New World, rather than stemming principally from the intellectual concerns of 18th-century natural science. Thus, while Stepan recognizes a thematic continuity in racial theory from the mid-18th century on through essentially to the present, this fact is neither fully developed nor explained.

For instance, in her opening chapter Stepan examines the concept of the "Great Chain of Being", and notes that the idea of a

chain did not "completely disappear from biology" after the arrival of the Darwinian synthesis. But contrary to one's expectation, she does not proceed to use this observation as an organizing principle. Furthermore, her analysis of the application of the Great Chain in pre-Darwinian anthropological theory leaves much to be desired. However, in the opening chapters of her narrative, Stepan shows quite convincingly that British anthropology prior to 1860 was dominated essentially by the ideas of James Cowles Prichard. Unlike many of his European contemporaries who subscribed to a polygenic explanation of human diversity, Prichard endeavored to seek scientific sanction for non-white inferiority by invoking the degenerative influence of the environment upon these populations. As such the Prichardian view, with its inherent protoevolutionary stance, prepared the way for the eventual arrival of the Darwinian synthesis.

The middle chapters of Stepan's book deal with the period following the publication of Darwin's *Origin of species*. Here she notes that Darwin's thesis had little or no effect on racial theory, and that in fact many of the theoretical components of the earlier polygenism remained intact. Although Stepan's accounting of this phenomenon is accurate, it is not, unfortunately, presented in an entirely coherent fashion, and many readers may find it difficult to keep the salient features of post-Darwinian racial theory from becoming muddled and incomprehensible.

Unfortunately, the remaining chapters of Stepan's book are not devoted exclusively to a synopsis of the modern evolutionary synthesis and the development of current views on human variability. Instead, her efforts are concentrated on a relatively detailed description of the emergence and influence of the eugenic movement in British science, as well as the issue of intelligence and the more recent controversy of sociobiology. These topics are considered peripheral to the race question.

While clearly finding this book disappointing, I should note that Stepan's text, in spite of its faults, does provide an overview which hitherto has not been available to instructors who lecture on the history of anthropological theory. As such I intend to use this book but will recommend to my students that they read it in conjuction with the texts of Jordan (1968), Stocking (1968), Stanton (1960) and Haller (1971).

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FRANK SPENCER
Dept. of Anthropology
Queens College, CUNY
Flushing NY 11367, U.S.A.

Women of Cuba. INGER HOLT-SEELAND. Photographs by JØRGEN SCHYTTE. (Translated from the Spanish by ELIZABETH HAMILTON LACOSTE with MIRTHA QUINTANALES and JOSÉ VIGO). Westport CT: Lawrence Hill, 1982. 109 pp. (Cloth US$ 14.95, Paper US$ 7.95)

Women in Cuba: twenty years later. MARGARET RANDALL. Photographs by JUDY JANDA. New York: Smyrna Press, 1981. 167 pp. (Paper US$ 7.95)

The appearance of two books on Cuban women in the same year is noteworthy. It is almost ten years since the publication of Margaret Randall's first book, *Cuban Women Now*, and very little has appeared since then.

Unfortunately, neither of these books is a systematic study of the impact of the Cuban Revolution on Cuban women. Although the Cubans themselves have apparently gathered some data, none of this has appeared in published form in the United States. Clearly there is a great need for such a study, and we can only hope it will appear soon.

Both of these books are first-hand accounts by non-Cuban women who have lived in Cuba for several years since the revolution and have tried to give us their impressions of the change in women's lives. The book by Holt-Seeland, a Norwegian, is a series of portraits of Cuban women, including a farmworker, a young brigade leader, a housewife, a university student, a factory worker, and an older black woman. Constructed on the basis of interviews, these portraits reveal sensitive insight into the lives of these different women, most of whom appear to support the revolution and to have benefited from it in some way. The only note of dissidence comes from the housewife, who came from an upper-class background and would have preferred to leave Cuba with the rest of her family, but was deterred by her husband, who was from a lower class background than hers and was a strong supporter of the revolution. Over time, she accommodates to the revolution and actually becomes quite active in voluntary work, particularly the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, which mobilizes many housewives in Cuba today.

Although there are no Marielito women in this book, several of the women are quite candid about the shortcomings of the revolution. The woman farmworker talks about continued sex segregation of jobs, with the harder, more hazardous, and better paid tasks such as spraying of crops going to men, and notes that "when there are no suitable jobs for women, they go several days without work." From her point of view, however, this restriction has benefited women, who in the pre-revolutionary period had no choice but to do "men's work." The chief reason given for restricting women from certain jobs is that they are harmful to their reproductive system; one wonders if the jobs might not have the same effect on men.

It would have been interesting to include a portrait of a professional woman, preferably one highly placed politically such as Vilma Espin, head of the Federation of Cuban Women (the major mass organization concerned with women). Unfortunately, there are still few women in high decision-making positions, a weakness the Cuban government has acknowledged and is attempting to correct.

Despite its limitations, Holt-Seeland's book is a very enjoyable

and readable journalistic account of Cuban women today. It would have benefited from an introduction to the country and the revolution, perhaps by someone more knowledgeable in the social sciences, in order to place these portraits in context. Instead, the author attempts a synthesis at the end which results in a rather forced, incoherent compendium of data on geography, history, and legislation related to women.

Margaret Randall's book is more analytical. It examines key aspects of women's lives, such as maternity, the family, the Federation of Cuban Women, and women in art. It provides some valuable data on changes in women's roles under the revolution, including new work and family roles, and benefits such as health care, day care, maternity care, and education. Randall notes the great advances made in these areas, with women now representing 30 percent of the salaried labor force and 25 percent of the National People's Assembly, the nation's highest governing elected body.

There is, however, virtually no criticism of the revolution in Randall's book — even less than emerges from the interviews by Holt-Seeland. The book thus loses much of its credibility by appearing to be propaganda for the Cuban government. Furthermore, Randall has a tendency to cite endless lists of Cuban women in the arts, in political positions connected with the National People's Assembly, etc. These names mean little to the non-Cuban reader and make for very boring reading.

Except for a brief introductory chapter, there is no attempt to relate changes in Cuban women's lives to the women's movement in the United States, although as an American, Randall would have been in a unique position to do this. The essays in this book were originally given as lectures while Randall was on a tour of U.S. colleges and universities, after an absence of 17 years. Surely this should have given her interesting insights into her own culture, which could have been developed in this book.

My own opportunities to study or observe Cuban women have been far more limited, since I have made only two brief visits to the country since the revolution, and did not focus on women in either. What I have been able to observe and read, however,

suggests that the women's movement in Cuba is very different from that in the United States. The chief difference lies in the nature of the leadership of the movement. In Cuba, the initiative has been taken by the government, which has created mass organizations, such as the Federation of Cuban Women and the Feminist Front of the Confederation of Cuban Workers, and passed legislation, such as the very progressive family code which guarantees legal equality in marriage for women and men. Cuban women, by and large, have been passive recipients of such advances, and have not had to struggle for their implementation or effectiveness. The result has been a lack of feminist consciousness on the part of the older generation of Cuban women, who still abide by traditional sex role ideology.

I am told, however, that some of the younger Cuban women have become far more forceful and articulate concerning their rights and needs, and that these women are to be found primarily among the rank-and-file; they tend to be peasant women and factory workers rather then members of the professional elite. If this is true, we may yet witness the emergence of a genuine women's movement in Cuba similiar to the one that has shaken the U.S. since 1970. In the U.S., the leadership for the women's movement came from the grassroots, from thousands of small "consciousness raising" groups, which demanded changes in abortion, day care, maternity benefits, and so forth. That is, the women's movement in the U.S. grew from the bottom up, while its counterpart in Cuba was very topheavy.

Nevertheless, the Cuban government deserves credit for recognizing the importance of gender inequality within the framework of a socialist revolution. Clearly they have done more than other socialist governments to incorporate women into the revolutionary struggle and to do away with prerevolutionary sexist ideology.

HELEN I. SAFA
Center for Latin American Studies
University of Florida
Gainesville FL 32611, U.S.A.

The people of Buena Ventura: relocation of slum dwellers in postrevolutionary Cuba. DOUGLAS S. BUTTERWORTH. Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1980. xxix + 157 pp. (Cloth US$ 11.95, £ 7.20)

The people of Buena Ventura is an important, interesting, and flawed book. It is a product of Oscar Lewis' 1969–70 Cuba Project which produced *Four Men, Four Women,* and *Neighbours* by Oscar Lewis, Ruth Lewis and Susan Rigdon (1977, 1977 and 1978 respectively). Those three books and this fourth one all present a perspective on Cuba that would otherwise be unavailable to Western outsiders. Yet it is a perspective limited by both the Cuban government and the researchers' own particular biases.

Butterworth has written a typical urban ethnographic community study. He focuses primarily on social relationships: how people relate to those within the family and community, to those outside the community, and to the new institutions of the Revolution, such as Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and People's Courts. The Cuban Revolution resettled the people of Buena Ventura from one of Havana's worst slums, Las Yaguas, which Oscar Lewis had the opportunity to observe in 1945–46 and again in 1961. Butterworth attempts to situate Buena Ventura by contrasting it with the residents' former community, a true shantytown of mainly filmsy houses and few services — a community with pimps and prostitutes among unskilled workers of what would have been called the informal sector or the secondary labor market, and with a reputation for argumentative, rude and lewd behaviour.

Ten years after the Revolution and after being resettled, the residents of Buena Ventura remained poor and they have some new neighbours who are materially better off than they. They complain of shortages and the hassles of waiting in line. Nevertheless, the economic and material conditions of the people of Buena Ventura were clearly better in 1969 than before. Many residents note the material improvements brought by the Revolution, their new houses, the steady work, and the health care. Some deeply appreciated the power of the Revolution and, in the words of the Revolution, are "well integrated." There are firm supporters of

the new order, participating in and promoting its activities. They express a new concern for their community and nation and they are internationalist in perspective, talking of imperialism and its efforts to obstruct the Revolution.

There are also those who are not well integrated into the Revolution. There are those who are more immersed in their personal, immediate social concerns of marriages, affairs and disagreements with family, friends, neighbours, and officials. There are those who complain loudly and constantly of the overcrowded housing and the continued condescension toward the residents of Buena Ventura expressed by outsiders, including government officials. Buena Ventura has quite a few who think that (and apparently act as if) Cuban society is still unequal. They remain individualists to the core, parochial and selfcentered, apparent examples of Cuba's failure to create a New Society and a New Man. Butterworth seems to indicate that Buena Ventura has more people who have not integrated into the Revolution and been transformed than people who are integrated.

Yet the picture is necessarily biased. Butterworth admits that Buena Ventura is not representative. There was another resettled community, Bolivar, from the same original slum (Las Yaguas) whose residents were apparently well integrated. But Butterworth and the Cuba Project were unable to gather much data on Bolivar. Their work was suspended in midstream by the Cuban Government. Embattled by economic problems, fears of further CIA destabilization efforts, and the knowledge that Lewis had innocently gathered evidence incriminating to one of the Revolution's highest officials, the Cuban Government stopped the project and confiscated much of the materials. The researchers were left having completed only part of the research and possessing only a partial record of the research they had completed. They had not had a chance to begin working in the well integrated resettled community. Buena Ventura was unfortunately the only resettled community for which they had much information.

The incomplete, partial, and biased picture we receive raises, but does not answer, many interesting questions: (1) Was Buena Ventura given fewer resources or less attention by the government than Bolivar? (2) Were the people in Buena Ventura different in

some way from those of Bolivar? Were they selected differently? (3) How important are the legacy of their former community, Las Yaguas, and its negative stereotypes in the minds of outsiders in mitigating against treating Buena Ventura residents as equals? (4) How important is the creation and institutionalization of a new bureaucracy in obstructing the integration of Buena Ventura residents? (5) How important is the U.S. threat in diverting energies and resources into defense rather than creating the New Man and overcoming the legacies of inequality? Neither we nor Butterworth know the answer to any of these questions. We are left with an historical snapshot of one resettled urban community ten years after the Revolution. The results are mixed; we do not know enough to judge the causes; and we wish we could know more.

ALEX STEPICK
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Florida International University
Miami FL 33199, U.S.A.

Amargo café: los pequeños y medianos caficultores de Utuado en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. FERNANDO PICÓ. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Huracán, 1981. 162 pp. (Paper US$ 4.95)

This is the second of a projected three-volume study of Utuado, a coffee municipality in the heart of Puerto Rico's *cordillera central.* Utuado was one of the largest coffee producing *municipios* in Puerto Rico at the close of the 19th century and the patterns of socio-economic change found at this micro level can be used to generalize about Puerto Rican highland society. Picó's first volume (1979) examined the formation of a labor force; this one concentrates on the dynamics of life for small and middle-sized farmers during the coffee boom of the late 19th century.

Methodologically, the two studies are similar. Each relies on the meticulous examination of archival materials to reconstruct family histories over several generations. Picó's work is pioneering in this regard since he is the first historian to apply prosopographical methods to the study of Puerto Rican history. The focus of this book is also innovative. Socio-economic research on Latin

America and the Caribbean has tended to ignore the role of small and middle-sized landholdings and to concentrate on large scale haciendas and the various forms of labor that served them. Picó chose non-hacienda landowners as a focal point of study for very good reasons: they made up over 80% of all landowners and produced over two-thirds of Utuado's coffee during the 1890s.

The book is divided into two parts, of which the first is by far the more important. Rather than narrating the history of the many families traced through the 18th and 19th centuries, Picó generalizes about their experiences in terms of various themes: the establishment of private property, credit, labor, and linkages to the international market. Two factors constantly pressured these sectors of rural society. The first was the gradual settling of all public land by the mid-19th century, which meant that surviving children had little recourse to land ownership other than the fractionalization of hereditary holdings. This problem was alleviated when people married later or delayed childbearing. Second, the rising demand for coffee after 1850 translated into pressure on land by the expanding haciendas as well as merchant speculators.

Yet small and medium properties persisted, although as they moved from subsistence farming to coffee production they became increasingly tied to the large scale coffee haciendas and merchant creditors through debt, as well as through their dependence on them for transportation services and coffee processing. Land guarantees were at the center of these linkages and often led to alienation and downward mobility from generation to generation. Picó has found a turnover in the ranks of small and medium-sized farmers, although the strata remained an important part of local society. Labor needs were not large, and could usually be met by the nuclear or extended family, and subsistence crops were cultivated for sustenance. Thus, these modest operations could avoid the overwhelming debts that specialized coffee haciendas acquired because of their need for capital to hire laborers and purchase food.

The second part of the book consists of four narrative family histories regarded as typical. Although there is interesting material here, especially for students of Puerto Rico, one tends to get lost in the details.

A drawback to this study is that these small and middlesized farmers are grouped together without considering the substantial differences between, for example, those families with 5 cuerdas of land and those with 150. A more explicit statistical profile of the various land tenure groupings and a discussion of the very distinct socio-economic problems faced by minifundia and owners of medium-sized properties, would have been useful for a more complete understanding of the dynamics of highland society.

Yet this is a valuable and pioneering book that adds to the growing bibliography of what has been termed "la nueva historiografía puertorriqueña."

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LAIRD W. BERGAD
Department of Puerto Rican Studies
Herbert H. Lehman College, CUNY
Bronx NY 10468, U.S.A.

La Mosquitia en la Revolución. JAIME WHEELOCK ROMAN *et al.* Centro de Investigación y Estudios de la Reforma Agraria. Managua, Nicaragua: Colección Blas Real Espinales, 1981. 308 pp. (Paper C$ 50 córdobas)

Mosquitia, the Miskito Coast of eastern Nicaragua, has been described as one of the "least known, least visited, and most forgotten parts of the entire Caribbean area" (Parsons 1954:54). Populated mainly by Miskito-speaking Afro-Indians and English-speaking Creoles, the region's history is quite distinct from that of Spanish-speaking Nicaragua, which came to rule it directly only in 1894. The 350-year-old antipathy between the inhabitants of the country's two halves, as the cultural heirs of Nicaragua's British and Spanish colonizers, today manifests itself

in "the mistrust of the Miskito Coast's people toward Spanish-speakers" (p. 78) — including those who brought about the Sandinista revolution of July 1979. It was to celebrate the second anniversary of that revolution that this book was published. Its purpose is to show how the Coast's "colonial domination by the British, followed by neocolonial domination by the United States, led to a cultural and socioeconomic history different from that of Nicaragua's Pacific coast. Its current problems, as well as the revolutionary policies now being carried out there, will find their explanation through reference to this history."

La Mosquitia en la Revolución is a very valuable book, despite some factual errors and its clearly partisan perspective. Its rhetoric is unsurprising in reference to the Creole *lumpenproletariado* (p. 149); its outlook is also that of the Spanish-speaker (see, for example, the reference on page 11 to "the Yankee policy of dominating Nicaragua through the Creoles"). Yet the ideals of the revolution — economic and cultural development and independence — are usually placed above the interethnic grudges; indeed, there are efforts at self-criticism to understand the negative attitudes of Mosquitia's *Costeños* toward Hispanic Nicaraguans, and this understanding is crucially important for the ultimate success of the revolution.

The book is divided into four sections, each of which deals with particular aspects of the Miskito Coast's economy as well as related social factors, explained in terms of the region's history and cultural traditions. The first section is entitled "A Historical Interpretation of the Atlantic Coast." After a description of the region's ethnic groups (which misclassifies the Garífuna as a subgroup of the Creoles [p. 27]), this section outlines the 17th-century alliance of the Miskito with British buccaneers against the Spanish, leading to a British protectorate (1740–86). Expelled after military defeat, the British settlers retreated to Belize but many Afro-European Creoles stayed on in Mosquitia. The Spanish were never able to hispanicize the region and its lingua franca remained creolized English, spoken as a first language by the Afro-Europeans (Holm 1978) and as a second language by the Miskito (Nietschmann 1973). Although the British regained influence in the area during the 19th century, they were finally

replaced by North American entrepreneurs who created their own socioeconomic and quasi-political fiefdoms while exploiting the Coast's natural resources: rubber, timber, bananas and gold. This section concludes with a description of the conditions in which the revolutionary government found the Atlantic Coast in July 1979.

The second section consists of a detailed study of the rural areas of the northern part of this region, which has proved — since the writing of this book — to be crucial in the struggle between the Sandinistas and their opponents. It was here, early last year, that some 8,000 Miskito were forced to leave their villages along the Coco River (*New York Times*, 23 Jan., 1983), which forms the boundary with Honduras and where counterrevolutionary forces were training for an invasion. The Miskito, who were being recruited to join the guerrillas, were relocated by the Sandinista government to camps near the mining towns of Rosita and Siuna, inland from the border. In 1983 there was fighting going on in several parts of the region, principally around the coastal towns of Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields, led by a "third guerilla faction, the 3,000-member group of disaffected Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians" (*Time*, 8 Aug., 1983). This section on the northern part of this region deals mainly with problems in improving cooperative production in agriculture (rice, beans, corn, yucca, plantains, bananas, coconuts and cattle) as well as in fishing, hunting and salaried employment. It stresses the importance of increasing popular participation and overcoming old colonial attitudes.

The third section deals with gold mining in the town of Siuna. After tracing the history of the operation and the community that grew up around it (Miskito workers, Creole clerks and North American supervisors, as well as Chinese shopkeepers and Ladino farmers), there is an analysis of the workers' reaction to the mine's nationalization after the revolution, resulting in a strike in the neighboring mining town of Bonanza when food became scarce and unaffordably expensive late in 1979. Although no strike occurred in Siuna, there was considerable friction between the workers and the Spanish-speaking managers sent in by the new government.

The fourth section deals with an agricultural community of

Spanish-speaking peasants that have been migrating from western Nicaragua for some thirty years to establish farms in the area surrounding Siuna. After a detailed analysis of their methods of production, markets and community structure, there is a call for the political and technical training needed for effective co-operative farming.

The main body of the book is followed by two appendices, the first a chronology of documents relating to the legal status of the Miskito Coast (tending to prove that it was supposed to have been Spanish all along), the second a chronology of more general historical events, such as the British capture of Jamaica in 1636 (actually occurring in 1655). These are followed by notes and a bibliography of respectable length, although one finds oneself wishing that the authors had actually read these works, or at least read them more carefully. There is no index.

The book contains 27 photographs (largely decipherable), 10 maps and a dozen charts. The last are sometimes totally mysterious, such as the graph on the distribution of land in Siuna (p. 226), which simply has two axes marked from 0 to 100 in units of 10 — with no further explanation. The missing information can be maddening; for example, the chart on ethnic groups and their languages, race, religion, class and proportion of the regional population (p. 149) leaves quite unclear what region is being referred to — the Miskito Coast as a whole (the topic of the book) or the northeastern part of the department of Zelaya (the topic of this section). A comparison of the percentages in the book with those from Holm *et al.* 1983 for the entire Miskito Coast make clear the importance of this difference:

ETHNIC GROUPS ON THE MISKITO COAST

	est. pop.[1]	%[1]	%[2]	1st Language	2nd Language	Religion[2]
Creoles (Afro-European)	40,000	26	8	MCC	Sp., M.	Prot.
Miskito (Afro-Indian)	90,000	58	84	Miskito	MCC, Sp.	Prot.
Ladinos (Sp.-Indian)	15,000	10	6	Spanish	MCC	Cath.
Garifuna (Afro-Indian)	2,000	1		MCC, Gar.[3]	Spanish	Cath.
Sumu (Indian)	7,000	4	2	Sumu	M., Sp.	Prot.
Rama (Indian)	500	.3		RCC, Rama[3]	Spanish	Prot.
Chinese			.2	Ch., Sp.	MCC, M.	Cath.
Foreigners			.2	English	Spanish	
	154,000					

(1) Holm *et al.* 1983; (2) Wheelock Roman *et al.* 1981; (3) almost extinct. *Abbreviations: Gar.* = Garifuna, or Central American Island Carib; *M.* = Miskito; *MCC* = Miskito Coast Creole English; *Prot.* = Moravian Protestant; *Cath.* = Roman Catholic; *RCC* = Rama Cay Creole English; *Sp.* = local Spanish; *Ch.* = Chinese.

An indication that the second set of percentages must in fact refer to northeastern Zelaya only (rather than the entire Miskito Coast) is the proportion of Creoles, 8%. Since their population is given as 80,000 for all of Nicaragua earlier in the same section (p. 102), 8% would imply a total population of 1, 00,000 — far more than the Miskito Coast's 9% of the Nicaraguan population of 2,740,000. The figure of 80,000 Creoles seems to be in reference to the Miskito Coast communities named in a previous sentence on page 102, suggesting that the sizeable Creole colony in Managua is not included, despite the reference to all of Nicaragua. The Centro de Investigaciones y Documentación de la Costa Atlántica (CIDCA) has published the results of a recent census (Foladori *et al.* 1982:49) presenting a substantially different picture in which Spanish-speaking Ladinos account for 65% of Zelaya's total population of 282,200. However, 90% of these Ladinos live in the western part of the department, where the agricultural and ethnolinguistic frontier has made a considerable eastward advance over the past decade into the sparcely populated forest areas separating the Miskito Coast from the rest of Nicaragua (ibid., 45, map p. 52). If these inland Ladinos are not included in the coastal population, then the CIDCA figures reveal the following proportions: 66,994 Miskito (57%); 25,723 Creoles (22%); 18,237 Ladinos (15%); 4,851 Sumu (4%); 1,487 Garifuna (1%); 649

Rama (0.5%). This census was carried out in 1981 but had to be suspended in some rural areas because of counterrevolutionary fighting (p. 11); it does not include the population of the Departamento del Río San Juan, although this constitutes part of the Atlantic coast (p. 51), but it does include the 10,000 Nicaraguan Miskito who have fled to Honduras (p. 27). An unknown number of all groups have also fled to Costa Rica since fighting has worsened (B. Nietschmann, pers. comm).

To conclude, *La Mosquitia en la Revolución* is unique and valuable as a source of information despite its shortcomings. Among the factual gaps, one wonders who the *et al.* may have been; only Wheelock Roman's name appears, both on the cover and as author of the five-page introduction. Even as part of a collective effort, the hard work of the authors of the four main sections deserves at least the recognition of their names. The most serious shortcoming of this book, however, is its partisanship. Its enthusiasm for the Sandinistas' new political and economic system is, of course, quite understandable and easy to sort out. The partisanship that does the very purpose of the book a disservice is the recurrent Hispanic ethnocentrism. Despite some attempts to see the peoples of the Miskito Coast and their attitudes towards Spanish-speakers sympathetically, one senses that in general *Costeño* communities are perceived as "bastantes [sic] primitivas" (p. 12), and their anglophilia and distaste for things Hispanic go beyound the forgivable.

Yet Nicaragua *is* one country and this is a dangerous moment in history for disunity. The book is intended as a bridge to understanding — an act of faith that Nicaragua's disunity is not insurmountable. The Sandinista government has professed a belief in the possibility of unity through mutual respect and cultural pluralism, and it began literacy campaigns in English and Miskito (but not Sumu, as asserted on p. 86). Yet now that the Sandinistas have seen more closely the Pandora's box of political perils that cultural freedom opens, these literacy campaigns have been quietly dropped. The book proclaims that one of the nation's most urgent tasks is the Miskito Coast's "integration" (p. 9), a word that for Costeños echoes the 1894 "reincorporation" of the Coast into Nicaragua with forcible hispanicization and the crud-

est kind of cultural suppression, continued by the Somoza dictatorship until the recent revolution. But at least one contributor to the volume shows real understanding of the complexity of Nicaragua's cultural schism in the observation that "there is the risk that militant revolutionary actions without the participation of the region's populace will be interpreted as those of colonialists. In order to integrate and develop the ample revolutionary potential of the Miskito Coast's peoples, it is urgent to increase their participation in regional organizations and institutions, and to overcome old colonial mistrust and discrimination, and to accept the values and forms of motivation particular to the Miskito and Creoles" (pp. 141–142). This kind of cultural pluralism is the other half of the revolution needed in Mosquitia.

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JOHN HOLM
Dept. of English
Hunter College, CUNY
New York NY 10021, U.S.A.

Staatsgreep in Suriname: de opstand van de sergeanten op de voet gevolgd. HENK BOOM. Utrecht/Amsterdam: Veen, Uitgeverij, 1982. 192 pp. (Paper Dfl. 20.50)

As the only Dutch newsman on the scene, Henk Boom not only followed the Surinamese military coup of February 25, 1980, "from up close" (as he puts it in his title) but also through the work of his Surinamese colleagues in print and other media. Altogether his book makes for fascinating reading. The scope is limited, encompassing a five-month period that began with preparations for national elections, saw them aborted by an unexpected and seemingly accidental coup, and ended with the formation of a new government whose popularity and authority were as considerable as if it had been elected. Because of the collage method of presentation, however, one sees a far wider horizon, which puts this curious chain of events into an illuminating perspective. Throughout, Boom remains steadfastly neutral, writing with a crisp, wry style that both eschews editorializing and spurs the committed reader, of whatever persuasion, to fresh thought.

First, as to who was to blame for the coup, Boom finds ample guilt for nearly everyone — from the Dutch government of Joop den Uyl, who pushed independence on Suriname without a plebiscite, to Henck Arron's Surinamese government, which eagerly took it, throwing the accompanying foreign aid ($1.5 billion) into long-range projects of immediate benefit only to the contractors involved. Political arrogance, spoils, and declining welfare had all damaged Arron's image by 1980. Thus, Boom's speculation that Arron might try to use a sergeants' strike as an excuse to suspend the constitution and postpone elections is highly plausible. Were there any "good guys" who would be thwarted by such an action? It does not seem so by Boom's account. The parliamentary opposition, having paralyzed the legislature by a prolonged and clearly pointless boycott, had lost its credentials for public service and problem-solving. As a result, public cynicism regarding parliamentary government in general was at an all-time high. Boom reports that over 50% of Suriname's youth was unemployed, that most civil servants were equally unemployed (though they were paid for their inactivity, absenteeist or not), that the city water

system had broken down, and that an election campaign was at hand in which neither of the leading parties offered any serious hope for a change, while the radical left was more fragmented than ever.

In this setting (which comprises the first half of Boom's book), the coup became a fairly welcome surprise. But, as events have subsequently shown, such cures are sometimes worse than the disease. Hints of this could already be seen a day after the coup in the televised use of corporal punishment meted out (without trial) to a few looters. It had earlier been revealed during the coup itself in the deliberate shelling of the police headquarters, despite the fact (revealed by Boom) that the coup leaders knew that three fellow noncommissioned officers were being held prisoner there.

Boom gives us a great deal of information about the NCOs (some of it repeated from *De Nacht van de Revolutie* by Josef Slagveer, one of the fifteen known victims of political executions that took place in Paramaribo on December 8, 1982). Trained in The Netherlands (and paid extra compensation even into 1982 to bring them to the level of their Dutch counterparts), the Surinamese NCOs were in their late 20s and early 30s. Efforts to organize a union (on a par with their Dutch comrades) had been repeatedly rejected. Frustrated by being in what was apparently the only organization in Suriname that exacted real discipline from its members, and bored by the absence of meaningful work (such as participation in economic development projects), the sergeants became more and more politicized. A few affiliated themselves with the Marxist *Volkspartij* of Ruben Lie Paw Sam. Others worked with the somewhat less radical Nationalistic Republican Party of Eddy Bruma to pursue the union struggle. But two of them, Desi Bouterse and Roy Horb, had another plan altogether: to seize power. Recognition of their own potential power and the opposition's many shortcomings clearly excited the imagination of sports instructor Bouterse. But he and his loyal second-in-command, Horb, failed to realize that their "playing field" was a political morass and that the real game was only to begin with the coup's success. As Slagveer put it, "everyone was quite agreed that something had to happen without clearly being able to declare what the alternative ought to be."

Considerable space is taken up with the course of the final rounds of the NCOs' strike, the arrest and trial of their leaders, and the unexpected coup. Although, miraculously, the shelling of the police headquarters did not cost the lives of the radical unionists, Boom is confident that it drove a major wedge between them and the coup's less ideological leaders, one that continues to the present. All in all, seven people, including several policemen, died in the coup, and 25 were wounded, including the Minister of Justice and Police. Such violence, mild perhaps in international terms, was unknown to Suriname's post-war politics.

Despite denials to the contrary by both the NCOs and a grimly determined President Johan Ferrier, another mortal casualty was the Constitution, as Boom sees it. Although it was not formally suspended until August 1980 (at which time Ferrier was also removed from office), the problem of holding new elections — or of reviving Parliament in their absence — was just too disagreeable to the new power-holders. The President's urgent call for "national reconciliation" was ignored, and with it the chance for a fresh start.

Certainly, the image of parliamentary democracy in Suriname had been badly damaged even before the coup — by the irresponsibility of its members and the bleak running commentary of the press. Particularly blamed by the NCOs and their radical civilian advisors was the ethnically-based organization of politics — the elaborate, and sometimes immobilizing, effort to "deal everybody in." However, all attempts to recruit support by other (e.g., ideological) means had repeatedly failed over the years. It is interesting, then, to note that in each of the three civilian governments installed by Bouterse since 1980, the same ethnic arithmetic has been carefully followed despite the freedom from accountability that military rule permits.

Why then has the Surinamese "revolution", as it now calls itself, steadily lost the public support with which it began? For one thing, despite the people's disaffection with parliamentary democracy, some form of electoral participation was widely desired, whatever the governmental form. Community councils and other models of grass roots participation, despite (or because of?) their absence from the Surinamese tradition, have not been very

successful; and although various models have been proposed for the higher levels of government, all have been vetoed (mostly by Bouterse himself). Real accountability, it seems, has frightened *all* the players on Bouterse's team. And like a self-fulfilling prophesy, their disdain for the thinking ("false consciousness"?) of the public has only brought rejection of their generally worthy plans.

As most of Suriname's "revolutionaries" are return migrants, one is tempted to theorize about the political effects of their socio-psychological adjustment problems. Much of the intellectual value of their sojourn abroad may have been lost due to their subsequent inability to re-assimilate. In this regard, they have become the functional equivalent of an ethnic group, trapped in a narrow "us vs. them" view of the surrounding (political) cultures. The Surinamese people, initially receiving them with sympathy (the "exotic" stage in the process of culture contact), have been increasingly repelled (and repulsed), and from this new confrontation there seems to be no exit.

In 1953, Bertolt Brecht suggested that a beleaguered East German government "dissolve the people and elect a new one." The execution of fifteen prominent critics of Surinamese military rule in December 1982 and the arrest and apparent suicide of Roy Horb shortly thereafter would suggest that such a process may in fact be under way.

EDWARD DEW
Dept. of Politics
Fairfield University
Fairfield CT 06430, U.S.A.

Curaçao. RENÉ RÖMER. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Association of Caribbean Universities and Research Institutes, 1981. 244 pp. (Paper US$ 7.00)

This revised translation of René Römer's 1977 history of Curaçao provides both a comprehensive narrative account and an interpretation of the island's past. The purpose of the study is twofold. First, it synthesizes and interprets scholarship on the history of Curaçao for a wider English-speaking public, utilizing the work of

previous scholars such as Harry Hoetink and Cornelis Ch. Goslinga. Since many of the earlier sources Römer uses are either unpublished or extremely rare, the history of Curaçao is well served by this critical evaluation of them. Moreover, he carries this study forward to 1980. Second, the study reviews the processes of social formation in Curaçao from the Dutch settlement on the island to the present, and critically examines the political and economic realities which impinge on the social structure.

The text is organized chronologically into three periods: the slave society, the post-emancipation society, and the modern society. These chapter headings are deceptively simple; Römer conveys intelligently a great deal of information under a wide array of themes, such as master-slave relations, the abolition of slavery, emigration and immigration, labor organization and decolonization. He concentrates special attention on the period after the establishment of the oil refinery in 1917, which is regarded as the most important watershed in the social history of the island. Unfortunately for English readers, the bibliography is not annotated and does not indicate whether a book has been translated.

Römer's theoretical framework of the structure and the dynamics of change in Curaçao is the "plural society" thesis. He analyzes hierarchy and domination between social groups in terms of social norms in crucial institutions, such as family, education, religion, and property. He discusses the increasing influence of Western culture upon the somatically determined hierarchy, and suggests that the social relevance of somatic categories is declining, and that more generally accepted standards of social status are emerging. For Römer, Curaçao society cannot yet be seen as stratified into classes, though different segments do have their own internal status differentiation. (This type of conceptualization of a Caribbean society has been debated by scholars such as Edward Brathwaite, Carl Stone, Ken Post, and David Lowenthal.)

Römer's thought provoking and detailed historical investigation of Curaçao — geared to an English-speaking university public — goes far toward filling a long-standing gap in our knowledge of the Dutch Caribbean. This comprehensive intro-

duction to Curaçao's social history should receive wide readership among students and scholars of the Caribbean and Latin America.

ANGELA M. CARREÑO
Dept. of History
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore MD 21218, U.S.A.

Civil liberties in the U.S. Virgin Islands, 1917–1949. WILLIAM W. BOYER. St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands: Antilles Graphic Arts, 1982, xi + 184 pp. (Paper US$ 11.00)

Boyer's book is a useful contribution to a little researched and little understood period in the history of the United States Virgin Islands (USVI). Written originally in 1949 as a master's thesis, the text remains essentially unchanged except for the addition of an epilogue surveying developments between 1949 and 1980.

Since Boyer first wrote his thesis (now book), only a few other books that touch upon the same period have been written; see Hill 1967, Creque 1968, Bough & Macridis 1970, Hill 1971, Lewis 1972, Dookhan 1974, and Ottley 1982. Lewis 1972 and Dookhan 1974 are important scholarly works that, oddly, omit reference to Boyer's thesis, while the volume edited by Bough & Macridis (1970) has pretentions in this direction. The other books, all by U.S. Virgin Islanders, are largely anecdotal and generally uncritical of U.S. colonial rule. The latter is not surprising given the absence, in this century, of any truly nationalist sentiment in the USVI. It is thus a peculiar irony that Boyer, an "outsider," had begun to recognize, as early as 1949, that the doctrine of territorial incorporation precluded the full exercise of citizenship rights by U.S. Virgin Islanders. This is not to say that political activists in the USVI were unaware of the fact that their civil rights were dependent upon congressional action for realization, but it was never so articulated in their works.

Boyer's main intent in this book is to examine the status of civil liberties in a U.S. territorial possession where the doctrine of territorial incorporation (the constitution does not follow the flag)

has been invoked. This he does admirably as he examines (1) the debate surrounding the extension of the U.S. constitution to "subject populations" of darker hue, (2) the Danish Colonial Laws of 1863 and 1906 which remained in effect after the transfer of the islands from Denmark to the U.S. (March 31, 1917), (3) the agitation for a constitution which became a reality when the U.S. Congress passed the Organic Act of 1936, and (4) the evolving relationship between the U.S. Federal Government and the USVI. With the exception of Chapter 1, which contains some analysis, the book presents a rather dry factual account of the struggle for civil liberties in the USVI. To Boyer's credit he notes the difficulties and subtle nuances of the U.S. Virgin Islanders' struggle with a series of naval governors and presidentially appointed civilian governors, and with a U.S. Federal bureaucracy that had a vague idea of where the islands were located but knew nothing about its people.

I have only two critical comments to make on the original master's thesis portion of the book. The first centers around Boyer's excessive reliance on Luther Evans' (1945) work, which, despite its overtly liberal tone, presents a perplexingly jaundiced view of the USVI and its people. The second revolves around Boyer's failure to recognize the critical role played by the American Civil Liberties Union in championing the struggle for civil liberties in the USVI between 1920 and 1936 and in lobbying for constitutional reforms.

The epilogue, written towards the end of 1981, serves to bring the reader up to date with political and economic developments in the USVI. By its very nature it is a brief and sketchy account and suffers accordingly. Scholars interested in a more analytical and in-depth study of the 1917–1980 period in USVI history, are advised to read Boyer's new book — *America's Virgin Islands: a history of human rights and wrongs*.

In the epilogue, Boyer reports on further concessions made by the U.S. Congress towards greater self-government in the USVI after 1949. These were the 1954 Revised Organic Act (which established a unicameral legislature in place of two municipal councils), the Elective Governor Act of 1968 (which allowed U.S. Virgin Islanders for the first time to elect their own governor), the

appointment of an elected non-voting delegate to the U.S. Congress, and the four attempts to write a constitution, all final drafts of which were rejected by the voters. While these may be considered steps in the right direction, neither the U.S. Federal Government nor the political directorate in the USVI has established firmly what this direction might be. Thus the fundamental issue in terms of civil liberties, and one which Boyer briefly addresses, is that of a negotiated political status for the USVI. In my view, until the political status question is resolved, the USVI, despite progress towards greater local autonomy, must be considered a nonself-governing territory for the following reasons: (1) it is subject to the plenary authority of the U.S. Congress, (2) certain provisions of the U.S. constitution do not apply in the USVI (e.g., uniform tariff duties and grand juries), (3) U.S. Virgin Islanders do not elect voting representatives to the U.S. Congress, (4) U.S. Virgin Islanders do not vote in national elections, and (5) there is no expectation in the U.S. Congress or in the USVI that the Virgin Islands will become a state within the Union.

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KLAUS DE ALBUQUERQUE
Social, Economic, and Environmental Research Associates
P.O. Box 6292
St. Thomas, USVI 00801