THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON THE METROPOLITAN AND FOLK SOCIETY OF CARRIACOU, GRENADA

DONALD R. HILL

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PREFACE

This monograph has two objectives: one is to show how Carriacouan society unfolds from two interrelated components—the metropolitan or colonial and postcolonial order, both in Carriacou and abroad; and the local folk order. Second, it is a holistic treatment of Carriacouan social organization giving close attention to wage labor migration. As such, it is written for a general audience interested in the Caribbean.

By metropolitan I mean roughly half of Carriacou's social organization. Metropolitan institutions of Carriacou are those local institutions that were originally established by the colonial government. As "metropolitan" is sometimes used in the West Indies to refer to "mother country" I have deliberately chosen it to emphasize the connection between Carriacou's administrative government and the civil servants who maintain it, Grenada as the seat of that government, and Britain as the mother country. The metropolitan part of Carriacou's social organization is a local manifestation of the remnants of the worldwide empire of Great Britain. It is important to keep this in mind since it goes a long way in explaining the lack of local control over economic decisions that not only influence Carriacou's metropolitan institutions but also through them their folk institutions.

A good deal of attention has been paid to migration in the last decade[1] but only in the last few years have complete monographs on West Indian societies become available (Gonzalez, 1969; Crane, 1971; Philpott, 1973; Wilson, 1973). These studies are problem-oriented rather than broad ethnographies. Gonzalez's important study of Black Caribs viewed households with female heads, migrant wage labor, an imbalance of adult females over adult males, and a "neoteric" society (a society originally formed from Colonialism and imported labor) as coterminous. Philpott dealt with Montserratian migration in a metropolitan, local community, and household context. He paid close attention to remittances and the impact of migrants in England on Montserratian institutions. Crane's monograph is useful for the history of migration from Saba and its impact on local social organization (particularly the economy, education, and politics). Wilson's study of Providence Island emphasized class, kinship, and expressive behavior. None of these, however, covers in detail the entire range of historical, economic, and religious facets of social structure, and their bearing on migration.

The societies described in these monographs have more complex social organizations than has Carriacou, making it better suited for a holistic treatment. Saba's social organization was divided into two separate but interconnected groups of people: blacks and whites. The Caribbean coast of Central America where Black Caribs live contains an ethnic pluralism not found in Carriacou. All the societies mentioned but Saba are socially stratified to a greater degree than Carriacou.

Smith conducted the first fieldwork in Carriacou in 1953. His focus was on kinship and on the transmission of land rights (1956, 1961, 1962a, 1962b). Elder (1972), Kingsbury (1960a, 1960b), Pearse (1953, 1956a);[2] Procope (1956),

[1]Gonzalez (1969), Crane (1971), and Philpott (1973) each contain extensive sections on relevant migrant studies in the Caribbean and elsewhere.

[2]Pearse (1956b, pp. 190-191) has applied the following distinction to mid-nineteenth century Trinidad: "the peculiar features of Trinidad's development . . . can best be understood by use of the concepts 'superstructure' and 'folk', and their interaction. By 'superstructure' we mean the interwoven administrative, legal, economic and religious institutions stemming from the colonising power (or its predecessor) and supported by it. By 'folk' in this case we mean the people living within the above framework, the major part of whose culture has been transmitted to them from sources other than those of the superstructural institutions, though they may have appropriated some elements of the latter. The controlling positions in the superstructure are manned by an elite, usually having broad common interests including a shared general policy with regard to the society as a whole. In Trinidad the superstructure was by no means monolithic" (1956b, pp. 190-191). This is roughly the same distinction I have applied to Carriacou. "Metropolitan" and "folk" aspects of the social structure are more clearly visible in Carriacou, in fact, than in Trinidad where, even in the nineteenth century, the social structure was very complex.

Richardson (1974, 1975), and the Southampton Expedition (1969) have made brief studies of Carriacouan folklore, boat-building, migration, or cultural geography. None of these studies, however, including Smith's pioneering work, was meant to give an in-depth look at the economic, social, and religious aspects of this intriguing society, and how the whole society developed, in part, because of its unusual labor history. Furthermore, more than 20 years have elapsed since Smith was in Carriacou and many changes have taken place that have gone undocumented. Intensive, long-term fieldwork, coupled with library research was needed to complete and update the older data.[1]

The theoretical bases of this study grew out of my interest in broad issues of rural-urban dichotomies (Redfield, 1953, 1960); Popperian philosophy of science (Popper, 1968 pp. 13-145); Herskovits's notion of New World "Africanisms" (1945); Smith's research on Carriacou, particularly with respect to kinship and folk society; structuralism (Mauss, 1967; Levi-Strauss, 1966); broadly Marxian analyses of economic systems (Wolf, 1966); ecological process (Geertz, 1968); general folklore theory (Dundes, 1965; Dorson, 1972); and field theory (Frucht, 1968; Philpott, 1973). Each of these orientations entered into my interpretations of data in roughly the order listed above. None of these theoretical positions, however, has been adhered to with sufficient zeal to make this monograph an example of any one particular theory. Rather, it is hoped, a synthesis has been achieved which explains the facts of Carriacouan society.

My fieldwork in Carriacou with my wife, Blanche, and our son, Tony, began March 3, 1970. We left Carriacou after completing the research on November 15, 1971. During this time we took several brief trips to Grenada, Petite Martinique, Barbados, and Trinidad. Between November 15, 1971 and November 24, 1972 we lived in Curepe, Trinidad, near the University of the West Indies where I wrote the first draft of my doctoral dissertation. The present monograph is a major revision of that work.

In Trinidad we were able to meet with Carriacouans from time to time and continued to correspond with others on the island. From April 23, 1973 until the present my family and I have been living in the New York City area and have maintained contact with many Carriacouans living in Brooklyn. Although based primarily on the original Carriacou research, this monograph reflects subsequent experiences in Trinidad and New York.

Any field method is suspect if used alone. Furthermore, the measurement of an event by a field technique affects that event. Therefore, I have used a variety of methods in this study: I wanted to examine a given event from as many perspectives as possible. With this objective in mind, I utilized dispassionate observation, participant observation, questionnaire responses, open-ended interviews, tape-recordings of events, films or photographs of events, ethnohistorical sources, and historical sources.

I have not set out to "test hypotheses" in this study although it is written to facilitate hypothesis-oriented cross-cultural research.

I began the fieldwork by photographically mapping the island from hilltops. This was particularly useful at the time of our arrival (the dry season) when vegetation was cut-back and land-use patterns were revealed. At the same time I made daily visits to a bar in Hillsborough frequented by returned male migrants (daily fieldwork soon proved too difficult with a couple of beers under my belt before noon). Thus, as I became accustomed to the island, I gained a broad overview of the environment and a general picture of migration from returned migrants at a time they were inclined to talk (and boast). After about six weeks (with the beer drinking eliminated) I had photographed every building in Hillsborough. In this way I was able to map the town and get to know its residents. While making the high-elevation photographs I was similarly introduced to village people.

After this preliminary work was accomplished it was relatively simple to proceed about specific projects: monitor the crop cycle, attend fetes, copy documents from the Catholic records, become acquainted with the daily routines of

[1]Still needed is intensive study by female anthropologists. I do not suggest, however, that the sex of the anthropologist is vital everywhere but it certainly is in Carriacou, where the majority of the people are female and where sex roles are so important.

several families, and begin to administer a questionnaire. Still, the usual pitfalls of first stage fieldwork occurred (learning to speak and understand dialect, unintended errors of etiquette, strategic mistakes in work routines—I missed one of two major boat launchings held in the first months I was on Carriacou). We were able to obtain twice as much data in the second year by learning from these mistakes. By that time Carriacouans spoke more freely to us; I missed fewer key events; relationships between individuals, families, and communities began to emerge; societal distinctions stood out more clearly; and the social organization became understandable in the sense that sufficient information to explain situations was within reach (of course, complete understanding is a will-o'-the-wisp). In this year I attended many more fetes, copied available demographic data, recorded many more interviews, copied manuscripts written by local school teachers, took photographs, and shot a good deal of eight millimeter film.

Often, the specific technique used to elicit information is mentioned in the text. Footnoted transcriptions have been made of informants' data and are in the literature cited. When it is important to maintain the anonymity of an informant, a fictitious name has been created and footnoted. The interviews are on file with the Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University at Bloomington, Indiana. Similarly, tape-recordings of music, folk tales, and rituals are on file in the Archives. Photographs and questionnaire responses are available only from my files but have been classified and marked in the draft copy of this monograph and may be used by those interested. An explanation of the questionnaire is found in Appendix B.

Qualified field workers should be able to replicate the techniques used by an anthropologist. Without this possibility of independent judgment on the same or similar data or the ability to reconstitute similar data on the part of an independent observer, anthropological fieldwork would be of little value. A researcher, when confronted with a monograph, must be equipped by the author with the tools for rediscovering that data or assembling it independently so that the same or conflicting (if the work is faulty) conclusions can be drawn.

Carriacouans speak an English dialect that is nearly sufficiently differentiated from standard English to be classified as an independent language. It is similar to a "one month" Eskimo dialect: a person who speaks standard English can understand the Carriacouan dialect with about a month of intensive effort. Although all Carriacouans speak this variant of West Indian creole English, many also understand and speak standard English. Some of the older people speak patois. The English dialect contains many patois words. Carriacouans refer to their dialect as "broken English" and to patois as "broken French" but, as linguists now agree, there is nothing "broken" about them. As one reads this monograph it will become apparent that the English dialect of Carriacou is a rich language.

Because of the wide gap between Carriacouan English and standard English, Carriacouan words are in quotation marks when they first appear in the text. These words are found in the Glossary. Some informants' quotes are rendered completely in standard English and others in dialect, just as they were recorded (informants sometimes use standard English when speaking formally). I have sometimes rendered words in standard English even though differences in pronunciation occur. Most Carriacouans, for example, say "fren'in," not "friending," the spelling that I have used. There is no consistent spelling of West Indian words—even place names —and for this reason, most spellings are arbitrary. Readers will recognize that kalinda is the same as "kalenda," "calenda," or "calinda."

Literature cited includes references plus four or five other sources directly concerning Carriacou.

ABSTRACT

Carriacouan society is made up of two components—metropolitan and folk. The metropolitan part of Carriacouan society has been directly controlled or influenced by the colonial power. Once a British colony, Carriacou has the civil and religious institutions typical of any colony. Yet Carriacouans maintain a traditional social organization which parallels, in many ways, the functions of their metropolitan institutions. Sometimes these two aspects of the social organization are clearly separable and Carriacouans choose between alternate institutions in solving specific problems (subsistence gardening or purchased food, moot settlements or civil courts, bush or western medicine, folk religion or Christian churches). At other times there is a fusion between metropolitan and folk aspects within these institutions (for example, in the elaborate marriage customs).

Carriacou's economy is based on cash earned abroad, a few local occupations (civil service, boat-building, smuggling, fishing, hauling cargo, operating taxis, and owning shops), cash crops (cotton, limes, and groundnuts), and range animals (cattle, sheep, and goats). Complementing this cash economy is the subsistence economy in which Carriacouans grow corn and peas, raise yard animals, and participate in cooperative labor.

Carriacouan women teach children the traditional folk values. Girls are taught the household responsibilities that will enable them to be good wives, "girl friends," and mothers to the next generation. The childhood of boys is less restricted but they are expected to migrate as adults in order to send money home, buy land, build a house, marry, entomb parents, and sponsor traditional fetes upon their return.

Because of the vast male emigration since 1838, there have been approximately two women for each man residing in Carriacou. The household, mating, and kinship systems, and the residence rules reflect this imbalance. Adult men residing on the island are expected to marry and their wives are expected to remain faithful for a lifetime. Most married men also have one or more girl friends who live in a separate household with their children, and perhaps their mother and grandmother. Matrilineages ("bloods") and agnatic families function to control marriage, hold and disperse family land, maintain social order, and carry out ritual obligations. Until the 1960s this kinship system was enhanced by the emigration of adult males, the concentration of money in their hands, and the need for the disposal of migrants' land.

While men hold economic power in this society elders maintain ritual control. Most rituals are directed to the ancestors ("Old Parents"). These include Sacrifices (a fete that includes ritually prepared food), and Thanksgivings (a similar fete), and a cycle for the dead that lasts many years. The contingencies of life, particularly sickness, crop preparation, sailing, and migration, are of major concern for elders and the Old Parents.

Although the social organization and culture of Carriacou is constantly changing, the social structure has remained remarkably stable due to migration and the family system by which migrants are supported and in turn support relatives in Carriacou. In recent years modifications have included demographic shifts (lower birth and death rates, an increase in the migration of children and young women, and a decrease in the migration of young men), stress between the sexes as a result of women's enhanced economic power, a weakening of the influence of men and elders, and a weakening of the influence of the ancestors within a still viable folk religion.

INTRODUCTION

Carriacou, 7½ miles long and 2½ miles wide, is the largest of the Grenadine Islands in the southern Caribbean (fig. 1). It lies between St. Vincent to the north and Grenada to the south. Carriacou (fig. 2) and nearby Petite Martinique are a part of the state of Grenada, which became independent in 1974 and joined the United Nations in 1975. The people of Carriacou are largely of West African descent (see figs. 3, 4) except in Windward village where people have some northwest European racial characteristics. The society of Carriacou is "neoteric," a term used by Gonzalez and others to describe plantation societies originally composed of Old World master and slave classes with little input from an indigenous society (Gonzalez, 1969). The organized political, economic, educational, and religious structure of the island is largely of French and British origin. This social structure is maintained by metropolitan institutions and modified by the folk society. The folk society has its origins in the traditional cultures brought to the island from West Africa, the Congo, Britain, and France. During the early colonial period, a single yet varied folk society emerged from these diverse sources. The folk society of present-day Carriacou is the result of continuous interplay between the traditional folk culture and the metropolitan culture.

Carriacouans engage in three major sub-

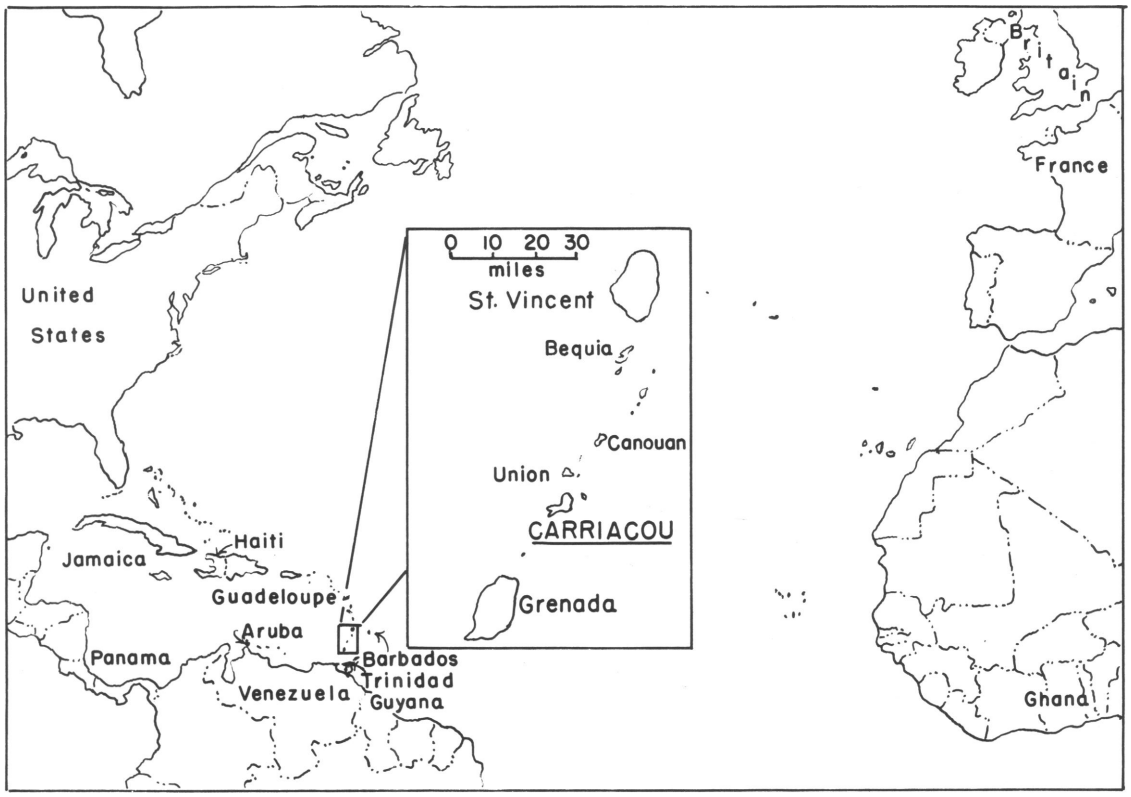

FIG. 1. Grenadine Islands in the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean.

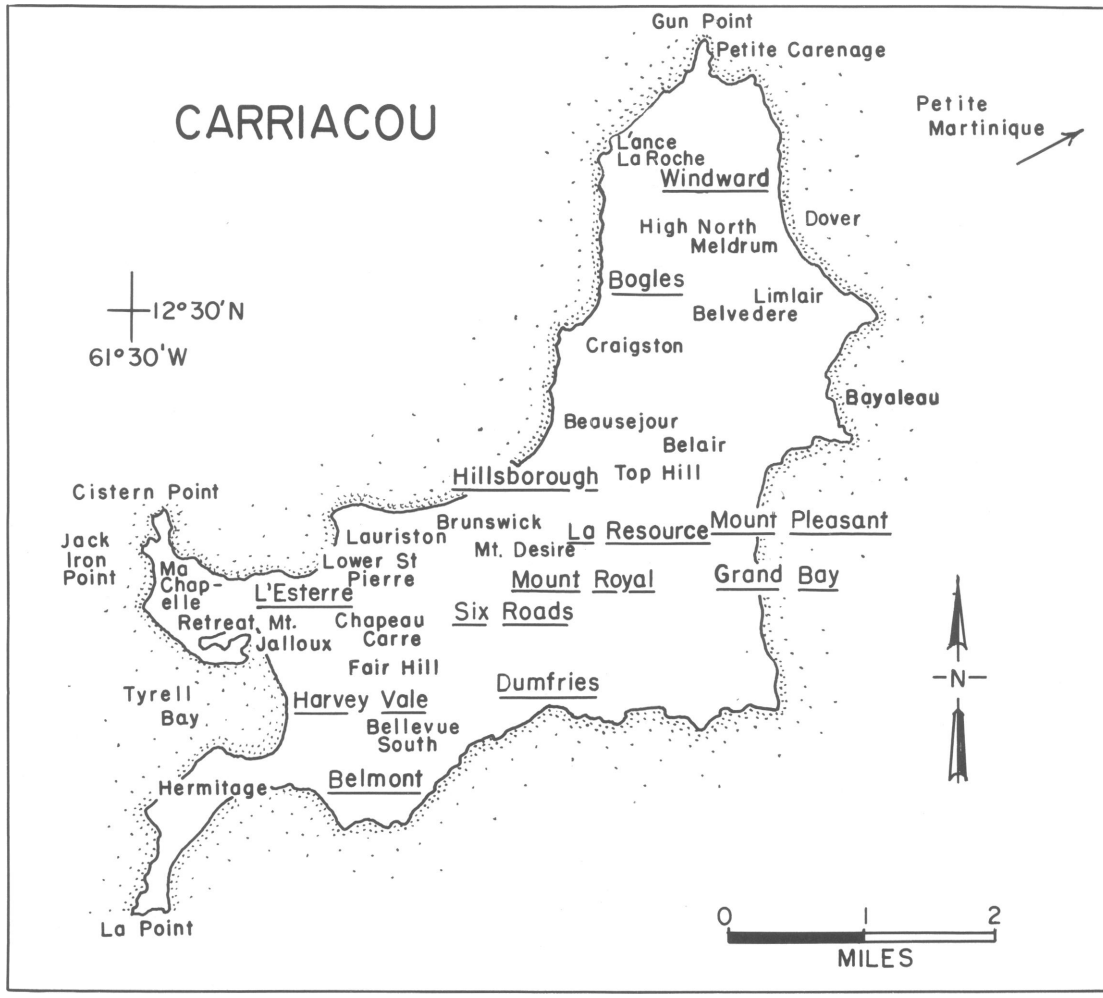

FIG. 2. Carriacou.

sistence activities. Nearly every family cultivates corn, peas, and lesser amounts of tubers, okra, and varieties of bananas and plantain. Most families raise chickens, pigs, sheep, goats, and cattle. Some men fish on a daily basis. Boat-building and hauling cargo have been important occupations, especially in the villages of Harvey Vale, L'Esterre, Bogles, and Windward and on the island of Petite Martinique.

Although provisions were imported from Grenada before the abolition of slavery, most food and many items of material culture were locally produced. Even at this time slaves actively participated in a modified money economy. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the people became more dependent on local wages, cash crops, and migratory labor. Today cash for some food and most supplies is an absolute necessity. This cash is obtained by one or more of the following methods: growing cotton, limes, peanuts, or raising stock for sale, selling fish, working on cargo vessels, smuggling, working in government service (primarily in administrative civil service positions and road work), teaching,

owning shops, driving taxis, receiving pensions and savings from former employment abroad, and receiving remittances from relatives abroad. Remittances, savings, and pensions are the largest single source of income for the islanders.

Carriacou is a male dominated society. Distinctions based on sex and age are of great importance. Senior men within each "family" play important roles in disposing of "family lands," in making family decisions, and in ritual matters.

Carriacou has three major forms of mating: "friending," "keeping," and marriage. When keeping, a man and a woman cohabit without being married. Keeping is not approved by the

FIG. 3. Willie Alexander, L'Esterre, April 25, 1971.

FIG. 4. Lucien Duncan, Bellevue South, October 1, 1971.

people and is rare. Men, who have constituted about one-third of the adult population, are expected to marry and live with their wife and children in a single houshold. There are also separate households of unmarried women and their children. Many of these women are "girl friends" of married or unmarried men.

The majority of Carriacouans are Catholic or Anglican. Most believe that ancestors are important in their daily lives. Through "dream messages," dead relatives (the "Old Parents") request that food be sent to them on special occasions, that children be fed, that a fete be held, or that special actions be taken to avoid disaster and maintain the status quo. Most Carriacouans observe a sequence of ritual and social activities following the death of a senior relative. These include a wake, a series of "prayer meetings," and a "Stone Feast," held several years after the death, when a tombstone is erected and, at times, the "Big Drum" dance is celebrated. These activities demonstrate respect for the Old Parents and insure continuity between life and death. Respect for the dead is mirrored in the value system for the living. That is, children are to obey parents and young people are to respect the authority of elders. By seeking work abroad and sending home remittances a grown child can act out this value.

At first glance Carriacouan society appears unique in many respects when compared to other Caribbean societies. However, upon a close examination one finds that many aspects of their economy, their social structure, and their folk religion are found in one form or another elsewhere in the Caribbean. Rather than being unique, their society is at one end of a continuum.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THIS STUDY

> ". . . a Caribbean social system provides us with what is possibly the clearest instance in history of a dialectical social system. [Caribbean society] is, in effect, a precariously tensile structure of relations *between* antithetical systems. On the one hand there is the imposed, alien structure of domination premised on inequality and stratification, while facing this is the autochthonous structure premised on differentiation and equality, a structure of subordination and reaction. Neither structure is independent of the other and *what is uniquely the Caribbean social system is the dynamic dialectic between them.*"
>
> Wilson, 1973, p. 219

Early in my fieldwork I discovered that Carriacouans distinguish between themselves and other people—even their closest island neighbors. A telling distinction is made between people who follow their "ways" and "foreigners" (all people not born or raised as a child on Carriacou). Roughly, the ways of Carriacouans correspond to their folk culture—that part of their culture resulting from various African, European, and colonial traditions which solidified before emancipation. Similarly, the ways of foreigners largely, though not exclusively, refer to the metropolitan culture. The metropolitan social organization has been and, for the most part, continues to be outside the control of Carriacouans. Colonialism and neo-colonialism have been the dominant economic force for Caribbean societies and Carriacou is no exception. All governmental agencies and churches (first the Catholics and later the Anglicans) on the island have been directed and maintained as colonial or Grenadian outposts.

Priests and civil servants in major positions of this formal social organization have been, until recently, "foreign" West Indians who qualified for their respective posts by completing scholastic, priestly, or civil service training. The church and civil bureaucracies are maintained so that a qualified individual can fill an appropriate position anywhere within the system. That is, an Irish or English priest may be stationed in Nigeria, India, England, or in Carriacou—wherever his church or order maintains an outpost. Similarly, British civil servants may bounce from Ghana to Carriacou. Their loyalties lie with the various bureaucracies and not necessarily with the people they serve. Nevertheless, in order for Carriacouans to obtain services from the metropolitan social organization they must deal, as individuals, with these "foreigners." In short, external links are controlled by outsiders as are nearly all local manifestations of this social organization (e.g., Western medicine, political administration, schools, and churches). Thus, a handful of people, who remain on the island for only a few years, have considerable influence over 6000 Carriacouans in their day-to-day affairs.

This system, however, comprises only half of Carriacou's parallel institutions. Because the representatives of the metropolitan social organization were interchangeable, because many estate owners left in the nineteenth century and those that remained became integrated with the non-elite local society, and because Carriacou was a marginal producer even during the heyday of French colonialism, Carriacouans developed their own institutions. These folk institutions, although dependent upon the metropolitan social organization, were more important as far as the average Carriacouan was concerned.

Folk institutions differ from their metropolitan counterparts in the following characteristics: (1) They are local in scope. (2) They are maintained by elders through what folklorists call "traditional modes of transmission"—oral, aural, and imitative. (3) Cultural elements enter the folk institutions from the metropolitan social organization, from other folk systems (usually brought to the island by returned migrants), and from reformulated folk traditions responding to local circumstances.

The social structure of Carriacou may be

viewed as consisting of a processual component (the social organization) and a cultural component (the learned behavior and its transmission).[1] Thus, the social organization of Carriacou has a folk aspect and a metropolitan aspect. Within each aspect various social institutions are defined: Western medicine as opposed to "bush medicine," for example. Each aspect relates to the other through individuals and families who utilize both sets of institutions to varying degrees. Carriacouans spend most of their daily life within the folk sphere, however.

The folk culture consists of traditional modes of transmitting values, norms, goals, and aspirations. The metropolitan aspect of the culture of the islanders is found in the books, written records, and other standardized operations of the island's administration and churches (governmental bylaws, birth and death records, the Bible, and hymnals).

In sum, the social structure of Carriacou is made up of four interrelated and, at any given point, arbitrarily defined components.[2] The folk society and the metropolitan society consist of parallel institutions and their interrelationships; the folk and metropolitan cultures of the islanders consist of two distinct modes of transmission and their behavioral manifestations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is not possible to thank everyone who helped me, particularly in Carriacou, but special mention must be made of certain individuals.

Most importantly my appreciation goes to the Carriacouans who assisted me and my wife in our work. Mr. Desmond Bristol was one of the first people we met and is one of our closest friends on the island. Mr. Billy Lynch introduced us to many people. Mr. Brindley Dick continues to be of great help through his letters clearing up obscure points about the customs of Carriacou. He was my assistant and by his administration of a very long questionnaire I was able to collect much more data than I thought possible. Mr. Martin Clement, headmaster of the L'Esterre Rosary School, allowed me to copy his manuscript about Carriacou and Petite Martinique. He also read through my glossary and made corrections. Miss Christine David, who has written more extensively than any other Carriacouan, has shared her manuscripts and notes with me. Mr. Stephen Gaye gave help often. The Josephs of Brunswick—Mr. Raphael and Mrs. Ella Joseph, their son Anthony and their daughter Hillary—were almost a second family to us. The Clements of Hillsborough and L'Esterre, particularly Messrs. Samuel, Steady, and Stanford Clement, listened to my questions and offered many useful insights. Mr. Samuel (Welcome) Clement showed how Carriacou people work in the gardens. Mr. Steady Clement often invited me to his yard to observe the various activities there. Mr. Stanford Clement tape recorded many Nancy stories and other details about his life on the sea. Mr. and Mrs. Locksrey Humphries, like the Clements, went out of their way to assist me. Mr. Sugar Adam, probably the best known Carriacouan to folklorists and anthropologists (he has served as an informant to Smith, Pearse, Elder, Macdonald, and others), is one of the most knowledgeable old heads on the Big Drum and his assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Miss Mary Fortune, now deceased, gave valuable explanations of the Big Drum songs and other facets of life in Carriacou. I spent much time in their yard watching Mr. Adam making drums and talking with Miss Fortune while she cooked. Recordings and motion pictures of the Big Drum were made with their assistance. Mr. John Bedeau of Belmont graciously allowed me to copy his manuscript on the boat-building industry. Mr. and Mrs. Canute Caliste invited me into their home on many occasions and allowed me to observe boat-building and the other crafts of which he is knowledgeable. Mr. Roy Benjamin provided me with reams of data and hours of pleasant conversation.

Special thanks to the following individuals

[1] In terms of Aristotelian causality, structure has a "formal" cause, social organization an "efficient" cause, and culture a "teleological" cause.

[2] "Arbitrary" in the sense that any activity or institution may be defined as folk or metropolitan, depending upon its context. Sharecropping, for example, began during slavery as a metropolitan institution but is today a folk institution.

who, in one way or another, gave assistance: Messrs. Eddie Benjamin, Ivan David, Charlie Bristol, Immanuel "Coy Coy" Bethel, Steady Allert, J. Francis Jones, Malcolm Frazier, Clieve Roberts, Cyrus John, Findaser Lawrence, Mitchel Lawrence, Lambert, Caddy "Lazarus" John, Ferdinand Mitchel, Harcourt Mendes, Lawrence Mitchel, Nicholas Frederick Cummings, Joseph Daniel, Sullivan McGillivary, Benjamin Coy, John Ross, Burnfield Bristol (whose calypso name is the "Mighty Slimmy"), St. John Joseph, Morgan McLaren, Wendell Bullen, Lyell Bullen, Martin Bullen, Rudolf Noel, Gordon Cayenne, Merle Prime, Cornelius Coteau, Robertson Noel, and Laurie Jones; Captains Urban Roberts, Lewis of L'Esterre, and Gift Bartholemew; Mesdames Glassin John, Ena Somerson, Grace Romain, Faith Lawrence, Lucien Duncan, Uneeda Daniel, Ann Charles, and Irving Joyette; and Mistresses Emma David, Jocelyn David, Milly David, Merriam Roberts, and Eunice Matherson.

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In New York I have worked with Mr. Winston Fleary of the Carriacou Carib Organization. Chiefly through his (and Mr. Leo Joseph's) efforts the Big Drum, Quadrille, and Lancers dances have been revived in New York. They have performed at many Carriacouan fetes in Brooklyn, at the American Museum of Natural History, and at Fordham University. They have returned to Carriacou to give formal presentations to drummers and dancers and have brought musicians to New York to temporarily join their troupe and to be honored by the American Museum. In July, 1977 they will perform in England.

I thank Mrs. Hannah Lane for typing portions of the final manuscript. Two Columbia graduate students—Miss Rondi Ericksen (Anthropology) and Mr. Paul Bertaccini (English)—have been instrumental in producing this monograph. Rondi, as a research assistant for this and a related project, has critically commented on its theoretical orientation (never quite agreeing with its conclusions, I'm afraid). Paul has edited the original manuscript, cutting more than half its length without loss of substance and drawing out plain sense when it was hidden. Dr. Malcolm Arth, Chairman of the Department of Education at the American Museum, freed me from other duties so I could devote time to this project.

Finally, I thank my wife, Blanche, who gave three years of her life assisting me in this venture.

CHAPTER 1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF CARRIACOU

> "Nearly all Caribbean societies show a dual or bipolar distribution of cultural forms, probably often stemming from (or paralleling) the traditional spheres of the masters and the slaves. Thus the uppermost segments, whose members are usually of European origin, are typified culturally by civil or sacramental marriage and European domestic organization, membership in an established religious body, and the use of a standard dialect of an Indo-European language. The bottom-most segments, whose members are usually predominantly of non-European origin, are typified culturally by consensual unions . . ., membership in folk religions or cult groups, and the use of creole languages or nonstandard dialects of Indo-European languages."
>
> Mintz, 1968, p. 314

The original plantation society of Carriacou, founded on French metropolitan social institutions, formed the basis of the islanders' initial social structure. British acquisition of the island, one estate owner and local politician in the early nineteenth century, the developing interrelationships between nineteenth-century colonial institutions and the emerging folk society, and wage labor migration greatly changed this structure. Out of these nineteenth- and early twentieth-century modifications developed the social structure one finds today. To reveal its form one must analyze the history of the island's colonial and religious institutions; therefore, in this chapter I shall trace the history of plantation slavery, the development of postemancipation society, twentieth-century colonialism, and postcolonialism. In the next chapter I discuss wage-labor migration. Then, again dealing primarily with influences from the metropolitan society, I talk about sources and uses of money and local employment. Most of the remainder of this study consists of a description of the folk society of Carriacou and its interrelationship with the metropolitan social organization.

The History of Plantation Slavery

"One man said that [his mother] told him that [slaves] who were very good at their faith flew back to Africa. During the time they were in chains, about to leave for the West Indies, she said that if they were not fed on salt the ways of their ancestors would continue from generation to generation" (Dick, personal commun.).

Very little social history is known about Carriacou people during the years of French control.[1] In 1656 John Baptiste Dutertre visited Grenada and the Grenadines at the request of the Comte de Cerillac, who considered buying the islands. He put ashore in Carriacou and favorably assessed the island: ". . . Kayriouacou is a beautiful and safe land blessed with a very fine harbor and capable of sustaining a good colony" (1667, p. 513).[2] The island may still have been unsettled in the late seventeenth century when Labat sailed through the Grenadines: "We went to a good number of these small islands, which are called the Grenadines, we sailed closely by them, but we did not anchor, and did not set foot ashore . . . The island called Carriacou has an excellent port, it is said" (Labat, 1724, pp. 440-441).[3] Writing later, in 1780, but still of the French period, Abbé Raynal stated: ". . . Carriacou, the

[1]It is possible that a few French records of this period remain in the Governor's House, Grenada. However, the Grenada Handbook suggests that the French documents on the Grenadines were moved to Martinique during the late eighteenth century where they were destroyed during the eruption of Mt. Pelée in 1902 (1946, p. 26).

[2]As translated by Paul Bertaccini.

[3]As translated by Paul Bertaccini.

only one of these [Grenadines] which the French have occupied, was at first frequented by turtle fishermen, who, in the intervals of leisure afforded them by their occupation, attempted some kind of culture [clearing the ground]. Their small number was increased by several of the inhabitants of Guadeloupe; who had been driven from their habitations by mischievous insects. These good people, assisted by eight or nine hundred slaves, employed themselves with success in the culture of cotton."

What became of the Carib or Arawak inhabitants of the island is not known, but Carriacouans have a well-defined ethnohistory about the origins of the first slaves the French brought to the island. "When they were selling these people in slavery time they come down in Carriacou and Grenada and 'make' children. So we are the African people" (Adam, personal commun.). Even though the first slaves on Carriacou came from Guadeloupe and not Africa, they, as Carriacouans do today, affiliated themselves with a real or alleged African "Nation." Alliances may have developed between fellow tribesmen who lived on different estates. Intertribal rivalries may have been maintained from the Old World. Some elders today believe it best to marry someone from the same Nation.

The French lost Carriacou and Grenada to the British in the Treaty of Paris, signed on February 10, 1763, but regained both islands for a brief period between 1779 and 1783. From that time until 1967 Carriacou was governed by the British as a parish of the colony of Grenada.

The British introduced sugar production to the island (Raynal, 1780). This was an important change for the economy and by extension for the nature of plantation slavery. Under the French, cotton was the major export. Cotton is labor intensive during harvest–approximately two or three months of the dry season. It can be planted in a wide variety of terrain and requires less rain than sugar cane. It is commonly interplanted today with corn and peas. Thus, it probably released slaves for other activities for much of the year thus increasing the island's self-sufficiency. The cultivation of cotton, then, was an important factor in the growth of a viable, independent folk social organization among the slave population.

Sugar, however, is more a "plantation factory" crop than is cotton. It requires up to five months of intensive labor for harvesting in the dry season. It is not interplanted with other crops. Thus, it minimizes the possibility of releasing slaves for other pursuits. But because of the influence of one estate owner, a task system for producing sugar (see below), and the retention of cotton as an important cash crop in the nineteenth century, Carriacou did not become an extreme sugar factory like Barbados with concomitant radical social disruption.

In 1776 all estates on the island were surveyed according to their crops, the number of slaves, and the number of free persons (Rhodes House Library, 1949). The island was divided into 50 estates owned by 49 proprietors. There were 86 whites[1] and 3153 slaves (1.7 freed persons per estate and 63 slaves per estate). Sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, and indigo were the only cash crops and rum the only product for export. Of these sugar and cotton were the most important, with 133,495 pounds of sugar produced and 772,763 pounds of cotton. Approximately one-half of the estate owners had French names. This situation remained substantially the same in 1784 after the British had taken Carriacou for the second and final time (Fenner, MS).

The third edition of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica, published in the late eighteenth century, mentioned Carriacou (in Devas, 1964, pp. 166-177): "a small spring has been discovered in the principal island Carriacou . . . by digging; but, being of great value, it is kept locked by the proprietor." In 1793 the raw cotton export was up to 967,800. In 1796 a large British armada mustered in one of Carriacou's bays before sailing on to wrest Trinidad from Spanish control (Kingsley, 1910, p. 66).

A major slave revolt took place in Grenada at this time: "A core of revolutionaries appointed Julien Fédon, a coloured planter, as their leader. Fédon not only had the support of his own free coloured group, but also had the support of the slaves the majority of whom were more at home with French culture and language than with English" (Steele, 1974, p. 11). Eventually the

[1]Some of the "whites" are defined on sociological grounds, being "mulatto."

revolt was put down. Fédon was believed to be drowned while attempting escape to Trinidad by boat.

According to the Grenada Handbook (1946, p. 35), Carriacou was not affected by this nearby insurrection: "another fact that it is pleasant to note is that the slaves in Carriacou were faithful and well behaved during the rebellion, and this, too although there was no garrison there, and they outnumbered their masters by at least forty to one."

Some old people in Carriacou tell a different, legendary account of those troubled years. They speak about Cromanti Cudjoe, one of Carriacou's founding ancestors. It is said that Cromanti Cudjoe was a confederate of Fédon and that upon the collapse of the rebellion he escaped to Sauteurs, Grenada. From there he swam north, through the convergent currents around "Kick 'Em Jenny" rock to Carriacou. In Carriacou the slaves gave him shelter and food. He is said to have dressed as a woman and hid among the slaves for some time, going from estate to estate trying to lead resistance against the British. Today, Cromanti Cudjoe is considered one of the three most important ancestor spirits. On ritual occasions when the "Big Drum" dance is performed, a song is played to call his spirit to the festivities.

Carriacouans do not relate fond accounts of slavery: "We are a race of African ascendancy down here because they were selling those people in those days in Africa as animals . . ." (Adam, personal commun.). One ritual song (from Pearse, 1956a, p. 4), is about a family being broken up when the husband is sold to Trinidad and the wife to Haiti while their children remain in Carriacou:

> Weep for me, Lide,' weep, Maiwaz
> Lament for me, Lide,' lament Maiwaz
>
> Sunday next, the schooner sails for Haiti
> Friday the schooner leaves Haiti
>
> Whoever loves me, console my children for me
> Whoever loves me, console Zabette for me
> Whoever loves me, console Walter for me.

Stories still circulate about one particularly cruel master, John Dallas: "In those days a white man in Harvey Vale was beating them so much. They used to put a woman that [have] belly big, dig a hole, and put a woman leg down, belly inside the hole and they beat them until they make child. This white man . . . die in Harvey Vale. The day he die a cannon go on hill cause he was too bad . . ." (Adam, personal commun.).

By this time the British had solidified their political control of the island. Almost all estate owners with sufficient political influence to be mentioned in the "St. George's Chronicle" have British surnames, although nearly half of the landholders were French. Apparently the metropolitan social organization was multileveled then. It consisted of a British landed and slave holding elite (the most influential freeholders), a French landed and slave holding elite, and a few mixed or free Black estate and slave owners. The folk society consisted of free White indentured servants (probably including ship builders), isolated runaways, landless free Black tradespeople, slave craftsmen (carpenters, boat-builders, smiths, coopers), household slaves, and field slaves.

In 1809, 803,800 pounds of cotton, possibly some of it seed cotton and some of it ginned or lint cotton, was exported (St. George's Chronicle and New Grenada Gazette, March 24, 1810). In 1815 the "Belvidere" Estate was put up for sale (see fig. 5). The description from St. George's Chronicle and Grenada Gazette (May 3, 1815) of the estate gives us a clue to the economic and social orientation of the time:

> FOR SALE
>
> A valuable Estate is the Island of Carriacou, called *Belvidere*, containing fully 200 acres of land, 160 of which (in general good soil) are in the cultivation of Cotton, and the rest chiefly in pasture; together with the Buildings thereon, viz.–
>
> A Dwelling-House substantially built of stone, &c and only finished about three years ago; it is two stories high with excellent cellars; the first story consists of a commodious Drawing Room, Dining Room and Parlour, papered and very neatly finished, and the upper story of three Bed Rooms . . .
>
> A Kitchen, built of stone, &c. covered with tiles, having two ovens and two servants under the same roof.
>
> A Cistern near the Dwelling House, which, when full, contains about 40,000 gallons of water.

A Corn House, built of Mason Work, sufficiently large to contain from 2500 to 3000 barrels of corn in straw.

A Cotton House, also built of Mason Work, two stories high, and very complete [see fig. 5, building without a roof].

A Cotton Wind Mill, with two Ginns quite new, and capable of ginning two bales of Cotton per day [see fig. 5, to right of cotton house].

There is a Horse Stable, Cattle and Sheep Pens, all strongly built of stone and lime, with a Stone Wall enclosing a Garden and Orchard in the back ground of the whole Building . . .

For further particulars apply to Messrs. Harper, Bruce & Davies in St. George's, or to

JOHN McLEAN

Carriacou, 6th April 1815

On November 25, 1815 the influential and apparently respected John McLean replaced John Dallas for a three-year term as Hillsborough Warden. Beginning by 1801 when his name appears in the "St. George's Chronicle" as a newly appointed Commissioner of Roads, John McLean's influence seems to have been steadily in ascent, until 1827 when he died. McLean family interests were perpetuated by his heir, George McLean, who became even more prominent than his father.

In 1819, Carriacou exported 493,841 pounds of cotton and in 1823, 384,676 pounds of cotton,[1] 2,063,640 pounds of sugar (considerably above the 1776 total), 137,319 gallons of molasses, and 14,474 gallons of rum. In 1826 the island exported just 304,668 pounds of cotton as the significance of the crop dwindled (even before manumission).

In 1827, the Lord Bishop of the Diocese was prepared to support a catechist in Carriacou. In that year and for the next four cotton export fell to about 250,000 pounds a year (Grenada Free Press and Public Gazette, 1930-1931). The lower cotton production was partly due to drought throughout the rainy season of 1828.

One year before slavery was replaced by apprenticeship, an anonymous English visitor wrote (in Smith, 1962a, pp. 22-24):

The model of all slave islands seemed to me to be Carriacou . . . Mr. Maclean is the principal proprietor there . . . The total population is about 4000 of whom 3200 are slaves. Mr. Maclean has either of his own, or under his management, about 2200 slaves. The principal production by which the Negroes make money is poultry, which they breed and send down by small vessels, which are constantly running up and down between that [island] and Grenada. They cultivate provision grounds for themselves, but as the island suffers much from dry weather, they have a weekly issue of Grenada corn—six quarts to each—continued from six to ten months of the year, according to the produce of their grounds.

But the excellence of the management consists in the very complete system of task work which is introduced into every department of labour; it has continued for about three years. When first introduced, both Managers and Negroes set their faces against it—they were obliged to begin with *less* than their average daily quantity of daily work, but gradually increased it, almost unknown to the Negroes. They set a certain quantity of work to each Negro daily; suppose to make two hundred holes for planting canes. The whole gang has the same quantity, and works at 5 o'clock, that they may finish early, and often complete their task by 11 or 12, almost always by 2. They have the rest of the day to themselves.

It generally happens that if one or two are weaker than the rest, and have not finished their task at the same time with them, the whole gang will remain and complete the work of those that have been behind; this, however, is not always the case. The quantity of work done now is nearly one-third more than on the old system, so that this plan is beneficial to the proprietors as well as to the slaves. In consequence, however, of there being a superabundance of labour in the island, and it being against the laws to remove any slaves from it, the quantity of work done is not even now equal to the daily average . . . in St. Vincent. In a short time, the plan will be still further improved, by setting a weekly instead of a daily task, so as to allow them two or three days a week to themselves; so that they can never have any difficulty in raising money to purchase their freedom.

As it is at present, it is not at all uncommon for a father to purchase his wife and children, to send them to work in his ground, still himself remaining a slave, that he may retain his house and

[1]Cotton gins had been established in Carriacou by this time and hence, these figures probably represent lint cotton.

ground. The consequence of this treatment is that during the last seven years, the slave population—now about 3200—*have been increasing at the rate of 60 per annum*—the total in seven years being 421 . . . These are facts which I can vouch for . . .

Much attention is also paid in Carriacou to religious instruction. The clergyman visits each estate about once a month and catechises the children. They receive a daily instruction under the superintendence of the clergyman. Altogether, I cannot imagine any place more fitted for an experimental system of emancipation.

Thus, in less than two generations Carriacou shifted from cotton to task-work produced sugar as the major export crop, had experienced the ripplings of incipient slave revolts, and had the number of major estate owners reduced from over 20 to just one. These factors, taken together with the high ratio of slaves to masters, a low rainfall which did not encourage a plantation economy, the retention of estates owned by a French-speaking elite well into the period of British control of the island, and Carriacou's small population and geographic isolation, contributed to the tenacity of folk society today.

The Development of Post-Emancipation Society

Those white men from England long time used to beat all the black people and make the black people have trouble. And therefore when Queen Victoria just sit down in slavery time, she does take slavery out in the world. The world freedom! Queen Victoria take out whip in our Old Parents' back . . . And they put a sing, for so glad, on Queen Victoria:

La Wen Oh Victoria	Queen Victoria
La Wen Oh Victoria	Queen Victoria
Dey pu	Everybody gets freedom
Ehba own punwe	I am free

(Adam, personal commun.).

In 1833 the British Parliament passed an act abolishing slavery in all its possessions. On August 1, 1834 an apprenticeship system was established in the slave colonies of the empire. As manumission drew near some apprentices refused to work. The situation described below (Grenada Free Press April 4, 1838) occurred throughout Carriacou:

Carriacou, 11th September, 1837

Sir:

I beg leave to acquaint you for the information of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, that my apprentices on Lance La Roche Estate, have been behaving very ill for the last three months . . .

The consequence of this delay and procrastination is not doing justice between me and my apprentices, is a great failure to my Cotton and Corn crops, as even the extra labour which they were adjudged to perform by Mr. Sinclair, will not now remedy the evil; and I request to add that they have hitherto refused to perform the extra labour ordered to be done by him, and after having apprised him of this circumstance, no other course remains for me but to lay my case before His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor . . .

I have the honor to be, Sir
With great respect,
Your most obedient servant,
P. A. BELFON.

Cotton production was 104,373 pounds in 1838 (Grenada Free Press, May 8, 1839). Sugar production fell sharply also (Smith, 1962a, p. 25). On August 1, 1838 the apprentices became free.

The history of Carriacou since the end of slavery marks a change in the island's economic dependence rather than the elimination of that dependence. Plantocracy influence weakened but colonialism remained. As the price of sugar fell it was no longer possible to make profits with paid labor. Some estates were turned over to executors immediately. Squatters occupied some estate land (Grenada Free Press, June 20, 1938). At this time the first wage labor migration to Grenada and Trinidad began.

In 1841 Nathaniel Roach a visitor to Carriacou wrote (reported by Smith, 1962a, pp. 28-29):

[The labourers] are industriously disposed, will labour willingly for a fair remuneration, have a natural desire of providing for their families, and will take their labour to the best market; are scarcely ever idle . . , are strongly attached to their native country, and evince a laudable disposition to cultivate domestic happiness . . . They are fully sensible of the respectability and purity of the married state, and few there are who do not enter it and conduct themselves creditably afterwards. They are regular in their attendance at Divine Worship.

. . . Their attention is directed now . . . to household furniture and other domestic comforts. They evince much respect for the laws and constitute authorities, where such authorities do not show any disposition of the olden times of slavery, and the not much better ones of apprenticeship . . . The offenses committed by them are very few . . . petty assaults and trifling thefts . . . effective labourers get 7¾d [for labour] performed in four or five hours. They have the occupancy of a thatched cottage in consideration of part wages, with a small portion of inferior land . . . Though the cottage is held on such conditions, they order themselves. They complain of not receiving their wages for, very often, six or eight weeks after they become due. They are satisfied with an employer whose language and actions tend to convince them of a desire to consult their happiness. They are anxious to invest their means in such portions of land as they are able to buy, having great satisfaction in the idea . . . of securing a home for their families; but very few attorneys and proprietors of estates are disposed to sell them, from an apprehension of their being too independent . . . There is but one established Church . . . There is one Colonial day school, and there are no savings banks or benefit societies.

In the years following emancipation both planters and former slaves migrated. The weather conditions were very dry: "The cultivation now . . . is very limited, and this attributed to the want of water, the dearth of rain, and the drying up of streams and springs." (Kingsbury, 1960a, p. 27.) This situation persisted for some time: "A general crisis and extreme want unfortunately existed everywhere in the island, for an extraordinary, continual drought had, during two or three successive years, destroyed all the crops . . . We conceived the idea of imploring God's mercy in favour of the poor people, by means of a Novena. The object was to obtain rain from heaven—weather favorable to the crops—" (Devas, 1932).

The former slaves became landless gardeners and sailors. As part of the resident elite vacated the island over the next decades and seasonal wage labor migration to Trinidad increased, local power began to shift from the metropolitan society to the folk themselves. Contacts with the colony were maintained, of course, through the remaining elite (which became increasingly mulatto), through the civil servants on the island, and through a constant flow of people to and from other islands.

Another eyewitness account (Davy, 1854, pp. 199-203) of the life of the islanders and of their neighbors from 1854 sounds familiar:

The Grenadines have all of them the reputation of being very healthy, yet Carriacou is not exempt from visitations of sickness [a cholera epidemic swept the island between June and September—*Grenada Handbook*, 1946, p. 44].

. . . Whether there has been an increase or diminution of their numbers since the time of slavery appears to be doubtful, two opposite causes being in operation—one, the natural tendency to increase, from the salubrity of climate and facility of living, the other the withdrawing of that increase, from the inducement to emigrate, tempted by a higher rate of wages in the adjoining larger islands.

. . . Since emancipation, less sugar has been grown, and less cotton. More land belonging to the larger properties, has been applied to the feeding of stock; . . . considerable supplies are exported—such as sheep, pigs, poultry, vegetables—especially to St. Vincent and Grenada.

The condition of the labouring class in all these islands is peculiarly favorable. The majority of them have small portions of land, of which they have become possessors by purchase; and their spare labour is in demand on the larger properties for money wages, or for a certain portion of the produce, on the matairie system which has recently been attempted. Many of them, the more enterprising, moreover, have small vessels or shares of them, especially in Carriacou, which are gainfully employed in trade between the islands. To this island alone, from twenty to thirty belong, of a tonnage varying from one to thirty tons. The vessels are built of the white cedar, the growth of the island, a valuable wood for ship building on account of its durability, and, from its containing a bitter principle, not being liable to be attacked by the worm; such at least are its reputed virtues.

Considered as communities, their state appears also to be favorable, having within them the elements requisite for improvement . . . [in] Carriacou there is a small town in which is a church and an appointed minister—a resident rector, schools, a small body of police, a stipendiary magistrate, and one or more medical men. Most of the people can read and write; moreover they have their representatives . . . They have also in

common with the larger islands the benefit of periodical visitations from the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. In 1846 on an occasion of this kind . . . eighteen [were confirmed] in . . . Carriacou. Nor are they without a printing press and newspaper; the latter published weekly bears the title of "The Carriacou Observer and Grenadines Journal." It consists of a single sheet, and judging from the specimen now before me, seems well adapted as a miscellany to be useful, in accordance with its excellent motto, that, "True patriotism consists not merely in that love and zeal for one's country, which will cause the citizen to arm in defence of her rights and interests, but in an earnest and zealous endeavour to promote the well-being and social improvements of those who from adventitious circumstances are debarred the enjoyment and advantages possessed by their more favored brethren. He who does this, actuated by the principles of truth and justice, is the true benefactor of his country."

The future, in regard to these islands, is not unpromising.

To the above informative account of the Grenadines, Davy added in a footnote: "Hillsborough . . . contains about 400 inhabitants. The Rector who resides in it, is provided with a house, a glebe of sixteen acres, with a salary of £264 a year. Service is performed on Sundays both in the morning and afternoon. The morning attendance I was informed, was about 300 persons—the afternoon about 80. There is also in the town, a Roman Catholic Priest, and a Wesleyan Minister. According to the last census, of the total population of the island—4461—the Protestants amounted to 3154; the Roman Catholics to 1307. Of the former, 3129 were of the Church of England, 3 of the Church of Scotland, and 22 Wesleyans."

Thus, by this time the colonial administration had approximated its modern form.

In 1862 sugar production was down to one-sixth the 1833 total and in 1871 it was halted entirely (Clement, MS, p. 5). At about this time lime trees were planted and limes became a minor cash crop. Severe weather continued and in 1873 Canon Petretto wrote that the people of Carriacou were "hungry and thirsty" (Devas, 1932). A second report of this drought stated that "the condition of the island is deplorable in the extreme. Long continued drought destroyed the greater portion of crops . . . famine close . . ." (Kingsbury, 1960b, p. 27). In 1897 a colonial civil servant wrote: "Then we went on a little further . . . and landed at a little decaying island called Carriacou, where all the people were wretchedly poor. It is all owned by a few absentee proprietors in England and the people cannot get land of their own or rent any except by the year at exorbitant terms. I think the experiment of land nationalisation without compensation might very well be inaugurated at Carriacou . . ." (Devas, 1964, pp. 176-177). Carriacou people have a saying, "Carriacou is soft and hard." The latter word best describes conditions on the island during the second half of the nineteenth century.

By 1901 half of the land was uncultivated and the folk held just 373 acres. No doubt squatters and sharecroppers accounted for a good deal more land. Nonetheless, in that year the colonial government moved toward land reform and in 1903 they acted; "The allotment of holdings to peasants under the Carriacou Land Settlement Scheme commenced in June. Two large estates [one of them being Harvey Vale, John Dallas's former estate] were cut up into 244 agricultural lots, covering an area of 714 acres, and into fifty-one building lots for extension of the town, and these were taken up eagerly by settlers . . ." (Grenada Handbook, 1946, p. 66).[1] This process was nearly completed by 1938 so that the Colonial Commission of Enquiry into Economic Conditions could write that "nearly two-thirds of the population are . . . peasant agriculturists. . . . The total acreage of small holdings is more than double that of estates. . . . The estates grow limes as their principal crop and cotton and corn are cultivated by tenants on the share system. They employ not more than 400 labourers, and that only for three months a year. . . . If anything, land settlement has gone too far in Carriacou, with the result that if the peasant's own little holding fails . . . he cannot supplement his earnings by estate labour . . ." (Smith, 1962a, p. 33).

[1]See M. G. Smith, 1965, p. 221-261 for a complete structural analysis of the transmission of the ownership of land up to 1953 (the Carriacou Land Settlement Scheme in Harvey Vale).

Twentieth-Century Colonial and Post-Colonial Society

Except for occasional, brief passages and the research of M. G. Smith, Andrew Pearse, J. D. Elder, and Bruce Procope in the early 1950s, most of the historical information on Carriacouan social organization concerns the colonial administration and the churches. In other words, our view of Carriacou is skewed toward the metropolitan institutions. The folk society prior to 1953 is depicted by civil servants or priests, or in songs and oral accounts by the folk.

Although incomplete, such information does furnish the opportunity to examine the metropolitan social organization, particularly those institutions which have had the greatest impact on the folk society. These include the political administration of the island; the basic civil service occupations; the class structure inherent in these roles; and this structure's relationship to the folk society; formal education; and the relationship between bush and Western medicine. The relationship between the churches and the folk religion is examined in the several chapters on ritual and the ancestors. Similarly, law and social control will be briefly mentioned when descent is discussed. The influence of metropolitan agricultural techniques on the traditional gardening practices appears minimal and therefore will not be included.

Colonial Administration

After emancipation the colony was administered from Barbados. With a few important exceptions, not even the landowners, much less the freed people, had political influence. During the remainder of the nineteenth century Carriacou sent from one to three representatives to the Grenadian Legislature. These members represented an electorate of just 24 people! "Colonial officials stationed in Carriacou enjoyed an almost complete monopoly of political influence as well as administrative authority . . ." (Smith, 1962a, pp. 39-40).

"The principle of local self-government was introduced on October 6 [1886] by an ordinance to provide for the establishment of parochial boards, which became law on that day. By this measure a local board was created for each of the six parishes, and for the island of Carriacou, one-half of the members of each board being nominated by the Governor, and the other half elected by the rate-payers. To these boards were delegated the exercise of certain powers formerly vested in the Government, such as the levying and disbursement of local rates, the control and management of the towns, the upkeep of the byways, and other purely local matters . . ." (Grenada Handbook, 1946, p. 54).

FIG. 5. Belvedere today.

The parochial board in Carriacou was later changed into the Town Board and then into the Town Authority, with all its members nominated. Carriacou became an Administrative District, under a District Commissioner who served under the authority of the Colonial Secretary and the Colonial Legislature.

A new Legislative Council under a new constitution met on April 1, 1925. It consisted of three nominated and five elected members, one of whom came from the combined district of St. Patrick's (Grenada) and Carriacou. The total number of voters in this district was 886. Be-

cause Carriacou was under-represented in the legislature, the District Commissioner continued to hold an *ex officio* seat in that body. However, in 1936 Carriacou received its own elected member, representing a constituency of 566 voters. "From 1936 until the introduction of adult suffrage in 1951, this handful of voters regularly returned the same individual to the Grenadian Legislative Council. With the introduction of adult suffrage in 1951, Carriacou contained 2973 voters, 75 percent of whom participated in the General Election at which the previous member was defeated . . ." (Smith, 1962a, p. 41).

In 1947 the power of the District Commissioner was reduced and the name of the post changed to District Officer. In 1967 the post of District Officer was abolished and was replaced by the position of Senior Executive Officer directly responsible to the Parliamentary Secretary of the Legislature. In the same year colonialism ended for Grenada, Carriacou, and Petite Martinique.

On March 3, 1967 Grenada became a state "in association with Great Britain" and a new constitution took effect instituting a bicameral legislature. The House of Representatives consisted of ten members, one of whom was from Carriacou. Each member was popularly elected by universal adult suffrage. There was also a Senate, largely an honorary body, with five members appointed by the Governor upon the advice of the Premier, two appointed by the Governor from various organizations and interest groups, and two appointed by the Governor upon consultation with the Leader of the Opposition. The Governor was appointed by the Queen, upon the advice of the Premier. Within both the Senate and the House of Representatives the officers of the ruling government were chosen from the party which holds a majority of seats in the House. From the Senate, the Attorney General and various other ministers were chosen while the Premier—the leader of the ruling party—and most of the important ministers of state are members of the House.

The first leaders of the newly independent state were from the Grenada National Party (GNP). Its representative from Carriacou, the Honorable Herbert A. Blaize, headed the GNP and became, therefore, the first Premier of the Associated State. The opposition party at that time, the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP), was led by its founder, the representative from St. George's South (Grenada), the Honorable Eric Matthew Gairy. Thus, from virtually no representation during the pre-emancipation era and very little during the rest of colonialism, the first head of the new country was to be a Carriacouan, a popularly elected representative of that island.

Carriacou remained, however, a distinctive unit of the Associated State. A few months after that status was won, the Blaize government was removed in the General Election of August, 1967. In that election GULP won seven of the 10 house seats but Blaize retained his seat in Carriacou. Gairy became the new Premier. Then, on February 7, 1974, Grenada, Carriacou, and Petite Martinique became an independent nation and, in the following year, joined the United Nations. Since 1974 a coalition between a weakened GNP, a new party (the New Jewel Movement) and other interest groups united against Gairy in an effort to remove him from office. In the General Election of November, 1976, this coalition made major gains but Gairy remained in power.

The differences between Gairy and Blaize (and their two parties) illustrate, in part, the distinctions between Carriacou and Grenada. Much has been written about Gairy who rose precipitously to influence and power through the labor movement in the early 1950s and who was exiled to Carriacou during one period of unrest. Blaize, on the other hand, is a self-taught accountant and bookkeeper; his administration illustrated the values of the folk of Carriacou. It is said that when he was in office the budget was balanced and that money matters were of uppermost concern. A White governor was appointed, a New Zealander. The GNP was supported by the middle class of Grenada, planters, local business interests in St. George's, and by foreign business interests. An alliance existed between the modern equivalents of the colonial masters, the light-skinned elite of Grenada (who once held more power), and the dark-skinned folk of Carriacou.

Gairy seems to be the embodiment of the rural folk and landless laborers of Grenada. In the 1950s he was instrumental in breaking down the elite system of British civil servants, estate

owners, and other light-skinned or White people. He is known in the villages of Grenada as Uncle Gairy—the implication being that he will provide. One Grenadian, Rev. T. A. Gilbert, writing for the "West Indian," March 27, 1971 said: "In the first place I know that this Government is pioneered by the invisible hand of God; I say so because of a dream I had two weeks before the last General Election [1967].

"The Lord told me in that dream to go and tell E. M. Gairy, 'Fear not where sin abounded grace did much more abound and some day he'll be in the category of Dr. Billy Graham.' I obeyed the Lord and went to Mr. Gairy, told him the dream, and spoke to him in connection with his then coming victory; because, I was sure he would have prevailed."

Between 1970 and 1972 many events took place that affected Grenada and Carriacou. Gairy abolished the District Boards and the office of the Senior Executive Officer. The number of representatives was extended to 13 and it was rumored that Carriacou would be split into two districts. But this was not to be as the island (including Petite Martinique) retained its single seat. The internal subdistricts in Carriacou were redrawn. The first Carriacouan to head the district was appointed and Carriacouans held the positions of Commissioner of Education and the Permanent Secretary to the Premier within the ruling GULP government in Grenada. Other Carriacouans headed key civil service positions on Carriacou. New schools were constructed and a new jetty and road were built on Petite Martinique. Electricity came to Windward. It was clear the Premier sought popular support for the elections of 1972.

But Carriacouans retained their independent ways and complaints from the opposition were frequent. It was said in Carriacou that a reign of terror existed in Grenada. Gairy was unfavorably compared with Papa Doc Duvalier of Haiti. There was a strike of doctors and nurses in St. George's; the teargassing of demonstrators sympathetic to the strikers (Blaize and several other prominent members of the Grenadian elite were teargassed); the brief jailing of Blaize and others; complaints by overseas Grenadians (asking that Blaize be returned to power) on the occasion of a visit to New York City by Premier Gairy; a very rowdy carnival in Grenada in which Gairy was accused by some of letting loose particularly vicious "job jobs"; the increase in the size of the police force and, it was said, inclusion of known criminals within their ranks; the presentation of a petition before the United Nations by Blaize accusing Gairy of assuming dictatorial powers; a bad press in the "New York Times" and other foreign newspapers; and finally, from the left, accusations that Gairy was really a "white" Black man who favored the tourist and racist interests on the island. Amid this confusion Gairy called for the General Election of 1972, which his party won.

Independence in 1974 brought trauma to the islands. Governmental services came to a standstill and strikes were frequent. Air transportation and other communication between Grenada, Carriacou, and the rest of the world was lost for days at a time. Carriacouans living in New York talked of an Anguilla-styled revolt against Grenadian rule but nothing came of it. Foreign newspaper accounts, fed by Gairy's consolidated opponents, suggested an impending blood bath. The suggestion of bloody change from colonial to neo-colonial domination of the islands proved premature.

Some of the criticisms of the Premier and the GULP government were chronicled in Carriacou by a prominent calypsonian in 1971:

The Premier visit here recently
is ah political move as I could see (repeat)
He giving present, making promises,
as if the whole ah the place he wants to be his
But if all "kayaks" had ah mind like me,
they stay well dayday and to hell with GULP.

Chorus:
Some of them give away their daughter,
Some bad talk their mother
Some "mamguey" and bring "old talk"
For the Premier to give them work

Ah man as me ah cannot lie
if ah depend on pull string ah surely die
But it have some big old retired men is here,
say they want to mind them smart (take bribes)
And Gairy saw the distress
so he run from what is call "Action and Progress."

Light in Grand Bay, tourist gift shop
the jetty to fix, new engine to work.
First thing first in building ah community

L'Esterre and Windward should be next with electricity
Now all the Premier doing just take note,
He "en" building Carriacou he building where he get he vote.

Carriacou people really mouth on ground,
for rum and food all this was done.
But ah fine this is down right selfishness,
especially when you have ah truck and good business now.
After Blaize work until he get weak,
now they giving Gairy lam and ah shepard's stick.[1]

In 1971 the Carnival Calypso Competition was won with this:

My country! my beloved country,
Man, this place belong solely to you and me
Like sisters and brothers we been living together
How come now we have ah dicktator?

As far as I see we will have to suffer
cause we put him day and he treating us as Hitler
Now we can't walk in peace, we can't talk in peace
cause everything we do–it have its politics.[2]

Well, I believe in democracy
Man, I believe a man "could" be free
Like we want, if we want, it is up to he
But he go . . . and the next thing
He go try to penalize we.

The "Uncle Gairy" syndrome is expressed in this calypso by the Mighty Princess of Mt. Royal Village:

Mighty Princess, what are you crying for?
I went to me garden and the black bird eat up all me peas.

If I need anything,
I go lean on the Premier's shoulder.
If in case I hungry,
I go lean on the Premier's shoulder.
If in case I feeling glad,
I go lean on the Premier's shoulder.
If in case I feeling sad,
I go lean on the Premier's shoulder.
If I want to "do me thing,"
I go lean on the Premier's shoulder.

The GULP swept all but two seats in the 1972 election (one of which was, of course, Blaize's seat in Carriacou). Immediately after the election it was reported that teenaged boys in Carriacou put up road blocks and did not allow the police to pass. Before the election and during carnival there had been trouble between some zealous "masquerade bands" and the police: the youths used their "bulls" on the police instead of on each other on Fort Hill high above Hillsborough. The police force was again increased and by March 1972 numbered more than 30. The new police station was completed and many Carriacouans believed that Gairy was planning to punish Carriacou for not voting with him. It was said that the government stopped work on the roads, thus forcing many laborers out of work.

We are not interested in the relative merits of Gairy and Blaize but in the attitudes many Carriacouans have concerning their government as their participation in that government increases. Thus, even though Carriacouans now fill administrative posts, the social organization of the former colonial government has not yet been integrated into the folk society.

We are also concerned with the traditional distinctions between Grenada and Carriacou. Animosity at worst and "differentness" at best mark the islanders' attitudes toward each other. The majority of Carriacouans believe that government is something separate from themselves. Carriacouans usually refer to themselves as Carriacou people, yet politically they are Grenadians. The Premier and other "mainlanders," when visiting Carriacou, continually bring up this point.

Furthermore, civil servants, especially Grenadians, tend to consider Carriacou somewhat akin to Siberia–to be sent there is to be banished. In 1970, for example, at least two civil servants, including a doctor, were said to have been sent to Carriacou by the Premier because of some disagreement. This phenomenon is not new as we see from this Grenadian civil servant's account of his experiences in the 1920s: "I submitted my application, accompanied by the Colonial

[1]This calypso was written down by its composer and reflects his phrasing and spelling.

[2]The calypso was written down by its author to this point. I wrote down the last stanza. One may contrast the way Carriacou dialect is rendered by a Carriacouan in written form with the standardized way in which I have recorded it.

Secretary's recommendation and another, for the vacant posts . . . The four of us appeared before His Excellency the Governor. 'Which of you gentlemen would like to go to Carriacou?' he asked in his stentorial voice. Silence reigned. Nobody wanted to go to Carriacou, Carriacou was a prohibited place, or perhaps a place of exile . . ." (Conrad, 1970, p. 78). Even with Carriacouan participation in their government, the island retains this image among civil servants and others as an isolated outpost. This feeling occurs precisely because Carriacouans participate, most of the time, in their folk social order while the civil servants participate most of the time in the metropolitan social organization.

Civil Service Occupations

In his field research, conducted in Carriacou in 1953, Smith noted a hierarchy of "elite" individuals in Carriacou based primarily upon occupational status (Smith, 1962a, pp. 60-61). In the top group were "the District Officer, the District Medical Officer, and the Anglican and Catholic priests." None of these people were Carriacouans. On the next level were town council members, former town council members, "two head teachers who are Justices of the Peace, the Revenue Officer, Senior Agricultural Officer, wireless operator, Seventh Day Adventist Elder, four local merchants who are all members of the Hillsborough Town Authority, and four branch managers of Grenadian merchant houses." Although Smith did not state how many of these individuals were born in Carriacou, it is likely few were.

This scheme neglects the descendants of the colonial estate owners: "The few middling landholders are not among them." Yet, scattered throughout the island they continue to control some of the land. With one exception, they are of mixed racial descent and they have inherited privilege from their landholding foreparents. They have sought to maintain their elite status while at the same time are greatly influenced by the folk society. Their status in the local social organization forces us to conclude that Carriacouan society is not completely classless. Although the integration of this segment of the elite into the folk society is complete, the metropolitan elite as a whole remains separate from the folk level and is correctly defined by occupational status.

Smith continues his list of elite occupational levels: "A third stratum includes the three remaining head teachers, the junior officers and Government clerks, the junior agricultural instructors, the local police force, the dispenser, nurses, road officer, assistant teachers, contractors who undertake Government work . . ." (Smith, 1962a, p. 60). Again, we do not know the number of Carriacouans in this group. "Members of these three strata also differentiate revenue boatmen, student teachers, forest rangers, road drivers, property overseers, vessel hands, and the few domestic servants from the general population . . ." (*op. cit.*). It is likely that most of the people in this last group were Carriacouans.

This class system consists of all roles in the metropolitan social organization. The small landed elite, together with Carriacouans in the lowest level, serve the important task of mediating between the metropolitan and the folk social organization.

Smith goes on to examine the spheres of status found for the majority of Carriacouans who tend to be outside this system. These distinctions are based on sex and age, or on occupation, land ownership, and community affiliation. Here again, he underestimated the influence of the local estate owners, who also participate in this status system.

Outside this group, however, the elite look to Grenada, Trinidad, or Britain as the center of their culture. They are stationed on the island for a few years, and then move on to some other post within the colonial system. Today, some people within this social organization do not participate in any elite social group on the island, their only bond with fellow elite members being employment. Others have social contact with other elite members and may therefore be considered part of a social group. Still others form links only with civil servants on other islands.

There seems to be an incipient merging of the metropolitan and the folk social organizations concomitant with recent political developments and Carriacouan social mobility abroad. That is, skilled, formally educated individuals have re-

turned to Carriacou, not just with money—the traditional procedure—but with the necessary credentials to break into the civil service. Such people are replacing foreigners in key metropolitan social roles. Many, but not all, of these individuals come from the privileged, local estate-owning families. Possibly such individuals will someday constitute an elite class of professional Carriacouans. In this way the fused portions of metropolitan and folk social organizations—formerly represented only by the estate families—may expand. One would suspect, then, that whereas class distinctions are of little importance to the folk today (since they are barred from most elite positions), such distinctions will, in the future, greatly modify the folk's perceptions of themselves as relatively classless.

Formal Education

Formal education has its origins before emancipation in the teaching of reading and writing in religious schools. In 1833, probably in Hillsborough, 100 children were receiving daily instruction (Smith, 1962a, pp. 23-24). In 1843 "industrial schools" were established in Grenada and Carriacou with children doing light work in exchange for a minimal education in reading and writing. The industrial school had 300 students of the island total of 1360 children under the age of 14 years. It soon failed. In 1854 there was more than one school in Hillsborough and "most of the people (could) read and write . . ." (Evelyn, 1935, p. 202).

Today nearly every Carriacouan can write, but education for the majority remains confined to a few years of primary schooling. There are now five primary schools in Carriacou and one in Petite Martinique. Most of these schools have an infant department for four, five, or six year olds, the modern equivalent of the now largely defunct private schools which functioned as day-care centers for working women. A few of the latter schools remain and are often church affiliated. Infant education emphasizes counting and memorization of the alphabet. Much time is spent on religious instruction and songs.

The primary schools go from standard one to standard eight. Six or seven subjects are taught each day and there is heavy reliance on British modes of education and on subjects relevant to Britain, in addition to the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Most books are of British or Canadian origin. However, within the last few years some books have been introduced dealing with Caribbean topics, written from a West Indian perspective. The emphasis is on memorization and learning by rote. One school until quite recently had only six books to distribute among 330 students. Teachers read passages aloud which the children repeated. The headmaster, by enlisting the aid of a Canadian tourist who sent books to the island after returning home, was able to obtain enough books for every pupil. This school, which is affiliated with the Catholic church but also receives some government aid, charges its students EC $25 for each term in addition to costs for books, uniforms, and lunches. The school receives only EC $.40 per year per pupil based on average daily attendance. Teacher salaries range from about EC $75 per month for uncertified teachers to about EC $200 to EC $400 for those with college degrees or for headmasters.

Disciplinary methods in the primary schools vary but most schools depend on corporal punishment, which is administered liberally. Some teachers send misbehaving students to the headmaster for punishment while others, ruler or strap in hand, punish on the spot.

It is difficult to retain certified teachers in Carriacou. One school, in 1970, lost seven of 11 instructors, largely to migration. Another lost two of seven teachers and still another lost five of 10. Peace Corps teachers from the United States, and a similar group from Canada help fill the gap but there is a heavy turnover among members of this group. Perhaps half of the foreigners stay for a year or less. Carriacouan teachers who are certified to teach at either the primary or secondary level leave for higher paying civil service jobs in Grenada or emigrate to England, Trinidad, Canada, or the United States, often to further their education. While some of these individuals return and replace foreigners in senior government or educational positions (headmasters, education officials in the government and the like) many others do not.

The schools attempt to prepare students for certain examinations. When a student passes the School Leaving Examination it indicates completion of primary school, whereas the General Cer-

tificate of Education (the GCE) applies to the secondary schools. The GCE includes up to six subjects. It is given when the student has completed form five, the last year of secondary school taught at Bishop's College in Hillsborough and equivalent to completion of American high school. In Grenada students may take form six, which is similar to the first year of an American junior college or the thirteenth year of Canadian high school. In Carriacou most students who are able to pass at all—passes are graded in several levels—usually pass only one or two subjects and with "low" passes at that. In order to qualify for university education in Trinidad or England a student must have high "O level" passes—completion of form six in six subjects. To obtain a civil service job the student must pass the appropriate subjects. In some cases, increases in salary and rank depend on obtaining more passes.

The facts that the average Carriacouan attends school for six years and that most have difficulty passing the high school examination further illustrate the split local social organization. On the one hand most Carriacouan parents (until quite recently) defined education as informal socialization. Rather than attend school (once they have learned to read and write) girls are expected to help with tasks in the house and "yard." Boys, though allowed more freedom, tend animals and are not pressured to attend school. On the other hand, both church and government school education is based on the examination system which effectively restricts local participation in the metropolitan social organization.

In 1971 a new primary school was opened in Six Roads village and a new "junior" secondary school in Hillsborough. The educational system of the island was reorganized so that all the primary schools, with the exception of the Hillsborough school, now teach standard one through standard six. Hillsborough school is restricted to standards seven and eight for pupils from the entire island, in preparation for Bishop's College. The new technical or junior secondary school is for students interested in vocational training who do not plan to attend Bishop's College, and it also is restricted to standards seven and eight. The headmaster is a Carriacouan with a degree from Cambridge. The school was financed jointly by the Canadian and Grenadian governments: Canada contributed the prefabricated building and Grenada provided the construction firm to put it up. Early in 1972, a few months after the school had been opened, they were experiencing difficulties in finding enough staff. At that time at least five of the teachers were foreigners, and the rest were culled from the other schools on the island.

Carriacou's only secondary school was moved to a new building in late 1973. The Bishop's College, affiliated with the Anglican Church, opened in 1964. Each of the headmasters has been British. It has about 11 teachers and about 150 students are enrolled. Since its opening more children have been able to obtain a secondary education although some still go to Grenada to attend the Grenada Boys Secondary School (GBSS), Presentation College (for boys), or the Convent School (for girls). Bishop's College is co-educational having about an equal number of boys and girls. Carriacouans are very proud of this school and parents try to enroll their children.

Formal Medicine

One of the more significant ways in which the metropolitan social organization has influenced folk society is through the introduction of "Western" medicine. For example, midwives were once responsible for most deliveries and although midwifery has fallen into disuse, beliefs about childbirth have persisted. Some people believe that the umbilical cord should be buried under a mango tree in one's yard so that the child will have protection, well being, and know that it is his yard. Pregnant women are not supposed to sleep together as one of the fetuses might kill the other. If a pregnant woman sees a "manicou" near her house it is said that the child will be born a manicou. If a pregnant woman sees an ugly baby, her baby will be ugly. Down's syndrome is sometimes explained in this way. The "jobless"—a female devil—is said to be a woman who died in childbirth. Protection against "maljoe"—the evil eye—is still sought for babies. Children born with cauls have the power to scare off "sucayan" and "loogaru" (witches and warlocks). Similarly, "the spirits of twins have special power. This power can be used to their own good."

Today, people are selective in their advocacy

of these beliefs. Generally, belief in supernatural intervention and bush medicine is most strongly held when it is seen as necessary to maintain or restore order, or as a *post hoc* explanation of some unfortunate event. That is, folk belief is retained where such explanation has psychological or sociological import but loses ground to modern medicine in the treatment of biological diseases.

In 1854, before the advent of modern medicine, a cholera epidemic took about 100 lives (Grenada Handbook, 1946, p. 44). In 1907 a district hospital was built at Belvedere (*ibid.*, p. 69). Since the 1920s the island has had a doctor at least several days a week. There are now four clinics on the island and a fifth on Petite Martinique. In 1933 midwifery and in-house childbirth began to be replaced by nurse or doctor supervised deliveries in the hospital (Smith, 1962a, p. 87). Thus, the number of deaths in the first year of childhood have been reduced from 91.6 per 1000 live births in the 1920s to 27.8 per 1000 in the 1960s (D. Hill, 1973, p. 503).

In Carriacou, where a small land area once maintained a viable economy with a manageable population increase, the influence of modern medicine has been dramatic. As we shall see in the next chapter, the very large increase in the birth rate coupled with a decrease in the death rate constitutes a major factor in a ballooning permanent migration rate.

CHAPTER 2. THE PATTERN OF MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

To this point we have restricted discussion of the metropolitan social organization and its influence on Carriacouan folk society to the local level. However, colonial and neo-colonial social organization has affected Carriacou most significantly through wage-labor migration. Indeed, the folk society has been supported since emancipation by a balance between migratory wage labor on the one hand, and subsistence gardening on the other. Wages earned by migrants still do not provide sufficient savings to allow Carriacouans to abandon gardening entirely. Subsistence gardening makes it possible for migrants' families to survive when migrants are unemployed abroad. It is advantageous for metropolitan countries to maintain this balance between capitalist wage labor and subsistence gardening, with all the accompanying folk characteristics. That is, it creates a large pool of unskilled labor willing and eager to work abroad at wages considered minimal according to a metropolitan pay scale. At the same time the socio-political stability of the folk society at home is maximized. One has an ideal rural labor force (a rural semi-proletariat, if you will) that will not disrupt capitalism. Migratory labor from Carriacou is, therefore, an integral part of the metropolitan social structure and as such it has been an agent both for stability and change.

Frucht, applying the idea of "social field" has written: "The social field concept refers to the realization of the importance of extra-local variables in understanding culture change and stability in primitive and peasant communities. The expansion of the advanced industrial societies, imperalism and colonialism ... as well as the creation of 'post-peasants' gives support to the concept of the ties that bind the latter societies to the former ..." (Frucht, 1968, p. 193).

The social field is the environment in which a social organization operates and wherein a social structure is located. The metropolitan social structure of Carriacou, as a manifestation of colonial and post-colonial Britain, exists in part within the social field of England: "In effect, I make the following assumptions: (a) that Nevis (and all the West Indies) is not a developing or modernizing society–it has always been part of the social field of England, however exploited and backward; (b) that migration and remittance are only one manifestation of this social field ..." (Frucht, 1968, pp. 194-195). Similarly (Philpott, 1970, p. 15)[1] "migration has been in-

[1]Philpott seems to have utilized a modified field theory in dividing his migration study of Montserrat into three "units of analysis:" "... I have considered the implications of migration primarily with regard to three institutional contexts of units of analysis: the total society, as manifested in the island's social, political and

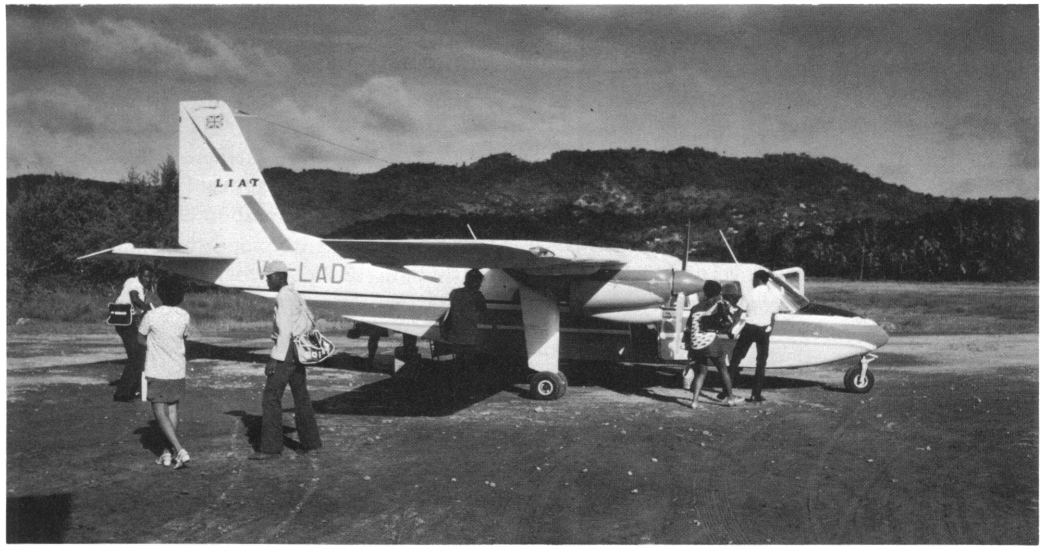

FIG. 6. LIAT airplane, Lauriston airstrip, October 1971.

corporated as a socio-economic alternative in the Montserratian social system for over a century." Therefore, with respect to the importance of migration to the local West Indian society, Carriacou is strikingly similar to both Nevis and Montserrat.

The specific characteristics of Carriacouan migration, however, and the nature of the local society differ considerably from both of these islands. Nevis and Montserrat have had powerful local White or elite classes until recently while Carriacou has not. Furthermore, Nevis's migration has changed over the years, depending on the class which has migrated (Frucht, 1968, pp. 196-200), whereas Carriacou, not having as strong class demarcations within the folk society, has not had great variations.

THE HISTORY OF MIGRATION

As Smith (1962a, p. 30) pointed out, the lack of land and the increase in population (table 1) were important factors in the emigration from Carriacou which began immediately after slavery was abolished in 1838. More recently, Richardson (1975) has proposed the theory that the removal of a forest cover, necessary in planting cotton and other plantation crops, significantly altered the local biome and increased erosion even before 1800. Thus, after emancipation land was not fertile enough to yield sufficient food for the island's growing population. From our brief historical sketch we can see that continuous droughts exacerbated the situation. Finally, we have also noted that even before emancipation slaves were exposed to a money economy and had means to migrate (boats). With little local employment, migration was a logical development.

Carriacouans first headed for Grenada and, more importantly, Trinidad, to work as unskilled field hands on sugar estates. In 1839 Trinidadian plantation owners were advertising for laborers in Grenadian newspapers (Smith, 1962a, p. 26): "... a free passage to all labourers wishful of going there, where they will receive the following

economic hierarchies; the community, as manifested by two local areas; and the household, as manifested by the households which comprised the local communities" (1973, p. 181). Although his concept of the total society is similar to my concept of metropolitan social organization, they differ in that the former is an arena wherein interactions take place and the latter consists of the interactions themselves. This broad use of field theory differs somewhat from situation-specific field theory (Swartz, 1968, pp. 6-18).

wages: 4/– currency with half-pound fish and a glass of rum per task of 200 cane stools; an able man can do two tasks a day, which amounts to a dollar; but he will be required to work weekly at least five days at the estate. He will have a house free of rent, with as much land as he can cultivate for his own use . . . Any person bringing over 20-40 field people will get immediate suitable employment on application to any member of the Agricultural Society. Government will pay the labourer's passage at the rate of 5 dollars per head."

This wage rate was twice that offered in Grenada. The task system in Trinidad seemed to be favored by workers over the day-work system used in Grenada (Smith 1962a, p. 27). Grenadian employers charged rent for the gardens and houses of laborers when they were absent in an effort to stop the flow of workers to Trinidad. But Grenada was not able to compete with Trinidad. Grenadian planters sought immigrant labor from Malta, Madeira, India, and later, from West Africa (Grenada Handbook 1946, p. 42). In Carriacou there seemed no hope of making the sugar crop competitive and absentee ownership increased.

Smith (1962a, p. 27) estimated that in 1841 the annual emigration from Carriacou was averaging 150 per year to Trinidad alone. However, much of this was seasonal and some Carriacouans returned to their homeland with money not locally available: " 'Men who are emulous of respectability will have good surtouts and coats, especially those who have earned a few dollars in Trinidad . . . where wages are much higher . . .' " (Smith, 1962a, p. 29). In 1873, 427 people from Carriacou emigrated to Trinidad, 371 of them men (*ibid.*, p. 35). Many of these people no doubt returned after the cane cutting season was over: " 'It is well known that the people of Carriacou have been annually in the habit of seeking employment elsewhere during the crop season, and in consequence of the failure of employment for labourers upon many of the estates of Grenada, whither they were accustomed to go, they have swelled the list of deckers to Trinidad. Many have used Trinidad as a *point d'appui* in their travels toward Nueva Providencia.' " (*Op. cit.*) As the century came to a close even fewer people found employment on Carriacou. Those who did were paid half the wages offered in Trinidad.

The extent of the emigration from Carriacou becomes apparent when one looks at the population data (table 1). In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, births averaged about 252 per year and deaths about 114 per year but the population did not rise rapidly (Appendix A). Using the census data and the available birth and death figures, the permanent migration rate has been established after 1921 and estimated before that date (table 2).

The estimate for 1881-1890 is probably low and is based on births and deaths for just one year. These figures include only the people who left Carriacou to reside permanently elsewhere. That is, this represents the permanent loss of population through emigration, not seasonal migration. If we include the latter and those individuals who spent but a few years abroad before returning to Carriacou the figures would be considerably higher, and indeed would include virtually every adult male and many of the women and children as well.

In 1906 there is evidence of a shift away from the earlier pattern of seasonal migration (Grenada Handbook, 1946, p. 68): "For the first time in the history of the colony there was a large exodus of the labouring population. The commencement of operations by the United States Government on the Panama Canal and the high prices paid for labour thereon attracted 1534 Grenadian [including Carriacouan] labourers there in the course of the year, the first large body leaving on January 4. Of these, 813 returned during the year, and doubtless many died on the Isth-

TABLE 1
Population of Carriacou From 1776-1970

1776:	3328	1881:	5154
1778:	3153	1891:	6031
1832:	3823	1901:	6497
1835:	3127	1911:	6886
1842:	3600	1921:	7104
1851:	4461	1946:	6771
1861:	3701	1960:	6958
1871:	4486	1970:	6052

Source: D. Hill, 1973, Appendix A.

TABLE 2
Estimated Rate of Permanent Emigration from Carriacou by Decade

Decade	Number of Emigrants	Rate of Emigration
1861-1870	46 people per year	11 per 1000 per year
1871-1880	80 people per year	17 per 1000 per year
1881-1890	12 (62) people per year[a]	2 (11) per 1000 per year[a]
1901-1911	89 people per year	13 per 1000 per year
1911-1920	116 people per year	17 per 1000 per year
1921-1945	153 people per year	22 per 1000 per year
1946-1960	154 people per year	22 per 1000 per year
1961-1969	201 people per year	31 per 1000 per year

[a]Due to an excessive number of deaths in 1881 (155), the only year for which data are available in this decade, this estimate of permanent emigrants and rate is unusually low. Therefore, the figures in parentheses are based on a number of deaths per year (105) more typical of that era.

Source: See Appendix A.

mus, but large sums were sent back to the colony by the emigrants."

Between 1901 and 1911 emigration increased, reflecting this move to Panama.

There is a considerable amount of quantitative data available for this period on rainfall, cotton price and export, savings bank deposits, marriages, births, deaths, and legitimacy. These data yield indirect evidence of migration.[1]

In 1907 Catholic marriages[2] were few and births low, probably indicating male migration to Panama.[3] In 1912 marriages declined again and in 1913 births also declined, again probably indicating late migrations to Panama. By 1914 this phase of overseas wage labor seems to have come to a halt. This is reflected in an increase in marriages that year and an increase in births the following year.

By 1915 Carriacouans were moving again as World War I influenced the Caribbean economy. Instead of going to Trinidad as cane cutters, many went to that island to work in the oil fields and in industry. In 1915, therefore, Catholic marriages dropped and in 1916 there was a concomitant decline in births. More money was withdrawn from the local savings bank in that year than was deposited.

From informants and the Catholic marriage and baptism records it is known that in 1919 Carriacouans were in Aruba and in 1920 in the United States. At this time it appears that more migrants returned to Carriacou than usual, indicated by an increase in marriages in 1918 and an increase in births in 1919. The cotton yield dropped in this year, also a possible indicator of increased dependence on the money of returned migrants rather than on cotton as a cash crop.

It is difficult to delineate exact migration patterns for the 1920s because of conflicting evidence. During this decade, it seems, the population was unstable. Many male Carriacouans continued their search for overseas employment. Others returned home. However, since little employment was available locally, emigration increased.

The local economic conditions partially responsible for the gradually increasing emigration were not unlike those following the abolition of

[1]This section is based on D. Hill, 1973, Appendix C which lists the full data with more detailed explanations and sources.

[2]Data for other marriages are not available. Catholic marriages account for approximately 40 to 45 percent of all marriages on the island.

[3]The qualitative terms throughout this section such as "few" and "low" are based on the data in D. Hill, 1973, Appendix C wherein there is a full quantitative breakdown by year.

slavery: "As District Overseer at Carriacou, I had to employ gangs every fortnight for road work. There were so many people–women in particular–that I could hardly enjoy a night's rest. From very early morning hordes of people–mainly women–would besiege my residence. I would hardly be awake before I became conscious of hundreds of eyes peering through my bedroom again those of women! As soon as anyone caught sight of me, at once I would hear: 'Ah come fa piece-a-wuk . . .' " (Conrad, 1970, p. 81).

The excess of women indicates that many men were abroad in the 1920s, the period to which the author refers.

At this time Carriacouans first ventured outside of the tropics, primarily to New York City. Some of these people are alive today. Key individuals in this migration came from the local landed elite and when they returned they were able to further solidify family interests. The earnings of all Carriacouans in the New York migration exceeded savings from Panama. In the late 1920s and early 1930s Carriacouans who were able to emigrate went to Trinidad, Aruba, and Maracaibo, Venezuela to work the oil fields or to cut cane (Trinidad).

In the first years of the Great Depression emigration declined. The population of the island probably reached a high point, perhaps as many as 8000 or 9000. We cannot be certain as there was no census. Meanwhile the cotton yield and price both fell to lower levels than in the 1920s.

As the Depression closed and World War II began, the level of emigration increased once again. Recruiters seeking laborers for their companies arrived on the island. A drought in 1939 partially destroyed the corn crop and caused a low cotton yield. Although the legitimacy rate rose slightly, the number of marriages and total number of births declined during the forties. Remittances increased and the cotton export began its decline to the low levels of the next decades. Cotton ceased to be the staple of the cash economy, replaced by remittances, pensions, and savings–all concomitants of overseas labor.

By 1940 there are enough data to estimate the distribution of overseas Carriacouans.[1] It has not been possible to estimate the total number of migrants in one country at a particular time but I have been able to estimate the percentages of Carriacouans in specific countries for set time periods (table 3). During World War II Carriacouans migrated almost exclusively to the oil producing countries–Trinidad, Aruba, and Venezuela. A few went to England, most of these in military service or to work in war related industries. Immediately after the War the LAGO oil company in Aruba stepped up production, hoping to fill the gap in the world's supply left from damaged or closed refineries in the Middle East. At this time the social and economic factors on Carriacou vary greatly from year to year and do not always give clear cut evidence of migration. It appears that as some Carriacouans returned from England or from Venezuela others headed for Trinidad or Aruba. Trinidad, in addition to being the major overseas residence for Carriacouans, acted as a stepping-off point between the Caribbean islands and, later, England and the United States. That is, informants have told me that immediately after the War they left Venezuela and headed for Trinidad, not Carriacou. Only stopping a short time, they were off again for employment in Aruba.

By the second half of the 1940s Aruba became the major source of work for the islanders.

[1]Migration data on 850 Carriacouans is summarized in various ways over the remainder of this chapter. This information is derived from three sources; most from Catholic records in Hillsborough, particularly the marriage and baptism records. When a marriage or baptism takes place outside the island the priest sometimes sends this information back to the home parish (Carriacou). Such records are not complete and seem to overemphasize data from English-speaking countries at the expense of those from Aruba and Spanish-speaking countries.

Other data have been obtained from informants on Carriacou. These data are of two types: either the informant was questioned directly about his life abroad or the informant gave information about relatives or friends he knows to be abroad. For each of the 850 individuals the data are tabulated for one or more of the following categories: name, country or countries of residence, home village in Carriacou, place of marriage, place of baptism, place of birth if abroad, age, sex, the number of years abroad on each occasion, and the total number of years abroad. For most of the individuals not all of this information has been obtained but for no category have I been forced to deal with less than 100 cases.

TABLE 3
Carriacouans in Countries Abroad in Percentage of Sample for Stated Period

Country	Pre-41	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	Present
Grenada	26	3	4	9	11	10	9	6
Trinidad	15	38	35	48	33	24	22	13
Aruba	29	37	43	24	10	5	5	6
England	–	5	–	4	28	41	33	44
U.S.A.	8	–	1	9	11	13	20	21
Canada	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	3
Venezuela	14	17	9	5	5	4	–	–
B. V. I.	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2
Other	8	–	8	1	2	3	7	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
n=	140	63	99	140	184	232	202	293

Sources: Catholic marriage and baptism records, interviews, and conversations.

Nevertheless, there were still probably more Carriacouans in Trinidad than in Aruba. The 1946 census shows that 1200 Carriacouans were in residence in Trinidad, 1000 of whom had been there for more than five years (Smith, 1962a, p. 35). The number of Carriacouans permanently leaving Carriacou had dropped from the peak flow during the War (between 1941 and 1945 an estimated 1144 people left the island permanently),[1] between 1946 and 1950 another 562 people left permanently.

By the first half of the 1950s permanent emigration rose again (about 796 persons left). An estimated 1037 people left permanently in the next five years. Considering that the island's population was 6771 in 1946 this rate of emigration is staggering, especially as it consisted mostly of adult males. In the early 1950s Trinidad once again became the major area of immigration as the LAGO oil company of Aruba mechanized and laid off workers in great numbers. For the first time since the 1920s many Carriacouans migrated to the United States, some to work picking crops in the east and south, but the majority to Brooklyn to work at a variety of jobs. In 1953 there appears to have been an upsurge in the number of returnees from Aruba.[2] Catholic marriages were numerous that year but still six fewer than in 1952 when 22 couples were married in the Catholic church. In 1954, however, births increased sharply, to 280, the highest level since 1943, suggesting a return of migrants in 1953.

The shift of the working population from Aruba and, to a lesser degree, from Trinidad to England represented a demographic change of great importance. In 1957, the first year of this shift, 172 Carriacouans migrated to England (Kingsbury, 1960a, p. 15). The early years of migration to England were marked by the traditional male departures. The birth rate in Carriacou dropped sharply and legitimacy slightly in 1960 indicating, perhaps, the smaller number of men on the island the previous year. Also, the number of Catholic marriages dropped to just five in 1960, the lowest level since 1938. In the past this has been interpreted as indicating a large adult male migration from the island, but now it indicates a large female exodus. In 1957, 17 Catholic marriages between Carriacouans abroad were registered and 17 at home. This marks the first time that as many islanders were marrying abroad as at home (table 4). By far the majority

[1]All figures showing permanent migration are based on D. Hill, 1973, Appendix B. Although they are estimates and the calculation to the first digit seems rather gross there is reason for this. The figure is based on the real migration between census periods calculated from the number of births, deaths, and the total population.

[2]Place of destination from my data and M. G. Smith's for this year has been compared in D. Hill, 1973, p. 51 (tables 1-4). My figures showed a greater percentage of Carriacouans in Aruba and England and fewer in Trinidad.

TABLE 4
Local Catholic Marriages and Marriages between Carriacouans Abroad by Location and Year[a]

Year	G/da	T/dad	Aruba	England	USA	All Others	Totals	Local Catholic Marriages
Before 1950	1	5	3	1	0	3 (B/dos)	13	?
1950	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	11
1951	0	2	1	0	0	0	3	9
1952	4	4	0	1	0	0	9	22
1953	1	6	0	2	0	0	9	16
1954	1	5	0	1	3	1 (Union)	11	17
1955	1	4	0	1	1	0	7	22
1956	2	3	0	1	0	0	6	16
1957	2	3	2	8	1	1 (St. Lucia)	17	17
1958	4	3	1	4	0	1 (Barbados)	13	16
1959	1	4	0	8	0	0	13	15
1960	1	7	0	13	1	1 (Barbados)	23	5
1961	6	5	0	9	1	1 (Canada)	22	9
1962	3	3	0	9	2	0	17	8
1963	0	1	0	17	0	0	18	3
1964	2	2	0	7	3	0	14	4
1965	2	4	0	10	2	0	18	4
1966	4	2	0	3	0	0	9	17
1967	1	1	0	8	1	2 (1 ea. Canada & Singapore)	13	25
1968	1	2	0	1	2	2 (1 ea. Canada & Barbados)	8	10
1969	2	0	0	1	4	1 (Union)	8	9
1970	0	1	0	2	0	2 (1 ea. B/dos & Jamaica)	5	?
Totals since 1950	38	66	4	106	21	12	247	255

[a]The data above refer only to those Catholic marriages in the countries listed that have been recorded by one means or another in Carriacou. They therefore do not include all Catholic marriages of Carriacouans abroad and, of course, Catholic marriages represent approximately 40 percent of all marriages between the islanders.

Finally, it is likely that after 1968 the records are not as complete as they are for the other years after 1950. It is not known how complete the records are for the few marriages before 1959.

of these overseas marriages occurred in England. By 1960 there were many more Catholic marriages abroad than locally (at least 23 as compared with five) and in fact more in England (at least 13) than in Carriacou.

The percentage of men in the population had

dropped since the institution of the apprentice system in 1835, reaching its lowest recorded point in 1946 (table 5). When Smith took his sample in 1953, the male population had begun to increase and in 1960 this increase had progressed still further to only 1 percent below the level of 1861 and 1871.

Between 1961 and 1969 an estimated 1787 people left Carriacou permanently. During this time England became the chief source of overseas employment, with 41 percent of all Carriacouans migrating in the decade going there (according to my sample), compared with 24 percent to Trinidad and smaller percentages to Grenada, Aruba, and Venezuela. The number of people going to the United States continued to increase slightly, to 13 percent of the total. At this time England began to restrict immigration from the West Indies as well as from India and Pakistan. Any immigrant had to obtain, according to a new immigration act, one of three types of vouchers before they could come to England: "*Category A.* Those people who had been offered definite jobs. *Category B.* Those people who had certain specific skills which were in short supply in England. *Category C.* Those people who did not qualify under 'A' or 'B'" (Field and Haiken, 1971, p. 11).

The vast majority of Carriacouans were in group 'C' and few vouchers were issued for this category. However, some Carriacouan women qualified as nurse trainees, Category 'B,' and were able to migrate. Men who were already in England sent for their wives and those who were not married sent word home that they wanted a girl chosen for them and put on a plane for England. Legally, it was easier to stay with a wife and children than if one remained single.

In 1964 Category 'C' was eliminated and in 1965 the Labor Government placed a ceiling on the total number of vouchers issued. However, dependents joined immigrants and continue to do so. Today there are as many as 2000 Carriacouans in Huddersfield alone (Smith, personal commun.).

These conditions in England, then, go a long way toward explaining the changing demographic features of Carriacou, thousands of miles away. Thus, the island's birth rate is at its lowest level ever (between 1960 and 1969 the birth rate was estimated at 25 per 1000 population, see Appendix A, Part II). Carriacouans still favor large families but it appears that many women of childbearing age are off the island. The death rate also fell to its lowest level (between 1960 and 1969 the death rate was estimated at eight per 1000 population, see Appendix A, Part II). The cotton export fell to the lowest levels since 1915. This was partly due to low rainfall between 1956 and 1964 but also reflects the steadily declining dependency on cotton as a cash crop and its replacement with remittances.

In the five-year period ending in 1970 approximately 929 Carriacouans permanently left and

TABLE 5
Population of Carriacou by Sex and Year

Year	Males	Females	% Male	Notes and Comments
1835	1284	1411	48	"apprentice" population only
1861	1604	2097	43	total population
1871	1951	2535	43	total population
1881	2147	3007	42	total population
1946	2570	4201	38	total population
1953	421	619	40	population sample
1960	2922	4036	42	total population
1970-1971	215	244	47	population sample

Sources: 1835-1953 from Smith, 1962a, p. 21; 1960–Census of Windward Islands-Grenada, volume II, summary tables, table 6-6; 1970-1971 from interview sample of households, see Appendix B.

the population of the island stood at 6052, down 906 from the 1960 figure. In the last few years emigration to England has continued, male migrants being replaced by women and children. Migration to the United States has increased and Trinidad has remained a steady draw for the islanders. Canada has begun to receive islanders, chiefly for schooling, seasonal agricultural employment, or as a stepping stone to the United States. Some Carriacouan men have left for the British Virgin Islands to work in hotel construction.

In 1972, in addition to the countries already mentioned there were Carriacouans in Grenada, of course, St. Vincent, Barbados, St. Lucia, Guyana, St. Kitts, Antigua, Colombia, Dominica, Jamaica, Montserrat, Bermuda, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Hong Kong, Viet Nam, and Kenya.

To complete the examination of Carriacouan migration patterns it is useful to see from what villages the migrants came and what their occupations were abroad. With respect to the first consideration, a breakdown by village or groups of villages showing a differential emigration pattern to various countries is found in table 6. Note that Hillsborough shows a great spread, with migrants from "Town," as Hillsborough is called, going to more areas than those from most other villages on the island. This is not surprising as Hillsborough is the administrative center of the island and counts as its residents the greatest number of foreigners (including Grenadians) and many people who have moved from other villages on the island. Within Carriacou it is, therefore, the most cosmopolitan community and is so considered by the Carriacouans. It is sometimes described as "neutral territory," a designation which underscores village rivalries and differences. The variation in the other villages on the table illustrates the commonly held belief that particular "families" tend to migrate to the same area. However, since the number of cases are few for L'Esterre and Hillsborough, it is possible that there are distortions.

From the Catholic records and from relatives in Carriacou, I have discovered the occupations of Carriacouans residing abroad (Hill, 1973, p. 55). There are differences in occupation based on country of residence. Overall, the most common occupations are student, nurse, factory worker, vehicle driver, musician, carpenter, and mason. Aruba seems to count mostly masons and carpenters among the immigrants; England–factory workers, vehicle drivers, nurses, and musicians. In the United States most migrants are students, soldiers, nurses, or construction workers (not reflected in the table). From Kingsbury (1960a, p. 15) we learn that in 1956 the migrants to England sought jobs as common laborers, carpenters, masons, tailors, plumbers, seamen, housekeepers, seamstresses, and domestic servants.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Before 1838 slavery, cotton, and sugar were integral parts of the society of Carriacou. Forced labor was replaced by migratory wage labor in the economic functioning of the society. However, migration was not a total replacement for slavery. Changes brought on by migration have been many, though often indirect and subtle. Most apparent are the demographic shifts. Adult males have left the island either permanently or for varying periods of time since emancipation. As a result, there has been a large imbalance in the sexual ratio since 1835, particularly among adults where females outnumber males by as much as two-to-one and three-to-one. This un-

TABLE 6
Present Migrants Abroad by Country and Village in Carriacou (in Percentage)

Village	G/da	T/dad	Aruba	England	USA	Canada	BVI	Other	Total	n=
Mt. Pleasant	5	14	1	51	23	2	2	2	100	73
Ridge Comm.	3	17	9	58	12	1	–	–	100	77
Hillsborough	19	5	–	38	14	5	–	19	100	21
L'Esterre	–	25	20	30	5	5	5	10	100	20

Sources: Questionnaire responses, Catholic marriage and baptism records, and conversations.

usual demographic imbalance has affected the family system of the islanders (Chapter 6).

A series of droughts, beginning in the apprentice years after slavery, which eroded the land; the relatively low wages the planters in Carriacou paid as opposed to wages offered in Trinidad; and the depressed sugar prices ended sugar cane as a significant plantation crop. Some estates were abandoned as many landowners left the island. For the most part they retained their land and the people were forced to squat, pay rent, or enter into a sharecropping arrangement with a representative of the estate owners. Income from cotton was not sufficient and in fact, cotton yields declined.

Migratory wage labor was a feasible economic solution and there is little wonder that so many Carriacouans found their way to Trinidad in the first years after the abolition of slavery. Once this life style was established Trinidad was used as a jumping off point for further migrations and still more Carriacouans left the island. When the islanders went to Panama, a new phase of migration began as, for the first time, people left in large numbers for other than agricultural and seasonal employment. In the late 1930s and the 1940s Carriacouans worked in the oil industries in Venezuela, Aruba, or Trinidad and, particularly from Aruba, brought back or sent money home in unprecedented amounts. In the mid-1950s Carriacouans left for England in great numbers and after a few years, because of restrictive legislation, more women and children than men migrated there. The demographic side of this change promises to mark a new era in the island's history comparable with the abolition of slavery.

CHAPTER 3. SOURCES AND USES OF MONEY

Carriacouans, since at least 1833, have participated in two sorts of economic systems—the most important being a money economy. This money economy is part of the metropolitan social organization. It supports the second economic system of the islanders—the folk or subsistence economy. One might say that the money economy allows Carriacouans the luxury of maintaining a subsistence economy. The subsistence economy is, in turn, in many ways the foundation of the folk society (Chapter 5).

Remittances and Savings

Although migration is partly responsible for the decline in cash crops, of cotton in particular, it has led to an increase in the money supply on the island. This money is used to purchase land, cattle, and vehicles, and to build houses, shops, and vessels. The amount of money involved cannot be precisely determined. Savings bank statistics for 1915 and from 1920 to 1938 (table 7) as well as data that have been compiled from questionnaire responses and other sources indicate the patterns—if not the total amount—by which this money filters into the island.

Since 1889, when the government opened a savings bank, approximately one out of 26 Carriacouans has used banking services.[1] It is assumed that deposits into the savings bank reflect overseas earnings (deposits increased until the Depression when they leveled off at about £2200 per year even though the value of the cotton export declined).

This phenomenon is not restricted to Carriacou. Philpott in 1968, p. 466, said about Montserrat:

> Until the migration to Britain the cash income of the island was based primarily on the production of sea island cotton. This situation was radically changed. The shortage of labour and the increased income from remittances brought an end to the estate production of cotton and a greater reduction in production by smallholders. In 1951, prior to the exodus to Britain, the export value of the cotton crop was approximately (B.W.I.) (EC) $620,000 while remittances to the island through the post office amounted to $72,000. By 1960, at the peak of migration, the position was virtually reversed. The export value of cotton was then only $162,000, while remittances totaled $617,000, almost all from Britain. Admittedly, this is an oversimplified picture of the economic changes which ignores problems of in-

[1]Based on 1934 data when there were 304 depositors (table 7) and a population estimate of 8000.

TABLE 7
Savings Bank Deposits, Withdrawals, and Credits and the Value of Cotton Exported for 1915 and 1920 to 1938

Year	No. of Depositors	Amount Deposited	Amount Withdrawn	Excess Deposited	Total Credit[a]	Cotton
1915	156	£ 865	£1451	–£ 586	£3113	£10,470
1920	88	555	868	– 313	1349	48,670
1921	77	409	965	– 556	820	10,959
1922	94	522	472	+ 50	898	9020
1923	85	334	352	+ 18	912	15,337
1924	91	1304	401	+ 903	1863	17,935
1925	134	1361	1234	+ 127	2062	19,588
1926	171	1873	941	+ 932	3085	16,686
1927	204	3891	1764	+ 2127	5357	15,890
1928	194	1036	2667	– 1631	3893	12,585
1929	222	1648	2009	– 361	3657	19,024
1930	228	1729	1804	– 75	3718	19,681
1931	284	1952	1964	– 12	3840	8272
1932	290	1327	1452	– 125	3844	8315
1933	291	2386	1775	+ 611	4587	5964
1934	304	2055	2301	– 246	4483	5399
1935	269	2272	2073	+ 199	4820	7822
1936	294	2888	2635	+ 253	5204	5866
1937	290	2231	3286	– 1055	4270	4982
1938	294	2182	2396	– 214	4157	3864

[a] Includes interest.
Sources: Grenada Blue Book, 1915, 1920-1938.

flation, decline in subsistence production and income distribution. However, . . . the significance of these remittances can readily be seen.

About savings and investment Smith (1962a, p. 56) said, "The Carriacou economy has low cash content. The island provides few opportunities for wage employment, but the culture enjoins heavy outlays in certain circumstances. These conditions encourage thrift in the folk; and since the island has no banks, limited surpluses are invested in productive enterprises which can be turned into cash in emergencies. Cattle, sloops, and shops meet these conditions nicely, schooners somewhat less. Accordingly, investments confer prestige on their makers in proportion to their value. People admire those who husband resources and use them in worthwhile investment, even though unable to complete this at once."

We now know that the island had a savings bank before Smith conducted his study and that today there is one commercial bank. Yet it seems doubtful that lack of local employment "encourages thrift" but rather that money earned abroad makes local thrift less necessary.

Smith is correct in the enumeration of the alternative methods of investment and savings of cash. His position is supported both in beliefs about savings and in fact. People are said to stuff cash in mattresses or keep money in shop and home safes. Others are said to carry very large amounts of money with them.

It is believed Carriacouans save at a higher rate than nearby islanders, many of whom have a similar economic standard of living. This has had a foundation in fact (table 8), at least in the past. Of the seven parishes in the state of Grenada in 1926, a year selected at random from the available data, only Grenville had a greater amount of deposits per depositor (£13.4 as opposed to £11 for Carriacou). Of these parishes only St. George's, the only town in the area approximating urbanism, had a greater amount of credit per depositor (£27.5 as opposed to £18 for Carriacou). Three of the six parishes had lower rates of

withdrawals per person but none had a higher ratio of the amount deposited divided by the amount withdrawn per person (£2 compared with its closest rival Victoria, £1.8). These figures strongly suggest that Carriacouans are savers compared with Grenadians, especially as more local wage labor is available to the latter and as the people of Grenada are less dependent on the subsistence economy.

Whatever the source of the emphasis on thrift, it is there (Smith, 1962a, p. 57): "investment of scarce capital has intrinsic value in this culture ... Few behaviors evoke such wide disapproval as the squandering of money in gambling or 'show' by young migrants returning on holiday. Surpluses being marginal, productive investment has popular approval." This can be seen in the behavior of Carriacouans during the annual Regatta, organized by a retired Jamaican yachtsman in 1955. Yachts from all over the West Indies and a few from Europe, America, and Australia participate. For two days gaming tables are set up in the market square where people can gamble and watch the races. Most participants are Grenadians or other West Indians, not Carriacouans. Indeed, most of the operators of the tables are not Carriacouans. I did not see any Carriacouan women participate in the gambling but did see a few young men at the games. Carriacouans did, however, keep their shops open and sold "bakes" or "ices" on the street.

In order to emigrate, most Carriacouans draw from family savings or borrow (Clement, 1963, pp. 80-81): "Some have not the money to go but friends and relatives help them with some cash on a promise that the money will be repaid. No guarantee is taken for this loan but the average Carriacouan never forgets. As soon as possible he returns the money; he sends gifts too at various seasons to these people who have been so good and kind to him or her.

"He then remembers his other relatives and friends whom he left behind and offers them a similar loan to come to meet him because things are better abroad and so one helps the other."

This procedure was related to me time and time again. As it is usually the family which provides money for the passage the very act of saving the funds, like sending of remittances to the family, is a unifying factor among its members. The loan establishes an obligation which must be honored. The loan is not always repaid immediately or in kind. This insures a continuing relationship between the migrant and his family.

Recently, a few islanders say, it has been more difficult to get family or bank loans for passage. Older people say this is because the children are losing respect for elders and are not returning money which they borrowed. The bank has complained in one or two cases when borrowed money was not returned.

The following letter, an example of the Carriacouan's flair for words, illustrates one son's ability to begin saving and sending remittances soon after arriving in New York City:

Dear Mother,

New York is as lovely as bathing in the Carib-

TABLE 8
Savings Bank Data by Parish of the State of Grenada, 1926

Bank	No. of Depositors	Amt. Dept.	Dep./ Depr.	Amt. With.	With./ Depr.	Total Credit	Credit/ Depr.	Dep./ With.
Carriacou	171	£1873	£11.0	£ 941	£ 5.5	£ 3085	£18.0	£2.0
St. George	433	3950	9.1	3508	8.1	11,913	27.5	1.1
Gouyave	373	1673	4.5	1454	3.9	3750	10.1	1.1
Sauteurs	370	3691	10.0	3384	9.1	5166	14.0	1.1
Grenville	453	6056	13.4	5916	13.1	7954	17.6	1.0
Victoria	240	1932	8.1	1069	4.5	3683	15.3	1.8
St. Davids	95	489	5.1	468	4.9	806	8.5	1.0

Source: Grenada Blue Book, 1926.

Notes: Amt. Dept. = amount deposited; Dep./Depr. = deposited per depositor; Amt. With. = amount withdrawn; With./Depr. = withdrawal per depositor; Total credit = balance; Credit/Depr. = balance in pounds per depositor; Dep./With. = amount deposited divided by the amount withdrawn.

bean sea at Sunset. I arrived in New York about 10-30 AM on Feb. 18th [1972] and was devoted to gaze all over the place looking at what I have never seen.

Although the place is very cold I don't feel the weather because of joy and west-Indian heat I have in me. My cousins was all accostemed with the traffic and ways of the inhabitant.

I saw very large building including the Empire State building which I think is one of the largest in the world. Every one is at work now but because of the holiday I got I am at home.

I here by enclose the fee of $50 which I think will help stop some of the small holes.

Give my regards to R, T, Y, S and also our next door neighbor, S.

So Long . . . . I remain,

Your faithful Son.

Queries to customers at the Barclays Bank indicate that the pattern Smith noted for the receiving of remittances still exists. Of 27 transactions in which overseas drafts of various sorts were cashed or deposited 19 of the customers were women and eight men. Two males were teenagers, whereas all the women were adults. The remittances ranged in value from U.S. $1 to $500. Relatives abroad sent cash in small amounts, postal money orders, cashiers checks, bank checks, and U.S. Treasury checks (Army allotments to dependents, retirement pensions, civil service allotments). Small remittances were cashed and large ones were deposited. There were few withdrawals. Cash came largely in sterling, in U.S. or Canadian dollars, and in Trinidad and Tobago dollars.

"Migrant Ideology" and Investments

As Philpott (1973, pp. 187-189) has remarked for Montserrat, "in societies which depend . . . heavily on remittances . . . the continuing commitment of migrants to the home society becomes socially crucial." This commitment is the "migrant ideology": "Every migrant carries ideas as to the nature and goals of his migration, a cognitive model which I have called the 'migrant ideology' . . . Most Montserratians and other West Indians in Britain will probably become 'permanent removals' from their home islands in a purely statistical sense. Yet, in the migrant ideology, the migration is perceived as a temporary state, mainly to gain money, which will ultimately result in a return to the home society." The migrant ideology is maintained through social networks abroad, "which aid in ensuring the meeting of obligations to the home community." A cursory glance at the Carriacouan community in New York tends to confirm Philpott's data.

Obligations to those at home are social (examined in later chapters) and financial. The latter, as remittances, pensions, and savings, are channeled into Carriacou's economy in very specific ways for traditionally defined purposes. Smith (1962a, p. 58) wrote: "Carriacou emigrants are keenly interested in saving, and they regularly send money home for purchasing land or for building, repairing, or furnishing their home with a view to marriage. Usually, but not always, unmarried emigrants ask their fathers to take care of their savings. Women are not expected to save, wherever they are; that is a male responsibility. Men who work abroad, having left their wives and families in Carriacou, contribute directly to their households, and will also send their mothers separate remittances. In this way, emigrant males make important contributions to the Carriacou economy, and often contribute to several households simultaneously. The money thus received is used to purchase goods and services which the men themselves might provide if they were in the island. The surplus is kept for future need or investment."

Some changes have occurred since 1953, the year in which Smith conducted his research (table 9). Responses to a questionnaire indicate that today women save and send money home though not to the extent men do. A few women found employment in Aruba as domestics, shop clerks, and in other occupations. The big change came in the early 1960s when women began emigrating to England for gainful employment. Many women are now expected to earn money abroad and this is connected to the changing economic conditions abroad and changing values at home. Thus, men no longer have a near monopoly over the money supply. And, insofar as money "buys" power in Carriacou, their position of authority vis-a-vis women has eroded.

Purchase of land is no longer a major initial

TABLE 9
Use of Money Earned Abroad

While Working Abroad	Men	Women	Total
A. Saved abroad	11	5	16
Did not save abroad	3	6	9
No. persons interviewed	14	11	25
B. Sent money home	9	2	11
Did not send money home	3	7	10
No. persons interviewed	12	9	21
How money earned abroad was used upon return to Carriacou:			
Bought house	10	3	13
Bought taxi	1	–	1
Bought shop	2	–	2
Built boat	1	–	1
Banked savings	1	–	1
Married	2	–	2
Opened kindergarten	–	1	1
No. persons interviewed	17	4	21

Source: Questionnaire responses (Appendix B, Questions 19e and 19f).

investment; today most Carriacouans already own land. Due to an increasing rate of permanent emigration and a lowering of the birth rate there no longer is pressure on this resource. Stock-raising has expanded as a result (less land is used for garden plots). In the questionnaire responses we see that of the 21 people who answered, not one spent savings on land (table 9). Most built houses, a few built shops, or married. Elaborate local weddings is another institution on the wane due to the changing patterns of emigration.

We get further evidence of these changes in responses to the question, "What would you do if you had thousands of dollars?" (table 10)[1] The most frequent responses were getting an education, building a shop, building a house, or buying a taxi. In the next most frequent group came saving money, restoring one's health, buying a sewing machine, starting a Bible school, building a vessel, buying livestock, giving money to one's children, going into politics, or becoming a musician. The desire to get a foreign education and to buy a taxi are new values, apparently. But the purchase, ownership, and maintenance of a taxi is not very different from building and operating a vessel or shop. The acquisition of an education has been valued in Carriacou since before emancipation but until recently savings were not used for this purpose. Also, migrating for an education is a ploy sometimes used by Carriacouans who eventually seek employment overseas.

Differences appear when the responses are classified by age and sex. A greater percentage of men and women over 30 would spend money on shops than those under 30 years. This supports my view that many shops on the island are utilized by people late in life as a place to gather rather than a place to make money (Chapter 4). Women over 30–a group that does not have money to spend for themselves–indicated dreams or wishes (buy a sewing machine, start a Bible school, be happy, visit islands, get a servant) to a greater degree than men of that age group who focused on the more traditional investments (shop, education, and health). Women under 30 showed an interest in sewing and religious schools, whereas men in this group gave a broad range of investment possibilities: build a house, acquire an education, build a cinema, become a musician, or "finance a revolution." Thus, despite the large increase in the number of women emigrating for employment that has taken place over the last 15 years, the traditional investment patterns and attitudes have not drastically altered.

Land

Land and labor were the most important investments in the plantation economy. After emancipation the owners left the island but kept the estates. Before 1900 many islanders were either forced to become squatters or to enter into a "metayer" arrangement with the representative of the absentee landlord. Under the metayage system the tenant farmer received half of the cotton and a portion of the interplanted crops, chiefly corn. The system endured and from Evelyn (1935) we have a description of how it worked on one estate:

[1]The actual question was, "What would you do with a couple of thousand dollars?" When I wrote the question I was not aware that in Carriacou the word couple means many.

TABLE 10
Answers to Question: "What would you do if you had thousands of dollars?"

Answer	Men			Women			Totals
	Age 30 & under	Age 31 & over	total	Age 30 & under	Age 31 & over	total	All ages, both sexes
Education	9	5	14	10	7	17	31
Build a shop	8	3	11	7	9	16	27
Build a house	6	1	7	4	9	13	20
Buy a taxi	7	1	8	3	6	9	17
Save	3	1	4	5	–	5	9
Restore my health	–	4	4	1	1	2	6
Buy a sewing machine	–	–	–	2	3	5	5
Start Bible school	–	–	–	2	1	3	3
Be happy	–	1	1	–	2	2	3
Build a ship	1	–	1	1	–	1	2
Buy livestock	1	1	2	–	–	–	2
Buy land	1	1	2	–	–	–	2
Give to child	–	2	2	–	–	–	2
Become a musician	2	–	2	–	–	–	2
Go into politics	2	–	2	–	–	–	2
Go sailing	–	1	1	–	–	–	1
Start a revolution	1	–	1	–	–	–	1
Build a cinema	1	–	1	–	–	–	1
Marry	1	–	1	–	–	–	1
Help the poor	–	–	–	–	1	1	1
Get a servant	–	–	–	–	1	1	1
Visit islands	–	–	–	1	–	1	1
Totals	43	21	64	36	40	76	140[a]

[a]There were 140 answers from 120 people interviewed.
Source: Questionnaire responses (Appendix B, Question 41).

"At the Creigston group of estates . . . the land is planted by the metayer, but instead of the general 50:50 division of seed cotton between the landowner and the metayer the arrangement is that the landowner receives two-thirds of the cotton and one barrel of corn, while the metayer gets one-third of the cotton, the remainder of corn and all the pigeon peas. As happened this year all the corn and pigeon peas crops failed owing to the drought (the few corn produced were eaten by dogs while immature on the stalks), so that the metayer for all of his trouble received one-third of the cotton, no corn and no peas . . . It is suggested that the owner of the Creigston group be compelled to adept [*sic*] the general practice."

In other years the landowner received 50 percent of the cotton and peas, one-third the corn, and the metayer retained all the "groundnuts" (Smith, 1962a, p. 48). The corn was divided after harvest but all other crops were portioned. Interplanted crops were handled separately. In 1971, with cotton becoming less important, corn and peas were shared on a 50-50 basis.

Dispersed land-holding is one reason this system has been accepted into the folk society. For example, one informant lived 2 miles from his gardens. In 1970 he decided to "share out" this land to some of his agnatic kin so he would not have to travel so far. At the same time he became a "pardner" with another man who owned land near where he lived. Although he

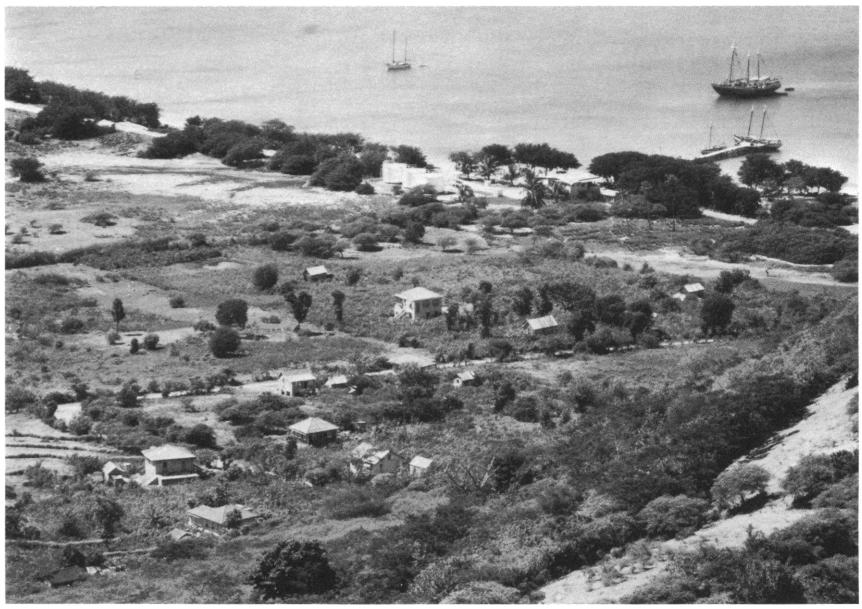

FIG. 7. Harvey Vale in the dry season, January 12, 1971.

owned several acres of land in 1971 he farmed none of it, cultivating only that held under metayage.

Retention of the metayage system is also a function of migration. When a person migrates for a long period control of his property usually falls to a senior male member of his agnatic family still living in Carriacou. Such a person may find himself in possession of widely dispersed lands which he either abandons, works himself, has a family member work, or which he shares out under metayage. However, the folk system of land ownership, Smith discovered, operates against the establishment of absentee landowners. The produce from shared lands goes to the person who works the land and not to the actual owner of the land who migrated.

Today metayage is of secondary importance to ownership by means of customary land tenure. Smith (1965, p. 259) has shown that the land tenure of Carriacou is dependent on attitudes related to legitimacy, marriage, widowhood, and to migration or absenteeism.

The attitudes of the folk toward legitimacy, with respect to the transmission of land rights, is related to the unusual lineage system of Carriacou.[1] Although some individuals own land, most is held jointly by agnatic families. Such land is transmitted through the resident senior male members of each family. Although ownership for this land is held by agnatic families occupancy rests with resident members or their affines.

Adult men over 35 years old are usually married and reside with their wives and legitimate offspring. Such men often have "unlawful" children, almost half of all Carriacouans, who normally reside with their mother. The land rights of these two groups, being a function of birth status and residence, differs greatly. Since married men control and reside on their own or on agnatic family land legitimate male children residing in the household of their father have an advantaged position over unlawful or "outside" children of the same father who live away from their father's or his kin's land.

Similarly, wives fare better in land settlement claims than girl friends ("extra-residential" mates of the husband, to use Smith's terminology).

[1]See Chapter 8.

Men normally bequeath a life interest in their house and land to their co-resident spouse. Upon her death this property is shared equally among his children. Women, whether wife or girl friend, usually divide land equally among their children but rarely leave any land to mates who reside elsewhere.

These principles are revealed in the following section of a will dated September 1, 1901 and written by a resident of Harvey Vale: "To my lawful children . . ., I give, devise, and bequeath jointly, with a life interest therein to my wife . . . the following properties . . . . In the event of either of my six children above named dying before becoming of age, his or her share shall revert to the others share and share alike."

Use of a will is, of course, a means of transmitting land in the metropolitan culture. However, even today most Carriacouans do not make wills. Smith (1965, p. 261) demonstrated how this, together with the usual circumstances of widows surviving their husbands, has tended to affect occupancy, tenure, and inheritance: "As a rule, married men in Carriacou are survived by their wives, and the folk attitudes to marriage and widowhood tend to restrain will-making by men whose wives are alive. Together these conditions have a profound effect on the distribution of land occupancies, and also on the norms of folk tenure and inheritance. Together with the different sex patterns of emigration, high widowhood rate involves progressive elimination of males from actual occupancy of the majority of plots, although rights to such occupancy often continue to be traced through males. The widow's control of her late husband's plot normally starts with his intestacy, and concludes with her own."

Occupancy of the land one works is expressed in terms of ownership even though such land may revert to the patrilineage upon death. Normally it is the head of the household who claims ownership of the land on which one lives (table 11). Although more women than men make claims of ownership of such land, there is greater control over its disposition, if it is family land, on the death of the "owner" by male occupants than by female occupants. However, some women own land which they transmit to their children. Many of these women are not married and live on their land with their children. The occupant of any land can determine its use while the owner is abroad. If the owner should send written instructions concerning its disposition, use of the land reverts to him on his return.

Thus, the absenteeism of legitimate claimants has been an important factor in the change from the metropolitan system of land rights to the folk system. Smith (1965, p. 261) said: "Intestacy, absenteeism, accumulation, and the exercise of supervisory functions by large kin groups all involve trusteeship norms and obligations which are opposed to the code of individual tenure as laid down in the legal system. These obligations and rights of trusteeship provide a realistic and flexible adaptation of the folk to their circumstances, especially to their conditions of high population increase and migrancy . . . The adaptive values of the folk norms in these circumstances are greater than those offered by the law."

In 1965 (pp. 240-241) Smith summarized the effects of migration on the customary system of land tenure and transmission:

> Migration contexts which produce . . . uncertainty about the emigrants' return will obviously have direct and intimate effects on the transmission of rights in land in the island, its distribution, and the security of permanency of its tenure for the emigrants, their kinsfolk, and co-heirs alike. On the one hand, the large number of absent principles makes more land available than would otherwise be the case, and facilitates its reallocation on inheritance informally and for indefinite periods in larger shares than those to which the co-heirs would otherwise be entitled. Emigration of landholders also provides opportunities for caretaker arrangements between kin

TABLE 11
Ownership of Residential Land by Sex of Household Head or Other Owner

	Household Head	
	Male	Female
Household head owns land	40	49
Another male owns land	10	12
Another female owns land	10	5
Unknown owner	5	4
Totals	65	70

Source: Questionnaire responses (see Appendix B, questions 8 and 9).

and others with regard to land, which may postpone subdivisions due on inheritance and may take the forms of lease or rent. On the other hand, the chance that persons abroad may return to assert their claims rather suddenly denies such reallocations of their land in Carriacou any permanence or formal completeness. Likewise it denies occupants of such land that security of tenure which is essential if those attitudes basic to systems of individual rights in land, restricted only by law, are to develop. Instead, landholding within this context of migration strengthens contrary trends toward trusteeship on a family basis, especially where inheritance is involved.

This applies both to the situation in 1953 and in the early 1970s. For example, the Alexis family of Belmont and Harvey Vale own the Hermitage estate. Control over the use of land resides with the senior males of legitimate birth, a group of brothers. The estate cannot be sold, rented, or leased outside the family without the permission of all the brothers, at least one of whom has been living in Trinidad for many years. This man, who also owns property in Grenada and in Trinidad, rarely visits Carriacou and intends to remain in Trinidad. He has nevertheless retained his interest in the "family land." In 1970 a group of businessmen came to Carriacou to discuss a long-term lease of part of the Hermitage estate for the purpose of building a yacht harbor. The man in Trinidad returned to Carriacou to join his brothers in the decision making. They tentatively agreed to lease the property over a 20 year period for a lump sum and a yearly payment. Each brother was to have received an equal share, in the Carriacouan fashion. Later, the deal fell apart when the consensus was broken and the resident of Trinidad left. Here, as in the will cited, the principle of sharing among members of the family was the mechanism for collective control. Land cannot be sold or leased without the full family's participation. In the absence of a member who has a share, control reverts to resident members. This means that each member normally retains the rights to use the land but the land itself, as Smith discovered, is owned by the family.

Another agnatic family of L'Esterre holds land. Its senior legitimate male, the informal leader of the family, is in Venezuela and probably will not return. Thus, complete authority over the land was vested with the senior male member of legitimate birth residing on the island. He worked or shared out some of the land, other family members lived on or worked a part, some was allocated for family graves, and the rest abandoned. Any decision to sell or lease rested with the entire family, the senior male having the responsibility of developing a consensus. The grave sites can never be sold and must remain with the family. Selling any other part of the land depended on family agreement. This was difficult to achieve as some members were interested in making sales, whereas others were not. Although several sales were considered all fell through. All these factors, as Smith suggested, tend to keep the land within the sphere of customary tenure and transmission.

In recent years there has been a minor trend away from customary land tenure toward legal tenure. Some Carriacouans formalize their occupancy rights by hiring surveyors from Grenada to fix their hold, thus shutting out family claims. This has caused a certain amount of bitterness. Others have written wills, sometimes giving land to descendants traditionally left out of inheritance. In many of these cases, however, the size of the allotments in wills tends to be larger than the actual properties held. Only family members can settle such mistaken claims since the disputed allotments are usually willed to kin. Finally, a few people sell or lease their land to foreigners or Grenadians. The foreigner sometimes takes out a legal title to the land and thus removes it entirely from the customary system. Nevertheless, there are many who, because of governmental restrictions on foreign ownership of land, enter into special arrangements on a one to one basis with Carriacouans. Often these are for long-term leases, such as for 99 years. It remains to be seen what will happen in these cases. Certainly as long as the foreigner personally utilizes the land and resides on it from time to time his right to the land, in the view of the people, will be secure. But what happens to such private agreements upon the death of the foreigner and Carriacouan?

That a foreigner leases a portion of land does not necessarily remove it from the folk sphere. The land on which my family and I lived was owned by a resident Carriacouan. Until 1967 a Vincentian woman, who had put up a small house, squatted on the land. The owner, not us-

ing the land at the time, allowed her to live there. Then, a Grenadian woman, who had been living in New York City, decided to build a "holiday cottage" in Carriacou and informally leased the land from the owner. Meanwhile, the owner had planted a coconut grove on the land and some of it was cleared for the house site. The lady paid for fencing of the entire property but the owner retained the rights to the coconuts. The woman also paid for electrifying the house. Occasionally she rented the house to resident foreigners and when the house was not in use she took her holiday on the island. However, the owner maintained full rights to the land, but not the house.

Local Salaries and Per Capita Income

There are few salaried occupations in Carriacou. Wage rates are lower than in Trinidad, England, the United States, and Canada (table 12). Most of the higher salaries are received monthly on a regular basis, whereas the lower salaries are usually received on a daily or weekly basis. The latter occupations are often part-time and the worker may only obtain employment for six months or less, depending on the work available.

Using this list of salaries as a basis, we can estimate the "Gross Domestic Product" (GDP) for Carriacou on an annual per capita basis and compare the "standard of living" in Carriacou with that in the countries to which Carriacouans emigrate: "The Gross Domestic Product is, for the purpose of comparison, an appropriate measure of a country's total production of goods and services" (Ginsburg, Fullard, and Darby, 1969, p. 194).

This statement holds, of course, only for the money economy generated through the metropolitan social organization. Cash from both local and foreign sources supports the rest of the folk society. It is the interplay between cash input, subsistence "gardening," and sharing that makes Carriacou not strictly comparable in GDP with England, the United States, Canada, or even Trinidad. Grenada, St. Vincent, Haiti, Ghana, and India are more similar to Carriacou in this respect. We must keep this important qualification in mind before utilizing an economic tool like the GDP.

Not all Carriacouan households have a regular wage earner and the most common occupations are carpenter and road worker (laborer). Many laborers are women. Given these facts we shall assume that the average monthly income for all households (four people) is EC $80—the wage for a road worker, male or female. This comes to EC $20 per person or EC $240 annually. What we are assuming is that if all local income in Carriacou is reducible to wages alone—including earnings from vessels, cotton, stock, etc.—then the typical household of four would live on about EC $80 per month. This method assumes that a household with one wage earner and no other income source is typical.

A second method for estimating the per capita GDP is to establish the gross income from all major sources on the island per year and divide this figure by the population (table 13). This produces a per capita GDP of EC $260.

Table 13 also gives an estimation of the relative importance of the several factors which go into the Gross Domestic Product. It is apparent that the cotton and stock export combined do not approach the profits from any of the other sources. In other words, what was once the foundation of the domestic cash economy has become relatively unimportant.

When we compare a per capita GDP of EC $260 with that from the countries to which Carriacouans migrate and a few other representative countries, one reason for emigration—the economic one—is apparent (table 14). In March, 1971, one EC dollar was worth US $.56. Thus, EC $260 = US $146. As the Grenadines are generally considered poorer than either St. Vincent or Grenada, this figure seems consistent with Jefferson's estimate (1972, p. 97) for those two islands.

If this were the whole picture, it would put Carriacou among the poorer countries of the world. It certainly places Carriacou well below all the countries to which they migrate. Trinidad's per capita GDP of US $782 comes closest to Carriacou's figure.

This is not the total income which Carriacouans receive, however. We have neglected overseas earnings entirely. Savings, pensions, and remittances can lift the per capita total remark-

TABLE 12
Wages for Major Occupations in Carriacou

Occupation	Salary	
Executive Officer	EC$ 500/month	
Senior Civil Servant	200/month	
Shipwright	120-240/month	($6-12/day)
Teacher	100-200/month	
Sea Captain	100-150/month	
Bartender/Shop Manager	120/month	(one individual only)
Minor Civil Servant	100/month	
Carpenter	80-100/month	($4-5/day)
Male Laborer	100/month	($5/day)
Mason	80-100/month	($-5/day)
Clerk in largest store	80-100/month	
Government Mechanic	75/month	
Janitor	50- 75/month	
Sailor (mate)	75- 80/month	
Female Laborer	60/month	($3/day)
Clerk (medium and smaller shops)	60- 70/month	
Sailor (seaman)	40- 50/month	
Porter (boy)	30/month	($.10/crate carried)
Domestic (cooking, washing)	20- 25/month	
Domestic (two days/wk.)	15/month	

Source: Based exclusively on informants. Therefore some of the salaries may be inflated and others less than the true wage. These apply to early 1971. During the entire year and one-half I was in Carriacou inflation was very rapid and so some of these figures changed: e.g., teachers' salaries, domestic pay, etc.

TABLE 13
Gross Profits and Earnings from All Major Sources, 1971

Source	Annual Profits or Earnings
Cotton export	EC$ 17,250 (1969)
Stock export	60,000
Cargo vessel gross profit	300,000
Smuggling (Bobul Trade)	180,000
Shops, trucks, and taxis	500,000
Fish export	200,000
Salaries and wages	326,000
Total	1,583,250
Estimate GDP per capita	EC$260 per year

Source: D. Hill, 1973, p. 249. The estimate GDP was obtained from dividing the total annual profits or earning by the population of the island in 1970, which was 6052 (see Appendix A).

TABLE 14
Gross Domestic Product Per Capita for Selected Countries, 1971 (in United States Dollars)

Haiti	86
India	92
Carriacou	146
St. Vincent	175
Grenada	213
Ghana	265
Trinidad	782
Venezuela	916
United Kingdom	1561
Canada	2155
United States	3210

Sources: Haiti, India, Venezuela, United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States–Ginsburg, Norton, Fullard, and Darby, 1969, pp. 196-208; Carriacou–see text; St. Vincent, Grenada and Trinidad–Jefferson, 1972, p. 97 (converted from EC$ at the rate of EC$1 = US$.56).

ably. For example, in 1972: "slightly over U.S. $550,000 was sent home to relatives in the form of bank drafts or postal money orders . . ." (Richardson, 1974, p. 151).

This amounts to approximately EC $982,100 or EC $162 per capita annually (US $91). This remittance money excludes payroll and other checks, mailed cash, and savings brought to Carriacou by migrants upon their return. It is easy to see that in some years, possibly even in 1972, the earnings of migrants sent to or brought to the island exceeded local income from all sources. Thus, the economic history of Carriacou since emancipation has been written in Trinidad (from the early nineteenth century until today), Panama (in the early twentieth century), the United States (in the 1920s and again today), Venezuela (in the 1930s and 1940s), Aruba (primarily during the 1940s and early 1950s), and England (from about 1955 until today).

If remittances are low one year, Carriacouans can turn to cotton, limes, or sell livestock. If they are high, they can buy land, build shops or vessels and through them earn more money. As long as so many Carriacouans are abroad, the island's people adjust to economic conditions by shifting between a cash and a subsistence economy. But if several thousand Carriacouans returned home and if money stopped coming in from abroad, the entire economic structure of the island would collapse.

CHAPTER 4. LOCAL SOURCES OF EMPLOYMENT

Almost every adult on Carriacou tends one or more gardens, growing most of the food the people eat; they build their own houses or have the help of relatives and friends, and otherwise provide for the necessities of life through subsistence gardening and sharing basic skills. Income from overseas is used for large cash outlays (to buy land, building materials, "fetes" for ancestors, and so on). The few local occupations and the more usual part-time or intermittent employment income is used to purchase imported food (rice, tinned goods), clothes, and tools. When individuals are asked about their jobs, many of them talk about their part-time skills rather than gardening, which they think of as simply what must be done to live and not an occupation.[1] This information on jobs has been compiled from Catholic church records (tables 15 and 16) and from the questionnaire (table 17). Each table records what people say they do and although many adults have one or more specialty besides gardening, only one response per person is listed. Furthermore, with respect to the marriage records (tables 15 and 16), a few of the people may not have been employed in Carriacou but were married there and referred to a skill they practiced abroad. As Catholics are concentrated in L'Esterre and Windward, both fishing and sailing villages, jobs related to the sea, are overestimated in the Catholic records. Similarly, most of the villages included in the sampling were away from the coast, underemphasizing sea-related skills (table 17). Finally, the newlyweds who gave their jobs may have been in a "formal" frame of mind, if that is the correct way to put it: note that on the data from the questionnaires, fully 44 percent of the men and women listed "farmer" as their occupation (table 17) as compared with only 2 percent (at most) who listed "farmer" as an occupation in the marriage records (tables 15 and 16).

There are, however, certain occupations or part-time specialties that do not appear on either list for one reason or another and those are detailed now. This catalogue is restricted to those not previously mentioned for which payment is received. For men or women the occupations are: school headmaster, guest-house proprietor, and herbalist (specialist in bush medicine, usually female); for women only are nun, cook, telephone operator, wash-woman, and midwife (very rare); and for men only are priest, sea captain, porter, senior civil servant (head officers of major governmental agencies), butcher, fish monger, LIAT airlines agent, airport gatekeeper, minister, charcoal-maker (a woman's occupation sometimes), doctor, photographer, "scavenger," cabi-

[1]It is said that the dislike of gardening is a survival from slavery when people were forced to work the land. In Carriacou, migratory wage labor, even to cut cane and to work on someone's land, was preferable to remaining and working land as a sharecropper.

TABLE 15
Male Occupations from 1903, as Percentage of Young Adult Male Population for Stated Periods[a]

Occupation	1903-1910[b]	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1950	1951-1960	1961-1970
Planter	2	1	1	1	–	0.67	–
Accountant	–	1	–	1	–	–	–
Civil Servant	–	–	4	2	1	0.67	1
Policeman	–	–	–	1	1	3	2
Teacher	–	–	–	1	–	2	9
Dentist	–	–	–	1	1	–	–
Bailiff	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Agronomist	–	–	–	–	–	0.67	1
Chem. Processor	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Contract Agent	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Druggist	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Student	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Shopkeeper	3	3	3	2	1	3	1
Clerk	2	–	–	1	1	0.67	4
Trafficker	–	1	1	1	–	1	1
Taxi Driver	–	–	2	1	2	3	6
Wireless Operator	–	–	–	1	1	–	–
Salesman	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Mechanic	–	1	–	4	4	3	2
Printer	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Fitter	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Plumber	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Electrician	–	–	–	–	–	0.67	2
Engineer	–	–	–	–	–	0.67	1
Welder	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Baker	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Linesman	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Radio Technician	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Carpenter	8	10	15	17	16	10	4
Tailor	3	2	1	2	1	0.67	2
Shoemaker	5	2	4	1	–	2	–
Mason	–	2	2	3	5	3	4
Blacksmith	–	1	1	1	–	–	–
Artisan	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Painter	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
Scaffolder	–	–	–	–	–	0.67	–
Sailor	32	37	42	38	48	38	34
Shipwright	5	4	1	1	3	4	–
Rigger	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Janitor	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Customs Guard	–	–	–	–	–	0.67	1
Forest Guard	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Laborer	40	34	23	19	8	17	15
Roadworker	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Farmer	–	–	–	–	1	0.67	–
Overseer	–	–	–	–	1	0.67	–
Woodcutter	–	–	–	–	1	0.67	–

TABLE 15 – (*Continued*)

Occupation	1903-1910[b]	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1950	1951-1960	1961-1970
Stevedore	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Total	100	99	102	101	102	100	100
N=	62	94	109	138	108	152	91
Number of Different Occupations	9[c]	13	15	22	22	26	26

[a]Because these figures are drawn from the marriage records, they represent not the percentage of the total adult male population in a given occupation, but rather the approximate percentage of the young adult, Catholic male population of marrying age in that occupation during the specified period.

[b]Numbers in these columns refer to the total for the stated period, expressed in percent. Because of rounding off, the total is not always 100%.

[c]Since there are only eight years between 1903-1910, the total of nine occupations for this period is not comparable with the number of occupations listed by decade, beginning in 1911.

N = the number of bridegrooms listed in the Catholic marriage records for the stated period.

Source: Catholic marriage records, Hillsborough, Carriacou.

TABLE 16

Female Occupations from 1903, as Percentage of Young Adult Female Population for Stated Periods[a]

Occupation	1903-1910[b]	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1950	1951-1960	1961-1970
Teacher	–	–	–	2	–	5	10
Nurse	–	–	–	–	–	1	7
Bookkeeper	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Seamstress	44	52	65	72	94	35	24
Shopkeeper	2	–	–	1	–	1	2
Baker	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Shop Clerk	–	–	1	–	–	10	7
Mail Carrier	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Laborer	52	48	26	15	2	17	2
Domestic	–	–	7	8	2	20	17
Housewife	–	–	–	1	–	9	27
Farmer	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Total	100	100	99	99	100	99	98
N=	61	80	84	97	47	98	41
Number of Different Occupations	4[c]	2	4	6	4	9	9

[a]Because these figures are drawn from the marriage records, they represent not the percentage of the total adult female population in a given occupation, but rather the approximate percentage of the young adult, Catholic female population of marrying age in that occupation during the specified period.

[b]Numbers in these columns refer to the total for the stated period, expressed in percent. Because of rounding off, the total is not always 100%.

[c]Since there are only eight years between 1903-1910, the total of four occupations for this period is not directly comparable with the number of occupations listed by decade, beginning in 1911.

N = the number of brides listed in the marriage records for the stated period, excluding those for whom no occupation was given.

Source: Catholic marriage records, Hillsborough, Carriacou.

TABLE 17
Current Occupations

Occupation	Percentage of Total
Laborer	2
Roadworker	3
Agricultural Construction	1
Farmer	44
Sailor	1
Fisherman	2
Tailor	2
Mason	9
Carpenter	1
Painter	1
Speculator (sheep)	1
Vendor (market)	1
Taxi Driver	3
Shopkeeper	3
Clerk	3
Civil Servant	2
Electrician	1
Musician	4
Minister	1
Teacher	5
Housewife	4
Seamstress	5
Totals:	
n= 98	
%	99
Total number of occupations: 22	

Source: Interviews of one member from selected households. See question 5 of the questionnaire in Appendix B.

netmaker, barber, sailmaker, netmaker, grave digger, and caulker.

Most of the occupations listed in the tables and in the last paragraph are part-time except for teachers, civil service positions, priests, sailors, and a few shopkeepers.

Boat-Building

The largest single source of employment through the years in Carriacou has been the sailing industry—building and manning boats for fishing and transport. This set of occupations will be examined in detail—first boat-building, followed by legal and illegal trade, hazards of sailing, and briefly, how this industry relates to migration.

The building and utilization of "open boats" and "sloops" dates from at least the early 1800s. A significant development in building both sloops and "schooners" occurred in 1884 when an 18-year-old "Bajan" shipwright, John Rock, settled in Carriacou (Bedeau, MS).[1] He remained in Carriacou, returning to Barbados for brief visits, until he died in 1942. He is said to have taught many local boat builders and left several descendants to carry on the trade. His major contribution was the introduction of the "after transom" to the stern of vessels. Previously, boats built in Carriacou had an almost identical shape in both bow and stern. Squaring off the stern yielded greater stability in the water as well as a greater displacement. Today it is impossible to discuss boat-building with an old head without mentioning John Rock, who has taken on all the aspects of an island hero.

World War II stimulated boat-building (Brit. West Indies Schooner Owners Assoc., 1945, p. 4):

> The schooner trade in the West Indies was in a poor condition before the war. Competition amongst schooner owners was keen and it was difficult for owners to earn an adequate income from their schooners. In consequence, the repair and maintenance of schooners were inadequate, crews were often unsatisfactory and new schooners were seldom built. As a result of these conditions shippers were reluctant to entrust cargoes to schooners, and it seemed probable that the schooner trade, except between the smallest islands, would shortly become extinct.
>
> The first three years of the war saw a steady reduction in the number of steamers calling at Colonies in the Eastern Group. At the same time, there was a tendency for trade between the Colonies to increase, as they were forced to restrict their imports from overseas and to rely to an ever-increasing extent on foodstuffs and other goods produced within the Caribbean. This increase in cargo coupled with the decrease in the number of steamers available made it necessary for shippers to turn once again to schooner transport.
>
> Unfortunately, the decline of the schooner trade before the war had left its mark and it soon became apparent that action must be taken to organize the schooner services if a serious breakdown in the inter-Colonial traffic was to be

[1]The data in the remainder of this section are from Bedeau, 1971, unless otherwise stated.

FIG. 8. Schooners, sloops, open boats, and engine boats. Hillsborough Bay, August 3, 1971.

avoided and if the West Indian Colonies were to be supplied with the necessities of life. The West Indies Schooner Pool Authority was accordingly created in 1942 and Defense Regulations were passed in all the Colonies of the Eastern Group giving it powers which enabled it to organize the schooner traffic.

In Carriacou, the number of registered sloops dropped between 1896 and 1959, but schooner registrations rose until 1959 and then dropped off sharply (table 18).

About one-third of all boats in Carriacou are found in Windward, the most important boat-building community on the island (table 19). L'Esterre, Harvey Vale, Belmont, Hillsborough, and Bogles account for most other boats built in Carriacou.

Building a large sloop or schooner is a major financial undertaking. Smith reported that in 1953 schooners ranged in value from EC $5000 to EC $8000 (1962a, p. 55). Kingsbury found in 1959 that a 35 to 40 foot vessel cost between EC $9000 and EC $12,000, whereas a 50 to 60 foot schooner cost about EC $25,000 (1960b, p. 17). In 1971 a large schooner with an engine cost more than EC $50,000 as the price of lumber had increased sharply and most workers, not just the master shipwright, are paid. The "City of St. George's," an engine-boat built on Grenada by Carriacouans, is said to have cost more than EC $240,000. This is the largest vessel ever financed and built by Carriacouans and is not of sailing design but was built with traditional methods.

Before "setting up" a boat, the owner has lumber collected near the building site. Traditional land-use methods and Hurricane "Janet" depleted the local supply of timber but some white cedar, mahogany, cherry, and manchineel is still to be found; all these woods are used for "framing." The keel is made of greenheart imported from Guyana. Pitch pine used for "planking" is imported from Canada.

Sometimes a vessel cannot be finished because of inadequate financing or because the original partners have broken up. During the time I was living on Carriacou a supply of timber, which was to have been the planking of a vessel, was piled in Harvey Vale. This vessel was not built until 1974.

TABLE 18
Schooner and Sloop Registration for Selected Years Since 1854

Year	Sloops	Average Weight	Schooners	Average Weight	Total Tonnage
1854		(20-30 "small vessels" of 1 to 30 tons each)			375 (est.)
1896	65	13 tons	4	25 tons	945
1945	29	16 tons	17	37 tons	1,093
1959	14	13 tons	20	53 tons	1,242
1971	17	14 tons	11	55 tons	843

Note: Based, except for 1854, on Grenada registry and includes only those boats built and owned by Carriacouans in Carriacou. Many boats are built by Carriacouans and owned by Carriacouans or others in Grenada.

Sources: For 1854–Davy, 1854, p. 202; for 1896–Grenada Handbook, 1897; for 1945–Grenada Handbook, 1946; for 1959–Kingsbury, 1960a, p. 17; for 1971–Bedeau, MS.

TABLE 19
Distribution of Boats in Carriacou in 1971 by Type and Village

Village	Schooners	Sloops	Small Boats	Total
Windward	7	13	27	47
Harvey Vale	1	4	16	21
L'Esterre	1	–	14	15
Hillsborough	2	–	13	15
Belmont	–	–	14	14
Bogles	–	–	10	10
Mt. Pleasant	–	–	6	6
Pt. Carenage	–	–	4	4
Bellevue S.	–	–	3	3
Grandbay	–	–	2	2
Total	11	17	109	137

Source: Bedeau, MS.

Owners and shipwrights use several methods in planning a boat but most seem to center on a series of conversations between the two men: "After preliminary debates on types of vessels built in the past, stories of disastrous sea-tales, the shipwright either in a rum shop, or on the beach mending nets, places a piece of twine on a flat surface in the general shape he wants. For the bows, he pulls out a steel-tape, bends it, looks questioningly at the other man and says, 'How about that?' After one or two adjustments, the dimensions fail to be a problem . . ." (David, MS, p. 80).

In some cases the owner will describe what he has in mind and the shipwright then constructs a model of the boat. Building models is common practice for boys on the island but it reaches artistic dimensions in the hands of a skilled shipwright. At times models are a half-section of the proposed boat from stem to stern. Sometimes they consist of layers of wood from which measurements are taken when building the boat. The shipwright shows his model to the owner who approves of the design or requests changes. Once the model reflects the owner's intentions, setting up the boat may begin (Carriacou Regatta, 1970, p. 13): "The setting up of a boat in Carriacou is really a big occasion. Shipwrights and other people are invited to assist. These give their assistance freely, and work hard to complete the setting up by the end of the day. The keel is laid down and to it are bolted the stem, the centre 'frame,' the bow frame, and the 'stern post.' Long strips of board called ribbons are then nailed to these frames to keep them firmly and to show the true shape of the boat. Food and drinks are served abundantly. In general two meals are served, but alcoholic drinks are served at short intervals throughout the day."

Logs are sunk into the ground and nailed to the timbers to brace the vessel as it is being built. Intermediate timbers are put up and then the after transom is set.

Planking with pitch pine is the next step, beginning from the deck and working toward the "bilge," with thicker planks used high on the hull. These are the "bends boards," which bear the force of the seas. Once the planking is complete the deck is laid. Three sorts of decking are

found in Carriacou: one in which the planks follow the center line of the vessel (most common), one in which the deck planks follow the sides of the vessel, and a herringbone, jointed pattern (rarest).

The next step is caulking with oakum imported from Canada (Bedeau, MS): "Before caulking begins, if the planks are too close together to allow the oakum to be pushed through, the seams are opened with a 'dumb iron' . . .

"The oakum is then rolled like rope into long rolls twisted around the arm of the caulker and pounded into the seam with caulking iron and mallet. After the oakum is tufted into the seam, the wheel is applied to it with a firm pressing motion and the oakum is rolled down with a to-and-fro motion until it will set no deeper.

"The seams are then primed by using a small brush called a 'striping brush' to paint along the seams, then putty is applied immediately with a putty knife and lubricating oil applied to prevent hardening. The nail and screw heads are also puttied."

Excess pitch is scraped off and the planks are cleaned and sanded before painting begins. First a red lead paint is used as a primer and, once this is dry, several other coats are applied. The boat is then ready for the launching, a very important time for all Carriacouans if the vessel is a large sloop or schooner.

What is notable about boat-building is the way in which a money economy works with the subsistence economy. For example, small boats, especially open ones, are usually built by the owner himself with little or no cash outlay. Medium-sized boats and large vessels formerly involved only the price of imported materials and the pay for the shipwright. The boat builder's helpers were either apprentices or relatives and worked for meals. Today, many helpers are paid, except on the day of the launching.

The launching also shows the interrelationship between the folk and metropolitan facets of Carriacouan society. Bruce Procope (1965, pp. 122-131) described the launching of the "Rival Dean" in Windward on September 7 and 8, 1953. His description forms a useful point of comparison with the launching of the "Yankee Girl" from the same shipyard in Windward on October 10 and 11, 1970. In their basic elements the two launchings were similar. At the launching of the "Yankee Girl" the Big Drum was not played and sea chanties were not sung as the vessel entered the water.

The day before the launching is a "helping." Labor is donated by men who in turn receive food and drink for their efforts. The helping for the "Yankee Girl" began at about nine in the morning with the setting of rough log supports along the side of the vessel. A man sacrificed five chickens, two against the bow and the rest on deck. He sprinkled rum and water on the bow, stern, and in the hold saying all the while "peace and prosperity" (see fig. 9). He then cut off the neck of a cock and sprinkled its blood on the deck. While the chicken flopped about he sprinkled rum and water on it. A hen had died on the portside and a rooster on the starboard; this was taken as a good sign.

By 10:00 A.M., 18 men were working or standing around and drinking under the coconut trees. Planks were laid parallel to the beam for the vessel to lay on when the launching occurred. On deck some men were clearing soft drink bottles, pitch and paint cans, and tools from the boat. Others gathered near the stern to tell stories of a recent flood in Barbados. At 10:30 A.M. some men stretched a sail over the refreshment stand to protect against rain while others sawed off an extra length of greenheart timber from the keel.

Around noon a meal was served. In the afternoon the men finished the final coat of paint, cleaned up, and nailed the "bilge boards" in place. The "Parents' Plate," an offering of food for the ancestors to admire, was set on the vessel and a "guardian of the Plate" was posted to make sure that no children would eat this food.

The day of the launching was a "Big Time"—nearly 1000 people gathered for the fete. Early in the morning men butchered animals (one cow, several goats, and sheep were slaughtered).[1] As women prepared food, some final adjustments

[1]For launchings in Harvey Vale a goat and sheep are slaughtered as part of the sacrifice: "A ram goat (is killed) on the stern so that the ship be butted along by fair winds. A sheep is killed over the bow to make steering easy. Rum is poured from stem to stern accompanied by rolling of Big Drums to cast away bad spells that may confront the vessel on the seas" (David, MS, p. 83).

FIG. 9. Libation of rum poured into the hold of the "Yankee Girl." Windward, October 11, 1971.

were made on cables that had been stretched around the boat, on the wares or planks, and upon the rollers which rested on the wares. The anchors were secured and a "purchase" was set on the starboard side to insure that the vessel would not fall to port when launched.

At 10:00 A.M. men sharpened hatchets for the "cutting down." God-parents of the vessel (about 10 people chosen from the owner's family and friends) and the priest gathered for the blessing of the boat. On deck, the priest prayed for the safety and success of the vessel and its crew and sprinkled holy water on deck while the god-parents sang hymns. The crowd joined in singing as the ship's flag was unfurled. For the first time the general public knew the schooner's name as it had been sewn into the flag. The god-parents and the priest left the deck as the "axe men" began to cut her down. Each man cut in turn from his "shore" until the vessel was lying on its starboard side on the rollers (see fig. 10). Procope reported a string band playing Trini-

FIG. 10. "Cutting down" the "Yankee Girl." Windward, October 11, 1970.

dadian calypsos at this time (1956, p. 126). Music for the launching of the "Yankee Girl" was supplied by a record player which filled the air with soul, calypsos, and reggae music.

The god-parents gathered at the refreshment stand for "sticking the cake." At times the "cake" is also "danced"—that is, women hold the cake in their hands at waist level or balance it on their heads and dance around the table on which the cake rested, much to the amusement of the onlookers.

Many people were eating by this time. The owner must pay for most of the food although many people will contribute cooked food or "ground provisions" to help him out. Others will put money into a purse which is attached to the stern of the vessel. A partial list of the food and drink provided at the launching of the "Sea Otter" in Hillsborough in the late 1960s, a Big Time, has been compiled by Bedeau (MS):

"One bull over 500 lbs; one cask rum of 25 gallons; six cases whiskey; five cases old oak rum; five cases mt. gay rum; two bags rice; two pigs each over 100 lbs; 20 heads of sheep and goats; 75 chickens; two bags sweet potatoes; 20 bunches of bananas; 20 cases of sweet drinks; one case of champagne."

Some of the food prepared on launching days goes for a second Parents' Plate.

In the early afternoon the "Yankee Girl" was launched by "hauling" her into the sea. Traditionally, sea chanties are sung at this time:

Come let us join the "Rossabella,"
Heave away!
Come let us join the "Rossabella,"
Heave away!
Come let us join, come let us join
The sassy "Rossabella!"

There were no chanties for the "Yankee Girl": some people missed the traditional music and others described the launching as "modern." Occasionally, hauling the vessel into the sea takes several days, at other times it takes but a few hours. Once the "Yankee Girl" was floated and had righted itself, the owner, Captain Urban Roberts, jumped into the water and, to the cheers of the crowd, broke bottles of whiskey, champagne, and rum over the stern. Boys swam out to the vessel, climbed on deck, and rocked it

back and forth. The fete continued well into the night.

For weeks or months after the launching, work continues on the boat. Carpenters build the cabin, sailmakers prepare the sails, the "spars," "booms," and "gaffs" are rounded, and the masts are rounded and set. Once the spars are "stepped" (put in place on the mast) the vessel is rigged. It is then ready for its maiden voyage, usually to Grenada and back. After the maiden voyage all schooners and many of the sloops are fitted with engines in Grenada. The vessel is then ready for its first working run.

The sailing industry is greatly respected and to be a sea captain is to be honored. Many people know the histories of individual schooners. Stories of trying voyages and sea disasters are retold time and again (Carriacou Regatta 1969, p. 12):

TRIBUTE TO AN UNBEATEN CAPTAIN

Carriacouans are ambitious-minded people always ready to explore every discerning walk of life. This attitude which developed, because of our predecessors' desire to master any endeavour upon which they embarked, is traditional. Once motivated or incited, they move assuredly to their goals with great determination and curiosity.

The preceding was well demonstrated by Carriacou's most prestige vessel owner and captain, Paul Mitchell. He manifested his ability, in theory and practice, with great dexterity for forty years of unbroken captaincy, which consequently steered him into the hall of regional fame and glorification.

He relates an episode at sea, which nearly sent him to 'The Great Beyond' . . . He had set sail from St. George's on the Rebecca, which was then the fastest schooner on that bright Thursday afternoon in August 1944. All went well until terrible winds and roaring seas at Kick-em-Jenny threatened to disintegrate the bends and end the life of all on board. The 1944 storm was on. He tried to return to the mainland, but he made very little progress in a gruelling three-hour struggle in the midst of which the vessel had sprung a leak. He was then forced to travel due north with the unyielding tide at the Mercy of God.

With only two pieces of the eight-piece set of sails—a rift mainsail and the headsail—he steered the Rebecca due north for two days. The gaff and the boom were broken and realized separate casualty. Drums, boxes, and utensils were swept away. [The "Rebecca"], mercilessly beaten by the merciless waves, became a scene of terrifying mourning. Men went to their knees like teething children and wailed like advanced mothers who lost sons and husbands in World War II, but Captain Paul Mitchell, hopeful as ever, sat firmly behind the wheel.

. . . When tranquility returned and Dominica was reached, it was realized that the storm had devastating effects. More than twelve schooners had gone aground there, and many sea-faring men had lost their lives and sloops. The battered Rebecca Mitchell was repaired, and after a few days Captain Paul Mitchell sailed into Hillsborough Bay to the anxious cheers of many Carriacouans, as if he had returned from a trip to the moon. Before long his heroic feat was noised far and wide, and he was respected and honoured by all.

Many such events find their way into calypsos and Big Drum songs. The sea holds a special place in ritual affairs, in folklore, and in funeral services for a dead captain.

Hauling Cargo

The large sloops and schooners are "working boats"—that is, used for hauling cargo—although they are sometimes used for fishing. Whereas some schooners rarely call at Carriacou others have regular home routes. Carriacou schooners have traveled as far as Cuba and the Bahamas to the north and Guyana to the south, but most of the voyages to the north are only as far as St. Lucia or St. Barthélemy.

Routes exist between Carriacou, Grenada, and Trinidad and between Grenada and Barbados. The regular schooner operations from Carriacou consist of transporting mail and cargo from Hillsborough to St. George's (see fig. 11), Grenada and weekly trips from Harvey Vale to Grenville, Grenada and Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. Traffic occurs between Windward-Harvey Vale and Trinidad with sufficient frequency that there is reason to believe as many provisions are brought by schooner directly from Trinidad as from Gre-

nada. Local schooners making runs between the islands of the southern Caribbean also put-in to Carriacou with supplies.

From Trinidad, Carriacou receives manufactured goods (tinned food and clothing), lumber (some comes from Guyana also), cement, bricks, and oil products. From Grenada, the island receives other Trinidadian or imported and manufactured items and vegetables from Grenville. From St. Vincent via Union Island some vegetables reach Hillsborough for the market on Mondays, brought directly by the market vendors. Finally, from St. Barthélemy Carriacou receives a more than adequate supply of liquor and cigarettes.

Carriacou exports cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, a few pigs, and crops to Grenada. Trinidad receives cotton and some livestock from the island while St. Vincent imports limes from Carriacou. Fish are sold in the Grenville market and ground provisions are purchased there for sale in Carriacou.

Smuggling

"I am sorry to say that I suspect that smuggling in these islands to still be very considerable and therefore must wish that our government sloop was duly qualified to make seizures."

(Anon., 1765)

One of the most interesting, significant, and ancient occupations in Carriacou is the "Bobul Trade." Smuggling ranks with overseas income, government employment, cotton export, stock export, fishing, and legitimate cargo transport as a major source of income for the islanders. There are two categories of smuggling: liquor and cigarettes, and hard goods. Hard-goods smuggling occurs as a side line to legitimate trade on a small but steady scale. A seaman or captain will sometimes purchase items for himself or his family as his vessel makes its regular stops. It can be as innocuous as toothpaste or as important as Trinidadian cement. Customs agents check the cargoes of vessels returning to Grenada or Carriacou but contraband is easily hidden from inspection. As one captain informed me, "I know my ship, not those fellows in Grenville" (who inspect it for contraband). There is no way to assess the amount of this smuggling although evidence of its extent is found in the wide variety of prices for many imported items from village to village.

Smuggling liquor and cigarettes is the most lucrative Bobul Trade. The point of origin of this cargo is St. Barthélemy, locally known as "Saint Bats," a French island and free port in the Leeward Islands. According to one governmental official in Grenada, the Bobul Trade is not stopped because it is understood that there are few sources of income for the islanders. Whatever the reason, interference on the route between St. Barthélemy and Carriacou by the Grenadian coast guard or customs officials is almost nonexistent, although the government does try to stop the trade from Carriacou to Grenada.

Because of the relative ease of the St. Barthélemy trade, it is profitable and entered into by more sloop owners than the route from Carriacou to Grenada. Three times during the year—Christmas, Carnival, and Regatta (and, perhaps, at two or three other times)—sloops from Windward, L'Esterre, Harvey Vale, and from the island of Petite Martinique will journey to Saint Bats for liquor and cigarettes. Before the voyage the captain of a sloop visits shopkeepers and other buyers, writes out orders, and collects money. Sailors—usually two men on a small sloop in addition to the captain—also take orders from relatives and friends. If the sloop is equipped with an engine the round trip takes about eight days. If it is powered by sail alone the trip takes about two weeks. On the trip to Saint Bats, sloops sometimes carry sand as ballast for sale or stop in St. Vincent to sell rum, which had been purchased in Saint Bats on a previous trip.

It is said that in the old days the merchants of St. Barthélemy climbed the hills over their shops to spot the sails of smugglers as they arrived. They would rush to the dock, greet each boat, taking orders on the wharf. Even today merchants load boats night and day according to the captain's wishes. In addition to liquor and cigarettes, sailors buy a few special items for their families, friends, or for themselves.

The return trip takes longer because Guadeloupe and Martinique are heavily patrolled and their territorial waters are avoided. Boats are occasionally seized, the cargo impounded, and

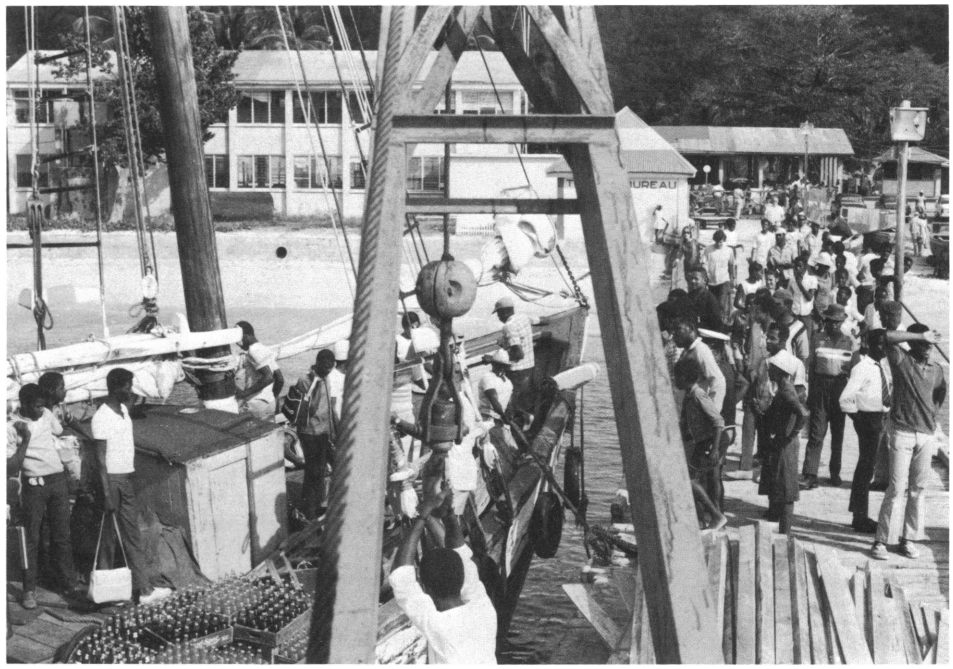

FIG. 11. Mailboat "Meriam B" preparing to dock. Hillsborough, March 19, 1970.

sailors jailed. One man said treatment is good in Guadeloupe because authorities there realize that Carriacouans are not "common criminals." After a few days in jail, word is sent to relatives who come in person or send bail; then the sailors are released and return home.

Once a sloop has returned to Carriacou it may be unloaded in several ways. Sometimes the boat lays off shore between Carriacou, Union, and Palm Islands until nightfall. The captain may then land the goods on a deserted beach or at a jetty in Windward or Harvey Vale. The landing is sometimes directed from shops in Hillsborough—the captain leaves one man on board, takes the dingy to Carriacou, and meets with some old heads who plan strategy if the Grenadian coast guard vessel is nearby. Such intrigue is hardly serious, however, as it is assumed that the government officials know what is going on and ask only that the Carriacouans not be too open in their operations. Policemen are therefore avoided even though some are the best customers. One policeman became "vexed," I was told, because an indiscreet smuggler blatantly landed cargo in daylight at the Windward jetty with the constable himself watching. The policeman thought this crude and that it would reflect badly upon his ability to perform his duty.

Once the boat has landed the cargo is taken to the buyers by taxi and truck. Sometimes the buyer meets the boat to take off his order. In early December, 1970, I obtained an accounting of one cargo by item and price for a 13-ton sloop (table 20). There is variation in profits according to whether the order is made before the voyage—the rates which I have used—or whether the smuggler buys the whiskey and cigarettes on speculation and sells after returning to Carriacou. In the latter case the unit profit is higher. This particular profit of EC $5401 may be considerably higher than the usual sloop run to Saint Bats. Typical profits may be as low as EC $2000, especially out of season. This profit represents the first stage in the distribution of the cargo. The figures listed are the prices offered shopkeepers and other large buyers (the sponsor of a fete, for example) and, in a sense, are wholesale prices. When purchased by the case, rum costs

TABLE 20
Smuggling Profits from St. Barthelemy Run
(in EC $)

Quantity	St. Bats Unit Price	Smuggler's Profit/Unit	Total Profit
500 cases Whiskey	35/case	2.00/case	1000
45 cases Rum	15/case	1.75/case	79
1000 cases Beer	7.50/case	1.75/case	1750
50 cases Stout	?	1.50/case	75
30 cases Malt	?	1.50/case	45
6 demi-johns jack rum	10/demi-john	2/demi-john	12
2 cases Gin	36/case	2/case	4
8 cases Champagne	?	2/case	16
110 half-cases cigarettes	67.50/½-case	22/½-case	2420
Total Profits:			5401

Note: Represents profit for one trip by 13-ton sloop.

EC $1.25 per bottle in Saint Bats. Add to this EC $.15 per bottle as the smuggler's profit, yielding a wholesale price of EC $1.40 per bottle. Now, when purchased in a shop in Carriacou, rum costs approximately EC $2.00 per bottle when bought by the case and EC $3.00 when bought by the bottle. Purchased by the shot it costs at least EC $8.00 per bottle. These were the going rates in Carriacou in December 1970.

The legitimate, taxed price of rum in Grenada is EC $5.50 per bottle. Thus, many Grenadians buy rum in Carriacou, considered a holiday isle by Grenadians, and carry it back to Grenada. Carriacouan merchants are supposed to sell rum at Grenada's prices–they are part of the same country and Carriacou is not a free port. As it happens, they have a way of graciously pledging their allegiance to the national government: some of the larger merchants in Carriacou prominently place a bottle of each kind of liquor labeled at the legal retail price in their shops.

All the liquor and cigarettes from Saint Bats does not end up in Carriacou's shops or at fetes. A few individual buyers in Carriacou run the cargo to Grenada or Trinidad where they reap a middleman's profit similar to that of the Carriacouan shopkeeper but with greater risk. A sloop with a crew of three may take a load of liquor and cigarettes from Harvey Vale to Grenada, unload in an isolated bay, and sell to buyers there. Or a sailor on a schooner that regularly calls in Grenville, Grenada or Port-of-Spain, Trinidad might carry a case or two of whiskey for resale in these ports. The captain of the vessel may also engage in a little "Bobul" on the docks of Port-of-Spain. Now, the Grenadian trade is more risky than the Saint Bats trade and the Trinidad trade still more dangerous.

Several times a year, an unsuccessful attempt of smuggling to Grenada is reported (West Indian, December 16, 1970): "The Coast Guard vessel 'Rescuer' under the command of Captain Greves, on Sunday intercepted three small motor boats off Sauteurs (Grenada) loaded with contraband goods and arrested the occupants.

"A Police report says that the boats, loaded with liquor and cigarettes, were on their way to Grenville from Carriacou when the 'Rescuer' intervened. A search was carried out and a quantity of liquor and cigarettes were found.

"The approximate cost of the articles have not yet come to hand but it is understood to run into thousands of dollars.

"The arrested men are to appear in court shortly to answer charges arising out of the raid."

Typically, the cargo is seized and the offenders sent to jail for a few weeks before being bailed out. Carriacouans resent the "Rescuer" which often lays off Tyrell Bay (Harvey Vale), awaiting smugglers headed for Grenada. Occa-

sionally the "Rescuer" puts into Harvey Vale at the moment cargo is unloaded from Saint Bats or being loaded for reshipment to Grenada. This occurred at least once during the carnival season of 1971. One of the seamen of that fateful voyage mentioned in the news account was a calypsonian (calypso singer) from Carriacou. For the carnival season of 1971 he immortalized the incident in song:

I say, well, my friends, as a teenager
I was trying to make living better (repeat)
You know I try all kind of do–
picking cotton and hunting "manicou"
But when I feel I can't make the grade
I decide to make the Bobul Trade.

Man, I invest me money in brandy and whiskey
as the world could see.
In for a penny, in for a pound
bobul bring me down.
Let the other men live so rich a life,
friends I really tried
Listen friends and you will hear
what really happened to me.

Yes, when I thought I make the Trade,
like I was really living
Up and down cause I had no price,
no policeman was in sight
And everyday I do as right
one of my friends had me in fight.
But very little did he know
I could leave the trade and sing calypso.

You see me inside the jail
no one around to stand me bail.
I start feeling no good from head to toe
in the bobul, got no place to go.
Well, my friends, I'm singing here for you
make me living here in Carriacou.

Shortly after carnival but before the case was resolved, the calypsonian migrated to the British Virgin Islands, extricating himself from a difficult situation.

The Bobul Trade is serious business. Taking the minimum profit for the Saint Bats run, EC $2000, we can estimate the yearly profit for the entire trade. Excluding Petite Martinique (where it is an even more important part of the economy) there are three villages where the Bobul is centered: Windward, Harvey Vale, and L'Esterre. There is a minimum of 30 voyages a year out of these ports. At a profit of EC $2000 per trip, the trade yields a wholesale profit of EC $60,000. The retail mark-up is twice as high again. That is, a minimum yearly gross income from the Bobul Trade is EC $180,000. In 1969 the value of the cotton export was only EC $17,250.

Taxis

The purchase of vehicles is a favored investment among Carriacouans. Formerly, land travel was by foot, donkey, or horse, By 1970 the horses were gone and trucks, buses, taxis, bicycles, and scooters had replaced donkeys and walking. There were between 35 and 50 vehicles on the island in 1971, most of them taxis. Their number is increasing at a rapid rate and as many as 10 or 15 new vehicles were brought to the island while I was there.

Motor vehicles have changed the sociological relationships on the island and have been partially responsible for lessening isolation and weakening intervillage rivalries. Similarly, the use of taxis and buses has cut into other patterns that once were common: "An increase in the number of vehicles has contributed to the development of the island. Gone are the days when people travel long distances as pedestrians. The buses in particular are of vital importance to the inhabitants and the days have elapsed when people travel with heavy loads on their heads stopping now and then for a rest under the shade of trees or by using donkeys for carrying their load" (David, MS). Although people still congregate along the roadside, socializing there has been replaced in large measure by meeting in shops.

Some say the number of "jumbies" has decreased because of the nighttime traffic. Fear of nighttime travel, once common, has abated and participation in fetes is probably greater as a result of rapid and easy transportation.

Acquisition of a taxi or truck is a major financial undertaking and can cost as much as a large sloop–between EC $3500 and EC $9000. Many are financed with money from abroad: "[a married couple] worked in Aruba and Trinidad. [They] worked together for several years and was able to return and open business. They started with a truck. Due to the fact that they brought the first vehicle to the island they was able to make plenty money. He had contact with

the Esso company and they gave him a gas station to operate. It is still in existence in the capital of Hillsborough which is doing fine up to today" (Dick, personal commun.). Whether or not the couple owned the first truck, the story illustrates the use of money earned overseas, as well as the value of a vehicle.

The ownership and division of profits for buses, trucks, and taxis are handled in much the same manner as they are for vessels. Several people may own a share in a vehicle. The profits of a taxi are divided into three parts: one for the car (gas and maintenance), one for the owner or owners, and one for the driver.

Taxi drivers constitute a social group and are mostly young men in their late teens or twenties. Taxis and buses are referred to by license number, name (usually painted on the back window–"Shango" "The Adopted Brothers"), its owner, or the nickname of the driver ("Bang-Bang," "Slimmy"). The drivers gather in several spots on the island: in the market to play cards and await a call (the taxi stand), at a water tap where they wash the cars in the morning or evening, and at the airport where they go several times a day. As with seamen, there is a great deal of camaraderie among the drivers. They will sometimes stop along the road to talk. A bus or taxi may be diverted to four or five places before reaching its original destination hours later.

Fares are generally agreed upon by the drivers. There is much variation, however. Daily "drops" cost less than a single trip. Carrying a package costs less than carrying a person. Short distances or familiar routes cost less than long or unfamiliar trips. Nevertheless, a driver can vary his rates from day to day or even within a single day, as we see on this account list taken from a driver's notebook:

1 trip to Belvedere and back	$ 5.00
2 trip to mon royal and back	10.00
2 trip to hospital and back	8.00
1 trip to hospital and back	4.00
1 trip to mon royal and back	5.00
2 trip to hospital and back	6.00

There are two sorts of buses on Carriacou–Volkswagen and Grenadian-styled buses with locally built wooden bodies placed on a British-built frame and engine. Drivers live in different villages and make morning trips to town carrying school children or villagers to market. At about 11:00 A.M. they make a trip home and return to town at about 2:00 P.M. for another round trip. Buses and taxis are hired for special occasions (weddings, Big Drum dances, and other fetes).

The heaviest traffic is between the market square, where mail boats and other vessels dock, and the jetty at Harvey Vale where other cargo vessels, particularly from Grenada and Trinidad, dock. In between is the airport where there is daily traffic. Roads also connect Windward and Mt. Pleasant-Grandbay with Hillsborough. Well-traveled roadways have more viable shops than elsewhere.

As with shops and vessels, the purchase of a vehicle through earnings from abroad sets in motion changes on the island that combine the new with the traditional: children today build model trucks and other wheeled toys as often as they build model boats.

Shops

The most prevalent "hidden" occupation, besides gardening, is shopkeeping. More than a decade ago, Kingsbury (1960b, p. 21) said: "It would appear that many a retail establishment is unable to sustain the proprietor and his family on its profits; consequently, most store owners depend upon farming, fishing, sailing vessel trading, or other means as further sources of income."

Although there are 208 shops in Carriacou (D. Hill, 1973, p. 211) most of them are not businesses in the sense that their primary function is to make profits. They are social gathering places. Very few families depend on earnings from their shops to make a living. Rather, having a shop demonstrates that someone in the family has already successfully earned a livelihood. Profit-making businesses are concentrated in Hillsborough and often are built of cement block. Shops for socializing tend to be located in villages, near the proprietor's house or in the same building. Such shops are constructed of wood. Many were started by the owner from money earned overseas. Others are managed by wives or mothers who have husbands or sons abroad.

The services these shops render further illustrate the distinction between profit on the one

hand and socializing and prestige on the other (table 21). Most of the shops outside of town are rum shops ("palahs") offering liquor or soft drinks, cigarettes, and food to be eaten on the premises. In the larger villages, such as L'Esterre, Harvey Vale, Grandbay, and Windward, there are one or two other shops that offer a wider range of services–dry goods, tinned food, and ground provisions. The larger of these shops seem to be money-making concerns. However, most people go to town to buy supplies, usually on Monday (market day) or Saturday. In Hillsborough perhaps one-half or more of all shops are palahs also; the rest are large general stores or specialty stores (carpentry shop, photographer, lumber yards, etc.).

Several examples will now be presented to show typological differences between rum shops or palahs, dress shops, small general stores, and two types of large general stores–traditional and modern. As we run through these examples we are moving from the sort of shop which functions as a meeting place to that which functions as a selling place.

A delightful thing about rum shops is the signs which often decorate their entrance (see fig. 12). There are "Fred Samuel Neighbourhood Hand to Mouth Shop," "Little New Parlour," "Snug Corner," "Julian Billy License to Keep a Refreshment House," and many others, including: "Hi Gentlemen This is the Same. First and Last Don't Forget the Cash."

TABLE 21
Shop Services Classified by Location in Carriacou

Service	Hillsborough	Rest of Islands	Total
Liquor sold or served	50	85	135
Liquor license	26+[a]	22+	48+
Snacks or cooked food	39	83	122
Freezer or refrigerator	22+	16+	38+
General food stuffs	45	84	129
General clothing supplies	18	5	23
Shoes	6	0	6
General dry goods	18	9	27
Lumber	2	0	2
Baker (shop)	1	0	1
Tailor	2	1	3
Drugs	7	0	7
Photographer	2	0	2
Gasoline for cars and trucks[b]	2	0	2
Warehouse	2	0	2
Club (for dancing)	2+	2+	4+
Community center	1	0	1
Carpentry shop	1	0	1
Brick making	1	1+	2+
Mechanic[c]	0	1	1
Butcher[d]	0	1	1

[a](+) means probably more than figure given.

[b]Kerosene is found in small tanks in many of the shops throughout the island. Storage tanks are in Harvey Vale.

[c]Excludes the largest mechanic shop–the government garage in Hillsborough–and very small backyard operations in some of the villages.

[d]Includes the only butcher shop outside of the market in Hillsborough. Butcher specialists who do not have a shop are found in many parts of the island. Some rent a stall in the market.

Sources: conversations, observations, photographic survey of island taken between March, 1970 and November, 1971.

Note: Includes all 208 shops on the island, most of which serve more than one function.

FIG. 12. Shop sign. Grand Bay, October 28, 1971.

Feelin' Thomas's[1] rum shop in Harvey Vale is a typical palah (see fig. 13 for a photograph of a similar shop). The shop carries a small range of goods representative of the sorts of supplies Carriacouans most often purchase: fuel for hurricane lanterns, rope for tethering stock, bananas, plantain, and basic stores such as flour and rice. The shop serves another purpose, however. Under a shade tree, a conveniently located bench gives an open view of the road. Windows allow the proprietor to sit or stand behind the counter and watch the happenings of the day. Inside men "old talk" (gossip) while sitting on the stools and having a shot of jack or a soft drink. While the "fridge" may contain perishable food, particularly for Thomas's family, most of the space inside is taken up with soft drinks. In the back room—a sign says "Express yourself inside here"—friends gather to play "all fours" or sit and talk. Thomas or his wife can keep the shop

[1]I have changed the names of all individuals who appear throughout the remainder of this chapter, as well as the names of all shops.

open and take little naps on the bed in the back room. This is much more convenient than returning home, which, although nearby, would mean the shop would have to be closed.

Thomas is one of the few village shop owners, indeed the only one in the villages I came across, who was not born in Carriacou. A native of Grenada, he came to Carriacou at the age of five and eventually married a woman from Harvey Vale. Their shop has been open since 1956 and was built just after Hurricane Janet. He had worked in Colombia and Aruba for eight years. He was able to save from his salary but quit after working for only a few years. He receives no pension, something he regrets (he compares himself with pensioned Carriacouans).

Sheila John's dress shop in Hillsborough does more business than Thomas's rum shop although it still functions as much as a family gathering place as a business. Usually Mrs. John or her daughter, Mrs. Phillips, tends shop, although at times her son, Horace, takes over when he is home from the University in Trinidad. The shop is the last in a long line of businesses which either Mr. John, his brothers, or his wife have operated since the middle 1920s. Mr. John opened his first shop after returning from New York City. Over the years he and a brother established many enterprises including a large general store, a gas station, and several rum shops. They also bought land, some of which is sharecropped, and several buildings, one of which is leased. Mr. John worked as a sea captain and a justice of the peace. During his middle years he was a prominent old head and letter writer for L'Esterre and Brunswick villages. Today the Johns' children live in Grenada, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Antigua, England, Switzerland, the United States, and Canada. A family of musicians, two of the sons in Europe are members of rock bands. Because of the successes of their family and their past business ventures they are well provided for in their late years.

Except on Sundays and holidays, one of the

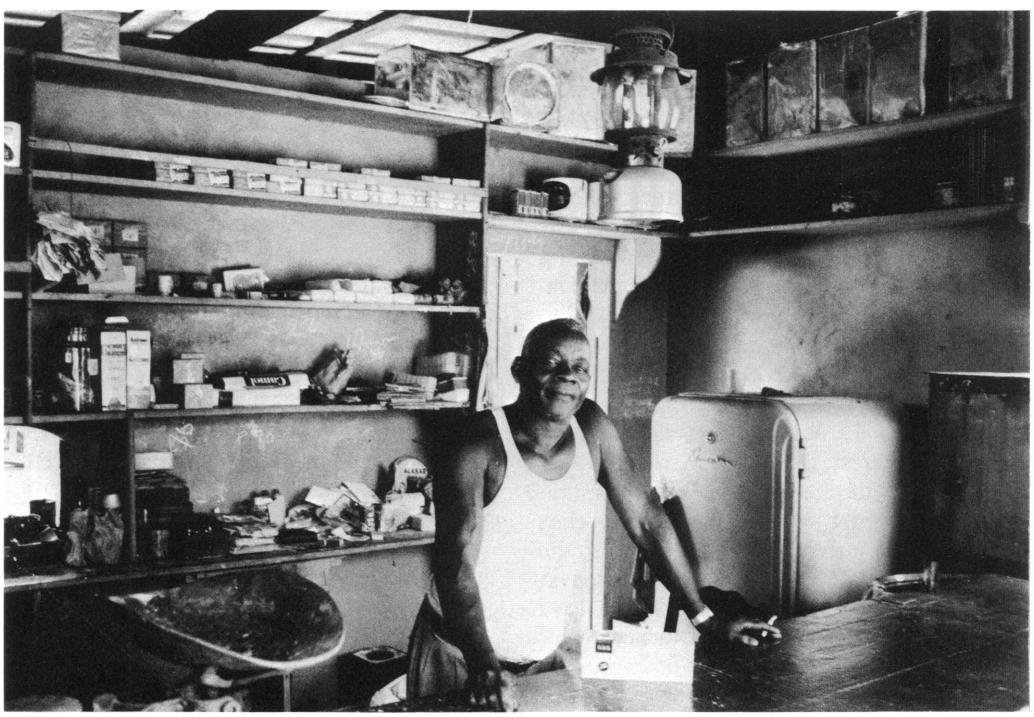

FIG. 13. David Canton in his rum shop. L'Esterre, September 11, 1971.

family opens the shop at about 9:30 in the morning. If Mrs. John or her daughter opens the shop it becomes, for that day, a place for women to look over dresses and cloth, perhaps to make a purchase, or to talk. If their son opens the shop, young men congregate. Mr. John usually stops by in the late morning on his way to the administration building where he works. Unlike many of the shops in Hillsborough, the dress shop does not close between noon and 2:00 P.M. but remains open while the family meets to eat "breakfast" in the back room. As the shop is several miles from their house they not only have the usual bed but also a water supply and fuller cooking facilities than in Mr. Thomas's palah. The shop usually closes for the day at about 4:30 P.M. when the Johns' regular "chauffeur" arrives to take Mrs. John and her daughter home. Once every few months the family stays in town very late, until about nine or ten, when new merchandise arrives from Trinidad on one of the vessels out of Harvey Vale. They then take inventory and place the new items about the store. Sometimes, Mrs. John and her son or daughter go to Trinidad by plane or boat to make purchases and visit relatives.

Whereas the Thomas's rum shop had benches and chairs placed out front or inside, the dress shop has none and "liming" therefore takes place in the back room or while standing. The back room, the bed, and the cooking facilities indicate its function as a gathering and resting place. The glass display windows, with items replaced on a regular basis, and the amount of goods inside indicate, however, that the proprietors do earn an income from the shop.

The socializing functions of the rum and dress shops are not apparent in a medium-sized general store—the Owen T. Mark Store—across Main Street from the dress shop. Mr. Mark is a peer of Mr. John. Both are descendents of estate owners and are part of that small elite class which integrated into the folk society in the nineteenth century. Mr. Mark ". . . travelled at the age of 18 years and after 20 years of hard working in the United States he returned to his native land. Due to his age, he decided to invest his money in business. He opened his shop with an old fashion big drum dance during the night and up to now he services his country in the best way and manner" (Dick, personal commun.). He married a Carriacouan woman in New York before returning home and they became one of the island's most prosperous families. Mr. Mark and many other Carriacouans credit his wife with being a very business minded person. Before her death several years ago, she ran successful general stores in both Carriacou and St. George's, Grenada. However, over the years tragedy struck their enterprises. The store in Grenada burned in the early 1950s and the original shop in Carriacou was closed. In 1970 Mr. Mark lost his last vessel on a reef in Tyrell Bay, where it was "mashed." Nevertheless, this general store remains, as does the great quantity of land he owns and several other buildings in town which are leased to various businesses. Mr. Mark is a respected old head, once renowned as a "Nancy story man."

The Owen T. Mark store is typical of the older style general stores (see fig. 14 for a photograph of a similar store). His clerk, Godson George, usually opens the shop at about 8:30 A.M. Mr. Mark comes in 30 minutes later, as does Miss Fay, his girl friend. Miss Fay, a woman in her late 40s or early 50s, is the real business person of the store; Mr. Mark is very old, hard of hearing, and, evidently, has never been much interested in business affairs. Together with Godson George, she manages the store well. For six months they handled the entire operation while Mr. Mark visited relatives in New York. Godson goes to Trinidad occasionally to buy supplies for the shop and on one trip there was great concern that he was on the "Mate," a Carriacouan vessel that sunk off Trinidad with at least 22 people aboard.

Purchasing items in the Mark store illustrates a phenomenon that is standard for most of the medium-to-large stores in town. The customer is attended by either Miss Fay or Godson, who picks out the items from behind the counter as the customer calls them off. A list of the items is made, with unit prices and the cost of the quantity purchased. The total is added and the ticket taken to Mr. Mark in his "office," a wire-enclosed area to one side of the store (where Mr. Mark reads or writes letters). He then checks the addition on the receipt. Godson or Miss Fay rarely make a mistake but Mr. Mark, due to his

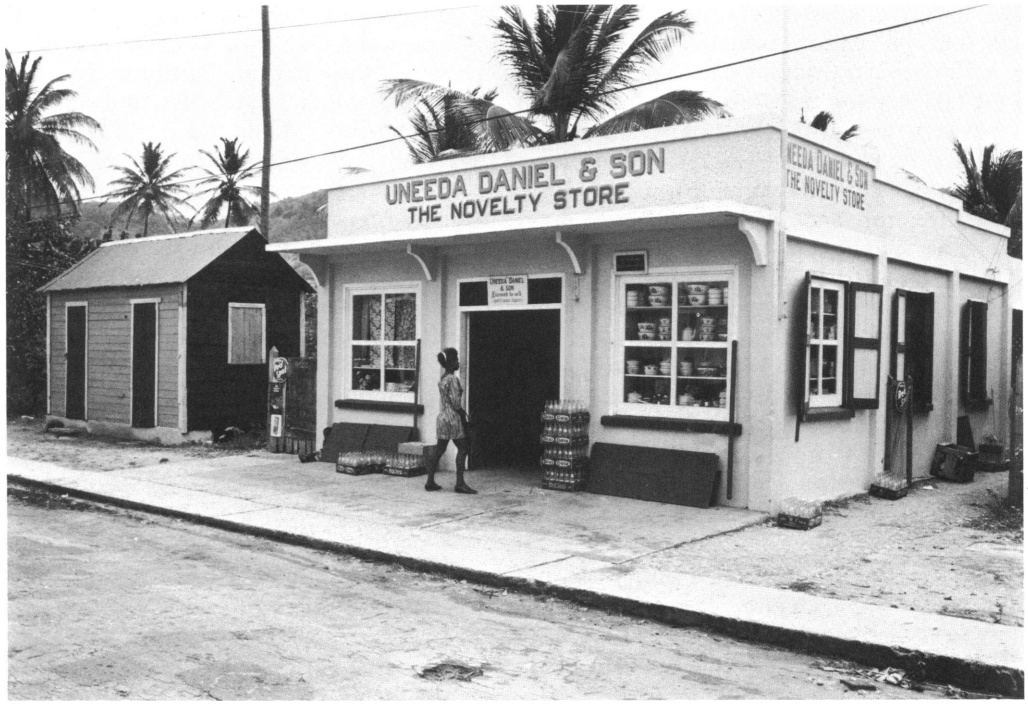

FIG. 14. Profit-making general store. Hillsborough, March 17, 1970.

age, often does. He sometimes questions a ticket and Miss Fay or Godson patiently review it with him. He sometimes lowers the price for liquor and cigarettes since he likes to please the customers (he charged me EC $2.25 for a bottle of rum, whereas Miss Fay or Godson charged the standard EC $3.00). The customer then hands the money to Godson who hands it over to Mr. Mark. Mr. Mark makes the change, although here again he is sometimes forgetful and must be aided by Godson or Miss Fay. At such times they make it appear as if Mr. Mark is figuring out the change and when he has finished they make a show of taking the money from him, illustrating once and for all that he is indeed the keeper of the money. The change is then returned to the customer.

Mr. Mark trusts his employees fully. The elaborate purchase procedure is designed to demonstrate respect for elders and shop owners. People are well aware that Mr. Mark is not as alert as he once was. But in Carriacou the older one gets, the more deference is he tendered. The purchase ritual also demonstrates the importance of money. For a time, I threw the receipt in the trash as I left, and wondered about the look of horror on the clerk's face. Carriacou people keep close track of their money and a receipt is thus very important, not so much for keeping accounts, but as a symbol of money once held.

The Mark store has some of the features of the smaller shops. It retains a bar for drinking and the back room for eating. But there are many more goods moved on a daily basis. Mr. Mark stocks wholesale provisions for palahs scattered throughout the island. The large doors in the entrance facilitate the movement of sacks of flour or Irish potatoes into and out of the store for this purpose.

We now come to two large general stores, their sole purpose being to sell merchandise. The first is Castrols, a large Grenadian firm with stores on that island and elsewhere in the Windwards. During the 1940s it was managed by

Charles Jamieson, a Grenadian whose shop I will discuss later. It is now managed by Bradford Blue, a Carriacouan from Mt. Pleasant, who lives with his family above the store. Castrols employs more workers than any other shop on the island and handles both wholesale and retail. Blue oversees the various services Castrols offers, including selling refrigerators and wholesale items to rum shops in the villages, providing credit, directing LIAT (Leeward Islands Air Transport Service) for the island, ordering supplies, and managing the employees. These include his sister (the cashier), two general merchandise clerks, two hardware clerks, the restaurant employees, the grocery clerks, and several porters. Other porters, boys ranging in age from 10 to 16 years old, work and are paid on assignment, whether it is to unload stock from the schooner or loading store-owned trucks.

Not a place to lime, Castrols is simply a store to buy one's weekly supplies. The restaurant is separate from the store and consists of a bar and tables. It is frequented by Grenadians and foreigners in Carriacou for a holiday or business. Occasionally it is used by some of the metropolitan elite men but rarely by the villagers. The store's purchase procedure is similar to that in the Mark shop. A receipt is filled out by the clerk. The customer takes it to the cashier who stamps it, takes the money, gives change, and returns the receipt. The customer returns to the clerk, picks up the items, and hands over the receipt. Blue does not handle money, his sister does. The status principle discussed earlier is not much dissipated, however. Blue's desk is raised above the cashier's desk and the other parts of the office, and from there he overlooks the entire store.

This general store is geared toward providing items Carriacouans need or favored luxuries: lumber, bricks, hardware, groceries, and appliances.

"Felicia Jamieson and Sons" is the last store I examine. The family refers to the store as the "supermarket" and it is patterned somewhat on the American model. After leaving Castrols, Jamieson converted his wife's dress shop, which had been mashed in Hurricane Janet, to a grocery store and kept the same name. Mrs. Jamieson takes no part running the store, which is done by Roger, one of their sons. Mr. Jamieson has his offices in the store from where he manages all his interests, including an American styled beach hotel, gas station, warehouse, and lumber yard. The Jamiesons' children are in Carriacou, Canada, the United States, and other West Indian islands. Several have degrees and one is an architect who built the motel and several other buildings before he received formal architectural training in Canada.

When Jamieson opened the supermarket some Carriacouans suspected him of slick business operations. Rumor has it that in the early years a woman brought in a small barrel to have filled with oil or rum. When she was shorted, a song was made up of the incident and became "all the rage" one Carnival season:

> Jami what the hell you mean?
> You send me barrel back?
> With an empty demi-john?
> And a dirty water can?
> And I don't see what you done!

Goods are similar to those offered in other shops and include tinned foods, ground provisions, repackaged flour, rice, sugar, condiments, frozen foods, drugs, beauty aids, kitchen wares, clothing, cooking oil and lard, soaps, and shoes. The purchase ritual described in other shops is not practiced here, however. This store is self-service, the only one on the island. It is a supermarket complete with mirrors, checkout counter with cash register, paper sacks, and shopping carts. There is no old talk–just serve yourself and move on.

I have examined five shops in terms of their socio-economic functioning, ranging from small palahs or dress shops to a few large stores in Hillsborough town. Palahs function essentially as enclosed street corners, as spots where men or women, the old or the young, congregate. Taxi drivers gather in rum shops that dot the market area to play cards. Men stop by rum shops in the villages on their way back from the market or the garden to socialize. In the early afternoon, school children lime in a favorite shop. Teenaged boys sit in a palah to play the guitar or dominoes. Women sit and pass the time of day. Commercial enterprises bear only superficial resemblance to rum or dress shops.

Shop Transitions

Shops come and go at a rapid rate in Carriacou. Across Main Street from the dress shop are three buildings, the one in the middle being the Mark store (building II in fig. 15). From the second floor of the dress shop, which I rented as an office, I was able to watch the changes that took place in these buildings.

In March, 1970 part of the building next door

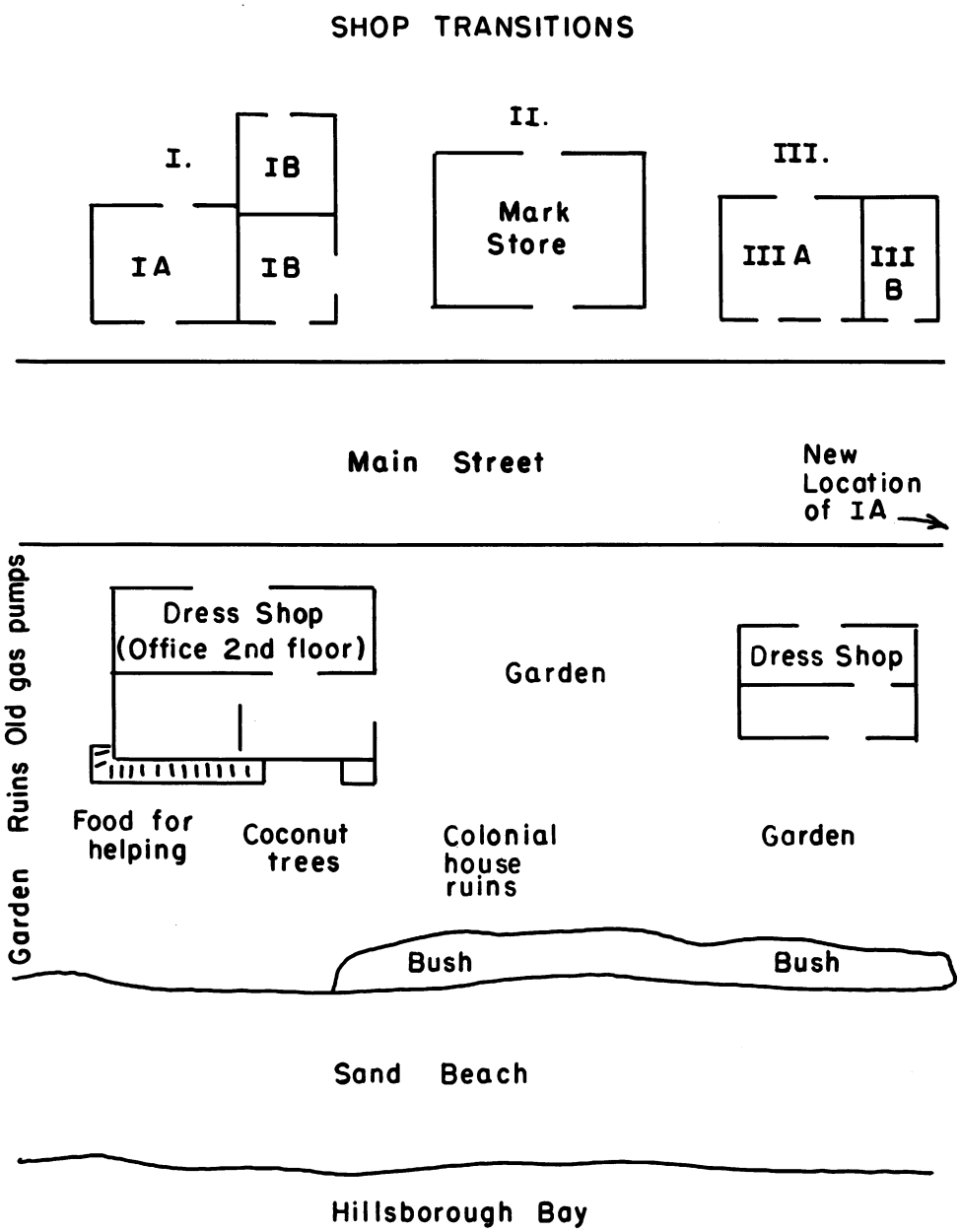

FIG. 15. Shop transitions. Hillsborough, May, 1971.

(IIIA) was vacant whereas in the other part (IIIB) a woman had a small palah. She had evidently been there for some time. On July 30, 1970 she had closed and the entire building was reconstructed. A new galvanized roof was fitted in place and carpenters built shelves in the large room (IIIA). In the other (IIIB) a man opened shop with a small range of pharmaceutical supplies. He closed within a couple of months and returned to his former selling style, going from village to village carrying his case with the medicines.

Meanwhile, preparations continued on the other side (IIIA) and in early August a taxi driver, Steady Tom, opened a small general food store. He supplied the shop with cases of soft drinks, liquor, a fridge, and ground provisions as well as a small range of tinned goods. He served cooked food and he or his wife sometimes ate the noon meal there. Horst Smith, a Grenadian who is the Texaco agent for Grenada and the Grenadines, partially financed the shop. Normally, Mrs. Tom tended shop while Steady engaged in his taxi business (Smith also financed the purchase of the taxi). In November 1971 this shop was still in operation and its stock had been increased considerably over its original inventory. Clearly, the Toms, with the shop and the taxi, were making money.

John owned the building on the other side of the Mark store (I) but not the land. In March, 1970 the largest room of this building (IA) was empty, having formerly been a coffin shop. The other rooms (IB) housed Johnny Jessup's rum shop in front, facing Main Street, and his house in the rear. Jessup, a cobbler by trade, was born in St. George's and had settled in Carriacou. He married a Carriacouan and raised a family. His shop was frequented by a few villagers when they came to town and by Grenadians and Vincentians who had immigrated to Carriacou and married. Occasionally one of his brothers from Grenada would come to stay for a week or two. For the most part, the men who drank in Johnny Jessup's were road workers or minor government employees (guards, the steam roller driver). Jessup's gardens were on property owned by John. He would often assist one or more members of the John family in cutting coconuts from the grove behind the dress shop and in various other odd jobs. His pig was kept in the grove.

In the first days of June 1970 Jessup and several others began to paint the old coffin shop (IA), at the direction of John. By June 8 most of this work was completed and some shelving had been built. Ensen, a "Vincee" who had been raised by a Carriacouan, had returned from London, where he had lived for 10½ years, and opened a shop. In England he was a door-to-door salesman and it is said that he owned some apartment buildings there. He seemed to have a good deal of money for when he returned he purchased a small car, traded it for another, and then purchased a third. He bought a small sloop and nets. At first he lived with Happy Hammond, his godfather, but later moved to the other side of the island where he had built a house next to that of his girl friend, with whom he took up a keeping relationship. Although his wife and children were still in England he expressed no desire to see them return to Carriacou and, according to what he said, this was her wish also. Both the keeping and the preference for the girl friend over the wife are contrary to ideal Carriacouan behavior. However, even though Ensen grew up in Carriacou, he is considered a Vincentian and is somewhat exempt from the behavioral standards applicable to Carriacouans.

Over the next nine months his shop underwent a series of changes. At first it was a general foods store, offering a small range of tinned foods and produce. At the same time Ensen engaged Hillsborough fishermen to make seine nets and to fish his small sloop. He hired a girl to tend the store and when the fishermen brought in a catch, either from the sloop or with the seine, the fishermen and Ensen sold them in front of his shop. One of the fishermen would blow a conch shell to alert the public to the sale (Ensen had tried to sell fish in the market but did not have a license). He also traveled about the island in his car selling fish. His shop became a hangout for teenaged girls as tunes filled the air from the portable record player. Few people seemed to purchase anything from the shop although the fish business was good.

After a few months Ensen changed the shop by taking out the counter and putting a table in its place. It became a restaurant and Ensen sometimes ate breakfast there. Unfortunately, few others did. At this stage he was most successful selling cases of soft drinks. A year and a-half

after his first shop was opened he had closed it entirely. He then centered his activities in raising stock and butchering sheep and goats for sale in the market and villages. During this period he attempted to open a butcher stall in Windward but met with little success. After two weeks he was forced to close.

While Ensen was able to generate prestige for his various activities he was not able to make much money in any of his endeavors. Nonetheless, as of November 1971 he still had enough savings and was full of ideas to continue. Perhaps those qualities that made him a successful salesman in England were not suited for Carriacou.

In May 1971 the Ensen shop had been closed for some time. Johnny Jessup continued living and working in his side of the building. At this time John received word from England that the owner of the property was intending to return to Carriacou to develop his property. These plans were not carried out immediately and may not ever be. Yet these intentions set off certain reactions in Carriacou: a "house break" was held and the building was removed from the site on which it had stood for more than 20 years (see fig. 16 for a view of "IA").

On May 14, a Friday, the John family began preparations for the house break on the following day. Typically, a housebreak is a helping and all labor is given in exchange for food. To this end Mrs. John directed several women and her assistant—a young man who works for the John family—to clear the coconut grove behind the dress shop and to gather rocks for the fire bed on which the food would be cooked.

On the morning of the fifteenth women began cooking. The Johns sacrificed several chickens, saying "peace and prosperity," and scattering rum and water about the ground. Then Mrs. John directed one of the helpers, a man from Grenada who was not familiar with the ritual, to sacrifice several more "fowls" across the street at the site of John's building. Several people noted how each chicken died but I could not get the reading. John directed the moving of the building. On this day only Ensen's shop (IA) was to be moved. The helpers, with hammer, crowbar, and little else, began first to remove the shelving. Some of the helpers became overzealous and ripped out boards mercilessly. John had to tell the joiner to supervise them more closely. Meanwhile, the Jessups continued their daily activities in the other

FIG. 16. House break. Hillsborough, May 15, 1971.

side of the building (IB). Johnny Jessup tended shop as he aided in the house break. A gaping hole opened in the side of Jessup's shop as planks were pulled from the interior wall separating it from Ensen's. After the shelves were removed, the sides of the building were taken out in complete sections and carried up the street by 10 or 12 men. At the new site a cement floor had been laid so that a carpenter was able to direct the resetting of the structure immediately.

By early afternoon Ensen's section of the building (IA) had been moved and partially set on the new site. Jessup's part (IB), except for the large hole in one wall, remained. Looking at the hole, Johnny Jessup grabbed a piece of "galvanize" and plugged it. The heavy work of the day done, the men crossed the street to eat the meal prepared by Mrs. John and the women. The eating lasted for several hours as most of the work had been completed.

On the morning of May 23, Johnny Jessup and his family moved from their house and shop (IB), which still stood, to Ensen's old shop (and before that the coffin shop), at its new site across the street. There was no rush to tear down Jessup's old place. John hadn't decided what to do with it. Some of the lumber, however, was soon used to patch up the new house and shop across the street (IA at its new location) and the rest was eventually taken to the John family home in Brunswick village where it was stored. This was the last change in shops on either side of the Mark Store, which along with the dress shop across the street, did not change throughout the year and a half.

Migration and the Shops

In most cases a shop is financed with money the owner or his family earn abroad. Of the 208 shops on Carriacou in 1970, information on migration was collected for a sample of 38 shops (table 22). Yet it should come as no surprise to learn that of the 38 shops 34 are owned by former migrants or present migrants and that working abroad has been directly responsible in financing the shops.

Only five of the shop proprietors in the sample are foreign born. All of these people have moved to Carriacou from other islands in their youth, married, and set up shops. Most had migrated abroad after coming to Carriacou and then returned to the island.

Although the majority of proprietors are men, many women also tend shops. In most cases they are the wives or mothers of present migrants. Building a small shop for one's mother is the goal of many Carriacouans.

Note that in most cases proprietors are more than 31 years old. This is indirect evidence that many shops are the result of a successful life rather than a means to that end. Those under 31 years of age include Johnny Jessup, two men whose father and elder brothers financed their shops from England, and one young man whose father had worked in Aruba and had built the shop when his son married.

Many shops opened between 1952 and 1955. Hurricane Janet hit the island in 1955 and necessitated the rebuilding of many stores. This period also marked the return of migrants from Aruba.

The importance of Aruba to the Carriacouans may be seen in the number of proprietors, owners, or relatives and affines of owners who have worked or are presently working on that island—26, far more than in any other country. Another period of numerous shop openings occurred between 1967-1971, showing the influence of money earned in England and, to a lesser extent, in the United States.

CHAPTER 5. THE LAND AND THE SEA

LAND UTILIZATION

A volcanic ridge runs down the center of the island and includes two prominent hills, each more than 850 feet high, in the north (fig. 17) and south of the island (High North and Chapeau Carré). From this main ridge there are numerous secondary ridges running at right angles. Between the ridges are alluvial valleys, the largest being at Limlair, Mr. Pleasant, Dumfries, Harvey Vale, L'Esterre, and Hillsborough (fig. 18). There are swamps at Windward, Harvey Vale, and Lauriston.

TABLE 22
Survey of 38 Shops on Carriacou

Migration status of owner(s) or sponsor(s)	Migrant	34
	Non-migrant	4
Country of origin of proprietor	Carriacou-born	33
	Foreign-born	5
Sex of proprietor	Male	23
	Female	15
Age of proprietor	31 years and over	34
	30 years and under	4
Year of opening	1951 and earlier	3
	1952-1956	13
	1957-1961	5
	1962-1966	6
	1967-1971	11
Amount of business	Total self-sufficiency	6
	Partial self-sufficiency	8
	Not self-sufficient	24

Countries in which migrants worked

Aruba	26	St. Vincent	1	England	9
Trinidad	10	Cuba	2	Canada	1
Grenada	6	Dom. Republic	1		
Venezuela	1	St. Kitts	1	Total	65
Colombia	1	U.S.A.	6		
				Countries per shop	1.7

Notes: Proprietor is defined as the person who most often tends the shop. Totally self-sufficient shops are those which earn enough money to provide a living for the owner; partially self-sufficient shops provide only enough income to partially support the owner; shops which are not self-sufficient bring in very little money. The 38 shops in this survey represent 18.3 percent of the 208 shops on the island at the time the survey was conducted in 1971.

There is a very extensive road system on the island, part steeply graded, and most of it metalled. It is said the French constructed the roads in order to move their cannons about the island (most of the roads appear on the Fenner map of 1784). A more plausible explanation is that they were built both by the French and the British to connect the estates with shipping bays.

Settlements conform to at least one of the four following principles: they are set on ridges (fig. 5), near the sea (fig. 7), along major roads (particularly crossroads), or dispersed among gardens.[1] La Resource is a classic ridge community. Of 33 houses in the village, 18 are adjacent to or a few feet from major roads. All houses are on slopes and 15 are directly on the ridge back. All the houses are next to gardens, 15 are away from roadways, and none are next to major pastures. L'Esterre, on the other hand, extends from ridges to alluvial valleys near the sea. Of the 36 houses or shops in the central part of the village three are on a ridge, 17 are next to roadways, and 19 are dispersed among gardens or pastures.

The surface of Carriacou has changed considerably over the years. Richardson has suggested the island may have had an extensive forest cover, which was altered drastically with the advent of the plantation system (1975, p. 5). By 1776 the forest covered only 886 acres (D. Hill, 1973, p. 106). Today just 350 acres of forest remain, all in a government preserve. The Fenner

[1]The information in this paragraph is based on photographs and observation for 1971.

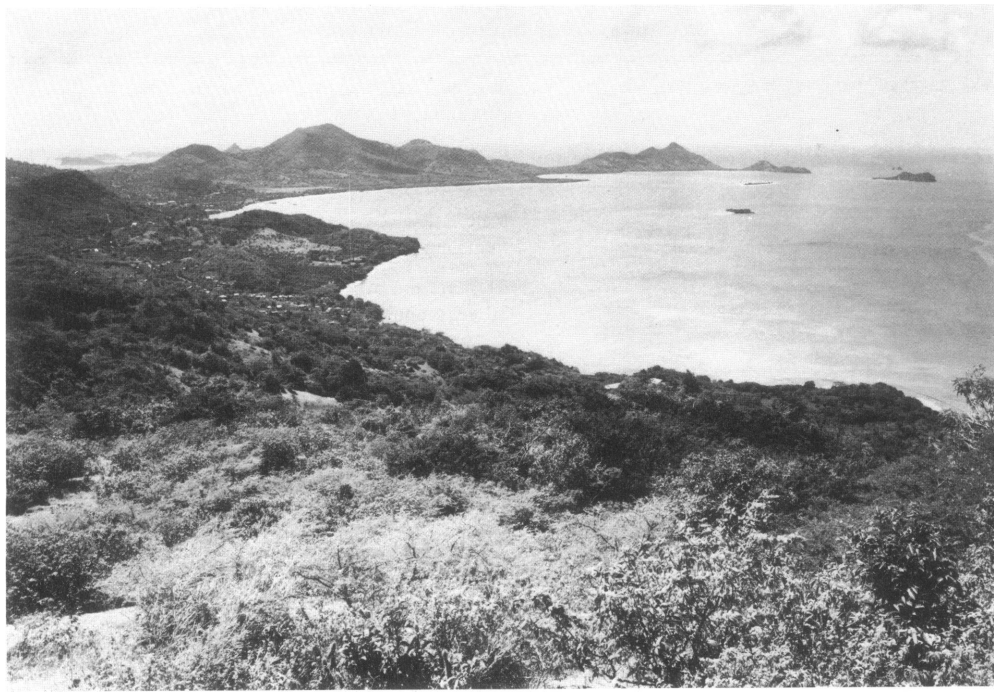

FIG. 17. Carriacou from High North—looking toward Grenada. April 29, 1971.

map indicates that the estates utilized more land for crops than is cultivated today. A walk over the island supports this—ruins of estate houses can be seen in the most inaccessible places. A third change has been the turning of cash crop lands to gardens and pasturage, particularly since 1915 (D. Hill, 1973, p. 59). What this change from forest to plantation cash crops, to gardening, and finally to pasturage suggests, then, is a move from the metropolitan agricultural system to subsistence gardening, supplemented by raising stock for cash.

Subsistence and cash crops generally are confined to lowlands and flat areas, usually in coastal valleys and basins. There are exceptions to this pattern, however, as pasturage is to be found in the lowlands at Limlair, Dumfries, Harvey Vale, and Brunswick. The extremities of the island (the ridge extending north from High North, Hermitage, and the peninsula extending from the Chappeau Carré section of L'Esterre to Point Cistern), while containing a good deal of hilly territory also have flat or lowland areas that are generally in bush or pasturage. Most of these sections are former estates and are not densely settled but are either owned by families or the government. Recently the government has taken steps to sell some of the land at Dumfries, Lauriston, and Limlair (West Indian, Sept. 13, 1970).

Pasturage tends to be on footslopes, the main ridge, and near eroded areas. Grazing locations are related to the amounts of rain and available land, particularly during the "leggo season" (the dry season). At any time of the year when rain is in short supply every available part of the island is grazed except the few fenced areas. In 1970-1971, during the rainy season and in the dry season, any short period of rain helped to restrict grazing to the lower elevation. When weeks passed without rain, grazing tended to move up the slopes. Thus in the over-long dry season of 1971 cattle, sheep, and goats could be discovered on the most elevated portions of the island.

The best pasturage is generally north of a line between Hillsborough and Mt. Pleasant (fig. 19).

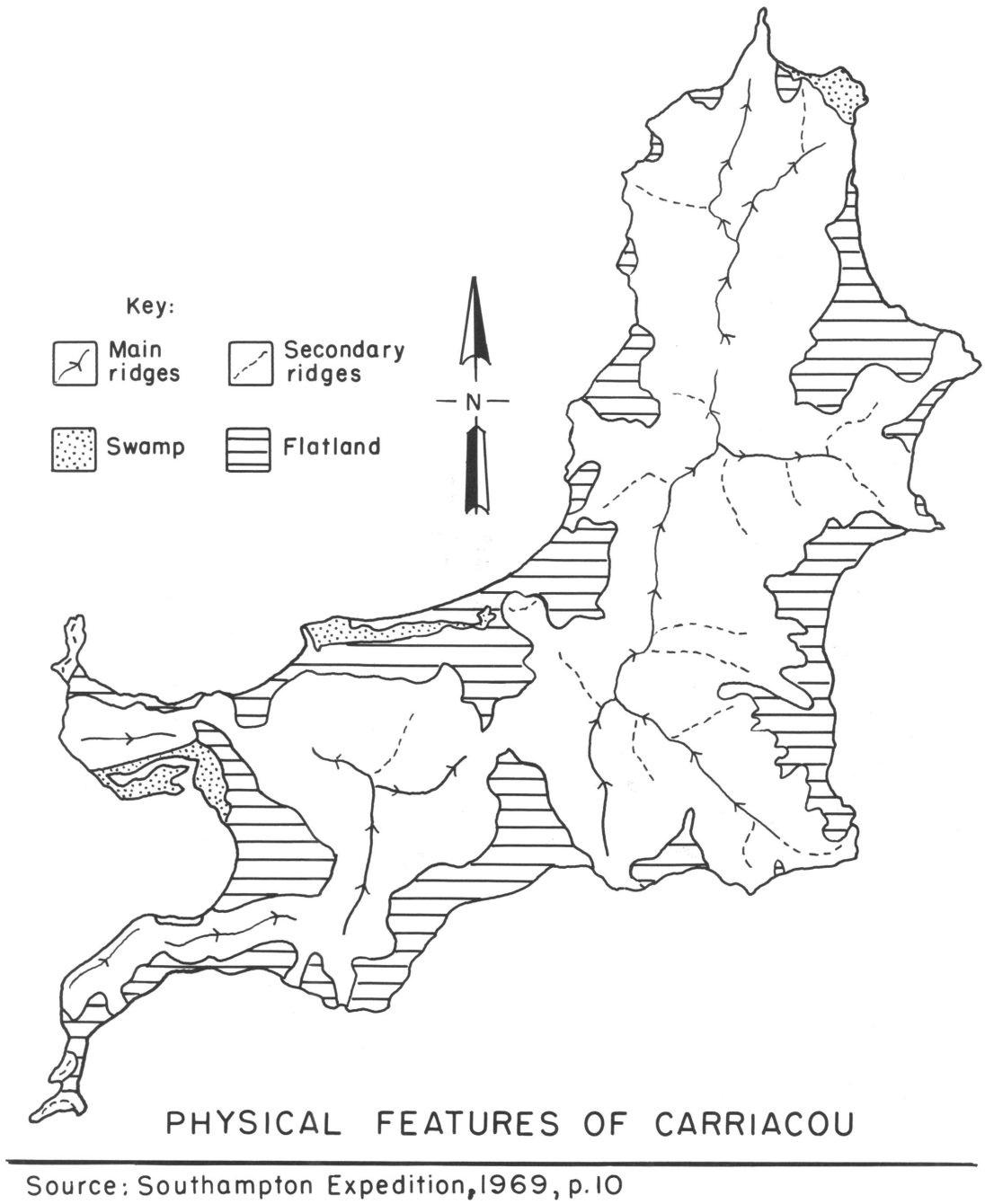

FIG. 18. Physical features of Carriacou.

The greatest soil erosion occurs along the coast on the windward side stretching from Bellevue South to Bayaleau.

Carriacou has no irrigation or year-round rivers or springs and is therefore dependent on rainwater and a few wells. Some of the wells date back centuries, whereas others have been constructed within the last 15 years by the government. At Hillsborough and Bogles, water from wells is piped for household use. Otherwise most well water is used for cattle, sheep, and goats. At least one of these newer wells, that at Harvey Vale, was inoperable in August, 1971 and had been for several months. Nevertheless, Carriacou has become less dependent on water shipped from Grenada during droughts. In the dry period of 1971 no water was imported.

Large water catchments usually consist of a cemented slope to catch the rainwater, at the base of which is a tank for holding the water. Constructed by the government, catchments are scattered throughout the island and are used both for watering stock and household consumption, depending on their location and the time of year. A second common device for the collection of rainwater is a large water tank, built of cement, constructed next to one or more buildings. Rainwater hits the roof and runs through a series of gutters into the tank. Some catchments are government owned and are located near schools, health clinics, and other public buildings.

Ponds have been built by the government throughout the island, either on government or private land, and are used exclusively for animals. When located on private lands the individual or family obtains a government loan. In recent years large ponds have been built with the government tractor (formerly all were constructed by hand, sometimes without government assistance). Today a few individuals make small ponds with hand tools. The ponds fill with rainwater, except for a few that are near the sea or a swamp and whose water is moderately saline. Most ponds hold their water for only a few days after a rain, even in the rainy season, although some last

FIG. 19. Pasture. Meldrum, January 23, 1971.

throughout the rainy season and into the dry season.[1]

The only dam on the island is in Bellevue South. Originally built by the government to prevent erosion (Southampton Expedition, 1969, p. 48) it is used for watering stock and is surrounded on three sides by pasturage.

All the major water systems have been initiated by the government and to a great extent are government maintained. Household systems are built with government loans or overseas savings (fig. 25). They have helped Carriacou avoid the worst effects of the droughts that plagued the island in the nineteenth century. In two ways—indirectly through savings from wage labor migration and directly by means of loans and technical assistance—the metropolitan social organization has lessened dependency on subsistence gardening and increased animal raising for cash. That the water problems are not over, particularly for Petite Martinique, is apparent from this description of conditions in 1961 (M. Clement, MS): "A dreadful picture presented itself in January 1961, although great care was taken with the distribution of water that was stored. The islands underwent a most terrible ordeal.

"The rainfall was low in the preceding years. The crops perished and water was scarce. The tanks . . . held little water. The ponds were all dried. Early in 1961 nearly all tanks were dried and darkness faced us."

There was another severe drought in 1973 and 1974.

Rainfall and Temperature

Carriacou has two seasons—wet and dry (table 23). The wet season stretches from June to November, and the dry season from December to May. For a 39-year period, beginning in 1914 (totaled only when the complete year's rainfall record was available) the average annual rainfall was 48.04 inches. The higher elevations receive a few more inches each year and the southern portion of the island a few inches less each year. There is a considerable variation in monthly rainfall totals, however, and any month in the year can be one of the driest or wettest. As a result, in some years the division between the wet and dry seasons is not clear. In general, Carriacou is a dry island experiencing an annual rainfall considerably less than one might expect for a semitropical climate.

In 1970 and 1971 the average daytime high temperature rested in the high 80s (Fahrenheit), whereas the nighttime low ranged from the low 70s to the middle 70s. Unless the day is cloudy the high temperature is reached by 10:00 A.M. and remains so until 4:00 P.M. The coolest nights occur in October or November. These temperature ranges are somewhat higher than on nearby islands and this seems to be due to the lack of a cloud cover much of the time.

THE CROP CYCLE

So come boy, let us realize,
Come let us think how the time is hard
Up to the plants we put into the ground
Look! We can't get no demand from them.

Cotton and corn that hold this island,
We cannot get the land just to plant the corn
Look! All the cotton is taking one!
We don't know what the poor people are going to do.

(Longland, 1970)

Corn and peas form the basis of the subsistence economy on Carriacou. Cotton, limes, and groundnuts are the primary cash crops, with cotton the most important. Of 130 households where complete information on corn planting is known 121 householders planted corn (D. Hill, 1973, pp. 68-69). The nine that figure did not include were single old people, an assistant minister from Trinidad, a few teachers in Hillsborough, and a few households that planted cotton and peas but not corn. There is about a quarter of an acre of corn planted per person (D. Hill, 1973, pp. 68-69). Peas are planted almost as frequently as corn. Cotton, on the other hand, is planted by only about one-half of the households. Lesser amounts of root crops (potato, yams, cassava, and groundnuts) are grown as are

[1]The Southampton Expedition made a very extensive survey of the wet season land patterns only six months before fieldwork commenced for the present study (1969). To their data I have added the location of year-round ponds and data from the Directorate of Overseas Surveys map (1967). The summaries are based on the Southampton study, unless otherwise stated, or reflect conditions after 1969.

TABLE 23
Rainfall in Carriacou by Month and Year for Sample Years

Year	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
1920	2.33	.93	1.54	.20	1.83	3.19	7.55	4.72	5.32	6.26	8.66	1.40	43.93
1930	2.88	.67	.46	2.18	1.97	4.01	3.35	2.14	4.62	2.47	3.86	2.96	31.57
1940	2.34	1.59	2.11	.92	.44	3.20	3.58	4.53	6.25	6.11	9.94	3.25	44.26
1950	1.61	2.85	2.24	1.38	4.11	8.89	4.51	7.34	3.71	10.82	8.13	10.65	66.24
1960	1.75	.53	.77	.21	.69	4.19	3.73	5.64	.70	3.60	1.60	2.47	25.88
1970[a]	1.51	4.82	1.60	1.00	3.77	1.60	4.32	9.95	4.49	9.67	2.60	13.04	58.37

[a]Figures for January and February are for 1971.

Sources: 1920-1960–Report to the Agricultural Department, annual issues; 1970-1971–my own measurements in Hillsborough.

coconuts, varieties of banana, fig, "blogo" and "okru."

The ground is prepared in the dry season for the planting, which takes place after rain has come. Peas and cotton are cut-back with the cutlass to approximately six to nine inches from the ground. Bush is cut from both gardens and pasturage.

Often charcoal is prepared at this time, although this can occur anytime during the year. Branches are cut from the bush in a swamp, stripped with a cutlass, and piled. This is the wood that will become charcoal. Leafy branches are then piled on top, followed by a layer of dirt. A flue is left below for the fire to catch and after dumping kerosene on the edge of the flue the fire is lit. This burns for a day. A light rain allows the pile to burn more slowly, thus yielding more charcoal. The finished product is kept for cooking or is sold.

Most bush is simply burned-off, however, either in pasturage or in the gardens. This process is known as "buca" and begins at the end of the dry season. Burning-off occurs throughout the year on abandoned lands. As with most gardening activity the favored time of the day for such preparation of the gardens or pasturage is early in the morning, from about 5:30 A.M. until about 11:00 A.M., or in the late evening, from about 4:00 P.M. until 6:00 P.M. On rainy or cloud-covered days gardening proceeds throughout the day.

After the buca is completed the ground is ready to be plowed ("forked") with a pitchfork. In 1971 most of this work was done by men, usually working alone. In the past and occasionally in the present a cooperative work group, called the "jamboni," is held with neighbors working each garden in turn. In this procedure the men set out for gardens early in the morning and after working for several hours are joined by women who bring "breakfast" (the main meal of the day). People complain that the jamboni is going out of style and that one must now pay laborers at the rate of five dollars for the day. Some people use the tractor to plow (there is only one on the island). Although it costs EC $20 per hour for the tractor it takes only about 15 minutes to plow a small garden. Unfortunately, the tractor often breaks down and in addition, it does not plow as intensively as forking. People say it merely "scraps the ground." Many people fork the ground after a rain, when it is said to "cool off" and the work is easier. But this is not always possible. Most of the gardens must be plowed but sandy soils near the coast are not.

Peas and cotton fields are plowed every few years. Usually, the plants are simply ratooned or cut-back during the dry season. From the stumps the new plant grows. This gives a diminished yield.

Once the ground is prepared a very critical period in the crop cycle occurs–the decision as to when to plant. Considerations include consulting an almanac, noting the phases of the moon, planting on a particular date (such as May 20, Ascension Day in the Catholic calendar), or following the instructions of the Old Parents in a dream message. Whatever justification is involved, planting does not occur until after the onset of a steady rain.

On May 20, 1971 and for a day and a half

afterward, 2.50 inches of rain fell and some people planted. Unfortunately only 2.15 inches fell between May 23 and July 16, scattered in insufficient amounts to plant. By the end of the first week of July people were worried, claiming that this was the driest year in memory. Novenas were said—women and children passed by our house each night in Hillsborough praying and saying the rosary. One of these women stated that conditions were critical, that cisterns were dry since people generally emptied them at the close of the dry season for cleaning, that the businesses had raised prices, and that planting could not proceed. She also said that on July 15 there would be a "Sacrifice" at Dumfries, held as a result of another woman's dream. In the dream a mermaid visited a spot at Dumfries where a dry pond is located. The mermaid said that at this spot a Sacrifice must be held. She said that she was thirsty. She requested a drink of water and said the children must be fed. The mermaid had come from the sea but could not return because the sea was so hot. The woman who told of the dream said that she would not go to the Sacrifice but thought that it should help. Others less religiously inclined felt such dreaming to be "chupidness." These people were a minority.

On the following day the Sacrifice was held as requested in the dream. In the morning food was prepared. A sheep and chickens were sacrificed at noon. Children were fed before adults in the afternoon. Such Sacrifices are common in Carriacou, except that the offering of a sheep in this way is rare and shows Grenadian influences.[1] Similar Sacrifices were held at ritual spots throughout the island.[2] On the seventeenth of July 1.3 inches of rain fell and by July 20 another 0.7 inch had fallen. On July 19 planting was in progress all across the island.

Usually, however, planting takes place in late May or early June. Corn must be planted from seed each year, whereas both cotton and peas may be ratooned or planted from seed. In 1953 men hoed the ground to dig the hole and women followed behind to drop the seed (Smith 1962a, p. 44). Today such a division is simply one of a number of possibilities with either men or women, adults or children over the age of 12, hoeing or planting either in groups or individually, in one or more operations. Most commonly, the hoeing would take place in the early morning and the planting later in the morning or in the evening.

Most gardens are interplanted with corn and peas and sometimes corn is interplanted with cotton, cassava, or okru. The different seeds are usually planted in alternate rows. Anywhere from three to eight seeds of corn are dropped into the hole and the foot is dragged across the dirt, covering the seed. Rubber boots or canvas shoes are sometimes worn. The holes are from 3½ to 4 feet apart. If okru or peas are being planted about five seeds are used per hole.

The planting of corn at the outset of the rainy season was once marked by ritual: ". . . you have some rum. You pour it on the ground and then after you take some water and you wet it. You pour it on the rum. After he done with the ground he dig the ground" (Frazier, personal commun.). While the libation is being made to one's ancestors a prayer is said: ". . . me mother and father give me health and strength. Pray for me . . . Give me more long life to be there to see it again and give you some water again" (Frazier, personal commun.). This wetting the ground was not witnessed in connection with planting and it appears that many people no longer practice any planting ritual.

Although weeding may take place at any time from a week or two after planting until harvest (depending on the amount of rain) many Carriacouans see this process in distinct stages. The first is simply called "first weeding" (fig. 20). The earth is lightly hoed ("teasing the ground") as weeds are cleared away. The shortest corn

[1]This particular Sacrifice also had many Trinidadian influences (see Chapter 11).

[2]The woman called upon to organize many of the Sacrifices is a member of a small religious group in Carriacou known to themselves as Norman Paul's Children and by others as the Shango Baptists. They are followers of Norman Paul, a Grenadian leader of various religious groups before his death in 1970. The organizer of the Sacrifices is a market vendor who keeps a copy of an autobiography on Paul's early life in her stall (Smith, 1963). She is keenly interested in it, especially Smith's analysis of African gods in the Appendix. This represents a heretofore unexplored type of applied anthropology! Andrew Carr reported that his article on the Rata Cult of Trinidad is used in a similar fashion (personal commun.).

FIG. 20. Welcome Clement weeding his corn as charcoal is burning in the background. Hillsborough, August, 28, 1971.

shoots are pulled from the earth by hand to allow the longer ones to grow.

A second weeding takes place about halfway through the growth cycle for corn. It is called "moulding" but is distinct from the moulding of yam, potato, or cassava. By this time the corn stalk is several feet high and the peas and cotton are still growing close to the ground (if there is interplanting). In this process the weeds are hoed from the earth and pushed up with the side of the blade to the base of the corn stalk. Some people are aware that this forms a mulch for the corn.

In 1971, in the late days of August and the first half of September, after the moulding but before the first harvesting of corn, food supplies were scarce for many people. This is the leanest period of the year. Corn, which had been stored in 55 gallon metal drums, was shared out or sold. People who could afford it bought flour or rice in greater quantities than usual. Some complained that merchants raised prices because of the effects of the dry weather. If this was the case or if it was simply due to the general inflationary trend in the Caribbean is not known but flour and rice prices rose about EC $.02 per pound (U.S. $.01). This represents about a 2 percent increase. Some requested assistance from relatives abroad and, as one informant stated, "they don't send a letter, their answer is money."

About six weeks after planting, if there is sufficient rain, one variety of corn begins to come in. People classify corn not only by the variety of seed that is planted ("Trinidad," "white," "Carriacou," or "store-bought") but also by the condition in which it is harvested (green, ripe-green, and dry). "Green corn" is the first to be harvested and is picked from the stalk as needed. It may be roasted, boiled on the cob, shelled, or ground. There is excitement when green corn begins to come in and people will say, "They now

have green corn in Belmont already." This is the first harvest in a long series that continues until May or June the following year when the December root crops conclude the harvesting cycle. "Ripe-green corn" is harvested next and is utilized in much the same way as green corn (green corn that is not harvested becomes ripe-green corn). Ripe-green corn that is not harvested becomes "over-ripe green corn." At this stage the corn is not harvested for immediate consumption as it is too dry to be utilized as green corn and not dry enough for the major corn harvest. Over-ripe green corn may be harvested in the early stages of the major corn harvest but must be dried on the cob. Formerly most corn was stored on the cob by tying it in bunches and placing it in the pen or loft of the kitchen. Today, most corn is shelled, spread on a mat, and placed on the roof in the yard to dry; then stored in large metal drums.

By September or October in dry years the final corn harvest takes place. This is either over-ripe green corn or dry corn. Today the work for the "corn break" can be accomplished by individuals of either sex. However, the helping is still very common. Previously, women broke off the corn cobs by hand and gave them to children who put them in bags and carried them away. The women then cleaned the field to allow for growth of the interplanted crops. Men moulded the cassava garden or yam hills (Smith, 1962a, p. 45). In 1971 no such division of labor by sex was consistently noted except that children still carried away bags of the harvested corn and women usually processed the corn for storage by shelling and drying.

As Smith (1962a, p. 47) has pointed out, the corn harvest was of major importance to the islanders:

> The harvest rituals may be public or private. Some people hold a private first-fruits ceremony before eating any of the new corn. In one version, the householder scatters some of the newly roasted corn in each of the four directions before his house or in his field, while making a silent prayer of thanksgiving to God and the "old parents"—that is, the ancestors. He concludes the prayer by asking that all may enjoy prosperity and health for the coming year. In another version, a boiled or roasted cob is set on a white cloth on "the table," a sacrificial altar in the main bedroom of the house, and a candle is lit beside it. The old parents will come that night to refresh themselves and bless the household.
>
> Public rites are occasionally held by a community, when dream-messages from the old parents instruct the villages to do so. Each community acts as an exclusive unit in holding such rites. Fifty years ago, first-fruit ceremonies may have been carried out by groups of neighbors in public. This is no longer done.

The public first fruits ceremony is not unlike a "Thanksgiving," a private or public event held to give thanks to the ancestors for many different reasons. In Carriacou, most public ritual celebrations share many common features. The public first fruits ceremony, therefore, may have been one type of Thanksgiving (Chapter 11).

That the public first fruits ceremony is now rare is an indication of the decline in the importance of corn and the subsistence economy in general. Less utilization of cooperative work groups—the jamboni and the helping—are a part of this same process and reflect the change from seasonal to year-round male migration. That is, with seasonal migration to harvest sugar cane in Trinidad (January to June) men were able to return to Carriacou and help in planting corn and in harvesting. Now, with men gone all year, their contribution is not in the form of local gardening but in remittances which, in part, go for store-bought rice and flour. Thus, seasonal migration enhanced the subsistence economy, whereas long-term migration has contributed to its decline.

These changes are not necessarily irreversible as work groups and the related rituals are known to most people. Greater dependency on subsistence gardening can be brought on by any factor that causes a decline in the current wage migration pattern.

After the major corn harvest the gardens are cleaned by means of a coarse type of weeding with a cutlass ("saypay"). This allows the peas or cotton to receive more sun.

By the time of the corn harvest, okru is ready also and continues to bear until about December or even February. The varieties of peas begin to come in by December and, as with the corn, they

may be picked green or left to dry. Green pigeon peas may be cooked with corn to make "coocoo poy" and dried pigeon peas are harvested by "hauling." If shelled they, as is corn, are stored in steel drums. However, the pigeon peas are often left to dry in the garden and picked when needed until May when the bush must be cut-back.

By January the dry season is on, although cotton, groundnuts, a few root crops, and some of the peas are yet to be harvested. Cotton is harvested as early as January and as late as the first weeks of May. Today most of this work is done by women and children. The cotton bolls are picked by hand, put into a sack and carried around the waist or over the shoulder. From time to time these containers are emptied into larger rice sacks that are left in convenient locations in the garden. The harvest is then taken to the gin in Hillsborough by donkey, bus, or taxi where it is weighed and sold to the government. Once the raw cotton is ginned, the seeds are bagged, and the lint cotton is baled (300 pounds per bale), the entire lint cotton crop is sent to Trinidad. Formerly, seeds were shipped to St. Vincent or Antigua but presently are not sold.

In the past, but rarely today, harvesting cotton was a group affair, particularly on large estates: "... large gatherings of men, women, and children referred to as maroons are made to reap the crop. Large amounts of foods are cooked for the gangs and a great amount of cotton is picked in one day. The people work cheerfully at such a time. Some give jokes, others sing songs. On the following day the same is done on another estate until the crop is over. No one demands pay for so doing" (M. Clement, MS, p. 47).

That women usually harvest the cotton, except for this maroon, may be a response to the heavy seasonal male migration of the nineteenth century for the sugar cane harvest on other islands. Sugar cane is harvested at the same time as cotton and thus, at the very time that intensive male labor would have been helpful in Carriacou there was a shortage.

Much of Carriacou's social and ritual life is dependent on this crop cycle. In addition to the cooperative work groups and rituals for rain or an increase in corn yield, the dry season is a time for fetes and activity of many kinds: weddings; prayer meetings and maroons; masses; for cleaning ponds and cisterns; repairing fences, sheds, kitchens, pens, and houses; for building new houses; for repairing tools; and for making arrangements for land-use in the coming season. For the most part, these activities form the very core of the traditional social organization.

Weddings traditionally occurred during the dry season: "The season of Easter is a season for weddings and wedding feasts. This season is the people's choice since it occurs during the dry season when harvesting of crops are completed.

"Weddings are seldom during Lent because the people refrain from rejoicing during Lent. It is seldom during the rainy season as almost the whole population is deeply engrossed in garden works and shun from merrymaking." (David, MS, p. 40.)

This observation is borne out in the data on nearly all Catholic weddings held since 1903, the only exception in the earliest years being a rise in weddings late in the rainy season that can be attributed to the completion of the corn harvest and return of seasonal migrants (table 24). Beginning about 1940 this pattern changed because of decreased dependency on cotton as a cash crop and a weakening of the subsistence crop cycle, an increase in remittances from long-term overseas wage labor, and, most recently, work and vacation patterns of Carriacouans abroad. Today, August, when more weddings are taking place, is an opportune month for migrants to vacation and for prospective migrants to seek fall employment after marriage. January, which is also becoming a time for marriage, lies between Christmas and Carnival, two holidays Carriacouans try to enjoy at home.

Stock Raising

Cattle, sheep, and goats are now more important to the economy of Carriacou than cotton. In 1957, for example, the export of livestock and poultry was valued at EC $29,422, and the cotton crop was valued at EC $29,040 (Kingsbury, 1960b, pp. 25-26). Pasturage, of course, takes far more acreage than crops.

The ownership of cattle rests mainly with men, but not exclusively so. Goats and sheep may be owned by either sex. Animals are tended ("studied") by boys, often under the supervision

TABLE 24
The Frequency of Catholic Marriages by Month of the Year and by Ten-Year Group (excluding Petite Martinique): 1903 to 1969

A. Number of weddings by month for inclusive periods

Period	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
1903-09	0	2	3	4	12	7	2	1	4	8	5	1	49
1910-19	9	1	1	8	25	18	7	4	4	10	8	0	95
1920-29	10	14	1	18	16	16	2	8	7	7	11	2	112
1930-39	9	18	5	20	35	21	6	10	8	10	9	5	156
1940-49	19	8	2	13	13	19	7	5	5	7	3	5	106
1950-59	15	13	3	29	31	14	6	15	15	9	2	9	161
1960-69	16	8	4	13	3	5	1	19	8	8	1	8	94

B. Percentage of weddings by month: 1903-1939 and 1940-1969

Period	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	TOTAL
1903-39	7	8	2	12	21	15	4	6	6	8	8	2	99
1940-69	14	8	2	15	13	11	4	11	8	7	2	6	101

Source: Catholic marriage records, Hillsborough, Carriacou.

of their fathers. During the planting season animals are staked but after the cotton harvest the animals are "leggo." Usually, however, they are put in the care of boys and follow a standardized grazing pattern each day. At times the leggo season overlaps by a week or two with the first planting, particularly if the rains come in late May. If this occurs there is some damage to newly planted crops and settlements must be made between the owner of the offending animals and the owner of the garden. Recently a sizable minority of Carriacouans began fencing their gardens, thus allowing for greater protection of their crops, particularly at this critical period.

The yard animals—chickens and pigs—are usually in the care of women. Chickens are consumed locally and exported, their numbers being related to the size of the corn harvest, their primary feed.

A few cattle are slaughtered each week for sale in the market on Saturday morning. A greater number of sheep and goats are slaughtered on a weekly basis. Chickens, and to a lesser extent, goats, or sheep are the only meat products that enter a Carriacouan diet on a regular basis. During the leggo season when the island's carrying capacity for stock is lowest, goats and sheep not sold by the preceding December for export are retained to form the basis of next year's herd or slaughtered for use at fetes. It is only at a rare fete, a Big Time such as a launching, that a cow will be slaughtered. Stock are sold in Trinidad, Grenada, or other islands by the owners who take passage on a Carriacouan schooner or sloop for this purpose. Such business is a form of "trafficking," an occupation for young men.

Although the cyclical nature of stock-raising is not so marked as gardening routines, it is still important. During a good season chickens proliferate and are sold off to Grenada or Trinidad late in the year. During a dry growing season the stock feed on the blighted crop and thus survive. In the latter part of the dry season the animals face their stiffest test and, if it is long, many of them die.

Fishing

Many Carriacouans engage in a third activity combining subsistence and cash income: fishing. Most fishermen live in Petite Martinique and in the coastal villages of Carriacou—particularly Windward, L'Esterre, and Harvey Vale. In Petite

Martinique virtually every male is in some sort of sailing activity. Locally built open boats, sloops, and schooners are used for fishing. Men who fish the coasts around the island maintain gardens, whereas those who sail abroad on boats that do not regularly put in at one of Carriacou's harbors are absent from the island much of the year, returning for Christmas, Carnival, some other major holiday, or during a family crisis. These sailors, in their relationship to resident Carriacouans, are similar to migrants to nearby Grenada and Trinidad. Seamen, however, do not command the wages that migrants receive.

Fishing is either coastal or deep sea. Coastal fishermen work with fish pots, "cast nets," spears, lines, or "seine nets." Although many men make and own their fish pots some are considered specialists and build pots for others. A few are made of bamboo imported from Grenada and plaited vines ("carp") found locally although most are now made of meshed wire and wood. Stones are lashed to the pots when they are set so they will sink. Two or three men set the pots in leeward or other calm waters where fish are to be found, such as between a reef and shore. They are set early in the morning from small open boats. The pots are hauled several days later, either by using a "grapnel" if the pot is set in clear, shallow water or hauled in turn if it is connected with a series of pots on a cabled bamboo buoy. The fish caught in the pots, "may be distributed at sea or on shore, one part going to the boat, another to the pot, and one to each of the crew. Thus boat owners who work their own fish pots with a small crew obtain three-fifths of the catch and can provide their homes with regular supplies of fish and cash income" (Smith, 1962a, p. 53).

Cast nets are used from the shore or nearby. One or two men go to the beach in the early morning or out on open boats, throw the net into the sea whereupon it sinks, trapping the fish inside. Different mesh sizes of net are used for catching different fish, such as "fry" or "sprat." A cast net catch will feed a fisherman's family for the day.

Conchs are caught by men and boys who dive near the reef. On shore with a supply of conch the fisherman cuts holes through the shells and pokes a stiff piece of wire into it. After some effort, the "lamby" slips out. Lamby is considered a delicacy when dried or boiled. The shell is dried, placed in a pit with wood, and then covered with coral. The pile is lit, burns slowly, and white lime is produced. Once used as a mortar for building houses, conch shells and coral are used today as a fill in cement flooring. Hauling large seine nets, which are worked in bays up toward the shore, is one of the most labor-intensive activities on the island. When hauling the seine ashore a fisherman's family, his helpers, and anyone in the neighborhood lend a hand. The nets are set to dry and the catch is sold around the island by the seine owner and his helpers. Once sold, each assistant receives a portion of the profits.

This represents a change from the way fish were distributed in the past. In many tasks in fact, wage labor is replacing cooperative effort. Nevertheless, a few seines are still hauled, mainly in Harvey Vale and L'Esterre, as Smith described for 1953 (published in 1962a, pp. 53-54): "If the foreshore has an owner, he may claim a third of the fish when the seine makes a haul, while the rest will be divided in three: one part for the seine, that is, for its maintenance; one for its owner; and the other for subdivision among all who helped in the haul, in proportion to their contribution. The seine captain receives the largest share of the third portion; the seine-mender and lookout come next; divers and the crew of the seine-boat follow, and so forth. The returns from these exertions may seem disappointing to strangers, but not to the islanders. Even a moderate haul involves fairly wide distribution of fish throughout the village of the seine, via its crew."

The sharing mechanism Smith described has been extended into other fields, such as working taxis.

While shore or coastal fishing is mostly for subsistence, deep sea fishing produces income. Such fishermen travel as far as the fish bank off Guyana. Generally, the catch is sold on other islands. None of the deep sea fishing is net-fishing. Instead line-rod, towing, or bottom-fishing methods are used. Rod-fishing takes place along rocky shores and reefs. In bottom fishing a series of baited hooks are attached to the end of a line which also holds a sinker. The line is lowered to

the sea bed and pulled in when most of the hooks hold fish. In towing several lines are stretched behind the boat as the vessel trawls slowly.

Once caught, the fish are split, salted, or iced. If the fish are caught in the Grenadines they are sold in Grenville, Grenada, on Saturday (market day); in St. Vincent, or to the resort hotel on Petite St. Vincent. The fish caught on a small fishing sloop are divided according to the amount each person catches. A sailor receives two out of every three fish he catches, the third going for the boat. The captain may get extra fish from the boat share. Stores are paid from each sailor's share.

In this chapter the close connection between the subsistence and cash economy has been illustrated. This connection existed before emancipation. Of late, subsistence gardening is becoming less important as alternative foods are purchased in the stores. Cooperative work groups are being replaced by local wage labor. Nevertheless, the interdependence of the two sorts of economic systems and their accompanying social and ritual manifestations remain solid.

CHAPTER 6. MARRIAGE, KEEPING, AND FRIENDING

INTRODUCTION

Status accrues with age in this society. One may divide the islanders into four locally definable age categories: childhood, adulthood, eldership, and the ancestors. Baptism, marriage, migration, and death constitute the transitional points from one status to another. In this chapter I take up marriage, and in Chapter 12, I discuss the rites of passage associated with death. Although less significant than adult, elder, or ancestor status in the local belief system, there are ritual transitions and social relationships in childhood that cannot be overlooked.

Ritual Transitions in Childhood

Within a month after birth most Carriacouans are baptized in either the Anglican or Catholic Church. Arrangements for the ceremony, always held on Sunday, are handled by the household in which the baby lives, not necessarily by the father or the mother. Before the baptism, godparents are chosen. In one baptism I observed, the mother's father (the household head) chose two of the godparents from among his acquaintances, a man and a woman. The child's father chose another godfather and the mother chose a godmother. Formerly, the father was expected to name two godparents, the mother two, and the father was expected to pay the expenses (Smith, 1962a, p. 93). Godparents are usually members of the church in which the child is to be baptized but, although some priests are said to object, godparents from other faiths are not rare.

Smith noted that there are two separate phases to a baptism, the church rite and the fete at the house in which the baby lives (1962a, p. 91). Preparations for the latter begin that morning with baking cakes. If there is sufficient money, there will be a sacrifice of fowls. At the baptism I observed, no chickens were slaughtered. The household head said he was thinking about buying some from the "cold storage" (a shop that has a freezer) but decided against it because of the cost. No Parents' Plate was prepared for this baptism though it was a part of the home ritual for baptism in 1953 (Smith 1962a, p. 95).

While the parents remain at home to attend to preparations for a small fete, the godparents—especially the primary godfather and godmother—take the child to the church by taxi for the ceremony. After the baptism, the godparents return with the child to the house where a table has been set to receive them. Cake, "wine" (a kind of grape juice), whiskey, and jack rum are served. At a small baptism, the godparents are free to leave after an hour or so, but feting continues into the evening with friends and relatives.

Christine David (MS, pp. 64-66) has described a rather grand baptism which contrasts with the usual affair:

On arrival at the parent's [*sic*] home, the godparents deliver the baby to its mother. On

taking the baby from a godmother, she may ask if the baby cried at the Baptism and say to it, "So, you got married today." The godparents serve themselves with things from the table. The men drink strong liquor, like whiskey, brandy, or rum (jack-iron). The ladies drink soft drinks and eat cakes. Before eating or drinking the principal godfather may make a speech on behalf of the newly baptised baby, and after this is done, he throws rum and water on the ground (for the Old Parents). They remain for a short time eating and drinking as they are to return in the afternoon for the Baptismal fete.

At about 3:00 P.M. a fairly large crowd collects at the house of the baby. The godparents may come earlier than the other people invited as they are responsible for assisting in serving the people ... The godparents are also the last to leave the house.

At about 4:30 P.M. the godparents sit round a table and those who have not yet donated a gift may do so by putting money on the table. The ladies may offer a dollar and the godfathers put five dollars or less or more in a saucer or in an envelope and place it on the table ... people who are invited offer silver coins for the mother or the baby, about 25 or 50 cents.

After all are served with refreshments, everyone stands around the tables where an iced cake is the centre of attraction. Liquors will also be on the table. The head godfather takes charge by saying something about the baby, he may express his wishes about the baby's future and state what he intends to do to assist his godchild in growing up in the correct manner. He then asks the godparents to say something or to sing a song on behalf of the baby. After the godparents have spoken or have sung, any other person is free to make a speech or sing a song.

The last part of the ceremony is the 'sticking' of the iced cake. This is done in two ways, and the principal godfather makes his choice. He either selects a boy and girl who are unmarried to stick the cake, or he may ask those who are interested in sticking the cake to buy it.

For buying the cake, the men and boys and sometimes a few girls, throw money into a saucer. The first person may start off with a 10 cent piece. If the second person puts 15 cents into a saucer he is in possession of the cake at that time. Boys compete against boys and girls against girls. Married men may compete in this part of the fete. The cake is stuck by the man or boy who put the most money into the saucer and by the girl who did the same. If the girls fail to take part in the buying of the cake, the man or boy who wins has to choose a female partner.

The baptism, however, is usually a "little thing" rather than a Big Time. Nevertheless, it is important in that it is the first rite of passage. We see the dualism between the church ritual and the home fete, which is so common in Carriacou's ceremonies. At baptism the child gains his godparents and is given his first Christian name.[1]

[1]Baptismal and confirmation names are used for formal occasions only–in letters, on marriage certificates, or as terms of address when speaking to strangers. Carriacouans have several nicknames in addition to their Christian name. A child first receives his "hŏme name." It may be a "jida," a humorous name given by the parents when the child is born. If the child's paternity is disputed, the mother might nickname it "Myown": "Myown could be a parable if he came from his mother or if he came from a [man]. The mother of the child ... mean that she have worries with the boy mother before they name the baby, claiming that the child is not my son child. So she [the mother] say, "Well, is Myown.' See what I mean." (Cummings, personal commun.) A nickname may also be bestowed by anyone as the child grows up: "Anybody could call him any name. Now supposing I like to give you a nickname. I call you 'Flashman' because to use your flash bulbs in the night. Ha ha! You see what I mean? Suppose you have your cycle and you riding by Bellevue and I call you 'Spymasher' you known what I mean? Concerning the home name, if you have to go and get papers you have no such name, it is not there is it? So a second name is really your name." (Cummings, personal commun.) Easy Boy, Man, Steady, Feeling, Welcome, Maxman, and Gentle are common home names for men. Baby, Princess, Missie, and "Madivine" (!) are common female nicknames.

Some people believe that one's Christian name carries a degree of power. One should guard against a possible enemy using it, thus the frequent use of home names. According to Smith (1962a, p. 92): "The contrasting ritual significance of church and house names corresponds to the distinction between the sacred and profane aspects of human personality." Actually, no psychological explanation is needed here. The attribution of power to one's formal name is a well-known African custom. In Carriacou, the formal name is derived from the metropolitan culture. Hence we find an added reason to respect one's Christian name–Carriacouans are well aware of the influence the metropoli-

However, the ritual's emphasis is clearly on relationships between adults.

Carriacouans celebrate the first birthday of a child in much the same manner as the baptismal fete except there is no church ritual. The godparents try to attend and expenses are assumed by them or the parents. The father, household head, or child's guardian tries to "keep up" the birthdays every year thereafter, in order to insure the health of the child, its parents, guardians, and friends. "It's what you call a birthday. They make a cake already. The godparents, if they want to come they will come. Your wife and husband will come to see how it going. They will come and you will sit down and hear some little jokes and things. No [Sacrifice], no [Parents' Plate]. Just cakes, wine, and whiskey–all those things." (S. Clement, personal commun.)

Smith described a "Shango hair" cutting ceremony he attended in 1953 for a child with a special type of curly hair (1962a, p. 98).[1] As part of this small fete, a goat was sacrificed and rum was sprinkled on the ground around the house. The sacrifice was placed on a table with a plate, rum, water, and flowers. The child was set on a stool and a Big Drum was held while the child's godfather cut his hair and gave it to the godmother to place in the plate. A particular Big Drum tune, sung in patois, accompanied this ceremony. Later, the hair and other items on the table were removed and placed on the Parents' Plate. Once the ceremony was completed the Big Drum continued on into the night. The "Cromanti Beg Pardons" were played at the beginning of the ritual and again at "middle night." Says Smith, "the ritual haircutting of Shango children is rationalised as necessary to protect the child, who will otherwise be 'troubled and afraid' " (1962a, p. 98). Although Christine David attended one in 1968 (MS, pp. 62-63), this ritual is rarely performed today. When it is, "Shango People" are called from Grenada to take charge of the ceremony (the custom is apparently of Yoruba origin), to which Carriacouans add Cromanti Nation dances.

As Carriacouan children approach 12 or 13 years of age most are confirmed into the Anglican or Catholic Church in an annual ceremony. Sometimes they are given new Christian names. The senior godfather is supposed to accompany a boy to the church and the senior godmother accompanies a girl. The godparents are expected to buy new clothes for the children: white dresses and mantillas for the girls; white shirts, slacks, ties, and black shoes for the boys. The confirmation takes place on a Sunday morning with as many as 100 children in attendance with their godparents and several priests. After the confirmation, some people hold a small fete in their yards for the child and godparents, similar to that for the baptism and the first birthday. This is the last rite of passage that godparents are expected to attend.

The co-godparent relationship on Carriacou is not so elaborate as it is in Latin America or as it may have been when the island was a French colony. Nevertheless, the relationships established between godparent and child and between godparent and the child's parents are important, often lasting a life time. If for one reason or another the parents cannot care for the child and a godparent is available, the latter is supposed to adopt the child. If the parents need financial assistance in rearing their children the godparents may contribute although "they are not bound to." When the child becomes an adult, and especially if a male, he may send remittances or gifts to his godparents. Some Carriacouans complain that their godchildren are not good to them, meaning that they do not send remittances.

The parents and godparents of the child call each other "compay" (male) or "macmay": "A

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tan social organization has in their lives and this is symbolized in their attitudes toward Christian names. Similarly, the informality of the home name symbolizes folk attitudes towards an individual.

"Broadcasting one's name" or "calling name" are forms of gossip, using one's name while he is not present and saying something bad about him. Some people will not refer to their parents by name if they are dead and in fact, most Carriacouans will refer to a third party by some means other than name–"that man that live by you" or "the woman who work in the Gaye shop." Even when referring to someone on formal occasions, the use of the surname is rare. At such times the speaker uses Mister or Mistress followed by the Christian or home name. Thomas (Long Jack) Joseph would be addressed as Mister Thomas or Mister Long Jack. His wife is addressed in terms of his Christian or home name, Mistress Long Jack.

[1]It is said by some people that Shango hair is simply unbrushed (MS, 1975, p. 63).

compay is a man who usually stands for, or the godfather, for your child. The macmay is usually the woman who stands in. It could be a relative. Most people like to get somebody who is well off because sometimes they have to make some donations, some contribution towards the Christening. As the child grows you expect the person to be giving things to the child. The prestige for him would be, I would imagine, the number of godchildren he had" (R. Benjamin, personal commun.). These terms are not exclusively used as forms of address between co-godparents but are often used by middle aged or old persons when speaking to each other.

After confirmation a child is considered as such until marriage or the establishment of a co-residential or enduring mating relationship.

The Mating System[1]

In Carriacou marriage is a union of man and woman sanctioned by church and state, keeping is a similar union with no official or folk sanctioning, and friending, while less formalized than the two other forms, is differentiated from casual affairs in that it involves an informal set of rights and obligations between the couple and their children.

Smith (1962, p. 183) said: "Of these three mating forms, consensual cohabitation [keeping] is the least esteemed and has the lowest incidence. Marriage, the most esteemed, has the highest incidence, and the natives of Carriacou do not regard casual, clandestine affairs as mating or conjugal unions."

Smith analyzed a sample population with respect to age, sex, marital condition, and parental status (table 25). At least 62 of 77 men under the age of 24 years were not married nor had they formed a union with a mate which resulted in a child. Between the ages of 25 and 39 many of the men were married or if still single, had children. Only three of 51 men in this group were keeping. By the age of 55 nearly all the men were married: only one was keeping and one had status unknown.

Most women of 24 years or under were single and childless–87 of 106. Seven were married, one keeping, and 11 single with children. Most in the latter category had extra-residential mates ("boy friends"). Between the ages of 25 and 39 years 16 remained childless, 39 were married, 23 single with children, and six keeping. After the age of 39 the percentages of women keeping fell sharply and those who were single with children fell gradually.

From these data one can see the change in the mating status for both sexes as the age of the sample population increased. For men, marriage and extra-residential mating complement one another. Women are expected to remain with one mate at a time, and in marriage are expected to remain faithful to their husband even if he has migrated and been away for a number of years. Marriage is the mark of adulthood for men but for women having children is the most important factor in achieving adult status.

Marriage is the most demanding union for both partners. Because of the church and folk opposition, and state law, divorce is, for all practical purposes, excluded. Separation, through migration, is a culturally acceptable alternative to divorce. One means of validating such a separation, in the eyes of the community, is to post a newspaper notice. This practice dates from colonial times: "The undersigned seeing himself under the dire necessity of giving notice to the merchants and other persons, that his wife Catherine Angelique Hery, having clandestinely eloped from Carriacou, on Sunday last, the 24th inst. in Messrs. De St. Hilaire's sloop, at the time when he himself was at the Militia Muster. He declares that he will pay no debts that she may have contracted, or that she may contract, the situation of his affairs not permitting him to do so" (St. George's Chronicle and New Grenada Gazette, July 13, 1798). In 1970;1971 no such notice was found in either of the two Grenadian newspapers for couples in Carriacou but one was posted for Petite Martinique: "The public is hereby notified that I John Doe of Petite Mar-

[1]Smith (1969, p. 130) holds that a mating system is the "formative principle in family structure" whereas Gonzalez holds ". . . that the various forms of unions are, like household structures, themselves reflections of different ways in which individuals are pressured by the economic system, which in turn is related to ecology. . . ." My own view here is identical with Gonzalez's, although I have used Smith's terms since they accurately reflect Carriacouan categories.

tinique, Carriacou, do not hold myself responsible for my wife Jane Doe Smith nor any debt or debts contracted by her as she is no longer under my care and protection. She left my home about eight months ago without my consent" (West Indian, December 16, 1970).

According to one informant the difficulty in obtaining a divorce is one reason some young people are reluctant to enter into marriage, defer it as long as possible, and engage in unions (such as friending or, rarely, keeping) short of marriage. Deferring marriage, from the man's point of view, allows time to migrate, to purchase land if necessary, and to build a house.

For married women, conjugal relationships are restricted exclusively to their husband. Said one informant: "Most women in Carriacou remain in their husband's house up to this time. Is true 'principles' of their own characters. Is not because the husband is very good to the wife. To 'cross' in a man's wife lawfully I would not." Principle is the Carriacouan term for the household duties a good wife is supposed to perform as well as a proper "wifely" character. Carriacouan girls are said to be very principled in comparison with women elsewhere.

Men often have conjugal relationships outside of marriage. They do not, however, consider themselves bad husbands unless they do not financially support their wives and attend to their household responsibilities. As one man put it, "As a matter of fact you could cross a woman once and she has a baby for you. Well, then, when I saw this happen to me personally . . . I went home I told my wife. After people started nagging at she and nagging at she she come and tell me, 'I hear you have a girl and son and you getting mad with me.'

"I told her, Yes. That's it. This girl is having a baby from me. What's about it? I say, I am working to mind you and you not working to mind me. What I really keep with my public change—I'm going to mind my child with it and don't you tell me anything about that no more.

"I say this: if the husband does not love he's wife [it is] because she could be poisoning the girl friend" [refers to using magic or obeah against the girl friend].

According to custom, the man hands over a portion of his earnings or savings to his wife who in turn is responsible for household expenses. This is her "house money." The man keeps a portion, the "public change," from which he is to provide for his outside children—those by his girl friend or girl friends who live in her household. It is his duty to see that they are provided for even though he and his girl friend may have discontinued their relationship. But one can see

TABLE 25
Island Sample (1953): All Adult Household Members Classified by Age, Sex, Marital Condition, and Parental Status

Type[a]	Under 25		25-39		40-54		55-60		Over 70		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
A	10	–	15	7	1	9	1	8	–	3	27	27
B	62	87	2	16	1	9	–	6	–	–	65	118
C	3	11	11	23	1	18	–	9	–	4	15	65
D	1	1	3	6	2	1	1	1	–	–	7	9
E	1	7	20	39	35	36	19	28	9	5	84	115
F	–	–	–	–	1	9	2	34	4	16	7	59
Total	77	106	51	91	41	82	23	86	13	28	205	393

[a]Marital condition and parental status: A. Single, otherwise not known; B. Single, childless; C. Single, parents; D. Consensually wed, widowed, or separated; E. Married in 1953; F. Widowed after being legally married.

Source: based on Smith, 1962a, p. 178.

Note: In terms of our definitions of the three mating types, "single parents" represent friending unions. The "consensually wed" category refers to all keeping unions, including those in which one of the partners has died or where the partners have separated. These data illustrate the patterning of the Carriacouan mating system for the year 1953.

that the prime responsibility is to his wife and their "home children." Because of this, a girl friend and her children usually receive less monetary support than the wife and her children.

This differentiation is at the basis of the distinction between households containing a husband-father or, by extension, a husband-father who is working abroad and those that do not. The former is more important in the maintenance of the patrilineage. The latter more often tends to be associated with the matrilineal blood (see Chapter 8). Some Carriacouan household units have the appearance of being incipient non-unilinear descent groups, especially households where matrilineal descent is stressed in one generation and patrilineal descent is stressed in the next (terminology from Gonzalez, 1969, p. 87ff). Marriage, in certain respects, tends to be more conducive to culture change, such as living in more modern housing, while friending tends, de facto, to rely on traditional technologies. This is because a man will spend more of his money to build his (and his wife's) house than he will on his girl friend's house. Sometimes she will build the house herself of wattle-and-daub (formerly) or he will help her build a "wood house" from available lumber.

When a husband migrates he expects his wife to remain faithful and not to be disappointed if he returns without money. Speaking of Petite Martinique Martin Clement (MS, p. 132) said: "The husbands go away to sea for six, seven and 12 months. Very often they return with sums of money and other times they bring no money but their bodies. The wives do not show any strange faces in such sad cases neither do they quarrel and chase the husbands away but they welcome them with open arms and kisses. The wives are fully aware of the unstable economy and so are very thrifty. Every husband sends his earnings to his wife because he knows that she is capable of taking care of it. A wife who spends her husband's or son's money lavishly is considered a squanderer and is looked down upon by the community."

One recourse for a woman whose husband is away for a long period is to become a "zami" or madivine. Zamis are lesbians and are said by male informants to be mostly married women whose husbands have been abroad many years. One informant claimed that virtually every wife whose husband had been gone several years or more is a zami. The truth of this assertion is not proved, although Smith has noted the prevalence of lesbianism among such women. He stated that they exchange gifts and that the wife of a prosperous man may have several partners. The following (1962, pp. 200-201) is one case Smith reported: "A rich man's wife had an attractive female partner. The wife rejected her husband's attentions, and he then made advances to her Lesbian mate. Being well off, he left his wife, acquired another home, and moved there with his wife's concubine. After the latter's death, he mated extra-residentially with yet another attractive young Lesbian whose father's grave he obligingly tombed and to whom he gave a house near his own, but during the man's frequent absence abroad the young woman resumed relations with other madivines, although her mother tried to control her. The man's wife lost some of her influence with younger women in consequence of his withdrawal of economic support. Poorer men who cannot discredit their wives in this fashion may be sexually insecure if they have been abroad too long. They may also seek to excuse their absence and justify their actions by reference to these Lesbian practices."

Lesbianism is induced both by the cultural norm, which dictates that women must remain faithful to their husbands, and the removal of the husbands through migration (Smith, 1962, p. 200): "In effect, Carricou Lesbianism is a form of deviance stimulated by the island culture and partially institutionalised in it; its existence demonstrates the remarkable constraint imposed on women by the mating system. The fidelity of Carriacou wives is the pride of their men and the puzzle of nearby Grenadians: but the Lesbianism which has developed in this context is not well known abroad. We have here a neat example of the way in which a culture and society may promote abnormalities among normal folk; and some knowledge of these abnormalities is necessary for a full understanding of this complex mating organisation, which is permissive to males, restrictive to females."

The seeming greater frequency of lesbianism among women who are separated from their husbands indicates the validity of Smith's explanation. I would not, however, call lesbianism "a form of deviance" and an "abnormalit(y)," from

the Carriacouan point of view. Quite the contrary, a discreet homosexual relationship is more acceptable than a liaison between a married woman and a male lover. While a man is abroad he does not want his wife to have a boy friend, so he accepts lesbianism as the logical consequence of his wife's abstinence from sexual contact with males. When he returns from abroad it is said to be difficult for him to regain his wife's sexual favors. He must therefore permit his wife to remain a zami, hoping that she will become bisexual.

These beliefs and practices about lesbianism act to rationalize the sexual double standard for men. For some men, beliefs about lesbianism may indicate a distrust of women. One response Smith elicited from informants–that "women are 'hotter' than men" (1962a, p. 199), i.e., have stronger sexual desires–was noted by me also. One man believed that women get the drive to become zami from their mother's blood.

Informants say it is very easy for women to become madivine as people are not normally suspicious when they see two women walking down the road together. Women can meet while washing clothes, drawing water, or while cooking in their yard; or on any occasion when they would normally find themselves together. Finally, the same male sources state that if a woman does not marry by the age of 25 it is likely that she will become zami. This contention seems overstated.

Smith reported that "There is no male counterpart to female homosexuality in Carriacou" (1962a, p. 200). Certainly the demographic features favor female and not male homosexuality. In the early 1970s two male homosexuals lived in Hillsborough, both of whom were Grenadian. Carriacou men thought their behavior amusing. The homosexuals were reported to seduce teenagers who were paid. These young people were not considered homosexual. With the exception of these two individuals and their partners no other male homosexuality in Carriacou was encountered.

Legitimacy, Mating Patterns, and Migration

The influence of heavy male migration and the concomitant marriage and friending mating relationships are expressed in the island's legitimacy rates (Hill, 1973, pp. 331-337, p. 361). By the late nineteenth century long-term male migration had become a distinctive feature of the demography of Carriacou. Since that time there has been roughly two adult women for every man on the island. At this same time the present-day value of compulsory marriage for men was taking shape. Thus, approximately one-half the children are not legitimate, being born to unmarried women.

Although the legitimacy rate has varied widely, depending on the number of men who migrated in any given year (from 33 percent to 71 percent), the average legitimacy rate for available years since 1866 (and every year but one since 1921) has been 52 percent. Since 1956 the rate has been 53 percent. This reflects a stable structural principle.[1]

Friending and Keeping

For men, friending is the usual complement to marriage; for many women, it is an alternative to marriage that provides an opportunity to maintain a household with some male economic support. A girl friend's house is in a different part of the community or in a different village from that of her mate. The wife and girl friend normally do not meet and the former is not supposed to know much about the activities of the latter. However, two households with which I was familiar contained members whose mating practices differed from these ideals. Carriacouans say it is unthinkable for a wife and a girl friend to share a mate's yard and work together, but I discovered one instance where this occurred (see Chapter 7). In another case, a wife asked that her husband build a room adjoining their kitchen for his girl friend. Both the main house, where the husband and wife reside, and the girl friend's room face a single yard. The girl friend had several children by other men before becoming the mate of the husband. She helped out with house and yard duties but usually stayed out of the main house. When the wife migrated to Grenada to work this girl friend became the senior woman of the household but continued to live in her

[1]It should be noted that this explanation for a stable rate of high "illegitimacy" contrasts sharply with the usual sociological explanations (e.g., lack of church influence, imperfect acculturation to "middle class values," "loose" morality).

room. The husband had children by both women but the wife's children had migrated, whereas most of the girl friend's children were living in her house or the husband's. One of the married couple's children, a daughter, married a Grenadian and they lived in the main house for a time before they returned to Grenada. What distinguishes this relationship from other forms of polygyny is the duality of Carriacou's social organization. Metropolitan civil law and the churches forbid polygyny. The folk society encourages a modified form of polygyny in which the wife and girl friend normally maintain separate households but may share yard duties on occasion as occurs in the above examples.

These cases, therefore, cannot be dismissed. They represent alternatives that may once have been more prevalent. It is not known if lesbianism was practiced in the above examples. This would help explain the lack of friction between the two sets of women. For now, however, we are interested in extra-residential mating as a complement to marriage.

Whereas marriage is, customarily, a life-long commitment, extra-residential relationships are often temporary and allow a woman to have several mates in succession. Normally her children reside in her home and her mate is a guest in this home. If she is young and her mate is not married or lacks the funds for marriage, she may enter into a keeping relationship with him, hoping for eventual marriage. Economically she is dependent upon what gifts of money her mate or her father can furnish, or, if she is older, upon remittances from her children working abroad. In some cases she may be able to find employment as a domestic or roadworker, or maintain a shop. A few single women, with and without children, have done well with small businesses.

A girl friend is not supposed to have more than one mate at a time. If she does she may be considered a casual lover: "I will tell you why. She will cherish in her mind that you have your wife. 'This man has his wife. I am only receiving to be with him because he has his wife.' So this next fellow, he is a single man or he is a married man but she go in the car [with him]. [The second man] give she something. They you say, 'Oh, well, I am not accustomed with this one—it's only two dollars.' " The man can break off a relationship with a girl friend if the latter is unfaithful and begins to receive money from a second man.

Both friending and casual affairs are distinguished from prostitution: "Economic transactions between casual lovers . . . differ from those between extra-residential mates. This difference is summarized by 'the principle' under which men from time to time make cash gifts to casual lovers. The principle does not operate in strictly commercial relations, which are described as 'paid-for-times,' or in extra-residential mating, which involves transfers of labour and goods as well as cash . . ." (Smith, 1962a, p. 222).

In keeping, the man lives in the woman's house and on her land. I came across six instances of keeping in 1970, although there were, no doubt, cases I did not encounter. Its frequency, compared with marriage and friending, is very low. Of the six, three were couples 65 years or older. Of these, one married while I was in Carriacou and another couple had been previously married to other mates who had died. By church law they could not marry again. The remaining three cases of keeping include one couple in their early 20s who lived in their shop. They were said to be the only couple keeping in their village. In the remaining cases of keeping the couples maintained the fiction that they were friending.

A man cannot maintain both a keeper and a girl friend since he would always be a guest in the woman's house, a socially unacceptable position for an adult male (e.g., he should have a house of his own or, if he is keeping, working toward marriage and his own house).[1] Nor, of course, can a man maintain a wife and a keeper: he cannot live in two places at once. He cannot maintain full

[1]Before emancipation and before marriage became the rule for adult men, keeping and friending or their equivalents may have both been permissible for a man in much the same way that marriage and friending are today. This relationship may have been much the same as the examples already described of the wife and girl friend sharing a yard (in one case living in different houses facing the same yard) and household duties. Marriage, encouraged by both the metropolitan government and the church, apparently gained favor even before emancipation. But with the seasonal migration of the nineteenth century and the lack of a large amount

household obligations for two women only one of whom is sanctioned by the church and state. But, as long as a husband demonstrates that his primary responsibility is to his wife, he may support a girl friend who lives in her own house.

Carriacouan women do not take readily to prostitution nor are many said to be found on the island: "Well, now, anything worse than a keeper in the shape of a woman? Well, now, I wouldn't call a keeper a prostitute. No, I would not say. I think that's the worse."

Carriacouan men compare their women favorably to foreigners, particularly Grenadian women: "Most of them live in their own homes [Carriacouan women]. They work their own piece of land, don't care how small it is. But you see much like Grenada—I would not like to mention it because this is a tape recording; I wouldn't like to go that far. But not Carriacou!" Although not explicit, the message is clear.

Most Carriacouans state that foreigners—other West Indians who immigrate to the island—want to marry Carriacouan women. Carriacouan men, however, do not want to marry foreign women. This is because of the principle of the Carriacouan women, their ability to maintain the household, and their faithfulness during the long absence of a husband. Marriage with a foreign woman may also preclude a return to the island. Informants mentioned instances of foreign women being unsatisfied with Carriacou and returning home with their Carriacouan husbands. The strong familial bonds also contribute to the making of a marriage with a woman from Carriacou. Martin Clement (MS), himself from Petite Martinique, said: "The islanders seldom marry strangers for various reasons. Sometimes they are given aid by friends and relatives in order to go to foreign countries. Well, they may be unmarried people and to compensate for such kindness instead of marrying foreigners they send for such people's daughters . . . to marry. Another reason . . . is that they claim that . . . natives have full knowledge of the hard life so they stick to one another whatever happens, whereas a foreigner would not. Or perhaps they return after some years. But during those years abroad their goal was to accumulate wealth to come back to settle down or to help others that were left behind. Hence there is no thought of marriage until they return."

Residence Rules: Marriage and Friending

In 1953 Smith discovered that married couples lived in different sorts of houses from those of unmarried women and their dependents. Writing in 1971 (p. 130) but referring to his research in 1953 he reported that: "Women's houses . . . are (or were) one-roomed thatch-covered structures of daub-and-wattle built for and owned by the women who lived in them with or without their male partners and children. In Carriacou such units were described synonymously as 'dirt houses' or 'women's houses' since men would neither build them for themselves or own them. Indeed, those men who lived in such houses thereby identified themselves as social failures. At the same time, it was virtually taboo for women to cohabit consensually with unmarried men in houses of wood, concrete or stone, whoever owned them. Thus females living in such unions had no need to fear eviction, as most consensual cohabitations took place in 'women's houses'."

This distinction has existed because of Carriacou's mating patterns. Upon marriage, a man is expected to build a house for his wife. His other financial obligations, in order of importance, are to his mother if she is in need, his children by his girl friend, and finally, to his girl friend. This order of priorities virtually dictates that girl friends build their own houses or that such houses be built by their kin or with the labor and some financial assistance of their boy friends. In the early 1950s this meant that the families of married men lived in wood or cement houses and unmarried women lived in wattle-and-daub houses. Today, a married man's family lives in a wooden house with several room additions, a cement house, or a prefabricated, imported wood house. An unmarried woman with her children and mother may live in a wooden house without

of money which more permanent migration allows, marriage and keeping probably co-existed. The people realized that keepers wanted to marry, but since most people couldn't afford the land and the expense of the ceremony, not every cohabitating couple may have been expected to marry.

additions, or, very rarely, a wattle-and-daub house (only a few remain on the island).

Thus, the pattern is unchanged. It is a neat illustration of the mating system and, by extension, the unusual demographic realities of adulthood in Carriacou, and the priorities that govern utilization of capital, usually income earned abroad, for building houses.

The Arrangement of Marriage and Engagement

In 1953 marriages arranged by parents or matchmakers were on the decline (Smith, 1962a, p. 110).[1] But today marriage arrangements for young male migrants have increased, as one scholarly Carriacouan informed me: "You're in England. Now in most cases the mother would write to the son and say, 'You're a big man now and I think you should have a wife. Things might be better off for you and marriage would be the best thing for you.' The mother might say, 'Well, Mr. X has a daughter and she would make a good partner for you I think.'

"Sometimes he may write to the daughter directly or he may write to his mother and ask her to see Mr. X and tell him that he likes his daughter. There would be no contact between them yet. Then Mr. X would tell his daughter that there was such a man in England interested in her and that she would have to behave herself."

Children are more independent today and sometimes arrangements do not work out: "I'll give you an example of where such a marriage is arranged. The boy's mother and father saw this girl, I believe, even before the boy expressed a desire to get married and said that this girl would be just the ideal girl for him. Now the girl wanted to get away from Carriacou and the easiest way is to get to England. She didn't like the boy but wouldn't say this. Her parents liked her for the boy and felt like the boy had some money or he could make some money and he would just be the right thing.

"So they arranged then that [as] the girl doesn't have any relatives in England she may have to live with the fellow before they get married. In this particular case the girl saw the guy for two weeks and then she quit. The fellow's money was involved. He paid her passage to go to England. So I think the girl decided to work and pay him back. I think she had brothers there also. I think they didn't like that in the beginning but they'd have to respect her wish. So she'd get a job and then she'd go out with somebody else. He could be from Carriacou or anywhere else. . . ."

Most arrangements, however, do not fail once they have proceeded this far. Many are initiated by the man, requesting that his mother, other kin, or friend select a bride for him:

Dear Mom:

My plan was to marry at the age of 25 years which have come and gone 3 months ago. My reason was for not being able to marry before is that up to now I cannot find the right girl. I don't like the life of the girls in Bermuda. I think you know the girls in the neighborhood fairly well. So I give you the permission to choose a very attractive girl with the very good character who you think can be a very good wife. I guess you would pick your best choice with all the requirements needed to make a good wife. I think it is time for me to pick up the responsibilities of the man. Trust you would do a good job by choosing among all the girls of your choice.

The letter below is a request from a man in England to take up a keeping relationship with a girl from Carriacou:

Dear Mr. and Mrs. X:

For some time I have been admiring you all daughter and had the opportunity to talk to her expressing my interest of affection towards her ways and beauty and attraction. She gave me great consent to address you all in order to have she in my possession—through your permission. I am not a rich man as I already told her but have sufficient to make her feel comfortable. I am a teacher at the drama school in Huddersfield for over 10 years. During which time I save my earnings in order to make someone who I think is Miss X very happy. I had 3 girl friends before but because I have learnt that they are not under

[1]Formerly migration affected the length of betrothal: "During the early migrating days betrothal was interrupted. Women waited for very long periods on their beloved, some of which never returned. I was told by a woman that she awaited her intended husband for six long years. In those days prospective daughter-in-laws [*sic*] performed domestic chores at the homes of their in-laws." (David, MS, p. 70)

strick parents control I change my mind. I also learn very much about Miss X whom I then decided to consider as my future partner or match. With your permission I would do business immediately.

It appears that this man is not a Carriacouan. His chances to get permission from the girl's parents are not good. It is possible that if the girl has a good job and is economically independent she could go against her parents' wishes. What the parents would be interested in is a continued flow of remittances from the girl or, if she is married, from her mate. They would of course want the man to be able to support her also. But if she "keeps" instead of marrying there is no guarantee that the man's loyalties would extend to them or that he would really support her either–he has had three girl friends already (keepers).

It is advantageous, on the other hand, for immigrants in England to have children born in that country. This makes it much easier to stay (it is now easier to get dependents into England than it is to seek employment there for the first time). In the United States the situation is roughly similar with respect to this point. It is said that some Carriacouans marry an individual born in the United States of Carriacouan parents so that visa requirements will be less stringent.

Locally arranged marriages come about in this way, according to one informant:

Previously as a young man you'd be always subjected to your father regardless of whether you were married or unmarried and before you were married you'd work and you'd be saving your money–you wouldn't have access to your money. If you received your wage you'd have to take it to your father and he would decide how much he would give you or how much you should spend and how much he should keep for you.

Now, you see a girl with whom you'd like to get married. You'd go and say, "I'd like to get married to Miss X."

He may say, "Well, I think it's time for you to get married," providing the girl is suitable and up to his standards. One of the parents would go [to] the girl's people and say, "My son says he likes your daughter," and then the son might start seeing the girl at the parents' home within a certain time.

All the time things have been in writing and you have to write home first of all for the girl. You have to ask for permission to court the girl. Her father might want to know what your intention is. He might say that he'd like [you] to marry her a few years from now. You would go visit her at her home, after getting the father's permission, and sit and talk for a couple of hours between five and six. The parents might be sitting there and you might have to talk at dinner.

When the time limit is up then you have to give a date for marriage. When you have been courting a girl for a long time and you haven't made a statement about your intentions you would be asked, "What's your position?" Then you go to your parents and you tell them that you have told Mr. X that you'd like to get married and your parents start making all necessary preparations.

This hasn't entirely died out ... The part that the man's parents plays in the arrangement of the marriage–it's still prevalent–because they would be handling most of the arrangements. You'd like your parents and in-laws to be on good terms. So you'd ask your parents to go over and see the girl's parents. Now, the choice is up to the people themselves who they marry.

Whether the choice of partners is left to the couple or to their parents, a very important part in most marriage arrangements is the engagement letter.[1]

Dear Mrs. S:

Since I was at school together with your daughter I had the special feeling which had developed very deeply for her. I explained myself truthfully to her and she gave me consent to let you know my interest and intention about her. I have a permanent job as clerk at the store in Hillsborough, Carriacou. I am receiving a very good salary which would be able to purchase us happiness. For some 5 years I have been servicing this branch and are expected to become assistant manager soon. I have already purchase a piece of land to build the house with all modern facilities. With your consent nothing would prevent us from joining in matrimony. Hoping to make your one and only daughter the happiest woman in the world.

[1]Smith (1962a, p. 107) quoted another engagement letter in Carriacou. For Trinidad and elsewhere in the Caribbean see Rodman, 1971, pp. 111-123.

This letter is a good example of the principles we have been discussing. The man has his land and intends to build a house. He mentions marriage, not keeping. The only drawback is his lack of intention to migrate. This is partly overcome since the man has good employment. His salary as a clerk would not be high but if he were to become assistant manager it would show a marked increase. The girl's mother may wish to defer the marriage until his new position is assured. She would certainly insist that the house be built.

Clement (MS, p. 84) said once an engagement is set, this process ensues: "Uncles, aunts and other relatives are informed by word of mouth and the marriages are arranged. The girls are engaged and the mothers or some of the older heads carry the engagement rings. The men are then free to take the girls out because whatever happens, except death, the parents will see to it that the promises are fulfilled. In rare cases engagements break up, and when they do the community looks on such defaulting parties as rascals. If the engagement matures the Roman Catholic priest or the Anglican minister is consulted as the case may be to fix the date for the wedding. If it is a mixed marriage, that is if the girl is a non-Catholic and the man a Catholic she automatically becomes a Catholic after going through the laws of the Roman Catholic church because the mother is still a Catholic."

Clement wrote chiefly of his native island, Petite Martinique. On Carriacou, except perhaps in Windward, there is less concern over marriage between Catholics and Anglicans.

Once the engagement[1] is finalized, the marriage date is published in the church banns and is registered by the government:

Registrars Office District of Carriacou

Notice has this day been received at this office of a marriage intended to [be] solemnized between the following persons, that is to say:

Name and Surname	Condition	Calling	Residence
John Doe	bachelor	mason	Bogles
Jane Smith	spinster	domestic	Prospect Hall

All objectives to a certificate being granted authorizing the celebration of this marriage must be lodged within seven days from this date by the objector who must appear in person to declare the truth thereof.

THE WEDDING CEREMONY

With the exception of death rituals, a wedding is the most complex rite of passage in Carriacou. The full elaboration of wedding customs occurs only when the marriage represents the couple's first prolonged mating experience. Two weeks before the wedding the couple buys some of the household supplies needed for their new home. If the man is a returned migrant or has enough money he will have purchased land and built a house. If not, as seems to be happening with more frequency in the 1970s, his father may build his house and help in purchasing furniture and other large household items. The bride's father or family may also help. Smith (1962a, p. 123) reported that for 1953 "provisions of these marriage requirements [are] perhaps the chief reason for male emigration, and emigrants will not usually return to settle until they can buy them." Marriage expenses are still an important stimulus though not the essential motivation for emigration. (I suspect economic survival has always been the major motive for migration.)

A week or two before the wedding, invitations are sent to kinsmen and friends. Earlier, important kinsmen overseas are contacted and sometimes asked to return or to send money. At the bride's and groom's family houses and at the houses of other kinsmen red flags are flown to indicate there is a wedding. Today when there are many weddings between Carriacouans abroad, fetes are sometimes held to mark the event. In November, 1970 I attended a Quadrille dance in Belmont village which was held on the occasion of a son's marriage in England. Another dance was held later at the bride's family house.

A few days before the wedding people begin to send gifts. These range from "wares" (plates,

[1]Smith approached engagement from the point of view of the alternative choices open to young women. The reader is referred to his account as a balance to the largely male-oriented description here (1962a, pp. 105-122).

pots, and pans) to chickens or larger animals to be used in the fetes to come. At this time, "the couple . . . visits the older heads in the village and are given certain advice about married life especially if they want it to be a success" (M. Clement, MS, p. 85).

Weddings are held in the dry season but are rare in Lent and take place most often on Tuesday, Thursday, or Sunday.[1] "Now when a wedding is to take place on a Tuesday a 'salaca' or parents plate is made at the boy's home on Saturday as a form of tradition, especially if the year's crop was a success." Sometimes the Parents' Plate is set two days before the wedding and a fete is held with the Big Drum: "People still have the Big Drum dance before wedding. Many people make the parents' plate two days before or two days after the wedding. The night [of] the plate they beat drums, dance, and sing song from which tribe they derive. This would end on the morning of the following day. After this Big Drum dance they will remove the food from the table and distribute it to the children and their neighbors," (Dick, personal commun.). Martin Clement (MS, pp. 85-87) described such a pre-wedding fete at the groom's house.[2]

Crowds gather at this home from all parts of the island and bring with them gifts as was mentioned before. Corn, peas, groundnuts, ochroes, and liquor are packed in each basket as the case may be. The helpers begin this day's fete with a drink normally called wetting the ground. Different jobs are allotted to each individual. Some feather the fowls, some grind the corn and others kill the sheep, goats and the pigs. All this time singing is going on to make the day lively. The food is cooked and shared. A special part is first taken out for the plate. The crowd eats and some food are sent to neighbors and relatives who could not come. Some are put aside for others who come during the night.

The plate is laid on a table usually in the bedroom and no one is allowed to touch it. The plate consists of all different dishes of food and fruits. Each person takes up a dish from outside and brings it in. This plate can only be 'broken' when night comes, and this is viewed with a bit of superstition. A girl who would like to get married soon will try to be the first to steal something from that table. Then the others follow and so the table is 'broken.' All this while a big drum dance is going on outside and round dance or modern dance is 'hot' inside, and the flags which were hoisted during the day flutter above their heads.

The Plate, Parents' Plate, Salaca, or Saraca is a sacrificial portion of food, drink, and cigarettes set aside for the Old Parents of the family—the dead ancestors. It is normally set in the late evening, a few hours before darkness. On some occasions when a Plate is set it may not be broken until morning, though Clement described a different pattern. Smith (1962, p. 125) also noted that when animals are slaughtered, the beast is sprinkled with rum and water, prayers for health, strength, peace, prosperity, and long life are said, and the Plate is then prepared. Here is one such prayer: "The first thing they say is: 'East, west, north and south.' Then they call the names of their old parents asking them to help them in their proceedings" (Dick, personal commun.). Smith (1962) goes on: "When this rite takes place in the context of the marriage ritual, a portion of the sacrificial meat is cooked at the site of the new house, the remainder being sent to the groom's father's house, where the main fete will be held. As this series of sacrifices takes place, the Big Drum moves with the assembly from house to house. . . . As always at a sacrifice, the beast and the four corners of the house are sprinkled with rum and water before the slaughter takes place on the doorstep." Once the celebration has centered itself at the groom's father's house, a full Big Drum dance is staged:

The leader of the singers, very often a woman starts with lively and spirited singing and the drums begin to beat. The multitudes gather leaving an open space called a ring for the dancers. As the drumming starts the father and mother of the boy enter the ring. The father holds a bottle of rum in one hand and a glass in the other. The mother holds a glass of water. As both dance around the ring the father pours rum into the

[1]Smith stated that most weddings are held on Thursdays (1962a, p. 24). Martin Clement writes that Tuesday is the most popular day (1963a, p. 85).

[2]For another description on the fete at the groom's house see Smith, 1962a, pp. 125-126.

glass and throws it on the ground as he goes. The mother follows throwing the water where the father has thrown rum. This is called wetting the ring. When this is finished they wheel each other and dance for some time. After dancing three sets the towels are thrown in the ring and members of the family enter the ring one by one and dance but very often the dancer is wheeled to his great surprise by a stranger. A joke is made of it as the relative has to come out and leave the stranger in the ring. Amid this drumming and singing you can hear loud applause of laughter. This goes on until morning sometimes. (M. Clement, MS, pp. 89-90.)

The first Big Drum dances are of the Nation or African tribe to which the groom's family belongs. In Carriacou most people consider themselves to be attached to a particular "tribe"—"Ibo," "Chamba," "Cromanti," and so on. The Nation is usually inherited from the father.

At a pre-wedding fete the Big Drum continues past midnight: "At midnight, when the ring must be 'wet' again, the drums play a song for the spirits who arrive at this time. The head of the house then dances his Nation again, and the dance proceeds as before . . ." (Smith, 1962a, p. 126.) Smith noted that the bride-to-be visits the groom's fete at about 9:00 P.M. She is entertained but is not allowed to see the groom in private. She may not engage in the Big Drum unless she is no longer a virgin but may if she has children and is in her "womanship."

Clement stated that secular music is played in the house while the Big Drum is taking place in the yard and Smith noted that various types of musical accompaniment existed as alternatives to the Big Drum in 1953—the bass and tambourine (the string band) in particular. Today the Trinidadian steel band is very popular but for some pre-wedding fetes a combo plays (electrified guitar, bass, piano-organ, and trap drums). Sometimes the Big Drum is dropped altogether. This is a very important change and amounts to secularization. When the Big Drum was the primary means of entertainment the sacred elements of the music, the traditional Big Drum songs, and the involvement of the ancestors, were inherently enmeshed with the secular. Participants in the Big Drum and to a large extent in the string band are made up of old heads. As newer forms of music replace the Big Drum, young adults more actively participate and the sacred elements are minimized.

The fete held at the bride's family house is similar to that given by the groom's parents. Although still held these pre-wedding festivities appear less frequently today than in 1953.

Before the wedding the new house for the couple is "dressed." Clement (MS, p. 90) said: "On Sunday people still come to help to prepare for the wedding ceremony. The intended home for the couple is dressed by helpers who are at the same time having a good time in drinking all sorts of liquor. As soon as one who is not concerned with the dressing of the house enters he or she cries 'hip hip.' The dressers answer 'hurray.' This is repeated three times. The house is then blessed by one of the ministers of religion, Catholic or Anglican. On Monday and on Tuesday the same salaca is made at the girl's home. But this time the dances seldom continue until morning" (Clement, MS, p. 90).

Next comes the wedding. The activities of the wedding day may be divided into three parts—the preparation of food and the joining of the two families in the morning, the church ceremony in the early afternoon (at about 2:00 P.M.), and the reception after the church rites at the bride's family house. The following description, unless otherwise stated, is of a wedding in L'Esterre in April, 1971.

In the morning at both the groom's family and bride's family houses, animals were butchered in a sacrifice. The head of each household blessed these sacrifices by wetting the ground in the usual fashion with rum, soda, and water. He asked the Old Parents for health, prosperity, and peace. The bride's father was a retired sea captain and an active shipwright. The groom's father had worked in Aruba. He built a house and shop for the couple in Harvey Vale. The groom, rather than seeking employment abroad, would stay in Carriacou and continue to drive a taxi while his wife would tend shop. Their shop and house, a single "wall" building, was built by the groom, his brother, and friends in a series of helpings. They would move into the house—the front room is the shop—after the wedding.

By 10:30 A.M. food was being prepared in the houses of the two families. At the bride's home

in L'Esterre tables for the reception had been put up in the yard, covered by a sail hung on bamboo poles to protect them from the rain. Two coconut palm arches had already been built and set in place, one at the head of a trail alongside the road, the other where the trail enters the yard. About 25 people were working or watching. Women cooked with the help of girls while the men waited on the roadside anticipating the arrival of the groom's family for the joining. Several brief showers had interrupted the preparations and the father of the bride wondered why the groom's family had not arrived with more food and drink. A messenger was sent to see about the delay.

At the groom's house in Harvey Vale the preparations were going slowly and it was clear that the joining would not take place until afternoon. At 1:30 P.M. musicians gathered on the road near the groom's family house, awaiting the bus to take them and the groom's family to L'Esterre. A truck was loaded with food, soft drinks, and liquor and sent to L'Esterre also. The truck proceeded directly to the bride's home while the bus carrying the family and the flag (marked "unity") stopped at the L'Esterre "cross" for the joining.

About 50 people left the road above the bride's house to meet the groom's family. They were led by the bride's father (carrying soda, scotch, and a glass for wetting the ground), the bride's mother, a man carrying the bride's flag (marked "In God we Trust PUP"—i.e., peace, unity, prosperity), and three musicians (a "bass," violin, and tambourine). Women carried sprays of bush in their hands, shaking them at anyone in their path. Some men and women doused others with perfumed water while others threw rice or white talc (fig. 21). Many were singing: "Open la da me way day" and "Bam bam, we want to solder, oui Ton Ton eh" (Yes, we want to hit the groom's father's butt!).[1]

At the L'Esterre cross the two family groups met and formed the ring which the bride's father wet with the soda and scotch he had been carrying. The women continued singing, people were sprayed with perfume and powder, and young people looked on as the two flag bearers clashed in the ring. Each man was in his sixties or older, each an expert at "fighting the flags." As the bearer of the groom's flag entered the ring the man with the bride's flag, in a mocking gesture, turned his behind toward the other fighter and pointed to it, daring the other to hit him with the flag. Sometimes standing apart eyeing each other, sometimes making threatening gestures with the flags, the two fought and, as always is the case, the groom's flag "defeated" the bride's flag by crossing over on top of it, forcing the bearer to his knees and the flag to the ground. The groom's flag was then placed on top of the other in triumph: "The person who controls the groom's flag takes care in keeping it above the bride's flag to show that the groom will lead the house . . . Sometimes a party tries to tramp upon the flag of the other party and confusion arises because of superstitions based on the importance of the flag. Sometimes the bride's mother stoops and kisses the feet of the groom's mother. This is done to show submission since the groom is more important on such an occasion." (David, MS, p. 69.)

Sometimes "dancing the cakes" takes place before or during the flag fighting. In his MS, p. 92, Clement said: "The two bands meet and they dance the flags and cakes together. The people of the opposite families dance with each other which signifies a form of unity or union or joining. Loud applauses [*sic*] of joy are made and they proceed to the girl's home where the reception will be held." At this wedding dancing the cake occurred after the families, already joined, had left the cross and returned to the bride's house. More than 150 people either took an active part or watched as the musicians struck up a tune for the old women who specialize in dancing the cake. Next to one of the arches they danced with the cake balanced on their heads or held in their hands. The bride's cake was smaller than the groom's. There was a great deal of mock sexual play, much to the onlookers' amusement, as the women thrust the groom's cake rapidly at the bride's dancer who, with the cake on her head, shook her hips back and forth.

When the dancing ended, the families proceeded under the arches into the yard and the

[1]Describing a joining in 1953 Smith mentioned a similar song, "Prepare for me, we goin' solder X's bam-bam," (1962a, p. 127).

FIGS. 21, 22. 21. Families meet and throw talc and perfume in the air at a joining. L'Esterre, April 25, 1971. 22. Catholic wedding ceremony. Hillsborough, April 25, 1971.

flags were set in position on one corner of the roof. The bride's mother met the groom's mother on the street before crossing under the arches. Formerly this procedure, according to Smith (1962a, p. 128), was more elaborate: "As the groom's flag is carried into the bride's home, the two mothers meet ceremonially in the yard, the bride's mother kneeling before the groom's to

demonstrate that the groom has honoured the bride and will now 'rule' her. The groom's mother may order that her feet be wiped with a towel by the bride's mother. ... When the groom's mother has lifted her up, the bride's mother will kiss her, powder her face and hands, and then do likewise to all the women in the groom's procession. She then directs the party to the place prepared for them in her home, and the two groups separate to prepare their parts of the feast with dispatch."

At 2:45 P.M. the wedding party had met at the church. The bride wore a white lace dress with a hooped skirt, veil, tiara, and gloves; she carried a spray of flowers. The groom wore a dark suit, white gloves, and a bow tie. The "father-giver" (best man), "mother-giver" (maid of honor), several sets of "conductors" (peers of the groom and their female escorts), paternal relatives, flower girls, and interested spectators completed the wedding party. Taxis took the party to and from the church but occasionally, particularly in Windward and Petite Martinique, musicians accompany the couple to and from the church. It is very rare for the church ceremony to be as heavily attended as the reception.

During the ceremony the bride and groom sit in wooden chairs facing the altar and the priest (fig. 22). On either side in the pews sit the families of the bride and groom, the conductors, and the ladies they escorted. Upon completion of the ceremony, the priest leads the couple, the father-giver, and the mother-giver to the registry to sign the wedding book.

A fleet of six taxis returned the party to the reception. Rather than head straight to L'Esterre they drove through Hillsborough and around part of the island, honking their horns. Some people on the streets stopped to watch them pass, commenting: "There's a wedding in truth? Who marry?" But most people know of the event beforehand.

In Petite Martinique, Clement (MS, p. 92) said: "Few people work on that day because the other villagers are all out for feting, and at the wedding they have an opportunity of organising a form of group work which would eventually be better for them because they realise that the work a group of four men would do in one day takes one man not four days but about eight to twelve days." Fifteen minutes after departing the church the party arrived at the bride's family house, making its entrance into the yard through the two coconut palm and flower arches, preceded by the string band. They were greeted by the parents who offered drinks, first to the couple and then to the father-giver and mother-giver. Some people threw rice as the couple entered the yard and then sat down at one end of the reception table, next to the cake.

This phase of the celebration is less elaborate than it once was (Smith, 1962a, p. 129): "On arrival, they find an arch lined with flowers over the pathway to the girl's home. At this arch both fathers greet them ceremonially, dancing towards them to the music of bass and tambourine, and lead them into the yard with linked arms. No precedence such as marked the greeting of the couple's mothers holds between the fathers. Within the yard the two old men continue dancing, and each approaches the couple in turn, wiping their faces with a kerchief, kissing them, scattering scent over them both, and concluding the dance by pressing an envelope of money in their hands. If either father wishes to make a speech while greeting the newlyweds, he interrupts the dance to say a few words in praise of their past behavior. The mothers then take up the dance, without sign of precedence. After this dance is over, the groom's mother takes the bride by her arm, the bride's mother joins arms with the groom, and the young couple are led to the head of a long table, opposite the father-and-mother-giver. The couple's parents then withdraw leaving the father-giver to direct the proceedings."

The dancing and the speech by the fathers were missing from this wedding, but they are still occasionally practiced.[1]

After the entry into the yard the couple was seated at one end of the table, the father-giver and mother-giver at the other. In this case the master-of-ceremonies was not the father-giver. He introduced the priest who blessed the table and prayed for the happiness of the couple. Then the

[1]It is possible that Smith was giving an account of an ideal wedding, based largely on informants' conversations. If this is the case there may not be as much change as it would appear as informants today give accounts similar to this passage, although most weddings do not contain *all* the elements described.

master-of-ceremonies said: "I now have the pleasure of proclaiming this table open. Should anyone wish to say anything on behalf of the bride and the groom he can do so now. Since we have a best man he should start the speech." There was much noise while both the priest and the master-of-ceremonies spoke. The father-giver's "toast" was not audible except to those seated next to him. The master-of-ceremonies called for order several times during the toast but to little avail. After one further toast he proclaimed the table closed because of the noise. The fete continued with the roar of the steel band.

Toasts are considered one of the most entertaining aspects of weddings by Carriacouans and are talked about by friends of the couple for many days. Both Smith and Clement stated that toasts are made by men. However, a woman, especially if she had primary responsibility in rearing the groom, can make the toast. Here is one example of the latter: "Ladies, gents, bride and bridegroom, particularly to the groom. At this hallowed moment you should begin to develop a new spirit and faith towards the future. You have married because you wants to change in life and the full responsibilities of the man. Life would not remain the same always. It is expected that life would be very good at times and could be very bad at times. Two wrong cannot make a right. Avoid unnecessary 'confusion' between your wife and try to settle matters by you all self. Try to be a good husband to your wife and you the bride try to be a good wife and take up your responsibilities in the right manner. Set example for others to follow. With my fullest pleasure and opportunity to wish you all the best of luck to the future. Thank you ladies and gentlemen for your attention."

Toasts are not always so serious and those by the father-giver can take on a ribald flavor.

After the master of ceremonies closed the table, the couple stuck the cake. The women in attendance did not sing this time, as is normally the custom; instead the steel and string bands played. Often sticking the cake is preceded by dancing the cake, but not on this occasion. We have, however, Martin Clement's description (MS, pp. 94-95) of this event: "A marching form of music is played and the cakes are danced with the hands. These cakes are tall cakes specially made for the bride and bridegroom. After dancing them round and round the table by each individual, the bride and the bridegroom keep one and the other is kept by two other persons who are appointed to stick the cake."

At sticking the cake a young man is given a knife and a young woman is given a fork to cut the cake. After they have completed this task the groom cuts a piece of cake, aided by his bride, and they kiss each other as they eat it, a small bit at a time.

The reception continued into the night. The steel band played but Quadrille or Lancer's dances were not held. The couple left the reception for their new home in Harvey Vale.

For several days after the wedding relatives took over the cooking, cleaning, washing, and other chores for the bride. The second Sunday after the wedding the couple took Holy Communion at the church. This is called the "return thanks." Afterward there was a small fete in their home similar to other "tea masses" at which cakes and liquor are served.

This style of wedding is found in Carriacou, Petite Martinique, and in neighboring Union Island (Saunders).

CHANGES IN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WEDDING CEREMONY

We have gone into great detail in the description of the wedding in order to illustrate certain structural principles of the society. Smith (1962, p. 131) has summed up the importance of the wedding in this regard:

> Throughout this ritual cycle, the generations are kept apart. The post-nuptial fete belongs to the couple and their contemporaries, while the pre-nuptial sacrifices belong to the parental generation; in both events one generation is prominent while the other takes little part. The junior generation is charged with cutting the cake, but their seniors carry out the flag-fight, and the two groups only join in the ceremonial dance of the couple and their parents. There is an equally clear distinction between the church ritual and the ancestor cult. The juniors attend the former while the latter belongs to the "old heads." The principle of sex differentiation in role and status

and the more complex kinship principles in lineage, household, and family are also evident in the wedding cycle. Kinship forms and values are expressed by the distribution of the wedding cakes, in the flag-fight, and more purely in the two pre-nuptial sacrifices to the dead.

Thus, wedding rites integrate and dramatise differentiation by generation, sex, kinship, and ritual at the same time they mark the status transition of bride and groom and establish new kinship relations in culturally approved forms. Perhaps this explains why the bride's role varies with her maidenhood or maturity and why the groom's sacrifice varies according to whether or not he has built his house. The return thanks after the week's seclusion, concludes the "rite de passage" which began at the groom's pre-nuptial sacrifice. The ritual mobilises the kindred and ancestors of both parties to redefine their status. It restates and reinforces to the approved relations between the sexes on the one hand and between alternate generations on the other and employs the Christian and ancestor religions together to sanctify the union and bless the new household.

Smith's analysis is still sound today but must be modified somewhat.

Changes have occurred in the elaboration of ritual associated with the wedding and in the significance of the elders' participation in this ritual. Today there is less emphasis placed on the distinctions between generations and in the ritual control of the older generations, particularly as these distinctions are manifest in the ritualized kinship obligations of the old heads. Similarly, the authority of parents over the couple has weakened: there are fewer arranged marriages and those that occur do so at the instigation of a man who wants to marry. Furthermore, women have been migrating in greater numbers for jobs and have greater choice in prospective mates. Village endogamy, even in Windward and Petite Martinique, is less pronounced. This too is associated with the weakening of parental authority.

Today there are fewer pre-wedding fetes, the celebrations which emphasize the roles of the elders and ancestors. The fetes that are still held are increasingly secularized. For example, the Big Drum—with its combined sacred and secular emphasis—is less frequent. However, the heads of the bride's and groom's households continue to set the Parents' Plate. When a wedding occurs in England there is no opportunity for elders to control the event itself and for elder participation in the rituals. But at the same time they hold Quadrilles at home. At these dances few young people attend. The visit by the couple to the elders of the village is becoming less important. Finally, the pans of a steel band played by teenagers are replacing the string bands of the old heads.

At one wedding I attended, the joining and flag fight occurred almost as an afterthought and lasted but five minutes. At this wedding the only fete associated with the traditional ritual was the reception—there was no party at either of the family houses. On the other hand, the church ceremony was much larger than normal. The reception was held in a club owned by the groom's father and not at the bride's house. The two coconut palm arches were constructed where the couple was informally greeted by their parents and at the reception there was sticking the cake and toasts but no dancing the cake. Music at the reception was furnished by a combo and juke box.

Thus, the distinctions based on generation, sex, kinship, and ritual still exist but generational and ritual considerations have become less important, reducing the role of the elders and the ancestors. The sex and kinship distinctions have been modified to a lesser extent but even here there are changes. When the mothers of the bride and groom meet under the arches, they now simply kiss. The fading away of the flag fight also indicates a weakening of sex, generational, and ritual distinctions.

The Carriacouan wedding again illustrates the two sorts of influences on the island. The church ceremony was but a minor part of weddings in the past. Few people attended compared with the number who participated in the traditional ritual and fetes that preceded and followed the marriage ceremony. Yet this ceremony is absolutely essential as the stamp of approval from church and state. It is significant to note that in the "modern" wedding, which had a reception, a meager flag fight, and no traditional fetes, the marriage ceremony at the Hillsborough Anglican

Church was so well attended (more than 300 people) that everyone could not get inside. Thus, the metropolitan social organization, in this instance, is making its influence felt at the expense of the traditional social organization.

CHAPTER 7. THE CARRIACOUAN HOUSEHOLD[1]

THE POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE

Since 1837, females have outnumbered males in the total population, the latter constituting from 38 to 47 percent of the inhabitants (table 5). Since 1946, females over 25 years of age have outnumbered their male counterparts in ratios of up to four to one (table 26,B).

Although the rate of migration has varied in the past (table 2) until recently it has always resulted in this sexual imbalance. However, with changes in British immigration policy in 1962 the basic pattern of emigration has shifted markedly. Thus, in 1946 16.9 percent of the island population was between the ages of 15 and 24 years. In 1953 the figure was 17.6 percent and in 1960 it was 14.6 percent. In the early 1970s, however, this age group accounted for no fewer than 34.2 percent of the total population! People in their early twenties continue to migrate but in relation to other age groups this emigration has fallen sharply. In 1960 the zero to four age group accounted for 18.0 percent of the population but in the early 1970s it accounted for only 4.8 percent. This is partly due to a sharp drop in the birth rate (Appendix A) but it also indicates sending young children off the island. Today migrants who return on holiday often take babies or young children–their own or close kin–back to England or the United States with them. Male children now outnumber female children on the island (table 26,B) and for the first time since 1946 males outnumber females in the 15 to 25 years age group.

Between the ages of 15 and 39 years, the sexes today are nearly balanced. The age group from 25 to 39 years in particular reflects the changes in migration patterns. In 1946 there were 4.23 females per male on the island in this group, reflecting war-time and post-war male migration. With layoffs in Aruba and elsewhere over the next few years this figure dropped sharply, to 1.78 females per male. Emigration to England in the early 1960s once again increased the population imbalance (2.14 females per male). The recent surge in female migration, however, has dropped the ratio to 1.18 females per male. As R. Benjamin (personal commun.) put it, "When migration first started to England there weren't many women going but recently it has been much easier for women to go to England because there has been a shortage of nurses and they have been looking for girls."

If these trends continue–that is, if women migrate in large numbers, if the birth rate stays low or continues to fall, and if many children are sent abroad–it is apparent that male social dominance will be undermined and the mating system, perhaps, shattered as well. Men will no longer control the money supply and the balance between marriage and friending may be upset. The kinship system has already weakened (Chapter 8) and the ritual validation of the established order, based on the authority of the elders and ancestors, has diminished. Finally, women have usually inculcated children with the folk value system. The recent change in migration patterns is certain to affect the traditional socialization process. We shall now see how this demographic shift in migration is manifest in household size and composition.

PATTERNS IN HOUSEHOLD HEADSHIP

In order to use Smith's data (1962a, p. 245) on the Carriacouan household in comparison

[1]Since my primary objective in this chapter is to describe Carriacouan household types, I have not related the information presented here to the vast literature on Caribbean household organization. However, mention must be made of Gonzalez's (1969) analysis of the relationship between male migration and the female-centered household with a weak or no adult male role. Her analysis is not applicable to the Carriacouan situation since men–fathers, husbands, or boy friends–retain considerable influence even when not living with the household unit.

with recent data, we must define our terms similarly: "The household is a domestic unit. It may consist of a single individual but more commonly contains a group. Household members are those persons who share a dwelling, food, and supplies. The group generally functions as an economic unit for subsistence production; but its adult members may have individual incomes and expenditures, as well as separate occupations. Members of a household may sometimes sleep or eat in other homes, but they make their major domestic contributions to their own household and recognize common leadership or responsibilities within that unit."

I define a household as consisting of one or more individuals who work a yard and whose female members, if there are any, cook and work together. Both of these definitions conform to local circumstances.

Usually an adult male is the head of the household in which he resides, except if he lives in his mother's house or if he is keeping. Since many households contain no resident adult male, headship devolves upon the senior female. Usually, but not always, the head controls the money supply and has the final word on such domestic matters as the schooling of children, relationships with people outside the household, and ritual leadership. The household head is readily identified as such by the community.

Data was gathered by posing the question, "Who is the head of your household?" In 141 household samples[1] there were only nine instances of the interviewee's choice for household head not conforming strictly to the principles stated above. In all but two of these cases the household head lived with an elderly parent or grandparent who, it is likely, could no longer assume effective leadership. It should be noted, however, that such elders continue to exert considerable influence. In another case a man, 74 years old, living with his 67-year-old wife and four of their "grans," listed his wife as the household head. Yet he is in full possession of his mental faculties and is the wage earner—he worked in Aruba for 22 years and is now a mason and drummer. Therefore, it has been assumed for the purposes of the data analyzed here that he is the household head and that he misunderstood the question (possibly interpreting it in terms of who runs the day-to-day operations of the house, a female role in Carriacou). The final exception is a family consisting of a man, his wife, and two of their children. The daughter listed her mother as the household head. At the time of the interview the husband-father was an

TABLE 26
Population of Carriacou by Age Group and Female-Male Ratio for 1946, 1960, and 1970-1971

A. Composition of the population by age group (in percentage)

Age	1946	1953	1960	1970-71
0-4	14.6	14.4	18.0	4.8
5-14	30.1	28.1	32.2	20.7
15-24	16.9	17.6	14.6	34.2
25-39	12.4	13.7	9.6	10.5
40-54	12.3	11.8	10.8	9.8
55-69	9.1	10.5	9.4	10.9
70 & over	4.7	3.9	5.5	9.2
Total	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.1

B. Ratio of females per male

Age	1946	1953	1960	1970-71
0-4	1.04	1.17	0.96	0.57
5-14	1.02	0.99	0.98	0.79
15-24	1.65	1.38	1.50	0.94
25-39	4.23	1.78	2.14	1.18
40-54	3.09	2.00	2.40	2.75
55-69	2.53	3.74	2.15	1.17
70 & over	2.33	2.15	2.62	3.20
All Ages	1.65	1.47	1.38	1.13
N =	6767 (total pop.)	1040 (sample)	6958 (total pop.)	459 (sample)

Sources: 1946–Windward Islands Census, 1946, Vol. II, "Summary Tables" (includes Petite Martinique). 1953–based on Smith, 1962b, p. 52 (Carriacou sample). 1960–Windward Islands Census, 1960, Vol. II, "Summary Tables," Table 5A-2 (includes Petite Martinique). 1970-1971–questionnaire responses from 119 households in Carriacou. See Appendix B, questions 2, 3, and 15.

[1]Because some individuals did not answer all questions, in none of the tables is the full sample of 141 households represented.

alcoholic and bedridden.[1] He had spent a considerable time in hospitals in Carriacou and in Grenada. Nevertheless, he maintained his job in civil service and was the only wage earner. For this reason he has been listed as the household head.

Comparative data from 1953 and 1970-1971 show male household headship has increased, as has the average age of household heads (tables 27 and 28). Yet whereas 45.5 percent of all adult males 15 years or older were household heads in 1953 only 38.0 percent are household heads today (table 28). This reflects the increase in the percentage of adult males in the 15-24 age group, most of whom are not household heads. In spite of this change, the data, although collected almost 18 years apart, show that the structural principle of men assuming household headship as they get older has not changed.

Next we note the sample households classified by sex of the head and number of persons in the household (table 29). The average household in 1953 was larger than it is today. Much of the loss in average household size has been absorbed by male-headed households. This reflects the lower birth rate in recent years and the degree to which children have been replacing adults as migrants.

Table 30 shows the age and sex distribution of sample household populations, classified according to the sex of the head. In both years more males were members of male-headed households and in 1970-1971 this predominance increased. Conversely, for both years more females were members of female-headed households but the percentages have decreased. This factor is related to the dual mating system of marriage and friending and illustrates a greater tendency for male children in the latter unions to end up in male-headed households. Still, most children of an unmarried woman remain in the household which she, her mother, or grandmother heads.

Except in the last decade very many more men migrated than women and they are still expected to do so although the opportunities have decreased. Virtually all men have been abroad while most women have been no farther than to Grenada or Trinidad for short trips. Materially, "modern" technology enters through the male migrants, whereas the traditional technology, such as that used in washing and cooking, is a female domain. Thus, the tenacity of the traditional culture, as we have mentioned, is partly due to the more provincial life-style of the women, the fact that it is the women who socialize children, and that more girls are enculturated in this traditional milieu than in an environment which has at least some alien trappings. Note that there are more three-generation households headed by women than by men, thus allowing for greater continuity between grandmother and grandchild.

The final table in this series illustrates domestic units of structurally different types, classified by sex of head (table 31). Both groups of data taken together illustrate the structural differences between the male-and-female headed households. The former is dominated by the type consisting of a man, his mate, and their children. The latter is distributed among four major types: a woman and children; a woman and grandchildren; a woman, children, and grandchildren; and single-person units.

Today there is a slight increase of certain male-headed household types: single person, siblings, household head and children, and households with children and grandfather. There are fewer households consisting of childless couples with the male partner as head and fewer male-headed households which contain a wife and members of the second and third generations (table 31, Type I). These changes may indicate a slight fragmentation of the male-headed households.

Much more significant changes are found in the composition of the female-headed households. There has been a decrease in single-person units and in households consisting of the head, children, and grandchildren. There has been an increase in households consisting of the head and children, and in those with the head and grandchildren. The reasons for these changes are unclear but may be due in part to a decrease in family size generally and to differential migration rates of women or children at different ages.

Typical Households

Parents are permissive toward their children in the first few years. Although male babies are favored, both boys and girls enjoy much atten-

[1] Alcoholism has an extremely high incidence in Carriacou, especially among men.

tion. They are often held, kissed, hugged, and shown off to friends. When a child reaches the age of five or six, parents begin to impose behavior by directing the child's chores and by using a belt or switch to punish "manish" behavior.

For the most part girls' play involves mimicry of their mothers' tasks or games such as hopscotch. After the age of six or seven, girls and boys generally play only with members of their own sex. Boys, perhaps due to their greater freedom, have a wider variety of self-indulgent activity. They fly kites, make wheeled toys in imitation of taxis and trucks, make and sail model boats (fig. 23), and make and play musical instruments. When they approach their teens, they hunt crabs ("torchin crab") or manicou. Girls' activities are largely confined to the house and yard—washing or ironing clothes, washing dishes, carrying water (fig. 24) or milk, and tending yard animals (chickens and pigs).

TABLE 27
Age and Sex of Household Heads in 1953 and 1970-1971 (in percentage)

Age	Male		Female		Total for Both Sexes	
	1953[a]	1970-1971[a]	1953[a]	1970-1971[a]	1953[a]	1970-1971[a]
15-24	0.4	5.6	0.4	0.0	0.8	5.6
25-39	8.9	8.7	4.5	6.3	13.4	15.0
40-54	16.5	8.7	16.1	13.5	32.6	22.2
55-69	9.8	17.5	27.7	11.9	37.5	29.4
70 & over	5.8	6.3	9.8	21.4	15.6	27.7
Total for All Ages	41.4	46.8	58.5	53.1	99.9	99.9
N = Size of Sample	93	59	131	67	224	126

[a]The percentages in these columns refer to the total number of household heads included in the sample for each year; e.g., 8.9 percent of household heads in the 1953 sample were men between the ages of 25 and 39 years.

Sources: 1953–based on Smith, 1962b, p. 52 (table 2); 1970-1971–questionnaire responses from 126 households, Appendix B.

TABLE 28
Distribution of Household Headship Among Adult Members of the Sample Population, Classified by Sex and Age

Age Group	Male Household Head				Female Household Head			
	1953		1970-1971		1953		1970-1971	
	%[a]	N[a]	%[a]	N[a]	%[a]	N[a]	%[a]	N[a]
15-24	1.3	(77)	7.9	(88)	0.9	(106)	0.0	(72)
25-39	39.2	(51)	42.3	(26)	11.0	(91)	33.3	(24)
40-54	90.5	(41)	100.0	(11)	44.0	(82)	47.2	(36)
55-69	96.0	(23)	95.7	(23)	72.0	(86)	51.7	(29)
70 & over	100.0	(13)	90.0	(10)	78.5	(28)	81.8	(33)
All Ages	45.5	(205)	38.0	(158)	33.3	(393)	34.5	(194)

[a]The numbers in parentheses (Column 'N') give the total number of adults surveyed in each age-sex category for a given year. The figures in the percent column give the percentage of this number who were household heads at the time of the survey.

Sources: 1953–based on Smith, 1962b, p. 52 (table 3); 1970-1971–questionnaire responses from 126 sample households (see Appendix B, Questions 2, 3, 13, and 15).

TABLE 29

Population and Households of the Sample Classified by Sex of Head and Number of People for 1953 and 1970-1971 (in percentage)

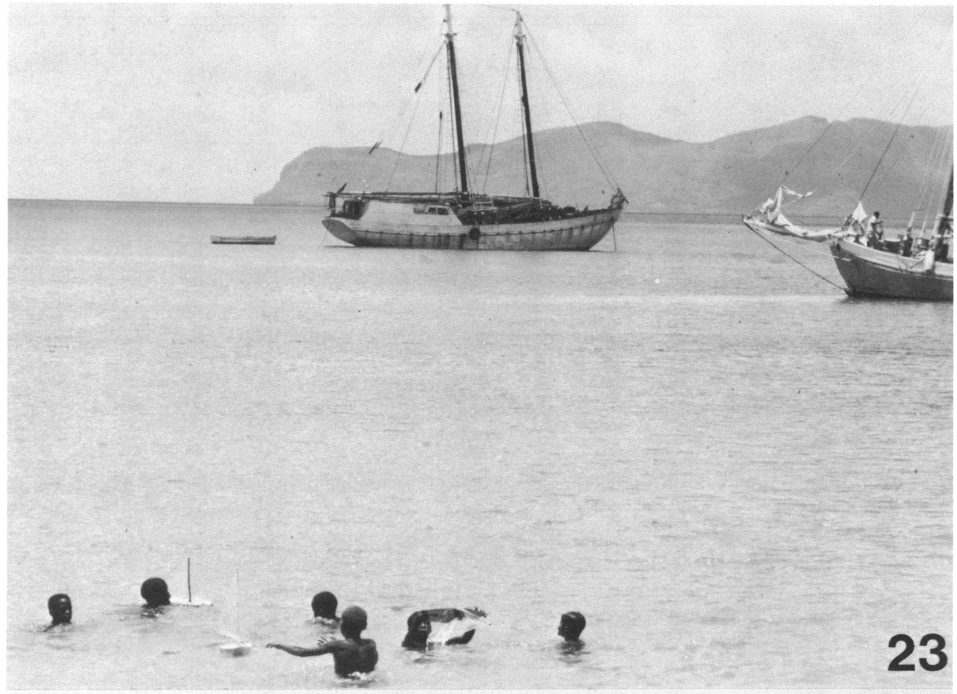
A. Sample households classified by sex of head and number of people in household

Number of People in Household	Percentage of sample households: 1953 Male Head	1953 Female Head	1953 Total	1970-1971 Male Head	1970-1971 Female Head	1970-1971 Total
1	3.1	8.9	12.0	4.4	2.2	6.6
2	0.9	9.8	10.7	9.6	11.8	21.4
3	4.9	12.9	17.8	3.7	9.6	13.3
4	6.2	7.6	13.8	7.4	13.2	20.6
5	5.8	4.9	10.7	9.6	7.4	17.0
6	4.5	4.5	9.0	5.9	5.1	11.0
7	5.8	5.3	11.1	2.2	1.5	3.7
8	3.6	2.2	5.8	1.5	1.5	3.0
9	3.1	0.4	3.5	1.5	–	1.5
10	2.2	0.9	3.1	2.2	–	2.2
11	–	0.4	0.4	–	–	–
12	0.9	0.4	1.3	–	–	–
13	0.4	–	0.4	–	–	–
Totals	41.4	58.2	99.6	48.0	52.3	100.3
Number of Households	(93)	(131)	(224)	(65)	(71)	(136)

B. Sample population classified by number of people in household and sex of head (in percentage)

Number of People in Household	Percentage of sample households: 1953 Male Head	1953 Female Head	1953 Total	1970-1971 Male Head	1970-1971 Female Head	1970-1971 Total
1	0.7	1.9	2.6	1.1	0.5	1.6
2	0.4	4.2	4.6	4.7	5.8	10.5
3	3.2	8.4	11.6	2.7	7.1	9.8
4	5.4	6.5	11.9	7.2	13.0	20.2
5	6.2	5.3	11.5	11.8	9.0	20.8
6	5.8	5.8	11.6	8.7	7.6	16.3
7	8.7	8.1	16.8	3.8	2.5	6.3
8	6.2	3.8	10.0	2.9	2.9	5.8
9	6.1	0.9	7.0	3.3	–	3.3
10	4.8	1.9	6.7	5.4	–	5.4
11	–	1.1	1.1	–	–	–
12	2.3	1.2	3.5	–	–	–
13	1.3	–	1.3	–	–	–
Totals	51.1	49.1	100.2	51.6	48.4	100.0
Number of People	(530)	(510)	(1040)	(285)	(268)	(553)
Average Number of People per Household:	5.7	3.9	4.6	4.4	3.8	4.1

Sources: 1953–based on Smith 1962b, p. 53. 1970-1971–Questionnaire responses from 136 households (see Appendix B, Questions 2, 3, 13, 14, and 15).



FIGS. 23, 24. 23. Boys sail model boats. Hillsborough Bay, August 28, 1971.
24. Young girls get water. Hillsborough, October 15, 1970.

TABLE 30

Age and Sex Distribution of the Sample Population, Classified According to the Sex of the Household Head, for 1953 and 1970-1971 (in percentage)

Age Group	Male Household Head				Female Household Head			
	1953		1970-1971		1953		1970-1971	
	M[a]	F[a]	M[a]	F[a]	M[b]	F[b]	M[b]	F[b]
0-4	7.2	9.4	2.3	0.9	6.1	6.1	3.7	2.4
5-14	15.3	15.8	13.6	8.9	12.5	12.5	10.2	9.3
15-24	6.4	8.9	18.3	15.0	8.2	11.6	17.1	17.5
25-39	5.5	7.7	7.0	4.2	4.3	9.8	3.3	6.5
40-54	7.0	5.5	4.2	7.0	0.8	10.4	0.4	8.5
55-69	4.3	3.8	8.0	5.6	–	12.9	1.6	6.5
70 & over	2.6	0.8	3.8	0.9	–	4.7	–	13.0
Totals	48.3	51.9	57.2	42.5	31.9	68.0	36.3	63.7
N = Size of Sample	(530)		(213)		(510)		(246)	

[a]The figures in these columns give the percentage of all those who live in male-headed households who fall within each age-sex category for a given year. In the 1953 sample, for example, 7.2 percent of the 530 people who lived in male-headed households were males between the ages of zero and four years.

[b]The figures in these columns give similar information for households with female heads.

Sources: 1953–based on Smith, 1962b, p. 53 (table 5); 1970-1971–questionnaire responses from 119 households (see Appendix B, Questions 2, 3, 13, and 15).

TABLE 31

Domestic Units of Different Structural Types, Classified by Sex of Household Head, for 1953 and 1970-1971 (in percentage)

Type of Domestic Unit[a]		Male Head		Female Head		
		1953[b]	1970-1971[b]	1953[b]	1970-1971[b]	
A. Single person		3	6	17	4	
B. Siblings		–	3	2	2	
C. Household head and children		0.4	2	12	22	
D. Childless couple		6	4	0.4	–	
E. Couple and children		24	27	0.4	–	
F. Household head and grandchildren		–	2	6	17	
G. Couple and grandchildren		3	3	–	–	
H. Household head, children, and grandchildren		1	–	19	5	
I. Couple, children, and grandchildren		3	1	0.4	–	
J. Household head and issue, to 4th generation		–	–	2	3	
K. Couple and issue, to 4th generation		0.4	–	–	–	
Totals (percentages)	1953	41		59		100
	1970		48		53	101
Number of Households Interviewed	1953	93		131		224
	1970		48		53	101

[a]Households may also include non-related individuals, not reflected in this table. For example, a "single person" household may consist of an elderly woman and a non-related child who helps with the chores.

[b]Percentages in these columns are calculated on the basis of all households sampled for a given year (224 in 1953 and 101 in 1970).

Sources: 1953–based on Smith, 1962b, p. 64 (table 19); 1970-1971–questionnaire responses from 101 households (see Appendix B, Questions 13, 14, and 15).

Boys, and sometimes girls, when they get to be about 10 or 11 years of age, work in the garden. Boys tend their father's animals (goats, sheep, and cattle), or collect wood or water. Other than these few chores there is little for boys to do with the exception of those teenagers who live in households without an adult male. In these cases the boy is expected to carry out many adult activities under the supervision of the senior female. Carriacouans, notably elderly women living alone, try to arrange their lives so they have at least one "gran" who will care for them in their late years. A boy, and to a lesser extent a girl (she must work in any case), who supports such old people has a difficult life. They must forgo many of the pleasures of childhood and take on labor normally reserved for adults without achieving the status of an adult.

The socialization that occurs during childhood is primarily the responsibility of women. Since more women than men remain in Carriacou, they are a conservative force on the island—the folk culture passes, in part, from women to children while the metropolitan culture is learned in school, from returned migrants, from foreigners, or abroad.

Friendly Joseph,[1] his wife Felicity, and their three young boys reside in Hillsborough. They live in a house Joseph built on his land. His relatives live in a ridge village and Felicity's live in a community on the windward side of the island (many of Hillsborough's residents have moved there from other parts of the island). Friendly spent 7½ years working in south Trinidad as a pipe-fitter and became an auto mechanic there. In Carriacou he is the only government mechanic and is responsible for keeping the government vehicles running, no easy feat. He also works on private vehicles and boat engines. Friendly is the only wage earner in his family and neither he nor Felicity have relatives abroad who send regular remittances. However, from time to time friends send him tools or work clothes from England and America. He has a "Zippo" lighter, sent by a friend in New York, which he displays frequently although he does not smoke. The household activities—working in the garden, feeding cornmeal to the chickens, washing, and cooking—keep his wife at home almost every day (fig. 25 is a photograph of a typical yard). All of the children are in primary school. Several times a year Friendly takes his eldest son to school programs. The children, however, spend most of their time with the mother. Friendly eats alone in the morning and does not return until late at night. He has his other meals wherever his day's work takes him. Sharing food reflects family or friendship ties in Carriacou. Normally, members of the family eat separately, with the first serving going to the father, next to the mother or senior female relatives and other adults, and what is left to the children. Children are fed first on certain ritual occasions when the ancestors instruct people in dream messages to "feed the children."

Friendly works on government vehicles in the market square until about 11:30 A.M. when he drinks or eats "roti" at a bar across the square. However, his schedule varies greatly from day to day—sometimes he works on vessels or vehicles far into the night, sometimes he drinks and does not work for several days at a stretch, or sometimes he goes to Petite Martinique to work. Although that island has but one vehicle, a government-owned truck, and one-half mile of road, it does have many vessels with engines to keep him busy. When I first arrived in Carriacou he said that he did not like going to Petite Martinique because the people were not "sociable." However, when he failed to obtain a visa to go to New York City to "take a course" in auto mechanics and welding, his drinking increased and he began going to Petite Martinique on any pretense for weeks at a time.

A second couple in Hillsborough has six children, including a teenaged boy and girl. Christine Bristol Thomas and Mano Thomas had been friending for 15 years when they were married in a civil ceremony by the circuit judge before a few friends and relatives. She owns the land and house as is usual when a couple is friending and the man is unable to save enough money for marriage. Household headship rests with Christine because of her ownership of the house, land, and a shop that she and Mano run, because he has been ill for several years, and because she is so considered by her children. However, some financial decisions and the regulation of the activities of the children outside the household rest with the father.

[1]All names have been changed in the remainder of this section.

FIG. 25. Yard (house is to the right, cistern in the center, and kitchen to the left)—Cyrus John brings plantain to his cousins to prepare for an evening fete. Grand Bay, August 13, 1971.

Christine sells "ices," "sweeties," and sodas to children at a small concession near school. She and her children, particularly the 17-year-old son, work their "house gardens." They grow both subsistence crops and vegetables which they sell in their shop or which the son carries to customers scattered throughout Hillsborough. An 18-year-old daughter is one of several "teachers" who look after children in a pre-primary school on the island. Sometimes she goes to Grenada to purchase medicine for her father.

Coy Coy John and his wife, both in their forties, live in L'Esterre. Three of the couple's children are in Grenada and two in England. The couple lives on John's land, in a house he built. All of their neighbors are paternal kinsmen, except for his mother and her sister. As a young man Coy Coy was a sailor on local sloops and schooners. He learned to be a shipwright and carpenter; he builds wattle-and-daub structures also. Some days he remains in the yard, working in his shed or on a small boat. Occasionally someone orders a boat from him. Coy Coy builds large vessels on the beach about a half mile from his house. He works with his paternal nephew to whom he is teaching shipwright skills. Sometimes his wife or girl friend brings breakfast for the men while they work on the beach. Coy Coy makes short fishing trips in the early morning to set fish pots or line fish from the beach. At night he sometimes catches bait with the sprat net in his small open boat. Coy Coy rarely goes to town. He spends his time with his boats, in his or a relative's yard, or in his girl friend's yard building a kitchen or pen. His wife, Delores, manages the house and yard. She goes to town on Saturdays or market day (Monday) to shop. Her duties include setting corn to dry, shelling it, cleaning the house and yard, and cooking. Often she is aided by Coy Coy's girl friend, Frances, and her children. Coy Coy is their father also—they are younger than those by Delores and range in age from three to 12 years. Frances lives nearby, in a separate house and yard. Wives and extra-residential mates are not expected to get on so well together and, according to most male informants,

often the wife does not know the girl friend (if she has no children by the husband). Frances's eldest girl is often seen about Coy Coy's yard, having her hair plaited by her mother or Delores, or helping to prepare food. All of Frances's children seemed to spend more of their time in their father's yard than in their mother's and, of course, their mother is in his yard much of the time.

Here are two separate households that share domestic duties and two women who share the same male provider. Delores directs all work in her yard, including work done by Frances. She never goes into Frances's yard. An important consideration here is that, whereas Coy Coy and Delores are both in their forties, Frances is in her late twenties. Coy Coy's and Delores's children are adult and have migrated. Age, the different mating circumstances, and the separation of households provide clear-cut distinctions in the governing principles of deference, rights, duties, and obligations of each of the individuals, thus minimizing conflicts.

Living in the southern part of Hillsborough, across the road from the island's longest stretch of white sand beach, is Easy Jones. Both her house and land are leased as are the house gardens where she tends corn, peas, and cotton. Jacob, her extra-residential mate and father of her baby, lives in L'Esterre, some 2½ miles away. Easy and Jacob are about 20 years old. She has few possessions beyond those necessary for her yard and garden work routines and her house is a two-room rectangle, constructed of wood and galvanize. In the morning, Easy works alone in the garden or prepares food for storage or makes charcoal. Once these tasks are completed she walks along the road or into town, visiting girl friends of the same age and showing off her baby. Some mornings and many evenings Jacob, on his way to or from work in town, stops by to help her around the house or to lime on the front steps with friends. When Easy has difficult chores Jacob helps or she enlists the aid of a male neighbor.

Nearby, Holly, a Vincentian woman who immigrated to Carriacou about 20 years ago, lives alone. Both her children died shortly after birth. Holly has no kin on Carriacou and considers herself, as do Carriacouans, an outsider. She has never returned to St. Vincent nor has she maintained contact with relatives there. Before 1960 Holly squatted on a piece of land owned by a Carriacouan but her small shed was moved to a spot 30 yards from its original site when the owner planted a coconut grove. She then moved to the center of her garden near Hillsborough. At first she could find no one to help with the move and could not afford to prepare food for workers who would participate in a house break. Eventually she was able to engage the assistance of her pastor, a Bajan who had recently established a church in Carriacou. Together they moved the boards to her new site. Working alone and occasionally with the help of church members, Holly put up a new shed on the garden site. One of the poorest people on the island, her meager income is obtained from the sale of coconut and, occasionally, yams or other crops she grows. Having few tools of any kind, there are certain tasks she cannot complete alone. Her pastor helps with repairs to the house. A neighbor works with her in preparing food. Sometimes they work together for two or three days at a stretch making cassava bread or shelling corn. One day they will use her manioc and Holly receives all the flour and bread they are able to make. On the next day, all is his. During the early rainy season, before the green corn came in, he shared out some corn to her. Her social life revolves exclusively around the church which she attends several times a week and on Sunday morning. In town or at home, she is usually alone.

Martin Cudjoe, Holly's neighbor, lives in a leased house. He maintains a house garden, two gardens on a sharecrop basis closer toward town, and one or two gardens in L'Esterre. I was never able to discover exactly why Martin and his wife did not live together. He says he left L'Esterre after World War II to set up a bakery in town. His wife did not want to leave her relatives so she stayed. He visits her often and sometimes stays several days, particularly when he is busy in his gardens in L'Esterre. At other times she comes to his house and helps in food preparation or aids his paternal relatives when they are having a fete. Martin directs her in these activities as they are part of his lineage responsibilities. His wife has no living children, one having died as a baby. He has two unlawful sons, both in the United States.

They send no "supportance." The pattern of his activities varies from week to week. During the planting season Martin works the garden near his house or walks to L'Esterre each morning to fork the ground, plant, or weed. Sometimes he takes odd jobs in L'Esterre, Hillsborough, or Brunswick painting a house, helping in a break house, or cleaning a coconut field. As the senior lawful child in his lineage, Martin confers with kinsmen on important family ceremonial occasions, such as cleaning the family graves, conducting a family prayer meeting, or holding a Big Drum.

Once a friend in Grenada sent a godson to live with him—a teenage boy whom he "adopted." The child had a tendency to disobey and to run away (while home in Grenada he ran away often). Because of this he was returned to his kinsmen several months after arriving in Carriacou.

Long ago another adopted son, Fat Boy, lived with him. Now a man, he returned to the island after 12 years in England. Fat Boy is also a Grenadian. Successful in England, he began a series of business ventures in Carriacou. In Carriacou his godfather had acted as a matchmaker for him while he was in England. When he came to Carriacou, Fat Boy stayed with Martin until his new house was completed.

Martin has more than 100 godchildren according to his own count but a check of the church records indicates the number is closer to 20 or 25. Still, he is co-godparent with many peers. Such quasi-kin connections put him in good stead with a wide range of people outside his lineage. This has been helpful as his lineage is not financially successful, due to the lack of steady income from abroad.

Martin acts as custodian for the land of several permanent migrants, particularly a woman of distant relationship who has been living in Trinidad for more than 30 years. He was asked to dispose of her land for which he retained a small fee. Martin also has the primary responsibility for disposing of family lands, being the senior lineage member on the island. He maintains close ties with the Catholic father in Carriacou, performing paid labor or attending meetings of the "friendly society." He is asked to chair prayer meetings from time to time although he does not like to go out after dark (he keeps a crucifix on the wall outside his front door to ward off the loogaru and sucayan).

Sweetman Quashie lives with Fortuna Bell, his keeper, and her grandson; he is in his eighties, Fortuna is in her late seventies, and her grandson is a teenager. Sweetman and Fortuna were previously married to other spouses. Sometime after the death of their mates Sweetman and Fortuna took up living together. Sweetman's children by his dead wife and Fortuna's by her dead husband are now grown and living in England. Sweetman receives remittances from his children and Fortuna receives remittances from her children. Sweetman and Fortuna used to live in Fortuna's dirt house but now live in a board house. They handle their finances separately and neither is economically dominant over the other, although they live on Fortuna's land and in her house. Fortuna and her grandson (the son of one of her children in England) do most of the yard and garden work and tend the cow she owns. Other than remittances, most of Sweetman's and Fortuna's income is derived from her singing for the Big Drum. Before suffering a stroke, Sweetman was a renowned drummer but now rarely plays. He spends most days in the yard making drums or in nearby rum shops talking and drinking jack rum. She goes to town several times a week to shop or to Harvey Vale where she has a garden. Sometimes, particularly during the dry season when there are many fetes to attend, they sleep late and the gran conducts the morning chores alone.

CHAPTER 8. DESCENT

Within the folk society Carriacouans have two descent groups which establish rules for mating, are a framework in which households relate to the community, sponsor feasts and other rituals,

act as one context in which social order is maintained, and have a role in the transmission of land. These are the matrilineage (called bloods or relatives) and the patrilineage (sometimes called family or title). Most Carriacouans live in households whose members belong to both groups, although circumstances normally favor participation in the activities of one at the expense of the other. Economic well-being, birth status, presence or absence of one's biological mother or father in the household of orientation, and migration are some of the factors which help determine which descent group is most important for an individual. Smith, who first noted lineality in Carriacouan kinship organization, held that the blood and the agnatic family were the same. In this chapter I show that they are actually two distinct kin groups.[1]

[1]This chapter contains a major change from my original view of descent in Carriacou. In my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Hill, 1973, pp. 430-480) I followed Smith and equated the blood with the family. I have since discovered that the blood in Carriacou is matrilineal, not patrilineal as I had written, whereas the family, a distinct unit, is patrilineal. Below is a transcription of an interview taped in Carriacou in June 1971. It clears up this point quite nicely (the italics are, of course, my own). I asked Mr. Cummings the following question, "What about the family? Have you ever heard this word, the family is of one blood?"

His reply was this, "Oh well, it is *corrupted.* I'd say that it is corrupted. What would you say about it?"

My response was, "I wouldn't know."

Then he stated, "But what I really meant was this—what would you think about in your own knowledge that the family is of one blood? You think that the family we supposed to—who is the family we're checking on? Well, his sons is his children. Even from his wife back down to his children. *That* is family. His *relative* supposed to be his mother, grandmother, and so on." Clearly, Cummings contrasts a nuclear family (or even perhaps an agnatic family) with blood. Whereas I asked a question assuming that the family and the blood are the same, he answered by contrasting family and relatives. In other words, blood and relatives, in this context, are identical and refer to the matrilineage.

Smith was the first anthropologist to document lineages in Carriacou (1962a, pp. 267-310). He accurately described many of the functions of the agnatic family but he confused the blood with the family. I base the present chapter on a re-examination of my field notes, interviews with Carriacouans living in New York City, especially Cyril Silvester and Winston Fleary, and a critical re-examination of Smith's monograph (1962a).

Descent is an ideology that provides a network by which Carriacouans tie themselves to some fellow islanders and thereby set themselves apart from others. This ideology is used to group people into bloods or families for various purposes. The lineages are networks of people on which an individual can call when needed. Whereas an individual gets his blood from his mother, his father contributes the seed. When a Carriacouan says that a man, not a woman, "makes children" he means this: "Well, the seed came from the father but the mother is the root. . . . So is no woman made children. As a matter of fact women conceive children. They bear them but a man make children" (Cummings, personal commun.). But a man "cannot make no baby without the woman. For the woman is supposed to be the basket that carries the goods from the market. The man has the money to put the goods in the basket.[2] Fair enough?"

The blood includes all matrilineal relatives and is exogamous. The size of each blood is dependent on the emigration of its members, its growth rate compared with other bloods, and the marriage status of its female members. This last condition is critical since the importance of blood activities, especially for a woman whose parents are not married and who is raised in her mother's household, diminishes sharply upon marriage: "as soon as she marries that means she quits [most lineage activity]" (Cummings, personal commun.). Unmarried women, whether or not they can establish their own household, remain active in their blood or their family: "The only chance a daughter has [in actively participating in her family or blood affairs] is [to] not [be] married."

An unmarried mother has several possible ways of obtaining male assistance in raising her children. If she maintains her own household her boy friend helps build her house, kitchen, and oven. He should be present for the baptism, confirmation, and marriage of his children. If he has

[2]Note the similarity in this informant's response to that found in Smith, 1962a, p. 268.

migrated, is poor, or is otherwise unable to carry out his financial responsibilities her brother–that is, a brother that has the same mother–acts as surrogate father. If she lives in her father's house –that is, if her parents are married–he can act as surrogate father to her children.[1]

Carriacouans define the term family in three important and often overlapping, ways–one corresponds to the nuclear family or household, another to the extended family, and a third to the patrilineage. It is patrilineage that concerns me here. Several factors govern membership in this agnatic family. The first is the fact that most Carriacouans inherit their tribe patrilineally. For these individuals the patrilineage or family is a subgroup of the Nation. The second factor involves formal marriage. A married man gives his surname or title–the latter word is the agnatic equivalent of relation–to all his legitimate children and to some of his illegitimate children. In this way men confirm family status on some of their offspring, although illegitimate children, especially if they have not taken their father's surname, usually have weak agnatic family ties.

Carriacouans have three categories of birth status: legitimate (children born to married parents or, from the point of view of the Catholic church, children born to parents who subsequently marry), illegitimate recognized (children born outside marriage but of recognized paternity), and illegitimate (children born outside marriage of unrecognized paternity). Only a small minority of individuals fall in the third category. As far as the metropolitan culture is concerned the second two categories are illegitimate while for the folk only the third category is illegitimate, although the folk do make distinctions between different categories of legitimacy. If a married man is prosperous–and remember that marriage itself necessitates comparative prosperity–he will buy land, build a house, and perhaps establish a business. If he has legitimate sons they will be able to obtain education and emigrate. Although some money will go to his girl friend and his outside (illegitimate and recognized) children, the legitimate children within his household (inside children), all of whom carry his title or surname, will benefit more from his prosperity. In this way, then, a man establishes an agnatic family. Favoritism in the family is shown in the unequal distribution of wealth between inside, legitimate children and outside, illegitimate children.

The potential head of the agnatic family is the first son born to a married couple. If a couple should marry after having a son that individual would not become the head of the family: "You mean your mother is Williams and your father is John and then later, after they make you, they marry? Good. Now, this would leave between the law of the government to bring in as [a] lawful [child] but you are not. The first son of marriage birth, it is the law" (Cummings, personal commun.). The last "law" the informant refers to is the custom of the folk, not the law of the government. "The other one has passed for government as lawful but not in the family." When the first son of legitimate birth "become a man" he will be a senior among equals; that is, an informal leader of family activities.

The result of this descent ideology in Carriacou is a type of double descent. While some people acknowledge equal membership in both descent groups most participate more in the activities of one at the expense of the other depending upon birth status, marital state, or some situationally determined factor. A household consisting of an unmarried woman and her children or a maternal grandmother, an unmarried illegitimate daughter, and her children tends to affiliate themselves with their blood. A household consisting of a married couple and their children comprises the elemental unit of an agnatic family (once married, a woman associates herself with her husband's family although she does not become a patrilineage member). Their children carry his title and although they are members of their mother's blood they do not participate in its activities as much as outside children participate in their mother's blood. If something should happen to the mother of illegitimate children through death or migration

[1]We see why keeping is proscribed. That relationship does not define who is to be the major supporter of a woman, the male keeper (coresidential mate of the woman) or her blood, a group which normally carries most responsibility for an unmarried woman who lives apart from her father.

uterine relatives are usually responsible for the children. Conversely, if a married couple is separated from their children through death or migration their father's patrilineal family takes care of the children. If the father of a married couple is away for a short time his full brother acts as surrogate. When a boy friend is away from his children his family is not responsible for these outside children. That responsibility is taken by the children's mother's brother (a blood relation) or their maternal grandfather (even though he is not a blood relation).

Whereas a blood is defined as all matrilineal kinsmen, a family is traced through the surname or title and is usually no more than four generations deep (fig. 26). Beyond that point many Carriacouans maintain an idealized agnatic link back to their African ancestors as Sugar Adam explains (personal commun.): "So we are the African people–seeds you know . . . Me is my father race [Ibo]."

Not everyone belongs to the Nation of their father. Cromanti people trace descent matrilineally, through one's blood. Cromanti was a slave port on the Gold Coast (Ghana) and most people shipped through that port were Ashantis. Carriacouans consider the Cromanti to be the most important and influential Nation on the island. They call it the "First Nation." Cromantis are said to dominate all other Nations except the Ibo. Cromanti women are supposed to be strong willed and often prefer not to marry. However, the Ibo Nation is also dominant. When an Ibo man marries a Cromanti woman the daughter considers her Nation to be Cromanti, whereas the son considers his Nation to be Ibo. As far as I have been able to determine this is the only exception to the usual rule of patrilineal inheritance of tribal affiliation. Matrilineal affiliation with the Cromanti Nation underscores its distinctiveness.

A few individuals, when exact family ties are unknown (that is, for unrecognized illegitimate children, children of fathers who are not Carriacouan, and whomever has "lost" the seed), discover their Nation when a particular Big Drum dance is played. Hearing a Congo tune, for example, they immediately begin dancing, thereby

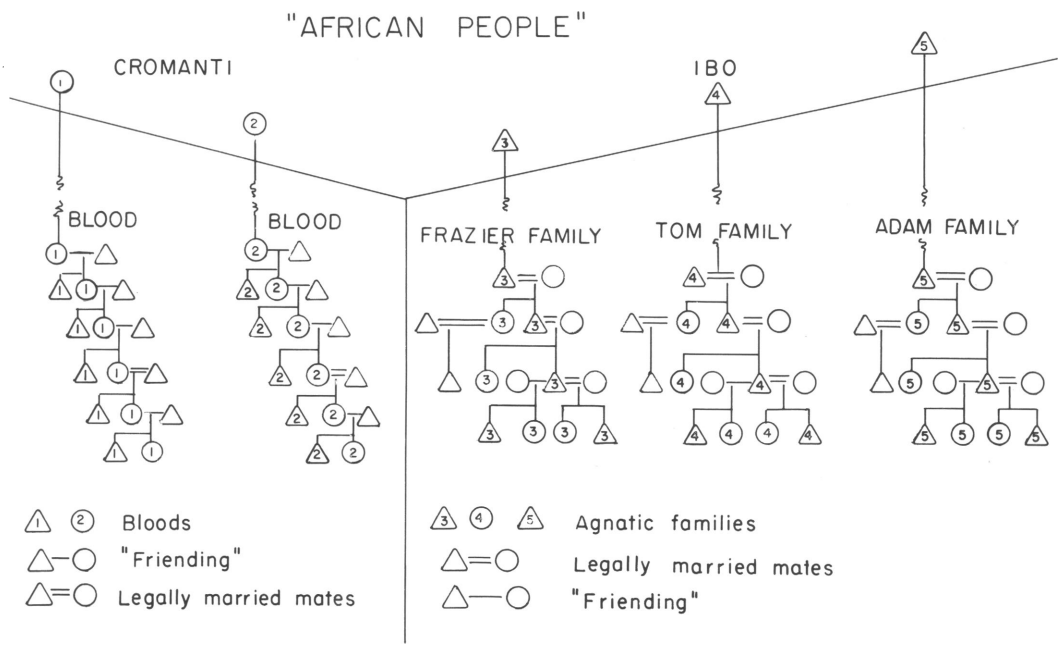


FIG. 26. Carriacouan descent from the African People.

indicating that they belong to the Congo Nation. Body type and physical appearance are other ways in which Nation membership can be determined.

Marriage is prohibited between individuals within the same blood. This prohibition is effective from four to six generations. Marriage is also prohibited between individuals who have the same family name when that name can be traced patrilineally to a common male ancestor. Most commonly, this prohibition is not effective beyond four generations. Whereas blood relationships are closely monitored agnatic descent is not, partly because outside children tend to have vague agnatic ties. Finally, it is considered proper for a woman to marry a man whose father shares her blood (cross-cousins marriage). This is called "crossing the blood."

Certain families in Windward and Petite Martinique, the bukra or white people, do not belong to any African Nation and are said to be Scottish, Irish, or French (fig. 27). Their kinship system is similar to other Carriacouan families only insofar as the title is passed through generations of legitimate birth. Since they are endogamous they often do not have blood or tribal affiliation, which can only be obtained through extra-residential mating or marriage to a non-bukra Carriacouan. The children of these unions who are reared in bukra households tend to lose their blood or tribal affiliation. Conversely, children reared outside bukra communities tend to retain their lineage affiliation. Bukra families, in sharp contrast to other Carriacouan agnatic families, are endogamous and the marriage of sisters' children, as well as brothers' children, is common (parallel cousins marriage). Most endogamous families are said to be the descendents of shipbuilders who once settled in Carriacou, Petite Martinique, and Bequia in the Vincentian Grenadines. Considering themselves superior to other Carriacouans, they attempted to retain their separate identity through endogamy. However, marriage to other Carriacouans has increased in recent years.

Whereas bloods are exogamous, Nations, including the Cromanti Nation, are ideally endogamous. "It is known that if every African marry to their own people from the same tribe [Nation] they will be able to live better." (Dick, personal commun.) This endogamy, as that of the bukra families, may have been only an ideal.

Illegitimate children reared in their mother's household tend to associate most closely with

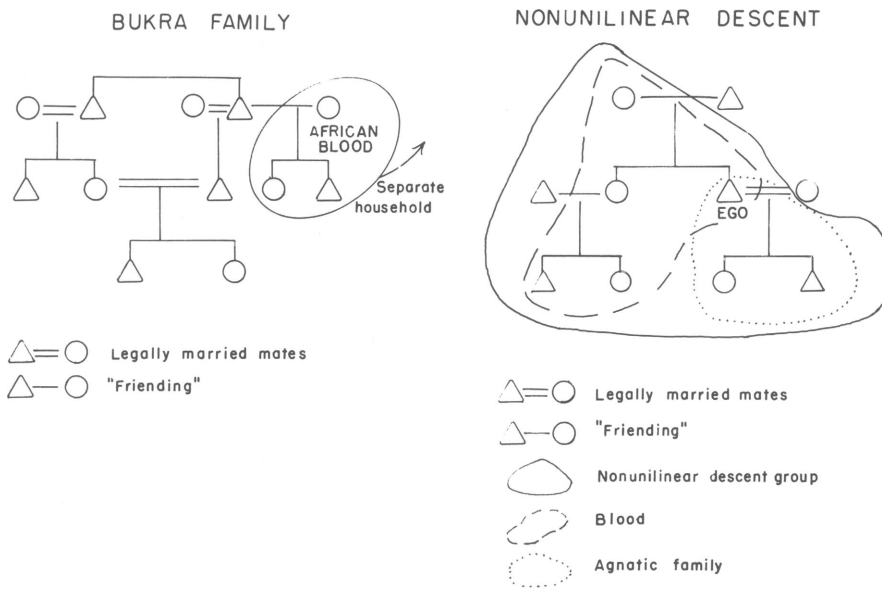


FIG. 27. Bukra family and non-unilinear descent.

her blood rather than their father's family. If an illegitimate son in such a household marries he would move to a new house to rear his children. His legitimate children, therefore, take his title. They become the first members of an agnatic family which, as far as title and economic support is concerned, extends only to their father (fig. 27). For ritual purposes they are their father's seed and take their father's Nation. And since their father's blood affiliation is more important to their father than his family link (which is very weak), they also are associated with but are not members of their father's blood. Since the children are reared in their father's house their mother's blood is only of tertiary importance, except insofar as marriage rules are concerned. For these children, then, descent is nonunilinear. In other instances, when descent is obscure, the extended family becomes important—at least until a male Carriacouan marries and earns sufficient money to start an agnatic family.

Most ritual in Carriacou—whether it is something as simple as a Parents' Plate (food to propitiate the ancestors) or as elaborate as an annual Maroon (a dry season feast)—is sponsored by an individual in consultation with elders of the blood, agnatic family, or Nation. Let us say, for example, that a married man is told that a neighbor dreamed about one of his patrilineal kinsmen (Carriacouans are contacted by the dead in dreams). In the dream the Old Parent requests a Parents' Plate. Since he represents his patrilineage the Plate should be prepared in his house or in the house where the Old Parent lived. If that house is no longer standing a propitiation should be made on its ruins. If, on the other hand, his wife is told of a request from her dead mother or some other uterine ancestor to set a Parents' Plate, she would not set that Plate in her husband's house. She would either prepare it in her brother's house or in the house in which her mother lived. This is her blood affair and is of no concern to her husband. Normally, the wife keeps up some minimal duties within her blood but has more responsibility assisting her husband's agnatic family in their ritual responsibilities.

Big Drum dances—fetes at which tribal (Nation) dances are played—are sometimes given when a prosperous Carriacouan returns home after working abroad for several years. Since sponsoring a Big Drum is expensive they are usually agnatic family activities and less often blood affairs. Annual dry season Maroons (see Chapter 11) are considered feasts that honor certain Nations. The Limlair Maroon, for example, is for both the Cromanti and Ibo tribes. Ritual Plates are set for the tribal ancestors that lived on the Limlair estate. Thus, the Maroon is a blood activity for the people of Limlair who are uterine descendants of Cromanti ancestors, and a family fete for individuals whose agnatic ancestors are Ibo.

The state, village elders, and the old heads of the agnatic family or blood have the responsibility of maintaining social control. Age is a necessary prerequisite for this authority, descent somewhat less so. Smith (1962a, p. 306) stated that the senior member of the lineage was an important figure in the settlement of disputes among lineage members and that through the formal curse a father could effectively remove lineage support from a child. Actually the curse is not exclusively used within bloods or agnatic families (Fleary, personal commun.). Curses are generally invoked by elders against youths, whether or not there is a kinship tie. The threat of magical intervention through a curse may also be used by one adult against another.

Formerly, the most powerful curse was the "wish": "I leave you to die. You going to drag to the four corners of the world [so] that [you] can't see [your] way. Curse!!! [When] you ... cry the drop of water that falls on the ground is the sin ..." A wish would be used by adults against children to correct "rude behavior" and to "teach discipline." What a Carriacouan wants most from children is respect for all elders and obedience. The threat of the curse helped insure these values. A person who had been cursed was forced to either "Beg Pardon" from the ancestors, apologize to the offended adult, or leave the island. There are stories of ill fortune, even death, which has befallen such people. However, Smith reported (1962a, p. 235) that by 1953 the curse was rarely carried out. Short of the curse any elder can discipline children. Especially important in this regard are mother's maternal brothers when the blood is the impor-

tant kin group or father's full brothers when the family is the focal kin group.

Cases that go to court in Carriacou are rare. Disorderly conduct, damages (caused by humans or livestock), foul talk, drunkenness, theft, and smuggling are the most common offenses. All but the last are considered crimes by the people. People are reluctant to use the metropolitan legal institutions, preferring to handle even severe cases within bloods, families, or the community: "The people of these islands live as one large family. There are petty quarrels and they are settled often before reaching the courts. The older heads in the village are called upon to make peace." (Clement MS, p. 72.)

Lower court proceedings in Hillsborough demonstrate both the nature of the more common offenses as well as the reluctance of Carriacou people to take their cases to court. A circuit judge comes the second Monday of each month to hold a juvenile court, an adult court, or both. The proceedings begin about 8:00 A.M. and sometimes continue after lunch. As many as half of the cases are continued due to failure of the defendants or witnesses to show up. Major theft and other felonies are tried in Grenada and are rare. One case was said to involve two women arguing over the ownership of a cow. The judge made his settlement. Unfortunately, one of the women was not satisfied with the result. She had offered a bribe to the judge which he refused. Shortly after the case was over the judge died. It was rumored that he was killed by the disgruntled woman with "negromancy." The moral of the story, according to the informant, is that a judge in Carriacou should take a bribe; otherwise, it would be dangerous. In this story, then, mechanisms for social control from the folk society are more powerful in the people's eyes than those from metropolitan institutions.

The folk mechanisms of social control come into play when the parties involved in a dispute avoid going to court: "If the village people have any complaint by themselves which they could not solve they would go to . . . the older head in the village . . . That old person is supposed to be the serious head because things that we do not know, our mothers don't know, that person would tell us. He 'en' bound to by education but by age and experience . . . Now imagine that I and you are in confusion. Your parents don't like to go to court. I myself wouldn't like to go to courts. So therefore, the both parents meet together and they could not agree with one another. My mother say, 'Let us get to one of the older heads in the village.' When we [meet with the elder] he tell you, 'Well, in our time we generally never used to go to courts . . . We must finish it! Maxman, how much this boy's dish [that you broke] cost?' He said, 'Three shillings.' 'Alright, you pay three shillings. That's it!' That's that. No courts at all!" (Cummings, personal commun.)

If either or both of the parties do not pay what the old head decided to be the proper damages then the person who refused to pay his share would be advised by the other: "Pay me the shillings!"

On the other hand, if the case winds up in court the judge might say the following: " 'Now look man. The old head [that] make up this did everything. So then I didn't see nothing in this case in court.' So then, all you can do is to hold your hands, walk out, and bow good. That's all."

In sum, disputes are settled by the authority of parents over their children, by adults over youth, by the elders of the blood or agnatic family, by the oldest villager, or in court. This is an informal progression with the court used as a last recourse. Within the folk society validation of authority comes ultimately from the ancestors, both the recent dead of the kin groups and the more distant tribal Old Parents.

The acquisition, use, and transmission of land can also involve descent groups, especially the agnatic family. Land in Carriacou is either individually owned or is "family land." The latter consists of a family grave site and "undivided land." Most land is owned by men who transmit equal portions to their legitimate children and sometimes smaller portions to illegitimate children upon the owner's death. Sometimes female children receive smaller shares. A wife obtains only a "life interest": "Even though you're dead, . . . your son . . . could still work your wife out of his, or your house. Yes! He is you of course. He represents you. Personally, I represent my father." The oldest legitimate son has the re-

sponsibility for reaching a consensus about the disposition of land if the owner did not make a will. Since consensus is not easily obtained land once owned by individuals is retained through generations within agnatic descent groups, leaving a life interest for family members. In this way undivided land can grow.

Land rights are not completely tied up with the agnatic family, since some women have bought land independently and since some female members of an agnatic family retain their share of land from their father.

Writing about both the family and the blood, which he mistakenly viewed as one, Smith (1962a, pp. 306-307) stated: "Patrilineal values motivate the proper discharge of paternal roles and make them obligatory. Without such emphasis this dual mating system of Carriacou [e.g., marriage and friending] would rapidly dissolve into a multiplicity of ad hoc individual relations—a chaos in which paternity acknowledgments of obligations were a matter of individual choice, marriages unstable, and women as well as men free to mate plurally if they wished. Conditions like that have been reported from other parts of the British West Indies. They are absent from Carriacou because of the lineage system." I have shown that Carriacouan social structure is not so simple as Smith suggests. The agnatic family is just one of several mechanisms that tie social elements together. Bloods, for example, are always important in regulating marriage and take on additional functions when agnatic ties are weak. Nonunilinear descent groups of three or four generations are continuously formed. Isolated groups of people have always existed in Carriacou partly or totally outside this system—e.g., the bukra families of Windward and Petite Martinique and the extended or nuclear families of the representatives of the metropolitan social organization and their Carriacouan or foreign spouses and children. Thus, although changes in the importance of the lineages have taken place, the chaos invisaged by Smith has not occurred.[1] This seems due, in part, to the flexibility built into the system, especially the alternate sets of kin that can be called on when needed.

[1]Saba has a similar dual mating system that lacks both lineages and the predicted social chaos (Crane, 1971, p. 229).

THE TOMS OF L'ESTERRE AND HILLSBOROUGH

The Tom family[2] of L'Esterre and Hillsborough traces descent to a founder called "Old Tom" (fig. 28). Perhaps because none of the adult members have worked in Aruba or England, they do not have much money. They share the Tom title with the Toms of Windward and Petite Martinique (the latter Toms are not among the bukra families of these communities). Older people say they are agnatic kin although the precise kinship ties are forgotton. All the Toms are considered Iboes (fig. 26).

Today the leader of the Tom agnatic family is Man Tom, a man in his fifties, the only surviving male in his generation of legitimate birth. While he was alive Schoolboy Tom, Man's father's brother's legitimate son, headed the family. When he died, Thomas—Man's oldest brother—took over. Thomas Tom was an acolyte for the Catholic priest and during his later years a respected old head of L'Esterre. He was often asked to chair prayer meetings. Now that he is gone the leadership has passed to the youngest full brother, Man. Frank Tom, Man's next oldest full brother, has never lived in Carriacou as an adult.

Man is not sure who will head the family when he dies. He says that it might be the eldest son of Long Tom but at present he has no children. It could be Long Tom himself, even though he is an unlawful child. This will happen only if there are no adult males of legitimate birth to take over when the time comes. It is of note that both Long Tom and Feeling Tom "took" the Tom title even though both are illegitimate children. Often the surname is not passed to outside children although, of course, the seed of the father is. In this case, active participation of outside children is tolerated because of their individual abilities and because of the lack of active legitimate children.

[2]All names in this section have been changed.

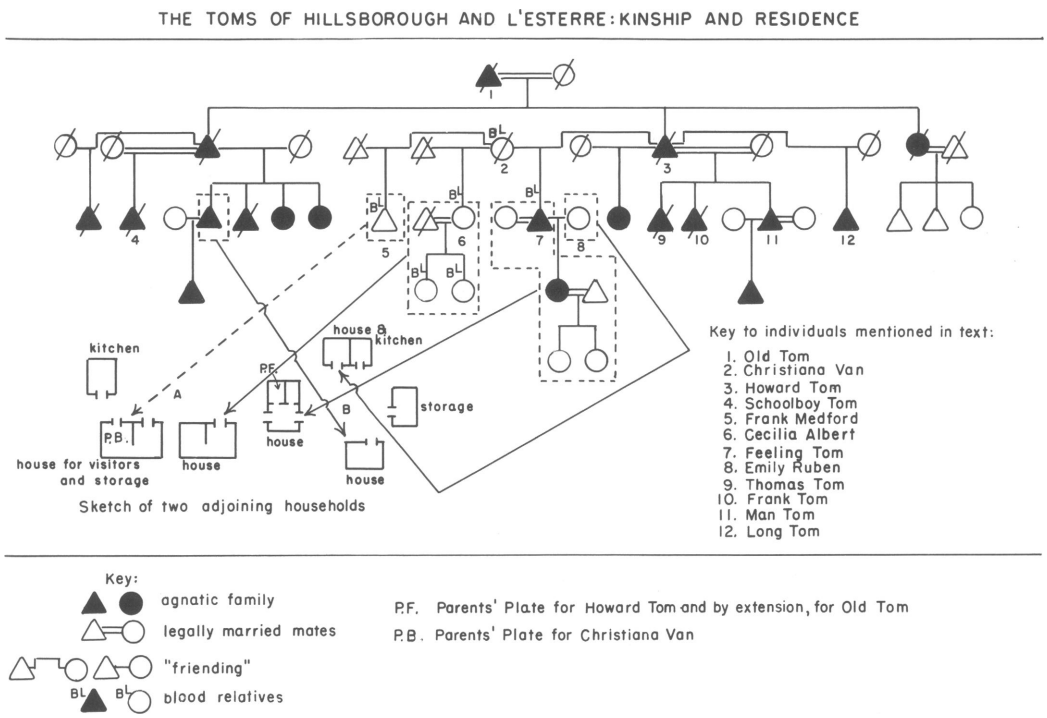


FIG. 28. The Toms of Hillsborough and L'Esterre: kinship and residence.

As head of the Toms, Man's judgment is respected. In ritual matters he stands for the family as a whole. He is the major connection between its dispersed households (there is one other Tom household in Hillsborough and the rest of the family lives in L'Esterre). He represents the family in the community. If undivided family land is to be shared out, if there is to be a marriage of a kinsman, or if there is to be a prayer meeting he will be consulted although other elders may also be visited.

A family or blood has its place in rites of passage (particularly the rites for the dead) and in the annual prayer meetings that link the living with their ancestors. Carriacouans are "bound" to observe a series of activities upon the death of a parent or spouse. Then annually, usually in the month of the honored person's death, a Parents' Plate is set. Sometimes a prayer meeting or Big Drum is also held. These activities are normally the responsibility of the household and the descent group.

Although Man Tom is the leader of the family, Feeling, his younger half-brother, is the most successful and many say the most stable member of the family. Both Man and Feeling give annual prayer meetings in their homes for their separate bloods. Man holds his in October, the same month his mother had one for their blood when he was a child. Feeling usually gives his in April. However, in October, 1971, he set one for both his father and mother (see fig. 28). The Plate Feeling set for his mother is for her blood. Indeed, when she was alive she set it for her uterine kin. He "keeps it up." The senior members of his blood try to attend when he makes this Plate. Two old heads in this blood are Cecilia Albert, who lives next door (fig. 28, household A), and Frank Medford from Grenada, the senior elder. Note that these active old heads in the blood—call it the blood of Christiana Van, their mother—are outside children and all have different surnames.

While the Plate for the blood was set in the house where Feeling's mother once lived, the Plate for his agnatic family was set in his house

(see fig. 28, household B). Man Tom, as senior elder of the Tom family, presided at the Prayer Meeting in Feeling's yard but he did not concern himself with the Plate for his half-brother's blood.

The Parents' Plate is put in the bedroom of the house. On it are found food and drink which the person enjoyed while alive: creole food, fruit, rum, soda, water, and cigarettes. Candles are lit and placed on the "Table." It honors blood or agnatic kin and, by extension, all the African people. "It is their pleasure" the people say. By making a Saraca (Plate) the good will of the Old Parents is retained. A few people say that when ants eat the food of the Plate it is a sign that the Old Parents are eating. "The dead can't eat," others say. Big Drum celebrations may be held in lieu of the prayer meeting, as a part of the Tombstone Feast or as a Sacrifice (Beg Pardon). One or more Plates will be set on each of these occasions.

The elders of a family or blood congregate on the first and second day of November each year at the ancestors' graves. In the Catholic calendar these are called "All Saints' Day" (the first of November) and the "Commemoration of All Faithful Departed" or "All Souls' Day" (the second of November). The Toms, like most other Carriacouans, maintain agnatic family cemeteries. In 1972 about a week before All Saints' Day Man visited the Tom households in L'Esterre and Hillsborough to see when each family member would travel to the grave site, situated in a remote part of L'Esterre known as Retreat, to clear away the bush. He worked there several mornings during the week. Feeling took Emily Ruben (his girl friend), several of his friends, and some children with him. They made a little fete of it, carrying crabs they caught the night before, and ate at the family grave after clearing away bush. By the first of November the cemetery was ready and on the following day the Toms lit candles around the grave of their father and wet the stone with rum, soda, and water.

In addition to the two grave sites in L'Esterre the Toms own several houses, gardens, and pasturage plots—all in L'Esterre. Some of this land is worked by Man or a partner to whom he shares it out under metayage. Long Tom lives on some family land and has his gardens on family land also. Some of their family land is "abandoned" (not used).

THE ORIGINS OF THE BLOOD AND THE AGNATIC FAMILY

I cannot drop the subject of this unique kinship system without speculating about its origins. According to Smith (1962a, pp. 308-310):

> The ancestor cult provided ritual sanctions for traditional observance, but it also had certain needs, chief among these the need for an enduring form of social unit which could maintain the cult. The dual mating organisation which developed with emigration also required some supra-familial kinship groupings to regulate and maintain it. Since children inherited their "nation" from their fathers, over the generations patrilineal descent lines emerged; and this mixture of belief, ritual and kinship values probably motivated men who mated extra-residentially to care for their children as best they could. When land became available, these developing agnatic lines acquired further functions. Land was acquired by men in the first place and transmitted to their sons as heirs and trustees for their daughters. In the absence of many new influences coming into the island, it seems quite possible that this combination of conditions may have encouraged the emergence of agnatic groups; and in the absence of effective church control, a popular government, or a local elite of contrary culture, these agnatic groups developed along the lines illustrated above.

Migration, the dual mating system of marriage and friending, the kinship organization of bloods and agnatic families, the Big Drum dance, and the belief system certainly do "fit together" in Carriacou's folk social organization. However, I will suggest a different etiology for some of these factors, basing my argument on indirect, but suggestive, historical, ethnohistorical, and comparative data.

Carriacou's kinship organization—Smith's "patrilineage"—is actually a combination of two types of lineages: the uterine blood and the agnatic family. Lineages, of course, are usually associated with a "tribal" level of social organization. That they exist at all in Carriacou is precisely because of the special place of the folk society within the metropolitan society. That is,

Old World folk and tribal social organizations became subsumed within the folk society and lineages were maintained. Due to these circumstances, African-like lineages were retained within Carriacou's folk society. Therefore, lineages, in some form, must have existed in Carriacou before the abolition of slavery.

Smith would probably not quarrel with the contention that the original slaves in Carriacou maintained an idealized affiliation with African tribes. Evidence for this affiliation is found in the numerous newspaper descriptions of runaways. For example: "On the Night of Tuesday the 17th current, ran away from the Island of Carriacou, in a small fishing canoe, Two Negroes, one named Jack, a house servant, of the Conga nation ... The other named Jame, by trade a carpenter, of the Ibo nation ..." (St. George's Chronicle and Grenada Gazette, August 19, 1790). Neither do I think that Smith would object to evidence of the Big Drum dance during this period. Big Drum songs currently performed refer to the origins of some of the tribes, to the conditions of slavery, and to the Crop Over celebration held before emancipation. This description from the same newspaper (November 13, 1798) is an account of drumming in Grenada in the late eighteenth century:

> It must be within the knowledge of the few remaining old inhabitants of this Island, that at different times when the Runaway Slaves were numerous and troublesome they were in the habit of coming down from the Woods to mingle in the dance on Estates where the drum was permitted, and at such meetings concerted measures with the negroes on the Estate for plundering their master's property. Planters who have survived the late dreadful calamities [the Fedón Rebellion] that for some time previous to the unhappy event which took place, many of the idle, disorderly free people of colour used to mix with the slaves where-ever *a Drum* was heard, and it was doubtless on those occasions that the Poison was first instilled into their minds, which afterwards proved so fatal to themselves, and to the whole Island.
>
> But the advocates of this dangerous custom, generally permit it under the cloak of good nature, or humanity ...
>
> ... On some French Estates, before the late Rebellion, Saturday afternoon, or the whole day, *with leave to drum* all day and all night too, was sometimes given in room of the usual allowance and salt Provisions.

In Carriacou similar dances were probably held with less objection from the elite.

Smith and I do disagree on one major issue here. He held that lineages developed in the nineteenth century and are definitely not African, whereas I believe that they have an African, as well as colonial components. Smith (1962a, pp. 312, 313) stated, "It would be extremely unfortunate if the Carriacou lineage system were ... to be interpreted as an African culture trait, especially because it is perhaps unique in the British West Indies, and because the Kromanti (Akan) who dominate the Carriacou Nation Dance were a matrilineal rather than a patrilineal group." Yet I have shown that for the purposes of marriage regulation Carriacouan society is both matrilineal and patrilineal and the blood is quite different from the agnatic family. Compare Carriacou's descent system, including its ideological basis of blood standing for the uterine principle and seed for the agnatic principle, with that of the Ashanti. Rattray (1923, pp. 77-78) said:

> "'Abusua' (clan) is synonymous with 'mogya' or 'bogya' (blood).
>
> "A woman alone can transmit blood to descendants, male or female.
>
> "Under no conceivable circumstances whatever can a male transmit his blood, which he derived from his mother, and in consequence no Ashanti can, according to orthodox belief, have a drop of the male parent's blood in his or her veins.
>
> "The male parent transmits to his children his 'ntoro'—which I have translated as 'spirit'—and the male alone can transmit this 'ntoro,' which is present in every person, male and female.
>
> "Both the 'abusua' and 'ntoro' are exogamous.... the 'ntoro' (spirit) seems sometimes used in the sense of semen...."

The striking similarity between the early twentieth-century Ashanti ideology of descent and marriage regulation (remember that Carriacouans believe this tribe to be the most influential of all those found on the island) and Carriacou's surely suggests a common origin for this aspect of the lineages. Furthermore, the Carria-

couan idea of legitimacy seems also to have an Ashanti counterpart: "an illegitimate child to an Ashanti is one who does not know the father's 'ntoro'—an illegitimate child (by a free woman) will of course always have its mother's 'abusua' . . ." (Rattray, 1923, p. 39). This is close to the Carriacouan folk practice of restricting illegitimacy to children of unrecognized paternity and to the fact that unrecognized outside children that are reared by the mother affiliate with the blood.

Even with this evidence of an African influence on the Carriacouan descent system it would be incorrect to suggest that it is identical to that of the Ashanti or even that it is exclusively West African. Carriacouan folk land tenure, as it relates to the agnatic family, seems to be primarily a local development, as Smith suggested, but perhaps partly based on some African (and no doubt British) customs. For the Ashanti, land was held collectively by the ancestors for living members of the "abusua," the uterine kin group. Furthermore, ". . . a man on his marriage was sometimes given a piece of land by his wife's family upon which to build and settle . . . The man has therefore a life interest which may, however, be terminated at any time on his marriage being broken off owning to misconduct on his part. (*Ibid.*, p. 229)

". . . there is in Ashanti no such thing as the individual ownership of land. Now something that could never belong to one person, but which was always in the hands of an interested group, was, from its very nature, not likely to be stolen, lost sight of, sold, seized, or given away. When the thing in which this kind of joint tenancy existed, was also the most valuable asset it was possible to possess, and there was also attached to it a kind of spiritual sanctity, it is not surprising to find that the idea of sale as an ordinary primary legal process did not have any place in the old legal code.

"We have seen that this communal and family interest in land protected it from forfeiture . . ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 230-231).

Unlike the Ashanti, for Carriacouans land is primarily, although by no means exclusively, transmitted through agnatic families, not uterine bloods. However, both the Ashanti of the time of Rattray's study and present-day Carriacouans utilize a similar principle of holding land for the kin group as a whole (that this notion of communal ownership is extremely widespread does not constitute sufficient grounds to exclude the Ashanti as the "most plausible" source for this aspect of Carriacouan land ownership). At the core of Carriacouan family land is the ancestral grave site. I suggest that before most Carriacouans could own land—that is, before emancipation and the land reforms of the early twentieth century—communal land consisted of tribal grave sites. This may be a reason why tribal graves play an important part in annual Maroons. With the exception of Cromanti grave plots, tribal graves became a link between Carriacouans who shared agnatic descent with a particular tribe.

The glaring difference between uterine and agnatic land transmission may, perhaps, be explained by the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century circumstances of male migration, their control over the cash economy for the household, and their purchase of land during this period (Smith, 1956). It may also be explained by the passing of many estates into the folk system of land tenure through the male descendants of the original estate owners.

It is possible that the mating system and house and land ownership were tied together in a single value system before emancipation. The male slave purchased freedom for his "wife and children" (Smith, 1962a, p. 24). This enhanced the power of men even while they were slaves and probably enhanced the prestige of the agnatic family, which was based on the Ashanti notion of ntoro, as well as the overwhelming emphasis on patrilineality among the other tribes and the colonialists. At the same time the male slave attempted to purchase "his house and land." Thus, the agnatic family was connected with prestige and these cash investments at this early date. Very soon after emancipation Carriacouans "are fully sensible of the respectability and purity of the married state." They "are anxious to invest their means in such portions of land as they are able to buy, having great satisfaction in the idea . . . of securing a home for their families" (Smith, pp. 28-29). Clearly, money, which former migrants brought home, helped fuse the ideals of male ownership of land, purchase or building of a house, patrilineal descent

in the Ashanti sense of the seed, and formal metropolitan-style marriage, into a single unit. In short, I cannot overlook the circumstantial evidence which suggests a very much modified West African basis, with the exception of the bukra family organization of Windward and Petite Martinique, to Carriacou's kinship organization. However, it must be stressed that this system of descent is simply part of the folk society. The functions of bloods and agnatic families through formalized rules for marriage (Chapter 6) and legal land rights are mirrored in the metropolitan social organization.

CHAPTER 9. THE CHURCH CALENDAR

Both the Anglican and Catholic churches had priests on Carriacou before 1800 (Devas, 1932). The Catholic mission was probably started by the Capuchins in the middle of the eighteenth century and by 1771 the Catholics had resident priests on the island. In 1894 the first Grenadian became the parish priest for the Catholic church (no Carriacouan has been a priest). In the early 1970s all the priests of the major churches were foreigners–two from Ireland, one from St. Vincent, and one from England. Yet metropolitan religion and folk ritual come together in the calendrical celebrations of the two churches. The most important religious celebrations are Christmas, New Year, Carnival, Easter, All Saints Day, and All Souls Day.

CHRISTMAS AND THE NEW YEAR

EXCUSE TO MR. BOUCHER–Early on CHRISTMAS MORNING I was informed of a warrant being issued for the apprehension of my person, to be conducted to St. George's Gaol, for an Assault and Battery on Mr. Boucher, in or about the hour of 7 o'clock, on the Evening 24th December, on which day an Election was held in the town of Hillsborough. I solemnly confess to have been greatly in Liquor that Evening, which I was never in the habit of getting so, I therefore thought fit, to hire a vessel on the same day, to proceed to Grenada, and tender my humble excuse, to Mr. Boucher, and to all whom I offended in the state I was in, and therefore humbly solicit Mr. Boucher's Pardon.

–James Stiell

(Grenada Free Press and Public Gazette, January 11,1832).

Long before Christmas people begin preparing their houses for the feting to come: "... from late October, houses are painted, new curtains and furniture are purchased, floors are polished, decorative articles like artificial flowers, pictures, wall plaques depicting the Lord's supper or sacred heart are bought, all clothing are washed and ironed, old linoleum are replaced, and goods are bought for making and cooking." (David, MS, pp. 32-33). By early December the Christmas bonus in cotton is distributed–usually a cent or two per pound. At this time serenades by "Hosannah bands" begin. These bands consist of children from one family or peers of the same age and sex. Instrumentation, if any, consists of "string bands" (fiddle, quatro, banjo); "dups" (biscuit tins beat with a stick); in the past, the "bamboo tamboo" (bamboo stamping tubes which are struck against the earth and hit with sticks); and the "ba" or "baha" (an aerophone constructed from lengths of bamboo or other hollow tubes). In 1971 some 14 different groups passed by our house, including the "Royal Band" of L'Esterre, the "Best Band" of Hillsborough, the "United Soul Brothers Band" of Mt. Pleasant, and the "Mischief Makers" of Hillsborough.

As they approach a house they sing: "Open your door for us, oh open your door for us." If no one is home, after singing a carol, a calypso, or a popular song they leave. If you are at home but refuse to come to the door–some Carriacouans become tired of such goings on–the Hosannah band becomes persistent and continues singing, banging, and playing until acknowledged. Then they will sing a carol or calypso, followed by a speech:

> Goodnight Master and Mistress! We did not give you the time nor chance to ask what band we are for we are the Royal Band from L'Esterre just come to put you in remembrance of Christ Our Lord's Day, which is gradually approaching once more. Christmas

comes but once a year and every man must have his share.

Another hymn may be sung, or a calypso:

It's Christmas Day,
We could sing cause we en fraid.
It's Christmas Day,
Drink your liquor and breakaway.
It's Christmas Day,
Hear what I have to say:
Drink up your liquor
Fall in the gutter
Hug any man and
Kiss any woman.
I don't care what the people say,
Tell them it's Christmas Day.

At this point you invite the band into your yard or the "hall" of your house and offer rum. If the band consists of small children, you give them a few coins. If you refuse, they may decide to recite the following words, adapted from a common hymn:

Oh God our help in ages past
Our hope for money to come
To pay the dribbling debts we owe
And drink the balance in rum.

Preceding the last song, the leader of the band gives his final recitation:

Mistress and Master! This kind present you have patronized my band with, may the Lord restore it back to you as He did in the Harvest of Festivals. May your child, children, grandchildren rise up to heaven and call your blessing. May each grain of hair in your head be a candle to shine you off to glory. God be with you till we meet again.

During the Christmas and Carnival season, migrants return from Trinidad, Aruba, New York, or England and bring news of those who could not come. Others record messages to their family to be played on local radio stations in Grenada, Trinidad, or Barbados. If migrants bring money they may have a Big Drum or Quadrille dance celebrating their return, reintegrating them into their lineage and Carriacouan society. They may hold a mass in the Catholic or Anglican church. This is becoming a season for marriages, particularly for people returning to the island or for those about to leave.

On Christmas Eve the Hosannahs on the streets include many former migrants:

. . . each home looks bright and the people are happily awaiting the grand day of Christmas. Cakes and bread are baked, meat stewed, baked and broiled. Drinks of various kind are ready to be served to serenaders. During the night of Christmas Eve, different groups of girls and boys, locally called Hossanahs [*sic*] pass around visiting homes, singing Christmas carols and rendering Christmas speeches. At every home the Hossanah receives a gift of money, and all groups meet at Hillsborough's main street for the mid-night jump-up to steel band music. Anglicans and Roman Catholics go to their churches at about 11:30 to receive Christmas holy communion and after the mass is ended the majority remains in the town to join the great crowd which awaits the jump-up.

After the services are ended at both churches, the police grant permission for the jump-up (Road Match), the steel bands from different districts render steel band music and the people jump-up till dawn. They finally leave the town for their homes and some may go to the morning services at the church (David, MS, p. 32).

The Lord Kitchener, a well-known Trinidadian calypsonian, wrote this road march hit of 1948 describing a migrant's desire to return home at this time of year:

Yes, I beg you to leave me Norah
I going back to me country (repeat first two lines).
I tired of London
I can't hear the steel band beating in junction.
I getting homesick, I feeling sad
I want my passage and I going back to Trinidad.
Norah, Norah, Norah
Why don't you leave Lord Kitchener?
Norah, Norah, Norah
Sink or float, I going home to see me grandmother.
Norah, Norah, Norah
Darling what is your contention?
Norah, Norah, Norah
You can bet the Lord I a born Trinidadian.

When mass ends the people pour out of the churches to begin the road march.

The celebrating continues into the morning: "This is the time when almost every house in the island possesses a bottle of rum. At daybreak on

the 25th of December every man with a bottle in their hand dancing with the music of a bass and tamborine. At these moments when people are on the musical spirit they will dance to the song 'song of 2 bottle' " (Dick, personal commun.).

On Christmas morning some people return home for sleep while a few continue feting. David (MS, p. 33) reported that:

> On Christmas Day there is revelry in the atmosphere. Various bands of serenaders "pass" around singing, dancing, and delivering Christmas messages at every home. They receive things to eat and drink. In rare cases too these serenaders receive money on Christmas day. At about 3:00 P.M. few serenaders are out, the majority have gone to their homes either drunk with liquor or sleeping somewhere. At about 4:00 P.M. all doors are closed as each person sets off for the final jump-up in their village. If there is not a steel band in their village, they move to another district where there is one.
>
> The village of Belmont is the centre for the final jump-up as people from all over the island leave their village on Christmas evening. Parents are segregated from their children. They meet again after the road match is ended. If there is moonlight they retire only through exhaustion. If there is darkness soon after sunset or down pour of rain, regrettable remarks are made by individuals, particularly the youths: "Boy Christmas finish in truth?" Only the rain and darkness can cease the constant rhythm of the steel band and the loud singing or calypsoes. A road match on "Boxing Day" providing it is not a Sunday ends the festivity of Christmas.

Thus, by the 1960s community Christmas celebrations centered on the steel band. Yet the steel band did not come to Carriacou until the early 1950s, brought, as we shall see, by a returned migrant from Trinidad. People say that the Hosannah bands are much older.

Boxing Day is the day after Christmas, a holiday in the former British Caribbean. Masses are said in the churches and there is a jump-up in some of the villages. Weddings are held on this day and community socializing continues. For some, Boxing Day is a time which unifies the family and brings together folk ritual and the church. Such people have a Sàcara at home on this day every year. One man, his wife, and family sacrifice a chicken and set a ritual Parents' Plate in the master bedroom. His mother held this rite when he was a child. On Boxing Day his mother prepared additional food for the poor. This man also attends mass in the Catholic church on Boxing Day.

One week after Christmas Eve comes "Old Year's Night," an interesting twist on the "New Year's Eve" celebrated elsewhere (this may be an indication of a traditional emphasis in the society rather than an orientation toward the future implicit in "New Year's Eve"). Old Year's Evening and Night is a time for foot racing in the savannah in Hillsborough, for feting, and for one or two Big Drums and Quadrille dances sponsored by different families. At midnight there is a road march in Hillsborough. Young men prowl the island and commit small crimes such as overturning someone's open boat, stealing a cooked ham or chicken, "sheeting up" doors, or staging a fight.

On New Year's Day there are Quadrille dances, weddings, and the rejoining of families of returned migrants. The third of January is called All Fours Day and men gather in the Anglican or Catholic church yards on the island to play "all fours," a card game. Others take part in the church "harvest" sometimes held in conjunction with the card playing. At a harvest the church members sell "bakes" and cakes, the proceeds going to the church.

Carnival

Since World War II and particularly in the last 15 years, Carnival has changed. Today, the old-style Carnival coexists with the imported Trinidad-style Carnival, a change directly related to migration between the two islands.

Carnival developed under the combined influences of the French pre-Lenten celebrations, British Christmastime serenades, and West African masqueraders. "It is a Christian festivity which is celebrated on the two days which precede Ash Wednesday. This is a celebration which involves almost the whole population as only the lame, the blind, and the Seventh Day Adventists may remain at home on Carnival days. Throughout the past fifteen years Carnival celebrations have been improving. It was previously connected with riotous revelry which eventually brought enmity and bitterness between inhabi-

tants of the north of the island and inhabitants of the South" (David, MS, p. 33). It is likely that Carnival in Carriacou predates its Trinidadian counterpart since the French planters did not arrive on the latter island until the 1790s (E. Hill, 1972, p. 7). It is possible that French planters from Carriacou were among those that brought Carnival to Trinidad.

Formerly, festivities began in late October and stretched through Christmas until Lent. Today, the preparations begin soon after Christmas. Carnival masquerade organizations, usually village based, attempt to raise money for their costumes. Tailors, seamstresses, and the handicraft shop in Hillsborough are deluged with orders for costumes. In the week before Carnival there are dances as well as the finals for the "Calypso King," "Carnival Queen," and "Queen of the Bands" competitions. These events form the nexus of the Trinidadian influences and will be examined in some detail.

Calypso is a style of singing popular during the Carnival season (fig. 29). Singers compose their own tunes and lyrics; the words are usually topical and, at times, pornographic. Some calypsos are indistinguishable in melody from popular American, British band, or Latin dance music. Others are variations of Caribbean folk songs. Many calypsos composed by Carriacouans contain essentially West African elements: call and response phrasing, off-beat melodic accents, litany, and a metronomic rhythm. Lyrically, the older calypsos borrow from many forms, including "kalinda" or "stick fighting" songs, "bongos," "belairs," and other Big Drum songs. Modern calypso is a peculiarly West Indian and especially a Trinidadian phenomenon, but its origins lie in West African praise singing, in West African and French minstrelsy, and in late nineteenth-century Latin dance music. Recently calypsos have been influenced by American jazz, Latin American popular music, and Jamaican reggae.

Older calypsos were sung in patois or in both English and patois. Calypso is sometimes called "kaiso," a word shouted by the calypsonian or the crowd while he is singing. Errol Hill (1972, p. 62) believed that one possible origin for this term is the Hausa word "kaico," an exclamation.

FIG. 29. The Mighty Black Boy sings calypso, accompanied by a combo. Amigo's Road House in Hillsborough, November 15, 1970.

Composing calypsos partially in patois and use of the term kaiso is today more common in Carriacou than in Trinidad. This may indicate that the form is not completely imported from the latter island but rather has had a parallel, and most probably interrelated, development on both islands. Many immigrants to Trinidad in the nineteenth century came from Carriacou and other small islands, especially Grenada. Today many calypsonians, including the most famous, the Mighty Sparrow, are originally from Grenada or some island other than Trinidad. However, singing calypso in an organized fashion, with calypso tents (the meeting place where calypsos are sung), competition between calypsonians with formal judging, and crowning a calypso king of Carnival are imports from Trinidad and probably arrived on Carriacou in the middle 1950s or later.

In 1971 the preliminaries for the calypso competition took place at the Hillsborough school. Seven calypsonians were selected for the final competition which was held the Thursday before Carnival. At the finals, the Mighty Slimmy was selected as the king. Others in the contest included the Mighty Hypocrite, the Mighty Gripper, the Mighty Princess, the Big Bamboo, Black Boy, and the winner of the 1970 competition, the Mighty Scraper (Stephen Gaye). That year Scraper won with this calypso:

Two years now I waiting
I get a letter me voucher coming (repeat first two lines).
Man I feel so glad
I send for two grip in Trinidad.
When I hear the blows,
Me voucher turned down in Barbados.
chorus:
England I want to go
I can't stay here no more
Send me voucher
Send me passport
Tell me what to do
I can't stay no more in Carriacou.
Man I feel so bad
So very, very sad.
Everybody leaving,
Imagine how I feeling?
Who going Canada?
Also America?
But I can't understand
Why me voucher won't come this time.

The calypso finals cost EC $2 for adults, a very high price. Yet many people came to Hillsborough to cheer their village favorites. The king is chosen by a panel of judges, picked by the Carnival Committee for their expertise in calypso. They judged the lyrics of the calypsos each contestant sings, the tune, and his "portrayal" (this may include a costume, a supporting chorus, and a short skit). When the winner was announced at about midnight, he was greeted by the audience with mixed cheers and boos. Some people complained that their favorite did not win because his songs were political and the judging was government controlled, because one particular village dominated the judging, or because their favorite's family did not get on well with the master-of-ceremonies of the show. In 1971, the crowd liked Black Boy who sang about the "Bobul Trade" and "Why Black Men Can't Go to the Moon." Supporters claimed he lost because smuggling was too sensitive a subject and because he brought up a racial theme in the other tune. Yet the winner, the Mighty Slimmy, sang two political songs, both humorous attacks on the premier and the ruling Grenada Union Labour Party.

The Calypso King is given a cash award by some Hillsborough business men and a short vacation to a nearby island. Sometimes it is difficult to get the merchants to cooperate in these ventures: there may be no prizes at all or smaller prizes than originally promised. During Carnival the king sometimes road marches with the band from his community. He is allowed to claim his crown for the entire year. Otherwise, no status whatsoever accrues to a Calypso King. The king is usually a young man, in his late teens or early twenties, and can come from any village on the island.

On Friday night before Carnival, the Queen of the Bands competition is held. Bands or "mas bands" are groups of masqueraders—up to 60 or 70 people—who normally come from one village and who jump-up on Carnival Monday and Tuesday. Each organized band has a theme, a queen, and, usually, a steel band for accompaniment. As they go down the street they are separated from other masqueraders by a rope held by some of the band members, which completely surrounds the group.

In the late 1930s and after World War II, the

Carnival in Trinidad underwent a great change with the introduction of the steel band, very large masquerade bands, Carnival queen competitions, and other organized activities.[1] At that time there were many Carriacouans in Trinidad who, upon returning to Carriacou in the early 1950s, first organized the mas bands in the Belmont-Harvey Vale area of the island, an area where migration to Trinidad had been particularly heavy. These bands became a fixture in the 1960s (David, MS, p. 38): "The highlights of Carnival have been approached gradually from about 1955. But in 1962 there was a greater step towards maturity. Mr. Tyrel Frank of Belmont, a well-known young man, had then begun to introduce to Carriacou a series of very colourful and historical bands. Mr. Frank had spent the most of his life in Trinidad although a Carriacouan by birth. During his stay in Trinidad he was deeply engrossed in steel band and Carnival celebration. In Carriacou the standard of his contributions runs annually. His coming to Carriacou and sharing in the cultural practices of the island is greatly appreciated by the inhabitants."

Frank not only introduced making wire and papier-mâché costumes but also brought tuners for the steel drums from Trinidad. Eventually, the Texaco company sponsored the Harvey Vale steel band. This sponsorship continued until 1969: "Although preparations for Carnival now are resting on the shoulders of some of his regular band members (male) his influence is still strongly felt. He organizes the best steel band of the island and his group participated in the 1967 steel band panorama held at St. George's (Grenada) in August. His group was awarded two trophies—one for the first place in the 'ping pong' solo and one second place in the general competition" (David, MS, p. 38). In 1971 Frank was instrumental in outfitting the "Fishes of the Sea" band from Harvey Vale which eventually won the competition.

In the Carnival Queen of the Bands contest, a few members in full costume, together with the queen, parade on a stage set up in the Hillsborough school. The two other bands participating in 1971 were the "Mexican Fiesta" band from Mt. Pleasant (fig. 30)—they eventually pulled out of the competition, considering the judging unfair—and the "Back to Africa" band from L'Esterre. There has been rivalry between Belmont-Harvey Vale and L'Esterre in the past and it was very intense this year. One of Frank's steel bands had split into two with the L'Esterre members forming their own band. L'Esterre boys resented the fact that Harvey Vale usually won the Queen of the Band and the Carnival Queen competitions and that in 1970, the calypso crown was won by Harvey Vale's Mighty Scraper. Harvey Vale, on the other hand, did not like the fact that the Mighty Slimmy from L'Esterre had won the calypso competition in 1969 and 1971.

The contest is judged on much the same grounds as the calypso battle. The grace and ease with which the girl handles herself on stage inside the heavy costume is judged as well as the merits of the masquerade itself.

The Trinidadian influences of Frank were apparent at the Carnival Queen show. My wife was asked to be a judge and several days before the competition the contestants (teenaged girls) suddenly became gracious to her, asking if they could show her about the island (we had been living on Carriacou for nearly a year). Early in the evening the ticket taker counted 570 people jammed into the 200 seat building, most of them standing. By the show time (about 10:00 P.M.) EC $1,300 had been taken in, meaning that 900 individuals were crammed inside. The combo played Jamaican reggae, several calypsonians sang, and the show progressed as scheduled, each of the band queens parading on stage twice. The winner was a girl from Harvey Vale-Belmont. Cheers and boos followed the announcement. The girl from L'Esterre came in second. More cheers and boos. Just after midnight as the people were leaving the school, a fight broke out between the drummer from L'Esterre and a young man in the audience from Harvey Vale. Panic ensued and the five or six hundred people still inside streamed out the doors and windows (the entrance was partially blocked by a table). The old heads had a difficult time restoring order, but no one was hurt seriously in the crush (only a few broken arms).

The reaction to the judges' decision and the subsequent fight illustrate the intrusion of tradi-

[1]The steel band was created at this time. Carnival was not held in Trinidad during the war years. See E. Hill, 1972 for an excellent description of Trinidad's Carnival.

tional village rivalries into the new cultural forms of Carnival. Formerly, most of this intervillage conflict focused on "speech mas," the highlight of old Carnival and still a very important event. Thus, Carriacou's traditional culture is being modified by returned migrants from Trinidad, but its social organization, in this case, has remained the same.

Sunday night before Carnival, families prepare food in their yards for the canbulay dinner. This event is a family feast. A similar event takes place in Trinidad. There is probably a connection between the two dating from the nineteenth century or earlier (E. Hill, 1972, pp. 23-31). In Trinidad, slaves were gathered to put out cane fires (cannes brulées). Later, on August 1, the anniversary of emancipation day, "ex-slaves reenacted scenes associated with slavery in commemoration of their freedom" (E. Hill, 1972, p. 23). The event came to be associated with Carnival and kalinda.

Early Monday morning, after midnight mass at the Catholic and Anglican churches, a dance is held at the Hillsborough school (see fig. 31 for a poster of similar dances). Modern Carnival begins immediately after the dance, at about 5:00 A.M. with a road march through the streets of Hillsborough. Earlier, however, while the dance is underway, in the hills high above town one hears kalinda drumming–the music of stick fighting: ". . . the casual Big Drum dance is held annually in the cross road La Resource junction.They 'play stick' while the drum beat. At that session some of the most hottest Big Drum songs are played. During this time most of the boys [are present] who are expected to play mass [*sic*] Tuesday morning. Most of the dangerous mass players will jump into the 'ring' saying, 'Who not my friend don't come in the ring.' At that time only your best friend might be spared" (Dick, personal commum.). Stick fighting was once more widespread in Carriacou but it is now confined to two adjoining ridge communities, Mt. Desire and La Resource. The origins of stick fighting are not known but there are West African, European, and East Indian counterparts. The sort played on Carriacou is probably of African origin. Errol Hill (1972, p. 25) has found a reference to stick fighting on nearby Bequia island in the Grenadines which dates from 1838 and it is likely that on Carriacou the art predates that of Trinidad, which is nearly identical in form. Some songs have been borrowed from Trinidad but the older stick fighting tunes (man kalinda) seem to have originated in the Grenadines: "The word Kalenda has existed for a long time in the New World and has been applied to several different dances. The rhythm of the old Kalendas of the Windwards have been taken over for stick fighting in Trinidad, and carries the name Kalenda" (Pearse, 1956a. p. 4).

This is a man kalinda:

Mama Liza canbulay!
Hey! Liza!
Mama Liza canbulay!
Hey! Liza!

(Mama Liza; it's time for the canbulay fete!)

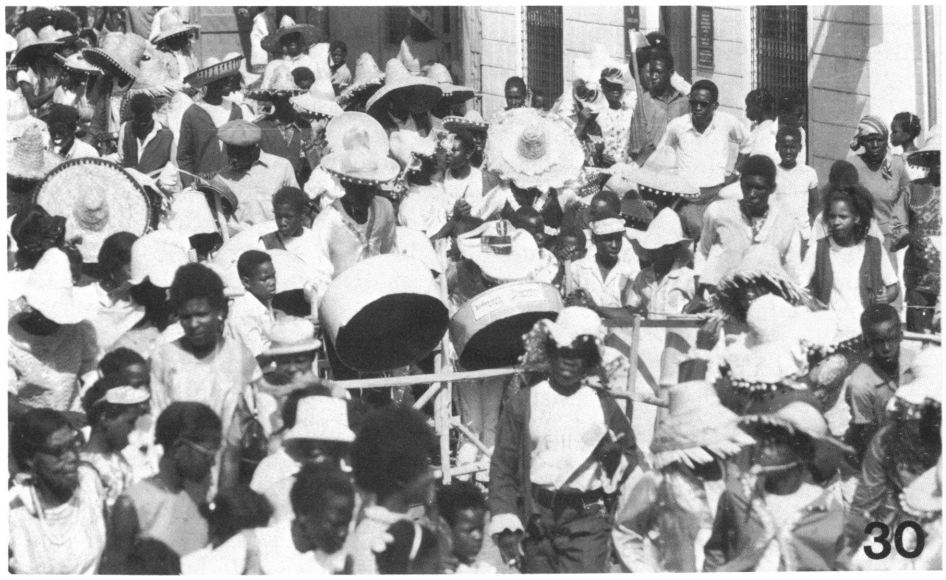
This is a Trinidadian kalinda:

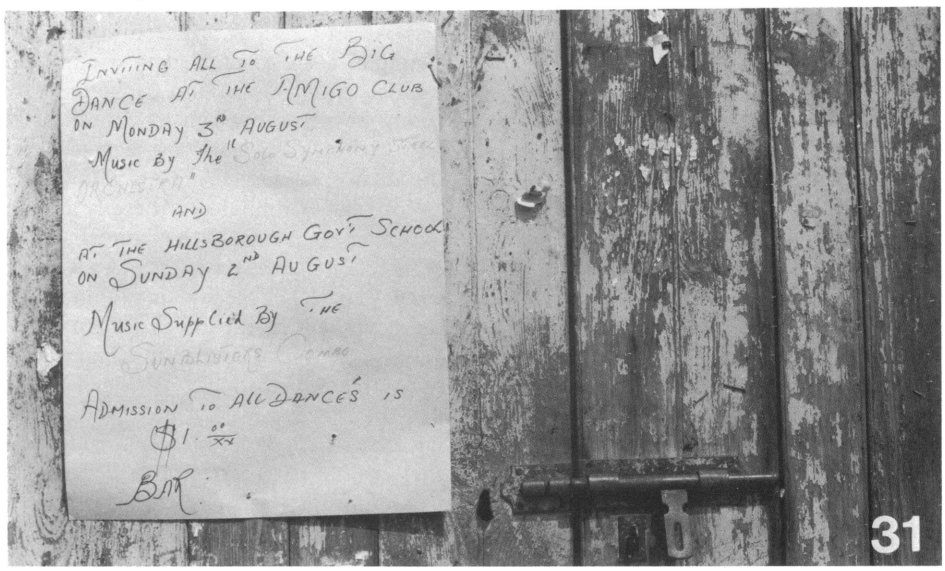
Mooma, mooma
Ah there in the jail already;
So take a towel
And band your belly.

(Mother, mother
They put me in jail for stick fighting
Grieve for me as if I were dead)

About the last song Brindley Dick (personal commun.) said: "When a man says that, during the time he is in the ring, he can kill any man he was troubled with."

In Carriacou, a conch shell is blown to call the drummers and the "batonniers" together. Although there are many ways to play stick a common position is to hold the stick above the face defensively in both hands and let it go from either hand to give a lash to an opponent. Normally just two men fight at a time, the object being to give good blows to the opponent, to artistically "dance" into the various positions while making the opponent look foolish, and to sing well. At its most aggressive moments it can be very dangerous and gashes are opened on the head or chest of combatants. Playing stick, however, is considered a serious art: "It is beautiful as well as serious . . . coming at Carnival time, when guys meet in the ring and drums start beating–you really don't have no brother there, no, no.





FIGS. 30, 31. 30. "Mexican Fiesta" masquerade band on Shrove Tuesday. Hillsborough, February 23, 1971.

31. Sign advertizing a dance. Hillsborough, August 3, 1970.

"Who wins? The best stick man. You knock me down you get to remain. Sometimes you knock me down and you get on better than me and still I could play with you and not knock you down but cut you up with this very stick, not with knife. You see, it's very good to see them" (Cummings, personal commun.).

A former migrant to Trinidad tells of his exploits as a batonnier there (Cummings, personal commun.):

"With the stick one village is coming to meet the next. Well, you gotta defend your village and the next guy is coming to defend his village in your village.

A former migrant to Trinidad tells of his living in Chaguanas. I was in front of a guy called Ramatar, a Chiney fellow. He's hard as pepper. Well, I really didn't want to play stick with them kind of guy [but] I had to go into the ring. Three of us came in there and I got this [points to a scar on his face]. The first cock he made at me I made at him. Both of us is two left handers. Second cross I made at him. All was trickling for blood and the sergeant and three constables come and stop the drum beating. He said, 'Well, it's too furious, it's no good.' "

At Carriacou's 1971 Carnival the stick fighting was over by 5:30 A.M. Participants and observers either went home for some sleep or walked to town where the "Juvay" morning celebrations were beginning. When the dance at the Hillsborough school let out, people streamed onto the streets, steelbandsmen assembled and began playing a tune:

> Coco and coconut had a fight
> Parrot come and asks, "What is that?"
> Jacks give it one thump
> And Okru set it right inside.

The tune to this English and patois song was played by the steel band continuously for two hours on Juvay morning. As the band played, people fell in alongside or behind in the road march. By 7:00 A.M. the organized masquerade bands were on the streets and their members were jumping-up to the "sweet sounds" of the "pans." At about 10:00 A.M. many people quit for a rest.

There is often a final competition between bands around noontime held at the savannah. This too is based entirely on a Trinidadian counterpart (David, MS, p. 36): "On Carnival Monday at about 12:00 all bands which have been registered for competition at the recreation grounds of Hillsborough Government School will be assembled. Other bands refused to participate in the competition and road marched to the town of Hillsborough. Vast crowds of people went their way to the pageant. These bands compete against each other by displaying on stage and the judges make their decision as to which band is the most colourful or best historical. First, second, and third prizes are awarded to all bands. The prizes are then distributed to the winners. The rest of the day is spent in road matching the streets of Hillsborough. At sunset the crowd diminishes [*sic*] and the first days celebration ends. Usually there is a dance at night."

In 1971, because of the intense feelings between Harvey Vale and L'Esterre, the Carnival committee decided not to have a band competition. Nevertheless, the bands gathered on the savannah and road marched up and down, exhibiting their costumes to the people who had assembled.

Meanwhile, many people were out on the streets in "old mas" costumes. Old mas is a generic name for a variety of improvised, topical costumes conceived by the individuals who wear them (as opposed to mas band costumes which are planned by the person in charge of the village mas). Many others are traditional outfits. For example, a child, dressed in a white sheet, will wander about the island carrying a box. For a penny he will show you its contents. The box is said to hold "B'Nancy" (the trickster spider of the Akan-speaking Ghanaians who lends his name to a cycle of folktales). There is also "job job," two men blackened with charcoal and chained to each other (fig. 32). Dick (personal commun.) related that: "The person is pretending that he is the devil beating his son to ask for money to pay for his freedom. The man in chain is bawling, 'Ah want the penny to pay the devil.' Many people pay them because they are afraid of them thinking that when these job job keep following them they will dirty their clothes." Job job wears a pair of horns. He roams the streets intimidating passersby, talking jibberish or saying outlandish things: "Yes Pa, oh pa, throw me against the wall. I am job job. I work in the field. The chains help bury mama. Holy Mary, Mother of Grace!" Other job job in groups of three or four roam the streets, beat on biscuit tins, and sing strange songs.

Some men and women stick pillows over their bellies to "look as pregnant." Others carry dismembered white or black dolls. One man, said to be a scamp the rest of the year, dressed with a turned-around collar and a black suit. He carried

a Bible upside down from which he read in well-modulated and sing-song tones. One of the favorite old masque costumes in the "Wild Indian Mas" in which five or six young men dress in red grass skirts and, in Carriacou, a head dress shaped roughly like a sloop. They dance up the street in serpentine fashion.

In the past there were several different types of musical groups: string bands, the bamboo tamboo, and the ba–but today the latter two are rare. The maypole dance, once a common sight at Carnivals, is also rare today.

The activities of Juvay morning, then, center on the absurd, the novel, or on reversals of the usual order of things. By doing this Carriacouans are made to think of what is usual in their society–that is, one cannot laugh at a scamp carrying a Bible unless one knows he is a scamp. Thus, Carnival is liminal to a great degree–it is a gap in the social order which is at once a means of forgetting the humdrum of the rest of the year and glorifying it (see van Genep, 1960; and Turner, 1968, 1969, 1972, 1974).

On Shrove Tuesday, the final day of Carnival, the organized mas bands continue to road march throughout Hillsborough: "The crowd is more thickly populated than the day before. At about 1:30 P.M. it is almost impossible to walk through the crowd. Only band members are free to move about and this is because bands are segregated from spectators by rope" (David, MS, p. 37). The rope that bars intruders was immortalized by this road march of the Mighty Sparrow:

Time to unite
They want to fight
And making excuse saying they tight
While everyone was jumping up and having a good time
They were pelting and fighting trying to spoil a sound lime
But ah buy all me gear and well prepare
So tell them beware:

For Carnival while jumping in the band
I'm going to have a parcel in me hand
If they cherish the hope
That they go tackle and beat this dope
Ah want you to know I ain't making joke this year
Ah walking with me rope.

The jump-up continues into the evening and night.

The big event on Shrove Tuesday in the "pre-Trinidad" style Carnival is the speech mas. It has its rough equivalents elsewhere in the Caribbean in the "John Canoe" of Jamaica, the Bahamas, British Honduras, and the southern United States; in Guyana; and in the "speech bands" of Tobago. It is similar to the "shortnee" and pierrot mas of Grenada. It is nearly identical to the pierrot of Trinidad, a Carnival celebration that has almost died out in that island. It is similar in some respects to stick fighting and at one time the two customs may have been more closely associated.

David (MS, p. 35) reported that preparation for the speech mas begins shortly after Christmas, with making costumes: [They wore] "splendid costumes. Brightly coloured cotton and satin were used. Each costume was adorned with several mirrors and small bells. These mirrors dazzled in the sunshine and the bells rang as the individual moved about and waved his stick above his head. The stick was called a Bull. It was binded with wire and was held in the right hand . . . The head dress was padding made from cloth and covered with a cap. Usually the peak of the cap faced the back of the individual. They wore a beautiful cape made of satin and lined with heavy material. The cape was worn so that the heavy blows received in the battle may not penetrate on the individual's back. They wore heavy boots and a mask on their faces."

Although David wrote as though the speech mas is a thing of the past, it is not. Its importance, however, is declining.

While the costume is being prepared in the months before Carnival, the speeches are practiced, most of which are adapted from Shakespeare's Julius Caesar (e.g., "Friends, Romans, countrymen, and lovers . . ."). It is said that "brainy fellows" would memorize passages from history books, particularly those concerning William the Conqueror. There are a few locally composed speeches, however. The theme of all the recitations, whether taken from books or traditional, is youthful prowess–skill with words and physical deeds. In the speech mas physical strength and mental agility are one.

One local speech concerns the costume and the masquerader's skill in fending off an opponent:

Ladies predom (?), gentlement predomical (?)
When I use the phrase "ladies and gents"
I do not mean nothing to offend you.
I just mean "Good morning to the ladies predom and gentlemen predomical."
How do you admire my garment this morning!
My garment is shining like a morning star!
I has this bull in me hand which is made of chicken bark.
I has this bell in me hand which rings the gate of Hell!
I has this shoe on me foot which is made of engine tire!
I have me job, Willie Boy:
If I should drop this bull upon your back, it tears
clothes from skin
skin from flesh
flesh from bone
And leave you a standing skeleton.[1]

Evenings during the months preceding Carnival, speakers, dressed in ordinary clothes, practice along the roadside in some of the villages. As a masquerader told me: "one uses the most hateful words in his vocabulary." Formerly such practice sessions took place throughout the island but today they are often restricted to Brunswick, La Resource, and Six Roads. The speakers recite speeches to one another and at times, using the bull or whip, also practice fighting.

Speeches are delivered in a stylized manner. The right foot is brought forward and stamped on the ground as the speech is spoken in short, explosive sentences. A good masquerade player memorizes 20 or more speeches. If he has backers they will yell "brave" at the end of each phrase. A short speech with backers responding might go like this (Dick, personal commun.):
"Look at me! (paywo)"
"Brave! (backers)"
"I am up in the air!"
"Brave!"
"See I let go both hand!"
"Brave!"
"But yet I cannot fall!"
"Brave!"

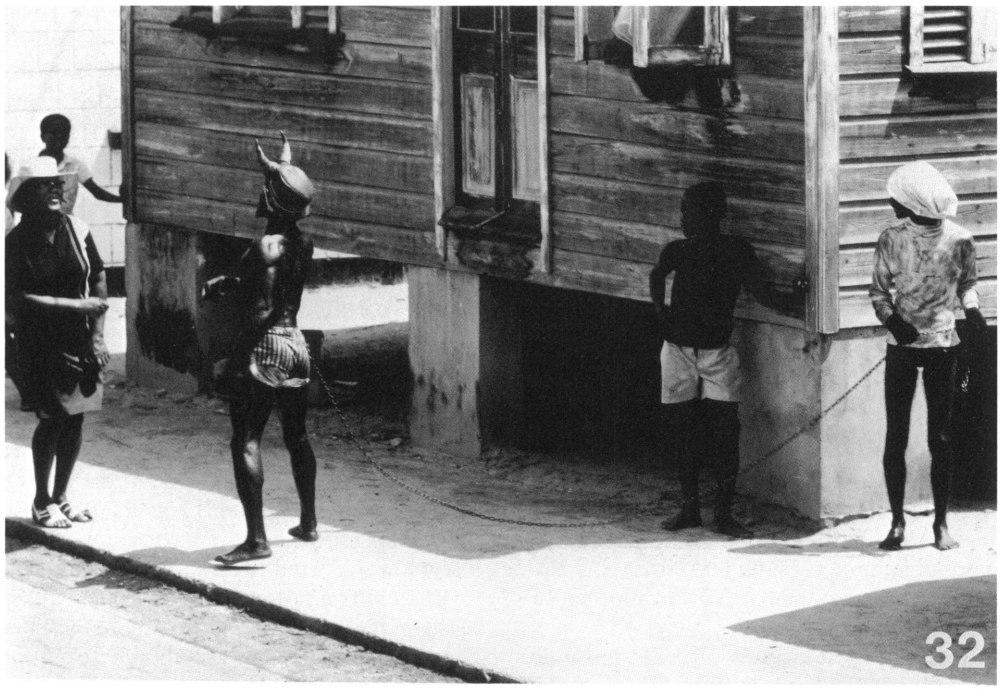
Ideally, a "king," "peacemaker," paywo, and other costumed players are selected from each of the villages. The king best combines delivery of speech, number of speeches memorized, and, most importantly, strength and skill in fighting with the whip. Normally, the same man becomes king year after year. The peacemaker and the paywo also repeat their roles for many years.

Practice comes to an end the week before Carnival. Shrove Tuesday is the day for the speech mas in some of the villages. In 1971 the major battles took place in Top Hill, Six Roads, Hillsborough, and most of all, at La Resource. At about 7:00 A.M. groups of mas players from Belvedere, Belair, and Top Hill met at Top Hill to "play mas." Meanwhile, down from Mt. Desire, one of the ridge communities on the island, a group of players in full paywo costume, charged into La Resource, shouting speeches and yelling all the way down the hillside. At La Resource this group, combined with youths from La Resource, met to play mas against the combined group coming from Top Hill (fig. 33). For approximately one hour they fought at the cross. While elders from the villages acted as peacemakers—not to be confused with the participant peacemakers—pairs of masqueraders confronted one another. They recited their speeches, struck each other with their whips, and wrestled. When the fighting became too fierce the peacemaker would step in and separate the combatants. Occasionally it would take two or three men to pull the players apart. Sometimes a paywo would become so excited he would tremble, fall to his knees moaning or reciting a speech to no one in particular. One or two women joined the battle by seizing a whip from one of the elders who was trying to separate a pair of opponents. These ladies showed no mercy, striking the masquerader on the back and about the arms and legs.

[1]Here are some more local speeches. They were written down by Brindley Dick (personal commun.) of La Resource village, with his comments:

"I am strong 'bowakes' the young tobacco presser. This pole in my hands is made of chicken. The shoes in my feet is made of engine tire. If I should put this pole up on the poor penny press, por pen bastard like you I shall take away your flesh and leave you like a standing skeleton.' Meaning: This man is expressing his strength and describing his power.

'I am young henry the chicky violin, the ginny pepper, now spring from the cave among lions, elephants, and tigers. I never get by none and if you decide to share some tears prepare to share them now. Death shall dwell with Lucifer.' Meaning: This man is showing the other man the amount of difficulties he passes through and is still alive."



FIGS. 32, 33. 32. Job job bothers a woman. Hillsborough, February 22, 1971.
33. Masqueraders fight as peacemakers attempt control. La Resource, February 23, 1971.

They also had to be pulled away by the peacemaker. At this point the speeches were of secondary importance and as often as not the combatants would dispense with their recitation to devote their full energies to battle.

Each village sends not only a king, peacemaker, and other paywos but backers too. These men and women offer their players moral, verbal, and physical support. A village king is much more effective in combat if he has 20 or 30 people to stand with him when he meets his opponent.

Once the player is exhausted, the fighting eases, and the former enemies join to march on to the next village for another battle. Six Roads is the village next to La Resource. Combatants from L'Esterre, Harvey Vale, Belmont, and Belle Vue South had already reached Six Roads. They had fought some battles and were now ready to meet the large group roaring in from La Resource. These two groups battled for another 45 minutes.

Eventually all these players gathered into one massive group. Masqueraders from the southern part of the island are called Band Royal, or in patois, Banroy. They meet the northern group, the Heroes, in Hillsborough's market square at about 11:00 A.M. The paywos enter town for this final confrontation running at top speed and shouting their speeches. David (MS, pp. 24-25) reported that formerly this time marked the fiercest battle on the island: "I was often thrilled when I listened to my father's narration of his experiences in battle at Carnival. He reigned as king of Banroy for many years and was noted for being the most famous king on the island . . . when the [masqueraders] of the south faced a difficult group of Heroes, he came to their rescue by chasing the Heroes to the sea coast.

"Women played a great part in the battles which existed between the two parties. At one Carnival, while the men were engaged in battle at the front street women were occupied in accumulating stones and boiling water in kerosene tins at the back street [and] with these destructive weapons they attacked the Banroys."

Here, the authority of village elders is completely usurped by the police. David (MS, p. 27) continued: "The fighting was controlled by policemen. The policemen signalled the beginnings and endings of battle. The battle [was] preceded by a revelation of literature from heroes and Banroys. The literature was recited alternately. The paywos was kept apart from one another by adhering to a boundary outlined by the police. They used their sticks mainly, but head and feet were also used as defense in serious battle." The police presence made the battles in the market square less severe than those in the villages and side streets of Hillsborough.

In 1972 the Carnival took place immediately before the General Election in which Premier Gairy won a new term in office. As the Premier's government is not popular in Carriacou, the tensions of the election subdued Carnival activities—except for the speech mas. When the paywo mas took place on Shrove Tuesday there was a battle between the police and players on Fort Hill above Hillsborough. A few people were hurt and a few were arrested for disorderly conduct.

The confrontation between police and speech masqueraders, and the antipathy between Carriacouan folk beliefs and the churches, particularly over the "pagan influences of Carnival," all illustrate distinctions between the folk and metropolitan cultures.

Combining strength and mental skill in speech mas is reflected in the Carriacouan value system for young men. The training involved in becoming a good speaker is, in some ways, the culmination of standards taught boys from a very early age. These attributes help young men withstand the difficulties of migration and maintaining a job abroad.

Further, the conflict through which a player passes represents a concrete dialectic. The struggle between individuals, villages, groups of villages, and the northern and southern half of the island represents folk antagonisms. This progression is resolved in the final paywo confrontation with the police, the representatives of metropolitan society.

A decline in speech mas has occurred as village distinctions have become less important. The fact that Christine David has not witnessed speech mas for years at a stretch attests to this. In the 1967 copy (p. 35) of David's unpublished manuscript she said: "Throughout the years from the middle of this century, paywos has been decreasing. As the years passed on, the treatment

became more human. There may still be a trace of speech mas at Carnival but I have not seen any from 1955. If a paywo was seen in this year's Carnival the individual gave or received not brutal treatment. Instead he wore his beautiful costume and recited his literature during the early hours of the morning and that was all."

The older elements in Carnival–the canbulay, the kalinda, the Juvay morning masques, and the Shrove Tuesday speech mas–testify to a common cultural history with Trinidad predating emancipation and maintained since by migration. The newer masquerade bands and a formal calypso competition, according to David (MS, p. 38), have a known origin in Trinidad and were introduced into Carriacou by specific individuals in the 1950s and 1960s: "There is no doubt that Carnival in the past was connected to paganism. The paywos wore capes with designation of a cross and attached to the middle of the cape. Whatever it was in the past is not significant. What should be highly considered is that Carnival in Carriacou is similar to Carnival in Trinidad. This aspect of Carriacou culture is not distinctive."

LENT AND EASTER

Lent begins on midnight, Carnival Tuesday. This is the height of the dry season, when people are harvesting cotton and peas, cleaning water ponds and cisterns, and fixing up their houses: "During Lent, the people restrain from dancing, cursing, rum drinking, singing of calypsos, wearing of brightly coloured clothes. They are to attend nightly services in addition to Sunday Masses. These nightly services are called stations of the cross and benediction" (David, MS, p. 38). Only a few people maintain these church customs. I discerned no great abstinence from drinking rum, cursing, wearing of brightly colored clothes, or in singing calypsos. However, formal dances were not scheduled. Garden and household tasks make the restriction of social activities useful and people apparently prefer postponing their traditional religious practices, social meetings, and wedding ceremonies until after Lent. Thus, potential conflict with the churches is conveniently minimized. Furthermore, the historic conflict between the Anglican and Catholic churches for religious control of the island has prevented the establishment of an oppressive church influence over Carriacouan activities.[1] David (MS, pp. 39-40) continued: "On Good Friday there is a daily service in both churches. The people wear black, white and black and mauve on this day. Bright colours are disregarded by the community. There are superstitious practices connected to Good Friday which are long established Roman Catholic beliefs. It is believed that the stem of the 'physicnut' tree bleeds on Good Friday. This bleeding is indicative of the Crucifixion of Christ. No one is expected to bathe in the sea on Good Friday but on Easter Sunday when they beat the water with their hands and repeat 'Banjay lavay' several times, meaning 'God arises.' This is not all. On this day the first egg laid by a hen is used for predicting the future. The egg must be layed on that day and at twelve o'clock the albumen is put into a drinking glass with some water. It is placed in the sun and whatever it forms is predicted as a sign of the future for the person who placed it in the sun. If it looks like a church it means a marriage."

ALL SAINTS' DAY AND ALL SOULS' DAY

The other major church holidays are the first and second of November: All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day. I have already explained the importance of these days to the folk religion and from a Roman Catholic perspective; I have made particular reference to lineages and the ancestors. Now I turn to the interaction between the church and the folk belief system. (David, MS, p. 20) wrote: "In Carriacou Requiem Masses are said in both Anglican and Roman Catholic churches and these masses are said in the morning. The people who attend are to carry candles to be blessed and a list with the names of their relatives who have died. The names of the dead are usually read out at a certain part of the mass by the priest." On All Saints' night people light candles at ancestral graves and candles are also burned in the churches. There is the libation of rum and a prayer offered for the ancestors. In

[1]When the British seized control of the island in the eighteenth century, they persecuted the Catholics for a decade (Devas, 1932, 1964).

Hillsborough and Windward there are candlelight processions from the government cemeteries. Once the candles have been burned, bush which has been cleared from the cemetery is set ablaze. It is beautiful and eerie to see the hillside cemetery dotted with candlelight, its boundaries flaming.

David reported that there is usually a Big Drum held at the government cemetery in Harvey Vale. However, there was none on All Saints' or All Souls' night in either 1970 or 1971. The Big Drum at the cemetery is the folk equivalent of the church masses.

On both evenings in L'Esterre, after the Big Drum if one is held, teenaged boys and girls gather at the crossroads to participate in the "pass play," a ring game with girls on one side and boys on the other. Inside the ring a boy or girl dances as the people at ringside sing, "Female, we don't want the male" or:

Man sweeter than woman
Woman sweeter than man
If I think you sweeter than me
Ah rather throw meself in the sea.

Some of these songs are in patois. The person in the ring, while singing[1] and clapping, dances over to the side, touches a person of the opposite sex who then enters and dances in a similar fashion.

While a few people light candles on graves on All Souls' Night, most do not. On this night candles are lit at home. Some people light candles on their door step so that their ancestors will know where to find them.

Activities on these two nights express the traditional concerns of generational and sex roles, allegiance to the ancestors and to the lineage, the continuity between the living and the dead, the differences between the church and folk religion, and how the two belief systems come together on a convenient occasion.

Although the system of folk beliefs exhibits all the requirements of a fully developed religion, most Carriacouans consider religion something which has to do with the churches. A few people even go so far as to deny their own beliefs: "How could that become a religion? That is just a nice story to me. Some people believe in it. Me? I don't believe in that." Nevertheless, there can be no question that the belief in the influence of the dead over the living pervades the folk religion and is an adjunct to the church practices. For example, offering ritual food for the dead is seen as just that by the same informant who denied his belief in folk religion: "Some will go tonight and make the Parents' Plate. Tomorrow they go and make a mass. The mass just as the Parents' Plate!" In the first two sentences he is referring to what others do but in the last sentence he equates, for himself, the memorial masses which are so common in Carriacou and the Parents' Plate. In his eyes, and for most Carriacouans, both are forms of Saraca for the dead.

CHAPTER 10. THE FOLK RELIGION: MAGIC AND SUPERNATURAL MANIPULATION

DEATH AND THE DEAD

Central to the religious concepts of Carriacouan folk is the idea of a soul in both the living and the dead. Most Carriacouans distinguish between the two: the spiritual essence of a living being is the "soul," whereas that of a dead person is called the "spirit" or jumbie.

Any person, living or dead, has just one soul; it may be good or bad. Bad individuals may utilize the soul of a good person for evil purposes. However, some people say, "Why would a good soul harm anyone?" The Carriacouan folk-belief system is full of individual variations and inconsistencies.

The realm of the dead is a logical extension of this world. Sociological principles governing Carriacou extend beyond death and the spirit of a recently dead person remains a potentially active force among the living. When memory of a dead individual fades, Carriacouans say that he joins the Old Parents. He becomes one of the anonymous dead, still a vital spirit but unknown to the

[1]These tunes are sung in a call-and-response pattern and are very African in style. Indeed, the Big Drum and the pass play songs are the most distinctively African music of the island. All other musical forms show some combination of African and European influences.

living. The other dead are also known as Old Parents but they retain their earthly names.

The souls of old people are normally more potent than those of children and young adults. The Old Parents are regarded as a senior group of elders—that is, they enter into the lives of the living and are respected as old heads are respected. Thus, the spirit of an elder is more powerful than the spirit of a younger person.

Although the dead lack corporeality, there are instances of temporary reincarnation. Some people believe that spirits return in the form of ants or some other animal to eat from the Parent' Plate. Others, including the following informant, do not: "I wouldn't like this! I mean it's really funny seeing a human as a dog."

Formerly, the dead were said to dance at the beginning of a Big Drum, disguised as a breeze, a dog, or a man unknown to the people at the dance. After such moments the spirit sheds its flesh and returns to the world of the dead.

At death, a person's soul separates from his body. The dead soul does not immediately realize his altered state. As one old man told me: "The people left behind you—they could know but you dead and you couldn't know." Only on the third night after death does the spirit become aware that he has joined the other world. The spirit must spend some time in purgatory before going on to heaven or hell, depending on whether the soul was good or bad.

There is a folktale about purgatory, told to me by a man who died a few months after telling this story. It concerns a fellow so ornery that he had difficulty gaining entrance into either heaven or hell:

"There was a fellow that died and when his soul woke up from the grave he go into the gates of heaven. And when he knocked and they asked who it is, he say, 'I am Johnny.'

"He say, 'No Johnny, no acception.'

"So he leave, going to hell. When he reach half of the way to hell the devil have noticed him in the darkness. He says, 'Who is coming there? Is that Johnny?'

"Some of the devil's angels said, 'Hold this lantern. Give it to him and let him shine his way.'

" 'Don't come here because you make me see too much of hell! He come in hell to make me see more hell! Let him go his way!'

"Hell don't want him, God don't want him. So sometimes you pass him you might bounce him off too!"

Generally, a decision is made one way or the other: "if you good God deals with that. If you live good you get yourself realized in the next world. You soul goes to God."

Although most Carriacouans have good spirits, a few do not and these malevolent jumbies, together with the souls of evil people or people who have been subverted by the devil, cause many problems for the living. It seems that all forms of magic, sorcery, witchcraft, and divination on the island can be used for either good or bad ends. Similarly, a magician—a "seerman" or "obeahman"—can be either good or bad. However, people who deal with the devil in life usually do so at his whim and are evil. Such people are often called obeahmen or "dealers." Seermen or "lookmen" are usually good people with special powers to control evil or look into the future. It sometimes takes the expertise of a seerman to counteract the devil's influence. Gravediggers, twins, and children born with cauls are also said to have special powers to repel evil souls and spirits. Seermen and people with book learning—whether their education is magical (knowledge of dream books for example) or formal (training as a priest or teacher)—are best able to neutralize evil people and their activities.

Some people, such as the informant who related the following opinion, doubt the efficacy of priestly intervention in the after life, believing such intervention useful only from the folk religion:

"When a person die they say you soul can never die. If you're going to die now and I come and visit you and you is a bad soul and you didn't like me before you die you could make me see you. You would stop in place to get I frightened. Sometimes I get excited. Sometimes I drop on the ground and they have to pick me up and carry me. That is a bad soul.

"But if you is a good soul before you die where you lying you will call on the Almighty God. You will say, 'Oh God bless me and have mercy on me' and then you will die. You see everything bad that you've done you're supposed to speak before you die. Say, 'I is the man who killed Tom.' You can't keep it back.

"Now I'm going to tell you something. If I

steal these matches away from you and I go to the Roman Catholic priest and confess to the priest—you see, the priest is just a man. He is a white man and I am black. But all of us have the same soul. You say to the priest, 'I killed so and so.'

"The priest say, 'Oh I am very sorry. May God bless and help you.' He will say little prayers inside there for you.

"You believes this can save you? It can't save you! The priest can't save you. You've done the act already. But if I steal something from you and I go to you and say, 'I wish you'll forgive me,' and if you forgive with your own heart then everything is clear. But if you just go and confess to the priest and go back to the same person you steal from you is not doing nothing. As long as this person didn't forgive you, you didn't do nothing."

In other words, "debts are paid" outside of the church. A wrongdoer must deal with his victim or his victim's spirit, not with an agent of the church.

Transgressions against the ancestors are punished, sometimes fiercely. Eating food from the Parents' Plate, for example, is forbidden except on specified ritual occasions: "I've seen men when they're hungry. They come in the middle of the night. They make the sign of the cross and they eat. He could tell them, 'Beg Pardon,' because he needs something." This is a legitimate way to break the Plate—eating food at middlenight or in the morning when it is no longer ritually significant. However, if food is eaten from the Plate when it should not have been, the consequences are not good. This story is typical of accounts of magical death: "Once I know they have a girl who went to the Table and she steal . . . the [sugar apple.] The sugar apple was looking so beautiful on the Table and they put it there for the Parents.

"At a certain time in the night she was frightened. The next day she died. That was now a couple of years ago . . . when I was a boy . . . By the next evening she was gone. The people see her take that food. They didn't do nothing for she. It was the jumbie kill her." The girl died because she broke a taboo. She died because she did what she knew to be wrong and the Old Parents, for whom the Plate was prepared, were angry with her. However, some people say that though a good spirit would not approve of her actions, it would certainly not kill her.

Death is sometimes meted out even if no taboo has been transgressed. This story, based on a real incident, was told to me by an old sailor:

This is a man that was fishing. He got so much in his seine he come to make a farewell for the sea. Then he sent for the Shango people, down in Grenada. And they come. He make cookout food, kill goat, kill beasts and throw them about in the sea.

So a day he went for those people there, the Shango people, to have a Time. They go to Sandy Island, Myboya. They go to Harvey Vale. They go around Belmont. They try everything.

They tell him that he going to die. He can't live.

I now tell you what they was doing. They was doing for the fete and they didn't get nothing. They sing at the Big Drum and the people have a big boli like and they rolling it so and they play: boom boom boom boom.

Women dance in that.

So the man, they couldn't do nothing for he. They didn't charge he no money at all because they see he going to die. They bring him back down to the place, Monique [Grenada], from Carriacou here and the man dead Saturday. Then the boat come back with the man. The man was dead aboat.

That's a true one. That happened a couple of years long, when I was a boy. I hear the people singing it. They have it in the house I was living in. And there was a Big Drum in this house. They going in the sea, then took plenty food. They go to kill the beast. The beast they kill, they don't eat it. The blood, you know—to give. They kill the beast to pay the sea. But they could not pay it.

He had the biggest place in L'Esterre. The wife is a family to me. She names was Cythia Jones.[1] Look! She daughter have that little red store named Jones Dress Shop. This is she last daughter.

He catching . . . so much but when he come he give everybody fish . . . He was the best man passing. He get sick one day in the sea. He died on the sea coming back. When he went bring come the people back he was a dead man.

[1]Names have been changed in the present story.

The Shango specialists tried to restore the man to good health but they failed. The man caught more than his rightful share of fish. It is of no consequence, apparently, that he acted according to the rules in that he shared the fish out. He died to pay the sea an unknown debt. His attempts to Beg Pardon and to hold Thanksgivings failed.[1]

Such explanations of death are common. When one dies Carriacouan people recognize both an efficient cause and a magical cause. If a bad soul is the cause of death, then those among the living who bring about the death are called dealers—people who deal with the devil.

WITCHES AND SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Dealers may practice obeah, "negromancy," or "kacomay" ("cocomar" or witchcraft). Christine David (MS, pp. 58, 60), has succinctly described witchcraft, the characteristics of witches, and commonly known instances of witchcraft in practice:

In Carriacou, the word "Coco-mar" is used instead of witchcraft. Both male and female suck blood from human beings through their connection with the devil. These witches fly at night to get the blood. Each one carries a long pipe and a deep "boli."

Before flying the witch goes to a nearby beach and takes off his or her skin. This can bring very unfortunate results since a sailor once put pepper on the skin of a Ligaron ["loogarou"]. Ligaron returned after sucking blood only to find the skin couldn't fit. The pepper was so hot. She screamed and screamed. She said, "Ahkin [skin] it's me, it's me kin ah kin."

After taking off the skin, the coco-mar meets the devil (master). The devil changes the witch to a horse or donkey as the case may be. The witch carries the devil up a steep hill. From the hill the witch takes height and flies from house to house extracting blood with the pipe by puncturing the victim's body through Master's power. The blood is emptied into a boli. The coco-mar selects the part of the body according to taste, for example, the thigh and arms. When they suck the head, they're really treating the person badly. Whatever part of the body is attacked the devil's magnificent power enables the transfusion of blood from body to pipe, so very easily. The witch leaves a bruise on the affected part which the person recognizes next morning.

Modern witches scratch the skin. One has to look for a few scratches instead of a bruise. This is done to get the victim less suspicious.

Coco-mar Pay Day: Every Friday evening the witches meet the devil for the pay-up. When the competition is keen, that is when there are many witches in a vicinity, some of them resort to cows that are "in young" to make up the supply of blood. The devil paid a penny a boli but with the rise of cost of living, etc. now 25¢ a boli.

The witches gather at a convenient spot to meet "master" for their weekly pay. So much so that one Friday night, many years ago, when Doctor Maxwin was returning from treating a patient, the witches mistook him on his huge white horse for the devil, and they all jumped and shouted, "Master coming. Pay day tonight. Master coming!" As the doctor approached . . . they disappeared through the bushes in shame. The doctor trembled and sped away on his horse.

Some of the old people believe that witches walk sometimes. Because of this, old man 'X' once returning from Frigate (Quay) with his little grandson, met young man 'Y' coming from a dance held at the Harvey Vale Government school. It was night. Old man 'X' raised his cutlass and young man 'Y' pulled his cigarettes from his mouth for defense. Then and only then did old man 'X' realise it was a lighted cigarette and not the coco-mar pipe. Next day, young man 'Y' spread the news with zest.

One becomes a Ligaron or a Sucoyan ["sucayan"] when he or she is too greedy. When the greedy person buys a witch, the person gets the remedy for flying. In other words, a coco-mar can sell his witchcraft to someone. The very

[1]A Big Drum song was made up about this event. Furthermore, this may be the same incident described by Smith (1962a, p. 53): "Specially large hauls call for thanksgiving sacrifices . . . In July 1953 the seine at L'Esterre made a haul of jacks weighing several tons. The catch was larger than village boats could cope with, and some people were brought over from Union Island by blowing conch shells. The catch filled fourteen rowboats, apart from numerous baskets. In due course the seine-owner held a thanksgiving sacrifice. Interest and pride in the seine in the village to which it belongs, are thus quite understandable. The seine-owner has high prestige, and the seine-crew enjoy esteem."

clever coco-mar who does a little more than witchcraft is called a 'dealer.' When he or she dies the devil takes the eyes. Miss 'X' who lives near by does not close her door at nights. She is seen naked in her yard at nights. As she says, she is "Breezing off." She inherited witchcraft from her father whose eyes disappeared when he died; this notorious Sucoyan was also a 'Dealer.'

David (p. 59) continued about ways to prevent a loogarou or a sucayan from attacking: "Take some sand from the middle of the ocean and put it on your step. When the coco-mar comes, he or she must count every grain before leaving.

"Rub yourself with garlic and the witch will vomit the blood after sucking it from your body.

"When the witch is walking on the road during the day, take the right side of the road and let another person take the left side so that the coco-mar hates to be tied, so he or she will stand and curse or hasten to one end of the road."

"A horseshoe on the gate, nailed upside down, is said to afford protection. Brindley Dick (Personal commun.) tells of more ways to keep the witches away: "For years people had been trying their best in preventing those witches from interfering with their body while they were at sleep: (1) Many people hang crosses in their homes and in the yard to prevent it. (2) Others hire Baptists to make certain words in their house. I don't know what prayers are said. [They mark] words like this: One Two plus B Two Seven U . . . I don't know meaning this number. (3) Some others plant [a] pint with a mixture of liquid . . . in the corner of their step leaving the mouth of the bottle expose.

"Loogarou witch people who they don't like."

Another important supernatural being is the "jobless," a woman who died in childbirth. She is said to have been more prevalent in the past when there were fewer motor cars with their bright headlights. A jobless has one human leg and one cow's hoof. She ventures out at night trying to entice a man away from a group of men and cause him to become lost. One informant said that his uncle was enticed by a jobless once, but luckily, he did not lose sight of his friends. When the jobless noticed this she laughed at him and said he was lucky not to be caught.

Still another supernatural being, one we have encountered before, is the mermaid. One informant said the only true mermaid on the island swims in a swamp near the airport. He claims to have met this mermaid when he was a child: "There is one spot throughout the island of Carriacou that has a mermaid. Children see the mermaid natural. At day time they see it, right down the street toward the airport. It troubles itself down among the soil and goes about the surface. This is the only spot in Carriacou that I really know about.

"Now, as a little boy we use to go digging crab. It was all day work. Back home then we would sell them. At times she would be right there at that precise spot, probably cooking she meal, something like this, sit on the mangroves. That is what we saw with our natural eyes . . . A natural woman, she's supposed to be spice [light brown complexion]. But the first time that we know this she were green, kind of greenish. I couldn't tell how she got on the root anyway. But she was combing her hair. We couldn't see no tail. We couldn't tell on the foot part. Upstairs was out of the water but downstairs we couldn't tell if it was fin tail or what she had." "Maroons" and sacrifices are held at the mermaid's pond. Where this pond joins the sea is a favorite spot for making Beg Pardons or offerings to the lake.

DEALERS: OBEAH

All forms of magic may be classified as obeah. On Carriacou obeah most often involves the manipulation of an individual soul or spirit through space and time. Obeah can be used for good or ill, but the term commonly refers to black magic.

Smith (1962a, pp. 147-148) classified obeah into two categories: "book-magic, revealingly called 'science,' and a variety of other practices, which use herbs or animal parts and which are generally referred to as 'medicine.' Book-magic has the greater prestige and is the more dreaded." The obeah practiced in the early 1970s was not easily classified as either "science" or "medicine." Specialists include scientists, obeahmen, gravediggers, dealers, lookmen, seermen, leaders, and conductors. Smith is quite correct, however, in stating that "most Carriacou folk have some private knowledge of herbal or animal preparations which may be used to ensure good garden

yields or as love potions, cures, charms, and the like."

The most respected practitioners can be either men or women, a feature which either did not exist in 1953 or one that Smith overlooked. Nor does Smith indicate that scientists can mix the techniques of book magic with herbal remedies and that most herbalists are women. He is correct, however, in stating that "the techniques that operate on humans through the manipulation of souls and spirits have won widest acceptance."

Bush medicine is the folk equivalent of metropolitan medicine but with added supernatural significance. That is, it combines natural with supernatural causation. Typically, a few herbal remedies are known to everyone, but most Carriacouans, like this old man, turn to specialists when needed:

I have a grandmother who [is] like a doctorman. If any of us take sick in the house they don't bring us to a hospital. She would give us the same medicine and would tell you what happened to you all right away. If you die you'll die but if you didn't she'll bring you back.

The remedies come from all what you do. Some come from bush. She would get it, she know what to do. You have bush here to make liniment. She would make bush tea. If you have a bad cold in you head she will give you that. She come in the morning and she wouldn't talk to none of us here. She be doing she business.

You see early in the morning she going through the bush. And she go and pick up all the bush what she know and she come to get a kerosene to put it in.

She'll say, "Come, take off you clothes." At 12:00 she make you get inside that water . . . She bathe you . . . Some of the water you drink it. She clean you skin and then she bring you out. Then she'll make a kind of tea for you strong. It has a kind of pepper they call guinea pepper. She get it and pound it and make a tea [to] sweat you. And so you lie down—you must have enough rest you know. She just have to wipe you and put a dry thing on you and you can't come out before two or three days. You have to sweat. All the cold run down through the water.

She has things from the drugstore she buy and she know what to do. She get this thing they call soft candle or soft grease. She break it off and grate it. Then she get whale oil and make a kind of thing. When she done she rub you down with that.

This is me father's mother. She's dead. If she was alive I could not be crippled like this. I would not suffer like this. No matter how big a man you are if you heart is framed she would come so and hold you here. Tomorrow morning you be all right, she could heal.

She would say something when she heal but you wouldn't hear that. A different language than English, Latin, or something.

This same old sailor said that when he was young he got a terrible swelling in his head. When his vessel put in at St. Lucia he saw a doctor. The doctor told him that nothing could be done. Then, one night, he dreamed that his dead mother came to him as the angel St. Teresa. She was met at a crossroads by a woman who handed her a ripe pear. She told her to give the pear to her sick son and that it would attach itself to his head. In the dream his mother did not see him so he ran up to her as she spoke to the other woman and called out to her an affectionate name, "Aye Aye." She did not look back and he cried in his sleep, thinking that she had forsaken him. In the morning he woke and sent a woman to get a ripe pear for him. The woman tied it to his head. The sore then broke open and the pus drained out. Soon he went to Barbados and there a doctor cut out the remaining pus. He was completely cured and was able to sail again.

Many people still specialize in bush medicine in Carriacou.[1] However, the clinics and hospitals are frequented more now than formerly. Often a

[1]Brindley Dick (personal commun.) of La Resource village collected these remedies:

"If one is suffering from belly ache he can boil sugar apple bush and 'soursop' leaves and very soon the pain will cure.

"If one is suffering from common cold he can boil honeysuckle, pea-leaves, boli, and lemon grass, and after collecting all those bush boil everything together . . .

" 'Black sage' can also cure cold if it is strongly boil; 'Arrowroots' can cure dysentery; Soursop can stop children from urinating in bed at night; Soursop leaves can cure fever; Figs and mint leaves can cure dark sight in the eyes; Coconut oil can cause cold from blocking

person will use both the clinics and bush medicine.

Men generally believe that young women are not above attempts at magical enticement. No doubt this is a serious matter for some men, yet it is often treated in a light vein:

Have you heard about real bad women
Always planning to trap men? (repeat first two lines)
Here in Carriacou
Hear what these women and them does do.
In order to trap you
Put inside coocoo:

They tell you, "Sit,
Go ahead and eat!"
In the back they were smiling
'Cause they know in three months time or so
There must be a wedding!
(E. Benjamin, Personal commun.)

In the following calypso the ancestors intrude into even this sort of obeah—"Satan break he grave seal and take he soul." The song was written while its composer was in Trinidad. The obeah in the song may be a Trinidadian variety but the gist of the song is pure Carriacouan:

Oh, yes, I tell you Lillian
All through you slackness you lose ah man (repeat first two lines)
For you too careless to be me wife
And it seems through mistakes nearly caused me life
You doped me twice in the talkarie
But this time you parched this standhome for me.
The first month I spent at home with you
I had the most funny sentence I ever know.
I noticed that all me hair was dropping out
And every tooth was shaking inside me mouth.
Me fingernail was dropping and all
And in the morning, girl, me mouth was bitter like gall.
But, girl, the thing that make matters worse
You nearly killed me dead with a double dose.

You had a light below the bed
The purpose was to try to humbug me head.
Inside it you had a donkey gall
With gomavalos and a few jumbie parasol.
Pigeon peas in a honey comb
That was for me to get the sweetness at home.
These words were written around the bed:
"Satan break he grave seal and take he soul."

An' so right away I went to Perryland,
And I took this bowl to an obeahman.
I wanted to find out what it meant,
And it cost me three dollars and sixty cents.
He said, "The light is not very bad
But then the cover of the mixture may set you mad
The honey and the comb that she had inside
Was just to poison you mind from women outside."

That is why I tell you Lillian,
All through you slackness you lose ah man.
For you too careless to be me wife,
And it seems through mistakes nearly caused me life.
You doped me twice in the talkarie,
But this time you parched this standhome for me.
(Bristol, MS).

The calypso singer countered his girl friend's obeah with his own and was successfully able to subvert her advances. The potions the girl used are typical of obeah but tinkering with the spirit while it rests in the grave is the worst sort of obeah and is usually referred to as negromancy.

DEALERS: NEGROMANCY

Negromancy is the magical manipulation of souls and spirits for the devil's purposes. Commonly a dealer in negromancy is a person intent on earning money or great wealth through evil practices. Negromancy is said to be the most common source of death or serious misfortune.

A frightening example of alleged negromancy occurred in June, 1971—the sinking of the "Echo's Mate"[1]: "The Grenada government has proclaimed Tuesday, July 6 a National Day of Mourning for those who lost their lives on the ill fated [Echo's Mate] which sank after a fire and explosion off Trinidad on Friday June 18.

"Two of Carriacou's leading captains, a Corporal of the Royal Grenada Police Force and a number of traffickers are among the twenty-two persons still missing. Five escaped in a

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the entrance to the nostril; Cutlet can cure cold in the knee joints.

" 'Allos' are used for putting on cuts. The allos are cut in the middle, then over to the two sides of the skin and the crustal (*sic*) like middle is used for dressing the cut."

[1]I have changed the name of the vessel, the names of its owners, and others involved in this tragedy. However, all information relates to a single, factual incident.

life boat and came ashore in Trinidad." (West Indian, June 20, 1971)

As clearly as can be reconstructed the vessel had left Trinidad for Grenada with a load of cement. The first night out a fire engulfed the engine room as the ship was steaming full ahead. The location of the fire made it impossible for the majority of the people sleeping below to escape. Those who were able to make the deck could not successfully lower the life boats because the vessel was moving too fast. One life raft was put out and this turned over. It was righted by survivors who had jumped overboard. Six people eventually survived—two from Carriacou, one from Petite Martinique, and the others from Grenada.

Now it happens that the captain, who went down with the ship, was in the habit of carrying extra passengers at the last minute. Thus, the official list of those on board, filled out before departure, probably did not reflect the true number of passengers. According to the official count, 22 people died but as the days wore on estimates of the total dead ranged from 35 to over 100. For weeks after the disaster the planes and mail boats into Carriacou were closely watched to see if friends or relatives, feared to have been on board, would return. Wailing could be heard in one of the villages that was particularly hard hit. The people of another village were grieved by the loss of a retired captain said to have died in an attempt to rescue a baby. One of his sons returned from England and another from Canada to be with their mother for several months.

The Premier and other government officials came to Carriacou to hear mass said in the Catholic and Anglican churches. People visited relatives of the dead and missing or gathered in small groups quietly talking about the tragedy. For some the expressions of grief took that very Carriacouan religious form—the dream-message.

Wallace Dillard is said to be the richest man in Carriacou. He owned and built many of its most famous vessels, including the "Echo's Mate." It is said that he doesn't use banks but prefers to keep his money in a safe at home. He is supposed to have transacted business in a rum shop and was said to have once had EC $25,000 with him in cash when concluding the purchase of a vessel. People say that the "Mate" did not carry full insurance. Another vessel, the "Orange Bell," which Dillard lost recently in a fire, fortunately with no loss of life, was reported to be valued at EC $47,000 but carried no insurance.

We are not interested in the accuracy of these beliefs about Dillard's finances but rather in their functioning. Some people reacted against Dillard. On the one hand Carriacou people greatly admire individuals who have been able to amass wealth, but rich people are also suspected. People who are wealthy are sometimes said to be "selfish." The sinking of the "Echo's Mate" provides us with the dubious opportunity of seeing how these conflicting values work themselves out. In order to do so we must go back to the months before the "Mate" burned.

Some people had said then that Dillard had wronged a lady and that this woman, by the use of negromancy, caused the "Orange Bell" to burn. This was to be a warning to him for worse things to come unless he "paid" her. Others felt that Dillard himself had something to do with the burning of the "Orange Bell" even though it was not insured. I was never able to find out just what his reason would be, however.

The "Mate" was jointly owned by Dillard and the captain. Some said that the two had not been getting along and had argued over how best to run the vessel. It was said that Dillard thought the captain allowed too many people free passage and that the "Mate" was not earning all the money it should. One man had a dream in which Old Man Dillard, the ancestral leader of the Dillard family, appeared. The Old Man requested that the name of the "Mate" be changed to "Wallace and Cap," Cap being the nickname of the captain and co-owner. On hearing of the dream the captain was said to have gone to Dillard and requested that the name be changed. Dillard refused. Because of his dislike of the captain, Dillard, according to this view, was involved in the burning of the "Mate" through the use of negromancy.

Shortly before the "Mate" sailed on its last voyage from Carriacou a Sacrifice was held near a village in order to bring rain. Sacrifices are ritual fetes held to respect the wishes of the ancestors, usually as a result of a dream message from the Old Parents in which specific actions are recommended to obtain a desired result or to ward off

disaster. Some people felt that this Sacrifice was held in the wrong spot—that is, not the spot which the Old Parent requested. Normally a second Sacrifice is held in such cases if the people can agree that the spot was indeed wrong, but in this instance there was no agreement. The sinking of the "Mate" was taken, therefore, as a sign that those who complained about the location of the Sacrifice were correct.

Before the "Mate" left Carriacou for the last time a woman was said to have had a dream in which the vessel was burning. Her nephew was a seaman on the "Mate." The next morning, before the sailing, she told him of her dream and pleaded with him not to go. He laughed at her and said that he did not believe in dream messages: he sailed in spite of her warning and died with the others.

There were other reasons given for the disaster. The belief that Dillard was implicated was supported for some people by his reported refusal to see visitors in the first few days after the tragedy ("selfish" behavior). Reasons were given for the death of particular people on board and the survival of others. Those who died were said to have a debt to pay to the devil (a common explanation for accidental death or death by sickness). Finally, people were already concerned over the delay of the rains before this disaster and for some the sinking of the "Mate" was a related event, both caused by known or unknown transgressions.

In this sequence of events, then, we find social pressure against those who accumulate wealth (and punishment for individuals who do not believe in the folk religion). In other words, the value of saving money is mitigated by pressure exerted against the rich people who do not share that money in the prescribed ways (e.g., fetes, free passage on the boat, etc.).

There is a popular Big Drum song ("hallachord") that describes a case where a greedy person "bought his own death":

Mama Bedeau ka eelay
Manday sa key feh Bedeau

Bedeau Bedeau oh!
Bedeau eh! gamolie
Manday sa key feh Bedeau
Bedeau po'wa ladjah ga
Eh! la molie

(Mama Bedeau [e.g., Old Parent] listen to what I have to tell you.
Bedeau [e.g., a descendant of Mama Bedeau] is in everyone's mouth [e.g., gossip].

Bedeau Bedeau oh!
Look! Bedeau go under [dies]!
Bedeau is in everyone's mouth.
Bedeau takes money and buys his own death!)

Gravediggers and others familiar with the recently dead are said to practice negromancy, both its evil and good varieties. Gravediggers are still feared. Because of his intimate connection with the burial of the dead at a time when the soul separates from the body, the gravedigger has special power and influence over souls. The gravedigger can cause the spirit of the recently dead to do his bidding or he can prevent others from causing that spirit to make actions against the living. He does this in two ways. One is to tamper with the grave, body, or coffin. For example, he could put a picture of an intended victim in the grave face down. Then the spirit of the dead person for whom the grave was prepared would take action against the victim on the photograph. The people who prepare the body also have these powers: "A piece of clothing of a woman was once put in the coffin by one woman who sponged the corpse, intended to kill the owner of the clothing. A calypso was then composed by a gentleman of the village, and the incident was revealed in the calypso" (David, MS, p. 14). Here, magic and the folk religion interact with the social organization through a song of social commentary.

There are other ways to tamper with the body, according to one gravedigger: "Now as a female or male, they clothe and bathe the dead. That person could clip their hair, center. If there is no hair in the center you get a blade and take out the hair on the face and you keep that. Cut out just a small bit. If there is hair on his body you keep that and then, now, you have to know what to do with it."

A noted old gravedigger tells how the power that accrues to a "grave stick"—a wooden rod used to measure a body so that its grave may be dug to the proper length and width—could be used: "That stick does certain things, you, know, its very deep . . . because is alot of things you could do to the same dead people . . . It could

harm everybody." The stick can be used for good or evil once it has been used to measure the dead: "If there is any negromancy the owner really knew what to do with the stick. Not only the mark on the stick. That could prevent any object from coming to it . . .

"Now, naturally, most times people like to see something to believe. Some of the things they want to believe but would not see it. This would get them. They would not die suddenly but it would wear them out. Some inner complaint that the doctor could not find or cure."

The stick gains its power in use—that is, it becomes an object with magical significance the more the gravediggers use it to measure the dead. It is said the soul, not just the body, is measured by the stick. Once the gravedigger has measured the soul, he can command it: "[gravediggers] go in the grave, take the measure of the grave, the width of the grave. [Then] they have that no witch can come in [to] . . . humbug you. That one [informant points to the grave stick he usually carries with him] save me up to now!" And again: "If you have anything that troubling you way . . . one lash it finish!! So by your travelling you might meet up with these people and them [e.g., bad spirits] because they have no place to rest. So we have to make ourself a walk at night . . . You have to go away in the bush but he can't harm you."

If one is still troubled by a spirit, in spite of one's best efforts, then specialists other than those available in Carriacou may have to be consulted. According to Smith (1962, p. 149), "The first ritual involving spirit-possession to take place in Carriacou was held in 1952.[1] Introduction of these Grenadian spirit-possession cults may thus be a consequence of the local increase of book-magic since World War II, and may mark a new phase in the island's religious history." The exorcism of spirits, with ritual specialists imported from Grenada, has continued in the 1970s.

There are, of course, traditional specialists—lookmen, seermen, leaders, and conductors—from Carriacou who are capable of handling the problems brought about by dealers or malevolent obeahmen. Some of the practices we have mentioned, such as those to keep away the loogarou or sucayan, are traditional. So are the Sacrifices and Beg Pardons that are held to avoid difficulties caused by spirits. Thus, folk medicine, magic, science, and religion in Carriacou all blend into one another; there are no clear distinctions between these practices.

[1]It is difficult to believe that exorcism did not occur in Carriacou before 1952, even if imported.

Dream Messages

Magic and religion—obeah and the ancestral power—come together in the dream message, the chief means by which the dead contact the living. Carriacouans distinguish between dreams that are true contacts with the ancestors and those that are not. The old heads can usually determine whether a dream is a "stand-up" or "self-dream." These are specious dreams, not really sent from the dead. According to one informant, a dream's validity can be checked by the time of night it occurred: "May I just mention that I doesn't really believe any kind of dream, like, but according to what my parents told me, there are certain hours in the night you can consider dreams. This would be natural [e.g., a real dream message]. Supposing you has a dream between 9:30 to 11:00. This is not to consider as far as I'm concerned. Now, between 1:00 and 2:30 you could start checking back on that and try to retain the dreams that you had. As far as I'm concerned you'd dream at 3:00 in the morning and it's getting to be dawn and you're about to wake. Then you see the dream that you really have to consider!"

This person said that some people make self or stand-up dreams for selfish motives: "You have self-dreamers. Somebody would just come and tell you, 'Now, look man, I just dream something.' That's a self-dream. Now somebody just says, 'I think this guy's got some money. He en making nothing but he's collecting so much cash. Let me make a dream on him man.' So we stand up right here and we dream right now!" On one occasion a man told me that he had a dream the night before in which a "white (rich) man" appeared and told him that his health would improve when he awoke. Bystanders informed me that this was a stand-up dream and that the man was simply trying to get some money from me. Stand-up dreams sometimes occur to individuals who feel that so-and-so should have a fete or who

indicate that others should come to their financial aid. "Natural dreams" should be validated by the community: prophetic dreams should come true; a dream of a disaster, which subsequently occurs, or a dream in which the Old Parents thank an individual for having a Stone Feast is more likely to be considered natural than crass attempts to further one's private ambitions. This may explain why valid dream messages are sometimes received through parties not directly involved in the content of the dream.

In the tables below are classified the responses to the questions, "Have you ever had a dream about the Old Parents?" (table 32) and "What did they ask?" (table 33–themes). While all dreams used for divination are not about the Old Parents, the most important ones are. Approximately one in three of those interviewed have said that they had dreams about their Old Parents, roughly in the same proportions for men and women. The breakdown by age and sex shows that a dream message was received by more young men than young women and by more men 65 years old or older than women in that age group.

These results are partially at odds with the views of informants and with my general impression. Most people think that women dream more than men. Statistically, this seems true only for the middle-aged group. However, I am inclined to believe that women of all ages dream more than men do, and that this is obscured in the types of data which have been elicited. From the questions all one learns is whether an individual, during the course of his life, has had a dream message–not how many dreams. It may be the case that roughly the same percentages of men and women dream (21 out of 61 men in the sample and 19 out of 62 women) but it may also be true that women dream more frequently.

There is some evidence for this in the survey (table 33). That is, men who dreamed of their Old Parents related single themes and gave simple responses. When asked about the content of the dreams, no man gave more than a single response. The response average among women was 1.2 (19 answers from 16 women). Furthermore, the multiple responses came from women above the age of 25. In sum, it appears that while roughly the same percentages of men and women have had at least one dream-message, women dream more frequently and more elaborately. Said one man of women's dreams: "They dream too fast! They always dream. Suppose you are a man and you have a little money and your parents die and you make a good feast. They will come and tell you directly!"

Dreams about the Old Parents may be classified into five overlapping categories. The first concerns the spirit of a recently dead parent or spouse visiting a child or spouse at night and troubling him or her as they sleep. Usually women make this dream. They are troubled by either their dead husband or father. In one case an informant told me that his mother often dreamed that her father, who had recently died, would come into her house while she was sleeping and would disturb her by sleeping on the floor at one side of her bed. One day she ventured out into the bush and gathered some herbs to make a tea. Before retiring that night she drank the tea and burned some of the remaining

TABLE 32
"Have You Ever Had a Dream About the Old Parents?" Responses Classified by Age and Sex

Answers	Age 65 & Over			Age 25 & Under			All Ages[a]		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Yes	6	6	12	9	4	13	21	19	40
No	4	11	15	30	24	54	40	43	83
No. of people interviewed	10	17	27	39	28	67	61	62	123

[a]This group also includes those between the ages of 25 and 65 years.

Source: Questionnaire responses from 123 individuals (see Appendix B, Question 42).

TABLE 33
Dreams About the Old Parents: Major Themes

Old Parents' Message	Age 65 & Over Men	Age 65 & Over Women	Age 25 & Under Men	Age 25 & Under Women	All Ages[a] Men	All Ages[a] Women	Total
Prepare a Parents' Plate	–	1	1	–	1	3	4
Hold a fete for the Old Parents	1	–	–	–	1	2	3
Hold a farewell party	1	–	–	–	1	–	1
My family will be happy (taken care of)	–	1	–	–	2	1	3
I will be disappointed	–	–	–	–	–	2	2
I should not be afraid	–	1	–	–	–	1	1
Dream not to be disclosed (obeah)	–	1	–	1	1	2	3
Old Parents identified an enemy	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Old Parents will bring me money	–	–	1	–	1	–	1
Old Parents brought food for my children	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
I must behave	–	–	1	–	1	–	1
I should stop drinking	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
"Come unto me"	–	–	1	–	1	–	1
Can't remember/too long to explain	–	3	3	2	3	6	9
Total Number of Answers Given	2	7	7	3	13	19	32
Number of People Interviewed	2	6	7	3	13	16	29

[a]This group also includes those between the ages of 25 and 65 years.
Source: Questionnaire responses from 29 individuals (see Appendix B, Question 42).

bush inside her house. She was then able to sleep undisturbed. Interestingly enough, this lady had spent many years in New York City as a practical nurse. This had not shaken her faith in bush medicine and the Old Parents.

A second category of dreams from the Old Parents consists of advice for personal problems, including health concerns. A third type involves soothsaying, such as that received by the woman whose nephew was to sail on the "Echo's Mate." Another man who had worked in Trinidad for more than 10 years dreamed he would return to Carriacou, which he did. While in Carriacou he had a series of dreams showing that he would go to West Germany where he would die. He made plans, therefore, to go to New York from where he will begin his trip to Germany.

Other dream messages call for a Sacrifice or Saraca of some kind. These dreams include one or more of the following elements: a request by the Old Parents for food, that food be given to children, or thanks for food received; a request that a fete be held with or without the Big Drum; a request that a sacrifice of chickens or livestock be made; or a request that a maroon be held.

The last category of dream messages involve malevolent action that is to be taken or has been taken against some living person. These dreams are an important element in negromancy.

Carriacouans do not make clear distinctions between dream message types. In any particular case two or more types may overlap. Carriacouans apparently have no names for particular dream categories other than the stand-up or self-dreams and natural dreams. Finally, there are some dreams that may have magical or religious import that do not involve the appearance of an ancestor.

A few dream messages do not quite fit this scheme. For example, sometimes an individual dreams of the Old Parents but receives no instructions. In one dream a recently dead person was seen traveling about the places he used to frequent in life in the 40 days before the grave became the resting home for his spirit. This dream is common. In another dream a mother

and father were seen to harvest corn. The person who had this dream says he sometimes dreams it several times during a night and that his parents appear to be very happy.

Looking once again at the contents of dreams (table 33) one can see which of the above types are the most common. Eight people dreamed about the Parents' Plate or fetes for the Old Parents, six people's dreams involved the future, four were about malevolence, and four concerned instructions from the Old Parents other than set a Plate or hold a fete.

CHAPTER 11. THE FOLK RELIGION: MAROONS, SACRIFICES, THANKSGIVINGS, AND RELATED RITUALS

Christianity is represented by the Catholic, Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist, and Evangelical churches; and the Glad Tidings Assembly. The folk religion is partially represented by the Spiritual Baptist Church and by Norman Paul's Children but finds its purest form in the set of beliefs concerning the dead and their influence upon the living, in the Big Drum, and in the rituals in which the people relate to their ancestors. There are the Plate (Parents' Plate or Table), the Sacrifice, the Thanksgiving, and maroons.

TYPES OF MAROONS AND THE ANNUAL MAROON

The term "maroon" refers to three activities. The first is a type of helping, the cooperative work group at which men perform heavy labor in return for a noon meal. M. G. Smith wrote of one such maroon (1962a, p. 10), "In Carriacou . . . the Maroon is a turnout of the young men of a community to work on the roads or to clear the ponds."

Redhead (1970, p. 61), a Grenadian civil servant and one-time district officer in Carriacou, disputed Smith's definition.[1] He described another sort of maroon, an annual Maroon: "Smith fell into the error of presuming that a 'Maroon' is a cooperative effort to get work done on community projects such as 'work on the roads or to clear the ponds.' In point of fact, road work and pond cleaning are Government paid projects and work on the roads has been much sought after from time immemorial.

"A Maroon in Carriacou, unlike Grenada, is a Spring Feast—every village has one—[it] occurs just before the rains come. Every villager is expected to contribute to the Feast."

To this Smith (1971, p. 129) replied: "Whether the 'Spring Feast' to which Redhead refers corresponds with the dry-season pond-cleaning carried out independently by the young men in each community, I cannot say; but I have never anywhere heard the Carriacou Maroon described as a 'Spring Feast,' perhaps because Carriacou has no 'Spring' and its rainy season normally starts late in May. Fortunately we need not leave this difference unresolved. In his account of the launching of a schooner at Windward, Carriacou in 1953, Bruce Procope provides an extended description of a Carriacou maroon. Procope introduces his account as follows: 'The eve of launching is a helping day. No one is paid and people come from all parts of the district to lend a hand with the work to be done. The owner provides rum, wine and food and this provision of food for those helping is called a salaca, saraca or maroon.' "

Each of these accounts is partially correct. Procope describes a maroon as being equivalent to the Salaca or Saraca, terms which actually refer only to the ritual food for the ancestors often offered at a maroon-helping of the sort to which Smith refers.

Although one must object to Redhead's use of the term "Spring" in speaking of the annual Maroon, he has identified a form of the rite overlooked by Smith. Perhaps this confusion results from the many functions of the annual fete. It may be that the maroon was associated with the completion of cane cutting, cleaning the watering ponds, and other dry season activities. One Big Drum song (Adam, personal commun.) from the

[1]For another examination of this controversy see D. Hill, 1974, p. 46-47.

Congo Nation tells of a "Crop-Over" or Harvest maroon:

Congo chilay beni ah m'way
Mopa mon way lay mo Congo
Vini ah m'way
Mo ki n'mu lay Congo (repeat last two lines twice)
Chinay d'we knee m'wa m'wa . . .

You have red man Congo, red people Congo. They say:

Congo bakay vini ma m'wa
Mo kai n'mu nay

They fete out in the cane factory. The wild dancing in the mill tonight, they giving Crop-Over: eating and drinking. That Congo is slavery time. So they calling the white man, say:

"Come and see how my dress."

They say:

Baykay Congo, baykay, bring the woman oh!
Mogai na mulay Congo
Oh vini your woman oh . . .

The white man say:

"Oh, that's nice!
"That's lovely, a white dress!"

The white man giving them that to go and fete in the cane mill.

The annual Maroon may have once been a harvest celebration but is now a rain ceremony, an ancestral veneration, and a social gathering.

Smith (1962a, p. 47) related that "public rites are occasionally held by a community, when dream messages from the old parents instruct the villagers to do so." These ceremonies are the third form of maroon—the dream message maroon (although Smith did not label it as such). Dream messages are sometimes received for the annual fetes as well. The distinctions and similarities between these various rites will become clear in our examination of the dry season (annual) and dream message maroons.

In the early 1970s four communities normally held annual late dry-season Maroons, the second category of maroon described above—Limlair, Mt. Pleasant, Grandbay, and Six Roads-Dumfries. In 1970 there was no Six Roads-Dumfries and in 1971 no Limlair Maroon.

The Six Roads-Dumfries Maroon has been described by Christine David (MS, pp. 21-27): "The Dumfries Maroon is held annually. A portion of the food cooked from each saraca is put together at the Six Roads junction. The food is distributed to all present and this is a maroon. A flag, usually red in colour, is put up at the junction. Each relative involved in cooking, brings a tray of food to the junction and all the trays are put in a straight line. Some food is taken from each tray and is preserved on a Table for the dead. Another portion of food is taken from each tray to feed the late visitors and the drummers of the Big Drum.

"The distribution of food lasts from about 4:30 P.M. to 6:30 P.M. At about 7:30 P.M. there is a Big Drum at the junction. The ladies dance with flaired skirts and the men with a towel in each hand. The Big Drum lasts for about three hours."

Maroons are organized by agnatic families or bloods (in the case of Cromanti) to conciliate the ancestors of specific tribes (Nations). The leader of the Six Roads-Dumfries Maroon was John James[1] of Brunswick village. In 1970 he was sick and unable to sponsor the Maroon; consequently, it was not held. Later that year he died. Some people suggested the rains did not come the following year because the Maroon was not held. Others believed that James died because he did not hold it as he was "bound to."

In the event of such a death, the Maroon remains within the agnatic family or blood (Cromanti) of the sponsor. One informant said:

"The one who could take it over right now is [John's] brother [Greenwood James]. You cannot take it that way until they bring it to you. Now imagine that John was your father doing that. He took the Maroon after you great grandparents died. They left it. You father will tell you, 'Well, look my son, this is what your Old Parents' use to do for our great grandparents before. So now you were coming and I am going.' He will tell you this: 'Well, when I am passed away you will keep this Maroon, I would like you to be the head of it.'

"You say, 'Well yes daddy' . . .

"And you don't stand? [e.g., don't take the responsibility of holding the Maroon] . . . It would be too bad for you. We have to have this every year."

[1]All names in this account have been changed.

In this instance Greenwood James did not take over the Maroon in 1971 as he should. As the rain was late and no Maroon had been held the previous year the people felt strongly that the Maroon should take place.

From another informant we learn the following: "The man who was having the Maroon was [John James]. He die . . . He brother say he cannot undertake this business. So [John James] wife take the chance [the following year]. [Ruffin Bedeau] take it with her."

John's wife and another man, then, held the Maroon in 1971, well after the rainy season should have started. It rained on the day of the Maroon, so much so that it was postponed one week. On that day it rained again. Eventually the Big Drum was held in the Brunswick Road House near Six Roads. That the Maroon brought rain justified John's wife's decision to organize the fete.

Several weeks before the Mt. Pleasant Maroon is held, the sponsor goes from house to house in the village obtaining small contributions to purchase food for the rite. Sometimes there are specific instructions concerning the day on which the Maroon is to be held, the spot in which food is to be distributed, and where the drums are to be played. These instructions are usually transmitted to people within a lineage segment, by the Old Parents in a dream message. "If, however, it is a public Maroon, like Dumfries Maroon, the yearly fete is repeated whether the dream is repeated or not" (David, MS, p. 20).

The annual Maroon begins with cooking in the yards of the participants. The graves of the tribal ancestors of the sponsors are wet with rum and water. A portion of food is set aside as a Parents' Plate or Saraca for the ancestors: "For a public Maroon, that is, a Maroon which involves as many people as possible, all attendants are not expected to cook or to offer food stuff. A Saraca is made in a few homes by a special group of people who are related and are responsible for preparing the food" (David, MS, p. 21). Sometimes, as in the quote above, the term Maroon is distinguished from the Saraca or Parents' Plate. On other occasions the terms are more nearly identical, as indicated by Procope.

The Parents' Plate tradition[1] is not restricted to Carriacou. Petite Martinique has the same custom, as does Union Island. Saunders (MS) reported that:

"Elaborate preparations are specially made for the 'jumbies of the family.' A table with a clean cloth is put in the bedroom and on it is placed a little of everything that was prepared. Rum, cigarettes, tobacco, a pipe and matches are also provided. The remainder of the food is shared around to eleven who helped in its preparation. Following this there is a 'wake,' i.e., the singing of hymns for the dead while rum, coffee, and bread are passed around. This continues until after midnight. Islanders are usually hoarse four days afterwards, which is ample 'proof' of their 'good' singing and thorough enjoyment of the refreshments. Next morning the food from the parents' plate is distributed to the children, and the number of ants in the cold dishes of food testifies of the 'jumbies.' It is a staunch belief that anyone touching or raiding anything from the parent's plate before midnight will become ill."

During the annual Maroon, private feting begins in the late evening. The Parents' Plate or Saraca remains in the home as a sign of respect for the ancestors until the following morning when it is distributed to children. A Guardian of the Plate bars children or anyone else from attempting to steal food off the Plate. The best food is thus reserved for the ancestors. An ample Table gains the admiration of household visitors.

Meanwhile a portion of the food is sent to the appointed spot marked by a flag (usually alongside a road) for the community Maroon. People are called to the site by the blowing of a conch shell. Women arrive bearing food in trays and pans. These contributions are combined in larger pots. The rice goes in one, the "coocoo" in another, the chicken in a third, the jack rum in a large jug, and so on. These containers are placed along the roadside (fig. 34). By about 5:00 P.M. most of the food has been collected. The Big Drum is usually held at the same spot; even when it is not, a boy bearing the three drums makes a ritual pass by the food distribution point. Once the women have contributed their share they return home.

Drummers are fed first and then the other adults. Leftovers are thrown to the ground and the children "scramble" to eat them ("grapay").

[1]In general form it is a common African custom once found throughout the Caribbean and lowland Americas.

FIG. 34. Food lined up at Limlair crossroads for Maroon—the people are generally segregated into groups by age and sex. June 19, 1970.

Private feting ended at 7:30 in the evening of the 1971 Mt. Pleasant Maroon. Many left their homes for the Big Drum to be held at the roadside. Others, chiefly young people, went to a dance at the Mt. Pleasant school and heard a local combo play popular reggae and calypso music.

In a serious breach of tradition, one Maroon sponsor tried to hire a steel band instead of the Big Drum because of the expense of the latter. This would not have been contemplated in the past and indeed, even today, it generated much criticism. The reason for this criticism is that the Big Drum embodies values of the elders and Old Parents, whereas the steel band symbolizes youth. Eventually the drummers lowered their price and the Big Drum was held.

At the Big Drum for the annual Maroon, as with all other Big Drum dances, Nation and old secular dances are both performed. Three drummers sit on benches in the road. Next to them, also sitting on benches, are the female singers—usually one or two lead singers and from two to four singers for the chorus.

Although Cromanti songs are among the first played at an annual Maroon it does not always include a Beg Pardon, a rite in which Cromanti songs are played and the sponsor asks forgiveness of the ancestors: "You are not Begging Pardon at a fete. At a Maroon you not Begging Pardon neither" (Adam, personal commun.).

But the Mt. Pleasant Maroon did include Beg Pardon songs since forgiveness from the ancestors was needed to end the drought. The song types were played in the following order: "gwa belay" (a secular dance), Cromanti, Cromanti, Cromanti, "Ibo" (the Nation of the sponsor), Ibo, "Manding," "Fiola," "Lasa," and hallachord (another secular dance which signals the conclusion of the first phase of dancing). Once the Cromanti and the other Nation dances of the principal participants are concluded any Big Drum song can be played. The drumming and dancing continues until about midnight.

The annual Maroon of Union Island is quite similar to the fete on Carriacou. It is an island-wide celebration to bring on the rainy season. Saunders (MS) said:

The women carrying pots, pans and food stuffs assemble at the specified spot which is usually a spot near the roadside. The men busy themselves

in killing goats, sheep and fowls for the feast. Others cast the seine and eleven of the fish caught are also cooked. When the cooking is completed all is ready. The men, women, and children seat themselves on the grass and partake surruptously[?] of the fare provided. The feasting completed a short service is held and the blessing of God invoked on the island. After this comes the final ritual, the Big Drum dance.

The Big Drum Dance is executed in the sea air. A large ring is formed by the spectators and dancers around the drummers who squat on the ground or on a stove, and beat out a rhythm on the drums in the palms of their hands singing all the while and answered in chorus by the crowd. The object of this custom is to user [usher] in the rainy season, for it is implicitly believed that the prayer observance of this ritual will cause the rains to fall in abundance."[1]

THE SACRIFICE OR DREAM MESSAGE MAROON

The dream message maroon is also known as a Sacrifice. When a Sacrifice is a community event it is called a maroon. Only in a dream when the Old Parents or some other being, such as a mermaid, request that the community participate does a dream message maroon or Sacrifice take place. Without such a request, a smaller, simple Sacrifice for the family is staged. This distinction is noted by Roy Benjamin (personal commun.), a teacher from L'Esterre:

They say that some dead person comes back to them during sleep and says, 'I am hungry'. So the dreamer decided to make a Plate. Your mother might have died [last year on] the fourth of June . . . and you want to have a Plate today for her anniversary: putting up a stone Plate [i.e., a Stone Feast], having a maroon. Or you may have some Sacrifice, something to be thankful for, like [living through a] storm. A man in a village might dream that there was a storm and everybody was drowned and he might go and tell it to the head man in the village, a man who is good at organizing fetes and Plates. Then, the man will go and tell everybody what so and so dreamt. 'But if we could cook some food and bring it and let's have a Plate, then we could avoid that disaster.'

So they kill a chicken or a pig or something. They take it to a crossroad and distribute the food to the children and other people would come about and they'd beat on the drums.

But in the case of a dream in a private home then it might just be for the immediate family and just a few friends nearby and then you might kill a few chickens or a pig or something and you have just a small thing. You'd put food on the Parents' Table and the rest you'd eat for yourself.

Dream messages often include instructions that children be fed, that a Parents' Plate be set, and that rice and rum be scattered on a certain spot. Frazier (personal commun.) reported that:

"They say to feed children, bring food and feed the children. Sometimes you bring coocoo and a rice in a paper. They tell go and give all the parish and feed children. So we does feed children. They put it in saffron or the curry. You dye it. You put four grains in a paper and you hand the people all. Having it first Friday in the month or last Friday. You put four grains or five grains in the paper and you serve it out. But, if you make crumb, you asks then third Friday or second Friday no rice give. You ask then so they know to offer you something, a pound of rice, a pound of flour, to feed the children. You feed the children once a year. Then you get some peas, potatoes, yams, and you have two fowl and you have a pig, you kill it. And you feed the children.

"If you didn't have that you get some bread and salt fish and you pour some wine [until] you have some money.

"And you feed the children."

Following instructions for a sacrificial maroon insures good fortune or prevents ill fortune. David (MS, p. 12) said: "A few years ago, a woman from Petit Carenage who owns a vessel was warned in a dream to make a big Sacrifice at Hermitage. She obeyed the instructions by making early preparations, inviting relatives and friends, and on the day of the Sacrifice the vessel was anchored at Harvey Vale harbour.

"At about 4:30 P.M. I visited the scene of the Saraca and there I met a very large crowd. During

[1] A Union Island Maroon of the late 1890s is described by Hugh Mulzac as an "African picnic" (1972, p. 18-19). This Maroon was held in August after a church harvest. "Dishes" were "blessed" and African dances performed.

my short stay there, I heard mutterings of the woman's greediness and it was said that since she stored some of the food on the vessel and did not share all, the sacrifice may be useless. The following morning it was discovered that the vessel was missing. Two small boys left to guard the food stuff and raw meat went adrift in the vessel. Some time during the day, the vessel was found around the coast of St. George's and the women repeated the Sacrifice to prevent further punishment. Most Sacrifices are accompanied by Big Drum."

Adherence to the requests of ancestors maintains social order. As Smith (1962a, pp. 141, 143) wrote of dream-messages and the Sacrifice: "Cases of misfortune which befell persons who failed to execute recurrent dream-messages reinforce beliefs in dream-messages and in the old parent's power simultaneously. Such beliefs sanction descent and kinship, explain morality, and unify communities.

"Sacrifice is sanctioned by the belief that non-observance will be punished and observance rewarded: but it also brings its holder the respect and repute due to those who fulfill cultural ideals. There are very few in the island who would risk the isolation, suspicion, and ill-repute that go with non-conformity, even if they have no personal fear of the ancestors.

"Through sacrifice and the Nation dance the ancestor cult maintains its vigour, despite the church's opposition and the emigration of the young folk. It mobilises kin and community and enjoins their participation far more effectively than does church ritual. It dramatises community links with the past, and it makes common human experiences significant and sacred. As the folk say, 'Sacrifice is good; it have sacrifice in heaven.' "

In one dream message marron to bring rain, a woman made a dream in which a mermaid instructed her to have a Sacrifice near a certain spot at Dumfries, to feed the children, to sacrifice a lamb, and to offer rum and rice to the mermaid in the pond. She was instructed to invite both the Spiritual Baptists, a small religious sect brought to the island by returned migrants from Trinidad, and Norman Paul's Children, a group that originated in Grenada. The ritual and belief systems of three islands were mixed in this sacrifice—an effect of migration on the folk religion of Carriacou.

At about 10:00 A.M. several women, two men, and 10 children arrived at the spot mentioned in the dream—between the sea, a pond, and the beach in Dumfries. Others came up the beach from the direction of Belle Vue South and still more from Six Roads. Many of the people carried things on their heads. Mrs. Wallace,[1] the leader of Norman Paul's Children in Carriacou, was in charge. The two groups—Norman Paul's Children and the Spiritual Baptists—made their preparations separately; Mrs. Wallace however instructed both groups and the Sacrifice was held jointly.

Shortly after I arrived people began clearing two cooking areas in the bush (fig. 35). Others sat and rested under a shade tree. A lamb was tethered beside the pond. Bones and the remains of hearths, evidence of earlier Sacrifices, were scattered about. Some people gathered stones for the fire. A little boy brought a cast iron bell and put it under the shade tree. Mrs. Wallace, instructed him to make sure it did not ring out prematurely. She said that her group would make a special Plate that no one could eat until the Sacrifice of the lamb was concluded. Then, everyone present would eat items from the Plate in a ceremonial fashion. At that time the children would be fed.

At about 11:15 A.M. the Sacrifice began. A wooden bench was set on the beach and several symbolic figures were drawn in the sand. A white cloth was put on top of the bench. The sheep was brought up, tied with a red ribbon, and held next to the bench by two small boys. Mrs. Wallace directed the people to stand away from the sea, behind the bench, facing the ocean. Here the mermaid had come from the ocean and complained of thirst. Each of the women carried a chicken. Several children were present also. Mrs. Wallace directed an old man to prepare the sheep. She walked to the cooking area, some 50 yards away, and returned with the bell, a boli (bowl), and a knife.

The women began to sing from hymnals. Mrs. Wallace prayed to the sky or sea and directed the group in singing hymns. At times she rang the

[1]All names in this section have been changed.

bell. She begged forgiveness from the ancestors in her prayers and asked that the rain return. This is called a Beg Pardon and, though different in ritual points, is similar in intent to the Cromanti Beg Pardon played at the beginning of the Big Drum Sacrifices. "A Sacrifice is actually a Beg Pardon to prove to the ancestors that you are really sorry for what one may have done" (Dick, personal commun.).

On this occasion it was so dry that special prayers were needed. So Mrs. Wallace continued praying. She looked toward the sky. She gazed over the sea. She walked up and down the beach. She prayed and the group sang. A woman from the group held the boli in front of her, toward the sea. The chickens were held in front of the others in a gesture of offering. The old man began to cut their heads off. The women dropped the chickens and watched them flop about on the sand. The heads were placed in a boli and the people "read" the chickens as their motion came to a halt. Mrs. Wallace sprinkled water on the chicken heads and then walked about the beach sprinkling water on each of the chickens. One of the women standing before a chicken that had died with its legs in the air, gasped and threw up her hands, moaning a prayer (fig. 36). A woman said that this was an extremely good sign and that the Old Parents seemed to be pleased. She said that the chicken had paid its debts. Mrs. Wallace approached this chicken, smiled, and sprinkled it with water. All the women smiled now as they prepared to Sacrifice the sheep.

Two boys took the lamb and pushed it down on top of the white cloth covering the bench. The old man unsheathed his knife and looked toward Mrs. Wallace for further instructions. She adjusted the position of the lamb so that its head hung off the end of the bench. The butcher then severed its head. As the blood spurted from the neck, Mrs. Wallace appeared to sicken and retreated a few feet away from the bench. The head was placed inside a boli held by a woman at arm's length. Mrs. Wallace placed a red cloth over the body of the lamb and said still another prayer, invoking God, Jesus, and the ancestors.

FIG. 35. Preparing food for the mermaid and the people at a dream-message maroon. Dumphries, June 15, 1971.

FIG. 36. Chicken sacrifice read as a good sign at a dream-message maroon. Dumphries, July 15, 1971.

Mrs. Wallace and the leader of the Spiritual Baptists, Felicity John, had not finished their prayers. They held a boli of water and the bell. They went to the sea, offered a prayer, and crossed the sand to the pond and offered several more. Each time they stopped Mrs. Wallace rang the bell and Felicity John sprinkled water into either the sea or pond. They both held their hands in the air and prayed again, imploring for rain.

Meanwhile fires had been started and food was cooking. While the women and some of the older girls prepared the food, the men rested under the shade tree with the other children. Hymns were sung, not the slow melodies sung at the Sacrifice but lively "sanki" (Spiritual Baptist hymns), which seem to have originated in Trinidad (Herskovits, 1966, pp. 329-353).

The Spiritual Baptists and Norman Paul's Children separated to distribute their food. The people ate and sang. The Sacrifice was completed shortly after sunset.

The manner in which the lamb was sacrificed (not the sacrifice of the lamb itself), the symbols drawn in the sand, the great ritual elaboration of the bell and the prayers, and singing of sanki are not native to Carriacou. These elements of Spiritual Baptist and Shango Baptist liturgy have been brought to the island by immigrants returning from Trinidad. Combined with the Carriacouan elements of a dream message maroon, the location of the ritual spot, the sacrifice of chickens and the divination connected with it, the preparation of food and the Saraca (the Plate), prayers, and the grapay the additions were perfectly acceptable to Carriacouans. Rain had not come; any spiritual help, if it could be molded into the traditional context, was welcome.

THANKSGIVINGS

A ritual common in Carriacou is the Thanksgiving. The term sometimes refers to Sacrifice or Saraca and more rarely, to the annual Maroon.

We will examine a family rather than community Thanksgiving. As the sponsor had recently joined the Spiritual Baptists, the ritual illustrates the influence of that church. A happy occasion, the rite involves a dream message (not a necessary condition), libations, preparation of food including a Parents' Plate in the home, and ritual distribution of the food to the family and children.

On the morning of July 19, 1971, Daniel George[1] began preparations for his Thanksgiving. His sister in Brooklyn had been deserted by her husband who left her with six children. Also, George's mother lay dying in the master bedroom of his house. Since a Thanksgiving is a glad occasion George said he was very thankful things were not worse, that one holds a Thanksgiving in gratitude for what one has, no matter how little it is. This demonstrated, he said, that he was a devout Spiritual Baptist.

A goat was slaughtered. Peas and corn were cooking on the rock hearth outside the kitchen. George sent children for bananas and coconuts. He gave a package of candles to guests to use that evening–everyone is supposed to bring at least one candle. He then sacrificed three chickens, poured water on their heads and said a prayer for "peace and unity." His leader was to have arrived by airplane that afternoon but he had not come. Felicity John would take his place.

That evening as the Thanksgiving began teenagers flirted with one another and made loud remarks about the ritual proceedings in a rather skeptical fashion. This "manish" behavior would not have been tolerated in the past. Felicity John threw rice and flour about, poured wine on the floor, and said, "Thank you Jesus." She proceeded clockwise around a table on which candles, a container of rice, a small glass filled with wine, sugar, and two loaves of bread (sweet and regular) were set. Occasionally she lit a candle and said prayers. At one point she attempted unsuccessfully to go into a trance. Later as sanki moved her she was able to speak in tongues with Daniel George, each talking to the other for about three minutes. While praying or walking around the Table, she sang slow hymns. Later they sang more sanki.

She and George broke some of the bread that was on the table and passed it out, piece by piece, to all those present, including the children. That done, she proceeded to pass about other items to eat or drink: the wine, honey, more bread, sweet oil, sugar, and cassava flour. From time to time George would leave the hall and return moments later with more bread. At midnight they would pass around what was left of the food on the ritual Table and continue eating small portions until none remained. Singing continued during this time.

Breaking the Table–eating food from the Parents' Plate at the proper time–is the traditional center of a Carriacouan Thanksgiving. The fete is another form of ancestral veneration, praising "Old Parents for your successful achievement" (Dick, personal commun.). The trance, speaking in tongues, and singing sanki are Spiritual Baptist additions to the ceremony.

Most often in New World plantation areas the word maroon refers to runaway slaves or to people who are their descendants.[2] Trinidadian runaways were called maroons and in Jamaica there are also Maroons, descendants of runaway slaves who live in the mountains. In Mexico there are the "Cimarrones" whose progeny live today in Cuijlachilapa, Guerro (Aguirre Beltran, 1958).

In the nineteenth century in Trinidad and probably also in Carriacou, Emancipation Day activities were shifted to Carnival, a dry season affair, and burning sugar cane came to be associated with family feasting on the night of stick fighting (Kalinda) and on Juvay morning. After emancipation, Trinidadian maroons (former runaway slaves) became the first legalized stick fighters for Carnival (Carr, 1972). Interestingly, on Union Island in the late nineteenth century a maroon was a fete–not a group of people. It was an Emancipation Day celebration held in August (Mulzac, 1972, pp. 18-19). This fete seems to have given way to the similar modern dry season maroon of Union Island.

There is probably a connection, then, between a maroon as an Emancipation Day celebration, as a harvest festival for wet season crops (a thanksgiving), as a harvest ritual associated with cutting cane, and the canbulay and kalinda activities associated with Carnival. If so it points to a con-

[1]All names in this section have been changed.

[2]For more on runaways see Price, 1973.

nection between a maroon as a runaway slave, the maroon as a work group and finally, a Maroon as a ritual. Other maroons, most probably, grew out of annual family prayer meetings for a dead ancestor. As the sponsor or his lineage became wealthy, after returning from Aruba for example, the dry season Parents' Plate may have taken on a grander, public dimension—the Maroon.

We have classified maroons in Carriacou by their primary function with the folk social organization—e.g., work, bringing rain, or asking favors from the ancestors. However, we may look at the term simply as a community means by which Carriacouans maintain contact with the ancestors whatever the immediate purpose. Seen in this light the annual Maroon, the dream message maroon or Sacrifice, the Saraca or Parents' Plate, and the Thanksgiving are indeed the same.

CHAPTER 12. THE FOLK RELIGION: THE RITUAL CYCLE FOR THE DEAD

> Ancestors are vested with mystical powers and authority. They retain a functional role in the world of the living, specifically in the life of their living kinsmen; indeed, African kin groups are often described as communities of both the living and the dead. The relation of the ancestors to their living kinsmen has been described as ambivalent, as both punitive and benevolent and sometimes even as capricious. In general, ancestral benevolence is assured through propitiation and sacrifice; neglect is believed to bring about punishment. Ancestors are intimately involved with the welfare of their kin-group but they are not linked in the same way to every member of that group. The linkage is structured through the elders of the kin-group, and authority is related to their close link to the ancestors. In some sense the elders are the representatives of the ancestors and the mediators between them and the kin-group.
>
> —Igor Kopytoff (1971, p. 129)

Carriacouans observe a sequence of ritual and social activities following the death of a parent, spouse, or other adult member of the family. These include a wake, several prayer meetings (a Third Night, Nine Night, sometimes a Forty Night, and annual prayer meetings), masses, and finally, a Tombstone Feast years after the wake when the deceased is entombed.

The Wake

When someone is dying, kinsmen and friends gather at the house to comfort the ailing person and help in the household chores. Should the vigil be long, people help make household repairs. Perhaps a female relative will move into the house to help feed the sick person and care for the family. When death is imminent a priest is called to administer the last rites in the home. Sometimes the Anglican or Catholic priest does not give the full rites if the individual was not a member of the church in good standing. However, confessions made *in articulo mortis* have a folk equivalent as this story indicates: "As I went down the road I asked somebody passing, 'Is she [he] faint away?' [i.e., in a coma]. After she faint away there no hope. Well sick! May die one, two, three days after. Is an old man you know, in Fair Hill. Before she [he] die she faint away, she didn't have no breath to blow: speaking, speaking, speaking she come and Beg Pardon [to the ancestors]."

The soul is not aware of its new state until three days after death, when the first prayer meeting should take place. The spirit is said to journey about its favorite places until the fortieth night after death, after which time it usually remains in the grave. Because of this, various

ritual devices are necessary to keep the spirit content and to ease its way to the other world, such as putting a glass of water in the house each night for the spirit until the fortieth night. Kinsmen stay with the spouse of the dead person to protect him or her from being troubled by the spirit:

"A woman who lived close to me refrained from sleeping in her house after the death of her husband. She complained about her husband's visit to her at nights[1] and for months after the death occurred she had slept at friends and relatives. All her children were in England when the death occurred. At the present she sleeps at her house when she has a few companions" (David, MS, p. 13).

Parents' Plates are set for the dead person on the night of the wake, the third night after death, the ninth night after death (fig. 37), and the fortieth night after death. Each year a Saraca is made until the Stone Feast ends the rites for an individual spirit. After that prayer meetings continue to be held for the Old Parents, generally at an annual family occasion.

When a person dies an announcement is made in the village or throughout the island stating the time of burial the following day (usually at 4:00 P.M.) and if there is to be a wake. Formerly a child rode throughout the villages on a donkey but today a loud speaker mounted in a taxi is used for the announcement, which takes a standard form: "They announce it by call, ring in news over the island: 'Za ki tan, parlay lot.' In English they say, 'Who hear tell the others.' Say, 'Mr. Harry is dead and will bury at four o'clock today' " (Caliste, personal commun.).

When the death becomes known, the grieving begins: "Neighbours are acquainted with [the] death by the wailing of the bereaved; especially by women who bawl and throw themselves to the ground knocking their heads. Most of them repeat a particular statement like 'Mama didn't tell me she go dead.' I can remember distinctly the words of a woman in my neighbourhood who lost her brother. For about twenty times in succession she said, 'I [*sic*, Aye] brother John, I brother John, who give me a penny again; I brother John.' She hushed for about a minute and a half and repeated the same words until she was exhausted" (David, MS, p. 12).

[1]The spirit of a dead husband may attempt to have sexual intercourse with its former wife.

At the wake the body is prepared by women if the corpse is female or by men if it is male. At one side of the yard older men, usually led by a carpenter, prepare the coffin. Recently a coffin shop has been opened in Hillsborough, but many people prefer to have a work maroon in which carpenters build the coffin for no charge.

Although wakes do not cost as much as a large prayer meeting there are expenses to be met: "On death of members of the 'friendly society' a sum of fifty dollars is given to people responsible for the burial to assist them in their expenses" (David, MS, p. 13). Friendly societies are associated with both the Anglican and Catholic churches. If the individual was not a member relatives and friends share the expenses. They sometimes bring a coin or dollar when they attend the wake. Sometimes they bring food or drink.

At the wake a speech is made by a senior relative or an elder of the community: "On the death bed of Mr. X he is lying feeling free and happy to know he live the good life where is people on earth. He live the life for God, he was the messenger for God, the carpenter for his people and also for the Good Father. He died and leave to mourn the wife and four children. They were very happy because of his good work. I hope his family will follow the footsteps of their father. I know for sure one day when God appears to judge man we will rest in peace and good bye from the face of the earth."

For most people at the wake social activities are important: "In the wake they gather a crowd; seat them; prays; 'Nancy Stories.' They talk about and then they have all their drink and then they get up. They make a Parents' Plate, kill beasts and cook food and put on the Table and then they sing" (Caliste, personal commun.).

In the past the activities at a wake were more varied. Hymns are sung today but "cantiques" (patois songs) and Nancy Stories are becoming rare. One can still hear riddles at wakes but not often as part of organized story telling. Breaking the barrel which was part of wakes in 1953 is still occasionally practiced, but only for dead sea captains.

Nancy Stories are of two general types.[2] The name itself, Anancy, is from an Akan word for

[2]See Appendix C.

spider. One sort of Nancy Story is concerned with the misadventures of the trickster spider and his animal buddies. Most of these stories are of African origin. The second sort of Nancy Story is a different genre of folktale involving kings, princesses, the church, and travels on the sea. Many of these tales are European in origin.

At the wake Nancy Story men—old men known for their narrative ability—tell their tales at one corner of the yard. They alternate in relating the stories. As one prepares to tell a story he yells out "Cric!" If the crowd is ready to hear another tale they respond by saying "Crac!" Hence the stories are also known as cric-crac.

Apparently young people no longer like the tales. The society reflected in the tales has changed. Nancy Stories are not as entertaining as they once were: "Nancy is very good for dead. That is my line, that is old man line. So we does have Nancy Story while the prayer meeting inside. We have the Nancy Story outside for the whole night, until morning. That the way it use to be before. But we find now [the younger people] can't take the words from we" (Adam, personal commun.).

The Burial

In Carriacou there is no embalming so it is important that burial takes place as soon as possible. The senior legitimate male of the kin group plays an important part in deciding where members will be buried and if family plots are to be used. In addition to kinsmen, their wives and others related through kinship or marriage may be buried in the family cemetery. For this reason the site may become full and alternative family locations sought. If all are full or if only a few reserved spaces remain, government cemeteries are used.

At the government cemeteries the gravediggers, as the comment indicates, receive a wage: "You have to pay the man to have to dig the grave in town. But in the country we dig it just for we self; no pay, just the drink and tea. Good treatment!" Generally the traditional gravediggers work the family sites where there is a greater retention of custom, such as use of the grave stick, than at the government sites. Indeed, some of the foreign grave diggers in town are not aware of Carriacouan customs.

Assisting a local gravedigger are members of the kin group and friends. After digging the grave they drink rum, drink tea, and tell stories about the dead person when he was home, at sea, or abroad. This amounts to a review of the individual's life and the lives of those present. Before digging or taking his rest a Carriacouan gravedigger wets the ground with rum. He also wets the grave when he drinks as a sign of respect for the dead. By the time the funeral procession reaches the cemetery, a few of the old heads who have been preparing the burial site may be drunk and will have given the dead a truly fine send off. Meanwhile a messenger goes back and forth between the grave and the deceased's house informing of the procession's progress and calling on men to act as pallbearers.

At the house friends and kinsmen usually have gathered to walk or ride in the procession. In most cases the casket is carried by senior men. Each pallbearer also carries a chair on which to rest the casket as they proceed to the cemetery. Behind the pallbearers, or the taxi if it carries the coffin, are two rows of men and women. The men wear black and the women white. As they walk they sing hymns. Friendly societies are a part of the procession, if the deceased was a member. The mother or wife of the dead person wears black, unlike the other women. Many recently returned migrants do not follow these rules of dress and wear casual clothing.

Once at the grave the priest or one of his representatives reads the service as the gravediggers lower the coffin by a rope looped through the four corners. As the priest reads the service, hymns are sung and the gravediggers fill in the hole. One gravedigger told me that they also wet the ground at this time: "The ground usually wet on the grave during which time the priest says, 'Dust to dust, ashes to ashes, from dust we were made and to dust we shall die and rotten.' " At burial, "they leave no mark"; that is, no tombstone is erected. That must await several years. Instead, a branch is placed at the foot of the grave. Within a few days a wooden marker is put in place of the branch to indicate where the tombstone is to go.

The funeral cycle provides the occasion for maintaining economic and social links between migrants abroad and islanders at home. For example, Carriacouans who are critically ill or

very old sometimes try to return to the island to die. Others return for the death of a mother, father, or spouse. If they cannot make the wake or burial they schedule their vacation to correspond with a prayer meeting or the Stone Feast.

Financial affairs are also involved in the death rituals. Former migrants who return to Carriacou for a funeral rite, especially a Tombstone Feast, sometimes decide to stay. Others invest in a shop, a vessel, or go into some other family business venture before returning abroad.

Prayer Meetings

On the third, ninth, and fortieth nights after a death, the spouse or close kinsmen are bound to make a Parents' Plate in the bedroom of the deceased. On at least one of these evenings they must also make a prayer meeting. On each of the three nights a libation of rum is spilled on the ground for the dead: "The ground [is] usually wet by the oldest member in family. There are numerable prayers which can be said, there are no special one. Every man say a few words of his own life" (Cummings, personal commun.).

The choice of which of the three days to make a prayer meeting depends upon money available, when kinsmen arrive from abroad, who is able to help locally, and the time of year. The most popular prayer meeting is the Nine Night.

Although the Big Drum may have been the most common socio-religious celebration on the island in the past, the prayer meeting is by far the most characteristic today. A Nine Night prayer meeting (a Big Time) was held for John James (the former old head from Brunswick, leader of the Six Roads-Dumfries Maroon, and owner of a shop and dance hall where Quadrille and Lancer's dances had often been held). James was highly regarded for his financial success in Aruba and the fetes held at his dance hall. When he died, people knew that this would be a memorable Nine Night.

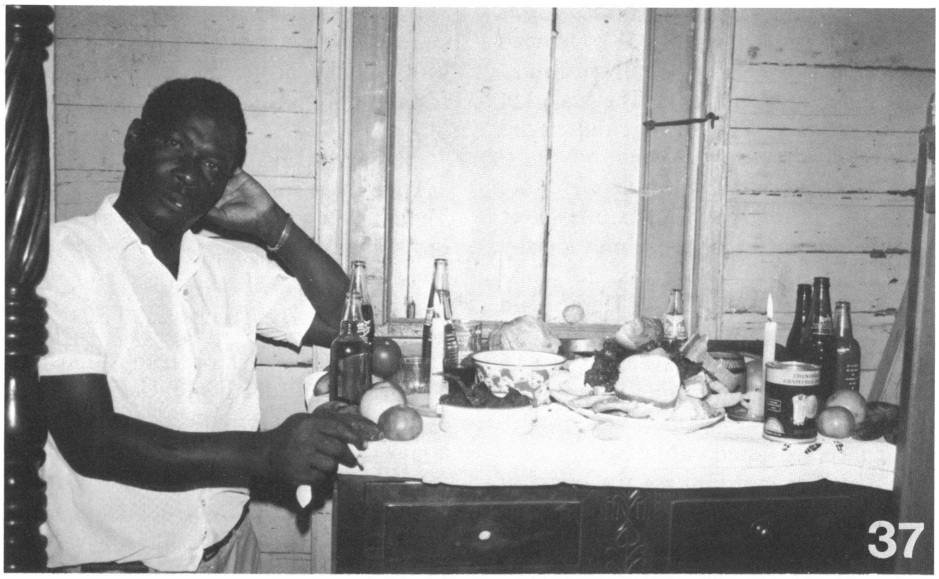
At about 7:30 P.M. approximately 175 people were present. Morning Saracas had been made and the Parents' Plate prepared and set in James's bedroom. Although an old woman usually watches over the Plate, James's "adopted" son acted as Guardian of the Plate for much of the evening.

According to Smith (1962, p. 158): "women preside over wakes and prayer meetings while men preside at sacrifices and Big Drum rites."[1] This is not true in the 1970s, nor apparently was it true in the 1960s: "A man is chosen to control the celebration. He opens the prayer meeting by saying a prayer and delivering a speech on behalf of the dead. After this is done, those who are interested in singing remain around the table to sing hymns. If the mourner requests any special hymns, these hymns are to be sung first" (fig. 38; David, MS, p. 15).

If the dead person was Anglican the first hymns will be Anglican, if he was Catholic their hymns are sung first. Later in the evening or after "middlenight" they will sing sanki. After the chairman has called the meeting to order and the family requests have been sung, the meeting is thrown open and anyone may request a hymn. A person calls out, Mr. Chairman, 202!" referring to the number in the hymn book. As the participants look through their hymnals for the song, the chairman repeats, "202!" An elderly woman usually sings the first line. She is then joined by the others. For those who do not have hymnals, the chairman lines the song (speaks the line before it's sung): "What is peculiar about the singing of prayer meeting hymns is that the words are dragged as if to emphasize the solemnity of the occasion. Gestures are made by individuals while they sing. It is very amusing to observe the manner in which those who sing compete against each other" (David, MS, p. 13).

A prayer meeting can be a very raucous affair as jack is provided by the host–sometimes the proceedings stop every half hour for another round. At this prayer meeting, most of the people who remained around the table were women and children, particularly teenaged girls. Other people roamed about the yard talking, drinking, playing dominoes or cards, visiting the mourners in the hall of the house, and admiring the Table. A brother returned from Grenada, peers of the dead person who had been in Aruba, and relatives from other distant places met each other in the hall, sometimes for the first time in many years. In a room below the hall, food was shared out to some of the visitors. By 10:30 P.M. 330 people were present.

[1] I have seen women preside over Sacrifices.



FIGS. 37, 38. 37. One-half of a large Parents' Plate for a Nine Night prayer meeting. Brunswick, February 18, 1971.

38. A small annual prayer meeting. Hillsborough, April 27, 1971.

The widow and her female peers wore formal machine-made dresses with high neck lines, hats or head scarves, and gloves. Old men wore white full sleeve shirts and dark trousers. Middle-aged men and teenaged boys and girls wore casual clothing: short sleeve shirts, trousers, one piece dresses, etc.

Attire was different in 1953: "The deceased's father and siblings will wear black armbands, while the mother like the widow, . . . wears a

black dress for at least the first forty days after death" (Smith, 1962a, pp. 157-158). James's widow, as a member of a leading family in Brunswick Village, did not wear black. The male kin did not wear black armbands. The children did not wear black and white exclusively.

At about 11:00 P.M. Nancy Stories were told outside, away from the yard. These stories were not told at the prompting of the family or any other Carriacouans but were recited for folklorists who were visiting the island, Horace and Jayne Beck of Vermont, and myself. The manner of narration was traditional, however, but just 15 people gathered to listen, including only one or two children.

This prayer meeting lasted until dawn.

Forty Night prayer meetings are the rarest of the three following death (they are more common in Grenada). In Carriacou they are large only if the family cannot raise sufficient money by the third or ninth night or if relatives have not been able to arrive from abroad for the earlier dates. If held it is similar to a Third or Nine Night. In lieu of a Forty Night mourners make a Parents' Plate, sing a few hymns at the house, or hold a mass.

After the Nine Night or Forty Night, the family or blood annually honors the deceased with a Parents' Plate, a mass, a prayer meeting, or a Big Drum (some people sponsor masses even though they are abroad by sending money to relatives). These rites are celebrated in the month the person died, until entombment takes place some years later. A poor kin-group may give one mass each year and have a Parents' Plate in the home. A richer family may give a prayer meeting or more expensive still, a Big Drum. Today, the latter occurs before the entombment only at the request of the deceased in a dream message.

After a mass, a Tea Mass is held in the home and light refreshment is served.

"The entertainment after the Mass takes place at a house very close to the church. The people who attend the Mass chiefly because of the refreshment may quarrel if they are not satisfied with what they were given. I have a neighbour who attends every tea mass in the village, whether she was invited or not. She has a special condensed milk cup which she carries to every Tea Mass. In this cup she puts whatever she is given to drink.

"Unlike saraca or occurrence of death the people who were present at the mass are not to offer money or anything which will contribute towards the offerings after the mass" (David, MS, p. 19).

Masses and prayer meetings are not restricted to the cycle of the dead. Like Sacrifices and Thanksgivings they are held to avert catastrophes or to give thanks.

The Tombstone Feast

The Stone Feast or Tombstone Feast is the last mandatory death rite. Held from one to nine or more years after a death, it celebrates placing a grave's tombstone so that the spirit may finally rest (the "head" stone is attached to the "body" –the grave). The Tombstone Feast takes place in the month the person died. The year a Stone Feast is held depends upon financial considerations: "If they are not able some couple of years after, when the young boys or young daughter go and they marry they can come back in the island of Carriacou to build their parents tombstone" (Adam, personal commun.). Thus there is a relationship between a successful migration and an elaborate Tombstone Feast–the latter being possible only if the former has been achieved. Many migrants return home when they have saved enough money to entomb a parent or grandparent and re-emigrate after a few weeks. As Christine David said of a Stone Feast she witnessed (MS, p. 48): "The size of the crowd depended on the size of the pockets of the three Joseph brothers who came from U.S.A. to erect their mother's tombstone." The Tombstone Feast thus serves to physically unite emigrants with their island. Furthermore, the rite demonstrates respect for parents or grandparents and, through them, the Old Parents in general. It reunites the immigrant with his cultural tradition.

Major expenses are funded primarily by migrants. David (MS, p. 16) said: "Relatives abroad are informed at an early time so that they may send some money to assist in the preparation." For the smaller expenses contributions in kind are helpful. S. Clement (personal commun.) said: "You come into my house if you have something and you shove it into my hand. It is sometimes a dollar, a shilling. When they come they bring food."

A Tombstone Feast includes activities at the grave and at the home of the deceased's family. If there is enough money, a marble tombstone is imported from Trinidad. Otherwise the local mason marks the vital statistics of the dead person on the tomb. Usually the mason begins work the day before the fete by laying the foundation. Today he is often paid as are perhaps one or two of his assistants. In the past this work was done voluntarily in a helping. Teenagers from the community still assist without pay and are served food and drink. Smith (1962a, p. 161) reported that before the ground is broken: "A relative of the dead person accompanies the mason to the tomb and sprinkles it with rum and water before the earth is disturbed. The mason then makes his libation, apologizes for disturbing the dead, and sets to work."

The morning of the fete, work continues at the grave as the masons prepare for setting up the tombstone in the early afternoon: "On the day of the feast relatives and friends offer foodstuff to the person in charge and they assist in the preparation of a saraca. A few men remain in the cemetery or a private burial ground to assist in the construction of the tomb. Women and girls carry water and food to these men. After the food is cooked, a portion of it is shared to people who offer something. Some is sent to the cemetery and the rest is put into bowls and butter tins for relatives and cooks. The food in the containers is to be taken to the homes of the owners to be shared among their children. The rest of the food is left for late visitors and drum beaters and Big Drum dancers." (David, MS, pp. 16-17)

While this food is prepared, animals are sacrificed (of course, some of the sacrifice is placed on a Table in the bedroom of the deceased). By the time the meal is sent to the grave site there may be as many as 15 people working. When the girls arrive they stop working, sit under shade trees, and eat. The teenaged boys tend to sit together as do the elders. There is good-natured laughter and talking; the elders refer to experiences with the deceased, just as the gravediggers did many years before. Some flirting goes on between the girls and boys but they generally remain in separate groups.

The ritual of the tombstone is similar to that of the coffin at the time of burial: "The head of the tomb is to be carried to the house where the death occurred before it is brought to the cemetery. It is placed on a bed and covered with a white bed sheet. The relatives of the dead speak to the dead who they believe is present, and they throw rum and water on the tomb. A few people then collect around it and sing a few hymns. After this it is carried by four men or by a vehicle to the cemetery. On reaching the cemetery, it is attached to the body of the tomb which the men had been working on through out the day" (David, MS, p. 17).

Sometimes the tombstone is taken to the yard in a white sheet and wet with rum and water before being carried to the bed of the deceased.

In the past, according to Smith (1962a, p. 162) the Tombstone Feast lasted two days. More libations of rum and water were made: "Five libations of rum and water are made to the stone: first by his kinsman, normally the head of the deceased's descent-line, sent to collect it from the workshop; next, on its arrival at the home of the feast, the household head will sprinkle it in the yard; then when it is removed from the hall to the bedroom, before being "dressed" it will be sprinkled again by the deceased's family; and when it is removed from the bed to the tomb next morning, the fourth libation is made. Finally at the tomb the mason also sprinkles it before hoisting it into position."

Today, the stone is not always left overnight on the bed and no libation is made there in some cases (fig. 39). Smith also described in 1953 how the stone was carried to the grave just as a coffin is carried (*ibid.*, p. 162). Although this is practiced occasionally it is more usual for the tombstone to be placed unceremoniously in the trunk of a taxi and driven to the grave.

As the mason puts the tombstone in place jack rum and water are poured over it and an egg is broken to signify prosperity for the family. At this point the mason says a prayer and asks the deceased for help and happiness in the future. The family joins the masons and their helpers singing hymns. The day after the fete the mason returns to give the finishing touches to the tomb. In the dead person's former home food is cooked without salt and a sacrificial Plate is set on a table for the deceased.

Formerly, a Big Drum was held the day before the entombment. Smith (1962a, pp. 162-163) said: "When the Big Drum accompanies the

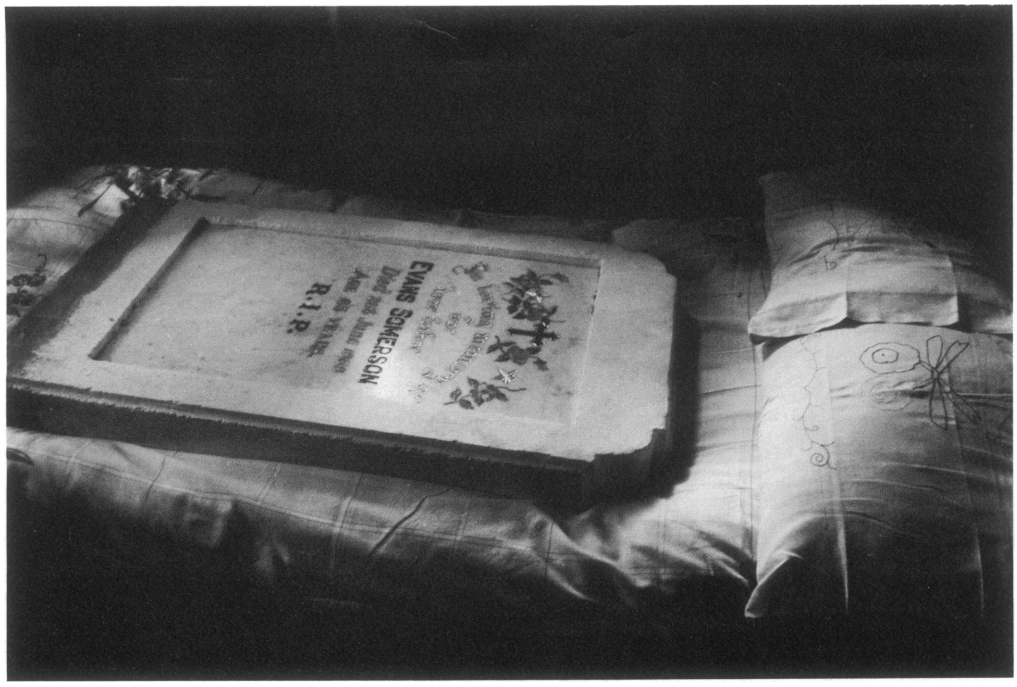


FIG. 39. Tombstone on bed during Tombstone Feast. L'Esterre, March 13, 1971.

Stone Feast, dancing starts at 4 P.M., after the sacrifice has been laid on the parents table beside the bed where the stone rests. The feast continues, apart from the usual break at midnight when the ring is wet again for arriving spirits, until dawn, when the saraca is distributed and people make ready to conduct the stone to its tomb." Today, however, the only feting occurs on the day and night of entombment and may consist of a Big Drum or a prayer meeting.

In 1953 prayer meetings as a part of a Stone Feast were rare and were confined to poor familes (*ibid.*, p. 162). It is possible that the prayer meeting is as old as the Big Drum and that both have been practiced at Stone Feasts for a long time. The latter may have gained predominance because of the money former Aruba migrants brought to Carriacou.

At prayer meetings for an entombment, singing cantiques (patois songs) and sailor songs (chanties) are now rare as are Nancy Stories and "breaking the barrel."

The latter custom is practiced only when the deceased was a sea captain. The day of the fete, his peers take a wooden rum barrel, remove one end, and place a length of stick inside. To this, two cross sticks are lashed perpendicular to each other. Each of the four crossbeams is taken in hand by a seaman and as they march around the barrel they push the stick up and down while singing sea chanties. From time to time they stop and one of their number says that he is the captain. The rest claim to be the crew. The following ensues:

You see when a sailor man dead here we have to have that song and breaking a barrel. Every man going around the barrel, hitting barrel:

Shantydoe my brave boy
How you store the cargo?
Come down Trinidad
Brandy and wine.

Brandy and wine,
Whiskey and soda
Brave boy Shantydoe.

Captain drink he whiskey

And he give he's sailors water
Brave boy Shantydoe.

And they put a stick round inside the barrel there. They rig it as a boat. And everyman going round with a stick. And they have a man holding it inside the barrel. They going around hitting the barrel:

Boom!

Shantydoe my brave boy
How you store the cargo?
Come down Trinidad
Brandy and wine.

The barrel breaks in pieces, the ship done. He says, "This captain is no damn good man, let's knock off!"

This captain says, "Go ahead boys, we're going to get paid sometime. Hit it again! Let's go to sea again!"

Breaking the barrel at a wake or the Stone Feast (which in so many respects is the equivalent of the wake for the spirit) is a send-off for the spirit. Perhaps that is why it was broken the night before entombment, so that the spirit could view the activity with pleasure while still in its former home.

The other activities at the Stone Feast, those which take place at the nighttime fete, are not much different from those at the Nine Night. S. Clement (personal commun.) told me that,

"They do everything and everybody come. They play card. They play dominoes and have a merry old time. Everybody eat and drink. At night all the young girls come sitting, sing, eat, merry, but no fighting! You got to behave yourself good. In the middle of the night as 12:00 coming they make coffee and they pass it around. Make sandwich and give to you. Then they start the rum going around all the time—the rum can't stop! Those who wanna get liquid and kill theyselves they kill theyselves!

"In the morning when you wake if you are not a stranger of the place you stay. They wake you and bring you tea and you start drinking again my man!"

The Tombstone is the final resting place for the spirit. That is, during the years between the prayer meetings and the Tombstone Feast the spirit of the deceased may often intervene with the living—particularly its kinsmen—by troubling sleep and making frequent demands upon the family for prayer meetings, Big Drums, and, if these are not carried out, Beg Pardons. The tombstone, however, becomes the spirit's new home: ". . . in the next world if you die for 50 years you can still go and see that spot. That's in the other part of the world, but not here" (Humphries, personal commun.). Once the Tombstone Feast obligation is met, annual Parents' Plates are made. Sometimes prayer meetings continue, or, occasionally, Big Drum celebrations.

CHAPTER 13. THE FOLK RELIGION: THE BIG DRUM DANCE

A Grenadian daily newspaper illustrates just how far the Big Drum or Nation dance (once widespread among the rural rolk of Grenada) is from the thoughts of the metropolitan civil servants (in this case a judge in St. George's, Grenada reported in the West Indian, June 2, 1971):

SATAN TELLS JURY ABOUT NATION DANCE

A new dance made the scene at the opening of the Criminal Assize sitting in the capital yesterday.

Fans have heard of the "big apple," "jitterbug," the ska, the shake, and the rest—but never about "the Nation" introduced by "Satan" of St. Andrews.

"Satan" minus horns, talons, and tails is the sobriquet worn by Francis Charles a thirtyish fisherman of the eastern country parish.

And he was at the time tendering evidence before a jury and trial judge Mr. Elvin St. Bernard.

On trial is youthful Lawrence Reuben of La Poterie, St. Andrew's charged with causing harm and unlawful assault on another young man in the village.

Charles said he took a home-made gun from Reuben shortly after hearing an explosion in one

Mr. Petite's house at La Poterie on May 8, 1970. He told the jury there was a "nation dance on—not a shango." "Nation? I don't know this one," remarked Mr. Justice St. Bernard as mild laughter rippled through the courtroom.

The article underscores the vast social distance between Grenada's only city, St. George's, and its creole elite on the one hand and village Grenadians on the other. It also illustrates the even greater differences that exist between the seat of the Grenada government and Carriacou's folk. Mr. Justice St. Bernard would be surprised, no doubt, to learn that the Nation Dance was once an important part of rural Grenadian folk religion and still lies at the heart of the folk religion of Carriacou.

The Music and Dance

With the possible exception of the ring game music for pass plays (a ring game for teenagers) the music of the Big Drum is the most clearly African music on Carriacou. Lomax (1970) apparently used the Big Drum to classify Carriacouan music with respect to world music-cultural areas.[1] He groups the island's music with that of Equatorial Africa and other Caribbean islands (Trinidad and Haiti). The only Carriacouan Nation to appear on his list from Africa is the Yoruba, also classified within the Equatorial African musical area (*ibid.*, p. 194).

Lomax defined African singing and its accompaniment according to the following traits, each of which also applies to Big Drum music[2]: "non-tense, vocally; quite repetitious, textually; rather slurred in enunciation; lacking in embellishment and free rhythm; low on exclusive leadership; high on choral antiphony; especially high on overlapped antiphony; high on one-phrase melodies—the litany form; very cohesive, tonally and rhythmically in chorus; high on choral integration or part-singing; high on relaxed vocalizing; and highest on polyrhythmic (or hot) accompaniments."

Not only is the Big Drum song African-like but, as one might expect, so is the drumming. Characteristics which Waterman (1952, pp. 207-218) found in African and Afro-American music are in Big Drum music: polyrhythm, multiple meter (occasionally), offbeat phrasing of melodic accents, the "metronome sense" (a basic rhythm maintained throughout a piece), and overlapping antiphony.

The instruments are also African in origin. Two types of drums are used in the Big Drum. The bula maintains the basic beat and is always played in groups of two. A bula is placed on either side of a third drum, the "cot" or cutter drum. Each of the drums is made from a rum barrel with the staves thinned to yield a better sound. One end is open and the other covered with goat skin. The two bula drums are played with the open end flat on the earth while the cot drum is tilted slightly. The cot is higher pitched than the bula and has a string with pins stretched across the goat skin membrane. This produces a raspy sound when struck. The cot drummer plays more complex rhythms and therefore must be a master drummer, an ability only achieved by an elder. The only other instruments consistently used at a Big Drum are "chac-chacs" or maracas made from a boli filled with dried corn seed. During certain songs a hoe (the oldoe) is beaten with a piece of iron.

Specific rhythms seem traceable to West African counterparts. Carriacouans tell of a visiting doctor from Sierra Leone who upon hearing a Big Drum rhythm said—"That is a Manding!" He was told that, indeed, a Manding was being played. The story demonstrates the believed authenticity of the Nation dances and, by extension, the validity of the Big Drum ritual.

MacDonald's (MS) analysis of various postures and dance steps, based on viewing 8 mm. films, indicates that many of the steps are not easily distinguished from certain European and African dances. Most, however, are found in African

[1]One must refer to the Big Drum or to the music of the pass play if one defines Carriacouan music as Afro-American. What Lomax neglects to state is that the music of Carriacou is also Anglo-American. Just as traditional to the island as the Big Drum, though certainly not so important, are such English ballads as "American City" and "Barbara Allen."

[2]Lomax also ties this song style to a specific socio-economic system. Unfortunately, he has incorrectly classified the economy of Carriacou. This being the case, the sociological and aesthetic conclusions he draws from this economic classification are not applicable to Carriacou.

dances. Specifically, what she calls the "forward lean" is a distinctively African posture and quite common in the Big Drum dances. The gwa belay, on the other hand, contains two postures (a curtsy and holding skirts to one side), which seem to be of European origin. This part of the dance may have been created on the estates in the West Indies or elsewhere in the Americas when slaves copied the dances of their owners.

A group of from five to eight singers complement the Big Drum instrumentalists (fig. 40). From the singers and drummers come most of the dancers, although people of the house or community where the Big Drum is being held also dance. All chorus singers are female and most of the lead singers are also female. The chantwells, some of whom are also drummers and dancers, are male. They do not sit with the female singers.

All the drummers in Carriacou are male. The islands of Union and Petite Martinique also have the Big Drum and most of the drummers there are male but there is one woman bula drummer on Petite Martinique. Often people from these two islands send for Carriacouan drummers when they want to "make" a Big Drum. Carriacouan drummers are also highly regarded on Grenada and Trinidad. They have performed in London, New York, before Princess Margaret in Carriacou, and Queen Elizabeth in Grenada.

A typical dance is started by the singers, usually a lead singer. After going through it once she is joined in chorus by the others. At this point the bula drummers begin to play the foundation beat, soon joined by the cot. Once the lead singer has begun, chac-chacs may commence, usually played by two or three of the singers. Pearse (1956a, p. 2) has written that "the chac-chac following and played by the singers has an odd inconsequentiality about it." This "inconsequentiality" at times provides the multiple meter of Big Drum music, although it sometimes exists within the rhythms of the three drums. At other times the chac-chacs seem to provide a basic rhythm around which the singers and drummers organize their song.

Once the song is established, dancing begins. One of the female leads or a chantwell will jump into the ring singing. Others join in but there are rarely more than three dancers in the ring at any one time. The dance is stopped by throwing a towel—often held by a dancer—over the cot drum or by touching the head of the drum.

Unless it is performed to entertain visitors, a Big Drum is always held in association with some other occasion. These may be classified according to whether a Beg Pardon ritual is performed or not. If it is not performed the Big Drum is called a "pleasure." Such occasions include house openings, shop openings, Thanksgivings, community Maroons, weddings, canbulay (kalinda), and the Tombstone Feast. The Beg Pardon is part of Big Drums held because of a dream message request and at the Shango hair-cutting ceremony.

The Songs

Pearse (1956a, p. 2) has classified Big Drum dances into three general categories—Nation dances, old creole dances, and a group of newer, frivolous dances.[1] In the first group he put Cromanti, Arrada, Chamba, Manding, Congo, Banda, Ibo (including Jig-Ibo and Scotch-Ibo), Temne, Moko Ye'ge' Ye'ge', and Moko Bange. To this group of Nation dances we can add Lasa, Ayerabba (Yoruba), Awouhsa (Hausa), and possibly Chamaray. In Pearse's second category, the old creole dances, he includes the old bongo, hallachord, belay kawe', gwa belay, man kalinda, and juba. Pearse's last category of frivolous dances are chattam, lora, cariso, chirrup, chiffone (actually a chirrup), bongo, and Trinidad kalinda. To these I add pikay and pass play songs, although the pass play songs may belong with the old creole dances.

Pearse's second and third categories are really mixed bags, containing many different types of dances. Most important of these are the belays, hallachords, and the kalinda stick fighting songs, which are intended for canbulay but may be played without stick fighting on any occasion (when a towel is used to substitute for a stick). Kalindas include those traditional to Carriacou, such as the old or man kalindas, and those brought from Trinidad by returned migrants—the

[1]By "newer, frivolous dances" Pearse evidently means dances brought to the island by returned migrants since 1838.

Trinidad kalindas. Sometimes one rhythm is played for several belay or kalinda dances; sometimes one dance is performed to several different songs which use the same rhythm.

As a part of current research 47 songs have been translated in part or in full from the original patois or English dialect. Twenty-two more songs are found in Pearse (1956a), one in Smith (1962a, p. 309), and one song was transcribed from a radio broadcast by Elder (1972). About 20 more have been recorded for which there are no translations as yet. Thus, there are at least 91 songs currently performed or known by a few old heads in Carriacou. Most of the songs are sung in patois and some have lost their meaning even to the patois speakers of the island. Some songs, according to Pearse (1956a, p. 3), contain African words and at least one may have a Temne sentence.

Big Drum songs can also be classified by their sometimes overlapping functions. We have mentioned that the kalindas are stick fighting songs and that many of the Cromanti songs are used specifically as Beg Pardons to the ancestors. Ibo, Manding, and Awouhsa songs have similar functions. Other dances are for healing (The Carriacou Regatta, 1970, p. 15): "Healing the sick and casting away spirits are purposes for which some of these dances are put on. And for these there are the Arradah and the 'Chambah.' For these the singers put on a very doleful chant, and the drum-beat seems to be entreating some mysterious deity to come to their rescue. Whether they have ever achieved what they set out to do is somewhat very doubtful, the fact is they do try, and they somehow believe that success is bound to follow." The above, written by young Carriacouans, demonstrates the modern skepticism about the curative power of these Nation Dances.

Perhaps the Awouhsa (Hausa) and the hallachord ("Churde") indicate former tribal rivalries (*ibid.*, p. 15): "The 'Awouhsa' and the 'Churde' (pronounced Cud) are warlike tribal dances put on to imitate the tribal warfares of the Africans. The songs and the drum-beat have a weird and fearful appearance, and the actions of the dances seem to suggest more of fighting than of dancing." Hallachords are considered favorites of the recently dead.

The belay kawe and other creole dances are primarily for entertainment (*ibid.*, p. 21):

"Then there is the "Belair Carai" [belay kawe]. This is the most popular of them all. In this dance men, women, and children join together and swing and sway and jump to the merry ringing of the drums and the songs. Here the cha-cha [chac-chac] comes out in full play. This dance is performed mainly to enliven a dull situation, or after one of the more serious dances. It is one of the dances most indulged in, in gay festivities. It is regarded as the Queen of the dances, and it is patronised mostly by the ladies and girls. The Belair Carai has the widest range of songs, and a great variety of movements, but the theme is always the same—fun and enjoyment."

According to Winston Fleary (personal commun.), the belay kawe dance originated as an African court dance. It is a mock fight between two wives being judged by their husband, the king. The struggle of the young wife against the queen gives the appearance of two hens fighting over a cock. This old dance gained new interest when a locally famous singer and dancer, Collie Lendure, changed the original lyrics of one belay kawe song (found in Pearse, 1956a) for a special performance for Queen Elizabeth in Grenada during the late 1960s. Perhaps she had a hidden message for the Queen when she sang,

Lawin Dama oh!
Say oee b'wa sa oh!

Ba dee bo wa sa
U bay parley Lawin Dama.

(Queen Dama eh!
A lady challenger says something

About herself.
People are already talking about the challenger beating Queen Dama.)

Collie seems to be challenging Queen Elizabeth. Symbolically, this is typically Carriacouan folk pride challenging the metropolitan power.

The lyrics of Big Drum songs, although sometimes meaningless or forgotten, offer clues to the folk social organization. Most Beg Pardons request forgiveness from the ancestors. Other songs relate parables of trouble—disasters at sea, sickness, and death. Songs in a lighter vein refer to dancing or local gossip about the relationship between a man and woman or between two women (zami). Still others are praises or relate the char-

acteristics of various Nations. While many Big Drum songs are very old others, as we have seen, are topical and composed about current local events.

The Typical Performance

Most Big Drum performances follow a set pattern in the order of the first songs whether the Big Drum is a Beg Pardon or a "pleasure." Elder (1972), commenting on the situation in the 1950s, reported that each Nation should be represented at any performance. This no longer is necessary. The first tune is a gwa belay, hallachord, or chirrup (if it is a "pleasure"). The next song is the first in a series of Cromantis. Adam (personal commun.) related the following: "Well, the Cromanti is the 'First Nation' in the whole of Carriacou, all around the world." When the first Cromanti is played the sponsor beats a hoe, the oldoe, with a piece of steel to accompany the drumming and singing: 'Anancy Sorry Baba' (repeat several times). Anancy is the name of a woman[1]—that a woman title—and is a song they have give she, and the drum beating. They "say they en see Anancy come yet and they are sorry. Anancy is a spider you know but coming on the Big Drum concern is Anancy was she name." The oldoe beckons the ancestors. Frazier (personal commun.) said: "With the oldoe, calling to people from the Next World come. You throw rice and rum and water. You calling them to come back, come into the ring." The sponsors dance in the ring while waiting for the Old Parents to join them (S. Clement, personal commun.): "That is the owner who is giving the dance. If it is a married man you and you [wife] have to get in the ring to sprinkle the rum on the ground . . . They will say, 'Parents, I'm spraying this rum on the ground for you. I wish you'd help me in my distress.' Well, that is the opening of the dance. The people say that the jumbie will be drinking. They will be taking their rum on the ground." During the first Cromanti, according to Adam, there is a ritually significant point when towels are placed in the ring: "When they cast the towel before the drum, cross it, and the drum will beat, . . . this rings have to [be] without people—nobody would dance." At this point the ring is said to "beat free" while the spirits, beckoned by the oldoe, enter the ring to dance: "The old generation say that when they ring this hoe the dead will be coming in. And when they coming . . . they open the ring . . . They dance now. And you have people who could see them . . . The woman . . . sees . . . but the men might not see. When they going they say, . . . 'Goodbye.' [The people say], 'Let them pass'" (Clement, personal commun.). Some people say that the pace of the drums quickens as the spirits take over the duties of drumming.

After the spirits have finished their dance, the living can again participate. At this time a second Cromanti is played. The following recited by Adam, like the other, is a Beg Pardon:

Ina oh (repeat three times)
Mama Nu
Salamany oh!
Oh yo yo.

(Ina oh
Mama Nu.
In the morning, oh!
We are sorry.)

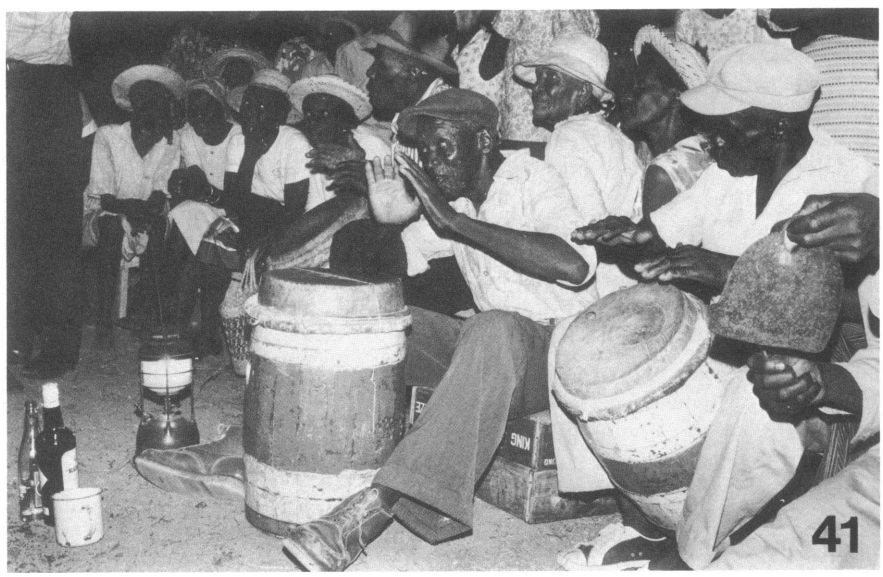
The bottle of rum is there, the sweet drink is there, and the water is there. Put the kerchief across the ring and everybody clear the ring. The drum is play until one Cromanti [free ring]. Take up the kerchief, dance, and they will follow.

. . . when . . . the master of the dance and the mistress of the dance . . . pick up this kerchief . . . they look, come back behind, and kneel down on the toe . . . And sometime all the family kneel down with them to dance around the ring. That is Beg Pardon.

Although the Beg Pardon Cromantis are played on many occasions the Beg Pardon ritual dance, as described above, is only performed for a Sacrifice, a Shango hair-cutting ceremony, or for extraordinary annual Maroons (such as the Mt. Pleasant Maroon shown in fig. 41 where forgiveness from the ancestors was needed because of drought).

Normally the first few dances following the Cromantis are of the sponsor's Nation. A common Nation is Ibo: "Aye baca feaha ah Ibo (Nothing can harm the Ibo people at all)!" Later in the evening but still before midnight, Nation dances are played for whoever wants to dance. People generally dance their own Nation:

[1]Sometimes Anancy refers to Cromanti Cudjoe, an important male Old Parent.



FIGS. 40, 41. 40. May Fortune (right) directs singers at the Mt. Pleasant Maroon. May 13, 1971.
41. Drummers beat a Cromanti as rum and water are placed before the cot drum. (Prince Lawrence, left, bula; Caddy John, center, cot; Fenderson Lawrence, bula; and oldoe.) Mt. Pleasant Maroon, May 13, 1971.

Temne oh (repeat three times)
Me no see Temne girl!
Ah ah ah Temne oh!

At this point hallachords, gwa belays, belays, belay kawes, kalindas, and chirrups are played (fig. 42).

S. Clement reported that: "When midnight [come] the drummers go and get their feed, take intermission."

Elder (1972) stated that: "The Parents' Plate is really the most crucial factor in the whole dance. It is really the only way by which the individual member of the community can demonstrate to his peers his good standing as an honest citizen in the community." The ancestors signify their appreciation of the Big Drum not only by dancing in the free ring but also by eating from the Parents' Plate. Elder continued: "here in the presence of all the Nations if [the sponsor's] deeds are evil the ancestors will shame him by not entering the free ring and by refusing to eat in his house." Eating from the Parents' Plate by the ancestors is "seen" by old women. As Elder (1972) wrote, the Plate is:

> a kind of token of mortality and emphasizes the fact that the ancestors once subsisted on food and like luxury. The Table is set upstairs in the bedroom and visitors are usually invited to view it and to admire its splendor. Sitting in this room are a couple of old women with second sight. They keep watch. At 12:00 midnight when the Cromanti . . . is danced the ancestors are expected to come and eat of the Parents' Plate but only the old women will see them. But once it has been reported that the Plate has been eaten, that the ancestors have visited, the whole company of friends and relatives becomes joyful. The drummers break out into a most erratic [*sic*] performance. Everyone . . . congratulates the votary and his family and accepts food and drink from the stewards who come in with heaping plates and demi-johns of hard liquor for the guests.
>
> With respect to the Parents' Plate it must be noted that the articles on display do not disappear. Neither is their quantity reduced when eaten by the ancestors because to the ordinary observer no material destruction of the food to have been eaten really takes place.

After midnight, another Cromanti Beg Pardon

FIG. 42. Dancer performs a Gwa Belay at a house opening. Bayaleau, June 12, 1971.

is played for the Old Parents: "With the oldoe ... when middlenight, you bring them come." (Frazier, personal commun.) At this time the ring beats free as the spirits again join in the dance:

Oh Ko, oh ko ray (repeat three times)
Oh ko, pardon m m'way
[Forgive us.] (Adam, personal commun.)

If the fete continues, more risque creole dances are heard such as the chirrup entitled "Chiffonay:"

Fam ka chiffonay
Chiffonay over yonder
Ticki ticki ticki ticki
Chiffonay over yonder

(The women are bunching their skirts [to form a phallus]
Bunching their skirts over yonder
Ticki ticki ticki ticki
Bunching their skirts over yonder.)[1]

Elder (1972) commented on the music played at this time: "This is hot music for dancing of a very erotic nature. The women sing the parable songs which give 'picong' to ... the people in the community. At these songs of ridicule, scandal, and social commentary the audience laughs and shouts as though the ancestors have been placated and their benediction secured. Ordinary mortals can now—on this side of the river just as well—engage in a joking session and laugh at the troubles of social living." With such dances the Big Drum comes to a close. The people leave about dawn:

Around six in the morning the drummers call all present back to serious music-ritual dancing of the Cromanti ... The votary and his family, with rum and water in hand, dance before the drummers [and] wave goodbye to the ancestors who are expected to pass out of the dancing ring through the passage left for them. Once this is over the free-for-all dance breaks out. This is called the Powder Dance. Some member of the family comes out with a tin of talcum powder and sprinkles everyone dancing as she sings:

Dance over (repeat three times)
Everybody, gimme powder.

Some people stay on to dance, others who want blessings from their ancestors (or who want to make ritual contact with those gone before) go upstairs to take part in the ceremony of breaking of the Plate (Elder, 1972).

The Big Drum is now complete. The crowd disperses and only a few relatives or close friends remain in the yard.

Big Drum music and dance provide a good time for Carriacouans. It is one of the most African of all the customs on the island. It ties the people to their folk social structure. That is, it places emphasis on descent groups, elders, and the dead. It ritually separates children from adults. The songs connect the living with the dead and illustrate both serious and mundane problems of the living. It is performed at all the transitional points in the social organization, be they rites of passage, celebrations of acquisitions, propitiations for health, or the return of migrants from abroad. If a metropolitan money economy is the basis of Carriacouan society, the Big Drum is its spiritual pinnacle.

The decrease of Big Drum performances is the result of at least four factors. Most significantly, as the importance of the ancestral religion diminishes, the ritual and entertainment connected to it decreases also. Secondly, no young people are learning how to make the drums: only Sugar Adam could make the complete drum from an unworked rum barrel. Many could, however, dry the goat skin and fit it to an old drum. Few young men are learning how to play the Big Drum as their attention now turns toward the modern forms of popular Caribbean music. Although many young people and small children know certain songs, others are nearly forgotten. Few girls are inclined to learn the great variety of songs or endure the discipline and training necessary to become a lead singer or dancer. Christine David has, in the last decade, taught some of the songs and dances at the Harvey Vale School. This

[1]When a woman plays a male role in mock intercourse, Carriacouans laugh. They know a woman is not a man and this is funny. Thus, added emphasis is given to the actual male role and indeed, to the division between the sexes that runs throughout Carriacouan society. Conversely, attention is drawn to lesbianism when two women dance together. All of this ritual behavior is liminal in that it draws attention to social relationships (Turner, 1969).

indicates, however, as does the playing for tourists, a shift of the Big Drum dance from the active realm of folk religion to a consciously preserved cultural heritage. In other words, the Big Drum dance is becoming a metropolitan art form for Carriacouans themselves. This shift is being accelerated by the work of the Carriacou Carib Dance Organization of New York City, which has staged many performances in New York and a few in Carriacou.

Finally, the Big Drum is declining because of the expense it involves. In the past, payment to the drummers and singers consisted of food and drink. While drummers and singers are still honored guests and must be pampered if a Big Drum is to be a success, there has recently been much arguing over money. The Big Drum, as a part of a small fete, costs at least EC $100 (1971). A Big Time will cost at least EC $200 and can easily cost EC $500. These sums can exceed the annual per capita income. Even if one is helped by family, neighbors, and others who attend the dance, adequate funds are difficult to raise. Indeed, some sponsors must defer dances by holding small sacrifices or prayer meetings while needed funds are sought. Sponsorship is generally restricted to the wealthier kin groups on the island—those able to pay the expenses with remittance money, as is usually the case when the Big Drum is part of a Tombstone Feast.

CONCLUSION

> "In October 1796, Spain declared war against England, and in conjunction with France and Holland determined once more to dispute the empire of the seas.
>
> . . . On February 14, while Jervis and Nelson were fighting off Cape St. Vincent, Harvey and Abercrombie came into Carriacou in the Grenadines with a gallant [English] armada; seven ships of the line, thirteen other men-of-war, and nigh 8000 men, including 1500 German jägers, on board.
>
> On the 16th they were struggling with currents of the Bocas off Trinidad, piloted by a Mandingo Negro, Alfred Sharper, who died in 1836, 105 years of age.
>
> . . . Poor Chacon had, to oppose this great armament, 5000 Spanish troops, 300 of them just recovering from yellow fever; a few old Spanish militia, who loved the English better than the French; and what Republican volunteers he could get together."
>
> —Kingsley, 1913, pp. 66-67

Carriacou has been a small colonial outpost of France and England. Its inhabitants were brought to the island to work cotton and sugar estates. It was administered by civil servants from elsewhere in the metropolitan empires. Its formal religions came from these sources also. Yet, while Carriacou represented a footnote in this much larger epic of world powers, an interesting process was taking place—the creation of a folk society that complemented the metropolitan influence on the island. These factors resulted in a society that consists of the articulation between two distinctive elements—one metropolitan and largely "foreign," the other folk and largely local. A key factor in the metropolitan social structure of the islanders since 1834 has been wage labor migration.

I have chronicled many changes across the entire spectrum of society and culture, many of which have occurred since Smith conducted his research in 1953. Less reliance on subsistence gardening, on cotton as a cash crop, on sharing, and an accompanying need for cash—primarily overseas earnings—have been noted.[1] Demographic changes including greatly lowered birth and death rates, more emigration of children and women, and an increase of young men in the

[1]Philpott has found similar consequences for Montserrat (1973, p. 181).

population have also been documented. Finally, gradual changes in the values of the society (i.e., respect for the dead and elders, and the dominance of men) have been reported. One may legitimately ask at this point, why has the social structure not collapsed because of these changes?

Although I have not used this approach the ecological concepts of resilience and stability (Holling, 1973) are helpful here. Resilience is a measure of change a system can undergo while still maintaining its basic components. Stability, in this context, measures the ease and speed by which a system returns to equilibrium after being disturbed. Modifying these terms somewhat one notes that Carriacou's society has resilience but is "unstable"—that is, Carriacou's social organization undergoes constant changes (such as profound demographic shifts) yet its social structure is not radically altered.

One reason for this resilience and instability, when viewed from a metropolitan perspective, is that capitalism is best served by social conditions in Carriacou that promote partial dependence on subsistence gardening and social conservativism in spite of continuous population change. This society, in turn, willingly provides a source of cheap labor when needed for metropolitan industries.

From a local perspective this means that migration, promoted by a "migrant ideology" of agnatic families, has been an agent for both conservativism and change. Thus, what Philpott (1973, p. 182) wrote for household structure in communities in Montserrat holds also for Carriacou: "Migration has long been incorporated as one of a number of sets of behaviour and norms which contribute to the form and organization of the domestic group. Alternative mating patterns, land tenure and inheritance, fosterage of children, migration and remittance obligations are related in such a way that a viable household system was maintained in the two communities without the appearance of significant social problems even during the enormous migration to Britain." And, as in Montserrat, ". . . migration can be connected with social continuity in one institutional context and social change in another" (*ibid.*, p. 191). Carriacou remains essentially conservative because of the influence of specific groups of cohorts channeled through the traditional migration pattern of the agnatic family and, to a lesser extent, the blood. These kin groups support the migrant emotionally while he is abroad, and he sends money to various members of one or both of his kin groups. The blood as well as the agnatic family, in many instances, re-integrates the migrant upon his return. Values relating to migration, savings, and remittances to parents or spouses continue to be inculcated.

In the Introduction I said that social structure may be divided, for the purposes of analysis, into two components—the social organization (the articulation of institutions through the actions of individuals acting in groups) or processual component and the cultural (the plans of action of individuals in the social organization) or normative component. A social structure (the arrangement of institutions) does not change in and of itself but only reflects change which has taken place in the social organization or the culture. Cultural change, being normative and teleological, is dependent upon the change in the social organization. Hence it is the social organization to which one must first look to note changes in any society.

Since I have defined social organization as the processual component of social structure we must, by definition, include temporality. Process *is* change. That is, process in society involves interactions—shifts in space and time of ongoing activities. Such activities or events are the true nexus of any society.

In Carriacou I have monitored several distinct processes or time sequences. These include population shifts from the late eighteenth century to the present; annual changes in various economic and social indicators (birth and death rates, size of crops, cash income from various sources, the size of the boat-building industry, legitimacy, etc.); economic, social, and ritual annual cycles investigated by Smith in 1953 and myself in 1970 and 1971 (the crop and work cycle, the church calendar, the folk religious cycle), daily routines, typical life cycles (from birth to death to the role of the ancestors), and finally, the impact of unique events at one point in time (such as the taking of Carriacou by the British, the windfall catch of fish in Harvey Vale, Hurricane Janet in 1955, and specific shifts in migration in response to unique world economic and political

conditions). The weakening in the dominance of men and the role of the elders has been repeatedly emphasized not to set up a "straw ethnographic present" in Carriacou, a time when the word of elders and men was "law"—a time that probably never existed—but simply to show process in the society. Carriacou's society has not collapsed because these "normal" and continuous changes have occurred *within the existing social structure.*

Changes in social organization and culture have come about in part because of migration and decolonialization. Migration is an integral part of the social structure but decolonialization, while potentially very important, has so far been relatively inconsequential in modifying Carriacou.

Migration is essential to the Carricou way of life. Without it Carriacou would be a radically different society. Many migrants who leave Carriacou never return and eventually lose contact with their families, especially when a second generation is raised abroad. I have not been concerned with these people because my interest has focused on those that returned or otherwise maintained contact with resident islanders. Yet because of continuous permanent migration, Carriacou has been able, in the past 150 years, to support a very high birth rate. Permanent migration by many Carriacouans has kept the island from becoming overcrowded. It has also meshed with the Carriacouan value of wanting large families, particularly male offspring, with the hope that at least one son will successfully migrate and send money home for "supportance."

In the first decades following the collapse of plantation slavery some estate owners left their holdings in Carriacou to be administered by executors. Metropolitan influence through a resident elite that managed estates waned for estates that were sold to the government or abandoned. For other estates the elite became integrated into the folk society. Former slaves eventually gained control of government owned and abandoned land.[1] Migration in part filled the gap left by the demise of the slave society and the later decline of the estate system. Migration molded the local social organization by bringing needed cash into the island. Because it was seasonal this migration allowed men to return for planting and harvesting subsistence and cash crops. Later massive migration of men for years at a stretch added relatively great quantities of cash into the economy through the families of the migrants. These families, no doubt, were able to invest in marriages, houses, boats, shops, and Big Time rituals. In the last decade many dependent or wage-earning women left Carriacou to join families or seek employment in England and the United States. The ultimate results of these present shifts cannot be precisely determined but there are three loci in which present change is concentrated.

The first consists of a change in the power relationships between men and women as the latter obtain an independent supply of cash. There are many indications that this change is not yet extensive—a lady cries, "Aye brother John, who go give me a penny again?" at the wake of her brother upon whom she was economically dependent. Furthermore, with one exception (Christine David, now headmistress of the Harvey Vale Government School) there are no women in major metropolitan occupations.

Secondly, many children of Carriacouan parents are now socialized abroad. This means that permanent migration will probably increase and the population of the island will continue to decline. It also means that a vital link in the traditional enculturation process will be weakened if many of these children later return to Carriacou. In the years to come Carriacouans reared locally, especially women, will have different values from those raised in Brooklyn, New York or Huddersfield, England.

Finally, the migration of women has led to a near balancing of the adult population between men and women for the first time since emancipation, particularly in the young adult age group.[2] The mating system, which requires an excess of adult females and control of the money supply by the remaining males, will surely

[1]A similar change occurred in the middle of the twentieth century in Montserrat (Philpott, 1973, pp. 183-184).

[2]This phenomenon occurred a decade earlier in Saba but unfortunately Crane (1971) did not analyse its consequences.

change. Initially, women with money will fill modified male roles—they will build houses, purchase land, and sponsor fetes. But at some point, if present trends continue, the mating system based on marriage and friending as alternatives for men will become subverted as more men with less money compete for fewer women with more money.

A concomitant to this development—an increase in the young adult male population of the island—will also have its effects on the roles elders and ancestors have had and on the economic prosperity of the island. Taking the second point first, it is likely that because of the current recession coupled with fewer adult male wage-earners abroad, the cash economy of Carriacou—both local and migrant wages—is in for some lean years. Ritually, this means fewer Big Drum ceremonies. But it probably means there will be more prayer meetings, private and community Sacrifices, Parents' Plates, and a higher frequency of negromancy (obeah and witchcraft). The increased stress will be reduced by adherence to traditional magic and, for some, by reliance on a more generalized form of the folk religion. Yet at the same time more young men on Carriacou spell trouble for the influence of the elders and, by extension, the Old Parents. We have seen this already in the changes in the marriage ceremony.

What we have in Carriacou, in a sense, are succeeding waves of migrants, or in this case, young men who have been unable to migrate. Each wave has added its own special influences to the island. That is, the men who went to Trinidad and Cuba in the nineteenth century influenced the mating system. The twentieth-century Aruba migrants, upon returning to Carriacou as middle-aged men with money, greatly influenced the economic decline of cotton, the dominance of men, and the previous pattern of relationships between housing, marriage, and the mating system. In no small way the paucity of young men on the island for great periods of time (e.g., while the Panama Canal was being built, in the 1920s, in World War II, etc.) and the fact that many middle-aged and older men returned with money no doubt greatly enhanced both the influence of elders and of men in the society. Today we have a large number of relatively poor young men and relatively few, but aging elders. On one hand situations in which a father builds a house for a son who is marrying will not erode the influence of male elders. Yet as such people die there will be a collective influence of young male cohorts on the social organization that will tend to compete with the elders. At the same time greater independence of young women will further exacerbate this power struggle between male cohorts in different age groups.

These demographic and economic changes, brought on by the vicissitudes of successive waves of migration, will indeed force change in Carriacou's social organization and most surely, its culture, particularly its value system and the character of its folk religion. Yet if one examines this situation very carefully one can see that these changes are occurring within the bounds of the existing social structure. What we have always had in Carriacou is differential impact of specific age groups of men or women as those groups migrate. Their influence on the local society has varied dependent upon their unique circumstances.

The folk society continues to have the ability to incorporate changes that originate in the metropolitan society. Major structural change will come to Carriacou only if this "family-overseas wage labor-remittance to family" sequence is broken or if the gradual quantitative changes in social organization and culture lead to a rapid, clearly visible qualitative change.

APPENDIX A

Population, birth rate, death rate, and permanent migration estimates for Carriacou and Petite Martinique.

PART I: Population, births, and deaths: available data

Year	Population	Births	Deaths	Year	Population	Births	Deaths
1600s	850+	–	–	1778	3153+	–	–
1776	3328	–	–	1832	3823	–	–

PART I: Population, births, and deaths: available data – *(Continued)*

Year	Population	Births	Deaths	Year	Population	Births	Deaths
1835	3127	–	–	1931	–	185	119
1842	3600	–	–	1932	–	307	95
1844	4461?	–	–	1933	–	283	95
1851	4461	–	–	1934	–	265	93
1861	3701	–	–	1935	–	233	93
1868	–	229	104	1936	–	304	99
1871	4486	–	–	1937	–	292	83
1873	–	269	127	1938	–	204	123
1877	–	230	97	1939	–	253	64
1879	–	257	91	1940	–	182	105
1881	5154	255	155	1941	–	210	85
1891	6031	–	–	1942	–	207	101
1900	–	257	–	1943	–	304	87
1901	6497	–	–	1944	–	209	92
1905	–	–	78	1945	–	202	81
1906	–	–	116	1946	6771	161	77
1907	–	205	102	1947	–	213	90
1908	–	227	112	1948	–	182	82
1909	–	238	87	1949	–	226	58
1910	–	221	81	1950	–	221	68
1911	6886	246	91	1951	–	234	76
1912	–	253	107	1952	–	234	83
1913	–	219	76	1953	–	225	76
1914	–	231	128	1954	–	280	80
1915	–	247	68	1955	–	285	80
1916	–	229	75	1956	–	256	44
1917	–	217	22+	1957	–	319	52
1918	–	240	–	1958	–	248	52
1919	–	252	75+	1959	–	235	59
1920	–	202	127	1960	6958	209	61
1921	7104	243	97	1961	–	180	60
1922	–	255	85	1962	–	159	34
1923	–	230	97	1963	–	158	39
1924	–	218	109	1964	–	154	47
1925	–	238	43	1965	–	153	61
1926	–	253	133	1966	–	145	72
1927	–	233	113	1967	–	168	40
1928	–	199	128	1968	–	159	53
1929	–	208	94	1969	–	133	49
1930	–	228	113	1970	6052	137	52

Notes. For figures marked with a + data are incomplete. The first population estimate is apparently from sometime in the mid-seventeenth century, but the exact date is unclear. The population in 1778 included 107 whites, about half of whom were French, and 3046 slaves. Excluded were "a few" mulattos. In 1832, 3360 of the people were slaves. In 1835, 1284 "apprentices" were male, whereas 1411 were female. The popuation given for 1844 is probably in error and is, in fact, that given for 1851. In 1907 births and deaths date from January 12, not January 1.

Over the years the population of the island of Petite Martinique has varied from a few people to about 550. Petite Martinique has been included here unless otherwise noted (in all cases it is probably included), because the census data for Carriacou often includes Petite Martinique, the latter being considered a district of the former. Furthermore, much of the text refers specifically to that island (i.e., the references by Martin Clement, ms).

Sources: 1600s–Raynal, 1784, p. 89 (status of Petite Martinique unknown); 1832–Smith, 1962a, p. 22 (probably includes Petite Martinique); 1835–Smith, 1962a, p. 21 (probably includes Petite Martinique); 1842–

PART I: Population, births, and deaths: available data – (*Continued*)

reference lost; 1844–Davy, 1854, p. 200 (probably includes Petite Martinique); 1851 to 1861–Smith, 1862a, p. 21; 1868–Smith, 1962a, p. 38; 1871 to 1946 (population data only)–Smith, 1962a, p. 21; 1871 to 1900, 1914, 1922, and 1952 (birth and death data)–Smith, 1962a, p. 38; 1905 to 1970 (birth and death data)–Birth and Death Records, Government Office, Hillsborough, Carriacou; 1960 (population only)–Windward Islands Grenada Eastern Caribbean Population Census, volume II: summary tables, April 7, 1960; 1970 (population only)–"The West Indian," March 30, 1971.

PART II: Estimated rates of birth, death, emigration, and population change for periods between censuses: 1861 to 1969

Time Period	Average yearly change in population	Births/ 1000 pop.	Deaths/ 1000 pop.	Permanent Emigration/ 1000 pop.	Average number of permanent emigrants per year
1861–1870	+ 78.5	56	26	11	46
1871–1880	+ 66.8	52	22	17	80
1881–1890	+ 87.7	46	28(19)[a]	2(11)[a]	12(62)[a]
1891–1900	+ 46.6	41	–	–	–
1901–1910	+ 38.9	34	14	13	89
1911–1920	+ 21.8	33	14	17	116
1921–1945	– 13.3	34	14	22	153
1946–1959	+ 13.4	35	10	22	154
1960–1969	– 90.6	25	8	31	201

[a]The figures in parentheses were calculated using an average of 105 deaths per year, a figure more typical of the period than the 155 deaths that actually occurred in 1881, the only figure available for that decade.

Notes: All estimates are derived from the data given in part I of this Appendix. For the periods between 1861 and 1920, where the information on the numbers of births and deaths per year is incomplete, an annual average for each period was computed and used in place of the missing figures. The average number of permanent emigrants per year was computed by finding the excess number of births over deaths for the period, adding or subtracting the actual population change, and dividing the result by the number of years between the two censuses. To compute the birth rate, the population at the midpoint of each period was first estimated by finding the geometric mean of the populations at the beginning and end of the period. The average number of births per year for each period was then divided by the corresponding mid-point population estimate, and the result multiplied by 1,000, to give the birth rate in standard form: number of births per thousand population per year. Estimates of the death and permanent emigration rates were calculated in a similar manner. This method of estimation does not take into account the fluctuations in the population due to shifting rates of permanent and seasonal migration in response to changing economic and ecological conditions, nor is the information available to do so. The figures above, particularly those for the nineteenth century where data are scarce, are subject to such limitations, but are sufficiently accurate to clearly indicate the general trends in the birth, death, and migration rates.

Assistance in devising this table has been given by Rondi Ericksen.

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is the basis of many of the tables in the text. It was administered to one member of 156 households, including all households in the villages of Mt. Pleasant, Grandbay, Mt. D'or, La Resource, Mt. Desire, Top Hill, Mt. Royal, Belevedere, and Belair. It includes a few households in Hillsborough and L'Esterre. All but 10 of the individuals questioned were interviewed by Cornelius Jaffier, David John, and

Brindley Dick. In addition to the 10 household members I interviewed, I conducted spot checks on the remaining 146 interviews and found the information to be accurate (I had gathered parallel data in the church records on some people and knew some of the people interviewed).

Please note that fishing villages are underrepresented in this sampling. Also, since every person did not answer all the questions the sample size varies from table to table.

Finally, the value of any questionnaire is always limited. Factors that lead to meaningless results are numerous and can be controlled only if responses are checked against independently collected data. When, for one reason or another, an independent check yielded radically different results, they have been mentioned in the text or the results of that question have not been used.

1. Name.
2. Age.
3. Sex.
4. Place of birth (including village if born in Carriacou).
5. Occupation.
6. How long have you been in Carriacou?
7. How much schooling have you received?
8. Who owns the house in which you live?
9. Who owns the land on which the house is built?
10. No question.
11. What crops are you planting now? How much of each crop? When will you harvest each crop?
12. What livestock and domestic animals do you have?
13. Who is the head (most important person) in your household?
14. Who lives in the household?
15. Please give the following information about the people in your household:
    a. Names.
    b. Ages.
    c. Sex.
    d. Occupation.
    e. Relationship to you.
    f. Amount of schooling the person has received.
16. Do you have any children? Please give the following information on each:
    a. Names.
    b. Ages.
    c. Where do they live (village or country)?
    d. Sex.
    e. Name of mother of each child.
17. What are your parents' names?
18. Where do they live (village or country)?
19. Have you ever been away from Carriacou? Where? When? Please give the following information:
    a. For what purpose?
    b. When did you return? Why? Do you have a passport? Is it up to date? How did you get it?
    c. Did you hold a fete, mass, or prayer meeting when you returned? When you left? Why (why not)? Did you get married when you returned? When you left?
    d. How long were you gone? How did you save enough money for passage to go?
    e. Were you able to save any money? Did you send any home?
    f. What did you do with the money? Did you start a business, build a house, buy and build a boat, buy a taxi?
    g. Did you like the place where you were? Why (why not)?
    h. Do you like that place or Carriacou better? What is the difference between the two places?
    i. Will you ever leave again? Why (why not)?
20. Do you have any relatives abroad? Please give the following information on each:
    a. Where?
    b. Occupation.
    c. Does he (she) intend to return? Why (why not)?
    d. Is that person saving any money? Is he (she) sending anything back?
21. Did you write home or visit often when you were away? Why (why not)?
22. Did you know anyone from Carriacou where you were? Please answer the following:
    a. Did you see them often?
    b. Did you ever get together and hold a fete, prayer meeting, etc.?
23. Do you ever want to leave Carriacou? Why (why not)? Where would you want to go? Why? For how long? What would you do when you return to Carriacou?
24. Are Carriacouans different from other West Indians? In what way?
25. What are your impressions of the following types of people?
    a. Whites?
    b. Chinese?
    c. Negroes?
    d. Creoles?
    e. Indians? [note: this is a bad question;

it should have read "East Indians."]
f. Grenadians?
g. Trinidadians?

26. What do foreigners think about people from Carriacou?
27. When you were away from Carriacou did you ever get homesick?
28. Who do you admire most in the world? Why?
29. No question.
30. Who do you admire most on Carriacou? Why?
31. Do you respect Carriacou's traditions? Do you believe in the Old Parents?
32. Have you heard of Black Power? What is it? What do you think about it?
33. If it were possible for you what would you like to do more than anything in the world? Why?
34. No question.
35. What do you want most for your children?
36. When you were a child:
    a. Who were you closest to in your family? Why?
    b. If you wanted anything who did you approach first? Why?
    c. How were you punished? By whom? For what?
    d. Who could you "get away with" more in your family, father or mother? Why?
    e. Who had the most influence on you?
    f. Did your parents set any goals for you? (Father, Mother)?
    g. Did you like school? How well did you do?
    h. What duties did you have to perform as a child?
37. What do you want more than anything else in the world? [accidental repeat of question 33]
38. What would be the worst thing that could happen to you?
39. What should a father look for in his children? Mother? How should each raise children?
40. Who should have the most to say about bringing up children, father or mother? Why? In what ways?
41. If you had a couple of thousand dollars what would you spend it on? [note: when I wrote this questionnaire I did not know that in Carriacou "couple" means "many."]
42. Have you ever had a dream about the Old Parents? What did they say?
43. Have you ever wished that you were someone else? Why? Who?

APPENDIX C

Folktales

Two types of tales are illustrated in this Appendix. The first is a longer genre, whereas the second is a brief story about the trickster spider.

Folktales are often preceded by a short song, sung in patois or in English:

Buddy Ben nobody home (repeat).
When you go, tell my mother, tell my father
Jinny grass grow over me.

Cric [storyteller]!

Crac [audience]!

Well, my dear friends, it was an old man have got three sons but he love the last son more than the two elder sons.

One day the father send the three sons up in the forest. Each of them must take down a bundle of wood to him in his yard. In the wagon the younger brother was in the front and the two elder brothers was walking behind. They think that today should be the last day of our younger brother. "Let's take off his neck! Let's kill him because daddy love him more than he love me."

When they get to the forest, they cut out a bundle of wood for the younger brother because the younger brother couldn't make a bundle for himself. After the bundle wood was tied brother says, "Brother, I cannot pick up the wood. Will you help me put the wood on my head?" And the elder brother lift up the wood and put on the younger brother's neck.

"If you go in the front we are coming." And as the brother turn off from him he then threw on cutlass behind him there and the neck was thrown right down with the wood and was a dead body. They take the cutlass, the both of them, and they make a hole and they bury the younger brother and the two brothers go home with the bundle of wood to the father.

The father says, "Where's my beloved last son?"

He says, "Daddy, we told him to wait for us in the junction and when we met the junction we not met him. We don't know what gone wrong with him. Maybe some wild animal eat him."

And the father start to grieve and worry over the

son. The sons roll on years, years, and years after. The owner of the estate cut down all the wood and they make a grass field. They plant grass on the very grave where the boy was buried.

Well, you know, the school master sometimes send the big boys up to cut grass for their house. One day when the boys and them go up to cut grass, the grass sing:

Buddy Ben, nobody home (repeat).
Oh when you go, tell my mother, tell my father
Jinny grass grow over me.

And the children throw the grass knife and they start to run. And they go back to the school master. They say, "Oh school master, when we hold the grass the grass start to sing and we get frightened and don't bring no grass for you animals."

He say, "I will go myself. Give me the grass knife." And the school master walked to the front and some teachers behind him. The school master says, "I am the big boss and I want to see what they're saying is something stupid!" And when the school master reach he said, "Show me the spot."

He said, "School master, right there."

Buddy Ben nobody home! (repeat)
When you go, tell my mother, tell my father
Jinny grass grow over me.

To see school master run down!! He try to run and to left them teachers behind! When he get to the school he write a letter to the government to send some men with pick and shovel. He go with them to dig. They get the two legs-bones, they get the hand bone, they get the head, and they get the jaw too. That was the son the father did love for many years.

And the government called up a case and call the boys to give some account for the brother that was killed in the forest. The two brothers were found guilty and were sent to prison for life time.

And dear friends what I gotta say is when mother and father have got children in the house you must have one you love better but don't let the others know it. If they know it they're going to kill you other one and that will be a shame. This will cause murder.

Cric!

Crac!

—(Edited from Mitchell, MS)

This tale is almost a textbook example of how a folktale may at once be a manifestation of a diffusionary process and an important microcosm of the local society. This tale is in Aarne's and Thompson's folktale typology—The Singing Bones (in Thompson, 1964). The story is common in Europe, the West Indies, and in Africa. It is likely that Europeans brought it to the West Indies and therefore it is seemingly more functionally fit for Old World European folk society than Carriacouan society. Yet we can immediately see parallels between the story and the local society. The spirit speaking from the grave is an obvious parallel to the belief system concerning the ancestors and their place in the affairs of the living (although the spirit is that of a child). The references to the family circle, the headmaster, and the pasturage all have local significance. These references do not directly reflect how Carriacouans should act but, rather, are a parody of their social organization.

The tales of B'Nancy, the trickster spider, are often scatological, as is the case in the following example. This particular story, no doubt of universal appeal, does not have the local sociological significance that the first story had:

B'Nancy was great you know. Tiger, he want to eat B'Nancy. And so he tell he wife, "I want to eat spider."

And here's what spider say, "Even though you want to eat a spider you can't."

And so every day he trying to get at spider. So he tell he wife one day and say, "Look. I want to catch spider. But he's so smart that I will pretend that I dead. You will come and bellow in the streets. And then he will come and play with me and I'll hold him.

The wife go and tie she dress. She go and scream, "Woo, woo, woo."

B'Nancy says, "What happened?"

She says, "Me husband dead, oh God!"

"You husband dead?"

"Yes."

Nancy say, "If he fart he dead but if he not break no wind he not dead."

Stupid as the Tiger is he go, "Brrr, boom."

Nancy says, "Hun, hun! Dead man could fart? You dead and you could fart?"

And so they could not catch him.

GLOSSARY

Carriacouan or West Indian words have been put in quotation marks the first time they appear in the text, interviews, local publications, and unpublished local manuscripts. These words are

found in this glossary. Most are common to English dialects of the Caribbean, are words in standard English but rarely used today, or are patois words. A few are found only in Carriacouan English. Finally, some words are common in standard English but have very special meanings in Carriacou–for example, "family" and "relative."

This vocabulary is usually written with standard English spelling even though the pronounciation may differ radically.

abandon land, fallow land, or land used for pasturage

adopted child, loosely used to refer to any child reared by an individual but which is not the issue of that individual or his or her mate. Sometimes the word "godchild" is used similarly

after transom, the stern of a vessel which extends behind the keel

All Fours Day, an annual holiday when the men play a card game. In Windward village, the men challenge all other islanders. Also refers to the card game played on this day

allos, "aloe vera," a plant used for cures (all botanical and zoological names from the Grenada Handbook, 1946, pp. 304-310)

All Saints' Day, November 1. During the day some people light candles at their parents' graves and have a Saraca. In the night there is a candlelight procession. In Harvey Vale, there once was a Big Drum

All Souls' Day, November 2. In the Catholic calendar this day is called "Commemoration of All Faithful Departed." The social and religious events of this day are similar to those on All Saints' Day

all the rage, in fashion

Anancy, see Nancy

and them, (1) all the others, his friends, as in "Mr. Joseph and them." (2) etc., as in "All those things and them"

apartment, a room in an outbuilding. Often the outbuilding in the yard facing the house contains two apartments–the kitchen and a storage room

Arrada, a Big Drum dance used for healing sick people; an African Nation

arrowroot, "Maranta arundinacea." A plant, the roots of which are used as a flour

Awouhsa, (1) the Hausa tribe of the Western Sudan of West Africa. (2) a "warlike" Big Drum dance

axe men, men who cut shores to launch a vessel

Ayerabba, (1) the Yoruba tribe of West Africa. (2) a Nation dance

Babayjan, (1) a native of Barbados. (2) a Bajan

ba (or *baha*), a musical instrument which gives a bass sound. It is made from bamboo or any long tube. One blows across one opening

bacchanal, (1) a great confusion, a wild happening, a large fete. (2) a fight, a disorder

backers, a name for the young men who support speech mas players from each village on Carnival Tuesday

back room, when referring to a palah, a room behind the main room which faces the street. In the back room people gather to play cards, drink, or eat. Sometimes the owner keeps a bed in the back room for resting, especially if his house is far from the shop

Bajan, (1) a person from Barbados. (2) an intelligent person or a person with the characteristics of people from Barbados. (3) a "white" person, often a seaman or ship builder, from any one of several communities in the southern Windward Islands

bake, a bread or cake

Bam bam (bom bom), buttocks, to strike the buttocks

bamboo tamboo, an orchestra consisting of bamboo stamping tubes of different lengths to give different tones. In Trinidad the bamboo tamboo was replaced by the steel band

band, see mas band

Banda, a Big Drum dance and African Nation

Bandroy (Band Royal), all the Carnival speech mas bands from the southern villages of Carriacou

banjay lavay, patois for "God arises"

bass, a drum with goat skins on either end. Usually hung from the neck, the bass is one of the basic instruments in a string band

batonnier, to batonniere, (1) patois for stick fighter (2) to tie a fish pot with wood, to put wood on its side

bawl, to, to yell, to cry, to cry out, to wail

beasts, animals of any sort, especially domestic animals

beat free, to, see free ring

become a man, to, to grow up

Beg Pardon, (1) a Big Drum dance played early in a Sacrifice in which the sponsoring family asks for forgiveness from the Old Parents. (2) a fete at which forgiveness from the ancestors for some transgressions is required. (3) any ritual in which forgiveness from the ancestors is requested

belay kawe, a Big Drum dance, sometimes spelled be'le' kawe. One of several belair dances

bends boards, extra thick planks at the water line of a vessel

Big Drum (Dance), (1) a Nation dance given to entertain and to honor the ancestors. (2) a fete where the Nation dances and other African-like dances are played. (3) playing drums for a Nation dance. (4) the drums used for a Nation dance

Big Time, (1) a happy occasion. (2) a very large fete or celebration or social gathering

bilge, the rounded part of a vessel's sides

bilge board, planks nailed to the side of a vessel about to be launched to protect the bilge

black sage, a plant used in curing

blogo, a relative to the banana and plantain. It is shorter and fatter than both

blood, (1) matrilineage. (2) matrilineal descent

B'Nancy, see Nancy

board house, a house constructed of wood

bobul, (1) dishonesty, bribery. (2) unlicensed liquor shop. (3) any illegal activity in business. (4) a crippled foot

bobul trade, smuggling, chiefly liquor and cigarettes, from St. Barthélemy to Carriacou and nearby islands by Carriacouans

Bocas, "Bocas del Dragón," a strait between the Peninsula de Paria, Venezuela and Chacachacare Island, Trinidad

boley, see boli

boli, (1) calabash bowl. (2) a tree that bears the calabash, "Crescentia cujete"

bongo, a Big Drum dance

boom, in sailing, the bamboo or wooden timber to which the mainsheet is attached

bottom lining, fishing with a line resting on the ocean floor

bounce, to, to run into something, to hit; to drop; to let go; to throw down; to strike against; to collide; to push

bowakes, a boastful name used in speech mas

bow frame, a frame in the fore end of a vessel

Boxing Day, a holiday following Christmas, the day after Christmas

boy friend, (1) a mate or lover. (2) a keeper. (3) the father of an unmarried woman's children

brave, (1) word shouted to a paywo as he performs his speech. "Oh!" "Well!" "How about that!" Often used by a listener to punctuate the story of another in a call and response fashion. (2) in any conversation said by a listener as a punctuation

breakaway (*break'way*), a West Indian dance often seen at Carnival

break the barrel, to, a custom during the funeral rites for a dead sea captain in which his friends or male relatives dance around a barrel from which two pieces of wood protrude. As they dance they sing shanties and act as if one of them is a captain and the others a crew

breakfast, lunch, the noon meal, the main meal of the day

break house, the moving of a board house from one location to another in a helping. The same as house break

Break the Plate, to, see to break the Table

break the Table, to, to ritually eat food from the Parents' Plate

bring come, to, to return with

broadcast, to, to gossip, to spread stories about someone, as in "don't broadcast me name now!"

broken English, the English dialect spoken in Carriacou (this is the Carriacouan term for this dialect)

broken French, patois

buca, burning off of gardens or pasturage before planting in the dry season

bukra, (1) light skinned people of Windward village and Petite Martinique and Bequia Islands. (2) white people. (3) estate owners. (4) rich people

bukra house, estate house where the elite once lived

bula drum, an open ended drum used to give the basic beat in Big Drum dances. Always played in pairs on either side of the cot drum

bull, a stick or switch used at Carnival by the paywos to hit one's opponent. Sometimes it is pronounced "pull" or "puli"

bush, (1) scrub or wooded areas of the island away from houses and in isolated areas. (2) to be provincial, to have simple ways, as in "You bush"

bush medicine, local herbal remedies

bush tea, a broth made from leaves or herbs; used for curing, it is drunk as a tea

call out, to call out one's name, to bring attention to a person by using his name in conversation when he is not present. This is considered bad manners in Carriacou since one does not normally refer to another person except by indirect references or by a home name. Similar to the verb, "to broadcast one's name"

calypso, a West Indian form of topical song which originated in Trinidad

calypsonian, a singer of calypsos

calypso war, in Trinidad, a song battle between

two or more calypsonians who trade insults in short verses

canbulay, the family feast Sunday night before Carnival that precedes stick fighting. This is the local pronounciation of "canes brule" (cane burning)

canes brulé, see canbulay

cantiques, songs sung at wakes in patois; hymns

cariso, an old style secular Big Drum dance

carp, a vine or runner which, when plaited, is used to attach a fish pot to a buoy (bamboo)

cassava, "Manihot utilissina," manioc. The root of this (with the acid removed), is made into a flour. This flour is often cooked into a bread. It is also called farin

cast net, a fishing net commonly used in Carriacou. This may be a fry or sprat net. It is thrown by hand and forms a circle as it hits the water. It is used to catch bait

chac chac, rattles or maracas made from a boli filled with corn seed to which a wooden handle is attached

Chamaray, probably a Nation dance

Chamba, (1) a Big Drum or Nation dance played to heal the sick. (2) the tribal name for one who dances this dance

chantwell, a male lead singer at a Big Drum dance

chattam, a secular dance played at a Big Drum

chauffeur, taxi driver

chiffonay, a group of secular dances with sexual movements played at a Big Drum

chiney, a person with some Chinese descent. The term is used by Carriacouans who have been to Trinidad where it is much more common

chirrup, a specific chiffonay dance

chop, to, to hit or strike, particularly with a cutlass

chupid, chupidness, stupidity, to act the fool

churde (*cud*), alternate spelling of hallachord

cock, a feint or move toward an opposing stick fighter

coco, patois for coconut

coconut water, the liquid inside a green coconut. Also called coconut milk. Considered a very healthful drink

cold, cool, (1) illness, often in the chest or waist; somewhat indefinable. Any vague illness. (2) matched with hot, an illness of a serious nature which can cause death. That is, when one contrasts hot and cold one is apt to become seriously ill. For example, when one takes a sea bathe when hot and sweaty. (3) matched with hot when referring to the earth. Hot ground is said to become cool or cold when it is wet

combo, a small group of musicians who play at dances and road houses. The instruments of a combo are usually electrified and typically consist of two guitars, bass, congo drum, trap drum, and organ

compay, (1) godfather. (2) co-godparent. (3) friend

conch, "Acnaea antillarum," a shellfish common in reef-protected waters circling Carriacou. When removed from the shell and cooked it is called lamby

conductors, (1) in a wedding the followers of the bride or groom who go to the church for the formal ceremony. (2) officials at a social or religious gathering

confusion, to be in, to be in trouble or to have a difficulty; to cause someone trouble

congo, (1) a snake. (2) (Congo) a series of Big Drum dances. (3) (Congo) an African tribe ancestral to some of the people in Carriacou. (4) a stupid person

coocoo, corn meal patties

coocoo poy, a dish made from green pigeon peas with corn. Often eaten with fish or meat

corn break, corn harvest

corner post, the foundation pillars of a house

cot drum, the lead drum used in the Big Drum dances. It is played only by a master drummer who plays the complex rhythms while two bula drummers play the basic beat. Also called the cutter drum

could, will, as in "I could do it" (I *will* do it)

couple, (1) two or more. (2) many

creole, (1) in Carriacou, a person of African descent (2) any person of mixed Spanish or French ancestry with some other nationality (a broad non-Carriacouan definition) (3) any person with some African ancestry (Trinidad)

cric-crac, (1) a folktale, B'Nancy story (Nancy story). (2) in a folktale, usually after a patois song is sung, the storyteller will say "Cric," to which the audience replies "Crac." From time to time the storyteller may say "cric" to get the audience's attention so that they will listen and reply "crac"

Cromanti, (1) a series of Big Drum dances, generally sung at the beginning, middle, and end of a performance. These songs are used to Beg Pardon from the Old Parents. (2) a Nation of people in Carriacou who trace descent from Ghana. Cromanti is the name of the slave port through which many people from this area passed. (3) the First Nation of Carriacou (e.g.,, the most important Nation for ritual purposes)

crop-over, (1) the completion of harvest. (2)

(Crop-Over) a fete once held on the estates when cutting sugar cane was completed

cross, (1) a crossroads. (2) a move or position in stick fighting. (3) verb: to have sexual intercourse, as in "to cross a woman"

curse, see wish

cus cus grass, see jinny grass

cut-back, to, (1) to ratoon cotton or peas for the next growing season. (2) the cutting down of cotton or peas which is then gathered at the side of the garden and burned. Usually takes place in the dry season

cut down, to, in launching of vessel, to cut away the ropes which secure the vessel and the supports so that it rests on its starboard side ready to be hauled into the sea

cutlass, a machete or wide-blade knife two feet long used as a general tool for opening objects, cutting coconuts, cutting grass, digging, etc. This is the most widely used tool in Carriacou

cutter drum, see cot drum

dada hair, see Shango hair

dance the cake, to, on the day of a wedding this is often part of the joining when the family of the groom comes to meet the family of the bride. When they meet women dance with cakes of each family on their heads. Also performed at launchings and other fetes

dasheen, the edible leaves of the taro plant

dealers, (1) people who sell souls to the devil. (2) people who use obeah. (3) people who use negromancy

dhalpourie, a Trinidadian dish of East Indian origin. A roti made with peas

dirt house, a wattle and daub house, now very rare

doodoo, a term of endearment, darling

dream book, a pamphlet which lists the contents of dreams for interpretation

dream, to make dream, to have a dream about the Old Parents or other supernatural beings, or a dream which foretells the future

dress a house, to, to prepare a couple's new home before the wedding day

drop, (1) a free ride in a taxi. (2) a ride in a taxi or any vehicle

dry corn, fully ripe corn, corn which is dried on the stalk in the garden and which is then picked and shelled immediately

dumb iron, a tool used in caulking a vessel

dups, a percussion instrument made from a biscuit tin. Struck with a piece of wood, it gives a muffled sound.

EC $, Eastern Caribbean currency. One dollar EC is roughly equivalent to US $.50 (1970-1972) also called "beewee"

eh eh!, an exclamation

en, ain't, is not

engine boat, any boat with an engine

evening, afternoon, between 12:00 noon and 6:00 P.M.

family, (1) patrilineage (agnatic family). (2) the household unit. (3) nuclear family. (4) extended family

family land, land held jointly by an agnatic family. Grave sites for members and their affines are often located on family land. Sometimes called undivided land

farin, cassava flour

father-giver, the best man at a wedding

fete, (1) a feast, a social gathering where food and drink are served. (2) any good time

fig, (1) a relative to the banana but only one half the size. (2) a banana

fight the flags, to, at a wedding a mock battle between two men. One carries the flag of the bride's family and the other the flag of the groom's family. The groom's flag "beats" the bride's by knocking it to the earth

figure, one of the five dances in the lancer's or quadrille dance. Each dance is called "figure one," "figure two," etc.

finish, to, to run out of, to be no more, to end, as in "The coocoo finish"

fiola, a Big Drum dance

First Nation, the Cromanti Nation

fish pot, a bamboo or wire cube about three feet by two feet by five feet in which fish are trapped

foredaymorning, between midnight and dawn

fork, to, (1) to dig one's garden with a pitchfork (fork), or with a hoe. (2) a pitchfork. This is the most common tool for plowing

for show, something done for effect only (flash)

Forty Night, a prayer meeting held forty days after a wake

fowl(s), chicken

fraid, afraid

framing, the wooden structure of a vessel to which planks are nailed

free ring, the point in a Big Drum dance when no people are allowed to dance. At this time the spirits of the ancestors are said to dance

friendly society, a formal or informal group of people who entertain together and share expenses for funerals, etc. Often sponsored by a church

fridge, (1) refrigerator. (2) deep freezer

friending, extra-residential mating

fry, a fish one to two inches long which is used for bait

fry net, a cast net used to catch fry

gaff (rig), (1) a sailing rig. (2) the bamboo pole which holds the gaff rig mainsail
galvanize, rust-resistant corrugated metal roofing
garden, where one's crops are grown
girl friend, (1) lover. (2) fiancée. (3) keeper
gomavalos, a cactus. Its bitter juice is sometimes put on a child's thumb to keep him from sucking it
grans, (1) a woman's daughter's children who live in her household. (2) grandchildren. (3) children who live with older people and take care of them
grapay, at an annual Maroon after the adults of the community have taken the shared food, the scraps which the children scramble for
grapnel, a pole with a hook for retrieving fish pots from shallow water
grass house, a wattle-and-daub house
grave stick, a cane or stick with marks made approximately one foot apart which is used by gravediggers to measure a body so that the grave will be the proper size. Also used as a walking stick. It is said to give power and protection to its owner
green corn, corn which is not fully ripe
groundnuts, peanuts
ground provisions, (1) what one grows in one's garden as food crops as opposed to cash crops. (2) tubers such as yams, potatoes, and cassava but excluding groundnuts. (3) domestic plants grown underground
Guardians of the Plate, the people who watch the Parents' Plate during a fete to make sure no one eats the food
Guyana house, prefabricated wooden house imported from Guyana
gwa belay, a Big Drum dance, also spelled gwa be'le' or grand belair. A dance for entertainment only
hall, the public or main room of a house
hallachord, a Big Drum dance
hand fork, a small pitchfork. A tool used to dig and held in the hand
harvest, (1) reaping a crop. (2) a Catholic or Anglican social affair where the people sell cakes and soft drinks. The profits go to the church
haul, to, (1) to harvest. (2) to pull, to pull in, to pull up
haylay (hele), a cry or wail, often heard at wakes and funerals.
helping, a voluntary work group in which workers are given food when the task is completed
Heroes, name for all the Carnival speech mas bands from the northern villages of Carriacou
history mas, see speech mas
home children, house children, children reared in one's home. Sometimes, but not always, overlaps with lawful children. Opposite of outside children
home name, nickname
hosannah band, Christmas serenaders
hot, to be, (1) to have a strong sexual appetite. It usually refers to women. (2) with reference to the ground or earth to be dry or unfavorable for planting. Opposite of cool or cold. (3) often contrasted with cool or cold, in causing sickness. That is, a contact with both hot and cold is said to cause illness
house break, a voluntary work group in which a board house is moved from one location to another. This is a type of helping and is sometimes called a break house
house children, see home children
house gardens, gardens next to one's house as distinct from those which are far away
house money, household cash handled by the women for daily expenses
humbug, to, (1) to annoy, to bother. (2) to put in a difficult situation, to stand in the way of, to not cooperate
Ibo, (1) a series of Big Drum dances. (2) a Nation or tribe
ices, shaved ice flavored with syrup
Irish potatoes, potatoes
jack, jack iron, a very strong rum made in Barbados and smuggled from St. Barthélemy to Carriacou. It is drunk straight in a small glass and chased with water
jacks, several species of small fish commonly found in the waters about Carriacou. Perhaps the most common fish food
jamboni, (1) a cooperative work group for forking (plowing) a garden. One day one person's garden is plowed and the next another's. Now rare. (2) to plow the earth with a pitchfork
Janet, a hurricane whose eye passed over Carriacou in 1955. Loss of life was great and many houses and vessels were destroyed. The term is a marker and people refer to "before Janet" and "after Janet"
jida, (1) patois for Judas or false friend. (2) mocking names given to children by parents
jig-Ibo, a Big Drum dance
jinny grass, "Andropogon muricatus." a grass used for many purposes. Formerly used as roofing on mud houses. Used also to separate gardens and to slow erosion. Also called cuscus

job job, (1) the devil. (2) a masquerade character in Carnival
jobless, from the French word "diablesse," a supernatural being said to be a woman who died in childbirth
joiner, carpenter
joining, the first social event on a wedding day. The groom's family meets the bride's family to sing and dance with cakes or have a battle between the families' flags
juba, a Big Drum dance
juke, to, to push, strike, rub, poke, hit, etc.
juking board, washboard used for scrubbing clothes
jumbie (*jumby*), a spirit
jumbie parasol, mushroom or toadstool
jump-up, (1) a dance to the music of the steel band. (2) a road march or the music and dance which takes place when a steel band is wheeled through the street during Christmas or Carnival
Juvay, day break on Carnival Monday morning. Also spelled in the French manner—Jour Ouvert
kaiso, (1) calypso. (2) an exclamation shouted while singing a calypso which gives the feeling or emotion of the singer, as in "aye aye kaiso!!!"
kakomay, witchcraft practiced by the suyacan and the loogarou; spelled "coco-mar" by Christine David
kalinda, (1) a kind of drumming associated with stick fighting on Carnival Monday morning. (2) the Big Drum songs and drumming patterns of this name. (3) stick fighting
kayaks, people from Carriacou, somewhat derogatory
keeper, male or female coresidential mate
keeptress, a female coresidential mate who is not married
keeping, a mating relationship in which an unmarried couple live together
king (1) in speech mas, the best player from a village. (2) in the calypso competition at Carnival, the winner
Kick-em-Jenny, a rock between Carriacou and Grenada. This is a very dangerous place for sailing vessels as currents from the Atlantic and Caribbean converge
lamby, the meat or animal inside a conch shell. Cooked, it is a highly prized food
lancer's dance, a group of five separate dances (figures) with string band accompaniment. Probably originally an English country or ballroom dance
Lasa, a Nation dance
lash, to, to strike a blow, to hit
launching, a celebration held the day a sloop or schooner is launched
lawful children, children born to married parents. Opposite of unlawful children
leader, an official of the Spiritual Baptist Church
leggo, to, to set livestock free to pasturage
leggo season, part of the dry season when livestock are freed from their stakes and allowed to graze wherever they find pasturage
legitimate, (1) for the folk of Carriacou, the children of married parents. (2) for the church, a child born of married parents or of parents who subsequently marry
lemon grass, "Andropigin citratus," a common grass in Carriacou, used in bush medicine
light, a candle used in obeah for magical manipulation
lime, to, to hang around and talk. To stand at the street corner for hours at a time
loogarou, (1) a male witch. (2) to keep with the devil
lookman, a diviner; a specialist who can see into the future
longtime, long ago, in former times, many years ago
longtime people, people who lived long ago. Often refers to evidence of people while they were alive, such as the ruins of a house, as opposed to the Old Parents which refers to the spirits of the ancestors
lora, a Big Drum dance
macmay, (1) co-godmother. (2) as used between peers, an old woman. Thus, an old man may call an old woman by this term. (3) female friends
madivine, (1) see zami. (2) a woman's nickname
mainland, mainlander, Grenada, people born in Grenada
mainsail, the largest sail on a vessel
mainsheet, in sailing, the tackle which holds the mainsail
make, to, a general purpose verb with many meanings—to have, to hold, to do, to give
maljoe, the evil eye
mamaguey, to, to fool or trick
man bongo, a secular Big Drum dance
Manding, (1) a Big Drum (Nation) dance. (2) an African Nation
mango, "Mangifera indica." a fruit
manicou, "Didelphis marsupialis insularis." an opposum, the meat of which, cooked over an open fire, is considered tasty
manish, to be, to be rude

manship, the state of being an adult man not yet an elder or old head

mark, (1) verb—to put up a tombstone. (2) noun, a tombstone

maroon, (1) a helping or cooperative work group. (2) (Maroon) an annual community fete to honor the Old Parents with food and the Big Drum; this fete is a "pleasure" which is said to help bring on the rainy season. (3) a dream-message Sacrifice which is given as a result of a dream from the ancestor in which the ancestor makes a request for the fete. A Beg Pardon

marriedwoman, a species of jacks fish

mas band, a group of masqueraders at Carnival.

mash, to, to break, to destroy, to crush

maypole dance, a dance around a pole once seen at Christmas or Carnival

meet, to, to arrive at

metayage, sharecropping with the owner receiving a set portion of the crops produced by the tenant

metayer, sharecropper

middlenight, midnight

miserable, an affectionate term used to describe the behavior of small children

Moko, (1) an African Nation. (2) the group of Big Drum dances

mother-giver, maid of honor at a wedding

mold the ground, to, (1) in planting cassava or some other root, the banking of dirt around the planted root. (2) a stage in weeding when the hoed weeds are pushed against the base of the corn

molding (*moulding*), the second weeding or cleaning of a garden

mud house, wattle-and-daub house

Nancy, (1) a trickster spider in folktales, originally an Akan or Ashanti (Cromanti) word. (2) a person (Old Parent) in Cromanti songs. (3) folktales. (4) zien

Nancy Stories, folktales

Nancy Story man, a noted story teller

Nation, an alleged or real African tribe; the Carriacouan descendants of such a tribe

Nation dance, a Big Drum dance said to be from a specific African tribe

natural dreams, dreams which are true messages from the ancestors

negromancy, necromancy (dealing with the spirits of the dead for evil purposes). Said to be indulged in by people who want to become or who are rich

Nine Night, a prayer meeting held nine days after a wake.

Norman Paul's Children, followers of Norman Paul who mixed Protestant Christianity with African beliefs and rituals. He died in September, 1970. This group is called the Shango Baptists by outsiders. See Smith, 1963

not to, do not

Novena, nine days of Catholic prayers said for a specific purpose. In Carriacou novenas are usually said to bring rain

obeah, the mana or power associated with a magician

obeah man, a magician

okru, okra, "Hibiscus esculentus," a West African vegetable used most often in soups, such as calaloo. Often planted around the edge of a garden

offerable, a characteristic of people who make sacrifices to the ancestors

old bongo, see man bongo

old head(s), leaders in the community. The term can also refer to any middle-aged or old person

old kalinda, the kalinda Big Drum songs of Carriacou and the Grenadines as opposed to those in Carriacou originally from Trinidad (Trinidad kalindas)

old mas, (1) individual Carnival masquerades or masquerades involving only a few people. (2) a chaos, a great confusion

oldoe, the old hoe, the hoe which is struck with a piece of iron at a Big Drum or Nation dance during the Cromanti Beg Pardon. It is struck to bring the spirits of the ancestors

Old Parents, (1) the ancestors of Carriacouans. (2) known dead members of one's family. (3) those ancestors whose names have been forgotten

old talk, gossip

Old Years Night, New Year's Eve

open boat, (1) in Carriacou a sloop without a deck. (2) a dingy

-oui?, Right? Used to punctuate the end of a sentence, as in, "It have a Big Time-oui?" (Wasn't it a good party?)

outside child, a child who lives away from its father, usually with its mother

over ripe green corn, green corn which is too dry to pick and cook immediately and must therefore be fully dried before picking

paid-for time, casual sexual union with a woman

palah, parlor, a rum shop where people gather to lime, drink, and talk

pan, (1) a musical instrument made from an oil drum and tuned (steel drum)

pardner, (1) partner, a term which a couple who are keeping use to refer to each other. (2) the name given to the owner of the land one sharecrops

Parents' Plate, (1) an offering of food and drink for the ancestors prepared on ritual occasions and set in the bedroom. (2) a Plate, Table, or Saraca

Parents' Table, see Parents' Plate

partition, a division between the rooms of a house or outbuilding. It usually does not extend to the ceiling

pass, to (to pass by), to go to, to meet with, to see; to visit with, as in "I go pass by Long Jack" (I am going to meet Long Jack)

pass play, on All Saints' and All Souls' night in L'Esterre village a ring game in which boys line up on one side and girls on the other. A boy or girl alternately dances in the ring as the group sings

patois, in Carriacou the French dialect now spoken by a few old people. It was once the language of the island and today many patois words are found in the English dialect

paw paw, "Carica papaya" a fruit

pay debts, to, to be in league with the devil, to be forced by the devil to obey his commands

paywo, an important masquerade in speech mas

peacemaker, (1) a village leader who arbitrates arguments and minor legal infractions (moots). (2) a character or masquerader in speech mas. (3) in speech mas an individual, often an elder, who keeps the peace between the participants

pen, the area under the roof of a kitchen outbuilding which is used to store dried corn cobs

physic nut, "Latropha curas," a cathartic used in bush medicine

picknin', a small child

picong, to tease or make fun of in a friendly manner. More commonly used in Trinidad than in Carriacou

pierrot, see paywo

pierrot grenade, a Carnival masquerade of Grenada and Trinidad similar to the paywo of Carriacou. See Carr, 1956

pigeon peas, the most common type of peas grown in Carriacou, they are often interplanted with corn or cotton or both. They bear from December to May

pikay, a secular Big Drum dance

pillar trees, the cornerstones or timbers of a ruined house

ping pong, the soprano pan or steel drum. This instrument usually plays the melody

planass, to hit with the flat side of a cutlass

planking, the siding of a vessel attached to the frame

plantain, "Musa paradisaica," a large relative of the banana

Plate, see Parents' Plate

players, Carnival masqueraders

play mas, to, to participate in Carnival masquerades

play stick, to, to stick fight

potato, "Dioscera," a yam or sweet potato

powder dance, a Big Drum song played at the end of a fete when talcum powder is thrown at people

porters, boys who work on the jetty and carry for stores in Hillsborough

prayer meeting, a gathering in one's yard at night to honor the Old Parents in general or a recently dead relative or spouse. Hymns are sung and a Parents' Plate is set for the ancestors. Food and drink are served and sometimes cards and dominoes are played

principle, (1) the characteristics of a good Carriacouan woman. Wifely attitudes and virtues. (2) the money a man gives to a lover over a period of time

public change, pocket money which is not shared with the wife. She has her house money

purchase, (1) leverage to give extra power. (2) a tackle or pulley

quadrille dance, similar to the lancer's dance, this contains five separate dances or figures. A Carriacouan variant of French and English dances

Queen of Carnival, the winner of the Carnival Queen show who reigns as Queen opposite the Calypso King. Usually the girl with the most elaborate costume

Queen of the Bands, the winner of the Carnival Band competition. The Queen of the Band is the queen of a masquerade band with the most elaborate costume

reggae, (1) a type of Jamaican popular music based on the rock steady, an earlier form. (2) the beat of this music

relative, related, (1) matrilineal ties between individuals; commonly refers to members of the matrilineage. (2) consanguineal ties between individuals

return thanks (to), after a wedding the couple returns to the church for mass which completes the bride's seclusion and the wedding rites. A small tea mass is held as a part of the return thanks

ribbons, boards nailed to the frame of a vessel to hold it in place. They show the shape of the vessel when it is completed

ring, (1) a rough circle in which a Big Drum dance takes place with the drummers and singers and the crowd forming the sides. (2) any circle where music is played or dances or rituals performed as in the quadrille or lan-

cer's dances, the joining, or the pass play

ripe green corn, green corn not yet fully dry which can be picked and immediately cooked

road march (*road match*), (1) the movement of steel bands and dancers and masqueraders through the streets at Carnival and Christmas. (2) the calypso played on such occasions

rock steady, a type of Jamaican popular music and dance

roti, an unleavened bread wrapped around a meat or chicken curry (of East Indian origin)

rum shop, a shop where men gather to drink. Also called a palah

Sacara, see Saraca

Sacrifice, (1) ritual killing of a cow, goat, sheep, pig, or most commonly, a chicken to placate the ancestors. A portion of the animal is prepared with the food and set aside for the ancestors. (2) a fete associated with the ritual mentioned above. A Sacrifice occurs as a result of a dream message from the dead. The sponsor asks the ancestors' forgiveness, for luck in some future activity, or for rain

sailor song, (1) a chanty. (2) any song associated with the sea

Saint Bats (*St. Bats*), St. Barthélemy, a French island in the Leewards. A freeport where Carriacouans purchase liquor and cigarettes then smuggled into Carriacou and points south

Salaca, see Saraca

Saraca, (1) a Sacrifice or offering to the Old Parents. (2) the Parents' Plate

savannah, an open grass-covered area near the center of town, a parade ground or a place for municipal activities

saypay, to, to cut the long grass away from cotton or peas after the corn has been harvested. The final weeding

scams, on a vessel the gaps between planks before being caulked

scavenger, garbage man

schooner, (1) a type of sailing rig. (2) In Grenada, Carriacou, and Petite Martinique a "vessel." The largest locally built boat, usually with two masts and with engine (formerly without engine). Carries either schooner or yawl riggings

Scotch Ibo, a Big Drum dance

sea bath, (1) a swim. (2) to bathe in the sea

seam, the line between planks

seerman, a seer, a man who foretells the future

seine, a net which hangs from the sea surface to the sea bottom. A large number of people pull it ashore, trapping the fish

self dream, see stand-up dream

selfish, a bashful person, a loner, one who has no sense of humor or who is unfriendly. A person who does not socialize

sensible, to behave or speak correctly, to be intelligent

setting up, (1) the first stage in building a vessel—construction of the frame. (2) a fete during this time

Shango, (1) a cult in Grenada and in Trinidad of Yoruba origin. Although the term is used in Carriacou, Shango specialists are imported from Grenada for spirit possession ceremonies. (2) the drumming music associated with the Shango cult and the Shango hair-cutting ceremony

Shango Baptist, followers of Norman Paul as named by outsiders. See Norman Paul's Children

Shango hair, a type of curly hair sometimes found on babies or small children. Also called "dada" hair (dada is apparently a Yoruba word)

Shango people, members of the Shango cult of Grenada

share out, to, (1) to give away, to share with. (2) to give away excess food or provisions. (3) to serve

sheet up, to, to close, to nail shut

shell, to, to remove peas from pods or to remove corn from the cob

shilling, EC $.25

shore, a timber support for a vessel as it is being built. These are cut away when the vessel is launched

shortnee, a masquerade in Grenada similar to the Grenadian pierrot grenade and the paywo of Carriacou

Shouters, see Spiritual Baptists. Not to be confused with the Quakers of the same name

Shrove Tuesday, Carnival Tuesday

sloop, (1) a type of sailing rig. (2) in Grenada any sailing boat without an engine. (3) a single masted boat smaller than a schooner which carries a sloop rigging (Carriacou)

song of two bottles, a song and dance performed on Christmas morning

soul, (1) the spiritual essence of a living person. (2) a style of music originating in the United States which is played by combos in the West Indies

soursop, "Amona muricata," a plant with an edible fruit. The fruit is eaten raw or made into ice cream

spar, a mast or a pole of any sort
speech bands, groups of masqueraders on Carnival Tuesday morning
speech mas, history mas, a type of masquerade in which the participants recite speeches from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. Speech mas is performed by speech bands. The three most important players in speech mas are the king, peacemaker, and paywo
spice, pale brown skin
spirit, the soul of the dead
Spiritual Baptist, a Protestant sect originating in Trinidad which mixes Christian and African beliefs. Same as the Shouters
sprat, a fish often used as bait
standhome, a light, a magical potion
standup dream, a self dream, a dream concerning the Old Parents which is not true, a phoney dream made for ulterior purposes
steel band, a group of steel drums or pans
steel drum, a musical instrument made from a 55 gallon oil drum. The drum is cut in half and tuned by heating and hammering
steelbandsmen, players of steel drums
stepped, to place spars on a mast
stern post, a vertical timber in the after part of a vessel to which the rudder is attached
stick, cassava stick, the plantable root of the cassava
stick fighting, on Carnival Monday morning a dancelike fight accompanied by kalinda drums. Two fighters, each holding a two or three feet long stick, perform a series of stylized moves until one is knocked down or draws blood
stick man, a stick fighter
sticking the cake, the ritual of cutting the cake at a wedding or launching
Stone Feast, see Tombstone Feast
string band, a musical group with fiddle, guitar, quatro, chac chac, bass, and tambourine
striping brush, in caulking a vessel, the tool used to paint seams between planks with pitch after the oakum has been inserted
study the animals or livestock, to, the job of tending livestock as they graze in the dry season
sucayan, a female witch
suck, to, an activity of the loogarou or sucayan who are said to suck blood from people
sugar apple, "Annena squamosa," a wild edible fruit tree which bears from July to December
supportance, remittances or other monetary assistance
susu, a kind of savings association. Several people join together and give an agreed sum of money to each of the members in turn until all have been paid. Very rare in Carriacou but found in Grenada and Trinidad and elsewhere in the West Indies. Sometimes called a "box." This custom is of West African origin where it is called "ensusu"
sweeties, hard candy
sweet oil, olive oil
sweet (sounds), mellow tones in music. The word sweet is used for many purposes to refer to nice, formal, or correct (sweet talk); warm; friendly
Table, see Parents' Plate
take a course, to, to emigrate from Carriacou in order to study in a technical school abroad. Sometimes this is an excuse to migrate for work
talkarie, a type of East Indian curry common in Trinidad
tania, "Colocasia antiquorium," a tuber similar to the sweet potato
tea, (1) breakfast. (2) bush medicine in liquid form. (3) a drink with tea leaves
tea mass, a drinking party following an Anglican or Catholic mass
tease the ground, to, to lightly hoe a planted garden in weeding
Temne, (1) a Nation dance. (2) a Nation or African tribe with descendants in Carriacou
tent, where a calypso show is held, most often after Christmas until Carnival
Thanksgiving, an agnatic family or blood ritual to give thanks to the ancestors for some purpose
Thanksgiving mass, a Thanksgiving said at the Catholic or Anglican church, a mass to give thanks for some fortunate occurrence
Third Night, a prayer meeting which is sometimes held three nights after an individual's death
tief, to, to steal
title, (1) surname. (2) agnatic family
toasts, speeches given at weddings
Tombstone Feast, a fete held on the occasion of the entombment of a relative or spouse. It consists of the entombment in the morning or early afternoon and a prayer meeting or Big Drum dance at night. It is also called a Stone Feast
torch, flashlight
torching crab, catching land crabs at night after a rain with a kerosene torch, a burlap sack, and a stick. This is usually the activity of boys

town, (1) Hillsborough, Carriacou. (2) St. George's, Grenada. (3) Port-of-Spain, Trinidad
trace, a road or trail
traffickers, men who go to Grenada or Trinidad to sell livestock on speculation
trafficking, (1) selling livestock on nearby islands. (2) selling anything from island to island
trammel, a small seine net
Trinidad corn, maize imported as seed from Trinidad
Trinidad kalinda, a kalinda dance and stick fighting rhythm which was borrowed from Trinidad
troubled, to be, to be bothered, to be harrassed
tutulu, patois word for crab
unlawful children, children born of parents who are not married
upstairs house, a house elevated as much as a full floor above the ground on timbers or cement corner posts
vessel, (1) a sloop or schooner. (2) in Grenada, a boat with a deck
vex, to make, giving vexation; to make one upset or distraught; arguing
Vincee, a person from St. Vincent
wall house, a house constructed of cement or cement blocks
wares, glasses, plates, and cups
wattle house, a house built of wattle-and-daub
wet the ring or *ground, to*, on ceremonial occasions pouring jack rum, water, and sometimes soda on the ground or floor to give thanks (and a drink) to the ancestors
white lime, a substance produced from burning conch shells used as mortar or whitewash
white man, (1) Caucasian. (2) light skinned person. (3) rich person
wife, (1) wife. (2) keeper
wild grape, a shrublike tree with large green leaves which grows near swamps and the sea
Wild Indian Mas, a Carnival masquerade
wine, grape juice imported from St. Vincent
wish, (1) a curse, a traditional way in which a father casts out a daughter. (2) a curse by an adult against a child or young person
women's house, a term common in 1953 for wattle-and-daub houses, houses in which unmarried women lived
wood house, see board house
working boats, cargo vessels
yard, in most Carriacouan houses the area between the house, kitchen, cistern, and oven where female members of the household wash, cook, and do other "woman's work." At night one may use the yard for various social activities such as prayer meetings or Big Drums
Yoruba, a Nation and Nation dance, usually pronounced "Ayerabba"
zami, (1) friend. (2) Lesbian
za ki tan parlay lot, patois for the words which announce a funeral or wake, "you who hear tell the others"
zamowet, patois for wild grape
zien, see Nancy

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