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THE TWELVE TRIBES OF ISRAEL:
RASTA AND THE MIDDLE CLASS¹

INTRODUCTION

A quiet, unobstructive revolution is taking place among the Rastafarians. This revolution is having far-reaching implications for traditional Rastafari theology and ideology. Respectable, well-educated middle class sons and daughters are drifting into Rastafarianism, leaving behind a trail of horrified and embarrassed parents and friends as well as frightened Christians (Boyne 1981).

The sons and daughters of the "horrified and embarrassed parents" mentioned in the above quotation have, in most cases, become members of the Twelve Tribes of Israel and the rise and growth of this Kingston-based organization is without doubt one of the most important and interesting recent developments in the Rastafarian movement.

The Twelve Tribes of Israel are known to be the largest organization at the moment. The exact number of members is unknown, but it might very well be somewhere near eight hundred, maybe even more. And besides the Jamaican branch, there are branches in ten other countries.

The Twelve Tribes are not only the largest, but also the best organized and disciplined group within the movement. Rastafari is known for its dispersed organizational structure. Most Rastas do not belong to one of the many, more or less informal groups and, although there seems to be a trend towards closer cooperation, the more institutionalized groups are rather an exception than a rule. Strong organization has developed mostly in commune-like situations and under prophetic leadership. Leonard P. Howell's Pinnacle commune in the forties and early fifties and the still existing Bull Bay commune of Prince Edward Emmanuel are two of the better known examples. In the case of the Twelve Tribes of Israel there is strong prophetic leadership, but without a communal structure.

Probably most interesting of all is the fact that the Twelve Tribes have a strong middle- and upper-class following. Rastafari has traditionally been a movement of what the Rastas sometimes term "the sufferers," the really impoverished ghetto dwellers. The presence of middle-class members and a Rasta intelligentsia has been noticed, but at the same time neglected (e.g., Barrett, 1968, 1977; Owens 1976). With the rise and growth of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, the middle class has firmly established itself in Rastafari.

Last, but certainly not least, the Twelve Tribes of Israel have developed a theology which differs markedly, on some points, from that of "mainstream" Rastafari.

So far, little has been written about the Twelve Tribes. Before 1980 only Chevannes (1977) and Cashmore (1979) mentioned the organization. After 1980 the Twelve Tribes appear more frequently in publications (e.g., Rowe 1980; Campbell 1980; Forsythe 1980; Ryle 1981; Catholic Commission for Racial Justice 1982; Semaj 1985; Waters 1985; Bishton 1986; Clarke 1986). However, very little information is provided by these authors. Somewhat more informative sources are two biographies on the Twelve Tribes' best-known member, the late Bob Marley (Davis 1983; White 1983) and an article in the Jamaican newspaper *Sunday Sun* by Boyne (22, 29 March; 5 April 1981). A closer look at this 'new' house of Rastafari seems to be justified.

READ YOUR BIBLE – A CHAPTER A DAY

To understand the theology of Rastafarians, and thus of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, it is necessary to understand their perception of the world. There are, in short, two systems: Zion and Babylon, the good and the evil. Zion is Africa or Ethiopia, which is to Rastas one and the same. Africa is the mother of all nations, a mighty continent with the most powerful civilization that ever existed. It was here that man originated and the biblical acts took place. The evidence is plenty: biblical references to Egypt and Ethiopia, countless highly developed civilizations and scientific publications. Africa was an earthly Eden, until Babylon raped her.

Babylon is the West, the oppressive system that enslaved the black man and ruled the world for the last twenty centuries. As Zion is associated with black people, so Babylon is associated with white people. The headquarters of Babylon is Rome, the breeding ground of imperialism, Catholicism, fascism and mafia, all under supervision of the Pope. Was it not Tiberius' Rome that brought Jesus to the cross and was it not Mussolini's Rome that invaded Ethiopia centuries later, to mention only two examples?

Rastafarians see clear parallels between ancient biblical and modern times.

Time is perceived as a cyclical process. "As it was in the beginning, so shall it be in the end," Bob Marley sang.² So, Babylon is heading for its destruction and Zion will be restored, as it is promised in the Bible.

To the Twelve Tribes of Israel the Bible is everything. "Read your Bible – a chapter a day" is the most important lesson of their prophet. Members of the Twelve Tribes often call themselves Bible-students. Every word, every sentence is carefully studied, a chapter a day. It takes about three and a half years to finish the Bible in that way and the period of membership is frequently expressed in the number of times the Bible has been read.

The Twelve Tribes accept the Holy Book, from Genesis 1 to Revelation 22, unreservedly and without any restrictions. Preference is given to the *Scofield Bible* (1967), but any other version will do as well. That the white man corrupted the Bible when he translated it from the original Amharic, as some Rastas claim, is nonsense according to the Twelve Tribes. Every word of the Book is true and only by studying it over and over again one can come to the wisdom and knowledge of Rastafari. Interpretations are to a large extent left to the individual. The prophet and elder members are there to give the necessary guidance, but, as they say, "every man has to find out [the truth] for himself."

The Bible should not only be understood as a religious text, but above all as a history and a prophecy. Both past and current events are placed within the biblical context. The Twelve Tribes are vivid readers of other than religious texts. Among the favorite topics are African history, slavery in the New World, World War II, and the Jewish holocaust. White provides an example:

In promulgating their beliefs, the Twelve Tribes of Israel made use of a book called 'Hebrewisms of West Africa – From Nile to Niger with the Jews', by Joseph J. Williams, S.J., published in 1930. A dense, abundantly documented study by a Jesuit historian . . . , the book describes the proliferation of Judaism and Jewish culture through Africa (1983: 294).

According to the Twelve Tribes, Williams (1930) provides the scholarly evidence that black Jamaicans, though enslaved on the African West Coast, do have a link with Ethiopia and the biblical Israelites.

Newspapers are equally interesting to the Twelve Tribes. All kinds of events are viewed as signs of a world heading for the end of days. Earthquakes (like in Mexico City in September 1985), the spread of AIDS (especially when Roman Catholic priests turn out to be among the victims), explorations in space (the Challenger explosion in January 1986), and nuclear energy (the Chernobyl disaster in April 1986) are some of the more recent examples.

But, even more important than histories and newspapers are texts of and about Haile Selassie. These have been given an almost sacred character and

copies of his speeches at the United Nations (4 October 1963) and the Organization of African Unity (24 May 1973) circulate among the members. Ullendorff's publication on the Ethiopians (1973) and the Emperor's autobiography (Ullendorff 1972) are no less important.

THE CHOSEN

Although the Twelve Tribes of Israel as an organization started in 1968, members usually date back their history to the book of Genesis. They often start with Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth (Genesis 6: 10), who are said to be the progenitors of "the brown, the black and the white man" respectively. A worldmap (without the American continent), which occasionally can be seen at their dances, shows that Shem represents Asia, Ham Africa and Japheth Europe. All three peoples have their own unique characteristics. The "Shemit" are the more laborious, the "Hamit" the creative, and the "Japhethit" the scientific. In spite of these differences, the Twelve Tribes insist that all mankind is one big brotherhood, since its origins go back to one and the same father, Noah. As such, race or skin color are absolutely irrelevant. The fact that there are a handful of white members in the organization is presented as sufficient evidence that this is not only a matter of words, as with some other Rastafarian groups.

The history continues with the descendants of Shem, of whom Abram (Abraham), Isaac and Jacob, who later became Israel, are the more prominent. Israel begot twelve sons, in order of birth: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph and Benjamin, and one daughter, Dinah (Genesis 29, 30, 35). These sons became the founding fathers of the twelve tribes of Israel, the chosen, whose story the Bible tells.

As the name suggests, the Twelve Tribes of Israel regard themselves to be the true and only descendants of the biblical twelve tribes. When asked about the Jews, members insist that one is not a Jew by birth, but by heart, referring to Romans:

For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outwardly in the flesh: But he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God (2: 28-29).

The Twelve Tribes of Israel were one day scattered and lost through the African slave trade, the real diaspora. Now, they have been found again in the island of Jamaica by their leader, the prophet Gad.

Depending on the month of birth and the new moon in the month of birth, a member belongs to one of the tribes. Every tribe is associated with a color, a body part (see below) and certain personality characteristics.

April is the first month of the year. The Twelve Tribes make use of the Hebrew religious calendar and not, as White (1983: 294) states, "the ancient Egyptian calendar." The first month of this lunar calendar, known as *Nisan* or *Abib* (Exodus 13: 4), falls in March-April of our Julian calendar, which is seen as another Roman corruption. The exact dates vary, depending on the new moon. When a new member is registered, the Twelve Tribes check his passport for the correct date of birth as well as a lunar calendar at the Institute of Jamaica to determine the new moon in the month and year of birth, so as to make sure a member becomes registered with the proper tribe.

The colors, body parts and personality characteristics are also said to be based on the Bible. However, when asked, none of the members was able to point out references. Except for the colors, it all neatly fits in current notions of astrology, and in the Zodiac. As can be seen below, the signs of the constellation are substituted by the names of the tribes. According to Davis:

It was a complex system of beliefs, difficult to synthesize or summarize, that held that common astrology was an evil Babylonian science. Was not Aquarius the name of a Roman god? And was not Rome the headquarters of Babylon and thus the source of all evil in the world, with the Pope sitting as anti-Christ? According to the Twelve Tribes, black people should renounce astrology and identify instead with the Biblical sons of Jacob, and be recognized as the true lost tribes of Israel, yearning for redemption and Zion (1983: 262-263).

The origin of the colors and their relation to the tribes remain obscure. Members simply affirm that it is in the Bible. There is, however, no biblical foundation, whereas in astrology the signs of the constellation are associated with various colors, depending on the 'school' followed. It must be assumed therefore that the choice of colors has been somewhat random.

In Genesis 49 the twelve sons each received blessings of their dying father, Israel. The Twelve Tribes attach great importance to these mysterious words: "Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by the well; whose branches run over the wall." Such a blessing could easily be related to Bob Marley, born 6 February 1945 and thus a Joseph; if not for his musical career, then because of his many children. The words became even more powerful when 'gunmen' tried to assassinate him and he was shot in his left arm.

The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him: But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob (Genesis 49: 22-24).

the tribes ³	the (Hebrew) months ⁴	the (Julian) months
Reuben	Nisan (or Abib)	March-April
Simeon	Iyyar (or Ziv)	April-May
Levi	Sivan	May-June
Judah	Tammuz	June-July
Issachar	Ab	July-August
Zebulun	Elul	August-September
Dan	Tishri (or Ethanim)	September-October
Gad	Marchesvan (or Bul)	October-November
Asher	Chislev	November-December
Naphtali	Tebeth	December-January
Joseph	Shebat	January-February
Benjamin	Adar	February-March
(Dinah)	---	---

the colors	the body parts	the signs	the dates
silver	head	Aries	21 Mar.-19 Apr.
gold	neck	Taurus	20 Apr.-20 May
purple	arms	Gemini	21 May-21 Jun.
brown	breast	Cancer	22 Jun.-22 Jul.
yellow	heart	Leo	23 Jul.-22 Aug.
pink	bowels	Virgo	23 Aug.-23 Sep.
blue	reins (kidneys)	Libra	24 Sep.-23 Oct.
red	secrets	Scorpio	24 Oct.-22 Nov.
grey	thighs	Sagittarius	23 Nov.-21 Dec.
green	knees	Capricorn	22 Dec.-20 Jan.
white	legs	Aquarius	21 Jan.-19 Feb.
black	feet	Pisces	20 Feb.-20 Mar.
(many colored)	---	---	---

But, by far the most important blessing was that of Judah.

OUR LORD AND SAVIOR JESUS CHRIST

Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up? The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be (Genesis 49: 8-10).

To the Twelve Tribes of Israel the blessing of Judah alone is sufficient proof that Haile Selassie I, the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah and direct descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, is the Messiah returned. But, like other Rastafarians, they are always ready to provide more evidence for those not so easy to convince: the *Kebrä Nagast*⁵, Selassie's coronation titles (King of Kings, Lord of Lords), numerous biblical references, Marcus Garvey's prophecy, but above all the life of His Imperial Majesty itself. They will bring in his genealogy, his splendid coronation, court and reign, his heroic actions during the Italo-Ethiopian war, his activities for the Organization of African Unity, his religiosity, his wisdom, his prophetic words and his mysterious disappearance.

There is, however, a subtle but all-important difference with most other Rastafarians. All agree that Selassie is the second and final coming of Christ and that Jesus was (one of) his earlier manifestation(s). But, whereas many Rastas claim that the image of Jesus, as portrayed in the New Testament, has been corrupted by the white man, the Twelve Tribes fully accept this description of Jesus. In this respect there is not the slightest difference with the established Christian churches and the Twelve Tribes therefore frequently claim to be Christians. "Only through the Son one can come to the Father" and "Greetings in the name of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who has this day revealed himself in the personality of His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I" are two of the often-used phrases. Or, as one of the members expressed it: "Jesus is real, real, real!"

Christmas, however, is not celebrated in December and neither, as some Rastafarians do, on 7 January, Ethiopian Christmas. The Twelve Tribes of Israel celebrate on 23 July, Selassie's birthday, the only proper day according to them. That Christmas could never be in December becomes evident from Luke 2: 8, where it can be read that when Jesus was born, "... there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night." December is a very cold month in Israel and no shepherd would even think of staying out in the open by night at that time of the year.

The Twelve Tribes absolutely deny the death of the Emperor in August 1975. For one thing, needless to say, Selassie is immortal. But, neither has there been any evidence of his death whatsoever. There is no body, no ashes, no funeral and no grave. There is nothing except the announcement of his death by the *Dergue*, the Ethiopian junta, and there is of course every reason not to believe them. In 1976 the Twelve Tribes of Israel sent a delegation to Ethiopia to check the reports of the Marxist coup, Haile Selassie's downfall, the famine and, above all, the Emperor's death. The story goes that members of the delegation opened the tombs of both the Emperor and his wife, Princess Mänän, who had died in 1962. Her body was there, but the tomb of

Selassie was empty. So, the King of Kings had not died, but simply moved to an unknown place in an unknown form. He had temporarily removed himself from the earthly scene, only to return someday to fulfill the prophecies.

In the meantime, the Twelve Tribes consider Selassie's eldest son and heir to the throne, Asfa Wassän, to be the only legitimate ruler of Ethiopia. As the son of Jah, Wassän is of course divine himself. At dances and meetings his portrait is always next to that of his father and most of the pictures the organization uses of the Emperor also show the Crown Prince.

Instead of ruling over Ethiopia, Asfa Wassän lives in exile in Great Britain. The Twelve Tribes send him some money every now and then. After all, a large family in exile must experience some difficulties and, though the members insist that it is no more than a token, the money is gratefully accepted. They also proudly recall that the royal family once sent a representative to one of their meetings.

In *The London Times* of 7 April 1977 a letter was published by Asfa Wassän, denying allegations that his father transferred millions of dollars from the Ethiopian treasury to European banks. Copies of this letter circulate among the members. To them it is yet another part of the evidence that the West is trying to discredit the Emperor and, far more important, that Selassie is still alive. "Jah lives!" was written on one of the copies.

Ten years later, another member of the royal family confirmed what the Twelve Tribes knew already. In an interview with Barry G. of the Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation (JBC 1, 12 March 1987) Dawit Makonnen, a grandson of the Emperor, said:

Well, as far as I know, there is no proof to that he's dead. Now, the best proof to me is if they have a body that they have killed or whatever, they should show it to the people and there is no better proof than a dead body.

Makonnen also paid a visit to the Twelve Tribes.

BLESSED BE HE THAT ENLARGETH GAD

The Jamaican branch of the Twelve Tribes of Israel is the oldest and probably largest, but not the only one. Other branches can be found in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Trinidad, Grenada, St. Vincent, Barbados, Grand Cayman, New Zealand and Ethiopia. To a large extent all these groups operate independently, though, as the original group with the prophet Gad as its first member, the Jamaican branch is considered first among equals.

Unfortunately, very little is known about the 'foreign' branches. In Great Britain there are two groups of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, one in the Brixton area of London and one in Old Trafford, Manchester. On 2 November 1986 a ball was organized in Great Britain to celebrate the fifty-sixth anniversary of Haile Selassie's coronation, a happening that takes place in a different country each year. Trinidad will be organizing the ball in 1987.

Although many of his informants must have been members of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, Cashmore does not provide much information on the organization, except for the fact that the British branch came into being around 1973,

... when one of the founders [of the Ethiopian World Federation, FJvD] named Pepe branched off to form his own separate Rastafarian group, the Twelve Tribes of Israel, again a branch of a Jamaican group (1979: 53-54).

The Twelve Tribes of Israel in the United States are based in Brooklyn, New York City (Waters 1985: 16) and somewhere in California, probably Los Angeles. The Canadian branch seems to have its headquarters in Toronto, the center of West Indian activity in that country. Nothing at all is known about the branches in the smaller Caribbean islands. The New Zealand branch was established only very recently. The prophet spent half a year there in 1986 to organize this branch. It seems that Rastafari is rapidly gaining adherents among the Maori-population. Finally, the Ethiopian group consists of members from other branches who have settled there. This is probably the smallest group of the Twelve Tribes.

According to Vermeulen (1984: 76), a small group of Surinamese and Dutch Rastas, calling itself the Twelve Tribes of Israel, can be found in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Although this group is said to form the core of the Rastafarian movement in the Dutch capital, it has never been recognized by the Jamaican branch.

To return to the Jamaican branch of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, one of the first and most difficult questions to be answered is how many members there are. As for the total Rastafarian population, only estimates can be made. It was not possible to get any exact information about the total membership of the Twelve Tribes, and estimates of members varied from five hundred to over two thousand. Based on observations made during meetings and dances, a membership of somewhere near eight hundred seems most likely. This however is little more than a 'guestimate.'

The membership of the Twelve Tribes is predominantly young; about seventy to eighty percent is under forty years of age. Compared to other Rastafarian groups, the percentage of women is large and estimated to be about thirty.

The Twelve Tribes of Israel are organized in a strict hierarchy, at the top of which stands the prophet Gad, also known as Gadman. His birth certificate identifies him as Vernon Carrington, a former sky-juice (sirup) vendor in downtown Kingston, living in the ghettos. Gadman is in his late fifties, small of stature, without dreadlocks, but with a well-kept beard. He is said to be a singer. On most photographs he is wearing a long red robe. Carrington is known as the prophet Gad because he was born in November; red is the color of his tribe. Officially he is the first member of the Jamaican branch, but in fact he is the leader of all branches.⁶

Members often compare Gad, the modern-day prophet, with Moses, leading his people out of captivity into the promised land. He is the one who found the scattered and lost tribes of Israel again in Jamaica. He is the one with a vision – a mediator between the human and divine, sent and used by Jah for a special purpose. His knowledge, wisdom and authority are therefore unquestionable. Gad is part of the fulfilment of biblical prophecy: “Israel will never be short of a prophet.” Like Jesus, who came from among the poor of the backward area of Nazareth, Gadman came from among the poor of West Kingston and in both the old and modern days it was said that nothing good could come from there.

The second layer of the organizational structure consists of the twenty-five members of the executive board; twelve male and an equal number of female representatives of the tribes, along with a Dinah, a female of course. Many of the executives are founding members, who have occupied their seats since the very beginning in 1968. They are known as, for instance, Brother Asher First or Sister Benjamin First. A seat in the board is a seat for life and only in very exceptional cases will an executive step down.

When a seat becomes vacant, a new executive is chosen. The board asks members who consider themselves to be qualified and of the right tribe and sex to come forward. As a general rule an applicant should have been a member for a longer period, which means that he or she should have finished the Bible at least once. If so, passport, registration and lunar calendar are checked to make sure the new representative belongs to the right tribe. After acceptance, the new member of the executive body has to go through the same *rite de passage* the others already went through. This means he or she has to organize the first meeting in which the seat is taken. Such a meeting is not held at the headquarters, but at the place of residence of the new executive. Furthermore, a trip has to be made to Ethiopia, since the executives went there collectively in 1976. Finally, a dance is organized in honor of the new member of the board.

Within the board there is no formal hierarchy, but some of the members are clearly more prominent than others. Also, male representatives generally

precede their female counterparts. They are seated in front of the female executives during meetings. As paradoxically as it may seem, this does not mean that women are subordinate in the Twelve Tribes of Israel. They may speak as often and with as much authority as the male representatives. Women are considered to be equal in all respects, but the male comes first, just as in the Bible. Prominence is largely based on personality; some executives are simply more voluble than others. Levi, however, is an exception; he represents the tribe of the priests and therefore leads the meetings.

The executive board is independent, but its authority is limited. Every decision of some importance ultimately requires the approval of the prophet, or is left entirely to him. This becomes clear from a confusing "incident" that was discussed at three successive meetings. The story changed several times, but the essentials were as follows: The person looking after and living at the headquarters was in one way or another involved in a row with his "daughter" (wife or partner) and supposedly hit her. The Twelve Tribes strongly disapprove of any kind of violence, certainly in their own "yard". Normally, the board would have denied further access to the headquarters to a member involved in such an incident. This, for example, had happened when two members had a fight at a dance. The ultimate decision was to be taken by Gad, who was off the island at that time. In the case of the person looking after the headquarters, however, the executives were unable to take any decisions at all, since it was Gadman who had given him the responsibility over the yard. Refusing him further access to the headquarters would be overruling a decision of the prophet and that was out of the question.

At the bottom of the organizational pyramid are, of course, the common members. Everyone can become a member, regardless of class or race, provided Haile Selassie is accepted as the second and final coming of Christ, Gad as the modern-day prophet and Africa as the true and only motherland of all nations. It has little or nothing to do with a formal "conversion," as suggested by White (1893: 295). Like all other Rastafarians, the Twelve Tribes speak of an "inborn conception" (Kitzinger 1969: 246; Owens 1976: 35). Through reading the Bible "a chapter a day and with an open mind, every man has to find out for himself."

SNobbISH AND CLASS-BIASED

Rastafari has traditionally been a movement of the oppressed, with strong anti-establishment sentiments, and most authors have emphasized the importance of social and economic conditions in the rise and growth of the movement (e.g., Simpson 1955a, 1955b, 1962; Smith et al. 1960; Norris 1962;

Kitzinger 1966, 1969; Barrett 1968, 1977; Owens 1976; Chevannes 1977, 1978). The growing involvement of the middle class, however, is difficult to explain in terms of socio-economic deprivation. Rather, the incorporation of members of the middle- and upper-class should be seen as the result of what Wallace (1956: 275) terms "routinization." This can be described as the process by which a religious (or political) movement and its system of beliefs and ideas become established as "normal." Especially after the mid-sixties, Rastafari gradually won broader social recognition, and Rastafarian ideas, values and styles slowly, but increasingly found their way into Jamaican society, in particular among its younger generation (Nettleford 1970; Barrett 1977; Waters 1985). It seems clear that the Rastafarians' increasing social acceptance was closely linked to their contributions in the field of arts, and perhaps especially to their emphasis on the theme of (national) identity.

Out of the remnants of a plantation society based on slavery, modern Jamaica had emerged with a social structure in which class and color strongly correlated: a small and privileged white-mulatto minority at the top, the poor black masses at the bottom. Along the road to independence (1962), and even after, the dominant cultural identity remained "white" and focused on Europe and the United States, in spite of the growing upward mobility of black Jamaicans. As Nettleford points out:

The fact is that we are still enslaved in the social structure born of the plantation system in which things African, including African traits, have been devalued and primacy is given to European values in the scheme of things (1970: 36).

More than anything else, the Rastafarians reacted to what they call the hypocrisy of a country in which more than ninety percent of the population is black. They gave primacy to "African" values and, in great part thanks to them, "African" identity gained some acceptance among those who previously had preferred to ignore their "roots." Part of the middle-class youth recognized that Rastafari points out the falsehood of society, while at the same time providing an alternative. After all, cultural identity is not merely a matter of concern to the lower class, but to all Jamaicans of African descent.

However, opposed to this growing acceptance among the younger generation is the cultural conservatism of their well-to-do families. A son or daughter turning Rasta is still one of the worst things that can happen to a "decent" family, since many people only see Rastafari as a threat to Christianity, to the fragile Jamaican national unity, and to law and order. To them, it is a horrifying and embarrassing experience, which, in addition, entails a definite loss of status. Not surprisingly, this loss of status is of concern to their middle-class Rasta children as well and it is interesting to see how hard these

try to compensate for it by making their form of Rastafari as respectable as possible.

The Twelve Tribes of Israel are a haven for most middle-class Rastas. Among its members are many who are either students or alumni of the University of the West Indies (UWI) and the College of Arts, Science and Technology (CAST). Members from the lower class are by no means absent, but maybe because the highly educated tend to make themselves more visible, the organization has the image of an "uptown" group. To many Rastafarians they are even, as Birhan (1982: n.p.) points out "snobbish and class-biased."

There are several reasons for the involvement of the middle-class and the intelligentsia in the Twelve Tribes of Israel, and respectability is probably one of the most important. The Twelve Tribes respect the Government and submit to its laws, since even the Jamaican Government is part of the fulfilment of prophecy. They are non-political, peaceful and unobstrusive, trying to avoid any possible confrontation with the law. The Twelve Tribes are non-racist and Christian, open and absolutely honest in their beliefs. All in all, they try to live the lives of the righteous, in which many succeed. Even the greatest anti-Rasta fanatic would have a hard time finding arguments to object to the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

Another factor for the involvement of the middle-class is without doubt the solidarity both between the poor and the better-off, and between the "Hamit" and the "Japhetit." There is, as Boyne writes, a strong sense of brotherhood among the members of the Twelve Tribes:

One striking thing among the middle class Rastas in the Twelve Tribes movement is their sense of egalitarianism. The snobbery and social ostracism prevalent in many middle class congregations in Christendom are said to be absent in Twelve Tribes. Their many poor and oppressed are made to feel wanted and are accepted as equals *in practice* (Boyne 1981).

Of no lesser importance is the rather liberal character of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, despite their well-structured organization. Membership involves only a few obligations, the most important of which is to attend the meetings and dances as often as possible. Rules directly influencing the life-style are almost absent. For example, growing a beard or wearing dreadlocks are preferred on religious grounds, as is keeping a vegetarian diet, and, for women, wearing a skirt instead of pants. But, those who do not want to do so are accepted in their own right. Whatever the issue, the emphasis is on the freedom of choice and the responsibility of the individual, though some executives and common members are clearly more tolerant than others.

On the one hand, the Twelve Tribes of Israel are proud of their educated and well-to-do members. As an older, apparently lower-class member once

expressed it: "W'at I like 'bout Twelve Tribes is dat dem 'ave so many intelligent people, ye know brains." On the other hand, however, the organization is painfully aware of its uptown-image among other Rastafarians. In defense, members of the executive board frequently reiterate that any one who wishes to join the Twelve Tribes is welcome to do so, regardless of class, race, or skin color. Also they often refer to the fact that the organization has its roots in the heart of the ghettos, Trench Town.

To many Rastas, all this does not alter their opinion that the Twelve Tribes are "snobbish and class-biased" and can hardly be considered true Rastafarians. "Them naw deal wid nothin," was the reaction of a Rasta elder to Boyne's (1981) enquiries about the Twelve Tribes of Israel. The fact that so many of them are middle- and upper-class is reason enough to raise suspicion. The way in which the Twelve Tribes are organized makes it all even worse. Hierarchy is to many Rastas one of the most atrocious things in the world. Registration of members and raising money goes against every basic Rastafarian belief. After all, it means that only those with money can become a member.

The Twelve Tribes of Israel do indeed raise money for their repatriation fund, and also to cover the overall expenses of their organization. There was a time, probably until about 1980, when every member was supposed to contribute twenty cents a week (White 1983: 295). Since not all members were able to raise the money, and possibly because of the awareness of their uptown-image as well, contributions are now made on a voluntary basis.

It is not clear whether the organization still collects a registration fee of either twenty or fifty cents. Some claimed that this had stopped, while others said it was still collected. Apart from an occasional contribution, some money is also needed to attend the dances, at least an entrance fee of two dollars.

MY LESSON WILL BE TAKEN FROM . . .

Every last Sunday of the month a few hundred Rastas gather at the headquarters of the Twelve Tribes of Israel to attend the meeting. Most of them are members, easily distinguishable by the knitted red, gold and green tams they (have to) wear at such occasions. Non-members, with or without tam, are allowed to join the meetings as well.

The headquarters of the Twelve Tribes are located at 81-83 Hope Road, Kingston, not far from the residences of both the Prime Minister and the Governor-General. The organization has occupied this place since about 1980. Before, the Twelve Tribes used to gather at different places downtown.

The front side of the headquarters is protected by a high concrete wall with barbed wire on top, the other sides by high fences. From the outside, only a large poster, announcing the next dance, shows that this is where the Twelve Tribes reside.

The yard, as they call it, is a well-maintained place with three wooden buildings. There is an office, a building for the "arts-body" and the musicians, and a construction with an open front where the executives are seated during meetings. Here, the twenty-five chairs are grouped in two rows behind a table with a red cloth. On the wall behind it are portraits of Haile Selassie, Asfa Wassän, and the prophet Gad. There is a huge Ethiopian flag with a golden lion and a painting with the text of 1 Corinthians 1: 18: "For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness, but unto us which are saved it is the power of God." There is also a painting of an airplane of Ethiopian Air, showing persons boarding it and one standing in front, strongly resembling the prophet Gad. Underneath the painting, there is a quotation from Revelation:

And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people. Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgement is come: and worship him that made the heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of water (14: 6-7).

On the top of the building are three texts: "Ethiopia, yesterday, tomorrow, and forevermore," "Long live the prophet Gad," and "Exodus!" Everything is done up with a lot of red, gold and green, Stars of David, hearts and crosses.

Meetings usually start about seven o'clock in the evening. Mothers with young children and babies, also with tams, are sitting in front of the executives, while all others are standing. Except for the tams, members wear a normal, daily dress. All women wear skirts of at least knee-length. The executives, however, are wearing long robes in the color of their tribe, with matching head-dress. They take their seats in the sequence of the tribes; Reuben at the left up to Benjamin at the right. Dinah is seated in the middle and the female representatives are behind their male counterparts.

Levi, representing the tribe of the priests, always opens the meetings with greetings to the brothers and sisters, and the request to "put away your smoke and thing, and cool down the youth them." The first act is the singing of a hymn from the book "Redemption Songs." All are asked to stand up and sing the lines Levi reads, for instance:

Blest be the ties that bind
 Our hearts in christian love
 The fellowship of kindred minds
 Is like to that above.

Before our father's Throne
 We pour our ardent prayers
 Our fears, our hopes, our aims are one
 Our comforts and our cares.

We share our mutual woes
 Our mutual burdens bear
 And often for each other flows
 The sympathizing tear.

When we asunder part
 It gives us inward pain
 But we shall still be joined in heart
 And we hope to meet again.

And hope to meet
 Again
 In Mount Zion
 With King Alpha and
 Queen Omega
 Father and Mother of
 Creation
 Hallelujah.⁷

Levi ends with "Selassie I!" to which the gathering reacts with "Rastafari!"

This hymn is followed by a short prayer whereby the meeting is formally opened; those who want to may sit down again. The meeting continues with "lessons," chapters of the Bible read out loud by the executives. These lessons may be taken from any book and any chapter between Genesis 1 and Revelation 22, though there seems to be a slight preference for Genesis, Exodus, Isaiah and Revelation. Many of the lessons refer to the twelve tribes of Israel. There is no particular order in reading, but in general the male representatives read first. Some of the executives, probably (semi-)illiterate, have their lessons read by one of the others, often Issachar.

After this long session, any three members are given the opportunity to read a lesson of their own choice, usually with the (futile) request to keep it short. Then, the religious part of the meeting is concluded with another hymn from the Redemption Songs.

In the second part, the executives discuss matters of a more general character. They frequently call upon the members to pray for the prophet and

to remind that his work is for the benefit of all. The executives may discuss incidents or complain about too much criticism from their fellow-members. They may emphasize the importance of solidarity and understanding, faith and Bible-reading or trust and support towards the board. There seems to be some tension between the executives and members who are of the opinion that there should be more mobility in the board. But there may be criticism from the executives as well. The behavior of certain members, a sister wearing pants, members supposedly using crack (a hard drug), too little attendance of the dances or stage shows, too much selfishness and too little respect for the ghetto-roots or the work of the executives. Then again, there may be criticism to criticism and a call to pay more attention to the really important issues of faith: Haile Selassie, Asfa Wassän, Africa, the Bible and so forth.

No matter the subject, everything is discussed openly and again three members are allowed to come forward and speak. Agreement with the speaker is either expressed by exclamations like "Selassie I!" and "Rastafari!" or by rewarding him or her a "big hand." If the latter is not done spontaneously, one of the executives usually asks for it. When everything has been said, the second part of the meeting is concluded with singing:

The Conquering Lion
shall break every chain.
The Conquering Lion
shall give us a victory,
again and again.

The Lion of Judah
shall break every chain.
The Lion of Judah
shall give us a victory,
again and again.

After this, it is time for financial matters. One of the executives, Brother Asher First, goes through a long list with names and contributions. Members are asked to check the counting. Contributions normally range from twenty cents to a couple of hundred dollars. The receipts and expenditures, debts and credits are added and a balance is made up.⁸ The bookkeeping is concluded with a big hand for all contributors.

Then, following some announcements, Levi starts closing the meeting by reading from the Psalms, directly followed by the Ethiopian Prayer, of which the first two lines are an interesting adaptation from Psalm 68: 31: "Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."⁹

Princes and Princesses shall come out of Jamaica
 Ethiopians now stretch forth their hands unto God.
 O thou God of Ethiopia, Thy divine Majesty,
 Thy spirit has come into our hearts to dwell in
 the path of righteousness, lead us,
 Help us, to forgive that we may be forgiven.
 Teach us love, loyalty on earth as it is in Zion.
 Endow us with Thy wisdom, knowledge and understanding to do thy will.
 Thy blessing to us, that the hungry be fed, the naked clothed.
 The sick nourished, the aged protected and the infants cared for.
 Deliver us from the hands of our enemies,
 That we may prove fruitful in the last days,
 When our enemies are passed and decayed.
 In the depths of the sea, in the depths of the earth,
 Or in the belly of the beast,
 Oh give us all a place in thy Kingdom forever and ever.

Finally, the very last song of the meeting follows, usually not before midnight. It is the Universal Ethiopian Anthem, an adaption of the official hymn of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, "Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers."¹⁰ All members face the North, said to be the direction of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia the land of our fathers
 The land where our God loves to be
 As the swift bee to hive sudden gathers
 Thy children are gathered to thee.
 With our Red, Gold and Green flowing o'er us,
 With our Emperor to shield us from wrong
 With our God and our future before us,
 We will hail thee with shout and with song.

Chorus:

God bless our Negus, Negus I, who keeps Ethiopia free,
 To advance, with truth and right, truth and right,
 To advance with love and light, love and light.
 With righteousness leading,
 We haste to our God and King,
 Humanity's pleading One God for us all.

O Eternal thou God of the ages,
 Grant unto our sons that lead
 Thy wisdom thou hast given to the sages
 When Israel were sore in need.
 Thy voice through the dim past has spoken
 Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands,
 By thee shall all barriers be broken
 And Zion bless our dear Motherland.

Ethiopia the tyrants are falling
 who smote thee upon thy knees,
 Thy children are lustily calling,
From over the distant seas.
 Jehovah the Great One has heard us.
 He has noted our sighs and our tears,
 With the spirit of love he has stirred us
 To be one all through the coming years.

“Selassie I!” “Rastafari!”

THE TWELVE TRIBES OF ISRAEL KINDLY PRESENT

Apart from meetings, the Twelve Tribes of Israel organize dances, every last Saturday of the month. Dances are held at various rented locations in Kingston, preferably not too often in the same place. These dances serve the dual purpose of entertainment and socializing for the members, as well as raising some money.

Normally, a dance is organized by two members who are selected on the basis of seniority. The income of the evening is for the benefit of the two organizers. It is up to them whether they want to donate part of the earnings to the organization, but a (biblical) tenth is customary.

In their honor, all members appear dressed in the colors of the organizing members' tribes. A dance held in honor of, for instance, an Asher and an Issachar means that every member is supposed to dress in grey and yellow. If they do not possess clothing of the required color, they are supposed to borrow or buy it; to appear in other colors is out of the question. Non-members, familiar with the meaning of the colors, may do the same, but are not obliged to do so. One can tell the colors of a dance from the invitation cards and posters.

If a dance is held in honor of a new member of the executive board, there is little difference, except that there is only one color to wear.

The places where the Twelve Tribes organize their dances are always decorated with many red, gold and green banners, posters and texts, as well as with the indispensable portraits of Haile Selassie, Asfa Wassän, the prophet Gad and Marcus Garvey. The huge Ethiopian flag with the golden lion and the paintings from the headquarters are also present. Texts include biblical passages, “utterances” from His Imperial Majesty and words of wisdom from the prophet Gad: “What man makes, man must have,” “Scatter, but stay together” and – inevitably – “Read your Bible, a chapter a day.”

At the entrance, the members organizing the next dance distribute professionally printed invitation cards for their night.

The dances of the Twelve Tribes are well-organized. They are open to everyone, and are very popular. They often attract a few thousand persons. Admission, drinks and Ital-food¹¹ are relatively inexpensive; the "cultural sound" of *Jahlovezmuzik*, the regular deejay-group, provides the pulsating reggae rhythms, many with religious texts. It all continues until the next morning.

Besides dances, the Twelve Tribes sometimes organize stage shows: reggae concerts, given in such places as the National Arena. There, performances are given by the many reggae superstars who are members of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, such as Dennis Brown, Freddie McGregor, and Judy Mowatt, as well as guest-performers. The earnings of the stage shows are, of course, for the benefit of the organization, "the reggae house of Rastafari," as Birhan (1982: n.p.) called it.

GOT TO LEAVE THE WEST, THE WEST MUST PERISH

Notwithstanding all their activities in Jamaica, the Twelve Tribes of Israel strive towards only one goal: to leave the West and return to their father's land. "How can you give up a continent for an island?" and "Leave Babylon and find your own land!" are some of the slogans expressing their feelings for both Jamaica and Africa.

Unlike such groups as, for example, Prince Edward Emmanuel's Ethiopian Africa Black International Congress Church of Salvation, the Twelve Tribes are not waiting passively for the ships of the Emperor to appear at the Babylonian shores. Instead, the Twelve Tribes prefer to take action themselves, and the first members have already established themselves in the promised land.

In 1955 Haile Selassie made a land grant "to the black people in the West, who aided Ethiopia during her period of distress," the Italian occupation (1935-1941). The responsibility for the settlement was given to the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF), and through this organization about two dozen exiles returned, among them some Rastafarians. They farmed the five hundred acres of land near Shashamane until, after the Emperor's downfall in 1974, the *Dergue* seized their land and redistributed it. As Bishton writes:

That, logically, would have been the end of Shashamane. But it wasn't . . . because just as most of the original, disillusioned EWF pioneers were pulling out, a new group was arriving. Not members of the EWF . . . , but Rastas who had grown up in the ghetto's of West Kingston in the sixties . . . , streetwise philosophers with a new orientation to the Promised Land - all members of an organization called the Twelve Tribes of Israel (1986: 40).

It is, however, not entirely clear whether the first members of the Twelve Tribes arrived before or after Selassie's downfall, nor is it known exactly how many people are involved in the repatriation. Some members told that they had stopped counting because every branch is sending members independently, and not a year goes by without one or two leaving Babylon forever. A reasonable estimate, however, is that the group in Shashamane does not exceed forty persons, children included. Up to now, the Twelve Tribes have once sent a larger group, on 8 December 1976. Two days later, *The Daily Gleaner* published the following report:

Thirteen members of the Rastafarian organization, the Twelve Tribes of Israel left on Wednesday for Ethiopia, the country regarded by most Rastafarians as their rightful homeland. Of the thirteen members, seven who are executives of the organization, will be sojourning in Ethiopia for a period of one month during which time they will be gathering information to bring back to their 'sisters' and 'brethren' here. The six remaining members will be residing in Ethiopia permanently along with other 'sisters' and 'brethren' already there. It is understood that it is the organization's intention to set up an executive committee of the Twelve Tribes of Israel in Ethiopia. The Twelve 'brethren' and one 'sister' were seen off the airport by hundreds of happy and peaceful 'brethren' and 'sisters' who wore 'banners' (knitted tams) of red, gold and green which are the colours of the Ethiopian flag. When the British Airways aircraft took off from the Norman Manley International with the 'brethren' and 'sister' on board the voices of the Rastafarians who had gathered on top of the waving gallery rose in unison with praises to His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie [sic] I. Prayers were uttered for a safe flight for the 'brethren' and 'sister' also. It is not the first time that members of the Twelve Tribes of Israel have gathered at the airport to bid farewell to 'brethren' and 'sisters' from the organization, but it is the first time that the organization has sent so many as thirteen members at one time (10 December 1976).

The Twelve Tribes claim to have only minor difficulties with the Marxist regime in Ethiopia. Not without pride, members boast that this is because of the good work the organization carries out in Shashamane, and add that the Twelve Tribes of Israel are the only Rastafarians allowed to settle in Ethiopia. According to a rather negative article in *The Star* (23 March 1984), the Twelve Tribes "live by growing their own food and marijuana and by making and selling handicrafts, such as knitted caps . . ." Further, one of the members was quoted saying that the relations with the Ethiopian government are good and that "quite recently they have distributed land to us: 98.8 acres, which is in addition to the 49.9 acres we have been allowed to keep for subsistence farming." The Twelve Tribes carefully try to avoid the slightest provocation; they do not smoke their ganja in public nor do they publicly advocate their beliefs. They may abhor the regime, but they will always respect it; it is yet another part of the fulfilment of prophecy.

Shashamane is not necessarily the only destination for the Twelve Tribes.

Up to now, they have not found any other lands to settle, but the organization continues to look for it. At the end of 1986, the prophet Gad left on a mission to try to find such lands in Nigeria.

Whatever the results, repatriation is only part of the millennial dream of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. The end of time is at hand, Selassie is going to return, Babylon shall be destroyed, and Zion restored, precisely as foretold in the Bible. Judgment shall come over the earth. The wicked shall perish and the righteous shall be saved. One hundred forty-four thousand, twelve thousand of every tribe, and a remnant, a mixed multitude of every nation and tongue, shall be gathered from all corners of the earth. Eternal life in the African New Jerusalem shall be their reward.

The Twelve Tribes of Israel will therefore continue to strive towards perfection. They will try to live the lives of the righteous, with faith and patience. "We've got to fulfil the Book."¹²

POSTSCRIPT

From a personal letter of a member of the Twelve Tribes of Israel (8 June 1987) I learned that since the prophet Gad has returned from his long absence "lots of changes have been made, the dance being one of them." Now, there are "parties," instead of dances; full silver (Reuben) in April, full gold (Simeon) in May, and so forth. The details of these and other changes are as yet unknown to me, except for the fact that the first party "was the talk of the town."

The letter finished with a sentence worth quoting at the end of this article. It read: "The Twelve Tribes of Israel cause is based upon righteousness, and anything that is not righteous we have no respect for, as God Almighty is our Leader and Jesus Christ Selassie I, our Standard Bearer."

NOTES

1. The information on which this article is based was collected during five months of training-fieldwork in Kingston, Jamaica in 1986-1987. The fieldwork was part of the M.A. program of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Utrecht, the Netherlands. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor H. Hoetink (University of Utrecht), Professor R.M. Nettelford (University of the West Indies) and drs. A.F. Dijkstra for their support and encouragement.

2. Bob Marley/C. Mayfield, 1977. *One love/People get ready*. Island Records Ltd.

3. The sequence of the tribes is said to be based on Genesis 49: 3-27. There, however, Zebulun is mentioned before, and not after, Issachar. The tribes are only partly listed in order of birth, since Dan, Gad, Asher and Naphtali were born before Issachar and Zebulun. Neither are they listed by mother, since Dan and Naphtali were the two sons Israel begot with Bilhah. The first six, Reuben until Zebulun, were born with Leah, Gad and Asher with Zilpah, and Joseph and Benjamin with Rachel. Throughout the Bible, the twelve tribes are listed in various sequences, though nowhere in the exact sequence used by the Twelve Tribes of Israel. Members, however, were unable to give any explanations apart from Genesis 49 and the remark that this is simply the way it is.

4. The religious calendar of Israel began in the month *Nisan*, the civil calendar in the month *Tishri*. Since it was a lunar calendar, a leap-month, the *Second Adar*, had to be added about every six years.

5. The *Kebra Nagast* (the Glory of the Kings) is an ancient Ethiopian legend relating the Ethiopian monarch directly to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

6. Unfortunately, the information on the prophet Gad is somewhat scanty. He was off the island during the period of research.

7. Hymn no. 946 in *Redemption songs: a choice collection of one thousand hymns and choruses for evangelistic meetings, soloists, choirs, the home*. London and Glasgow, Pickering & Inglis. This hymn was also on a pamphlet of the Twelve Tribes of Israel which included the Ethiopian Prayer and the Universal Ethiopian Anthem as well. The last verse, not in Redemption Songs, is added to all the hymns of the Twelve Tribes.

8. For obvious reasons, more detailed information about the finances of the Twelve Tribes of Israel is withheld.

9. Psalm 68: 31 has played an important role in the long tradition of Ethiopianism and was interpreted as the prophecy of restoration of Africa and the people of African descent by almost all black Christian denominations as well as by a number of cults in the New World.

10. The original Universal Ethiopian Anthem (Jacques Garvey 1967: 140-141), a poem composed by Burrell and Ford, reads as follows:

Ethiopia, thou land of our fathers,
 Thou land where the gods loved to be,
 As storm cloud at night suddenly gathers
 Our armies come rushing to thee.
 We must in the fight be victorious
 When swords are thrust outward to gleam;
 For us will the vict'ry be glorious
 When led by the red, black and green.

Chorus:

Advance, advance to victory,
 Let Africa be free;
 Advance to meet the foe
 With the might
 Of the red, the black and the green.

Ethiopia, the tyrant's falling.
 Who smote thee upon thy knees,
 Ant thy children are lustily calling
 From over the distant seas.
 Jehovah, the Great One has heard us,
 Has noted our sighs and our tears,
 With His spirit of Love he has stirred us
 To be One through the coming years.

O Jehovah, thou God of the ages
 Grant unto our sons that lead
 The wisdom Thou gave to Thy sages
 When Israel was sore in need.
 Thy voice thro' the dim past has spoken.
 Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand,
 By Thee shall all fetters be broken,
 And Heav'n bless our dear fatherland.

The Twelve Tribes' adaption of this Anthem is, especially in the first verse, far less militant. Further, they have, in the second line of the first verse, changed the plural "gods" into the singular, and also changed the past tense "loved" into the present tense "loves." After all, Selassie cannot be spoken of in the past tense. The "red, black and green" of the Universal Negro Improvement Association's flag has been changed into the red, gold and green of the Ethiopian flag.

11. Ital-food is the name the Rastafarians have given to their natural, vegetarian diet.
12. Bob Marley, 1980. *Redemption song*. Island Records Ltd.

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WERE THE MISKITO INDIANS BLACK?
ETHNICITY, POLITICS, AND PLAGIARISM IN THE
MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

The anthropological research of Ephraim George Squier, a nineteenth century scholar, diplomat, journalist, and entrepreneur, has come under scrutiny in several articles in recent years (Barnhart 1983, Mould de Pease 1986, Olien 1985). Squier became famous, in the 1840s, for his publications on North American archaeology. During the 1850s, he published extensively on Central America, as a result of having been appointed U.S. chargé d'affaires to Central America from 1849 to 1850. Later he published a book and a number of articles on Peru, based on his experiences while serving as U.S. Commissioner to Peru in 1863-4. This article will focus on Squier's work in the 1850s, when his publications were concerned with Central America.

In Squier's writings on Central America, political motives often dominated over scholarly research and virtually all of his publications include political propaganda. In particular, data that applied to the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua and Honduras, and their kings, were distorted (Olien 1985: 117-125). One type of distortion, or misrepresentation, involved his consistent portrayal of the Miskito Indians as blacks.

One of the Squier's Central American writings was the novel *Waikna; or, adventures on the Mosquito Shore*, that he published in 1855 under the pseudonym Samuel A. Bard. Although *Waikna* was published under a fictitious name, it was known at least as early as 1856 that Squier was the author (Olien 1985: 117). After 130 years, this novel remains an enigmatic work for Central American scholars. On the one hand, it is obvious that parts of it were written to discredit the Miskito Indians (Stansifer 1959: 149); on the other hand, sections of the novel appear to be legitimate and valuable descriptions of the Mosquito coast and its peoples.¹

This article will attempt to identify the ethnographic sources that Squier

used for *Waikna* and then analyze his treatment of these sources in the novel. The identified sources will then be used to help explain why Squier emphasized, in his various Central American writings, including *Waikna*, that the Miskitos were black.

Squier's primary first-hand experience with the Nicaraguan Atlantic coast was a brief two-week period in 1849 and 1850. He spent that time only in the port of San Juan del Norte, also known as Grey Town, when traveling to and from his political post in western Nicaragua. In addition, he returned to San Juan in 1853 for several days, while on his way into the interior (Squier 1854).

Although several scholars have suggested sources that might have been used by Squier in his only novel *Waikna*, there has been no specific analysis of the ethnographic data. Charles Stansifer (1959: 148), Squier's biographer, writes that, "Squier's story is based partly on information gleaned from conversations with persons who had been to the Shore and partly on previously published books, particularly those of Thomas Young and Thomas Strangeways." Stansifer is partially correct. The works by Young (1847) and Strangeways (1822) describe the Honduran Mosquito coast; most of the novel's story is set along the Nicaraguan Mosquito coast. It will be shown that Squier relied on additional authors who can be identified.

In considering the authenticity of the ethnographic material, it should be noted that in 1969, the cultural geographer, Bernard Nietschmann (1979) took a trip along the route that Squier's fictional character took on the Nicaraguan section of the journey. Nietschmann (1979: 11) concluded that the description of the environment, villages, and indigenous cultures, at least for the Nicaraguan coast, was "amazingly accurate".

The novel describes a young American artist, Samuel A. Bard, who travels first to Jamaica and then to the Mosquito coast of Nicaragua and Honduras. The date of the sojourn is never specified, but internal evidence suggests the early 1850s. At Bluefields, Bard visits Carlsruhe, a settlement of Prussian immigrants. Bard found that the settlement have already failed and only three or four Prussians were still living there (Bard 1965: 57-58). The first Prussian immigrants arrived at Bluefields on September 27, 1846 (Dozier 1985: 53). By 1849, the surviving immigrants had begun to disperse from the Bluefields area (Dozier 1985: 63). Since the novel was published in 1855, the story seems to be set at the turn of the decade. This happens to coincide with the period that Squier himself served as the American *chargé d'affaires* in Central America - from June, 1849 to June, 1850.

This article begins with a brief discussion of Squier's style. The various sources that are used in the novel are then identified and compared with Squier's account. The article concludes with a discussion of how an analysis of Squier's novel in the context of creole ethnogenesis can explain why he was so emphatic in portraying the Miskito Indians as blacks.

SQUIER'S STYLE

The novel *Waikna* is written according to a definite formula, made up of three elements: geography, adventure, and ethnography. A description of the environment is usually followed by an adventure. The adventures, such as escaping from the Miskito/sambos or hunting waree, usually occur in the wilds when Bard and his companions are traveling between communities. Once the group reaches a new village, Squier switches to ethnographic description. This, in turn, is followed by more description of the environment, more adventure, and additional ethnographic descriptions.

Another pattern that Squier used was to change the names of individuals. Although only a few individuals are mentioned by name, some scholars have been unaware that Squier tended to use modified names for actual individuals. As a result, the novel has led to some confusion as to the identity of the individuals that Bard meets during his journey. Olien (1983: 224-225) has already discussed the fact that there never was a Miskito king named George William Clarence (Bard 1965: 57). Squier's introduction of that name has confused attempts to reconstruct the Miskito line of succession to the kingship. During the period in which Squier's novel is set, George Augustus Frederic was king. He served as king from 1845 to 1864 or 1865.

Squier describes the leading Englishman, with whom the young king resided, as Mr. Bell. That name has also been changed. George Augustus Frederic lived in the house of the British Vice-Consul in Bluefields, James Green. The king was already living in Green's house when Squier arrived in Nicaragua (F.O. 53/17: 60). However, Squier's use of the name "Bell" creates some confusion because there was a well-known family of Bells that lived in Bluefields at the same time as Bard's adventure. For example, D.E. Alleger (1965: xviii), who wrote the introduction to the 1965 reprint of *Waikna*, mentions that Mr. Bell may have been Charles Napier Bell. This suggestion is totally incorrect, as Charles Napier Bell would have been only about 12 years old at the time of the story. As another possibility, Alleger suggests Mr. Bell may have been Charles Napier Bell's father, James Stanislaus Bell, who according to Alleger (1965: xviii) "very definitely was at one time a British agent at Bluefields." Alleger is also wrong about James Bell. He never was agent, only commandant and sheriff. Patrick Walker and William Christy were the only individuals given the title of British agent. James Green served as acting agent. Another possible identification for "Mr. Bell" is that he was Patrick Walker, the first British agent. In another book that Squier published in 1855 (Squier 1855: 366), he cites a Belizean newspaper that mentions that the king lived in Patrick Walker's house. Although Walker died in 1848, before the time setting of *Waikna*, Squier may have been unaware that the

king later lived with Green. It is also possible that Green acquired Walker's house after Walker's death.

Another individual described by name by Squier was "James Hodgson", an important individual in Bluefields (Bard 1965: 61). This person was actually George Hodgson who served as Senior Member of the Mosquito Council that advised the king.

At least one exception to Squier's name changes occurs at Wasswatla where Bard meets Captain Lord Nelson Drummer (Bard 1965: 96), who mentions that this father had been Governor in the section around Pearl Key Lagoon. Squier presumably took that information from Roberts (1827: 113-115), who met Governor Drummer in 1817 and one of his sons named Nelson.

In other cases, Squier is less specific about individuals. For example, he refers to one individual only as a French Creole from one of the islands of the Antilles who had established a large and successful plantation near Pearl Key Lagoon (Bard 1965: 97). This was Mr. Ellis, former Governor of San Andrés island, who had been described earlier by both Roberts (1965: 107) and by Jacob Dunham (1850: 112). Another important individual, who lived at Cape Gracias a Dios, is identified only as "Mr. H." Squier seems to have used this identification because Young (1847: 15), whose information Squier was borrowing, refers to the same individual as "Mr. H---." Based on Squier's (Bard 1965: 236) account of how Mr. H. lost his cattle herd, Mr. H. must have been S.T. Haly, who is mentioned by Irias (1853: 166) as living at the Cape in 1842. Haly had served for many years as secretary to the Miskito king Robert Charles Frederic (F.O. 53/19: 246). In 1855, Haly served as chief magistrate of the San Juan del Norte Council (Olien 1987). Whether Haly was already living in San Juan del Norte in 1850 or in 1853, when Squier visited the town, is not known.

Lastly, General Peter Slam of Sandy Bay (Bard 1965: 220) may or may not have been an actual name. In another work, Squier (1852: 87) mentions General Slam, Admiral Rodney and Lord Nelson witnessing a grant that was awarded in 1839 by Miskito king Robert Charles Frederic to Samuel Shepherd, a trader living in San Juan del Norte. "Admiral Rodney" and "Lord Nelson" were fictitious Miskito names mentioned by Young (1847: 32). The name "Slam" has not been discovered in any other account of the Mosquito coast. The only Miskito leaders who have been identified as living at Sandy Bay are Admiral Ernee, Admiral Drummer, General Blyatt, and Major Basil Milhore, mentioned for the period of 1815-1817.

SQUIER'S SOURCES

In this section, I would like to briefly retrace Bard's journey and discuss the apparent ethnographic sources that Squier used for his novel. First, however, some mention should be made about Squier's information on the geography of Nicaragua and Honduras. His sources for the geographical descriptions are more difficult to determine than those used for the adventures and the ethnographic description. Since the cultural geographer Nietschmann (1979) accepts Squier's geographic descriptions as being accurate, they must have been based on first-hand accounts. However, none of the sources used by Squier for his ethnographic material, and for some of the adventures, are clearly the bases for Bard's descriptions of the environment. Squier may have relied on these sources in a more general way than he did for the adventures and the ethnographic material. Writers such as Roberts (1965) include considerable information on the environment. However, none of the earlier writers visited the Woolwas [today spelled Ulwas] or traveled inland from the Wanks River to the territory of the Poyer [today spelled Paya]. In the novel, both areas are described. Geographic descriptions of the coast, however, could have been gleaned from earlier travelers' accounts. In addition, it has been suggested that some of the data for the geographical descriptions came from reports about the environment of the Mosquito coast that had been requested from long-term residents by the British agent (Olien 1985: 128). These reports were sent to the British Foreign Office in 1849. One work that was initially hypothesized as a key source for the fauna, *Wild life in the interior of Central America* by George Byam, published in 1849, proved not to have been the case, even though Byam mentions that he knew Squier. Nothing in *Waikna* is taken directly from Byam's book.

Squier provides only a few footnotes in *Waikna*. Almost all of the material is presented as if it is Squier's own material. For that reason, the identification of the sources that he plagiarized is difficult. For the information that Squier used for the adventures and the ethnographic descriptions, Stansifer (1959: 148) is correct that Squier relied on Thomas Young, who lived on the Honduran Mosquito coast between 1839 and the beginning of 1842, and on Thomas Strangeways, who apparently never lived on the Mosquito coast. However, these were not the only important sources. It should be pointed out that there is little original material in the book written by Strangeways. Most of this material is taken from George Henderson (1811), who visited the Honduran Mosquito coast in 1804, and John Wright (1808), who visited the Mosquito coast during 1805 and 1806. Squier might also have used Henderson's book for *Waikna* as he does include a direct quote from it (Bard 1965: 137). These, however, were not the only important sources used in writing

Waikna. Squier relied heavily on Orlando Roberts (1965), who traveled along both the Nicaraguan and Honduran coasts between 1817 and 1820. Squier used additional information from William Dampier (1697), who visited the Mosquito coast in 1681, Charles Rogers (1782) who described artifacts that had been brought from the Mosquito coast in 1775, Frederick Crowe (1850) who was in Central America between 1841 and 1846, Irias (1853), who traveled the Wanks River in 1842, and probably unpublished observations by Julius Froebel from 1850. Squier also relied on other published sources for general information that cannot easily be identified as coming from a particular source. A great deal of this type of data appear as a single sentence, or as several sentences. The easiest identifications of sources are those in which Squier has plagiarized at least a paragraph from the source. There are also some publications that Squier had access to that are mentioned in other works which may have been used. These include several works published in Germany and a number of unpublished reports by Nicaraguan officials.

Not all the ethnographic material can be derived from published sources. Squier must have relied on some conversations or correspondence with first-hand observers as Stansifer (1959: 148) has suggested. Finally, it should be mentioned that some of the same ethnographic data appear in more than one source. It is not clear if each writer obtained the information independently or if they plagiarized from an earlier source. In some such cases, the particular wording used in *Waikna* allows for an identification of the specific source that Squier used. Finally, it must be noted that even in his non-fiction writing, Squier was extremely inaccurate in citing quotations. In *Waikna*, he takes even greater liberties. As a result, passages in some of the sources can only be shown to have been similar to passages found in *Waikna*. Nevertheless, there is a pattern to Squier's use of sources and this pattern becomes important in explaining why he thought the Miskito Indians were black.

Bard's first adventure involves his being shipwrecked on El Roncador island on his way to the Mosquito coast. There may have been several sources for that story. Alleger (1965: xiii) suggests that the basis may have been Squier's own voyage from New York to San Juan del Norte in 1849 in which his ship struck a sandbar which easily could have wrecked the vessel. Fortunately, the brig broke loose and proceeded without further incidence. Another possibility is found in Young's (1847: 35) account of a Miskito Indian who was shipwrecked on an island. More likely, Young's (1847: 39-51) description of his own shipwreck may have provided at least the inspiration for Squier's plot. Many aspects of Young's shipwreck are similar to those that Bard experienced. Shipwrecked along with Bard are a sailor from the ship and a Mayan Indian named Antonio. For the remainder of the novel, Antonio is Bard's faithful, but mysterious, companion.

Squier's first ethnographic description, a Miskito funeral and burial near Bluefields (Bard 1965: 68-73) seems partly derived from Young's (1847: 30) account; however, additional data is provided by Squier that must have come from some other unidentified source. In Bluefields, Bard (1965: 63-64) meets the young Miskito kings and describes him as:

a black boy, or what an American would be apt to call, a "young darkey..."

He is nothing more or less than a negro, with hardly a perceptible trace of Indian blood; and would pass at the South for a 'likely young fellow, worth twelve hundred dollars as a bodyservant.'

In contrast, other writers, who had actually met the young king, all describe him as an Indian (cf. Bell 1899: 274, Collison 1870: 149, Pim and Seeman 1869: 268).²

Bard (1965: 91-92) is given a document known as a "King paper" that gives him permission to travel. The source for his description of the document is unclear. The King paper is mentioned earlier, in 1816 and 1817, by both Jacob Dunham (1850: 95-96), an American trader, and by Orlando Roberts (1965: 141-142), an English trader. However, the King Paper may have been in use in 1849 when Squier was in Nicaragua and he may have seen one. Before leaving Bluefields for a journey north along the Mosquito coast, Bard hires a young Poyer [Paya] Indian boy to accompany him and Antonio, Bard never learns the boy's name, referring to him throughout the novel as "the Poyer boy."

One of the few geographical descriptions used by Squier that can be identified is Roberts' (1965: 112-113) description of the mouth of Great River. Roberts writes:

... its entrance being completely exposed to north-east winds, is extremely dangerous; and, although it is a noble stream, there is not more than four or five of feet water over its bar: - It is said to be navigable for boats, nearly two hundred miles, and its source is totally unknown to the English. There are several small islands inside the bar, but there is no island off its entrance as stated by some writers.

Bard (1965: 115) says:

The mouth of Great river is broad, but entirely exposed to the north-east; and, although it is a large stream, the water on its bar is not more than five or six feet deep, shutting out all large vessels, which otherwise might go up a long way into the country. There are several islands near the mouth.

Bard's ethnographic description of the Woolwa Indians comes from some

unidentified source. None of the earlier writers, that Squier generally relied on, ventured that far into the interior. The most likely source of data was a contemporary of Squier, Julius Froebel who not only visited the Woolwas in 1850 (Froebel 1859: 132-133), but was a friend of Squier. Although Froebel's own account of the Woolwas was published after *Waikna*, he could have easily provided data orally or through correspondence. Froebel (1859: 133) mentions that on returning to New York, he passed on a Woolwa vocabulary that he had collected to his friend Mr. Squier who later published it. There was certainly the opportunity then for Squier to have collected additional ethnographic data from Froebel.

One other possible source on the Woolwa, but a less likely one, is an eighteenth century description by an Englishman, John Roach (1784). Roach came ashore on the coast of Nicaragua in 1770 to cut firewood and was captured by Indians who he called the Woolaways. He lived with them for two years before escaping, only to be captured by Spaniards. He returned to England in 1783 and wrote a 64 page work about his adventures (Parker 1970: 11). The second edition of Roach's book was published in 1784 and was later reprinted in 1785, 1788 and 1810. An American version apparently taken from Roach's account was published in 1798 as the adventures of John Rhodes with some changes and embellishments. It was enlarged from 64 pages to 250 pages. There is some question about the authenticity of either work (Parker 1970: 12) and there is no direct evidence that Squier knew of either version.

Squier's (Bard 1965: 129-130) description of the Woolwa custom surrounding the isolation of the mother from the rest of the community, may have been taken directly from Young's (1847: 75-76) account of the practice among the Honduran Miskito. Young writes:

Whilst the woman is so confined to the hut, no one is allowed to pass to windward, not even the sookeahs; for it is imagined, that a person by so doing would intercept the wind, and thus, that the mother and child having their breath taken from them, would cease to exist....

Bard's (1965: 130) account of the practice among the Woolwas is as follows:

While the woman is so confined to the hut, no one is allowed to approach it, and all persons are especially cautious not to pass it to the windward, for it is imagined that by so doing the wind, which supplies the breath of the newly born child, would be taken away, and it would die.

Bard does add that he later learned that this custom is also practiced by the Miskito.

Almost half of Squier's ethnographic description of the Woolwa Indians is devoted to an account of how they hunt the manatee in their inland rivers. Froebel (1859: 132) mentions, in his account of the Woolwa, that there were manatee in the rivers. The ethnographic material that Bard bases the account on seems to come from descriptions of the Miskito, not Woolwa. Some of the data are taken directly from Roberts's (1965: 97-98) description of the manatee as they were hunted by the Miskito at the mouth of the San Juan River. Bard's description of the killing of a manatee is similar to the account by Dampier (1697: 35-36) of the hunting of the manatee by the Miskito that he observed in the year 1681. At the end of the description of the manatee hunt, Bard presents a quote from George Henderson (1811: 132-133) about the excellent taste of the tail of the manatee. This short quote is misquoted, although the meaning is not changed. Such misquoting is characteristic of so many other quotes in Squier's other publications.

The next adventure occurs at the Miskito village of Quamwatla. Bard describes these Indians as "sambos," emphasizing their negroid features. The adventure is based on a true incident that occurred in 1849 involving the shipwrecked American crew of the ship "Simeon Draper". A report on the incident sent to the British Foreign Office has already been suggested as a source for Squier's account (Olien 1985: 128). It is also possible, since it involved American citizens, that Squier was informed of the details while serving as chargé d'affaires in Nicaragua.

Bard's (1965: 170-171) description of a tapir is taken almost verbatim from Strangeways (1822: 170-171). Strangeways description, in turn, is based on an unspecified work listed only as "Buffon." This is a reference to G.L. Comte de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière*, published between 1749 and 1767.

As Bard's journey continues, another description of the environment can be identified. Bard's (1965: 184-185) description of the ceiba, or silk-cotton tree, on the Mosquito coast is taken almost directly from Henderson's account of Belize. Henderson (1811: 114-115) writes:

... and whilst in bloom, is certainly one of the most splendid productions of nature. At such season it is entirely crowned with a profusion of brilliant flowers of rich and variegated hues, of which the colour of the carnation is the most predominant. This bloom is suddenly succeeded by a multitude of small pods which contain the cotton, and that burst when sufficiently ripe. The crop of cotton it affords is said to be triennial.

Henderson then mentions that the trunk is used in the building of canoes and small vessels. Bard (1965: 184) writes that, "They were now in their bloom, and crowned with a profusion of flowers of rich and variegated colors, but chiefly a bright carnation." Several sentences later, he writes:

The flowers are rapidly succeeded by a multitude of pods, which grow to the size and shape of a goose-egg. When ripe, they burst open, revealing the interior filled with a very soft, light cotton or silky fibre, attached as floats to diminutive seeds, which are wafted far and wide by the winds. This process is repeated three times a year.

Bard then discusses how the trunk of the tree is used by the natives for building a variety of boats. Henderson cites a work on the natural history of Guiana as the source of his information on the silk-cotton tree.

In a later adventure, Bard describes how Antonio treats the Poyer boy's bite from a Tommy Goff snake. The source of this information is probably Young (1847: 22). Young writes:

... the only known remedy for their bite, is the root called guaco, which can be easily obtained from the island of Roatan. The root when collected is dried and steeped in strong spirit, brandy being preferable; two or three glasses of which should be immediately drunk by the person bitten, and some rubbed on the wound, and a ligature fastened tightly over it.

Squier (Bard 1965: 198-199) writes that Antonio went off into the forest and returned:

... with a quantity of some kind of root, of which I have forgotten the Indian name. It had a strong smell of musk, impossible to distinguish from that of the genuine civet. This he crushed, and formed into a kind of poultice, bound it on the wounded arm, and gave the boy a strong infusion of the same.

Next Bard provides an ethnographic description of the Towkas. The source of this description cannot be identified. Roberts (1965: 127) mentions that a considerable number of Towka Indians reside on the banks of a large river that empties into the Wava Lagoon. This provides the correct location for Bard's Towka village. Roberts, however, provides no first-hand descriptions of the Towka. In another publication, Squier (1855: 205-206) includes a quotation from Young (1847: 87) on the Towkas. Once again, Squier has taken the liberty of rewriting what Young wrote, although he does not change Young's meaning. This information, however, is very general, and Young himself never visited the Towkas living south of Cape Gracias a Dios. Most of Bard's account of the Towka is devoted to marriage arrangements and a wedding. Since there appears to be no published description of a Towka wedding, this may be one section of *Waikna* where Squier relied on information from travelers or residents of the coast. It is possible that S.T. Haly (Bard's "Mr. H.") may have been the source of this account. On August 14, 1846, Haly purchased a piece of land on the banks of Wava lagoon to establish and to cut mahogany (F.O. 53/19: 268). In a census taken in 1849,

Haly was still listed as a mahogany cutter living at Wava River with his two sons (F.O. 53/18: 218). They were the only Englishmen listed as living at Wava River.

Bard's description of the musical implements used by the Towkas at the wedding ceremony is taken from Roberts's account of the musical instruments used by the Miskito at Sandy Bay. After mentioning that the drum is a principal musical instrument of the Miskitos, Roberts (1965: 136) writes:

The only other musical instrument, which I saw, was a rude pipe or flute, rather longer than a common flute, but much thicker. It is made of hollow bamboo, – one end is shaped like a flageolet, with hole and mouthpiece, and it has four finger-holes, the first about two-thirds down the length of the instrument, the others at intervals of about half an inch; it requires considerable exertion to sound it, and produces a dull monotonous tone, with very little variation.

Squier (Bard 1965: 206) writes of the Towkas:

The old men then seemed to hold council, at the end of which a couple of drums (made, as I have already explained, by stretching a raw skin over a section of a hollow tree), and some rude flutes were sent for. The latter were made of pieces of bamboo, and were shaped somewhat like flageolets, each having a mouth-piece, and four stops. The sound was dull and monotonous, although not wholly unmusical.

After leaving the Towkas, Bard excavates some artifacts at an ancient Indian burial site on an islet at Duckwarra Lagoon. His description of the burial and the artifacts is very similar to the account published in Rogers (1782).

At Sandy Bay, a community of Miskito Indians who Bard also refers to as "sambos," he (Bard 1965: 224-225) describes a dance that is the same as the John-Canoe dance described at Cape Gracias a Dios in 1839 by Young (1847: 30-31). Young writes:

I attended one of these meetings about seven p.m., and on my arrival, found a large concourse of Indians busily employed in drinking their mushla; a green fence had been raised sufficiently high to prevent the women from observing the operations of the two John-canoe men. These men were attired something like our Jacks-in-the-green, – they had head-dresses, composed of thin wood finely scraped and painted with red and black streaks, descending to the shoulders, from whence cocoa-nut leaves, stripped from the main stalk, were attached, and so placed that nothing could be seen of the natives but their feet. On the top of each dress was an exact representation of the saw of a saw-fish, which was likewise daubed with red, yellow, and black patches; the two men advancing and retreating with a crab-like movement, occasionally bending their unwieldy head gear to each other ceremoniously, but in so comical a manner as to excite great laughter, which was much increased by their singing in the most singular tones, "Yapte tarra, – yapte tarra, – pine yapte," (grandmother, grandmother, good grandmother.) The Indians have small tubes in their mouths, by which they

produce a curious noise, prolonging it at pleasure. As soon as the John-canoe men are wearied, two others take their places, and proceed in the same manner, the same monotonous sounds being heard without cessation till day dawns.

At another part a number of natives assemble with long white sticks, when they immediately commence following the leader, most grotesquely stalking round a circle, singing out loudly and lustily, "Kilkaro yapte ke, - kilkaro yapte ke," (shovel-nosed sharks, mother).

Bard's (1965: 226-227) somewhat more derogatory account is as follows:

At a little distance was built up a rude fence of palm-branches and pine-boughs, behind which there was a crowd of men laughing and shouting in a most convulsive manner. I walked forward, and saw that only males were admitted behind the screen of boughs. Here, in the midst of a large circle of spectators, were two men, dressed in an extraordinary manner, and performing the most absurd antics. Around their necks each had a sort of wooden collar, whence depended a fringe of palm-leaves, hanging nearly to their feet. Their head-dresses terminated in a tall, thin strip of wood, painted in imitation of the beak of a saw-fish, while their faces were daubed with various colors, so as completely to change the expression of the features. In each hand they marked time in their dances. These were entirely peculiar, and certainly very comical. First they approached each other, and bent down their tall head-pieces with the utmost gravity, by way of salute; then sidled off like crabs, singing a couplet which had both rhythm and rhyme, but, so far as I could discover, no sense. As interpreted to me, afterward, by Mr. H—, it ran thus: -

"Shovel-nosed shark,
Grandmother, grandmother!
Shovel-nosed shark,
Grandmother!"

When the performers got tired, their places were taken by others, who exhausted their ingenuity in devising grotesque and ludicrous variations.

Squier borrows further from Young in describing how the women at *mishla* (a native alcoholic beverage) festivals hid the men's weapons before fights break out. Young (1847: 33) writes:

The women invariably hide the men's weapons before the commencement of their rejoicings, or dangerous consequences might often ensue; for it is the custom to let their quarrels rest until they get inflamed by their filthy *mushla*; when, not finding their *macheets*, (a kind of cutlass,) they set to work fighting, as they say, "English fashion," being a most absurd imitation, as they have no idea of guarding or stopping, but receive and exchange blow for blow, until declares himself beaten.

Bard (1965: 227-228) mentions that:

Many got dead drunk, and were carried off by the women. Others quarreled, but the women, with wise foresight, had carried off and hidden all their weapons, and thus obliged them to settle their disputes with their fists. "English fashion." To me, these boxing bouts were exceedingly amusing. Instead of parrying each others strokes, they literally exchanged them.

First one would deliver his blow, and then stand still and take that of his opponent, blow for blow, until both become satisfied.

Finally, in his account of Sandy Bay, Bard (1965: 232-233) quotes from Orlando Roberts (1965: 128-129) on how the drink mishla is made. As with other quotations used by Squier, he takes the liberty of rewriting the quote somewhat. Once again, the alterations do not change the meaning of the quotation.

At Cape Gracias a Dios, Squier again relies on Young's narrative of events that occurred twenty years earlier, but with some slight modifications. In describing Haly, Young (1847: 15) writes:

Some years ago Mr. H—, the gentleman alluded to, obtained several cattle, and bred from them for two or three years, when he found that they seriously decreased, the Indians killing them to pay their own debts. He and his sons being the only Englishmen then at the Cape, he disposed of the remainder to a British man of war, which came by chance into the harbour. He has lately commenced again; another Englishman is also engaged in the same pursuit; their cattle are increasing fast.

Bard (1965: 236) in describing Mr. H. observes:

At one time he had a number of cattle on the savannah – which, although its soil is too poor for cultivation, nevertheless affords abundance of good grass – but the Sambos killed so many for their own use, that he sold the remainder to the trading vessels. He had now undertaken their introduction again, with better, success, and had, moreover, some mules and horses.

Bard also describes the use of cattle by the Miskito as the payment when adultery occurs. There are at least two sources for this information, Young and Jacob Dunham. Although Squier's account is closer to Dunham's version, Squier may not have been aware of Dunham's book. Captain Dunham (1850: 102) wrote:

If a man commits adultery with his neighbor's wife, and it comes to the knowledge of her husband, he takes his gun and goes to the forest where he finds a herd of cattle belonging to the neighborhood; he shoots a good fat bullock and calls on the neighbors to assist him to dress it and convey it home, where he makes a great feast, inviting the man who committed the offence, and all the neighbors to partake with him, when the offender, who is bound by law, pays for the bullock and all is amicably settled.

Young (1847: 16) wrote merely that, "a custom that they have of shooting each others' beeves for payment in cases of adultery. . . ." Squier (Bard 1965: 236) writes:

Whenever a native is proved guilty of adultery, the injured party immediately goes out in the savannah and shoots a beeve, without regard to its ownership. The duty of paying for it then devolves upon the adulterer, and constitutes the penalty for his offence!

Squier also describes the Miskito belief in a deity called *Wulasha* and the native medicinemen, the *sukias*. At least some of the discussion is taken directly from Frederic Crowe's book on Baptist missionary work in Central America. Crowe (1850: 245) writes:

... they [the Miskito Indians] are among the rare exceptions which savage life affords where an acknowledge deity is entirely wanting. Not even a name for God has yet been found in their language. There are, however, traces of demon worship, or rather efforts to placate an evil spirit, whom they call *Wulasha*.

Wulasha professedly shares in the rewards which the *Sukias* obtain for their cures and deceptions. His half of the stipulated price is exacted beforehand, the payment of the other half depending very much upon the *Sukia's* success.

Similarly, Squier (Bard 1965: 243) writes:

The Mosquitos, I may observe here, have no idea of a supreme beneficent Being; but stand in great awe of an evil spirit which they call *Wulasha*, and of a water-ghost, called *Lewire*. *Wulasha* is supposed to share in all the rewards which the *Sukias* obtain for their services. His half of the stipulated price, however, is shrewdly exacted beforehand, while the payment of the remainder depends very much upon the *Sukia's* success.

Apparently the phrase that Squier added about the water ghost came from Young (1847: 73), who wrote that, "They have also much dread of a water ghost, whom they call *Leewire*."³

After leaving Cape Gracias a Dios, Bard and his companions travel up the Wanks River. For the next adventure, in which Bard climbs a tree in order to save himself from a pack of waree (Bard 1965: 282-285), Squier may have relied on Young for the idea. Young (1847: 103) writes:

A great many stories are told of the danger of getting amongst a drove of warrie, but such things rarely occur; though I have heard of two instances, where the hunters were compelled to ascend a tree, to escape being torn to pieces by the infuriated creatures, remaining there for some hours, their faithful dogs below being torn to shreds.

The primary source for Bard's journey up the Wanks River is a report that was written by a Nicaraguan, Francisco Irias (1853), in 1842. Squier had a copy of the report which was published in English, in 1853, at Squier's urging. Squier cites Irias report in describing the Wanks River in his other book published in 1855, *Notes on Central America*, published in the same year as *Waikna*.

As Bard's party reaches a Poyer village in the interior, Bard (1965: 292-293) describes the Indians' "primitive mode of washing gold" by scooping up water from the river in half of a gourd. The technique is identical to one described by George Byam (1849) that was quoted by Squier in his book on Nicaragua (Squier 1852: 42-43). Byam, however, was describing Honduran Spanish miners, not Poyer Indians. A quotation in Squier's (Bard 1965: 293) footnote about the mining is taken directly from Byam.

Much of the ethnographic description of the Poyer Indians is taken from Young, in particular the description of the Poyer community house (Bard 1965: 293-294), the processing of maize for tortillas, and the manufacturing of a beverage known as *ulung* (Bard 1965: 299). These descriptions are found in Young (1847: 98) and are quoted by Squier in his book *Notes on Central America* (Squier 1855: 206-208). Squier relied on additional ethnographic data on the Poyer from other sources which have not been identified.

After Bard's group leaves the Poyer village, they travel down river toward the Honduran coast and encounter the dangerous "Gateway of Hell." The adventurous journey through this passage that Squier (Bard 1965: 309) describes is based on information contained in a report by Señor Herrera, who was the political boss of the Department of Olancho (Squier 1855: 79-80).

Once the party reaches the Honduran coast, Squier relies primarily on Young for his material on the Black Carib. For example, Young (1847: 123) writes that the Caribs have great aptitude for learning languages, "... most of the men being able to talk in Carib, Spanish and English; some even add Creole-French and Mosquito..." After being greeted in English by his Carib host, Bard (1965: 318) says "I expressed my surprise at this acquaintance with the English, which seemed to flatter him, and he ran through the same salutation in Spanish, Creole-French, Carib, and Mosquito."

Young (1847: 124) describes how the Caribs return from the mahogany camps in Belize with fancy outfits. He also describes their dress in general:

They are noted for their immoderate fondness for dress, wearing red bands tied round their waists, to imitate sashes, straw hats knowingly turned up, clean white shirts and frocks, long and tight trowsers, and, with an umbrella, cane or sword in their hands, they strut about, rejoicing in their fancied resemblance to some of the Buckra officers at Balize (Young 1847: 122).

Squier combines information from the two sections of Young, and writes:

A Carib dandy delights in a close-fitting pantaloons, supported by a scarlet sash, a jaunty hat, encircled by a broad band of gold lace, a profuse neck-cloth, and a sword, or purple umbrella. It is in some such garb that he returns from the mahogany-works, to delight the eyes and affect the sensibilities of the Carbi girls... (Bard 1965: 320-321).

In describing Black Carib husband-wife relationships, Young (1847: 123-124) writes:

Polygamy is general amongst them; some having as many as three or four wives, but the husband is compelled to have a separate house and plantation for each, and if he makes a present, he must take the others one of the same value: and he must divide his time equally among them, a week with one, a week with another, and so on. When a Carib takes a wife, he fells a plantation, and builds a house; the wife then takes the management, and he becomes a gentleman at large till the following year It is the custom, when a woman cannot do all the work required in the plantation, for her to hire her husband, and pay him two dollars per week.

Men accompany them on their trading expeditions, but never by any chance carry the burthens, thinking it far beneath them.

Along almost identical lines, Squier (Bard 1965: 323) gives the following ethnographic description:

As I have intimated, the Caribs, like the Mosquitos, practice polygamy, but the wives have each a distinct establishment, and require a fair and equal participation in all of the favors of their husband. If he makes one a present, he is obliged to honor all the others in like manner; and they are all equally ready to make common cause against him, in case of infidelity, or too wide an exhibition of gallantry. The division of duties and responsibilities is rather extraordinary. When a Carib takes a wife, he is obliged to build her house and clean her plantation. But, this done, she must thenceforth take care of herself and her offspring; and if she desire the assistance of her husband in planting, she is obliged to pay him, at the rate of two dollars per week, for his services. And although the husband generally accompanies his wives in their trading excursions to Truxillo and elsewhere, he carries no loads, and takes no part in the barter.

Once the group reaches the Honduran coast, the Poyer boy leaves Bard and Antonio and returns to his village. Bard and Antonio then voyage to the islands of the Bay of Honduras. This description of the islands is based on small bits of data from both Roberts and Young. Both Roberts (1965: 275-276) and Young (1847: 46-47) have similar descriptions of the marine life that Bard (1965: 326) uses to describe the marine life off the island of Guanaja.

Finally, at the end of the novel, Antonio reveals the secret that he is the leader of the Yucatan Maya and has been organizing a revolt of Indians throughout Latin America. The source of the information about a planned Indian revolt was an article published about Mexico by Dudley Costello in 1854 (Olien 1985: 117). The final section of the novel may also have been influenced somewhat by the popular writings of John Lloyd Stephens (1841, 1843) on the Maya.

MISKITO, SAMBO, AND CREOLE

Perhaps it is inappropriate to criticize E.G. Squier for writing the particular novel that he wrote. A novel, by definition, is fiction and an author certainly has the literary right to include whatever data he or she wishes. Nevertheless, in the particular case of *Waikna*, it was written with political intent. Only incidentally was it meant to serve as a source of entertainment. Squier once wrote to his parents that his principal reason for writing *Waikna* was to turn support of "Queen Victoria's august ally of Mosquito into contempt" (Stansifer 1959: 149). Virtually everything that Squier wrote about Central America had political overtones (Olien 1985: 115-117). Therefore, I believe it is correct to view *Waikna* as more than just an adventure story. Although a novel, *Waikna* can provide some insights into Squier's abilities as a scholar and, more importantly, into his perception of the Mosquito coast.

Judging *Waikna* as a work of scholarship, Squier's choice of sources suggests that he was conscientious in his use of appropriate factual information. In only a few situations does it appear that Squier has taken the ethnographical description of one ethnic group and used it to describe another group. Even in those few cases, both the group that Squier took the data from and the group to which he attributed the data may actually have practiced the same customs. His primary sources, Young, Roberts, and Henderson, are still considered key sources today.

By analyzing the inclusion and exclusion of data in *Waikna*, it is possible to obtain a new insight into Squier's perception of the Mosquito coast and of the Miskito Indians. In his novel, Squier describes all of the coastal people of 1850, except one. The Woolwa, the Towkas, and the Poyer Indians, the Miskito/Sambos, and the Black Caribs are all discussed at length. The Rama and Cookra Indians are mentioned briefly, as are the Europeans living on the coast. However, the people known as the creoles are never mentioned or encountered by Bard. This is surprising because the creoles are the third largest ethnic group on the Nicaraguan coast today, numbering over 25,000 in 1981 and representing over nine percent of the total coastal population (CIDCA 1982: 49). The creoles today represent a hybrid population of individuals with pronounced Negroid features and who speak a creolized form of English that is unique to the Mosquito coast. This variety of English has been given the name "Miskito Coast Creole English" by the linguist John Holm (1978).

There seem to be two interrelated reasons for the exclusion of creoles from Squier's novel: Squier mistook the creoles for Miskito Indians and secondly, by relying on 15 to 45 year old sources for most of his ethnographic data, Squier was unaware of the ethnogenesis of the creoles that had occurred after

visits to the Mosquito coast by George Henderson, Orlando Roberts, and Thomas Young. In order to understand Squier's confusion about the Miskito and the creoles, it is necessary to briefly discuss the relationship between the Miskito Indians, the sambos, and the creoles.

In the seventeenth century, escaped African slaves interbred with Miskito Indians giving rise to a hybrid population known as the Miskito zambos or sambos. In the eighteenth century, English settlers, primarily from Jamaica, brought African slaves with them and later imported additional slaves. When the English were forced to abandon the Mosquito coast beginning in 1786, as a result of the Mosquito Convention signed between England and Spain, many of the settlers took their slaves with them to Belize. However, some of the African slaves remained on the Mosquito coast. Miscegenation had already occurred between white owners and their slaves and probably between the Indians and the African slaves. With the evacuation of the English, African slavery on the Mosquito coast ended, for the most part.⁴ Technically, slavery existed on the Mosquito coast until 1841, when the slaves of African descent living on the Corn Islands were emancipated. However, by 1816, when Roberts visited the coast, most of the descendants of the African slaves were living as free individuals.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the descendants of the ex-slaves began to develop as a recognizable new hybrid population, distinct from the Miskito zambos. Both the Miskito and the ex-slave populations contained black admixture. Those individuals with African heritage who followed Miskito cultural traditions, spoke Miskito, and lived in rural villages, continued to be known as Miskito. Black and part-black individuals today who consider themselves Miskito form a subgroup within the Miskito population known as the "mixed" (Nietschmann 1973: 59).

Another mixed group, later known as the creoles, were emulating English customs, speaking a dialect of English that was evolving into what is today known as Miskito Coast Creole English. Those creoles formed the majority of the coastal urban population. Bluefields and Pearl Key Lagoon, as well as the Corn Islands, became the most important creole locations. According to an Englishman, Bedford Pim, who visited the coast after Squier's novel had been published, Squier had confused these creoles with the Miskito zambos and had assumed that all individuals with black admixture on the coast were Miskito zambos, or sambos as Squier called them (Pim 1863: 75). In *Waikna*, the Miskito Indians are described as follows: "Physically, the Mosquitos have a large predominance of negro blood; and their habits and superstitions are African rather than American" (Bard 1965: 243).

In another work published in the same year as *Waikna*, Squier (1955: 208) describes the Miskito as follows:

These Sambos or Mosquitos are a mixed race of negroes and Indians. It seems that early in the seventeenth century a large slaver was driven ashore not far from Cape Gracias. The negroes escaped, and although at first they encountered hostility from the Indians, they finally made peace, and intermixed with them. The buccaneers had their haunts among them during the period of their domination in Caribbean Sea, and bequeathed to them a code of morality, which subsequent relations with smugglers and traders have not contributed to improve. The negro element was augmented from time to time by runaway slaves (*cimarrones*) from the Spanish settlement, and by slaves brought from Jamaica by the planters who attempted to establish themselves on the coast during the early part of the last century.

Recognition that Squier confused the creoles with the Miskito zambos helps to explain why Squier was so intent in his political propaganda, and in *Waikna*, to depict the Miskito Indians as blacks (see Olien 1985: 119-120). Squier believed that, for the most part, they were black.

Squier's use of 15 to 45 years old sources led to his confusion because the ethnogenesis of creoles was just beginning when Henderson, Roberts and Young visited the Mosquito coast. None of those writers used the term "creole" to refer to the English-speaking people of African ancestry, as the term is used on the Mosquito coast today. Roberts (1965: 109-110), for example, describes the population of Bluefields as made up of "Mulattoes and Sambos." Roberts and his contemporaries used the term "creole" to refer to *whites* born in the New World, rather than to blacks or mixed individuals. The white creole, in turn, contrasted with the "European," the white born in Europe who had come to the New World. For example, in describing the education of Miskito king George Frederick, who had been raised in Jamaica, Roberts (1965: 150) remarks that the king, "had an opportunity of engrafting, as it were, the bad qualities of the European, and Creole, upon the vicious propensities of the Samboe, and the capricious disposition of the Indian. . . ."

Given the Mosquito coast's particular history, that included the evacuation of almost all English-speaking whites by the end of the eighteenth century, the term "creole," had essentially become a linguistic category in search of an ethnic group by the first half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, after Independence in 1821, the distinction between white European and white creole became irrelevant in Spanish-speaking Nicaragua. Political views, rather than birth place, began to distinguish various groups of whites.

By the late 1840s, several important changes occurred among people with black ancestry on the coast. Those part-blacks who continued to identify with the Miskito were absorbed into Miskito society, apparently having little effect on the Miskito language (Holm 1978: 322) or Miskito customs. Mary Helms (1977) has already documented how the Miskito were beginning to

emphasize their Indian characteristics at this time and to de-emphasize their previous categorization as a zambo population. At the same time, black English-speaking foreigners from the West Indies began migrating to the Mosquito coast in search of wage labor. It was in this context that the term "creole" seems to have been applied to those blacks and part-blacks who had been born on the coast, but who identified with the English instead of the Miskito. The term "creole" came to delineate the same native born/foreign born distinction among blacks that it had earlier among whites. It is possible that this use of the term "creole," now applied to blacks on the Mosquito coast, came from Jamaica, given the continued contact between the Mosquito coast and Jamaica. According to the linguist Frederic Cassidy (1971: 21, 161-162), in Jamaica the term "creole" was used to mean "island born" or "native." "It was applied equally at first, and down to the nineteenth century, to whites, Negroes, or People of Colour." The Jamaican use of the term was extended even to refer to plants and animals native to the island. Thus the term may have been introduced by the immigrant Jamaican laborers as their label for the local-born Mosquito coast blacks.

By about 1850, the time setting of Squier's novel, the creoles were becoming a recognizable ethnic group of growing economic and political importance.⁵ The earliest use of the term "creole" to refer to the native born, English-speaking blacks thus far discovered is from 1848. Had Squier traveled along the Mosquito coast during his own trip to Nicaragua, as his character Bard had, he might have heard the term "creole" beginning to be used. However, by a strange accident of history, the only community on the Mosquito coast that Squier visited was San Juan del Norte (Grey Town) which was the only urban community on the Mosquito coast that had few, if any, creoles living there in 1849 and 1850. The term "creole," as it was coming to be used on the Mosquito coast at the time setting of the novel is not found in *Waikna*, nor, to my knowledge, in any of Squier's prior works.⁶

Once Squier perceived of the Miskito as blacks, that became a focal point of his political propaganda. Squier strongly supported the application of the Monroe Doctrine to Central America. He viewed British presence on the Mosquito coast as a violation of that policy. From this perspective, he saw the Miskito Indians as nothing but puppets of British imperialism. The fact that the Miskito had black admixture meant, from Squier's view, they represented a degenerate class of people – physically, intellectually, and morally (cf. Squier 1855: 54-56). In general, in his writings on Central America, he appealed to American patriotism, i.e. the promoting of the Monroe Doctrine, and to American racism, i.e. portraying the Miskito Indians as blacks.

The distinction that developed between the native-born black creoles and

the foreign-born black West Indians was still important when anthropologist Eduard Conzemius visited the Mosquito coast in 1921. Conzemius writes (1932: 7):

Around Bluefields, Pearl Lagoon, San Juan del Norte, and the islands Corn, San Andreas, and Providencia a large share of the inhabitants are so-called "*Creoles*." These are the descendants of the Negroes and Mulattoes brought as slaves from Jamaica by the English settlers during the eighteenth century. They intermarried with the Miskito and Rama Indians and speak the English language. The Creoles practically all belong to the Moravian Church; they are thrifty and law-abiding, very polite, and respectful to strangers, and less noisy and boisterous than the West Indian Negroes who have emigrated to the Mosquito Coast in recent years.

Today the term "creole" includes both the descendants of the nineteenth century native-born creoles and the descendants of the West Indians. Of course, the second generation of West Indians, if born on the coast, would have been creoles, in the sense of being native born.

CONCLUSIONS

It probably never occurred to Squier that the 15 to 45 year gap between the travels to the Mosquito coast on which his primary sources were based, and the setting of the novel were of any significance, because of the relatively short span of time involved. However, the changes in ethnic identifications that had occurred during that short span of time were significant. Squier misunderstood the ethnic categories of creole, sambo, and Miskito. As a result, Squier's characterization of the Miskito Indians as a black population in *Waikna*, and elsewhere, has plagued historical scholarship ever since.⁷

NOTES

1. *Waikna* also includes three appendices, "Historical sketch of the Mosquito Shore," "Various notes on the topography, soil, climate, and natives of the Mosquito Shore," and "Brief vocabulary of the Mosquito language," which will not be discussed here.
2. Both Bell and Pim published drawings of the king in their books showing an individual with strong Indian features and little, if any, black admixture.
3. Young also mentions an evil spirit of the Miskito called Oulasser. Oulasser is not referred to by Squier.

4. Indian slavery continued into the nineteenth century (see Roberts 1965: 116; Helms 1983: 179-197). However, this article is concerned only with the slaves of African ancestry.
5. See Olien (1987) for discussions of the ethnogenesis of the creoles and their growing involvement in coastal politics.
6. In *Notes on Central America*, Squier (1855: 52-53) refers to "white creoles," meaning individuals of Spanish descent who were born in the New World.
7. See Olien (1985: 125-129) for a discussion of Squier's impact on later historians.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Minorities and power in a black society: the Jewish community of Jamaica.
CAROL S. HOLZBERG. Maryland: The North-South Publishing Company, Inc., 1987. xxx + 259 pp. (Paper US\$ 15.95)

While whites may exert a preponderant influence in Jamaican corporate life, as Carol S. Holzberg argues, an exclusive focus on the racial composition of the elite neglects the subtleties of ethnicity, and obscures the significant role it plays in the business world and in society at large. Similarly, an analysis which is concerned only with class ignores historical and cultural factors as determinants of privilege. Holzberg contends that the highly articulated institutions and social organization once possessed by Jamaican Jews account for the continued prosperity of this community of 450 persons that she studied in the 1970s.

Holzberg's research focuses on Jamaican Jews of European descent. While she acknowledges the presence in Jamaica of black Jews of African or Creole origin, whose Judaism emerged from the crucible of modern Jamaican life, she does not take them seriously. It is the affluent Jews of suburban Kingston who spike her interest in the intersection of business, social, and familial ties in the evolution of Jewish society in Jamaica.

A particular view of Caribbean capitalism underlies Holzberg's analysis. She rejects the notion that local corporations serve only as passive clients of metropolitan firms and are essentially inert in their relations with host economies. While she tacitly acknowledges the dependent nature of Jamaican companies, she emphasizes their vitality, their large payrolls, and their influence with government. Jewish participation in the corporate arena evolved gradually over the course of 200 years. A largely Sephardic commu-

nity was present on the island as early as the 1650s. Jewish traders actively promoted British mercantile policies, but suffered systematic discrimination until the emancipation period in the 1830s, when Jews gained civil rights and recognition as whites, and were encouraged to support white political control of the colony. As the Jamaican economy gradually matured, Jews' modest trading houses, family businesses, and simple partnerships eventually became fully developed, public held corporations.

New access to elite prerogatives was paired with long-standing community institutions. The ensemble increased Jewish communal self sufficiency and enabled the entire group to realize collective socioeconomic gains. Holzberg presents a welter of information about various clubs, sodalities, and civic associations. She equates social position with an individual's control over resources; the cultural resources represented by specifically Jewish institutions thus complement those offered by the larger privileged class. Elite standing in the business world is therefore not merely a question of representation on interlocking directorates and professional friendships, but also involves kinship ties and social relations.

A central aspect of modern Jamaican Jewish life has been the slow disintegration of the historic cultural and religious networks, while at the same time, Jewish participation in the larger social and occupational life of the upper class has continued to grow. The phenomenon is due to the traditionally lax and heterodox nature of Jamaican Jewish worship, to intermarriage, emigration, and low birth rates. Holzberg argues that a palpable community identity still exists despite considerable dilution. She continues to see her subjects as an ethnic group rather than as the "class fraction" that they appear to have become.

While her work is scholarly, Holzberg has drawn excessively on the popular North American ideology of immigrant virtue. When she claims that all Jamaicans are immigrants, suggesting that blacks as well as whites came to the island on the same terms, she distorts and belittles the tragic history of Caribbean slavery and racial oppression. The catalogue of charitable contributions made to Jamaican institutions by Jewish philanthropists, while impressive, smacks too much of congratulation. The Jamaican Jewish experience is repeatedly described in terms of "triumph," and "success." Aside from the material prosperity of some community members, the reflective reader must question this terminology in light of the demographic decline afflicting the group.

Elite Jewish life and history are elaborately presented in *Minorities and power*, but the context in which they evolved, the Afro-Caribbean milieu, gets short shrift. In over 250 pages of text, only 18 discuss race questions, contact with other ethnic minorities, the Jews' relationship to slavery and

emancipation, and the psychic alienation felt by many Jamaican whites in the independence era. The Jews in Jamaica have not lived in a social vacuum, and some of the most interesting aspects of their story are unfortunately left out. Nothing is said, for example, of the relationship to the larger Jewish community of those Jews who, as defenders of such men as George Gordon and Marcus Garvey, placed themselves on the side of reform. We learn little of Jewish participation on all sides in Jamaica's stormy partisan politics. The author appears to skirt this issue as a touchy one, even though Jews cannot be identified *en masse* with any single party. The lives of comparatively poor Jews are not examined. The Zionist sympathies of Jamaican Jews are described, but not discussed in terms that clarify their perceptions of their ties to Israel. We are shown Jamaican Jewish women only in their roles as wives and socialites. Holzberg's eagerness to demonstrate the salience of ethnicity in her analysis, coupled with a failure to account fully for the causes of the demise of religiosity among Jamaican Jews, ultimately leads her to confound ethnicity with class, and partially explains why so much significant material is missing.

In recent years Jamaica has not been an idyllic haven for the affluent, but the sharp criticisms of the Jamaican corporate elite mounted by leftist critics have not made ethnicity an issue, nor has popular resentment taken anti-semitic forms. Yet, the author and her subjects see the anger of poor blacks, which is based on their consciousness of the social and economic inequality prevailing in Jamaica, as a potential assault upon Jewry. The irony is further compounded by the diminution of a community which is neither a highly visible nor a viable target.

Holzberg's work is a valuable addition to a growing body of literature about Caribbean minorities. It attempts to tackle difficult and provocative questions about the relationship of ethnicity to class and political power, and while its arguments do not wholly convince and its documentation is less than satisfying, it has provided a useful foundation for continued inquiry.

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De sol a sol: genesis, transformacion, y presencia de los negros en Colombia.
NINA S. DE FRIEDEMANN & JAIME AROCHA, Bogota: Planeta Colombiana
Editorial, 1986. 471 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Surprisingly few works have been written about the history or condition of the large Afro-American population in contemporary Colombia. This situation fortunately has started to change in recent years, thanks to the efforts of scholars such as Orlando Fals-Borda and the authors of the present book.

De sol a sol is a welcome addition to the bibliography of works on Afro-Americans in Colombia. As pleasant to read as it is insightful and informative, this book well deserves a wide distribution among Afro-Americanists, anthropologists, historians, and, most importantly, Colombians. For as the authors note in their introductory essay, the contribution of Afro-Americans to the formation of contemporary Colombia is not at all summed up either by the popular picture of "drums, dance, magic and voodoo" (p. 18), or by the sordid picture of passive black slaves groaning under three centuries of colonial domination. While both images tell part of the story, they are views from outside, and seriously inadequate. As with Afro-American populations everywhere in the New World, the true story is one of how new cultures were developed and continue to flourish in the very midst of an oppressive structure that historically has seemed only to shatter creativity and culture.

De sol a sol presents thirty-nine "true stories" about Colombia's black populations. These range from short historical vignettes of the African kingdoms which later provided the slaves sent to Colombia, such as a brief description of Ibn Battuta's 14th century travels through West Africa, to re-tellings of historical accounts of the Columbian slave trade, to first-hand reports from their own extensive field experience. The authors, both of whom have published extensively on Colombia's Afro-Americans, judiciously and effectively use poetry, songs, extracts from conversation, photographs, incantations and oral histories to complement their own, well-written narrative.

The creative exposition has its high and low points. On the positive side, the author's use of a variety of sources not only provides a more immediate voice for their subjects, but it also allows the reader to see some of the evidence, first-hand, on which they base their interpretations. The insistent use of the first person keeps a rein on the tendency inherent in this genre to over-generalize without sufficient information. While the authors are always present, the semi-autobiographical exposition does not degenerate into a self-obsessed discourse of "reflections upon last night's dinner party" as happens all too frequently in so-called post-modern ethnography. Finally the expository style makes for an extremely readable work. On the negative side,

indications of scale and extent rarely appear. It should also be pointed out that the authors do a fairly good job of separating their value judgements from those of their informants without cluttering the narratives with "he said" and "she thought to herself." At times, however, they assume rather than demonstrate a congruence between their informants' and their own critical categories.

Following a joint introduction by the authors, the book is divided into seven broad subgroupings, each comprising several short pieces written by one or the other of the authors. These begin with descriptions of the "legendary empires" in West and Central Africa, continue on into the slave trade in Africa and the transatlantic crossing, and then portray life under (and against) the slave regime in the Colony. The book moves smoothly into the ethnography of contemporary Colombia, drawing upon the authors' fieldwork among isolated coastal settlements in southwest Colombia, semi-proletarians in the Cauca Valley, and the Carnaval in Barranquilla, on the Atlantic coast. The authors do an admirable job of deploying their own data along with accounts drawn from other sources, but inevitably one result of their success in portraying the richness and diversity of Colombian culture is to underscore the tremendous need for more in-depth historically informed field studies.

Case material taken from various periods illustrates the interplay between particular social forms and larger political and economic changes that creates culture. An example of this is their treatment of recurrent ritual themes, and in particular, the devil. Pointing out *possible* correspondences in the African pantheon for many traits associated with the Christian devil, the authors note how certain resemblances (e.g., the "Trickster") were emphasized while others were gradually forgotten once in America. Both governing and governed participated in this constant ideological ferment, albeit with differing emphases and successes. It is no surprise that under the cruelties of slavery the religious heroes of the slaveowners soon came to be associated with supreme evil. Often slaveowners, for example, rather than specify a precise number of whiplashes, would simply have the slave beaten for the time it took them to recite a rosary – hardly a good sales technique for rosaries. Satan, presented through catechism, morality plays, and preaching as the incarnation of evil, became the patron saint of the slave's rebellion, and inspiration for revenge against oppression; to this day a cane cutter will ask the devil's help in making his employer's fields sterile (p. 198). The devil and his assistants are central, if ambiguous figures in Carnaval, at times representing the colonial (and contemporary) authorities, and at other times representing the people themselves (pp. 424-431). As de Friedemann and Arocha imply, "untangling" the different meanings attached to the devil figures is impossible without com-

prehending the social and historical background which the participants have brought and bring to a ritual whose relation to current events is both indirect and changing. Furthermore, one can only agree with their suggestion that if culture is best seen as a historically negotiated process, what *resources* people have to negotiate with, and what they are negotiating *about* are critical issues.

De sol a sol is not without flaws. The most glaring of these is the notable absence after the introduction of any sustained discussion of racism in contemporary Colombia, although in a number of places the authors give a striking picture of the ethnocentrism and racism of foreigners working in the country. There seems to be an implicit assumption that domestic racism is just a variant of national and international class conflict. Such a view is as unjustified for Afro-Americans in Latin America as it was for native Americans, for whom (and by whom) it is no longer accepted. While class is undoubtedly a key building block of ethnicity, ethnicity cannot be simply reduced to class. The popular idea that "money whitens" (Solaun, M. E. Velez and C. Smith, 1987, p. 18) in Latin America seems to be a peculiarly white view (as well as one that contradicts what it claims to illustrate). Indeed, the introductory essay includes a quote from a 1981 high school textbook in geography which states that "[...] The Black, originating in African Guinea, is generally well muscled and tall [...] melancholy, lacking initiative, lazy, indolent . . ." (p. 42). In short, given the author's awareness of the problem, their failure to discuss its modalities, even in their own reflections upon their acceptance into black communities, is not easily explained.

A related problem arises with the treatment, or rather its lack, of internal stratification and the alliances between dominators and dominated. It may well be that these issues cannot be adequately addressed given the paucity of information available, but they clearly form part of that same forgotten past which the authors strive to uncover.

The book's production is, on the whole, good. Photographic reproductions are clear, the type is readable, and there is a useful glossary, index, and general bibliography at the end. It is, therefore, all the more surprising to find sloppy referencing. Not only are there many misspellings of names and titles – a minor though annoying crime – but too many references cited in the text are not found in either the chapter bibliographies or the general bibliography. This is all the more unfortunate because this book is sure to stimulate many readers to delve further into the subject.

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Scenes from the history of the Portuguese in Guyana. MARY NOEL MENEZES.
London: Sister M.N. Menezes, RSM, 1986. vii + 175 pp.

This book of select historical documents, the by-product of a major research project by the author on the Portuguese in Guyana, was published to commemorate 150 years of Portuguese presence in that country. Dedicated to the original migrants, it is intended mainly to inform a Guyanese readership of the achievements of the Portuguese and their contribution to life in Guyana. But its value for a wider, more scholarly readership should not be underestimated, as it offers very useful historical data and analytical insights about the activities and role of this ethnic group.

The book is well structured and covers all aspects of Portuguese migration to and life in Guyana during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Individual chapters/sections are devoted to the factors which promoted their migration, and the reaction in Madeira; their involvement in the economic life of Guyana, especially commerce; their religious and secular culture; their specific customs. The author also lists those Portuguese who over the 150 years covered achieved prominence in various spheres of Guyanese national life.

The selected documents come from a wide variety of archival materials obtained in Guyana, Britain and Madeira. The Madeiran records in particular add fresh and very revealing data about the Portuguese migration and the commercial connection between Madeira and Guyana. The author also makes good use of local records written in Portuguese, which enables her to present a distinctly Portuguese perspective and serves to whet one's appetite in anticipation for her bigger work. Further, apart from providing invaluable information on the Portuguese *per se*, the documents (especially the pictures, illustrations and advertisements) also say a great deal about life in general in Guyana during the 150 years under review.

In addition to the general "Introduction," each chapter of documents is preceded by a commentary which explains and analyzes the issues dealt with in the documents. This is very helpful to the general reader while it enables the professional historian to understand some of the considerations behind the process of selectivity. In this regard, Menezes has managed to do two things: firstly, to present a uniquely Portuguese perspective; and, secondly, to highlight the most positive aspects of Portuguese life.

This success, however, means that the book is not as objective as might appear at first sight. It is not so much how the documents have been treated, but how they have been selected. The omissions are as important as the inclusions, and would have shed a radically different light on Portuguese activity in Guyana than that presented in the book. Indeed, although the Portuguese were among the most controversial immigrants in Guyana, we only get brief glimpses of those controversies from this book. Very little attention is paid to relations between them and the host society. The author does refer to the Creoles' growing animosity toward the Portuguese, which occasionally led to violence, but very few of the documents focus on this aspect of Portuguese life. Where the author deals with Portuguese-Creole relations, she argues that they were soured by Creole jealousy of Portuguese economic success in the retail trade, which came about largely by a combination of cultural tradition and sheer hard work. Although the documentary evidence points to the Portuguese obtaining considerable support from the dominant white merchants, the author appears to downplay this. The tragedy is that her explanations seem to reflect the biases of the colonial officialdom.

This perspective reduces the Creole attitude to an irrational and senseless display of animosity of which the Portuguese were the hapless victims. Allegedly, the Portuguese were repaid for their hard work, superior business acumen, and even generosity towards poor customers by wanton violence against their property. Thus "as their commercial progress and success grew so did creole jealousy and animosity . . ." (p. 31). The only document which focuses on Portuguese business practices is one from a Portuguese newspaper, *The Watchman*, which paints them as philanthropic businessmen.

The idea that Creole attitudes were lacking foundation is further promoted by the claim that the Portuguese did not in fact monopolize the retail trade as was commonly perceived. Menezes argues that in 1852 only 238 out of 618 hucksters' licences were held by Portuguese. This is certainly true; but that a six percent immigrant minority should control nearly 40 percent of the huckster trade should have struck her as odd. In addition, over half of the shops and stores were owned by Portuguese *immigrants*, and virtually the whole spirit trade was under their total control.

When one adds to those facts the assistance extended to the Portuguese by

white merchants in preference to Creole rivals, and the manner in which they conducted their business with the public (of which the author says nothing), then one can begin to see how "irrational" were Creole grievances, and how "hapless" were the Portuguese. This is not to condone the violence directed against them; but that violence needs to be put into perspective, which is not done here.

Despite that fundamental weakness, the book does add to our knowledge of the Portuguese in Guyana; and in emphasizing their successes and achievements, which are indeed impressive, it provides us with the Portuguese perspective. Once this bent is understood, the book can readily be recommended both for a general and scholarly readership.

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Race, power, and social segmentation in colonial society: Guyana after slavery 1838-1891. BRIAN L. MOORE, New York; Gordon and Breach, 1987. 310 pp. (Cloth US\$ 38.00)

Moribund debates never die; rather, they are appropriated by other scholars seeking inspiration in the discarded or taken for granted assumptions of previous researchers. Sometimes this is a successful endeavor, especially when fresh perspectives are brought to bear on old problems. Frequently, however, the reader is left with the sensation of having just participated in the arduous re-invention of the wheel, and a particularly unimproved version at that. To be successful, a work must demonstrate how the frontiers of theoretical and empirical understanding are advanced beyond the limits set by previous contributions. Failure to satisfy this criterion raises serious questions about Moore's analysis of structural change in post-emancipation Guyana.

The organization of the book replicates the structure of the society Moore attempts to portray. Following an introduction elaborating competing theories of pluralism and stratification in composite societies, the reader is led through sections on "White Minority Dominance", "The Blacks and Coloureds in Society", and "The Incorporation of Immigrants", before a concluding section entitled "The Organization and Structure of the Total Society."

The sections are joined together by a continuous evaluation of how the Guyanese data relate to the pluralist and stratification models.

In Moore's view, the pluralist position, best exemplified by M.G. Smith, refers to a society characterized by extreme institutional differentiation, rigidly segmented along racial/cultural lines, held together by coercion and asymmetrical economic interdependence. This is contrasted with stratification theory, typified by R.T. Smith, which internally differentiates a society based on greater or lesser integration around a common system of shared values. Moore sees these two positions as poles on a continuum and endeavors to determine where Guyana may be placed. While he claims that neither position is sufficient unto itself and that a society can have features of each, Moore's framing of the problem demonstrates a predisposition for the plural model.

Moore's hypothesis is that race was *the* primary factor of social segmentation in post-emancipation Guyana. He is apparently motivated by what he sees as a devaluation of the race factor in favor of class in recent interpretations of Guyanese history by Adamson (1972) and Rodney (1981). This is an unfortunate strategy for in seeking a determinant, independent role for race. Moore obscures the complex interrelation of race *and* class factors, as well as veiling the connections between race and culture.

Moore's data provide support for a prominent, but not pre-eminent, role for race. Indeed, in his first chapter, Moore's conclusions are equivocal. Planter hegemony was shown to be institutionalized through denial of enfranchisement of the non-white majority. High property and literacy qualifications served to exclude the majority without recourse to overtly racial criteria. Here, issues of race and class are conjoined. In the second chapter, Moore argues that race attained its pre-eminent role in part because the imperial government used it to justify intervention in the affairs of the colony. This view of imperial action is characteristic of the selective vision Moore brings to his analysis. Racial considerations can be seen as part of a more general attempt to maintain a socio-economic order that linked one's class with one's race; and this order underwent significant change during the period under analysis. By Moore's own admission, race was becoming less of a barrier to participation in the public domain. The gradual emergence of a biracial middle class raises questions in talking about the pre-eminence of race above and beyond all other social factors.

There is no question, though, that race, in conjunction with culture and class, was a significant social divisor. In the ensuing chapters, Moore demonstrates how the majority of the non-white population remained "second-class" subjects. The introduction of Portuguese, Indian, and Chinese immigrants created a complex cultural milieu which combined features of

class-stratified and pluralist societies. Moore argues these groups were differentially incorporated into Guyanese society and remained extremely separated from each other save in the economic sphere. He contests Rodney's claim as to the extent of cultural convergence between these racially-defined sectors. Interculturation, he claims, was limited to the "peripheral" aspects of cultural life – food, dress, participation in festivals, etc., as opposed to core aspects like marriage and religion. Nonetheless, the sharing of these aspects of culture point to interaction not limited to the economic domain. Moreover, throughout the period in question possibilities for occupational and status mobility, combined with missionization, education, and subjection to similar sorts of work experience, were altering the cultures of the immigrant groups. A concern for defining the integrity of cultural institutions limits recognition of the gradual, sometimes discontinuous, process of cultural synthesis.

Moore promises fresh new insights on post-emancipation Guyana but does not deliver, owing, in part, to his reluctance to venture outside of the limited confines of the debate between proponents of pluralism and stratification theory. His conclusion – first, that neither theory is sufficient unto itself nor mutually exclusive (societies can have elements of both in unique and hybrid permutations) and, second, that there is a tendency for societies to move from pluralist to class-stratified – are certainly not novel. Similar observations were made over a decade ago and, more recently, by Drummond (1980). Such conclusions call into question the utility of the theoretical framework itself. Moore's position is no less nebulous than that of Van den Berghe (1967) whom he so resoundingly criticizes.

Moore's choice of theory takes away from a timely and commendable aim of the book – the introduction of social science theory or what he refers to as "the new social history" into the conservative, atheoretical historiography of the English-speaking Caribbean. Moore's intended audience seems to be those historians who view the use of theories borrowed from the social sciences with skepticism. This book, unfortunately, will give them some ill-founded reassurance.

Moore's notion of "the new social history" is exceedingly vague; no examples are cited of empirical work. Moore seems to equate the new history with the adoption of any theory from the social sciences, the adding of yet another tool to the historian's analytical kit. This is an impoverished notion of a trend in historical research which, to this reader, speaks of a more sophisticated ensemble of ideas and practices: the depiction of *mentalités*, the use of oral accounts, the representation of subordinate and long-silenced voices, and experimentation with new techniques of presentation, among others. Examples in this vein include the work of Thompson (1966), Ladurie (1978), and Ginzburg (1980).

While promising in intent, this book contributes little that is new to our understanding of Guyana and the nature of multiethnic societies. Indeed, if there are any lessons to be drawn from the particular debate in which Moore invested so much, it is that the delineation of race or class by themselves as primary factors is a misleading and partial enterprise. What are needed are not resurrections of ideal classificatory schemes, but new ways of conceptualizing and representing process in complex and contradictory social realities.

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White by definition: social classification in Creole Louisiana. VIRGINIA R. DOMINGUEZ. Rutgers, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1986. xviii + 325 pp. (Cloth US \$28.95)

This is a vitally important study of the social construction of ethnic identity in a region long prone to relegate this, one of its central preoccupations, to the

arbitration of folk-mystery. The work brims with insights and draws implications that reach far beyond the case study of "the conscious manipulation of identity throughout the history of Louisiana" (p. xviii). The research base is representative, and skillfully interpreted. The theoretical framework integrates conventional historical data with the findings of the author's 1970's fieldwork, eliciting a highly original, heuristically provocative account of how a society creates, adjusts, and transforms socio-ethnic categories in response to changing political exigencies.

The first of three parts examines the state supreme court's last century and a half of decisions affecting the determination of racial classification. Judgments were influenced by the folkloric notion that popular colonial usages such as "métis," "mulâtre," "créole" or "nègre," represented actual approximations of biological "fact" – that the metaphor of "blood" served as a measure of actual ancestry. The author's astute analysis of these decisions reveals the utility of scientifically questionable racial categorizations as stratagems of class hegemony.

The succeeding two sections treat the evolving meaning and social applications of the term "creole," from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. This is the first scholarly attempt to clarify empirically the terms of the ongoing creole discourse which the local press, agitating creoles and confounding outsiders, has enlivened for over a century. The author contends that the "creole" label acquired significance in the antebellum period only when the colonial descendants saw themselves swamped by Anglo-American – and, later, European immigrants – who challenged their economic and political grip. With the Civil War, the creoles lost their last vestige of status – their estates – and with Reconstruction [1865-77] watched the state legislature pass into the hands of Yankee and colored rivals, the latter also styling themselves "creoles." As colored creoles then distanced themselves from the mass of emancipated slaves, white creoles sought to disavow their historic affinal connections to their colored countrymen.

The voluntary manipulation of racial categories/identities continued in the 1970's on the heels of the Civil Rights movement, as colored creole youths abandoned their families' historic isolation from the negro underclass and instead emphasized their "black" identity. At the same time, white creole youth began unconsciously to style themselves "French descendants," and frequently displayed confusion about, or ignorance of, the creole discourse.

The work collides at points with other research on this heterogeneous region. The author claims that the term "creole" carried no significant political charge in the Spanish and French periods, but became politicized only later, presumably in the Jacksonian era [pp. 107-108], an assertion based on the absence of the term in the materials of the Favrot Collection at Tulane

– hardly the sole relevant source. Further, by 1812, half of New Orleans' population came directly or indirectly from Saint-Domingue/Haiti where the term was also used. It would have been instructive to consider that *two* population groups used the term in its antebellum variations.

More important, one must cavil at a singularly critical lapse: the book describes the process of individual manipulation of identities within "specific sociohistorical environments," yet does not quite establish the socioeconomic and political context of the "creole discourse." Louisiana was America's first experiment in what became Manifest Destiny, and the way in which the nation-state invested this sub-region with alien, frequently incompatible, geopolitical strategies, directly affected its internal dynamics, including class and ethnic relations. Louisiana early became a problem for northern elites, as evidenced by ongoing conflicts over legal traditions, (e.g. Dargo 1975), the separation of church and state and, of course, the courts' disposition of racial identity. One of the book's major themes is the creole response to American pressure, both official and private, to collapse the ternary racial classification (white, colored, black) into the binary white/black system. But the rearrangement was accomplished only by the forcible imposition of external categories, achieved through the advent of a novel, indeed revolutionary, level of state hegemony.

Hence, crucial here is the point in regional development at which the American power made its initial impact. A proto-nation in the making since the early eighteenth century, Creole Louisiana was preempted from its logical course by the Louisiana Purchase (1803). The local *Moniteur* registered this concern. Resistance there was, as whole families departed for France or the Caribbean, while others retreated into a defeating isolation from the surrounding anarchy. Exogamy was the norm, until the 1840's, but it was practiced on creole terms: European and American suitors entered the ranks of the local society and their bilingual children emerged creole (Lachance 1982). Creole nationality reached its highest development in confrontation with America, but only so long as the *ancienne population* could assimilate newcomers. Once Louisiana was inserted into the blueprint of U.S. state formation, regional political and economic dependency, as much as traditional social exclusivity, came to govern the dynamics of racial perception and consequently race relations and the legal taxonomy of race.

Even applauding Dominquez's method, one must then question certain components of her arguments on the juncture when immigration and Civil War had wrought the eclipse of creole political power. Citing the high frequency of out-marriage, the author seems to suggest that creoles were more a literary contrivance than a social fact, a genuine French-Spanish social formation. Totally endogamous societies are rare in the West. Further,

the book does not assess but, rather, assumes the effects of exogamy on creole domestic culture. The ethnogenesis of creole society as unearthed in local marriage contracts, successions, indentures, baptisms, and private correspondence, as well as analysis of language use, religious practice, cultural production and published and private expressions of self-definition suggest a more complex picture.

As the Phipps case and others examined in this study indicate, the very antiquity of Louisiana society and its tradition of bureaucratic paperwork – both rare in North America – have been turned by the media to the region's disservice. Louisiana is villified as hopelessly antiquated, indeed pernicious, in its retention of the vital statistics and genealogical data that encompass the ethnic origins of the *ancienne population* (Trillin, 1986). *White by definition* enhances that view: it ignores the larger geo-political context and assumes that the popular and official treatment of racial classification emerged solely from the logic of the local sub-system. Throughout the book, we are left with the impression that the "creole discourse" was conditioned simply by the perversity or hapless folly of status-anxious white creoles.

An innovative anthropologist, the author appreciates politics as a fluid expression of class formation and attendant relations, and identifies adroitly the class basis of Louisiana property and family law. But this analysis of the "creole discourse" occludes a significant party, the American state, despite the dominant role it played in the First and Second Reconstructions. This omission results in some interpretive distortion. Dominguez carefully plumbs the gamut of locally-produced accounts, but misses the historians' compliance with the project of the state, which perforce deflected from these works, alternative creole "voices" which, with the exception of Shugg (1939), remain silent to this day. To the degree that the classic works of Martin, Gayarré, Fortier and others present a portrait of black society, it is a picture designed to please northern patrons and American readers. The author somewhat uncritically relies upon the contingent, derivative epistemology of a local historiography framed to serve the ends of nation-building, a *texte de force* largely diverted from the particular experience of the mass of creoles.¹

Still, *White by definition* is important background for those who seek to grapple with the contradictions of neo-ethnicity in post-industrial society. Louisiana's recent "cultural revival" through the national appropriation of creole and cajun cuisine, the promotion of local musics and the production of local films in French, has stimulated a muffled critique – a class analysis not unlike that of Dominguez, though very few writers have grasped the broad, international dynamics that frame and delimit the "neo-creole" discourse. And, *comme il faut* – since the dependence of local, domestic economies upon the petrochemical industry and the intrusion of national, public

racial policy on local ethnicity reify the historic servility of Creole society vis-a-vis nearly three centuries of sequential imperialisms. (Quebecois writers, notably Wadell [1983], are more inclined than Americans to apprehend the local, subjective significance of the creole experience and to join issue with internal colonialism.)

Though *White by definition* bears the mark of the liberal demonology that suffuses American academia and replicates the rhetorical posture of "value-free social science" so effectively punctured by post-structural semiotics, it is nevertheless the work of a thoughtful, serious, highly competent scholar. It breaks hard ground in deconstructing a good deal of popular nonsense that inhibits the ethnographic endeavor, and develops an ingenious model of how to proceed. The distillation of an enormous research effort by the author and several assistants, this study should assume an exalted place in both local and national social science literature. It is attractively presented with utmost rhetorical economy and admirable style and clarity.

NOTES

1. One example is the historiography of the Battle of New Orleans (1815). The creoles' key role in the defeat of British forces at Chalmette is uniformly portrayed as an index of loyalty to the American regime (the fourth in sixty years!) The "official" version is unconcerned that the more skilled troops were refugees from Saint-Domingue who had fought the British occupation of their island for over a decade and for whom the battle merely extended the French Revolution.

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Black politics and urban crisis in Britain. BRIAN D. JACOBS. Cambridge, London, New Rochelle, Melbourne and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1986. vii + 227 pp. (Cloth, US \$44.50)

Perhaps the most relevant starting-point for a discussion of this book is its consistently-argued thesis about the participation of blacks in the USA and in Britain in what Jacobs defines as "the policy process." Put succinctly, he argues that American blacks have been able, through their more effective representation in both local and national politics and by their involvement with community agencies, to produce significant social and political change to their collective benefit. In contrast, blacks in Britain have failed to secure the necessary influence and, therefore, social and economic gains of any real significance. This thesis is defended throughout the study but is most thoroughly examined in the final chapter which analyzes programs for urban renewal. The multi-faceted American projects, involving business, government and minority organizations, are compared with the less-organized and somewhat *ad hoc* British experience. The implication of Jacobs' approach is that the pressures of the 1960s in the USA, the Civil Rights campaigns and the violence of the inner cities, produced a response – from local and national political structures and from business interests as well as from black communities – which went some way to incorporating those black groups into mainstream American society. This liberal view of integrationist politics in the USA contrasts with Britain, where it appears that the disturbances of the 1980s may be beginning a similar process. However, Jacobs does note the different political and economic traditions in Britain which contribute to a less concerted and organized pattern of involvement.

The main focus of the book is the involvement of the black community. In social policy terms, it is the politicization of the community and the formation of a "black constituency" which is significant, since it is the organized sections of the community, those who largely choose to operate within the existing structures, who are involved in the mainstream political process. Although Jacobs notes the divisions within black communities, there is little discussion of how leaders emerge and how representative they are of their "constituencies." It is the interplay of organized groups and both the local and national state which is seen as the important dimensions of this work. The study of policy discussion and formulation in the fields of housing and education is particularly revealing in this context. The example of Wolverhampton is used perhaps as an ideal type and illustrates the variations in attitudes and behaviour of organized groups. On the one hand, the interests of both the ethnic groups (defined in organizational terms) and those in control of the local state appear to have coincided over housing: all sought a

policy of dispersal from run-down inner-city areas. On matters of education, there was pressure from ethnic organizations for the implementation of a more genuine multi-culturalism. The education authorities were more concerned to defend existing strategies, claiming that they were adequate for the needs of the wider community. As well as revealing very clearly the power structures involved in these policy debates, the case study approach illustrates how the minority leaders chose their courses of action. For Jacobs, they responded to a variety of stimuli – pressures within the community, their own ambition and desire to retain control within their constituency (here the chapter on the 1980s “riots” and the responses of community leaders is very interesting), perceptions of the relative rewards for particular strategies and the range of options provided by outside agencies all need to be taken into account. His model emphasizes, therefore, the complexity of forces determining the nature and direction of social policy.

The study does include an overview of race and policy in Britain in national terms but its admittedly brief historical survey neglects important areas. For example, the immigration and nationality legislation of the 1920s and early 30s, particularly that directed at black seamen, their dependants and the black communities of the seaport towns, is ignored. Comments that, by the late 1920s, racists saw Jews as their main target, fail to recognize the political and economic pressures directed at the black population during the depressed inter-war years. In addition, the suggestion that black organisations appear, in a meaningful sense, only after the 1958 disturbances and the increased politization of the immigration debate surely devalues the contribution of groups such as the League of Coloured Peoples and others which Fryer (1984) and Ramdin (1987) have recently drawn to the attention. The more recent material would add a useful dimension to this survey.

The book touches on many significant aspects of national and local politics in Britain and on dimensions of the race question. It offers a valuable synthesis of diverse sources, particularly in the area of the construction and implementation of inner-city and urban programs and their attempts to engage and involve ethnic communities. There is, however, little sense of debate within its pages. The author himself defines the purpose of the study as “to describe the pattern of black political activity in the policy process and with regard to the structures of administration” (pp. 20-21). He expresses the hope that “objectivity will be maintained” in the discussion and that “a perspective and analytical framework free from partisan comment” will be provided. Without wishing to reconstruct here the debate about value-free social science (or any other discipline), this is surely at best a naive wish. In attempting such a presentation, the author extracts any dynamism, any indication of the forces of interaction, from his analysis and certainly this

reader was often left with little sense of what had produced the divergent viewpoints and behavior described. Possibly the inclusion of such material would have constituted a different book and therefore such judgements will be deemed invalid. However, some injection of such feelings would surely have done a service to the volume without detracting from its stated descriptive function.

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Race and labour in twentieth-century Britain, KENNETH LUNN (ed.), London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1985. 186 pp. (Cloth UK £19.50, US \$29.50. Paper UK £9.50, US \$14.95)

Kenneth Lunn makes the important point that much of the history of black minorities in Britain has been written without due regard to the economic and labor-market conditions that impinge upon the formation of racist attitudes and ideologies. The attention paid in this volume to those aspects of the labor-market which have historically conditioned racist ideas and practises is therefore welcome, particularly as it provides a relatively wide-ranging view of the position of minorities set within the context of institutionalized racism and the impact of colonialism.

In establishing a better understanding of the "immigrant experience," the volume concentrates upon the relationship between racism and the entry of minorities into a domestic labor-market which was ill-equipped to provide a smooth transition, particularly for Black and Asian workers, into the main industrial and service sectors. During the pre-1914 period, in the absence of any concerted public policy to facilitate the integration of migrants, this produced antagonisms between minority and white workers which were reflected within the trade unions and other labor organizations. After World

War I, continued neglect of minority interests appeared to consolidate racist perceptions as British governments legislated measures to restrict and more effectively control their entry.

To illustrate this process, the contributors to this volume examine a number of local situations by way of highly informative case-studies. In each case the focus is upon the role of black, Asian and other minorities in circumstances where they have been discriminated against on the basis of their alien status or because of their distinctive racial or national characteristics. Therefore, the case-studies relate specifically to blacks "as immigrants" rather than "as blacks" in a particular communal sense. The underlying analytical approach emphasizes ideological, social and economic responses within the white working class, commonly acting in a defensive manner against what they perceived as the incursions made by minorities into their traditional labor-market strongholds.

However, the authors are aware that generalizations about native British workers' responses are to be made with caution, and this is highlighted in studies which point to some notable cases of black/white solidarity in certain industries. Indeed, it is argued that minorities often provided the spur to the positive development of strong and united union organizations. For example, before 1914, the Lithuanians actually helped to strengthen the Scottish miners' union, and Spanish miners contributed to the heightening of labor solidarity in Wales as "imported" socialist doctrines impacted upon the more parochial perceptions of indigenous workers. In this context, racism and national chauvinism are viewed as phenomena which are not inevitable, in spite of the increased competition among workers and the effects of economic recessions and unemployment.

In her study of the 1919 Glasgow race riots, Jenkinson examines the implications of more generalized manifestations of social conflict involving immigrant workers. During this period, blacks tended to cluster in Britain's seaports, being employed in shipping and associated industries. Jenkinson graphically describes the tensions between workers arising from the post-War unemployment, wage cutting and the vulnerability of blacks within their small port communities.

Evans points to similar pressures in the Welsh port city of Cardiff during the inter-War period. He examines the connection between the plight of West Indian and Arab minorities and the implications of the "end of Empire" period which simultaneously provided conditions conducive to racism and to the consolidation of a new consciousness among an emerging black intelligentsia. Many blacks were no longer prepared to be excluded from British society and were becoming increasingly aware of the need to promote the more effective articulation of black demands and interests. Their aspirations

were, however, frustrated by resistance to ideas of racial equality by politicians and government departments. This also seems to have included a noticeable silence on race-related issues by the Labour Party, presumably because it was concerned not to antagonize those sections of the trade union movement which were countenancing racism in its various forms.

Sherwood emphasizes the importance of institutionalized racism in central and local governments. His study effectively reinforces the analysis made in connection with state responses to the riots in the seaports where, according to the argument developed, the police and other authorities acted in defence of social order rather than minority rights. Moreover, "structured" racism, as a characteristic of government policies on race and immigration control, is identified as crucial in developing a contextual understanding of measures taken after 1945. These reflected both a desire to import labor from Asia and the West Indies to overcome shortages in key industries and an intention to apply restrictionist regulations which have been widely criticized for their racially discriminatory provisions.

Sherwood and other contributors seem to support the contention that immigrants were the victims of such double-edged policies. This implied that minority workers were long regarded by governments as necessary to the production of wealth but also as an unfortunate addition to Britain's increasingly fragile social infrastructure. In this situation, minorities were rarely provided with the opportunities to enable them to become fully integrated into society and were left with the constant reminder that they were regarded as "aliens" from lands afar.

Interestingly, this theme may help to explain why "second generation" Afro-Caribbean and Asian youths born in Britain are still regarded by many white workers as potential subjects for repatriation to the lands of their parent's origin. The difficulties which blacks have in overcoming such prejudice may have been one contributory element producing the inner-city riots in 1981 and 1985 when the sense of "alienation" featured strongly in the creation of social tensions within minority communities. Although the volume does not directly address such questions, the linkage between the earlier outbreaks of racism and the 1980's disorders is a subject tantalizingly provoked in this reviewer's mind as one deserving further investigation.

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Cut 'n' mix: culture, identity and Caribbean music. DICK HEBDIGE. New York: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1987. 177 pp. (Cloth US \$35.00, Paper US \$10.95)

"Cut 'n' mix," a pop music coinage referring to editing techniques commonly used by sound engineers of the 1980's, is Dick Hebdige's metaphor for the ever accelerating process of musical and cultural interpenetration taking place as Caribbean (and other Afro-American) musics continue to sweep across Britain and other parts of the globe. Hebdige, a lecturer in Communications at the University of London, began to sketch out the earlier rumblings of this confrontation in *Subculture: the meaning of style* (Hebdige 1979, reviewed in *NWIG*, vol. 57), a structuralist/semiotic analysis of developments in British urban youth culture during the last few decades. In the book reviewed here, he zeroes in and makes the Caribbean impact his central theme. Replacing the thick, sometimes abstruse, prose of his earlier study with an easy, fast-paced style savoring of pop music journalism, he guides us on a panoramic tour of the constantly shifting cultural spaces occupied by Caribbean popular music as it has sent out offshoots and planted new roots in Britain.

For Hebdige, "cut 'n' mix" is also a literary device, a guiding thematic principle. Like much of the music he discusses, his book is the result of a splicing together of diverse materials. Part One, entitled "Original Cut", was written in 1979, and focuses on the origins and historical development of Caribbean music (dealing, in fact, almost exclusively with Jamaican music, but with one brief chapter on Trinidadian styles). Part Two, "Dub Version", dates from 1982, and tells the story of the "Two Tone" movement, a brief liaison between black and white (Jamaican and British) musicians and styles, whose music unexpectedly invaded the British pop charts during the late 1970's. The third, and final section, called "Club Mix", was composed in 1986, and offers an update on the latest developments in Kingston, New York, and especially, London, showing that the ping-pong effect caused by jet-age and electronic communication continues to complicate the process of musical exchange.

The first thing about this book that one might take issue with is its sub-title, "Culture, identity and Caribbean music." The book concentrates almost exclusively on Jamaican music, ignoring other Caribbean styles such as salsa and, most recently, French Antillean zouk, even though the latter also intimately bound up with the issues of identity and cultural interpenetration that interest Hebdige. But the author readily confesses near the beginning (p. 16) that the title is misleading, since he felt compelled to confine himself primarily to the single music, namely Jamaican reggae, with which he most

closely identifies and which he knows best. In fact, Hebdige inserts good-natured disclaimers such as this at several points in the text, reminding readers, for example, that Caribbean music is so flexible and "slippery," so multifarious and rapidly changing, that no single account, certainly not his own, should be seen as truly authoritative. Most importantly, he admits, with admirable frankness and no apologies, that he has never been to the Caribbean, that everything he knows about Caribbean music he has "learned from listening to it on record and tape, by going to see it played and performed, by talking to other people or by reading about it" (p. 14).

Such candid admissions perhaps make it easier to forgive the weaknesses of the first section of the book (at 82 pages, by far the longest section). Concerned primarily with the historical development of Jamaican music, Part One is characterized by the same shallowness, oft-repeated clichés, and inaccuracies plaguing much of past scholarship on traditional Jamaican music. This is not surprising, given that it was written in 1979, and given Hebdige's almost total reliance on a limited number of flawed sources. But the quality improves as the text moves forward in time, documenting the different stages through which Jamaican urban popular music has passed. By the time we have crossed the Atlantic and become witness to the growth of a British reggae scene, it becomes evident that the author is now on more familiar ground. This progression continues through the last two sections, which get better chapter by chapter, as Hebdige moves farther away from armchair speculation about Jamaican culture and closer to his personal experience with reggae in Britain. "Club Mix," the last section, is particularly interesting, outlining some of the latest developments in reggae, ranging from female-oriented reggae, "lover's rock," and slack style" to the British "fast style" of deejaying and the connections between reggae, rap, and hip-hop.

Although not always displaying high standards of scholarship, *Cut 'n' mix* is still a book well worth reading, for Hebdige is an acutely perceptive observer and has a good feel for the aesthetics of Caribbean music. His discussion of what he calls "versioning" (the Jamaican practice of treating each piece of music as a departure point for innumerable new variations) as something shared by *all* Afro-American musics is but one example of this (pp. 12-16). That one who has never set foot on Jamaican (or Caribbean) soil, and who has no family ties to the Caribbean, could produce such an insightful, if uneven, study suggests the degree to which the cultural interpenetration documented by Hebdige has already advanced. When covering the British scene, Hebdige is able to write to some extent as an "insider," for he inhabits a "Caribbeanized" society.

Cut 'n' mix is an important book, if only because it represents a needed addition to the all too scanty literature treating the acculturation of white

Americans and Europeans to Afro-American cultural norms and forms, rather than the other way around (cf. Leonard 1962, Russell 1970, Bane 1982). In his concluding remarks, Hebdige leaves us with the lesson of this book: questions of identity are no more clear-cut for many white Britons of the 1980's than for the black and brown ex-colonials now sharing their cultural, if not always physical, space. The book ends with a telling quote from a white (half Scottish/half Irish) reggae fan interviewed in Birmingham:

... there's no such thing as 'England' any more... welcome to India brothers! This is the Caribbean!... Nigeria!... There is no England, man... who am I?... Tell me who do I belong to? They criticise me, the good old England... You know I was brought up with blacks, Pakistanis, Africans, Asians, everything, you name it... who do I belong to?... we was not born in 'England'. We were born here, man. It's our right. That's the way I see it (p. 159).

To this closing statement Hebdige can only add: "I can't top that. I won't even try." Nor will I.

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The black saturnalia: conflict and its ritual expression on British West Indian slave plantations. ROBERT DIRKS. Gainesville, FL.: University of Florida Press, Monographs in Social Sciences No. 72. xvii + 228 pp. (Paper U.S. \$18.00).

In the British West Indies during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, December brought an extraordinary slave holiday. It had nothing to do with the Nativity, although it lasted from December 24th to 26th. The plantation routine was suspended and servitude interrupted. A show of misrule prevailed as slaves took over their masters' houses, danced with their masters and mistresses, and demanded and received food and spirits. Out on the streets, costumed throngs roved as they pleased and joined in elaborate performances. The masters did not suppress this holiday; they joined it.

As folklore alone the revels are intriguing, syncretized from European and African sources into an indigenous, newly-created, Afro-Caribbean cultural phenomenon that incorporated whites as well as blacks. But Dirks shows that they were more than a creative and powerful folk tradition. They were even more than the obvious rituals of rebellion and institutionalized releases of aggression. Using the methodology of cultural ecology Dirks embeds the Christmas revels in the matrix of the sugar economy and plantation regime. The black saturnalia was part of the whole plantation adaptation in which blacks and whites, occupying separate niches, struggled among themselves and with each other for limited resources in a specialized system of land use and export agriculture.

Dirks's interpretation of the revels is based on the nature and timing of the annual food and nutrition cycle on British West Indian plantations. For most of the year, he demonstrates, the slaves suffered chronic hunger and severe nutritional deficits. Their near-starvation was the direct consequence of stingy food allowances, excessive work demands, and the impossibility of slaves' supplying the deficits through their own spare-time efforts, struggle as they might. By December slaves were ill and emaciated. But December was also the time when the annual shipping cycle brought food imports, and perhaps more important, it was the beginning of crop time, when slaves could restore their calorie losses by sucking on sugarcane. The quick infusion of calories provided reserves for the rest of the year.

But sudden nutritional infusion has another effect: it induces explosive excitement in starving populations. This fact, which Dirks documents with comparative materials, may explain why December was the month of slave revolts. Of seventy uprisings mentioned in the literature, 37, or more than half, occurred in that month. This calorie-fueled excitement was channeled, Dirks argues, into the riotous and potentially dangerous saturnalia, with its

misrule, the invasion of planters' houses, and role reversals. Supporting and joining this saturnalia was less dangerous to the planter class than trying to suppress it. The few masters who had ever denied the slaves their holiday did not survive to repeat the act, and served as examples to their fellows. The slaves successfully insisted on their customary right to a riotous holiday, and the masters conformed.

An interpretation that incorporates the saturnalia into the whole human-made plantation ecosystem is original and welcome, as is Dirks's exposure of the relationship between slave revolts and the Christmas revels. But a genuinely ecological interpretation means something more inclusive and complex than the materialist reduction of a flamboyant cultural phenomenon to matters of calories, crops and shipping cycles. History, cultural meanings, and ideology are as much a part of human adaptations as are productive and economic factors, and the conjunction of agricultural and economic events is only a partial explanation of this cultural flowering. European dances and December festivals, African performance, the expression of protest, and other elements all entered the saturnalia in a convergence of the historical, symbolic, and economic. Dirks is surely aware of these complexities, and I wish he had done more with them. But since a reviewer's wishes shouldn't occupy an author's allotted space, let us look further at what Dirks has in fact done.

Faced with scattered and meager sources, Dirks consciously collapses eighty years (about 1750 to about 1830) into a flat period, and compacts the sundry British West Indian islands into a single place. All of the material gleaned from published and manuscript sources from those years and those islands he treats as a body of synchronic data about a single society. This procedure will probably stir more doubts among historians than among anthropologists, since his flattened period conforms neither to any *longue durée* or conventional periodization, and his consolidated society ignores historical differences while it emphasizes the gross, readily observable economic commonalities, which are certainly real enough. The more usual practice is of course to generalize from an accumulation of particular cases. Since that was impossible, I for one go willingly along with Dirks, since the alternative would have been no synthesis at all.

Just as his methodology is both strength and weakness, so are his sources. He has done a magnificent job of mining the published sources contemporaneous with his period—diaries, travelers' accounts, handbooks for planters, histories, etc. This reliance on contemporaneous observation and commentary does not allow for much critical reading and skepticism. Nevertheless, the range of times and places from which the generally agreeing sources come is at least some confirmation of their useability. Dirks also uses manuscript

sources, but does little to integrate a third kind of material- -the recent scholarship on slavery and the plantation - into his account.

Though some will question both interpretive framework and methodology, there can be no question about Dirks's synthesizing ability. Much of what we read in his book we already knew, but he is very successful in organizing and bringing to life information on important topics: the annual plantation cycle; the nature of the cane garden; the slaves' daily scramble for survival; and of course the saturnalia itself. He is most lively when he deals with new and original material, especially concerning slave diet, health, and mortality. He has achieved a book that is useful and provocative for specialists as well as accessible and interesting for students.

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The Kuna gathering: contemporary village politics in Panama. JAMES HOWE. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1986. xvi + 326 pp. (Cloth US \$30.00)

"The Kuna . . . like to talk politics" (p. xi) and the author has been concerned with both the Kuna and their politics from many years. Siting himself mainly in two villages but also using material from other areas and arguing for the general applicability of his findings, Howe anchors his book on two indigenous and vibrant forms of village meeting - the singing and the talking gathering. After a brief historical account of the Kuna, Howe details a "representative" gathering of each kind and then proceeds, with encyclopaedic fervour, to discuss almost every topic which has concerned political anthropologists, and political scientists, for the past five decades.

He first describes the singing gathering in a way which informs subsequent chapters. The singing or "the sacred gathering . . . provides . . . a foundation . . . for the leadership hierarchy, an idiom for . . . political action, a key set of symbols of and about politics, a medium of socialization to political life, and a basis for local and regional solidarity" (p. 31). There follows a chapter on the legitimating nature of political symbols, metaphor and cosmology for leadership, internal relations and external issues; a chapter on the functions of Kuna chiefs and the bases of their authority and influence; a chapter describing the rest of the village governmental hierarchy; and finally, a

chapter on public works and communal labor. All these aspects of Kuna polity are related, for Howe, to a Durkheimian notion of local solidarity, based on symbols and experienced through the singing gathering.

Howe recognized seeming anomalies in this formulation. For example, values "are ambiguous as well as complex, since it is not always clear how the generalities of the communal ethic apply to specifics" (p. 65). Or, as Howe makes clear, chiefs have only tenuous authority – they are often overruled by a majority and even thrown out of offices in a society in which equality is highly valued. Or, in communal labor, "absenteeism provokes a political crisis . . . all over San Blas" (p. 147). Howe sees such problems, as those which arise in getting communal work done, as "a kind of expectable noise in the system, equivalent to Durkheim's normal deviance . . . This . . . should [not] blind us to their overall success at getting things done" (p. 149).

This kind of analysis which highlights important data and then dismisses them in favor of an overarching consensual and functionalist framework, is found in the second part of the book which takes off from a transcript of a talking gathering. Howe uses this to focus on "the dynamics of politics and politiking" (p. 151). Thus, in a chapter on "influence and alignment," we learn that there are "a core" of influential men and that there are shifting alignments of support which affect public decision-making. These alignments, however, are "issue-specific" and "best explained by the variety and assortment of interests" (p. 190). Therefore, according to Howe, the Kuna do not have factions; they have "a process by which consensus is formed" (p. 192). In the next chapter, on Process and Outcome, this issue is explored and we learn that "the collective nature of decision making is what deserves most emphasis" (p. 199). Therefore, Howe mentions but dismisses the facts that there can be a "threat of violence", "threats of unilateral action" (p. 200), "overt conflict and schism," a "ganging up on chiefs" or a dismissal of task leaders (p. 201). Instead he concentrates on "the success" of communal decision-making in both internal matters and external encounters.

The talking gathering also "adjudicates" inter-personal disputes and public offenses – impartially (except for women and young men) – while simultaneously preventing escalation (Chapter 10). It does so by giving "precedence to general harmony" (p. 222). Yet Howe recognizes the existence of village fission, "the breakdown of everyday politics," a "kind of major conflict that tears communities apart" (p. 236). Using the ten known cases from the twentieth century, Howe looks for their commonalities. He is concerned to show that such situations do not follow pre-determined lines of cleavage in village organization. He therefore confines his analysis to discovering their causes: population increase, dissatisfaction with communal labor, disputes over chiefs, and the emergence of alternate and competing values, parties or

arenas – often associated with influences from the outside (missions, political parties). In these contexts, Howe suggests that village fission results from “policy disagreements,” not from escalations in private disputes or inequalities and class tensions (p. 236). From the reader’s perspective, these are difficult and rather arbitrary distinctions to maintain especially since Howe concludes that “rancorous conflict and the everyday stuff of Kuna politics differ . . . in magnitude rather than in kind” (p. 249).

Overall, Kuna politics are complex and Howe shows a deep respect for the people and their politics. However, the book is plagued by a functionalist interpretation which fails to integrate, in any coherent way, this complexity. Why? Throughout the book, Howe is concerned to link his findings with previous studies of politics. In fact, he uses such studies to set the agenda for his own work. However, the political studies which he selects are a few of the well-known oldies. He ignores the criticisms which have been made of them, he simplifies the complexity of their arguments to a few lines, and he omits a wealth of analytical ethnography from other culture areas which comprise, in fact, the essential character – both contemporary and past – of political anthropology. Having set up his straw men, Howe sets out to prove that both the Kuna and his analysis are superior. Why? Because, according to Howe, political analysts always study individuals, conflict, and power; the Kuna and Howe, however, are into communal consensus. Thus Howe tries to cover, like an introductory text, all aspects of politics (formal hierarchies, symbols, decision-making, dispute settlement, etc.) in order to show that – despite the presence of inequality, influential men, schisms, factionalism, etc. – the Kuna are democratic.

More generally, the problem stems from an artificial theoretical agenda. Howe does not link conflict and consensus as mutually reinforcing aspects of a polity. Nor does he conceptualize the workings of local politics as a complex mesh of both, as well as of coercion. As a result, Howe can ignore history and economy except as external items which occasionally impinge on local politics. Indeed, Howe assumes that local politics can be analytically separated out from other levels and relations; and that notion is two decades out of date. This datedness leads to other misunderstandings about the nature of local political processes. For example, when Howe describes local alignments, he does so by criticizing a notion of factions which was current in stimulated to look at how factionalism – which the Kuna clearly have, Howe notwithstanding – was part of the political processes of consensus (!) over time.

Part of the problem is related to Howe’s use of data. In the Preface, he states that he cannot do extended case descriptions because it is too revealing of sources, places, etc. Yet, other anthropologists have managed; and it is

precisely this need for interconnected people and events which is so desperately missing from Howe's analysis. Each of his topics stands alone, connected only by Howe's notion of consensus and superordinate values. This creates uncertainties for the reader – such as when and how “influential men” are or can be chiefs. It also obscures the nature of Kuna political processes.

The overall effect is a disjointed presentation of discrete, political items. We learn that the Kuna have political rhetoric, political symbols, influential men, chiefs and officers, transactional or self-interested and ephemeral alignments, schismatic factionalism, council politics, public goals, threats of violence, etc. – all in the context of a changing and differentiating political economy. However, Howe fails to integrate these elements into a coherent analysis. Because of this, the book can be used as a general introduction to Kuna local politics; unfortunately, it contributes little to our understanding of them or to political anthropology.

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Democratic socialism in Jamaica: the political movement and social transformation in dependent capitalism. EVELYNE HUBER STEPHENS and JOHN D. STEPHENS. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985. xx + 423 pp. (Cloth, US \$55.00, Paper, US \$14.50)

Democratic socialism in Jamaica is a thoroughly researched and well-written book that makes an important contribution to the literature on the Manley regime. The work provides a detailed account of the latter's attempt to transform a liberal, dependent and capitalist society via a strategy of democratic socialism. However, as the account develops a number of unresolved tensions emerge between its details and the text that the authors have constructed. Let us first sample this rich narrative and then address some of these tensions.

Stephens and Stephens divide the Manley years into four basic periods: 1972-74, the populist years; 1974-76, the years of ideological definition; 1977, the year of the left alternative; and 1978-79, the struggles with the IMF (International Monetary Fund).

The populist years produced the definitions of the tasks facing the party and the basic policies of the remaining years in office. The basic tasks facing

the party can be put into three broad categories: 1) economic reforms such as reducing foreign ownership, trade diversification and land reform; 2) countering the repression and corruption of the Shearer regime; and 3) increasing popular participation. In the view of the authors, the successful implementation of this program required the building of a socialist ideological hegemony over the unions with the aid of a strategic media policy (p. 61). However, the distinctive mark of the populist period was that it proceeded without such an ideological mobilization. Among other things, it saw the start of a major literacy campaign, an employment program, attempts at land redistribution and the imposing of a bauxite levy.

In contrast, the 1974-76 period was marked by an explicit linking of the above goals to a socialist ideology. The authors very carefully describe the major consequences of this turn: 1) closer relations with Cuba; 2) increased political mobilization; 3) ideological disputes within the party; and 4) an increase in capitalist opposition by forces such as the Jamaica Labour Party, *The Gleaner*, the private sector and the U.S. Consequently, it was amidst these more troubled ideological waters that the goals of the party now had to be pursued.

During this period, government policies resulted in a number of contradictory tendencies within the economy. Expansionary initiatives were undertaken with revenues from the bauxite levy. However, at the same time there were "declines in the earnings from tourism, sugar, and bauxite" (p. 111). The latter forced the government to rely on foreign and domestic borrowing as well as new taxes. These together with strong inflationary pressures helped to bring on the foreign exchange crisis of 1976. Thus the close of this period left the goals of democratic socialism seriously threatened.

Stephens and Stephens describe 1977 as a watershed year for Manley's Peoples National Party (PNP). It was the year for deciding between a local left alternative to the economic crisis and an IMF solution. Although the PNP had won the 1976 elections, the economic crisis had been getting progressively worse. Thus in January of 1977, Manley announced an economic austerity package that included "severe foreign exchange restrictions," increased taxes, and wage and price controls (p. 150-51). But these were clearly not enough. A more comprehensive and long term response was formulated by a group of social scientists from the University of the West Indies. However, because of the political-financial costs of this plan, Manley opted for the IMF solution.

With the above decision, the 1978-79 period was dominated by the regime's struggle with IMF tests, remedies, and negotiations. These unpopular remedies did not halt the economic decline while they further increased divisions within the PNP. The final results were a break with the IMF and an unsuc-

successful attempt to find an alternative. So, in this period the goals of socialist transformation receded even further into the background.

As noted earlier there are some unresolved tensions between the above narrative and the text that the authors have constructed from its details. These textual elements are at the same time the theoretical and political scaffolds upon which the narrative is built. The theoretical scaffold of the work is centered on the notion of a distinct democratic socialist path. The major characteristics of this path are state-sector led development, reduction of foreign ownership, greater social equity, increased popular participation in both state and economy, and a non-aligned foreign policy. With this model of an alternative, the narrative of the Manley regime is used to construct a text which demonstrates both the distinctness and viability of the democratic socialist path.

However, in my view the narrative account is at best ambiguous in regard to these claims. First the characteristics of the path are not particularly unique, nor do they possess necessary connections with democratic socialist ideology. Second, the reported achievements of the Manley regime are quite ambivalent with regards to the viability of the path. Thus there are moments in the text where the narrative points to the supfluousness of the notion of a distinct and viable path, which are at odds with the claims of the authors.

The political scaffold of the narrative is centered on the strategy necessary for achieving the goals of democratic socialism. This strategy has two primary instruments: the building of a class alliance and that of a political movement. By centering the Jamaican narrative around these instruments, the authors hope to demonstrate the viability of the larger strategy.

However, the Jamaican case is also ambivalent in regard to these claims. The narrative account suggests that the forging of class alliances is not as manipulable as the authors assume. It also questions their analysis of the processes of ideological mobilization and change. Thus, here too one can feel tensions between the details of the text and the authors' claims.

In conclusion, I offer the suggestion that these tensions derive largely from a failure to adequately thematize existing conditions and possibilities for either institutional or ideological change in Jamaica. For example, I find the estimates of how effective political education would have been in changing the ideological outlook of workers from its clientelistic orientation to a socialist one far too high. Only in a more revolutionary context such as occurred in Grenada, or one of greater institutional (particularly union) breakdown, could political education have been that effective. Still, in spite

of these shortcomings. *Democratic socialism in Jamaica* remains an important addition to the literature on the Caribbean.

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Trinidad and Tobago: democracy and development in the Caribbean. SCOTT B. MACDONALD. New York, Connecticut, London: Praeger Publishers, 1986. ix + 213 pp. (Cloth US \$31.95)

Scott Macdonald's study sets out to explain why Trinidad and Tobago, since its formal independence from Britain in 1962, has enjoyed what he calls a "relatively successful experiment" with democracy. Its thesis is that the Trinidad and Tobago middle classes have been the major factor in the establishment and maintenance of a liberal democratic political system and a mixed-capitalist economy in the period just before, and since, Independence. In the author's view, the available literature on "development," and especially "that literature prepared by Caribbean scholars who have focused on the Caribbean reality," is "flawed" as it relates to the Trinidad and Tobago case, though he neither clearly identifies nor systematically critiques this body of work which he judges to be inadequate. It must be said at the outset, however, that Macdonald's book fails in my view to make a significant contribution to the literature on the modern Caribbean reality and is, in addition, seriously "flawed" empirically.

The major weakness of this book is that it simply does not make an original or significant contribution to our understanding of Trinidad and Tobago's modern development. Macdonald notes that studies by Selwyn Ryan, Ivar Oxaal, Yogendra Malik and myself do not take their coverage of the country's history beyond 1970, while his includes the 1970s and early 1980s; yet of the book's nine substantive chapters, only two (8 and 9) deal with the years after 1969. The chapters that narrate Trinidad and Tobago's history from the late eighteenth century to the late 1960s (2 to 7) are based exclusively on secondary sources, relying very heavily indeed (as one might expect) on the authors just named, along with a few others. Where citations of primary sources do occasionally crop up in the references to these chapters, this reviewer must admit to a more-than-sneaking suspicion that these are "lifted" from his secondary authorities (thus note 56 to chapter 3 is an elaborate

reference to a 1937 Colonial Office file, apparently the sole citation of any document held in London's Public Record Office in the entire book). Indeed, the bibliography makes it amply clear that virtually no primary sources were consulted by the author, not even Trinidad and Tobago newspapers, party or polemical literature, published speeches or Hansard; incredibly, the author seems unaware of the very extensive published collection of Eric Williams' speeches, compiled and edited by Paul Sutton.

Perhaps, then, a reviewer should focus on chapters 8 and 9 which analyze the period between 1969 and 1983. Yet even here, Macdonald's sources are superficial. In addition to published work by Ryan (who has in fact written on post-1970 Trinidad and Tobago) and other political scientists, he seems content to rely on articles in non-specialist U.S. and British publications such as *The Times*, *The Economist*, *Business Latin America* and such like, and a few published reports from ECLAC, ILO and IMF. Even for the post-1969 period, Macdonald has not bothered to peruse island newspapers, party literature or any of the little journals, pamphlets and weeklies that proliferated in Trinidad and Tobago in these years. Unbelievably, the author seemingly made no effort to interview island notables, past or present. Indeed, this reviewer had concluded that the author had never set foot on Trinidad and Tobago soil until finding the following item of routine local gossip – "as one resident comments, If you want anything done you have to pay for it [i.e. give a bribe]" – dignified with the solemn footnote "Interview with the author, June 6, 1982, in Trinidad," apparently his sole foray into "interviewing."

Moreover, these two chapters are replete with errors – to use a neutral term – which range from simple sloppiness (JFK Liberal Arts College for College of Arts and Sciences, University of Montreal for Sir George William University) to howlers so grotesque as to make one wonder why the author thought himself qualified to write a book on Trinidad's recent history. To cite only the most egregious: In the early 1970s, we are told, "a number of whites close to the prime minister, Bruce Procope, Eldon Warner, Ellis Clarke, Joffre Eli Serette, and Kenneth Julien" were criticized for holding several jobs and for thus blocking the advancement of others who, by implication, were non-white. Now, can anyone who believes that the gentlemen are white – including, be it noted, Mr Clarke, the nation's second Governor-General and first President, and certainly the most visible and high-profile individual in the land for the last fifteen years save only Eric Williams himself – be taken seriously?

Much of Macdonald's analysis and many of his conclusions are unexceptionable, of course, if hardly novel, including his contention that Trinidad and Tobago's large middle stratum has dominated national development since 1962 and is likely to continue to hold the key to its future, and that race

has become a less salient factor in politics since 1970. His brief "projections" at the end of the book, written apparently in 1985, seem perfectly sensible; indeed, his view that "the viability of an ONR-National Alliance coalition winning in 1986 and forming a government would present a situation possibly fraught with governmental breakdown and parliamentary stalemate" seems positively prophetic as I write this (December 1987). Yet this book is superficial, under-researched and replete with mistakes and misunderstandings, to the point that (despite the claims and promises in the pretentious introductory chapter) it fails to persuade us that it should be accepted as a reliable or useful guide to Trinidad and Tobago's recent history, far less as an aid to understanding the modern Caribbean.

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Guyana: politics and development in an emergent socialist state. KEMPE RONALD HOPE. Oakville, New York, London: Mosaic Press, 1985, 136 pp. (Cloth, US \$30.00; paper, US \$11.95)

The P.N.C./Burnham regime of Guyana has served as cannon fodder for many writers of diverse ideological and professional persuasions, and quite justifiably so. By an injudicious mixture of mismanagement, fraud and corruption, this government has provided a surfeit of material with which to condemn itself. Hope's book is just one of several in the last decade which have dealt with the politics and economy of Guyana. This means that in order to make an important contribution to this subject, the author needed to advance a new hypothesis or produce startlingly new evidence about the ineptitude of P.N.C. rule.

Unfortunately, Hope did neither. The core of his thesis is that ethnic polarization in politics since the mid-1950s is the root cause of Guyana's problems, which have been compounded by an abuse of power by the P.N.C. Neither of these is new, but they might have proven adequate if supported with ample evidence. After sketching the physical geography, human and natural resources, and history of the country, Hope set about discussing the political institutions established by the 1980 Constitution. But to have done so before dealing with the political developments preceding its promulgation calls into question the structure of the book.

Hope regards the powers of the executive presidency to be excessive and authoritarian. Viewed in a vacuum this is undoubtedly so, but the onus was surely on the author to analyze the ideas and objectives of the framers before making such a judgment. Hope not only failed to do so, but also alluded to the American presidency as if it should serve as a model for Guyana.

It would certainly have been more enlightening to compare Guyana with Third World countries with similar institutions. In this context, there would be nothing unique about the powers vested in the president and the other political institutions. In fact Guyana appears considerably less authoritarian than many because it is not formally a one-part state – although, under the doctrine of paramountcy, the P.N.C. does behave as if it were. Again in a Third World context, there is nothing unique about the fact that the civil service and administrative commissions do not function independently of the government's wishes.

This kind of political centralization is often rationalized as being necessary to facilitate the execution of development programmes being pursued by Third World governments. But although development policies are an integral aspect of this book, Hope does not analyze the political structure in that context. Instead he views it purely from a power position, and since it does not conform to the Weberian model, considers it unacceptable. Such a culture-bound approach detracts from the value of the book.

Hope tends to make judgments without substantiating them properly. For instance, while viewing the political elevation of the local government authorities as a positive step, he claims, without evidence, that their actual role is minimal and they merely serve to mask the authoritarianism of the regime. Likewise, he provides no evidence for asserting that the ethnic factor permeates political decision-making. In other instances, he relies on somewhat questionable sources for his assertions. Thus he cites a biased right-wing American ex-diplomat to substantiate his claim that the P.N.C. retained power by electoral fraud. Similarly, he depends on the impressionistic report of a *New York Times* correspondent to authenticate the view that the P.N.C. are unpopular. Surely there are more credible sources available!

It is the alleged unpopularity of the P.N.C. which led Hope to argue that the 1980 constitution has moved Guyana away from the rule of law. But on the contrary, the P.N.C. have always tended to make *excessive* use of the "law" to legitimize their rule. Everything from the changing of the constitution to the passing of retroactive legislation to endorse their political actions has been done under the umbrella of the "law". Under them, the law became "an' ass," but it was the rule of law nevertheless, albeit aimed at perpetuating their power.

Hope's main thesis that ethnic polarization lies at the basis of politics in Guyana tends to oversimplify reality. There is no doubt that after the mid-/late fifties the two major political parties relied heavily on ethnic support. But this ethnic polarization has undergone some modification in recent years, particularly with the rise of the Working People's Alliance which has eroded support from both major parties. More importantly, perhaps, is the fact that the P.N.C. have not been able to rule without influential Indian support while, at the same time, many traditional black supporters have been driven into the ranks of the opposition. Thus while there is still an ethnic orientation in Guyanese politics, the situation is far more complex than Hope makes it appear.

In viewing the government's foreign policy as opportunistic, Hope stepped into quick-sand. Their consistent adherence to certain principles, particularly in relation to non-alignment, Southern Africa, and regionalism, belies that notion. If anything, they might have been too outspoken on some of these issues for their own good. It is true, though, that their policy towards the United States has shifted back and forth over the past two decades, but this is more in reaction to U.S. attitudes and actions than to opportunism. It was their strident adherence to the principles of non-alignment, the mouthing of socialist ideas, and their nationalization of American investments which brought about the first major rift with the United States in the mid-seventies. During the eighties, it is difficult to see how any self-respecting government espousing "socialism" could have maintained amicable relations with the reactionary right-wing Reagan regime. This hardly amounts to opportunism.

This book suffers from several defects which combine to reduce its academic value. There is too much sketchy description and too many un- or under-substantiated assertions. The main thesis oversimplifies the political reality in Guyana. Finally, the book does not offer new insights for solving the myriad problem facing the Guyanese people.

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Puerto Rico: the search for a national policy. RICHARD J. BLOOMFIELD (ed.). Boulder and London: Westview Press, Westview Special Studies on Latin America and the Caribbean, 1985. x + 192 pp. (Cloth, US \$39.00)

This book is based on a series of papers presented at a conference sponsored by the World Peace Foundation in Washington D.C. in 1983. As a collection of papers, the book suffers from most of the aches and pains which generally plague such compilations – a lack of unity, continuity and uniformity. The book lacks a common thread and the papers vary greatly in both their quality and length, running from as little as two pages to 37.

The editor of the book, Ambassador Richard J. Bloomfield, head of the World Peace Foundation, confesses to being “a neophyte in Puerto Rican affairs.” This fact is reflected in both the choice of participants and in his own writing of the preface and introduction to the book. He has made a gallant effort that falls short of total success.

Bloomfield accepts as facts many of the common myths about Puerto Rico. For example, he writes of a compact between the Congress and the people of Puerto Rico in 1952 to provide for local self-government. Public Law 600 of 1950, which authorized the establishment of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, is a U.S. statute. It was approved by the people of Puerto Rico in a referendum, and the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, which resulted from it, was approved by the U.S. Congress. But a compact in the sense of a document negotiated and signed by juridical equals does not exist.

Further, whatever name is given to the arrangement, it does not provide for full local self-government. U.S. federal laws continue to apply to Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico enjoys only limited local self-government.

Bloomfield is victimized by advocates of independence for Puerto Rico. He accepts their code word, assimilation, as descriptive of what would happen to Puerto Rico if it became a state of the Union. New states are incorporated, even integrated into the U.S. federal system of government. But they do not lose their identity. They are not absorbed by the federal government. This is guaranteed by the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which reserves certain powers to the states. Even the United Nations, which has been highly critical of colonial systems, speaks of integration in describing the process of statehood (UNGA Resolution 1541, December 15, 1960).

Bloomfield states that Puerto Ricans are denied the vote in U.S. presidential elections. This is misleading. That Puerto Ricans do not vote for President and Vice President of the United States is a matter of their own choosing. They have never asked for the opportunity to exercise this basic right of U.S. citizenship. If the request were made, it would be granted.

Public opinion polls in Puerto Rico show that two thirds of the people would like to be able to vote for President and Vice President of the nation. They have been denied this privilege by their own government, which has failed to take the initiative to ask for it. Unbelievably, in 1985, the Puerto Rican Resident Commissioner in Congress actually requested the withdrawal of Puerto Rico from a bill which would have extended the presidential vote to the territories.

Although Bloomfield speaks about involving policy makers in the debate on Puerto Rico, only four of the 14 paper givers can be identified as having held policy making positions at the time of the conference. These are Congressman E. Thomas Coleman from Missouri; Nelson Famadas, chairman of the governor's Financial and Economic Council; Peter R. Merrill, an economist with the Joint Committee on Taxation of the U.S. Congress; and Ralph Mye, senior policy advisor on Latin America for the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Coleman's contribution runs just two pages. He writes on the subject of "Cashing Out Food Stamps - a Bad Idea." Experience in Puerto Rico has proven that he is wrong. The extension of nutritional assistance to needy Puerto Ricans on the basis of checks instead of stamps has worked well in Puerto Rico, to the extent that the federal government is giving consideration to extending this experiment to the rest of the nation.

The papers by Famadas, Merrill and Mye, all on economic themes, are among the best. Merrill rightly states that further economic growth in Puerto Rico will not take place through tax exemption but rather through the exploitation of comparative economic advantage. Mye states that Puerto Rico should adopt a new development strategy by taking the initiative to arrive at the necessary consensus. This is good advice, but will it be heeded? Political parties in Puerto Rico are better known for their tribal warfare than their ability to reach compromises.

Other outstanding papers were written by Arturo Morales Carrión, Bertram Finn, and Hector Ramos. But there is no trace of debate in the book, since any give and take among participants which might have taken place has not been recorded.

The concluding chapter is titled, "The Puerto Rican Parties Speak: What We Need from the United States." This should have been one of the most revealing chapters in the book. Unfortunately, however, with the possible exception of Fernando Martin, secretary for international affairs of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, one cannot be certain that the views presented represent official party positions. The participants in this panel are all prominent party members but they are not identified as party spokesmen.

What probably hurt this book most, from the standpoint of its potential

usefulness to policy makers, was the two-year delay in getting it out. By the time the papers saw the light of day in 1985, a new Administration had taken over in Puerto Rico; One of the four political parties had disappeared from the scene; terrorism (which is termed "low-level" in the book) had increased enormously, and Section 936 of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code had come under attack once more in Congress. If the papers had been made public earlier, they might have affected party platforms in 1984 and the policies of the incoming Administration. But by 1985, new courses had been set.

From the perspective of 1987, one notes that time has taken additional toll. For example, it was indeed the prevailing wisdom in 1983 that Washington should set out the conditions it is willing to accept for each status option before Puerto Ricans could make a meaningful choice. Now attention is focussed on HR 2849 of the 100th Congress which calls for a plebiscite in Puerto Rico on the question: "Shall the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico be incorporated into the Union as a State, upon the people of Puerto Rico and Congress mutually agreeing to the terms of admission?"

The pro-independence wing of the Popular Democratic Party is now collaborating with the Puerto Rican Independence Party on status matters, and their current thrust is toward calling a constituent assembly which would recommend a new relationship with the United States. Their aim is to create an "Associated Republic," considered by many to be an intermediary step toward independence.

I would recommend the book to complete or supplement reference libraries on Puerto Rico, but decision makers will find that much of its utility as a policy study has been overtaken by events.

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The syntax of serial verbs: an investigation into serialisation in Sranan and other languages. MARK SEBBA. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, Creole Language Library – vol. 2, 1987. xii + 228 pp. (Cloth US \$32.00).

This is the first book ever written on the problem of verb serialization, with special reference to Sranan, an English-based creole spoken on the coastal

areas of Suriname. About half of Sebba's book deals specifically with Sranan (Chapter 2: Serial verbs in Sranan, and Chapter 3: The syntax of serialisation). The rest (Chapter 1: In search of serial verbs, and Chapter 4: Serial verbs in other languages) generalizes to other languages exhibiting serial verbs, such as West African languages (The Kwa subgroup of Niger-Congo), Chinese (Mandarin) and other creoles (Saramaccan and Papiamentu). This examination of serial verbs, generally defined as "a surface string of verbs or verb-like or verb phrase-like items which occur within what appears to be a single clause" [p. 2]) is extremely detailed and well-documented. The first chapter is a valuable review of previous analyses of serialization (starting with Christaller's 1875 analysis of Twi) which provides an interesting perspective on prior discussions of 'serial verbhood'.

In most of the following chapters, the overall presentation is extremely dry and compact: data sentences, commentaries and interpretations are sequenced in short paragraphs often lacking adequate introductory, linking and concluding comments, and the significance of the issues raised is insufficiently highlighted. For example, there is no introductory chapter, and the concluding chapter is limited to eight pages. The issue of putative universal vs. substrate influences on serialization is not raised until p. 213, and even then is allocated only two and a half pages. Such sobriety is regrettable, especially since this section is the best written and the most challenging in the book, in the sense that it raises the issue of the function of serialization in the evolution of creole languages.

The critical issue for Sebba seems to be the choice of an adequate theoretical paradigm which will capture cross-linguistic generalizations, but he does not announce the selected framework (Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, or GPSG) until the beginning of Chapter 3, although Chapter 1 is basically a critique of early transformational (and other) interpretations of serial verbs. Following Gazdar *et al.*'s version of GPSG (1982), serial verbs are accounted for in terms of multiple right-branching VP's, and with extensive reference to the restrictions in the number of the arguments a verb may have, stated as subcategorization rules and metarules. Some may question whether the phrase-structure apparatus really gives (as claimed) a more explanatory account than a Chomskyan analysis which would see serial verbs as embedded within or conjoined to other sentences. In fact, Sebba's GPSG analysis eventually differentiates as well between "coordinating" and "subordinating" types of serial verbs. The "coordinating" type is equivalent to conjoining (*shoot Kofi kill him*: 'shoot Kofi and kill him'), and the "subordinating" type is illustrated in *shoot Kofi kill*: 'shoot Kofi dead' referring to a single action (p. 212). In addition, in both constructions, particular semantic functions are associated with verbs, such as the seventeen functions listed by

Jansen *et al.* 1978 (e.g., direction 'go'/'come', benefactive 'give', instrumental 'take', etc.).

Sebba's position that there must be a clear differentiation between serializing and 'non-serializing languages like English' (p. 87) may obscure some interesting insights into universal processes of linguistic change. For example, the sentence [*shoot Kofi kill*] which can also be glossed as 'shoot Kofi down', shows that there is an obvious similarity between English verb+particle constituents and Sranan serial structures. Verb+particle structures in fact meet the six standard criteria for serial verbs (p. 86), which Sebba finds unsatisfactory, as well as the six properties he identifies to define serial verbs in Sranan and elsewhere (p. 212). Yet, he agrees (his 6th criterion) that "certain serial verbs appear to be likely candidates for re-analysis as other categories . . ." (p. 213). This seems to work in the opposite direction, too: the current development of serial constructions in informal varieties of English occurs particularly with directional verbs as in *come get it, go find it, take me with*, and this occurs in varieties which have not been in contact with creoles or other serializing languages.

Sebba's theoretical model appears to correlate with a static view of language, which conflicts with what is known of creole languages (this was also a problem with early and later versions of transformational grammar, including GB). Data and speakers are summarily treated, as represented in Sebba's "Note on the Sranan data" which covers altogether a modes half page (p.v. preceding the Acknowledgements). In this short section, he indicates that his data are based, first, on written sources, then, on sentences elicited from approximately 30 Sranan speakers who "supplied answers to lengthy questionnaires" (the fieldwork was apparently conducted in Holland and involved no primary research in Suriname). More extensive information about the extent, exact nature of the survey, and criteria for ascertaining the validity and potential diversity of the data and speakers surveyed would have been helpful in assessing the range of varieties investigated.

In conclusion, Sebba's book is thought provoking, and it greatly advances our understanding of the syntax and semantics of serialization in a variety of languages. His claim that "serial constructions are by no means universal" (p. 213) challenges the imagination. It may well be that they are more widespread than is generally thought, and that serial verbs will appear for different reasons: *inter alia*, 1) as substitutes for prepositions and inflectional morphology in early creoles (as stated by Bickerton 1981); 2) as a di-syllabic strategy to avoid an impending massive homophony in Mandarin Chinese due to the loss of tonal distinctions and final consonants (Li and Thompson 1981: 44), e.g., *jin-lái* [enter+come=come in]; *jin-qu* [enter+go=go in]; *chú-qu* [exit+go=go out]; *chú-lái* [exit+come=come out] – and it is tempting to speculate

that the verbal particles of English and German originated for similar reasons; or 3) through simple phonetic contraction as in English *Will you try (d)do it?* Our understanding of serial verbs and its relation to language universals is just beginning.

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Focus on the Caribbean. MANFRED GORLACH and JOHN A. HOLM (eds.) 1986. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins.

Focus on the Caribbean is a collection of scholarly essays on the English-lexified creoles of the Caribbean and the adjoining coasts. The articles are unified neither by theme nor viewpoint; rather the book is a sampling of current work (as of about 1983) in different areas. In more ways than one, it represents a companion and sequel to Carrington (1983), which included papers by several of the same authors on related subjects.

The first essay, John Holm's "The spread of English in the Caribbean world," will be valuable to historians as well as linguists, providing a step-by-step picture of the dates at which English was first introduced into the Caribbean islands and coastal areas where creoles are spoken today. Salikoko Mufwene's "Notes on durative constructions in Jamaican and Guyanese Creoles" elegantly shows how detailed analysis of the semantics and syntax of

a wide variety of languages – creole and African, as well as metropolitan, can clarify a complex problem in the etymology of a creole grammatical particle. John Roy's "The structure of tense and aspect in Barbadian English Creole" provides detailed independent evidence for the viewpoint of Burrowes in Carrington (1983: 38) that Barbados is indeed part of the Caribbean creole speech community.

Mufwene's and Roy's essays, together with Pauline Christie's "Evidence for an unsuspected habitual marker in Jamaican," deal with aspect. Although Bickerton's bioprogram hypothesis is not represented by an essay, these three writers taken together provide much data showing that his hypothesis of the exact identity of aspect systems in all creole languages must be modified to fit the observed differences established here.

Cassidy's "Etymology in Caribbean Creoles" is an example of the detailed detective work that must go into the establishment of the affinities of creole lexical items. His conclusion that *doti* 'dirt' is a case of convergence or multiple etymology between Twi and English (p. 134) is a near parallel to Mufwene's conclusion about the copula *de* that "the role of Twi/Ewe *re/le*, which is certainly not denied completely in this paper, must be restricted to corroboration influence (including the semantic aspect) for Twi/Ewe speakers" (p. 176). Cassidy's essay clearly shows that the etyma of creole lexical items must be sought both in Africa and in (sometimes dialectal) English, as well as in convergence between the two.

Barbara Lalla's "Tracing elusive phonological features of early Jamaican Creole" presents spellings and punctuation in early texts and posits explanations in terms of what can be known about the pronunciation of English and creole at that time. It may be too early to conclude that an exclamation point or a period in an old text was meant to indicate intonational patterns "comparable to those of Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo and Efik and to those observed by Turner in Gullah" (p. 121), but the reconstructed sound correspondences (p. 123) will provide an explicit hypothesis against which other comparative and textual facts may be tested.

The remainder of the essays deal with the social and political framework of English-lexified Caribbean creoles. Both Hubert Devonish, "The decay of neo-colonial official language policies: the case of the English-lexicon Creoles of the Commonwealth Caribbean" and Marlis Hellinger, "On writing English-related Creoles in the Caribbean" advocate the adoption of an orthography for creole which would reflect mesolectal spoken forms, rather than the English etymological spellings.

Devonish demonstrates very convincingly how creole speakers are left bewildered, not only by radio broadcasts in a language they can't understand, but more threateningly, by court proceedings in which they are often una-

ware of what charges they are pleading guilty or innocent to. The portion of the population able to use an approximation of standard English holds on to its privileges and fears the development of creole. The linguistic conflict will clearly be part of the political struggle of the poor masses against the tiny minority who control things. There are interesting parallels with the national language question in the Soviet Union, as well as with the conflicts between colonial and indigenous languages in Africa and elsewhere. Enfranchisement of the poor will entail loss of privilege by others, and the conflict may continue for a long time.

Velma Pollard's "Innovation in Jamaican Creole: The speech of Rastafari" describes a linguistic response to these social conflicts. Rather than decreolizing their language in the direction of the standard, as the proponents of the Life Cycle Theory might predict, the Rastafarians create a lexicon which is even more divergent from English than the most basilectal creole. Pollard very appropriately analyzes these innovations as a Hallidayan antilanguage, a variety of creole that seeks to become less like the speech of the dominant classes, rather than more.

Dennis R. Craig, "Social class and the use of language: a case study of Jamaican children" presents statistical data on language behavior of Jamaican children playing together. There are three groups: urban low-social-class, rural low-social-class and urban high-social-class. Craig believes (p. 103) that some of the differences reflect alternative means of communicating identical meanings. It is hard to see how this could be proved by statistics, and some of his data contradict the explanation: high-social-class boys refer to television characters more frequently, while high-social-class girls use more first-person singular pronouns (p. 84). Whatever the reasons for socially defined differences in language, I am more convinced by Devonish's exposition that these differences will be used to accentuate social divisions, than by Craig's attempts to render them innocuous by explaining them away.

The final article, "English-Spanish contact in the United States and Central America: sociological mirror images?" by John M. Lipski, departs somewhat from the theme of the book by dwelling at length on the situation of Spanish speakers in the Southwestern U.S. as an analogue to that of English-lexified creole speakers in countries where Spanish is the official language. The irony of the mirror, in which the roles of the dominant and subordinate languages are reversed, tells us little, except that politics, not language, determines who has and has not prestige. The position of the creole speakers in Central America and Colombia may be more related to their social position and history in the Caribbean as a whole, than to the fact that they are linguistically distinct from the Spanish speakers. Would the low prestige of Caribbean English rub off on a wealthy American businessman or

politician in Central America? The information on the social position of English deserves to be presented on its own merits, without looking for a tenuous connection with the Southwestern United States.

Every linguist, sociologist, educator, and political scientist concerned with the issues surrounding English-lexified creoles in the Caribbean will need to make reference to the articles in *Focus on the Caribbean*. This book, together with Carrington (1983), constitutes a quantum leap in our knowledge of these languages, and represents a giant step towards a time when this knowledge may be synthesized in unified treatments, based on the insights and orientations presented in this valuable collection of essays.

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The Caribbean: survival, struggle and sovereignty. Washington, EPICA (Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Communication and Action), 1985. 232 pp. (Paper US \$8.50).

This book offers an excellent overall picture of the entire Caribbean region, capturing well the economic, political and social tides which rocked these countries time and again, from one crisis to another, since their emergence as plantation societies. These crises, according to Sunshine, are the direct result of different forms of exploitation, which began with the colonial exploitation of labor and resources, and culminated in neocolonialist US domination. The message in the book is blatantly clear: the severance of colonial ties, far from freeing the Caribbean countries from political and economic dependence, plunged these countries into yet more sophisticated forms of subjugation, hindering the indigenous masses' capacity to map out their destiny.

Although *The Caribbean: survival, struggle and sovereignty*, leans heavily towards description, it is not a mere chronicle. Sunshine has divided the material into seven parts covering four major themes: "history of the region, alternative models of development, the current social and economic crisis,

and US dominance versus Caribbean desires for regional unity and sovereignty." The historical development of the region becomes the basis for examining the more complex issues plaguing the majority of the countries. This thematic perspective also allows one to compare different countries and make generalizations despite the apparent diversity. However, the methodological perspective is never made explicit. Here, Mintz's notion of "systadial comparisons" (Mintz 1979) would have been useful. He argues that Caribbean societies belong to a certain general type because of their similar economic and political responses to changes in the metropolises. Thus, by locating an underlying commonality of process, a basis is laid for comparison. Although Sunshine is primarily dealing with the post-independence era, the principle remains applicable. Indeed, depending on the status of a particular country within the overall framework of the Caribbean region, the nature of the struggle within the country itself and the responses this in turn provokes from the imperial powers become comparable to preceding historical events. For example, in the invasion of Grenada one sees the return of a US militarist strategy employed two decades before in the Bay of Pigs incident in Cuba. However, the unity of the whole region lies on a larger predicament where deepening of crises are symptomatic of dependence, not only on the world market, but on the political whims of the superpowers as well.

The title of the book indicates its perspective. The consistent rape and exploitation of the region, first by the metropolises and then by multinational corporations and indigenous ruling classes have left the masses in dire conditions. The vulgar disparities of wealth is best illustrated in Haiti, with Cuba lying at the other end of the continuum. Sunshine is clearly anxious to portray the resilience of the masses in their attempts to combat various forms of exploitation. Hence she gives considerable importance to the formation of trade unions, to the emergence and ultimate decline of the West Indies Federation (1958-62), to cultural forms of resistance such as Rastafarianism and the emergence of the Caribbean Conference of Churches. However, the book clearly conveys the limited capacity of these forms of resistance in bringing about any effective structural change. The numerous spontaneous mass uprisings, as in the "May Movement" of 1969 in Curacao and in the aftermath of Prime Minister Bishop's assassination in Grenada, are quelled either by the lack of a vanguard party with a clear political plan to capitalize on the mass discontent or by military repression. Sunshines' portrayal of the Caribbean, however, is not entirely hopeless. The examples of Cuba and Grenada (before the invasion) she argues, suggest alternative forms of development to the Puerto Rican or Jamaican model promoted by the US. Alternative forms of development require regional unity and party unity, the

former to combat foreign attempts at undermining any progressive movement and the latter to prevent another disastrous repetition of Grenada.

The Caribbean: survival, struggle and unity aims at a general audience unfamiliar with the Caribbean. It certainly debunks several myths about the region. The author's tendency to make sweeping generalizations, however, overlooks specificities involved in particular cases and sometimes leads to empirical simplifications, even though her general depiction of the Caribbean is hard to dispute on the whole.

However, those looking for a theoretical framework within which to study all Caribbean societies, would not find it here. With the exception of a couple of pages at the end devoted to the role of the vanguard, the book is essentially descriptive, redeemed only by the thematic orientation. It is unclear where Sunshine's theoretical perspective employs or departs from a "world system" approach and "dependency theory." A clearer theoretical positioning would have greatly complemented the empirical material presented, especially since Sunshine sees Caribbean countries as pawns within the system at large.

However, as a work of vulgarization, the book is highly informative and very readable. *The Caribbean: survival, struggle and sovereignty* would serve well as a college textbook: its format, style and price put it at the reach of most undergraduate students. The numerous illustrations and quotes, ranging from political speeches to extracts from calypsos and reggae songs, add a vibrance that minimizes the distance between reader and subject matter. Sunshine pulls together vast amounts of information, spanning the whole region from the beginning of colonization to its present struggle, with coherence. She has set herself a difficult task and tackled it admirably.

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Sweetness and power: the place of sugar in modern history. SIDNEY W. MINTZ. New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books, Viking Penguin Inc., 1985. xxx + 274 pp. (Cloth US \$20.00; Paper US \$7.95, UK £3.95).

This review is late. *Sweetness and Power* has already taken on a life of its own, gathering "meanings" through use in ways not necessarily those intended or predicted by its author. It has been the subject of a "symposium review" in the journal *Food and Foodways* (Vol. 2, No. 2, 1987), with contributions from such luminaries as Immanuel Wallerstein, Daniel A. Baugh, Gunther Lottes, William Roseberry, Claude Fischler, and Michael Taussig, and a rejoinder from the author. In the face of all this attention, only the most hermitic readers of the *New West Indian Guide* can remain unaware of the book's existence. But I hasten to introduce sojourners returned from salty deserts to *Sweetness and Power*, a fresh and vital work from the hand of a master of Caribbean studies, a work they must not miss.

Sidney Mintz opens windows on the Caribbean world by shifting his focus from the region itself to the European consumers of the most important of all Caribbean commodities, sugar. This approach meshes neatly with current interest in the history and anthropology of consumption patterns, and demonstrates the importance of an understanding of European development for the interpretation of Caribbean history even when the interdependence of producers and consumers was less than obvious to the actors. Analyzing the links between centre and periphery is always a difficult task because, as Mintz observes, "While the relations between colonies and metropolis are in the most immediate sense entirely obvious, in another sense they are mystifying" (p. xvii). But Mintz successfully introduces us to these mysteries; he solves some of them and provides an implicit research agenda for many others.

The first chapter of *Sweetness and Power* offers an introduction to the anthropology of food, and to the place of sugar in that field of study. The second chapter is concerned with the production history of sugar, and the third with consumption. In the fourth chapter Mintz tackles the concept of power and its relationship with the meanings of sugar. The fifth and final chapter is devoted to wide ranging reflections on twentieth-century trends in eating patterns, with particular reference to the changing role of sweeteners and sugars. Mintz handles all these subjects with consummate skill, blending brilliant aperçus and esoteric knowledge (the notes are marvellous) to produce an immensely enjoyable book. He succeeds in communicating his enthusiasm for his subject, and the discussion invariably stimulates even when the material is familiar.

Mintz's approach is anthropological rather than historical and he explains in some detail what this means for the treatment of his topic. The historian

will find it difficult to avoid noticing that the book's subtitle, *The Place of Sugar in Modern World History*, suggests something more comprehensive than is delivered. The discussion of consumption, the core and most original contribution of the book, is effectively confined to the British (English) case in the period 1650-1900. This concentration is justified by the fact that the British were the leading consumers of sugar in the nineteenth century, increasing their consumption fivefold. But the chapter on production is much broader in conception, and the concluding discussion of twentieth century trends has more to say about the United States than the United Kingdom, so that there is some imbalance. What we learn from Mintz about the English is sufficient to turn this complaint into a quibble, however, and there is great scope for comparative analysis along the lines developed by Mintz both at the European and the world scale.

A more substantial problem for the historian concerns the rate of adoption of sugar by the British consumer. Mintz provides a fascinating account of the changing uses of sugar – from medicine to spice to luxury good to food – from about the fourteenth century. He traces its links with the Islamic world and follows its filtering down from the aristocracy to the laboring poor. Mintz argues that “By no later than 1800, sugar had become a necessity – albeit a costly and rare one – in the diet of every English person” (p. 6), and quotes Ralph Davis to the effect that “by 1750 the poorest English farm labourer's wife took sugar in her tea” (p. 45). But elsewhere in the book (pp. xxv, 67, 161) Mintz recognises the difficulty of establishing precisely how the use of sugar spread through the population. This is indeed a difficult question, since rates of adoption probably varied regionally as well as by class. I have one piece of hard evidence to offer. Among the Holland House papers at the British Library is a letter written in 1831 by Lord Seaford, owner of Jamaican sugar plantations and a leader of the West Indian lobby in the British Parliament, arguing for a reduction in the import duty on colonial sugar in order to remove a temporary surplus in the market. Seaford wrote: “Now, if, by a reduction of duty, the price of sugar could be brought within the reach of the labouring poor, *for general consumption as an article of food*, (as for instance in puddings, & dumplings, or tarts with common fruit) for which it would be quite as cheap an ingredient as flour, . . . the addition of so large a class of consumers, who many of them, as I have been credibly informed, in the neighbourhood of Seaford [Sussex] for example, now even drink their tea without sugar, would at once dispose of the 60,000 Hhds [hogsheads] surplus” (Add. Ms. 51818, f. 25, emphasis in original). This suggests a significantly slower adoption of sugar than proposed by Mintz and Davis. If correct, growth in the use of sugar in the era of Free Trade must have been

truly remarkable. Much more evidence of this sort is needed before definitive answers can be offered, of course.

Mintz has a good deal to say about the complex relations of sugar, the plantation system, and capitalism. He emphasizes the "industrial" nature of the sugar plantation, characterized as it was by the separation of production and consumption, the separation of labourer and tools, the homogenization and unitisation of labour, and the elements of scale, discipline, and time-consciousness. The paradox, as Mintz notes, is that the seventeenth-century Caribbean plantation was located on the so-called periphery of a preindustrial Europe. While recognition of the industrial features of the sugar plantation must not be confused with full-fledged industrial revolution, the implications for Caribbean society deserve fuller analysis. The place of the plantation in the capitalist system remains problematic for Mintz (as it was for Marx), but he contends that "If it was not 'capitalistic', it was still an important step toward capitalism" (p. 55). For the European consumer, sugar was associated (from the later eighteenth century) with altered work schedules, increases in labour output, income and consumption, and the demand for new foods, particularly the stimulants tea and coffee that increased the pace of life and the power of the capitalist over the worker. Many of these connections are difficult to pin down, Mintz admits, but the brilliance of *Sweetness and Power* lies in its ability to force us to think on a broad front and to see the significance of previously hidden questions.

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