Colonial Encounters in the Southern Lesser Antilles: Indigenous Resistance, Material Transformations, and Diversity in an Ever-Globalizing World

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1 Introduction

The Lesser Antilles (Figure 16.1) represent one of the major regions in the world in which the lasting effects of the encounters between Europe and indigenous cultures with dramatically different ideological, social, technological, and economic frameworks are still very apparent. The small islands, which are located to the east of the Caribbean Sea, were linked through a vast web of social relationships in which Amerindians, Europeans, and Africans became entangled during the first centuries of European invasion and colonization. The intercultural dynamics which materialized during the early colonial period likely built upon local and regional networks of peoples, goods, and ideas that had developed in the insular Caribbean over the previous 6000 years (Hofman and Bright 2010; Hofman et al. 2011). By AD 1000, different island societies had developed in both the Greater and Lesser Antilles, and by 1492 a web of interlocking networks had spread across the Caribbean Sea, crossing local, regional, and pan-Caribbean boundaries (Hofman and Hoogland 2011). At the time of contact, these networks, which were flexible, robust, inclusive, and outward-looking systems, echoed the overarching patterns of human migration and mobility, and the intercultural dynamics among the communities of both islands and mainland(s) (Hofman et al. 2014). The Lesser Antilles were the last set of islands in the circum-Caribbean to be officially and permanently settled by Europeans in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their occupation of these islands was fiercely contested by the Island Carib (*Kalinago*) and their mixed descendants, the Black Carib (*Garifuna*).¹

¹ The term Island Carib used throughout this chapter refers to the indigenous peoples often designated as Carib, who represented the Arawakan-speaking inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles during the historic period, but also lived on the South American mainland, notably

FIGURE 16.1 Map of the insular Caribbean with detail of Puerto Rico, and the Leeward and Windward Islands of the Lesser Antilles

MAP BY MENNO L.P. HOOGLAND

This chapter focuses on the impacts of the colonial encounters on Island Carib/*Kalinago* culture and society in the southern part of the Lesser Antilles, i.e. the Windward Islands, by looking at the village layout and material culture repertoires at two recently excavated early colonial sites on St. Vincent and Grenada. The research presented here offers the unique possibility of studying continuity and change of inter-community social relationships, in the advent

in the Orinoco Valley and the coastal zone of the Guianas, in parts of which these Carib-speakers are known as *Galibis*. In the seventeenth century Island Carib and Mainland Carib jointly inhabited Grenada. Though the designation may not express the cultural/ethnic diversity that existed at either contact and/or colonization, it broadly defines the Amerindian population in the Lesser Antilles. 'Island Carib' is used throughout because of its historical acceptance and to avoid confusion, though the authors recognize the importance of *Kalinago* as a self-ascribed name for this people and its widespread acceptance, especially in the Caribbean. Actually, this name originally represented the self-denomination of the Island Carib men (Breton 1665/1666).

of European colonialism. We intend to recast *Kalinago* archaeology in a nuanced, inclusive manner, dissipating colonial documentary biases, and placing the transformations of *Kalinago* culture and society within the wider context of the European encounters and the globalizing world. The archaeological data that we present are embedded in a critical (re-)reading of the early (Spanish, Dutch, French, and English) documentary sources, involving the extraction of ethnographic information on *Kalinago* society that is compatible with the archaeological data. This line of inquiry thus integrates material and textual sources to provide a new and conjoined perspective on the transformations in *Kalinago* culture and society during early colonial times. The present-day indigenous peoples in the Lesser Antilles are the direct successors of the historic 'Island Carib' cultural traditions, with a considerable stake in the archaeological heritage (Hofman and Hoogland 2012, 2018; Honychurch 2000; Twinn 2006). Collaborations with the Carib/*Kalinago* communities in the Windward Islands, notably on Dominica, St. Vincent, and Trinidad, have been crucial to interpret our recent findings.

2 First Encounters with a "Phantastic Insular World"

The islands of the Lesser Antilles initially gained fame through Christopher Columbus' reports mentioning man-eating *Caribes*, who were allegedly raiding settlements to the north, i.e. the islands of the Greater Antilles (Curet 2005; Keegan and Hofman 2017; Oliver 2009; Petitjean Roget 2015; Rouse 1992). *Caribes*² rapidly became a generic term for the Spanish to denounce supposedly anthropophagous, fierce, and hostile Amerindians. When, at the end of his first voyage, Columbus was attacked at the Golfo de las Flechas in the area of Samaná in northeastern Hispaniola, the aggressors were identified as *Caribes*. The same happened when he was attacked by the indigenous peoples of the islands of Guadeloupe and St. Croix during his second voyage in 1493 and on his

2 The Spanish are responsible for spreading the term *Caribe* and other notions such as *Calino*, *Camballi*, *Caniba*, *Canima*, that were changed to *Cannibales* and *Caribales* and later on to *Caribes*, to indicate the pugnacious and man-eating Indians that were notorious for their resistance against the other Indians of the region and Spanish colonists. Las Casas, who uses the information from Columbus, mentions for 26th November 1492: '...toda la gente que hasta hoy ha hallado diz que tiene grandisimo temor de los de *Caribe* o *Canima*...' (Las Casas 1927). A month later, on the 26th of December, he mentions the term *Caribe* for the first time to indicate man-eating Indians. The islands where these *Caribes* lived were supposed to lay south of Hispaniola and half-way to all the other islands.

return to Spain in 1496 (Keegan and Hofman 2017). The Spanish colonizers were fueled with biases and misconceptions regarding the idea of cannibalism among these distant, unfamiliar *Caribes*, based on preconceived, late-medieval ideas about a “phantastic insular world” (Hulme 1986; Hofman et al. 2008).

Scholarly knowledge of the early colonial period in the Lesser Antilles is based primarily on the descriptions provided by early Western European chroniclers (e.g., Anonymous [1659] 1975; Anonyme de Carpentras 2002; Breton 1665/1666, 1978; Chanca 1988; Coppier 1645; Du Tertre 1667–1671; Labat [1722] 2005; Nicholl 1605; Pinchon 1961; and Rochefort 1658). As reported in these chronicles, the Lesser Antilles, especially the southern islands, were an ongoing contested space among the various Amerindian peoples of northern South America, Margarita and Cubagua, Trinidad, Tobago, and the islands of the Lesser Antilles, especially Grenada, St. Vincent, and Dominica (Anonymous [1659] 1975; Espinosa [1622] 1942; de Laet ([1630] 1988); Oviedo y Valdez 1959; Pelleprat 1965; Rochefort 1658). The arrival of the Spanish, followed by the French, English, and Dutch, added a new dynamic of contestation as they made allies with or fought against these indigenous populations for control of the region, its people, and resources, while the latter defended their way of life and homelands. Thus dawned the sixteenth century in the Lesser Antilles, changing landscapes and seascapes after the European invasion of the archipelago and the adjacent mainland(s), creating a multiplicity of social interactions and patterns of exchange in the ensuing centuries.

The early Amerindian-European relationship in the Lesser Antilles was one of originally amicable encounters and trade activities next to often violent clashes (Boomert 2002). It was the Spanish occupation of the Greater Antilles and that of the pearl islands of Cubagua and Margarita offshore Venezuela that determined their early historic interaction patterns with the Amerindians in the Lesser Antilles in which peaceful exchanges of trade goods alternated with violent meetings and endeavors at slave taking. There are few reports of exchanges between the *Kalinago* of the Windward Islands and the Spanish in this early period. The latter occasionally stopped to trade or refresh on their journeys, including those of the annual return fleets (*armadas*) from Spain, which generally entered the Caribbean by sailing through the Lesser Antilles (Boucher 1992; Breton 1665/1666; Moreau 1992). Though the Island Carib often traded with the Spanish for ironware and manufactured goods, which they had come to desire, they sometimes attacked the Spanish as retaliation for assaults committed against them previously. Before long, an atmosphere of open hostility became the norm between the two, as the one fought for the preservation of their own way of life, and the other for a foothold and dominance in the region.

Throughout the period of Spanish colonization, the Lesser Antilles were known for slave raiding, but also functioned as a refuge for Amerindians who wished to escape from the Spanish oppression of their communities under the *encomienda* system in the Greater Antilles. The Spanish failure at settlement in the Lesser Antilles, notably Guadeloupe, and their subsequent lack of interest in the archipelago except for its use as a realm for slave taking, allowed other European nations to become involved with the Lesser Antilles. While St. Christopher (St. Kitts) was the first island to be settled by the Europeans, jointly by the English and the French in 1624, the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique were not permanently settled until 1635, and Grenada in 1649. St. Vincent and Dominica were never officially colonized in the seventeenth century, as in 1660 the English and French decided to designate these islands as 'neutral' and to be left in the possession of the *Kalinago*. The French, however, established settlements on both islands, unofficially colonizing them. A pattern of exchange developed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries between the European nations and the *Kalinago*. While some of the Lesser Antilles participated in the last phase of indigenous resistance to the colonial powers, from early on, the *Kalinago* communities of St. Vincent absorbed increasing numbers of escaped African slaves, leading to the formation of a Black Carib identity on the island alongside the communities that remained purely *Kalinago*. Following the eighteenth-century Carib-English Wars, many Black Carib were deported from St. Vincent to Central America in 1791, where they self-identify as *Garifuna* (Palacio 2005).³ By 1700, a major demographic collapse among the Amerindian populations had dramatically reduced their presence in much of the archipelago and throughout the eighteenth century they became largely marginalized in the various islands. Nowadays, the Greggs community of St. Vincent feels itself to belong to the *Garifuna* ethnic group and actively connects with its kin from Central America. Descendants of the *Kalinago* live in Dominica (Kalinago Territory), St. Vincent (New Sandy Bay), and Trinidad (Santa Rosa community, Arima), where they actively claim their Amerindian ancestry within the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Caribbean society of these islands (Boomert 2016; Hofman and Hoogland 2012; Honychurch 2000; Lenik 2012; Reid 2009; Sued Badillo 2003; Whitehead 1995).

3 This name is derived from *Kalipuna*, the original self-denomination of the Island Carib women (Breton 1665/1666).

3 *Kalinago Strongholds*

From the first decades of the sixteenth century, the indigenous populations of Trinidad and the Windward Islands were greatly harassed by Spanish slave raiders from the Greater Antilles and the Bahamas, the 'pearl islands' of Margarita and Cubagua, and the new town of Cumaná on the east Venezuelan coast. Slave taking of the *Caribes* was authorized by various royal decrees, starting in 1503. There are few details to shed light on the extent and impact of these raids on the various Amerindian populations, but by 1520 several of the islands in the Lesser Antilles, e.g. Barbados, were probably depopulated as a result (Boomert 2002; Boucher 1992; Watts 1987). Only the densely populated, mountainous and strategically located islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Grenada were able to resist these devastating raids to a certain extent. Exactly how the raids affected their populations is unknown, but they must have suffered tremendously from the relentless assault. One direct consequence must have been the depletion of the indigenous population through deaths due to resistance to capture and the raids themselves, as the Carib later related stories of Spanish massacres on various islands to the early French missionaries (Boucher 1992; Breton 1665; Gullick 1985). Another was the retreat along the inaccessible Atlantic coasts by the Island Carib to better protect and defend themselves (Breton 1665). As Breton notes, when the Island Carib constructed a settlement, they did not cut many trees, "so as to remain hidden from the Europeans" (Breton 1665, 279).

Spanish sources indicate that the Amerindians in the Lesser Antilles were a formidable force and resisted Spanish attempts to take control of any of the islands or even traverse the seas (Moreau 1992). The 1525 Spanish attempt to colonize Guadeloupe, then occupied by the Carib, failed, as did efforts to colonize Trinidad in the 1530s due to resistance by a multi-ethnic alliance of Amerindians from Trinidad and the Paria peninsula (Boomert 2016; Moreau 1992). The Spanish settlements on Puerto Rico were often targeted by the Carib who raided and destroyed plantations, and abducted Spaniards and enslaved Africans. The Spanish, with their array of weaponry and ships, were sometimes defeated or suffered heavy human and material losses at the hands of the Carib, who employed ambushes, raids, sabotage, and hit-and-run tactics, equipped only with dugout canoes which they skillfully maneuvered, poison-tipped arrows, and the feared *boutou* or war club.

By the second half of the sixteenth century, as more Spanish colonists entered the region along with an increase in maritime traffic, there was an escalation in the confrontations between the Spanish and the Carib who staged coordinated attacks on Spanish settlements. One such raid by the Carib of the

southern Lesser Antilles is reported to have taken place in 1569 against the Spanish settlement of Caraballeda on the central Venezuelan coast (Oviedo y Baños 1987). Some 300 Carib in fourteen canoes landed during the night to prepare for an early morning assault on both the town and port. Though the Spanish were informed of the impending attack by Amerindian allies, they discounted it, only placing a guard to watch (Oviedo y Baños 1987). The Island Carib' attack on the city, with its armed Spaniards, proved unsuccessful when they were confronted with armed opposition and were forced to retreat (Oviedo y Baños 1987). Similarly, the islands of Cubagua and Margarita were raided repeatedly by Island Carib fleets from the Windwards.

The Island Carib attacks on Spanish shipping as well as settlements (Cody 1995; Shafie et al. 2017), and the wrecking of Spanish vessels on the shores of the islands led to the capture of European sailors and enslaved Africans. The *Kalinago* put many of them to work in their tobacco fields and food gardens, contrary to the Spanish belief that they were eaten (Espinosa [1622] 1942). In 1561 alone, the Island Carib on Grenada held at least 30 Spaniards, mainly women and children, following the wreck of a Spanish ship along the coast of the island (Moreau 1992). Fifty Spanish colonists from Margarita, aided by cooperative Amerindians, failed in their attempt to free the Spanish prisoners on Grenada (Moreau 1992, 74). The total number of these captives and the extent of their treatment are unknown, but they may have accounted for a sizeable population. This is substantiated by Francisco de Vides' 1592 royal contract to colonize Trinidad, wherein it is stated that to populate that island he should pacify the Island Carib on Grenada and liberate their Spanish and African captives (Moreau 1992). The many captives held by the Island Carib included Spanish, Portuguese, and enslaved Africans. Some were able, through various means, to escape as did the "three Christians (a Portuguese prisoner of five years, and two Spaniards who had been prisoners for two years)" in 1567, while in 1578 a Spaniard tricked his captors into releasing him, and in 1593 an enslaved African was able to escape (Moreau 1992). These tales of capture and escape of Europeans and Africans were quite common throughout the region until the mid-1600s. This is illustrated by the well-known capture in Trinidad of García Troche Ponce de León, in 1569, who still lived as a prisoner in Dominica ten years afterwards, and the escape of the free black Luisa Navarrete from Dominica in 1580 (Baromé 1966; Hulme and Whitehead 1992).

Contacts with the Carib produced both favorable and unfavorable accounts, the latter being the most often recorded. André Thévet, in the 1550s, described Grenada as unapproachable because of the large numbers of Carib settled there (Moreau 1992). In 1565, the infamous John Hawkins related the tale of the French privateer and slaver Captain Jean Bontemps of the ship *Dragon Vert*

of Le Havre who in March 1565 “came to one of those Islands, called Granada, and being driven to water, could not doe the same for the Canybals, who fought with him very desperately two dayes” (Hulme and Whitehead 1992, 49).

Beginning in the 1520s, the French entered the Caribbean as usurpers of the Spanish trade monopoly in the region; the English followed in the 1560s and the Dutch by the 1590s (Andrews 1978). The legendary riches of Spain’s American colonies and the homeward-bound fleets enticed those Europeans who were excluded from this trade. The following century is a litany of exploits by privateers and contraband traders like Charles Fleury, Jambe de Bois, Jacques de Sors, François Le Clerc, Jean Bontemps, Francis Drake, John Hawkins, and Piet Heyn, who plundered Spanish ports and shipping or traded with their inhabitants. Many came in search of riches as merchants invested in what appeared to be very lucrative ventures (Andrews 1978). During their explorations, the northern Europeans encountered the Island Carib and traded with them, ultimately replacing the Spanish. The Amerindians often allowed the careening of vessels, the taking in of fresh water, and the resting of sick crew members while trading European ironware, notably nails, knives, needles, hooks, bills, sickles, hoes, hatchets, saws, iron griddles, colored glass beads, trinkets, mirrors next to combs, spirits, and, rarely, firearms in exchange for foodstuffs including plantains, sweet potatoes, cassava bread, hens, pineapples, and bananas as well as tobacco, cotton, turtle carapaces, hammocks, and *kalikulis*, i.e. ornaments made of a gold-copper alloy which the Island Carib obtained from the South American mainland (Boomert 2002). Some of the French, English, and Dutch sailors established temporary shelters in the Lesser Antilles that would subsequently pave the way for permanent settlements in the mid-1600s by the northern Europeans.

Spanish attempts to establish themselves in the Lesser Antilles proved futile, as their failure to settle Guadeloupe illustrates. Yet, it is quite evident that relative to the rest of Spain’s empire in the Americas, the Lesser Antilles offered very little of value, except possibly a defensive one. As a matter of fact, when the Spanish were finally able to obtain a permanent foothold on Trinidad (1592), it was only as a base for El Dorado expeditions to the continent (Lorimer 2006). Though the Spanish colony at Trinidad remained neglected for over a century, its tobacco trade attracted northern Europeans, especially the English and Dutch, and the Spanish colonists engaged them in contraband trade (*rescate*) between the 1590s and around 1612 (Lorimer 1978). In order to suppress the contraband trade, the Spanish decided to prohibit the cultivation of tobacco on Trinidad and in the mainland coastal zone altogether. By this time the Island Carib had begun to grow tobacco for the foreign market, thus intensifying their interaction with the northern European contraband traders

and privateers. It was the tobacco trade that created the impetus for the first attempt at non-Spanish settlement in the Lesser Antilles, when in 1609 an English-Dutch consortium of merchants sent colonists to establish an outpost on Grenada. Being attacked by the Island Carib, they were forced to evacuate the island before the end of the year (Andrews 1978; Martin 2013).

For over a century, the Island Carib had successfully defended their islands against Spanish and other European aggression. They had retained most of them by the time the northern Europeans entered the region as colonizers. The first six decades of the 1600s would prove to be most difficult for the Island Carib as the French, English and Dutch descended on the Lesser Antilles and challenged them for possession. The unsuccessful attempt to settle Grenada in 1609 was an early indication that the northern Europeans were serious about occupying these islands, but the final struggle began in earnest in the 1620s when the English and the French successfully established settlements on St. Kitts, followed by English colonies on Barbados and Nevis, while the Dutch occupied Tobago.

4 *Island Carib/Kalinago Archaeology*

The so-called Suazoid (or Suazan Troumassoid) and Cayoid ceramic series represent the latest precolonial and earliest indigenous colonial period pottery developments in the Windward Islands (Allaire 2013; Bright 2011; Hofman 2013; Keegan and Hofman 2017). Initial archaeological links between the Cayo complex and the Island Carib were made in the 1980s and 1990s (Boomert 1986, 1995), based on similarities between Cayo pottery and the Koriabo ceramics from the Guianas. The Koriabo ceramic series emerged on the South American mainland around AD 1100–1250. It is distributed in the coastal areas and on the river banks of Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana, the interior of the Guianas, and northeastern Brazil, as far south as the lower reaches of the Xingú River. Koriabo forms part of the Polychrome Tradition or Marajoaroid series of Amazonia (Boomert 2004; Rostain 2009; Van den Bel 2015). Its pottery complex continues to exist well into the early colonial period and represents the ancestral ceramic tradition of the contemporary *Kaliña* or Mainland Carib of the Guianas and Orinoco Valley (Boomert 1986). Specific Cayo elements may have been inspired by *Kaliña* carrying out raids in the Lesser Antilles, exchanging marriage partners with the local inhabitants (Boomert 1995; Davis and Goodwin 1990), or just by movements of peoples up the islands. Descriptions in the historic documents have led to the suggestion that there existed a ceramic repertoire of well-finished vessels with Cariban affiliated names and related to

the men's realm in contrast to lesser finished domestic pottery and griddles with Maipuran Arawakan or European names and related to the female sphere of activities (Breton 1665; Boomert 1986, 1995, 2011). This linguistic dichotomy would concur with the male and female registers within the Island Carib language that were recorded by the seventeenth-century French chroniclers, notably a male register of Maipuran Arawakan character with an extensive *Kaliña* or *Kaliña*-derived vocabulary, and an entirely Arawakan female register (Hoff 1994, 1995). The male's 'language' shows elements suggesting that it was used as a pidgin during trade contacts between the Island and Mainland Carib (Taylor and Hoff 1980).

4.1 *Cayo Sites in the Lesser Antilles*

At present, more than twenty archaeological sites with Cayo remains have been documented throughout the Windward Islands (Bright 2011; Hofman and Hoogland 2012; 2018). These sites are located between Grenada and Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe, on the Grenadines (Ile de Ronde), St. Vincent, and Dominica (Allaire 1994; Boomert 1986, 2009, 2010; Bullen and Bullen 1972; Holdren 1998; Hofman 2016; Honychurch 2000; Kirby 1973; Petitjean Roget 2001/2002; Richard 2002). Besides, related materials are known from Grande-Terre, Guadeloupe, La Désirade (Hofman 1995; Hofman et al. 2004, 2014; de Waal 2006). Isolated Cayo vessels and sherds have been reported from St. Lucia, Martinique (Bright 2011), and St. Croix (Hardy 2008, Figure 57; Martijn van den Bel pers. communication 2016; Corinne Hofman pers. observation 2016).

Recent investigations on St Vincent and Grenada have provided unique new insights into the archaeology of the *Kalinago*, especially with regard to their village layout and associated material culture repertoires, including European trade wares (Hofman and Hoogland 2012; Hofman et al. 2015; Keegan and Hofman 2017). A series of radiocarbon samples from the sites of Argyle and La Poterie, on St. Vincent and Grenada respectively, have provided dates for these sites between the late fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, and are thus consistent with the documentary information presented in the foregoing paragraphs and the European materials encountered at these sites as shown below (Figure 16.2).

4.2 *Village Location and Layout*

The chroniclers describe hamlets or single households dispersed across the landscape (Labat [1722] 2005). Blondel's map of 1666, shows the distribution of Carib sites on the island of Grenada to be located particularly in the northern and eastern parts of the island (Figure 16.3). The French missionary Raymond Breton (1665) mentions that settlements were usually located close to the sea

FIGURE 16.2 Radiocarbon dates for Avgyle, St. Vincent and La Poterie, Grenada. On the right chronology based on late sixteenth-early seventeenth-century European earthenwares

FIGURE 16.3 (left) Map of St. Vincent with Cayo sites; (middle) seventeenth-century map of Grenada by Blondel with ethnohistoric evidence of Carib/*Kalinago* settlements; (right) map of Grenada with Cayo sites
IMAGE BY MENNO L.P. HOOGLAND

and a river mouth (Breton 1665, 1978) on the rugged sides of the islands, facing the Atlantic Ocean. The distribution of Cayo sites on Grenada and other Windward islands, so far concur with these descriptions as the majority of sites has been found on the Windward side of the islands close to the sea and a river mouth (Hofman and Hoogland 2012) (Figure 16.3). According to Breton, a typical *Kalinago* village would include a rectangular to oval men's (assembly) house (*táboüi*) and a number of round family dwellings (*mánna*) around a *plaza* (e.g. Breton 1665/1666, 1978). The assembly house served as a meeting place for the men of the village, as an arms depot, a place to receive and accommodate guests, to hold communal feasts, and to bury deceased (male) members of the community. Several small rectangular structures such as racks and sheds were scattered between the houses. The *barbakot* or *boucan* is mentioned, i.e. a wooden rack consisting of four forked wooden sticks on which thin, straight branches were placed. Cooking places consisted of three stones on which wood and wood pulp were burned (Breton 1665; Hofman et al. 2015).

These descriptions concur with what has been recorded at the site of Argyle on St. Vincent where open-area excavations have revealed the postholes of eleven domestic structures located around two plazas (10x15 m and 15x25 m). The houses and the plazas are probably related to two, partially overlapping, building phases. During the second phase the village was rebuilt on the same location (Hofman and Hoogland 2012, 2018; Hofman et al. 2015). Nine of the eleven structures at Argyle harmonize with the descriptions for the *mánna*, i.e. small round to oval family houses (between 4.5x5 and 6x8 m), while the two largest structures can be interpreted as *táboüi* or oval men's houses. The largest Argyle *táboüi* measures 12x4 m (Hofman et al. 2015). At least 20 structures, all round to oval, were (re-)constructed from ca. 500 posthole features at the site of La Poterie in Grenada, of which some belong to the Cayo component of the site. All of them have a double row of posts, while some have two central posts and measure between 3 to 8 m in diameter. At La Poterie no plaza areas have been identified to date, obscuring the layout of the settlement and hampering full comparison to Argyle.

Burial pits were found in two of the round houses at Argyle. The skeletal material was not preserved due to the high acidity of the site's clayish soil, but two of the three burial pits yielded fragmented teeth of two adult individuals under the age of 25 years (Hofman and Hoogland 2012). The practice of burying the deceased under house floors is described by Father Breton (1665, 237–238) and other early chroniclers. Breton notes that the Island Carib “would dig a round pit three feet deep in the house for the dead person to be covered,” continuing that the deceased was placed in a prepared grave and wrapped in a brand-new hammock, “in almost the same posture as a child in a mother's womb, neither

turned upside down nor flat faced in the dirt, but upright, the feet below, the head above supported on the knees, and the grave covered with a plank." Indeed, the grave pit was sometimes covered by reed mats or boards/planks; additionally, clay pots were buried over the head. Burial examples from late precolonial components of sites in the Lesser Antilles suggest that this way of burying the dead was a widespread and long-lasting custom in the region (Hoogland and Hofman 2013).

4.3 *Material Culture Repertoire*

4.3.1 Cayo Pottery

Apart from the obviously South American origin of various stylistic and morphological elements as well as manufacturing techniques, Cayo ceramics exhibit links with the Greater Antillean Chicoid and Meillacoid ceramic series, particularly in decorative elements and specific vessel shapes. The latter include medium-sized biconical bowls with concave necks which are often decorated with punctuated or nicked small knobs at the corner point (e.g. Cayo Vessel Form 4 in Boomert 1986 Figures. 3:4, 5:4, 10:4). Form as well as ornamentation of this vessel shape show close similarities to the Late Chicoid bowls of Hispaniola, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, especially those discussed by García Arévalo (1978, Figure 2, Lam. III:b-c). The decorative elements relating Cayo especially to the Koriabo complex of the mainland include painted or slipped designs, incised and grooved motifs, punctuations, lobed rims, and outward bossed wall sections (Boomert 1986, 27). Unrestricted bowls (so-called 'flower bowls') with carinated or indented ('lobed') rims are characteristic, often showing white-slipped interior surfaces. Some fragments suggest that originally they may have had red and/or black-painted designs on these white backgrounds. This way of decorating bowls is typical of the Koriabo pottery in the Guianas and occurs as far as northern Brazil (Boomert 2004; pers. communication Stephen Rostain and Christiana Barreto 2016). Another characteristic vessel shape is a large restricted jar made of reddish clay. It likely served as a container for the fermenting of cassava beer (*ouïcou*), and is mentioned as such by the early seventeenth-century chroniclers. In some instances, these jars have modeled decorations of animal/human faces (Figure 16.4).

4.3.2 European Tradewares

European earthenwares and merchandise were found intermingled with indigenous objects at these Cayo sites. Most of these trade wares come from the cliff side behind the houses, which was supposedly the area where the garbage was thrown. At La Poterie a fair amount was also found in the house area, but without clear association to a particular house or feature. European objects include

FIGURE 16.4 Cayo pottery from La Poterie, Grenada

IMAGE BY MENNO L.P. HOOGLAND

Spanish *maravedí* coins (<https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/233375>), pieces of iron, lead and glass, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spanish, Italian, and Dutch earthenwares, middle-style Iberian olive jars, as well as a series of glass beads (chevron and seed beads), and gun flints (Figure 16.5a-r). Some of the olive jar fragments have translucent green glaze on the exterior surface. An Argyle specimen has a mark on the rim that was stamped into the wet clay and represents the jar's ownership rather than its manufacturer's sign (Figure 16.5i; Marken 1994, 16). The first documented olive jars with rim marks of this type are from three securely dated Spanish wrecks from the first half of the seventeenth century (ca. 1622) (cf. Goggin 1960, 1968; Marken 1994, 50–51). The La Poterie assemblage also includes a tin-glazed fragment of a Beretino Ligurian Blue-on-Blue rounded plate with outwardly

FIGURE 16.5 European trade wares from Grenada and St. Vincent: (a-b) Spanish copper *maravedí* coins; (c-g) sixteenth- and seventeenth-century beads; (h) fifteenth/sixteenth-century Spanish majolica; (i) Spanish olive jar; (j) sixteenth-century Ligurian *berettino* plate; (k-m) sixteenth-century Spanish majolica; (n-r) early seventeenth-century Dutch majolica and faience.

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curved rim and footring. This is a faience dating to 1550–1610. It has a buff fabric, it is blue tin-glazed (Figure 16.5j) on the front and back, with a decoration of a rosette with vegetable garland on the front and crossing arches on the back. The Ligurian Blue-on-Blue is the Italian prototype of the Seville Blue-on-Blue which was manufactured in Spain. On Seville Blue-and-Blue the motifs are simpler and less carefully executed than those of Ligurian Blue-on-Blue (www.floridamuseum.ufl/histarch/gallery). In addition, the La Poterie assemblage is composed of several pieces of Dutch faience and majolica dating from the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, such as a fragment of a Dutch majolica (*'kraakporcelein'*) plate, with a buff fabric and a Chinese (Wanli)-motif of flowers and ribbons on the flange (Figure 16.5r). It is a very common motif and similar to a dish representing Mother Mary with Christ, from northern Netherlands, with similar floral motifs on the flange (Museum Boymans van Beuningen, Rotterdam; Scholten 1993, 76–77). It dates to the early seventeenth century (1610–1660). This is most likely the first evidence of Dutch trade ware in indigenous archaeological context from the Lesser Antilles.

5 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The colonization of the Lesser Antilles was a lengthy process that spanned over 300 years. Much of that story was told solely from the perspective of Western European chroniclers until the beginning of the study of Caribbean archaeology in the twentieth century. Though the chronicles include biased information, they nonetheless provide important details that continue to shed light on the lifeways of the indigenous peoples, their encounters with Europeans and Africans, and their responses to European colonization. As we have demonstrated, archaeology of Island Carib/*Kalinago* sites in the Windward Islands of the Lesser Antilles have revealed important information on the lifeways, deathways and material culture of the early colonial Island Carib, placing the chronicles in perspective to better understand the vast network of social relationships in the southern Caribbean.

During the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, the *Kalinago* strongholds participated in a complex trans-Atlantic system that emerged from the combination of new colonial and trade strategies with preexisting indigenous exchange and alliance networks. The *Kalinago* communities were evidently encapsulated within the expanding European territories, but also enjoyed a great amount of local autonomy and the capability to re-negotiate the new colonial realities and inflow of peoples, goods and ideas. They were clearly not only enemies, but also trading partners of the Europeans (Hofman et al. 2014).

The archaeological investigations in St. Vincent and Grenada have provided important new insights into the Amerindian settlement structure, burial practices and associated material culture repertoires of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. The blending of local, South American mainland and Greater Antillean ceramic traditions in what has been labelled the Cayo complex, or more recently the Cayoid series, evidences the role of the Lesser Antilles as a new conglomerate of peoples fleeing the Spanish threat, as well as the complex social relationships and intercultural dynamics that existed during the early colonial era.

The presence of locally produced Koriabo ceramics in the Lesser Antilles suggests that mainland Carib communities moved to the islands, probably during the Late Ceramic Age, taking with them their ancestral homeland traditions. This concurs with the oral history documented by the European chroniclers. It also emphasizes the possible role that Greater Antillean refugees or Carib raids on Greater Antillean settlements may have played in the transmission of stylistic traits from the larger islands to the Lesser Antillean ceramic assemblages. The presence of European trade wares (Spanish, Italian, Dutch) and the circulation of European beads and other adornments in the Lesser Antilles reflect the early negotiations between the indigenous peoples and Europeans in the initial years of their encounters around the Caribbean Sea (Hofman et al. 2014). Though it is difficult to identify the Spanish and other European finds at Grenada and St. Vincent due to direct trade between them and the Carib, the first exchange encounters in the sixteenth century and afterwards were referenced by the Spanish who stopped to refresh and trade (Cardona [1632] 1974; Martin 2013). Besides, by the early seventeenth century the interaction between Island Carib and Spanish became much less violent than previously, partially due to the sending of missionaries to the islands. It is recorded that the adoption of the spritsail by the Island Carib can be attributed to a Franciscan friar who stayed in Dominica for sixteen months in 1605–1606 (Boomert 2002). Early colonial sources also mention that indigenous goods, often made of perishable materials, had a lasting impact on the European-Amerindian exchange networks during the early-colonial period. They mention the use of hammocks that revolutionized the seventeenth and eighteenth-century maritime logistics, and the popularity of the indigenously domesticated tobacco. The differential absorption of escaped enslaved Africans by the Island Carib communities as the colonial period progressed undoubtedly had an impact on the material cultural objects produced by both peoples. The intercultural dynamics resulted in new and unique social formations influenced by Amerindian, European and African cultural elements.

Amerindian-African-European intercultural dynamics are still mirrored in today's locally produced earthenware (known as the Afro-Caribbean ware or folk pottery), which represents the last in a long line of local pottery manufacturing traditions in some of the islands of the Lesser Antilles, notably St. Lucia, Martinique, Antigua, and Nevis (Hauser and Handler 2009; Hofman and Bright 2004; Hofman et al. 2004). Indigenous elements are also visible throughout the Caribbean in the extensive use of forms of traditional agriculture (slash-and-burn cultivation, *conucos*) and other subsistence practices, techniques of food preparation, house building, an array of cultural and linguistic traditions, ritual practices as well as ecological knowledge, the intensive use of indigenous plant species for economic and curative purposes, all aspects that constitute an important part of everyday life in the Caribbean today (Hofman et al. 2018; Pesoutova and Hofman 2016).

The present-day *Kalinago* in the Lesser Antilles are the direct inheritors of the Island Carib cultural traditions, with a considerable stake in the archaeological cultural heritage. The archaeological findings represent a source of considerable historical interest for the *Kalinago* and *Garifuna* communities in St. Vincent, Trinidad and Dominica, as well as throughout the wider Caribbean area and Central America as their origin has long been contested due to a lack of firm archaeological evidence. In the context of the construction of the Argyle International Airport, St. Vincent, the government of Saint Vincent and The Grenadines requested the rebuilding of the Cayo village at its original location. In March 2015, Leiden University presented a model of the village to the National Public Library at Kingstown during the Garifuna Conference held on the island. In January 2016 we started the building of the first experimental *Kalinago* house at Argyle in collaboration with the local stakeholders. The village with one *táboüi* and four *manná* has just been completed, and will be one of the key interest locations on the island for the region's indigenous peoples, Vincentians and visitors to the island.

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