N. González

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

In: *New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 57 (1983), no: 3/4, Leiden, 143-172

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

NEW EVIDENCE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE BLACK CARIB

WITH THOUGHTS ON THE MEANING OF TRADITION

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

ST. VINCENT AND THE CARIB WAR OF 1795-96.

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

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

disastrous to their cause. Although a detailed description of this pestilence must await another article, it is important to note here that mortality exceeded 50% among those finally captured, and there is no way to know how many it had killed before the first major surrender in July, 1796.⁴

THE REMOVAL TO ROATAN

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

Table 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE FLIGHT TO HONDURAS

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

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

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

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

Table 2.

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

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

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

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

formally at war. Indirect evidence makes it clear that the Belizeans had expected the Carib to help support their occupation of the territory, and were terrified by the knowledge that these famous warriors were not only lost to the British cause but had been enlisted by the enemy.¹² Caribs, along with a number of free black French soldiers who had settled near Truxillo only a year earlier, were used in an attack on the British settlement at Black River (Rio Tinto) during the War of 1799.¹³ In this, they fought against the Miskito Indians, longtime partisans of the British.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANALYSIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

speaking blacks at Truxillo may have served as translators, and perhaps, general facilitators at first. But the oftnoted Carib linguistic ability served them well, and within a generation, even many women were fluent in Spanish (MMS Box 133, No. 183). Mosquito Coast Creole English, which served as a kind of *lingua franca* in the area, was probably also learned very quickly and certainly served as the means of communication when the Carib men first ventured to work in the woodcutting operations in Belize in 1802.²¹

THE IDEA OF TRADITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. Letter cited in Note 11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REFERENCES

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS AND MANUSCRIPTS (Abbreviations Used)

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

PUBLISHED SOURCES

BARD, SAMUEL A. 1855. *Waikna: adventures on the Mosquito Shore*. Gainesville, University of Florida Press (facsimile edition 1965).

BARNETT, HOMER, 1953. *Innovation: the basis of cultural change*. New York, McGraw Hill.

BARTH, FREDRIK (ed.), 1969. *Ethnic groups and boundaries*. Boston, Little Brown.

BEAUCAGE, PIERRE, 1966. Les Carâibes Noirs: trois siècles de changement social. *Anthropologica* 8: 175-195.

— 1970. *Economic anthropology of the Black Carib of Honduras*. London, University of London Ph. D. dissertation.

BURDON, J. A. (ed.), 1931. *Archives of British Honduras*, Vol. 1. London, Sifton Praed.

COHEN, ABNER (ed.), 1974. *Urban ethnicity*. London, Tavistock.

COSMINSKY, SHEILA, 1976. Birth rituals and symbolism: a Quiche Maya-Black Carib comparison. In Philip Young & James Howe, (eds.) *Ritual and symbol in native Central America*. Eugene: University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 9.

CRAWFORD, M. H. (ed.), 1983. *Current developments in anthropological genetics: population structure of the Black Caribs*, Vol. 3. New York, Plenum.

CRAWFORD, M. H. & N. L. GONZÁLEZ, et. al., 1981. The Black Caribs (Garifuna) of Livingston, Guatemala: genetic markers and admixture estimates. *Human Biology* 53 (1): 87-103.

DAVIDSON, W. V., 1974. The Caribs (Garifuna) of Central America: a map of their realm and a bibliography of research. *National Studies* (Belize) 2 (6): 15-25.

DELORIA, VINE, JR., 1969. *Custer died for your sins*. New York, Macmillan.

FIRSCHIN, I. L. 1961. Population dynamics of the sickle-cell trait in the Black Caribs of British Honduras, Central America. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 13: 233-254.

FORTUNE, REO, 1932. *The sorcerers of Dobu*. New York, Dutton.

FOSTER, BYRON, 1981. Body, soul and social structure of the Garifuna dugu. *Belizean Studies* 9 (4): 1-11.

GONZÁLEZ, NANCIE L., 1959. West Indian characteristics of the Black Carib. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15: 303-307.

- 1963. Patterns of diet, health and sickness in a Black Carib community. *Tropical & Geographical Medicine* 15: 422–430.
- 1969. *Black Carib household structure: a study of migration and modernization*. Seattle, University of Washington Press.
- 1970. The neoteric society. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 12 (1): 1–13.
- 1976–1977. Unpublished field notes. Guatemala and Belize.
- GULLICK, C. J. M. R., 1976. *Exiled from St. Vincent: the development of Black Carib culture in Central America up to 1945*. Malta, Progress Press.
- 1976. The Black Caribs of St. Vincent: the Carib war, and its aftermath. *Actes du XLII^e Congrès International des Americanistes* (6): 451–465.
- 1978. The ecological background to the Carib wars. *Journal of Belizean Affairs* 6: 51–61.
- HADEL, RICHARD E., 1972. *Carib folk songs and Carib culture*. Austin: University of Texas Ph.D. dissertation.
- HARRIS, MARVIN, 1968. *The rise of anthropological theory*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell.
- HELMS, MARY W., 1971. *Asang: adaptations to culture contact in a Miskito community*. Gainesville, University of Florida Press.
- 1976. Domestic organization in Eastern Central America: the San Blas Cuna, Miskito, and Black Carib compared. *The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6 (3): 133–163.
- 1981. Black Carib domestic organization in historical perspective: traditional origins of contemporary patterns. *Ethnology* 20 (1): 77–86.
- HERSKOVITS, M. J., 1938. *Acculturation: the study of culture contact*. Locust Valley, N.Y., J. J. Augustin.
- HOLM, JOHN, 1977. Miskito words in Belize Creole. *Belizean Studies* 5 (6): 1–19.
- 1978a. Caribs in Central America. *Belizean Studies* 6 (6): 23–32.
- 1978b. *The creole English of Nicaragua's Miskito Coast: its sociolinguistic history and comparative study of its lexicon and syntax*. London, University of London Ph.D. dissertation.
- HYMES, DELL (ed.), 1969. *Reinventing anthropology*. New York, Random House.
- KELSEY, VERA & LILLY DE JONGH OSBORNE, 1939. *Four keys to Guatemala*. New York, Funk and Wagnalls.

KERNS, VIRGINIA, 1976. Black Carib (Garifuna) paternity rituals. *Actes du XLII^e Congrès International des Américanistes* (6): 513-523.

— 1983. *Women and the ancestors: Black Carib kinship and ritual*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press.

KERNS, VIRGINIA & ROBERT DIRKS, 1975. John Canoe. *National Studies* 3 (6): 1-15.

KIRBY, I. E. & C. I. MARTIN, 1972. *The rise and fall of the Black Caribs*. St. Vincent, Kirby & Martin.

MCCOMMON, CAROLYN S., 1982. *Mating as a reproductive strategy: a Black Carib example*. State College, Pennsylvania State University Ph.D. dissertation.

METCALF, PETER, 1982. The king within: the concept of power in nineteenth century Borneo. London, University of London symposium, Department of Anthropology.

PALACIO, J. O., 1973a. Black Carib history up to 1795. *Journal of Belizean Affairs* 1: 31-41.

— 1973b. Carib ancestral rites: a brief analysis. *National Studies* 1 (3): 3-8.

PORTER, ROBERT W., 1980. The idiom of migration in Garifuna life history. Presented at meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Washington D.C., ms.

SANFORD, M. S., 1971. *Disruption of the mother-child relationship in conjunction with matrifocality: a study of childkeeping among the Carib and Creole of British Honduras*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, Ph.D. dissertation.

SORENSEN, A. P., JR., 1971. Multilingualism in the northwest Amazon. *American Anthropologist* 69: 670-84.

SQUIER, EPHRAIM GEORGE, 1855. *Notes on Central America*. New York, Harper.

STOCKING, GEORGE W., JR., 1968. On the limits of 'presentism' and 'historicism' in the historiography of the behavioral sciences. In George W. Stocking, Jr., (ed). *Race, culture, and evolution: essays in the history of anthropology*. New York, The Free Press, pp. 1-12.

TAYLOR, DOUGLAS M., 1951. *The Black Caribs of British Honduras*. New York, The Viking Press.

— 1977. *Languages of the West Indies*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

TEJADA, CARLOS & N. L. GONZÁLEZ & M. SÁNCHEZ, 1965. El factor diego y el gene de células falciformes entre los Caribes de raza negra de Livingston, Guatemala. *Revista del Colegio Médico de Guatemala* 16 (2): 83-86.

TURNBULL, COLIN M., 1972. *The mountain people*. New York, Simon & Schuster.

WELLS, W. V., 1857. *Explorations and adventure in Honduras*. New York, Harper.

YOUNG, COLVILLE, 1973. *A sociolinguistic study of Belize Creole*. New York, New York University Ph.D. dissertation.

YOUNG, THOMAS, 1847. *Narrative of a residence on the Mosquito Shore*. London, Smith, Elder & Co.

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