

THE ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA REVIEW OF BOOKS



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V.C. Bird

Edgar Lake on Henry Redhead Yorke

Tim Hector on the Economy

Ermina Oshoba on the Economy

Paget Henry on Gaston Browne

Jay Mandle on the Economy

Joanne Hillhouse on Mali Olatunji

Valerie Knowles-Combie on Althea Romeo-Mark

Juno Samuel on the University of Antigua and Barbuda

Paget Henry on Natasha Lightfoot

Janet Lofgren on Mali Olatunji

And much much more...

THE ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA REVIEW OF BOOKS

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Editorial Board: Ian Benn, Joanne Hillhouse, Paget Henry, Edgar Lake, Adlai Murdoch, Ermina Osoba, Elaine Olaoye, Mali Olatunji, Vincent Richards

Paget Henry, Editor

The Antigua and Barbuda Studies Association was founded in 2006 with the goal of raising local intellectual awareness by creating a field of Antigua and Barbuda Studies as an integral part of the larger field of Caribbean Studies. The idea for such an interdisciplinary field grew out of earlier “island conferences” that had been organized by the University of the West Indies, School of Continuing Education, in conjunction with the Political Culture Society of Antigua and Barbuda. *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books* is an integral part of this effort to raise local and regional intellectual awareness by generating conversations about the neglected literary traditions of Antigua and Barbuda through reviews of its texts.

Manuscripts: the manuscripts of this publication must be in the form of short reviews of books or works of art dealing with Antigua and Barbuda. Thus reviews of works by writers and artists from Antigua and Barbuda such as Peregrine Pickle, Mary Prince, Tim Hector, Ashley Bryan, Novelle Richards, Gregson Davis, Jamaica Kincaid, Edgar Lake, Althea Prince, Keithlyn Smith, Adlai Murdoch and others will be particularly welcome. We will also welcome commentaries on reviews we have published. Reviews should be no longer than six double-spaced pages, with minimal if any footnotes. Submit reviews to Paget Henry, editor, as word documents at Paget_Henry@Brown.edu for consideration.

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Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books

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Editor's Note 2016

Welcome, Dear Reader, to the ninth issue of *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*. In our last issue, we promised to continue the remembrance of our long forgotten eighteenth century political theorist from Barbuda, Henry Redhead Yorke. In keeping that promise, this year's *Review* opens with a section on Yorke. In this section we have two pieces. The first is a selection from one of Yorke's works, while the second is an essay on Yorke by Edgar Lake, our inveterate archivist and novelist, who re-introduced us to Yorke in the last issue of our *Review*. The selection by Yorke is from his 1794 work, *Thoughts on Civil Government*. It will make unmistakably clear his opposition to monarchical forms of rule, his commitment to republican forms of rule, and his brilliance as a political theorist. The essay by Lake gives us a more comprehensive portrait of Yorke's political and intellectual development that shows the many changes he went through in the course of his life. Lake takes us through the earliest of Yorke's writings when, wrapped fully in his aristocratic upbringing in England, he was a defender of African slavery and the slave trade. From there he goes into Yorke's radical or Jacobin period during which he wrote *Thoughts on Civil Government*. Lake concludes his essay with a detailed look at Yorke's more reformist post-Jacobin writings after he had been arrested, tried for sedition and treason.

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Following this section on Yorke, are two more, which feature papers on the Antiguan and Barbudan economy. The first section is a retrospective one, which contains responses to the downturn in our economy between 1989 and 1992. These responses were published in the *Outlet* newspaper, and were written by Tim Hector, Ermina Oshoba, George Goodwin Jr, and Corthright Marshall. It is very instructive reading these essays many years later in which these authors attempted to divine what was ahead for our economy in the period following that significant recession. The anxiety generated by the crisis is evident in the dark predictions of these writers. Hector was very prophetic in tone and outlook. He was concerned with impact of the sharp rise in oil prices on our economy, and feared that it would destabilize our Eastern Caribbean Currency system and trigger a devaluation of our dollar. Oshoba's focus was on the option of getting a loan from the IMF. She read that prospect through the lens of Nigeria's experience with the IMF and argued strongly against it. Looking back on these essays in the light of how we survived the 1989–1992 recession, gives us a good sense of how good is our grasp of our economy and our power to predict its future trends.

The Third section of this issue of our *Review* is also on the Antiguan and Barbudan economy. Like section two, it consists of reflections, but this time on the current state of our economy in the period following the global financial collapse of 2008. These essays offer different views of where we are now, and of our prospects for the years ahead; they were written by Jay Mandle and Paget Henry.

The fourth section of our *Review* is a poetic interlude. It features the works of two well-known Antigua and Barbudan poets: Elaine Olaoye and Alvette (Ellorton) Jeffers.

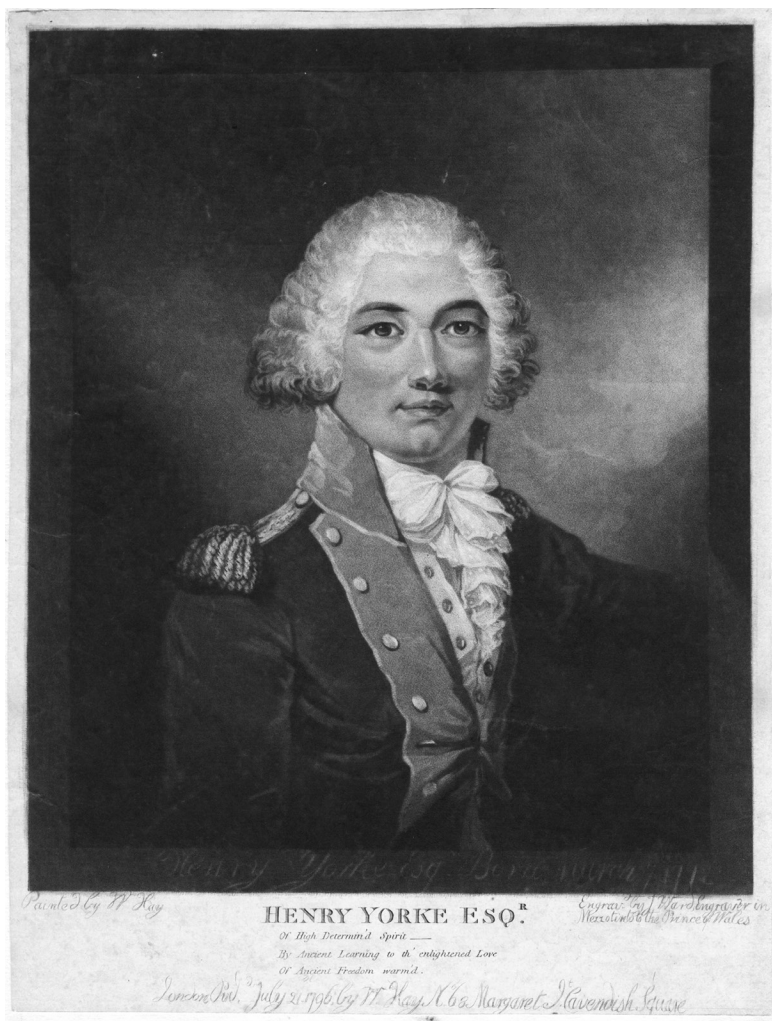
This poetic interlude takes us very nicely into the fifth section of this year's *Review*. This section features papers on culture and education, most of which were presented at last year's historic conference, which marked the 10th anniversary of the collaboration between the University of the West Indies (Antigua) and the Antigua and Barbuda Studies Association. The authors of these papers are: Lenin Jeffers, Althea Romeo-Mark, Bernadette Farquhar, and Juno Samuel.

... In our sixth and final section, we have our book reviews, and our
6 reviewers this year are Valerie Combie, Joanne Hillhouse, Janet Lofgren,
... Ashmita Khasnabish and Paget Henry.

Before I close these introductory remarks, I must once again say thanks to the Heimark Fund for its continued support of our *Review*, to the Department of Africana Studies at Brown University, and to my very able editorial assistant, Janet Lofgren.

There is a lot here, Dear Reader, so dig in and enjoy!

Paget Henry



HENRY REDHEAD YORKE

With Permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

THOUGHTS ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT: ADDRESSED TO THE DISFRANCHISED CITIZENS OF SHEFFIELD¹.

By Henry Yorke

"It is just the English should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts." *The Will of Alfred*.

Friends and fellow citizens,

Despotism is in agony: Its expiring struggles are strong, its convulsions violent and painful-they are capable of hurting individuals, but they cannot destroy PRINCIPLES. Hear ye not the *tocsin* of Freedom ringing throughout the world, and calling the dead to life - Hear ye not, from the snowy mountains of the North, to the furthestmost shores of the Mediterranean, the clanking of chains, and their millions of living Beings preparing to take terrible vengeance on their Oppressors.

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To the Main who droops at so grand a feast of Reason, Virtue can have no charms. It gives no strength to his hopes, no stability to his resolutions; to him prosperity is a source of insolence, and the wretchedness of others an unvaried theme of self-gratulation. But the high-minded Being, who feels no degradation in Poverty, who looks up only to Justice, and looks down only on Vice; whose erect and manly port scorns equally the tyranny of the great, and the servility of the oppressed, glows at the scene - because, he is conscious, that something more than human, is operating this great and wholesome change in the Government of Man.

As a MAN, I rejoice that I have lived to be a witness of these times, which seem, to me, peculiarly marked out by the finger of GOD, as promotive of the happiness and improvement of my Fellow Creatures - As Citizen, I glory to see the insolent and rapacious dominion of Kings about to be supplanted by the mild rule of Laws, and that mass of Disfranchised Human Beings, with whom I am associated, about to be protected by *Equal Laws*, the result of the *will of all*.

PEOPLE OF SHEFFIELD, to you I address myself - because I know your virtues, your constancy, your unshaken firmness and integrity. You hate Tyrants, because you love Justice; you adore Liberty, because you cultivate Reason. Harken then to one of yourselves, who, knowing that he is addressing Men, who are too wise to be flattered, and too well

1 Excerpt from Thoughts on Civil Government: Addressed to the Disenfranchised Citizens of Sheffield, London: D.I. Eaton, No. 74, Newgate Street.

informed to be *alarmed* - who have numberless wrongs to avenge, and numberless rights to regain, wishes, with you, for nothing so much as a *speedy and definitive settlement*. Truth, like beauty, does not stand in need of borrowed plumage to set it off; - it wants no ornament, but is best described in its wildest and most naked features. Out principles, good and virtuous Men have long since acknowledged - their *application* is all we want: *It is a consummation most devoutly to be wished for*. The harvest, indeed, is plenteous, but the labourers are but few. If I am ever to hope for the approof of my fellow-creatures, it can only be by continuing to act with that diminutive band, whose exertions, and whose sufferings, are great beyond even the powers of imagination.

COMRADES! We are at length arrived to that period of empathic distress, when the venal pen of falsehood can no longer deceive, and simplicity itself can be no longer misled - a period, which I have repeatedly told you, would befall the British nation, when lulled into a listless security, and when its mind, deprived of those energies, which are alone calculated to pilot the vessel of the State through surrounding storms, should be unnerved or slain. This is a period, when factions, by the violence of their own fermentation, stun and disable one another; and this is the time when plain sense, and downright honesty, have the only chance to get uppermost, and introduce reformation. Party leaders of all kinds are unmasked, and proved to be conspirators against the People. You are invited to judge of them by their works. The *Ins* and *Outs* are alike your common enemies. The *Ins* wish to keep their places, the *Outs* wish to get *in* them. *Men*, and not *Principles*, are the object of the contest; *Power*, and not *Freedom*, the cause. *You* are to be the reward and spoil of the conquering party.

To be true to yourselves, you must *enquire* before you *condemn*, and *examine* before you *act*. It is by no means agreeable to the maxims of Eternal Justice, to measure out the *degree* of punishment, before the *nature* of the crime is known. A calm investigation, therefore, into the sources of our *wrongs*, will naturally beget a knowledge of our *rights*. In reciting those abuses, which vex and ruin the Citizen, it will be equally my object to propose their several remedies. But, let me here premise, that these several abuses have been occasioned and continued by the infraction of that incontrovertible maxim - *The will of the Majority is the Supreme Law*, and that they never can, nor will be corrected, until the Sovereign voice of the People shall annihilate them.

It is asserted, that our principles are chimerical in theory, and dangerous in practice. Let them be so. Are they *just*? If they be, they ought to be instantly enforced. The foundations of all human societies are laid in Justice; no pretended arguments of political expediency ought to be allowed to shake its immutable and eternal principles. Its perversion and abuse have cajoled men into servitude; they have been excluded from a participation in the common interests of their country, although they are sure of feeling its common misfortunes. To be just, is the first of human obligations; it is the basis of that beautiful moral edifice, which decorates society, and exhibit the virtues in their more enlarged and perfect attitudes. We cannot be just to *ourselves*, and, at the same time, unjust to *others*. On this principle alone can we estimate the motives of human actions: any other, which derives its currency from the lukewarm sources of Fear, Hope and Reward, is undeserving of rational investigation, because inconsistent with the natural sentiments of Mankind.

Justice, then, is, or ought to be, the foundation of all human actions, and of all human institutions. It is universal benevolence, it is stern invariable, and unrelenting. It cannot even undergo any modifications, for clemency becomes a crime, when employed to counteract its operations. Being engraven on the heart of every man by the hand of God, and long antecedent to moral institutions, which are the mere result of human conventions, it is obvious that the morality, which differs from it in a *single* instance, is a *convenient* morality, not formed for social, but for partial; and, consequently, iniquitous purposes. It was on the full conviction of the truth of these principles, that the first of Romans, raising to Heaven the duggar, reeking with the chaste blood of Lucretia, swore to avenge Justice on the lustful and beastly Tyrant. It was on this enlightened mode of reasoning, that the inexorable Consul, unmoved by paternal tenderness, animated by the recent expulsion of Tyranny, and the prospect of consolidating the Liberty of his Country, yet, more rules by the inflexible maxims of Justice, pronounced, from his tribunal, the dreadful sentence of death on his own Children, who were conspiring the restoration of the dethroned Tyrant. - JUNIOUS BRUTUS! Thy illustrious name and actions shall not be confined to the annals of Historians, and the records of Poets - as long as the Divine Principles of Justice are harboured in the bosoms of Good and Virtuous Men, thou shalt live immortal and beloved!

CITIZENS! The day of account and retribution is at hand. Then will the People be called upon to exert all the severe energy of Justice; then will they be called upon to practise those lessons which History and Patriotism

have long been preparing for them. They cannot, therefore, be too deeply rooted in their minds. Let Despots calculate on the consequences.

If, then, our principles be *just*, their efforts are never to be feared. With more propriety can *we* turn the tables on our adversaries, and pronounce *their* opposite doctrines to be false in theory, and pernicious in practice. If our principles be *just*, and they are such as the *majority* of the People approve, neither hot-headed Bigots, nor interested Pensioners of Placemen, are authorised in opposing the, For the good of the People is the sole interest in the State, and the voice of the People is paramount to all Laws, and annihilates the existence of all subordinate authorities.

The moral Liberty of Mankind has been long since established on principles of Justice. Our more enlightened descendants will be astonished at that insane and weak attachment to prejudices which has separated us from our Reason, and made us become the wretched victims of Sophistry and Governmental Tyranny. They will attribute our delusions to madness, our patience to crimes. Alas! *They* can have no conceptions of misery, who have not fathomed the dreary habitations of sorrow and misfortune; *they* cannot sympathise with the starving mortal, who have never tasted, like him, of the bitter cup of wretchedness. Could they have been the unhappy witnesses of that desolating system, which has raised up a *few*, whose interest lay in our misery, and whose usurpations are cemented by our blood, their resentment would be fired, not against those who oppress us, but against us who suffer.

Truth, however, long buried in this mighty chaos of insolent usurpations and absurd customs, has burst forth to improve and beautify the world. National ignorance will no more serve to authorise national oppression; present measures must assume something more than the tone of Justice to obtain for them a quiet reception among men.

We have unlearnt the rugged maxims of Prejudice, and we demand to be governed by more equitable measures of policy. The reason of man is a touchstone by which he may distinguish substantial gold from superficial glitterings - truth from appearances: BUT? it is spoiled and lost by overweening presumption, and assumed prejudices. When long received opinions, however erroneous, or the principles of sects or leaders, constitute the measures of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood, men must be expected to judge otherwise than *right*. It is because the people are ignorant of the obligations of Justice, that laws are

sanguinary, and justice perverted made red with vengeance, it is on this account that Rulers are armed with terror, and deal out their merciless lessons of morality with the aid of axes, gibbets, racks, dungeons!

The inhabitant of the desert, joyfully exerts his natural reason, and, by its light, he traverse the rude waste, and concludes on that which his interests require; and shall it be said that Europeans, boasting of civilization, and possessed of the best and strongest principles of action are careless of exerting them, in a cause wherein their future happiness or misery so essentially depends. Let me rather indulge the pious hope, that Truth, like the sun-beam, has fallen on every cottage, and cheered the mind of every cottager.

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To judge impartially of things, we must examine them according to their evidence; no veneration or prejudice should be suffered to give beauty or deformity to any opinions. We are by no means naturally disposed to cheat ourselves: when this happens, you may be assured, it is owing to an ill habit, the consequence of a vicious education. I know how delicate and tender a subject it is, to attack the prejudices and superstitions of others; I feel, by experience, for those whose opinions are as dear to them as a first born child, and whose minds are not sufficiently magnanimous to brave all presentations but such as are founded in Truth. But, if the people will continue, in this enlightened epoch, to take their principles upon trust, and without examination, and to make deductions from them as true and solid, they must excuse *us*, if we accuse *them* of Ignorance and Folly.

You cannot infer, from the patience and humiliation of our fellow-citizens, that they are naturally prone to servitude. Such an abominable imputation derives its source only from the narrow minds and crooked logic of courtiers. Themselves the slaves of every ignoble passion, and of every titled fool or knave, it is no wonder, they should wish to see their servility extend itself throughout the whole of society and estimate the worth of every other man by their own. Like those lost and hapless females, who shun the light of day, and by night disgrace the police of our country, they hate Virtue, because they have forfeited it. It is the same with Liberty. Its value, like that of Innocence, is known only to its possessor; all taste for it is lost, when it is lost itself. Those only would blot out, the name of FREEMAN from the book of life, who desires, in their turn, to enslave others, those only cringe and fawn on Tyrants, who would experience a similar recrimination from the People. It is not, therefore, from the servility of nations already enslaved, that we must form our judgment of the natural dispositions of Mankind, either for

or against slavery, but rather from the prodigious efforts of every free People to prevent oppression. I am sensible, that those unfeeling slaves are perpetually declaiming in praise of that tranquillity they enjoy in their chains, and that they call a state of wretched servitude, a state of peace. But when I observe the noble minded Being, sacrificing pleasure, peace, wealth, power, and even life itself to the preservation of that *only* treasure, which is so much disdained by those who have lost it; when I see freeborn animals dash their brains out against the bars of their cage, out of an innate impatience of captivity; when I behold Twenty-Five Millions of my Fellow-Creatures, braving the sword, fire, and even death itself, to preserve their beloved INDEPENDENCE - I feel, that it is not the office of Slaves to argue about Liberty. Let then our Men of Spoil and Rapine, cease to anathematize us as *Slaves*, because they are *Tyrants*.

Poverty and Ignorance are not the *causes*, but the *effects* of Slavery. We have been always regarded as a many-headed Beast, whom it is the interest of Rulers to shackle and goad. But, when the People have attained to the exalted knowledge of their *Right* and *Duty*, to throw down ancient decayed institutions, and to erect new ones in their place, a different system will be followed. Conscious, that Public Information is the interest of the People, and Public Ignorance the interest of Courts, they will make the most liberal provisions for the instruction of every denomination of Citizens, they will require the expansion of that knowledge, which has been for ages concentrated within the circles of rank and fashion.

Man is no sooner born, than he opens his eyes to Institutions and Laws, which he is bound to obey under the severest penalties. This, doubtless, appears to be, a first sight, but an inauspicious commencement of human life. But there is an antidote at hand.

An obligation, arising from the principles of Justice, is imposed on the *whole* society, to prepare such a mode of education for the new Citizen, as may enable him thoroughly to understand the nature and conditions of those laws which he is compelled to respect. It is thus, a Government, modelled on the holy Principles of Reason and Humanity, acquires assent to its regulations by mild and honourable methods; it is thus, the odious and disgraceful maxim, *Ignorantia legis non excuset*,² will be expunged from our records of law, and crimes will justly call down upon them the collective force of the whole community, because previously defined and know. To inflict punishment on the ignorant, is

2 Ignorance of Law is no excuse.

cruel, unnatural, and unjust; it is establishing, on pretended motives of Justice, the uncouth and barbarous measures of a Vandal age. It is the defect of Public Instruction that has occasioned a general depravation of morals, purloined from Virtue her Innocence, and covered the foul horrors of Prostitution beneath the flimsy silken veil of Pleasure; it is the want of an extensive National Education, that has legitimated a body of Men, busy and bold, whose sole existence is derived from the feuds and contentions of their Fellow-men - contentions, of which they are the too frequent cause; and whose inordinate wealth is raised upon the ruins of that Property, which the rapacious gripe of Injustice has wrung from the sweat and tears of the Industrious and Fatherless.

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If the miserable descendants of Poor Parents live in a Community of Men, without enjoying the Rights of Men; in a society of Citizens, without feeling, in the least the Benefits of Society - What are *Constitutions* and *Governments* to them? - *Scourges*. The Man, who passes the greater part of his life in unceasing toil derives no benefits from *their* institutions - no enjoyments from *their* continuance. He has no more Rights, than the Turkish Slave - no other Comforts, than the Boor of Germany. His Property, which the laws of such a country are falsely said to protect, is exposed to the mercy of the first policy adventurer. It is torn from him, to be squandered among those idle, monstrous, and useless harpies, who hover about Palaces, and waste that Property which they have never contributed to gather; to reward the well-earned services of nobility *in its cradle*, to support ennobled vice, to encourage influence, patronage, and servility; and, finally, to corrupt the People with the produce of their own labours. It is true, he is told, that all this is for *Government*. On *his* ignorance, the Oppressor riots. On *his* Misfortunes, Despotism erects her trophies. But, it is our duty to *unmask* these vile pretensions to the eyes of all Men, and to expose, to a Credulous and Plundered Nation, the horrors that lurk beneath them.

In the haughty and impious language of Aristocracy, the Government and the People are two distinct terms. The People, it is said, are made for the Government, not the Government for the People. - Consequently, those supplies which the one *gives* without murmuring, and which the other *takes* without blushing, are appropriated, not to defray the ordinary expences attending the administration of the Public Will, and the execution of the Laws, but to add lustre to the parade of an ill-acquired consequence, to enable Lords and Ladies, Maids of Honour, and Mistresses of Honour, to revel in luxuries, while no allowance is made for the calamitous situation of the People, and that of their distressed Wives

and Children; no considerations are given *how* the money came, or *how* it goes - it is all for the necessities of the State, "*the dignity of our Crown, the honour of our Flag.*" The dignity of our Crown! The honour of our Flag! - Miserable Nations! It is for that all-consuming Monster, whose *wants* are provoked in proportion to your *wrongs*. What are such pompous sounds, as "*the dignity of our Crown, and the honour of our Flag,* to a beggared People? - Alas! They are not insignificant sounds! They are the funereal preludes of Blood and Sorrow - of Misery and of Execration! They are the pestilential forerunners of a ruined Commerce, an exhausted Revenue, and additional Taxes!!

A Government, whose progress is thus marked by havoc and desolation, is a *downright Tyranny*. Placemen and Pensioners may call it a *Free Government*, but Men who *see* and *feel* its baneful effects, know it to be a GOVERNMENT OF CONSPIRACY.

If such be the inheritance of Nations, if the Property of the People is for such necessities to be eternally *excised* by Rulers, and their Harvests *decimated* by Priests, it is, indeed, an inheritance of Wretchedness, that every motive of human prudence should induce them to renounce immediately. Property is never secure on such unstable and sandy foundations, and Protection itself becomes a farce for

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"You do take my life, when you do take the means by which I live."

When a proper system of national Education shall have taught Youth their real dignity, such inhuman and nefarious measures will never be practised. It will, besides, banish that selfish family spirit which has so cruelly limited Benevolence to the narrow circles of those with whom we are immediately connected, and excited in the breast of Men a jealousy and suspicion of each other. It will restore Society to a state of Brotherhood, and our Country will be respected as our Common Parent, which we are bound, by every moral obligation, to honour and defend.³

If it be objected, that these Principles require a demonstration, I would refer you to the present Plan of education adopted in our Country. Ornament is here preferred to Utility - our Wit is improved at the expence of our Understanding. One part of our Youth are taught

3 These observations apply equally to the Female Sex. If we sincerely wish them to be partakers of our more refined comforts, they must be fitted for them by a preparatory Education. The Customs and Laws of Europe have made their relative condition truly insignificant; it is high time, therefore we should render justice to their understandings, and restore them to their rank in society.

to consider those, on whom Fortune has been frugal of her favours, as their inferiors, who, being initiated by the homilies of the Church into the principles of slavish submission, are accustomed to “*bow themselves lowly and reverently to their superiors*” Such a system is not intended to instruct Men in their relative duties, but to nurse them in Deceit, Tyranny, Vice, and Ignorance. Our Universities, those sinks of Iniquity, where virtue blushes when put in competition with Vice, are intended and at a most enormous expence, to teach Youth *anything* but Virtue and Patriotism. The mythology of the Ancients, and the intrigues of Gods and Goddesses, are better understood there than the Religion of Nature - the study of our Native Tongue is postponed to compliment the manes of Euripides, Homer, and Tacitus - Sophistry is the Language of the Schools, and an unchangeable plan of forming the Scholar, is applied to all the purposes of life. The Clergy, who preside over these seminaries of Vice, being formed by theology for retirement and controversy, instill, gradually, into the minds of their Pupils, that cavilling spirit and *passive* temper, which are the distinguishing characteristics of their order - They would make us good Cantab and Oxonian Christians - they rarely fail of making us bad Citizens.

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The fairest part of human life, thus wasted in an application to a Rhetoric, that neither improves the speech, nor *corrects the dialect*; a Logic, which teaches the neatest manner of concealing Truth; and an History, containing nothing but Chronological disputes - it is obvious, that we are instituted, not in those we are to *practice*, but in what we are to *forget*, when we become active Citizens. Surely, the Education of Youth ought not to be entrusted to Collectors of Shells and Butterflies, much less to Parsons, who are the constant patrons of passive obedience. It should be intrusted to abler hands; to men who know the influence of Reason, and the force of habits on the human mind- who have attention to direct its progress and expansion - who can discern the power and impressions of those things which seem indifferent - who are possessed of understanding and taste, to distinguish useful knowledge from false - and who are eminently notorious in the Commonwealth for their exemplary Talents and Virtues.

I am fully aware of the severe animadversions, which certain moderns have thrown on the above plan; they consider all National Education as usurpation on the human mind, and calculated to fetter and prejudice it in favour of such a species of knowledge, as the Rulers of a country think proper to propose; - and, that if they were disposed to pursue the conduct of Pericles, an age of Effeminacy and Vice would succeed that of Reason

and Justice. But these objections, with the arguments deduced from them, appear to me both superficial and conclusive. For *First*, We are speaking of Men, who are to live members of a settled Community, and not of human Beings who are to run about naked in woods: *Secondly*, Of Beings, who are compelled to obey the general will of the society in which they are to live; it is, therefore, necessary, that they should understand previously the nature and conditions of their admittance into the civil order: *Thirdly*, The Rulers of a Country, where such an institution is proposed, are the *People themselves*, or their agents acting for them, and under their immediate control: And, *Lastly*, By a National Education, is meant nothing more than the early institution of Youth in the positive maxims of Justice and Morality - maxims, on which there can be no disputation, and, in the practice of which, but small errors. - Any subsequent instruction will be considered as elementary, and to be disposed of at the future discretion of the Scholar, or agreeably to his intended destination in life. The consequence of all academical Institutions, that are separate from the Community, is the consolidation of Prejudices and the Superstitions into a regular system, and the acquisition of the knowledge of physical trifles, while a fatal mediocrity in useful learning has been established, and a few Men, of moderate information, have been raised into notice, at the certain depression of the more enlightened. But the most irreparable mischiefs, attendant on such establishments, arise from the vast influence which the clergy acquire over the Reason and Habits of Men, from their having a direct tendency to render the simple science of Government a complicated art, involved in a subaltern detail, and hid under mechanical formalities. Youth are deemed capable of acquiring a knowledge of the more abstruse sciences of Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy, or Mathematics, and, yet they are denied the capacity of understanding the nature of Government - that science, which, above all others, is of the most interest of every human Being to comprehend!

Let National Schools, then, be immediately founded throughout our country - to these august places let our Youth flock from every village, and receive the early lessons of Patriotism and Virtue. These being superior and preferable to Learning, will assume the first place in the new system. The happiness of individuals, depending essentially on that of the society, the science of Government will be the second class of studies. Here they should be encouraged both by precept and example, to look down on nothing but Vice and Tyranny, and to look up only to the Laws. After these every other branch of science should be arranged according to its degree of utility.

There is a strange propensity among some persons, to call every thing *speculation* which astonishes their little minds. But the slightest attention to History, and the progress of human Reason, will shew us the great alterations which the course of a few years have effected in political ideas. Much remains yet to be done, to be discovered, and to be changed. Political luminaries have made us ashamed of the blind beaten track of affairs, although consecrated by the example of antiquity. Wise Men have profited by their representations - Fools and Despots despite them.

The People are accused of being prejudiced against innovations, because they are such. But, in times so polarized as these, no useful plans or palpable truths will be rejected by them. Such a causeless dread of necessary Reforms would forever consign the human race to a wilderness of misery. The rude hamlets of our Fathers have been gradually fashioned into more convenient mansions; and the naked savage, wandering over desert and inhospitable wilds, has been gradually inducted into order. If our most important interests are to be committed to chance, if our happiness is to be determined solely by fleeting prejudices, we can have no security for Liberty. Ancient customs deserved regard in proportion to their fruit, and they should be laid aside as soon as they are found to be repugnant to Reason, Liberty, and Justice. If, therefore, the collective wisdom of ages be found inadequate to the purposes for which we united, where is the harm in making a grand and new experiment to ameliorate the condition of Man? To repel the storms of Tyranny, and to bind down the wandering genius of Carnage?⁴

It was the prudential maxim of the ancient Romans, after having successively combated against nations, to renounce their own customs, when they found any that were preferable even among the conquered countries. Carthage fell, because she was superstitiously attached to her old forms, and disdained to listen to the voice of her beloved Hannibal. - Athens experienced a similar fate. Her corruptions were so seductive, that she scorned to correct them. No more she astonished the world by her civic Virtues; no more the genius of Eloquence thundered from

4 As good morals and knowledge are almost inseparable, in every age, though not in every individual the care of Alfred, for the encouragement of Learning among his subjects, was another useful branch of his legislation, and tended to reclaim the English from their former dissolute and ferocious manners. The most celebrated scholars were invited over from all parts of Europe, and schools were established everywhere for the instruction of the People. All persons who were possessed of 100 acres of land, were enjoined, by law, to send for their instruction.

her tribunes - but the low degrading tone of cringing baseness, flattered kings, whom formerly she made tremble, and enervated the courage of her Citizens, who before were heroes.

Antiquity ought never to be permitted to enshrine injustice. If this principle be denied, the ordinations of the Pundits, and the ancient Polish Courts of Judicature,⁵ are equally entitled to our veneration and esteem. We have already discarded the ordeal, the trial by battle, the burning ploughshare, the scalding cauldron, the torture, and the faggot. - Why do we not also renounce those odious practices which hold the People in a miserable state of bondage? We are accused of having aspired at a chimerical perfection. Strange reproach! which will disguise the secret desire of perpetuating abuses. We have not suffered the progress of Reason to be impeded by pusillanimous, or servilely interested motives. We have had the courage, or rather the good sense, to believe, that useful ideas, and truths most necessary to the happiness of Mankind, were not exclusively destined to adorn the pages of books; and that the Supreme Being, when he gave to Man *perfectibility*, an endowment peculiar to his nature, did not intend to bar his application of it to the regulation of society, in which his first wants, his universal interests, are comprehended.⁶

In short, if you are desirous of seeing your fellow creatures contented and happy - inform them; if you would rather have them vicious and depraved - keep them in ignorance; if your happiness consist in the delightful prospect of Virtue, Goodness, and Peace - proscribe that enchanting system which has, for ages, weakened the masculine vigour of our Reason, and veiled Truth beneath the meretricious guard of a false eloquence. Virtue, which is nothing but a more enlarged and more cultivated Reason, never flourishes to any degree, nor is founded on steady principles of honour, except where a *good Education becomes general*, and where Men are taught the pernicious consequences of Vice, Treachery, and Immorality. Even Superstition is but a poor supply for the defects in Knowledge and Education.

I have taken up so much of your time, on this subject, because I think it a matter of great importance. Indeed, too much cannot be said upon it. - It is one of the greatest causes of the inefficacy of the public will, in constituting the supreme law - Teach the People their Rights, and the will

5 In the old Polish Courts of Law, the parties were ordered to read a paper, delivered to them by the Judges, and if either of them stammered or mispronounced a syllable, he was presumed *Guilty!* Mod. Un. Hoft. vol. 32.

6 The second Address of the National Assembly, Feb. 11, 1790.

of the majority will soon be apparent. But what is of more consequence, that *will* must be valued and respected. Of such importance is National Ignorance in promoting the cause of Oppression, that I am fully persuaded, if a system of popular Instruction, whether under legislative sanctions or not, were generally pursued, in any nation where Despotism is prevalent, the gorgeous machinery would soon crumble into ruins; fertile plains would smile, where now horrid fortresses exist; Militias would dispense with Standing Armies; Barracks become Granaries; and Kings, and Priests, and Nobles, be transformed into MEN. For we should never forget, that there will be bad Men as long as there are bad Citizens - and bad Citizens, as long as there are ignorant Men.

When the mind has received this early preparation for the exercise of the civil duties, the career of human life is opened under the greatest possible advantages. Men know what they are to expect from others, and what others will expect from them. *Do unto all others as you would they should do unto you*, is a philosophical maxim, that will form the motive of human actions, and be assumed as the basis of every law. When a Nation is once become moral, legal disputes will but rarely occur; for public Virtue is the love of the laws, and Charity, in its most enlarged sense, the actuating principle of human nature. When we assume the character of social animals, our sphere of moral agency necessarily becomes enlarged, and we have new relative duties to fulfill, which are the offsprings of society unknown to us in our natural condition, and instituted simply to promote general happiness. You should here remark, that all such institutions are unwarranted, even by any pretended necessity, when they are to be accompanied with the dereliction of one original right. On the contrary, it is our duty, from every principle of self-preservation, to resist them with all our force - the duties and rights of Citizens being posterior and subordinate to those of human nature.

**“HENRY REDHEAD YORKE¹, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BARBUDAN
JOURNEYMAN: FROM ENGLISH WHIG TO RADICAL², TO LOYALIST
TORY; FROM PRO-SLAVERY TO PRO-ABOLITIONIST”³**

Edgar Othniel Lake

“Is it not then a matter of real importance to us, to dive into the history of ages past, that we may be qualified to trace the origin of the patrimony we inherit, and the genealogy of that public liberty which we enjoy?”⁴

— Henry Redhead Yorke

Indisputably, Henry Redhead (Yorke), a black native of Barbuda, cut a striking London figure - and, became one of the most noted political thinkers of 18th century England.

His contributions are woven into many of the political ideas that have survived into the 21st century;⁵ his trial—about which I will say more—was a political sensation;⁶ even the provenance of his portrait(s),—and the event of his death, itself, was prematurely foretold.⁷

His early ‘West Indian’ background, less known, remains more than a dash of patina for highlighting this colorful figure, and it appears subtly (but substantively) within his Works. For, as we shall see, it is at the final threshold of his personal and political catharsis that our own prospects for self-liberation, was first actually established. And, too, documentation of his social background is provided by the Letters of Samuel Redhead, Esq., his father. They remain the primary source of the social life of 18th century Barbuda; and, Samuel Redhead’s actuarial records preserved the ancestral origins of the Redhead family, as well as evidence that enslaved Africans were *purchased*—not bred—for work on Barbuda. Thus, only through re-reading the social and political accounts surrounding Henry Redhead’s early life as a remarkably fecund text, can one find the sources and origin of deep inscriptions in Yorke’s Writings.

By excerpting the Works published by Henry Redhead Esq., and later Henry (Redhead) Yorke, the primacy of his range, associations and interests is best established.⁸ That as Yorke’s political ideas were deployed across the full political spectrum, the value of his 19th century political Thought is instructive—and liberating. By extension, his life as a Man of Letters affirms the deeply Democratic tradition of Liberty nourished within the plantation society of 18th century Barbuda—and, now firmly inscribed in the halls of public debate in France and England.

In his apotheosis, Yorke would now personify Barbuda, his ancestral homeland, and birthright of equipage;⁹ both, had been reborn in the crucible of that very symbolic unhinged presence,—yet, part of Barbuda’s equestrian tithe: “one sufficient horse.”¹⁰

On the rich and now-emerging template of a legitimately combined Antigua-Barbuda *débat* of aesthetics, particularly in how objects of the Atlantic became part of a text of constructivism beyond the static tropes of slavery, there is yet another tantalizing example running concurrent to Yorke’s 19th century trajectory. A mid-19th century Sugar Works model still exists,¹¹ carved by an enslaved African on an Antiguan sugar plantation consisted of moving parts, stressing a design of concealment. This belies a blueprint of architectural mastery: scale duplication, and functional knowledge of the technology of the sugar refinement process.

Buried in *Antigua and the Antiguan*s,¹² this model of *woodism* was doubly a subversive text; a mastery of deconstructing and debunking the sugarcane as the primary flora; or of trees merely as ship-building timber woodlands. By extension, the surreptitious mastery of another medium of flora (much like dye-plants) as permeable across time, displays a visionary application of the island’s flora—other than the imperial cataloging of medicinal and pharmacological properties, acquired (without compensation) to the enslaved African donors.

Why else was a mid-1800s selection of dirt-red balsa wood selected? The moisture-resistant fiber was ideal not only for carving but for long-term storage, and voyaging.

Finally, to surreptitiously offer this model as a gift contribution to a church bazaar shows a shrewd of agency; of exploiting the system of mercantile transportation that would ensure—not merely an inert commission of post-Emancipation tradesmanship—but, instead, a manifesto of Atlantic faculty, already profoundly demonstrated in mastery of shipbuilding: —already established in ship-captaincy; and, the liberty of navigating trans-national boundaries.

At Yorke’s July 23, 1795 trial he was accused of sedition, conspiracy, and libel. Yorke, was sure to publish that on October 7th, 1795, his name was used in debates on the floor of the House of Lords.¹³ Among other ‘true charges’, Yorke was accused of providing weapons training to Sheffield radicals. Evidence was provided by *The Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy to the House of Commons*.

In 1796, Yorke was sentenced to two years imprisonment in Dorchester Castle's Jail, publishing his own record of the trial. Two propitious works that followed show the moral arc of Yorke's thinking pivot, in 1797, when he became a Loyalist. By 1798, Yorke had recanted radicalism, and had begun expressing it in writing. He was released in 1799, —after four years of imprisonment; his health and stamina seemingly broken. Yorke attacked Napoleon Bonaparte and France, accusing them of readying to invade England. His loathing for the First Consul was well documented by Richard Davey.¹⁴ Yet he compiled his *Letters from France, 1802*, publishing it in 1804. He had re-visited France, detailing his observations along with insights into earlier activities. They reveal his own character and views of many events and issues, in France. Yorke was called to Inner Temple Bar in November, 1811. By then, he was accused of government-paid Loyalist writings. By this time, he had traveled a complete political circle from an aristocratic defender of slavery to Jacobin radical and a partial return to being loyalist reformer. Let us explore in greater detail this circle with its sharp and puzzling pivots.

The Early Defense of Slavery

As a consequence of his remarkable social trajectory, Yorke may well be represented by his own writings, lectures and trial.¹⁵ Goodrich reminds us that Yorke's first pamphlet "published in 1792 before his conversion to radicalism, was written in support of the slave trade."¹⁶ Earlier, she makes a remarkable observation, both ironical and prophetic, about Yorke's body of Work: "In terms of politicization, the first cause with which Yorke became engaged was slavery."¹⁷

In Yorke's first known document, *A Letter to Bache Heathcote, Esq., on the Fatal Consequences of Abolishing The Slave Trade Both to England, and her American Colonies*,¹⁸ addressed to "a member of the Derbyshire gentry."¹⁹ York presented a profoundly naive class-allegiance to the Planter class, and the Whig ideological interests; not to mention a patent self-loathing of the enslaved African women – a social group to which his own mother belonged:

"Those who are for an immediate abolition of the slave trade, support their pretensions principally upon these arguments; that the population in the West India islands is perfectly adequate to the cultivation of them; and that nothing for this purpose but the co-operation of the planters, who are required to treat their slaves with less

rigour and with more humanity; — that it would be of essential service to this country, because it would preserve from untimely deaths, numbers of her seamen; and that the regions of Africa would be civilized in process of time, and this nation been able to carry on a commerce in every respect equally profitable with that of her colonies... Unfortunately for the English colonies, they have no spare islands to lodge the sickly slaves: the late French King, Louis the Sixteenth, gave annually a sum of money for the support of hospitals in a retired island, which was set apart for these miserable islands, which was set apart for these miserable sufferers; I do not know whether it has been continued since his deposition. Most likely it has not, as he has been stripped of every pleasing attribute of royalty; at all events he has learnt, by the severe discipline he has lately gone through, how to take care of himself: however, as we have not this great advantage, wherever we send these slaves, there is always danger of receiving the infection. I should have excepted the case of Sir William Codrington, who being sole proprietor of a very beautiful and wholesome island (Barbuda) is enabled to send there from his other estates, those slaves who labour under such infirmities. You will be very particular in remarking, that while they are under these diseases, they have a very strong inclination to venereal pleasures; being no physiologist, I cannot discover the cause, but it is certain that Europeans who have the itch, have the same propensity. This strange vitiated taste they indulge, though they are certain to incur punishment for the delinquency. The effect of this is obvious: if the female have not yet received the infection, she will now have it, (for they are of so extremely warm a constitution in those countries, that when a woman takes into her hand to gratify her passion, she will not hesitate with a man whose body is full of running sores (I speak generally); if they procreate children, they will inherit the disease; their birth always exhibiting to the beholder a frightful and distressing portrait of infant wretchedness. The seeds of their distempers are so engrafted, (if I might use the term) so interwoven in the animal economy, that they necessarily render the offspring of such illicit love, an emasculated, pitiful object. New diseases are engendered from the latent patrimonial

evil; they become lethargic, unwilling to work, and their existence is unfavorably shortened. No one but an empirick, surely, will advance, that the emaciated descendants of such parents can generate healthy, strong children: for it appears to me to be perfectly consonant with reason, that to beget such children as shall be useful to our colonies, (this is not considered in Europe, your manners and mode of life being different) the parents should be in good state of health, and posses a certain degree of briskness and spirits, as well as a suppleness in the limbs, which it is very clear, those of the above description do not possess. They may therefore be classed among “the forlorn hope.”²⁰

Yorke, further reveals his fictionalized, and profoundly veiled instantiation from his natal environs:

“I have known on an estate, 250 slaves out of 3300, under the care of the doctor, and incapable of performing any work. In this calculation, I include the many who attend on the sick, and cannot, on any account whatever, be called from that duty to any other.” (p. 8)

Further, Yorke hints at slave-breeding, self—propagation – myths of West Indian Planter agents, mitigating the impending abolition: “I have said enough to prove, that the population is not adequate to the cultivation of them.” (p. 9) Thus he concludes: “it appears from the evidence I have adduced, that the slave trade is indispensably necessary to the cultivation of our West Indian islands.” (p. 10)

Continuing with his defense of slavery, Yorke writes: “The only intelligence which you have of the treatment of our colonial slaves, is through the medium of the evidence delivered before the House of Commons. If I were the least persuaded that the one thousandth part of that evidence were true, I would not, at this time, take up my pen to vindicate the slave trade, and the continuance of slavery; I would execrate it, and all those who were concerned in it. But the time is far off, when this evidence will be canvassed, and scrutinized before a tribunal composed of judges; then, doubtless, the dread of or perjury, and much more, the fear of the pillory, which is the consequence of it,

will awake many of the witnesses from their visions in the House of Commons, and bring them to plain truth at the bar of the House of Lords. It will then appear, that you have been safely trifled with, and imposed upon by wicked and designing men; our national character, and the universally applauded generosity, honour, and humanity of the West Indians will be vindicated. They have been treated not even with candour; if the sufferings of human nature were so great as the dreamers have represented to you, why do they not institute a process against the perpetrators of such barbarities It is inconsistent with the fair-dealing and justice of this nation, to permit is most faithful supporters to be libeled by those who are totally ignorant of the domestic government of her colonies.. For a just account of the treatment of the slaves, I refer you to the representation of the delegates of the island of St. Domingo, to the Assembly of France, called National. You will there and, that our anxiety for the happiness and security of our slaves and their property, and our attention to them, cannot be put in comparison with the treatment of the poor of the nations of Europe. In the other colonies, the treatment of the slaves is in a great measure comfortable to the national character of their masters. “ (p. 12)

“...but the English with an enlightened reason, derived from the sentiments of humanity, discard the errors that arise from a ferocious spirit of cruelty, and consider the case of their slaves as an occupation worthy their attention: they enforce obedience, not fear by or severity, but by encouraging mild and decorous behaviour. Far from aggravating the yoke of slavery, every kind of attention is given to make it wear easy, to dissipate even the idea of it, to attach the slave to life, and to prevent the very rebellion of his mind.” (p. 13)

“But to return this digression it has been argued, that the Africans despise Christianity as much as they do their masters, and that, in that respect, they are not benefited by their removal. I believe, that this assertion may be true with regard to the Spanish West Indian islands, because, in the true spirit of bigotry, they beat the slaves to the church door; but it is not so with us: we are conscious

that religious institutions have a greater influence on the mind of the untutored savage, than on that of the polished citizen. For this purpose, we have generally erected chapels on our estates: the Solicitor General of Antigua has built a very large one, to which he has invited without distinction, the slaves of the neighboring plantations, and there they flock in crowds, drest [dressed] in a decent manner. The ceremony is performed by a clergyman of our established church.” (p. 21)

“Every slave has his portion of land, which he is to cultivate, and the property that he acquires is secured to him. It is true, he is not tried by a jury for most of his offences, and it is equally true, that on that account, he often escapes the gallows. He is a slave, but he is happier than the poor freeman of Europe; he is not in danger of imprisonment for debt, because he can accrue none; he does not fear want and misery because he is provided with every necessary of life; he has not a wife and family to support, they are maintained by his master; if he be stretched out on a bed of sickness, the little he had scraped together is not swallowed up in paying the apothecary’s bill, because his master provides him with a doctor and with medicine; he is not in dread of rent-day, of being ousted, or having his property distrained, because his owner finds him a house, superior in every respect to the miserable habitations of the poor in Europe; his slumbers are not discomposed with the apprehension that pinching want shall drive his wife or daughter to the forlorn and deadly resources of prostitution; he looks not with horror towards the advancing period of unprotected old age; he pays no tax, yet is a member of society, and his property; he is no legislator, he cannot sign a petition to parliament, but he is happily free from the shameful and venal dependence attendant on this strange species of liberty. No! when the mill is in motion, and the crops are promising, he participates in the joy and expectations of his master, he bustles through the day with activity, and by moon-light, before the house of the planter, he joins his assembled companions, and revels to the sound of the Banja and the Pipe. And often have I observed them gazing with silent

rapture on the starry firmament, and finding new sources of enjoyment and contemplation in the luminous and flaming meteors of the sky.

Thus, the means of happiness, and the ways of forfeiting it, are in their own hands.

We consider our slaves as moral beings, and our discipline is exactly that which ruled the conduct of man in the primitive and golden ages of society.

There are, indeed, laws still in our colonial codes, which are sanguinary and inhuman, but they are never, never used. But take care, that your hasty and improvident counsels do not compel the colonists, from a principle of self-preservation, to revive those antiquated laws, which their humanity forbids them at present to recur to. The unprovoked attack which has been made upon their honour and character as men and citizens, demand that the restrictions made use of in dangerous times, should no longer lay dormant; and that, even humanity should secede to prudential motives.

Those tyrannous laws were made by the unenlightened West Indian; the purport of whose education was to acquire a fortune, and that speedily, that he might enjoy it in the rural retirements of Europe. But now, the West Indian is as much altered in disposition, as the face of the spot on which he lives: his mind is enlightened by an academic education, and enlarged by travel. He can now legislate, as the example of the times prove, and he begins to be of consequence to society. Hear the character given of him by the Philosophical Historian of the West Indies: "Their (the West Indians) intrepidity in war has been signalized by a series of bold actions. History does not afford any of those instances of cowardice, treachery, and meanness among them, which sully the annals of all nations: it can hardly said, that a West Indian ever did a mean action. All strangers, without exception, find in the islands the most friendly and generous hospitality. The useful virtue is practiced with a degree of ostentation which shews, at least, the honour they attach to it. Their natural propensity to beneficence,

banishes avarice, and they are generous in their dealings. They are strangers to dissimulation, craft, and suspicion: the pride they take in their frankness, the opinion they have of themselves, together with their extreme vivacity, exclude from their transactions all that mystery and reserve which stifles natural goodness of disposition, extinguishes the social spirit, and diminishes our sensibility. (p. 26)

The Radical and Anti-slavery Turn

In his first radical or Jacobin-influenced pamphlet, *Reason Urged Against Precedent* (1793)²¹ written in Paris, Yorke seems to have come first circle (of many) recanting the first of many crossroads, embracing ‘the great cause of Freedom’, — a fundamental “refutation of his [A] *Letter to Bache Heathcote...*”,²² only one year earlier.

Of significance to better understand the mood, “The London Corresponding Society,” according to Thompson, “in an Address of 1793, sought to define the difference in status between the English commoner and the commoner in pre-revolutionary France: ‘our persons were protected by the laws, while their lives were at the mercy of every titled individual... We were MEN while they were SLAVES.’”²³

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Yorke, too, had focused on this theme – but he did so not in a Eurocentric impulse but rather as a more Universal ideal:

“But, it is not the Slave Trade only, that ought to be abolished; you should strike at the root of the evil, and exterminate SLAVERY itself. Throughout every nation of the earth, let the oppressed awaken of the earth, let the oppressed awaken from their drunken sleep; — let the African, the Asiatic, the European, burst asunder their chains, and raise a pious war against tyranny. Should tyrants, sensible of the indignant temper of the oppressed, refuse to expiate their crimes by a voluntary renunciation; —should they wrestle with Freedom, let the PEOPLE roll on them in a tempest of fury, and compel them to expire in agonies!”²⁴

Yorke, with great conviction and humility, confesses the mistake of his pro-slavery stance in an about-face:

"I once thought that we owed much to the West Indians [Planters], and I stated to you, at that time, some of the revenues which England derived from her colonies; but I forgot they paid to support them."²⁵

He writes further:

"I have injured the wretched Negro, by formerly denying him his rights. In the sincerity of my heart, I spoke then what I thought, but what I believed I thought. The only retribution I can make is to see him righted. At the same time that we would avenge the cause of humanity, let us not forget those who have embarked in this commerce, whether from ignorance of its iniquity, or from hereditary prejudices."²⁶

Finally, to the enslaved African (his own family and forebears):

"The Slave who breaks his chains, in whatever country he be, resists oppression: he resumes his spoliated rights, and cannot be inculcated by any but a Despot or a Coward. With a tyrant, nature and all mankind were in a state of war. If, therefore, to liberate himself, the Slave be constrained to destroy his oppressor, he exercises his RIGHT: if any one should be so mean, or pusillanimous, as to deny him this right, let him turn the tables, and ask himself if he would not sacrifice his oppressor to obtain his freedom."²⁷

The Times That Try Men's Souls

In his second radical 'pamphlet', *In These Are the Times that Try Men's Souls!: A Letter Addressed to John Frost, A Prisoner in Newgate* (1793), Yorke chastises the Whig Party, exhorts the invocation of British patriots, cautions against a 'phalanx of men,' suggests negotiations for the French West Indies, deconstructs Thomas Paine, prison youth, and introduces the most feared antidote to English monarchical rule.²⁸ While passionately projecting his Universalist rhetoric and including non-English peoples, Yorke's reference to Charles I²⁹ surreptitiously intersects with Jane Austin's family legacy;³⁰ a legacy that would have profound implications to Yorke's own legacy³¹ – and with unspeakable precision, and coincidence, at the end of his life.

Yorke's second pamphlet, includes almost biblical, rhapsodic and rhetorical passages of the poor and the dispossessed: ("the restoration of their rights...the children of misfortune and toil, hewers of wood and drawers of water, continuously acquiring property, but never possessing any...") [p. 24]; he exhorts debate ("There is but one way to raise an indolent, to inform a deluded, to reclaim a corrupt, or to reconcile a divided people, I mean by argument and persuasion...") [p. 25]. Yorke reaches into the abolitionists' vernacular, the idiom of the plantation owner's idiom – indeed, into his own late father's legal ambit: ("And those like yourself, who hazard future and personal security in order to manumit their countrymen from servitude and darkness, must expect at first to be opposed even by the enslaved; for men long caged in the dark dungeons of superstition and prejudice cannot for considerable time be in the resplendent light of Reason.") [p. 28].

In this second pamphlet, one sees starkly how (in three samples) Yorke's rhetorical device of philosophy and literature is deployed. The first, in deconstructing Thomas Paine's feared Writings, has been sustained in the recent political cultures of Antigua and Barbuda:³² ("I am ready to prove at any time, that even in the celebrated writings of Thomas Paine, there is no political maxim which is not to be found in the works of Sydney, Harrington, Milton, and Buchanan. These principles have not been confuted; we have heard no language to soothe the irritation of our minds, and calm us even into a cold admiration of our government; but we have heard the language of menace, and we have felt the force of rigorous indictments and prosecutions, that tend to sour and alienate the affections, than compose the refractory spirits of the people...")³³

Second, on the idea of the poorer classes having the right to property, and civic mobilization: ("All men are by nature equal to the enjoyments of the social union; nor has a system of unqualified equality ever been proposed by the assertions of general liberty. The doctrine of an equalization of property ever been is unknown to the thoughtful men of this age, and is to be found only in the visionary republic of Plato, and the Utopia of Thomas More...")³⁴

Thirdly, on Universal Happiness, ("It is not what a man in office does, but what he may do. This savage and wanton policy condemned Anaxagoras, the moral Socrates, Copernicus and Galileo; and in later times the noblest production of Natural Philosophy was doomed to a perpetual oblivion by the Sovereign Pontiff. Such have been the effects of State Intolerance against the peaceful progress of Philosophy...")³⁵

Ironically, in regard to the vulgar conditions of the most precious of State resources: (“The scene of a prison must be shocking, if it be only considered that in that spot are consolidated the various combinations of vice, to which youth are unhappily nurtured from a wretched system of education, and from the baneful and seducing example of a debauched age in their subsequent introductions into life. They are compelled to join in the intemperate revels that are invented to drown reflection; and expenses heaped on expences [sic], make their prospect of liberty altogether improbable.”)³⁶

Lastly, in a distant echo of his Barbuda heritage, from which African males were conscripted for Wars in the French West Indian islands, (“We have had enough of continental possessions and of continental alliances; the direful effects of which we feel in that monumental debt, the wretched bequest of wasteful and of bloody wars. Extent of territory would be the germ of future divisions and quarrels; and if we desire the French colonies in the West Indies, nothing remains but negotiation, the consequence of which would be the unreluctant surrender of every one of them. The French are grown weary of colonial establishments, which only waste the strength of the mother country, and open wide the gates of patronage and corruption. But most likely this, war is continued in despair, and to roll the public eye in frantic horror from the prospect of domestic miseries, towards rivers dyes with the crimson stain of our mangled or murdered brethren.”).³⁷

Thoughts on Civil Government

The third of Yorke’s pamphlets, in the radical tradition, *Thoughts on Civil Government: Addressed to The Disfranchised Citizens of Sheffield*, (1794),³⁸ he deepens his critique of the institutional failures – not only of England – but across Europe. One account of *Thoughts on Civil Government* (echoes uncannily, the rhetorical style of a radical pastoral tradition, say, of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.). This pamphlet started with a warning about Despotism in the face of PRINCIPLES: “Friends and Fellow Citizens, - Despotism is an agony: its expiring struggles are strong, its convulsions violent and painful—they are capable of hurting individuals, but they cannot destroy PRINCIPLES. Hear ye not, the tocsin of Freedom ringing through the world, and calling the dead to life—Hear ye not, from the snowy mountains of the North, to the furthestmost shores of the Mediterranean, the clanking chains, and their millions of living Beings preparing to take terrible vengeance on the Oppressors.”³⁹

Very early in this Work, Yorke deploys the categories of Freeman and Slavery ("You cannot infer, from the patience and humiliation of our fellow-citizens, that they are naturally prone to servitude. Such an abominable imputation derives its source only from the narrow minds and crooked logic of courtiers. Themselves the slaves of every ignorable passion, and of every titled fool or knave, it is no wonder, they should wish to see their servility extend itself throughout the whole of society, and estimate the worth of every other man by their own....Those only would blot out the name of FREEMAN from the book of life, who desire, in their turn, to enslave others, those only cringe and fawn on Tyrants, who would experience a similar recrimination from the People. It is not, therefore, from the servility of nations already enslaved, that we must form our judgment of the natural dispositions of Mankind, either for or against slavery, but rather from the prodigious efforts of every free People to prevent oppression." ⁴⁰

Yorke covers immense moral and ethical territory, chiding the Church ("The pomp of Churchdom can only be consolidated on the misery of laity, and its power can only rise with the fall of Liberty and the decay of Knowledge.. Whatever, therefore, is gained to the Church, is gained from the People; to that for it to be rich, we must be Beggars; that Priests may be Lords, we must be Slaves. This is a brief statement of that grand conspiracy against the human race, which under the title of Alliance between Church and State, effectually divests Mankind of ever thing that sweetens human life, and renders it desirable, or indeed supportable. Is such an alliance then for our benefit, which disarms us of our faculties, cows our minds with slavish tears, and delivers us over to those Men, whose strength lies in our weakness, whole prosperity is owing to our undoing?" ⁴¹

Yorke continues in this vein as he addresses the morality of nation-building : ("I have taken up so much of your time, on this subject, because I think it a matter of great importance. Indeed, too much cannot be said upon it.—It is one of the greatest causes of the inefficacy of the public will, in constituting the Supreme law—Teach the People their Rights, an the will of the majority will soon be apparent. But what is of more consequence, that *will* must be valued and respected. Of such importance is National Ignorance in promoting the cause of Oppression, that I am fully persuaded, if a system of popular Instruction, whether under legislative sanctions or not, were generally pursued, in any nation where Despotism is prevalent, the gorgeous machinery would soon crumble into ruin; fertile plains would smile, where now horrid fortresses

exist; Militias would dispense with Standing Armies; Barracks become Granaries; and kings, and Priests, and Nobles, be transformed into MEN. For we should never forget, that there will be bad Men as long as there are bad Citizens—and bad Citizens, as long as there are ignorant Men.... When a Nation is once become moral, legal disputes will but rarely occur; for public Virtue is the love of the laws, and Charity, in its most enlarged sense, the actuating principle of human nature. When we assume the character of social animals, our sphere of moral agency necessarily becomes enlarged, and we have new relative duties to fulfill, which are the offsprings of society unknown to us in our natural condition, and instituted simply to promote general happiness."⁴²

Continuing with his critique of Despotism, Yorke, does not forget the pliant Officials: "We are justified in drawing this plain inference, that the institution of privileged orders in usurpation, and its continuance criminal. Besides, the obvious tendency of every of every species of public monopoly, whether of honors, distinctions, or traffic, is to perpetuate errors, prejudices, corruptions, dependence, and to enrich and exalt a *few*, by the impoverishment, vassalage, ignorance, and venality of the *many*. If, therefore, their continuance their continuance depend (as it does) solely on national ignorance; if you remove this ignorance, Men will see plainly, that freedom is indigenous to every soil: —They will see, that the laws may be impartially administered, the sun shine, the grass grow, and the waters flow in their accustomed channels, without the very expensive aid of privileged orders. ... To assure, then, a good Government, those only should be made governors whose happiness is immediately involved in its good or evil administration. If the *few* govern the *many*, the interests of the few will be alone pursued; but, if the many govern themselves, the *few* will be comprehended in it, and the interests of the *whole* will be constantly followed. The sooner, therefore, the People claim their *Right*, the better will be their condition, and the happier that of posterity. To this truth, I am ready to allege the evidence of America, which does flourish in wealth and peace, without either Kings, Bishops,"⁴³

Referencing his native region, even here, Yorke plumbs the landscape of the West Indies; the natal territory: ("In our Country, where the People have no more share in the government, than the Negro Slave in the West indies, or the cattle in their fields, the money collected for public uses, amounts to the enormous sum of TWENTY-FIVE MILLION STERLING, ...").⁴⁴ All the while, Yorke exhorts the State to value the People: ("But, admitting that they performed in person, the duties for which they are

paid, cannot the same functions be executed with equal care at last, with equal honesty, by unprivileged Citizens, who are ambitious to serve their country, and, of whose ability, the public have previously received unequivocal testimonies? – Every Nation exists and prospers by private occupations and public will. Who then ought to fill these offices? I answer the People...An organ to express the general will and a few officers selected by, and from the People to execute that will, are all that can be wanted for the purposes of Government. But if the Government itself becomes the patrimony of a *few*, the good of the *many* can never be comprehended in it, and it will swell beyond all bounds the places which it creates...”;⁴⁵ he expounds further on the organic formation of the State: (“THE PEOPLE compose the whole body of the State; but with the cumbersome load of privileged orders, it forms a whole, shackled and oppressed. Abate the nuisance, it will be a compact body, free and flourishing. – Without the People, nothing can go on well..”) ⁴⁶

Yorke writes prophetically, his exhortations echo across the Ages, railing against ‘patriotic self-interest, and ‘titles’: (“The man who becomes a Patriot from need or revenge, is unworthy of public trust; for when either of these infirmities is appeased, his *ends* being answered, he will revert to his old principles. His exertions are not for *you*, but for *himself*. His humanity is feigned, and his public spirit temporary. His zeal against administration is not on your account, but on his *own*; and just at the moment you flatter yourselves that you have indeed gained a real friend, at the very instant that you are fondly caressing this idol of your own making, his eyes, in a fine phrenzy [sic], toiling from heaven to earth, and from earth to heaven, deigns to cast a wistful squint on some snug lucrative sinecure, as the reward of his popular exertions and *opposition* to the Court. The ministry catch[es] his eye, and darting instantly on him, as a hungry lioness upon her prey, they seize their object, and he is never heard of more. Such is the transit of these blazing meteors, which in their passage, illumine the country, but shortly after disappearing, leave it in darkness, sorrow, and amazement. Such are your *Alarmists*, whose exquisite sensibility revolts at the approach of day, whose humanity shudders at the MAJESTY of THE PEOPLE, when crowned with the olive of Peace, and robed in flames of justice.”)⁴⁷

In much the same vein, Yorke addresses the issue of ‘Titles’ and Nobility, while speaking across the abyss of Time: (“All these titles of vain-glory were at first military, and marked various degrees of rank in command; but these same titles soon became distinctions, and peculiar privileges in the civil order. Soon they established that feudal barbarity, which, during

many ages, has debased human nature, converted whole nations into clans of slaves, and a few individuals into breeds of tyrants.

Such is the infamous origin of Nobility. In despite [sic] of which, there are not wanting men, whose glory is concentrated [sic] in the acquisition of a title, and whole lives and spent in the means employed to attain it. To wear the paltry puerile baubles of state, they are proud to relinquish the glorious name of CITIZEN; to rally around the throne, and to be its sane and corrupt agents. For nick-names, and the womanish play-things, they violate the laws of justice, adopting the maxims of inequality; and, like the young Roman, who betrayed her country for rings and bracelets, they are ready to sell their's [their country] for a ribbon [ribbon], a star, or a title. Decorations and titles speak to the imagination, and, at length, gradually seal into the minds, and deprave the reason of Men. They positively transform the human species. A peerage, in more modern ages, has been, in general, the wages of iniquity and corruption; a distinction not to be purchased at a smaller price than everlasting infamy and disgrace. Do titles recall to the admiration of posterity the exercise of civic virtues, the sacrifice of self to common good, the improvement of agriculture, the superiority of talents? No. They swell the fancy with the dazzling luster of conquests, with the idea of innocent blood, tormented forth in the cause of ambition...Why should the truth be concealed from the People? The Aristocracy desires to be distinguished *from* you, not to be distinguished *by* you. In a Government, where such a antisocial system is prevalent, what is to be expected, but the extension of the corrupt influence by which it is upheld; the leveling and oppression of the lower orders, and the institution of Placemen, Pensioners, and every other kind of subordinate Despots, by whom the Liberty, the Justice, the Peace, and the Happiness of a Nation are stabbed?—Admitting, even for a moment, that the People could create an order of privileged Men, independent of their control, it cannot justify their existence in perpetuity, since it would be injustice to delegate or transmit that to posterity, which might be too enlightened, too wise, or in circumstances too happy to require such an institution...

Such a plea would remove every principle, or even pretext, by which their necessity is justified. No man ought to rise above the rest of his fellow-creatures, without giving them some equivalent for such [a] superiority. Nor should the public distinction ever be conferred but on public merit. If I wish to employment marked for their virtue and capacity; it is just to reward them. This was the original of the Conscript Fathers of ancient Rome, who long enjoyed popular estimation, because they had with it the

confidence of the people. But the example of that great empire should be a serious lesson to modern reformers. It is natural for power to encroach; and men in authority are more apt to depart from moderation, than the people from subjection. Power begets property, and property begets power. The people being the materials of government, their protection is its end; nor ought it to have any other: and that government, wherein they have no share, or in which they are of no consideration, is an unnatural MONSTER—it is a head unconcerned for the body and members, and constantly devouring, instead of nourishing them. When a man considers himself only for himself, and pursues his own advantage to the hurt of others, his elevation is preposterous, and is against justice and nature; and *better he descend, than all men sink.*”⁴⁸

Here, Yorke looks through the prism of nativity, tying that space with deep idealization: (“That our own Country—men affeciate [sic] against us to benumb the reasoning faculty of Man, and degrade him as a moral agent? Is it for this, that our native country is converted into a vast prison? Or, Alas! Is it so lost and sunk in crimes, that Virtue, Patriotism, and Genius are become loathsome abortions, which it is proper to transport to the furthest extremity of the globe, as fit companions of felons, and prostitutions? If this be the case, it were better to be a colonist in Botany Bay, than a slave in Britain!”);⁴⁹ Yorke casts an eye towards National Education, one gained from Rhetoric and Logic (“The fairest part of human life thus wasted in an application to a Rhetoric, that neither improves the Speech, nor corrects the dialect; a Logic, which teaches the neatest manner of concealing Truth; and an History, containing nothing but Chronological disputes—it is obvious, that we are instituted, not in those things we are to practice, but in what we are to forget, when we become active Citizens.”);⁵⁰

Yorke, waxing rhapsodic, turns briefly to the long march of human development: (“But the empire of reason extends itself daily, and, in its progress, occasions more and more the restoration of usurped right. The lamp of science is blazing, and kindles, in the bosom of the most unlettered peasant, a thirst for knowledge, and a love of virtue and liberty. Very soon all men must be enclosed within the fence of the social contract, which equally respects and binds all associated beings one towards another. It will gather together numberless advantages for suffering man. During the long night of feudal barbarism and idolatry, the true relations between men have been destroyed; all good notions turned topsyturvy—all justice poisoned to its sources; But, at the dawn of day, these gothic absurdities, with those who profit by them, will vanish’ like the baseless fabric of

a vision,' and the remnants of ancient [ancient] servitude fall and be annihilated. This is morally and physically true."⁵¹ Yorke was sweeping in his indictment of all retainers: ("Even in this most righteous reign, the tests are suffered to be eluded. Gibbon was a lord of trade, David Hume was pensioned for maintaining aristocratic doctrines, and Beattie was allowed 500 Pounds a year for writing against him in defence of revealed Religion; and, if report be true, the celebrated Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations*, and a Commissioner of the Excise in Scotland, lived and died an Atheist.")⁵²

Engaging not only the forces of science, Yorke also harnessed the forces of the Humanities in his attack on Aristocracy and his defense of republican freedom: ("What would consign other Men to external shame, is received with exultation into the service of Aristocracy; and even gives, to the splendid villain, a glare and superiority over the Man of worth and probity. Taking advantage of the general disposition to servility, they strike, without relaxation, at the root of Wisdom and Virtue. They have transformed the wide field of Genius into a barren and unprofitable waste; true Learning being depressed, has been fostered by the indigent; and the human mind, forbidden to range in Freedom, has been forced to contribute in riveting, more closely, the fetters of Men. Orators, Poets, Historians, Painters, have flown from the tranquil seclusion of courts and palaces, where, basking in the meridian of royal or noble sunshine, they have idolized Tyrants, Fools, and Knaves, and blasphemed Mankind, for bread.")⁵³

Lastly, Yorke applies the linchpin, in his advocacy of Universalism, to the Citizens of Sheffield, - a lesson facing the global citizenry, even now: "Hitherto, we have examined the world only as a vast scene of depopulation and waste, it is time to contemplate the dawns of reason, happiness, and humanity, rising from among the ruins of a world which still reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage."⁵⁴

Yorke's Trial

At his trial for seditious conspiracy in 1795, Yorke placed himself at the center of the proceedings with a robust three-hour defense. Indeed, in his well-documented trial (to include his own self-published record, *The Trial of Henry Yorke*⁵⁵), he choreographed this last appearance as a radical gentleman leader."⁵⁶ If indeed, charges first stemmed from an assembly to be held at Sheffield the 7th of April, 1794,"⁵⁷ that he was indeed an enemy, - it was 'certainly to anarchy and revolutions.' Repeatedly,

Yorke displayed his oratory, reversing tropes against his persecutors' schemes in order ("to rescue out of slavery their poor unhappy English brethren"); exhorting universal rights with nascent *woodism* ("the right of human nature before man enters into political society, is the right of the savage to wander about in the woods...").⁵⁸ Assailed in the reading of the Indictment with repeated variations of his name, History irrefutably inscribes Yorke's name in the legal records ("the said Henry Redhead, otherwise Henry Yorke...").

As the trial proceeds, Yorke navigates, cross-examines his detractors through the absurdities (Q: "Look at these Gentlemen—you undertake to swear before God and your country, that I essentially contributed to assist the revolution in America?" A: "I did not say so: I said that you served that in America, contributed to that in Holland, materially assisted that in France, and would continue to cause revolution all over the world.")⁵⁹; – even inducing a barrage of wit and wordplay that levels the gravity of the court!⁶⁰ Yet, there was deep irony in the oratory of Yorke about his own genealogy, facing personal betrayal⁶¹, while weaving the two existential castles that now bound his political life in the proverbial Gordonian knot.⁶² Yet, his trial, steeped in constitutionality, indelibly shifts. According to one scholar: "Indeed, he had become a "Reformer" rather than a "Revolutionist".⁶³ He had now fused his finest ideas on Reform with the rhetorical skills burnished in the political clubs, the conventions, and the education of the Enlightenment.⁶⁴ He was. Above all, – a Barbudan – fiercely willing to accept his portion, the fullest consequence without ceremony, and studded with historical resolve.⁶⁵ Yorke, utters prophetic words emblematic of realms beyond freedom⁶⁶ that eludes us still, today: bestowing the custodianship of his resolve only to himself.⁶⁷

Yorke had deployed impressive rhetorical skills, the fiery oratory of which would foster a broader Antiguan and Barbudan radical intellectual tradition for freedom – fought through the courts: voices led by women, who expanded our heritage.⁶⁸ One must further consider the enslaved African woman, Grace, brought to Antigua from England in 1827, claiming her freedom.⁶⁹ Or, the prodigious struggle for freedom by Mary Prince, arriving in England in 1828, and her unimpeachable testimony at the London Court of Common Pleas in 1833.⁷⁰

The Elements of Civil Knowledge

Yorke's *Elements of Civil Knowledge*, (1800) - perhaps his most profound intellectual treatise - had, at the concretized onset,⁷¹ its own problematic publishing history.⁷² Aside from, again, using the symbolism of *woodism* as a metaphor for the rekindling of education of the future,⁷³ he dedicates it to the education of the 'young and rising generation.' Yorke's recurring vision of the terms, *wood*, and *flame*, show a stubborn primacy in the combined - and combustible - elements of public education.⁷⁴ Yorke had envisioned this voluminous work (Parts I, and II), as "Britannicus - notes and comments on various portions of our history, to which was added a second volume of Essays on various subjects."⁷⁵

Although he reveals a classicist's grasp of the Great Works, he deploys the term, slave in innovative ways.⁷⁶ Education for youth, he insists, should provide not only happiness in himself, but 'in promoting the happiness of his fellow creatures.' He credits Milton and Locke as "the only men who in this country have attacked our system of education,' offering the examples of Rousseau, Condillac, and Condorcet, as forces in France. He exhorts, crediting Lord Bacon, 'that the dedication of colleges and societies, only to the use of profesory learning, has not only been the enemy to the growth of sciences, but has contributed likewise to the prejudice of kingdoms and states.'⁷⁷ Yorke offers advice across the Ages: "Hence it is that princes, when they would make choice of ministers fit for the affairs of state, find about them a marvelous solitude of such men; for this reason, because there is no collegiate education designed to this end, where such as are framed and fitted by nature for that office, may, beside other arts, study chiefly history, modern languages, books, and treatises of policy; that so they may thence come more able and better furnished to the offices of state."⁷⁸

In his new prophetic voice of a Reformer, Yorke lends a nugget to the current notions of education: ""And though the attainment of classical learning, should be open to every one desirous of feeling its charms, yet, it should never be made a matter of necessity with boys destined to the inferior occupations. The same course of studies, cannot be proper for the lawyer, the divine, the physician, the soldier, the sailor, the merchant and the mechanic; and therefore, some other mode must be devised, different books read, and different exercises performed, in order to render youth competent to engage in their several spheres of active life, with credit to themselves, and profit to the community."⁷⁹

Yorke, covers Moliere, Locke, Cicero, Milton, Shakespeare, Dryden, Hobbes, translated Works in Latin, and Greek – and all of these in Volume One.

As E.P. Thompson reminds us, Jacobinism had come under the siege: “Napoleon’s Grand Army was poised across the channel between 1803 and 1806.” Sheridan had declared, “Jacobinism is killed and gone. And by whom? By him who can no longer be called the child and champion of Jacobinism; by Bonaparte.”⁸⁰ The appeal for national unity threatened to obscure it.

War galvanized towns, communities, and there were weekend drills. The best of the higher ranks, officers of the social ranks, filled the Volunteers; they were preferred to the disaffected, ill-disciplined, the incurably antimilitaristic rank-and-file. “In large towns,” Sheridan officially exhorted, “such as Birmingham, Sheffield, and Nottingham, he should prefer associations of the higher classes, and in the countries and villages those of the lower.”⁸¹

Townpeople, on the other hand, did not take kindly to volunteerism, charging its effects as impacting domestic portions of food: “(small) loaves and the advance of corn.”⁸²

Thompson bluntly chronicles the mood. While the people of Norwich protested bread and corn, the sons of squires, attorneys and manufacturers dressed up on horseback and attended the Volunteers’ meetings. At balls, their sisters selected husbands from the landed and commercial ranks – denizens of the Industrial Revolution. Aristocracy and middle class forged a common understanding, - what Thompson coins as an *esprit de corps*. The pickings were contrastingly slim, according to Thompson, among the rank-and-file.⁸³ “But despite this undercurrent [‘volunteerism’], Sheridan was right. Jacobinism, as a movement deriving inspiration from France, was almost dead.”⁸⁴

Between 1802 and 1806 there was certainly a revival of popular patriotic feeling. “Huge media campaigns of patriotic chapbooks, broad-sheets, and prints, were sprung; and thousands of Lancashire weavers joined the Volunteers. Nelson was as popular a war hero as England had known since Drake – a defender for popular rights...In 1806, joined the national coalition – the ‘Ministry of All-the-Talents’ resigning to the continuance of war.”⁸⁵

Yet, according to Thompson, “Radicalism was not extinguished. Former Jacobins became patriots, as eager to denounce Napoleon for the apostasy to the republican cause as legitimists were to denounce him for his usurpation from the House of Bourbon.”⁸⁶ Many others, “like Henry Yorke of Sheffield suffered from guilt and the desire for self-exculpation.”⁸⁷ Yorke had become “by 1804 an ‘anti-Jacobins’ publicist so virulent that Cobbett was driven by him towards the reformers, out of sheer disgust.”⁸⁸

Early seeds of protest included the Priestly Riots, shouting “King and Reform!” The main targets were the Churchmen (many of whom were West India slave-owners)⁸⁹ – not Dissenters.

Certainly, by 1797, at the height of anti-Jacobin repression – an effort, which had begun from 1792, to terrorize the English Jacobins⁹⁰ – and Yorke had been tried and imprisoned (1795). The provincial societies had dissolved themselves...or else continued underground...”⁹¹ Yet, in urban centres like Sheffield and Norwich, the “Church and King” mobs had achieved limited success. Thomas Hardy’s home had been targeted for fire, when he had not praised the naval victory; London Corresponding Society members had fought off the mob. Four years later, in 1801, the anti-Jacobin journalist, William Cobbett’s house had suffered from broken windows, in London; city authorities and civil protection were conspicuously absent.⁹² In fact, even in the middle of the 1790s, the “voluntary” associations of “private” citizens had borne the blame for intimidations.⁹³

Saving Our Country and the Turn to Loyalist Reform

One finds in Yorke’s Work, *On the Means of Saving Our Country* (1797),⁹⁴ written in Dorchester Castle and finished on July 5, 1797, a pivot and “recant” to English *loyalism*...by claiming that it was the threat from France that had provoked him to do so,”⁹⁵ Here one sees the lucidity, the efflorescence of Yorke’s principles⁹⁶, his burnished vernaculars of *universalism*;⁹⁷ and, of Classicism – both in History and Literature⁹⁸ – corresponding the references with verbal agilities,⁹⁹ wit and pathos. Yorke deploys the term, *passions*, (almost a dozen times), all the while railing against Jacobinism¹⁰⁰; slyly embracing the French ‘settlements – and later – colonies; re-deploying the term, *slaves*¹⁰¹; then, Yorke, again, betrays his admiration for the British Navy,¹⁰² embracing better ‘Poor Laws’, while secreting ironies from the posterity of his name – long after his trial;¹⁰³ then, presciently launching his earliest pro-emancipation

treatise – significantly, first for the *status* of colonies¹⁰⁴ – and then, for the *political-economy* of emancipating “enslaved Africans” in British colonies.¹⁰⁵ These last two are among the best concealed of Yorke’s mythical notoriety of radicalism, - but hidden within his testimony to *Constitutional Reform*¹⁰⁶: another abstract example of *woodism*, (a contiguous concealment of layered mediums); much like the enslaved African living in Antigua, who offered his 1837 (circa-dated) balsa-wood model of sugar refining.

A Letter to the Reformers

Yet, it was in his 1798 pamphlet, *A Letter to the Reformers*,¹⁰⁷ that he turned his loudest charges on the French. Yorke’s rhetorical depth on the obtuse edges of the *universal* (“...yet this ambition [post-Revolutionary French conduct of expansionism] obtruded itself on the world, under the less offensive title of legislating for the whole human race”),¹⁰⁸ burnished by practical reflections (“the melancholy solitude of prison,”¹⁰⁹ and (“...My principles, religious and political, are certainly different from what they were when I entered the prison.”), he rises to become a figure of political transfiguration (“Altho’ I have deeply and severely suffered from long imprisonment, both in fortune, and domestic happiness, and altho’ I have been invited to repair the mischiefs, by entering again on political engagements, yet I will not sacrifice my future tranquility to temporary advantages, nor my opinions to interest.”).¹¹⁰ Yorke charts a spectrum of ideas from the dubious acquisition of revolutionary movements (“when the French Revolution broke out, there were thousands of virtuous men in this country who rejoiced in the event, and by anticipating [too hastily perhaps] its future effects on the happiness of nations...Others, however, of a severer and perhaps of a more penetrating cast, attributed all its revolutionary movements to a preconcerted [sic] system, engrafted on fallacious principles for the purpose of arming the governed against their governors, of separating the people from their magistrates, of exciting them to hostility against ancient forms of authority, in order the more effectually to establish a scheme of universal empire, of which Paris was to be the Capital.”),¹¹¹ ; and the reformation of the expansionist State (“But there is a vast distinction between the reformation of a state, with the defence of that state undergoing such an operation, and an avowed design to push by force of arms, those reforms into other states, which however proper for the one, might be pernicious to the others.”)¹¹².

Shifting his focus a bit, Yorke speaks to the organic role of political philosophy in Constitutional England ("NO! there lived in England a constellation of great men and philosophers, who were at least as well acquainted with the genius of republican institutions, as the French pretend to be...Nor were the common people backward in promoting the voice of genuine philosophy")¹¹³, and further ("No rational liberty could exist, because [liberty and happiness being correlative terms] happiness can never be attained when our allotted station is corrupted; when every man is removed from his accustomed sphere of action; when the philosopher must become a mechanic, and the mechanic affect the philosopher")¹¹⁴; extending this role through – while addressing Hume – engages the language of Monsieur Condorcet ("...but if we wish to secure the perfection, and the permanence of freedom, we must patiently wait the period when men, emancipated from their prejudices, and guided by philosophy, shall be rendered worthy of liberty, by comprehending its claims").¹¹⁵

Still on the theme of Philosophy, Yorke continues: "Philosophy [O! much abused name!] was the pretense, but plunder was the motive"¹¹⁶ invoked in the formation of a reformed State. Yorke deploys a variation of his favorite axioms, 'the passions' against the real intentions of foreign wars ("Besides, all history shews [sic] that foreign war has often been resorted to by republics to retard or allay domestic cabals. The evil day, however, is only postponed. The passions of men will burst forth sooner or later, and the suspension of the blow, only aggravates its weight, and prepares it to fall with heavier vengeance on the generation it smites.")¹¹⁷, railing against ("the ignominy of servitude is felt, but the best mode of redress is a subject of polemical controversy. To revolt against injustice, to ascertain the boundaries of right and duty, to reclaim the dignity which was originally delegated to man by his Creator are generous offices of patriotism...")¹¹⁸; insisting [as in the perilous case of 'unhappy France'] that ("...every man springs up at once as a legislator, conceives he has the right and the capacity, not for his equitable portion of freedom, but for office, power, emolument, and dominion.")¹¹⁹ while revealing the paradox of monarchical suppression ("It is some consolation to depressed spirits, to have only one great mortal to fear, instead of several hundred petty tyrants.")¹²⁰ and speaks prophetically across the Ages ("It is not necessary to Independence, that it should be guaranteed by extended empire; it is in the hearts and unanimity if the whole people, that it finds its true resource")¹²¹; cautioning further ("Let us no longer be deceived by the visionary

projects of perfection, nor by the delusive promises of men, who falsely call themselves philosophers. Let us not arrogantly mark our for ourselves a little Goshen of intellectual light, beyond which every thing is to be deemed error, prejudice, and slavery. It comes not within the lot of any being, individual or politic, to be perfect. A moral reformation should at all events precede the political.”)¹²²

Prospectus of the History of England

Lastly, consider Yorke’s last public lecture, the now-historic 1810 address on the History of England, “*Prospectus of Illustrations of the History and Constitution of England including Inquiries into the Constitution of the Principal States of Ancient and Modern Europe*”.¹²³ This was to be delivered in a Course of Lectures by Henry Redhead Yorke, Esq., at No. 63, Poland Street, at Three o’clock on the 14th (corrected to 21st) of February, 1811. Price: One Shilling.

Several remarkable passages present a final prism of Yorke’s life, his ideals; and consummates the existential mapping - and natal *sources* - of his remarkable Works. Above all, in *Prospectus of Illustrations....*,” the ailing Yorke, notes bluntly, his immense preparation to start the lectures on an earlier date, - but that, too, had been thwarted: “...that I was to have delivered a Course of Lectures upon the above subjects, beginning upon the 28th of January, 1811.” Yorke who had fought in France,¹²⁴ and was *equally* a child of The *Enlightenment* and Barbudan *Darkly Passions*, frames his intent to set forth his idea of Liberty within the familiarity of the enslaved class:

“It is the object of the intended Lecture to remove these differences; and to lay open to the view of many individuals who may derive ample knowledge of the Constitution under which he lives, and be enabled to prosecute his subsequent researches with facility and delight. Many persons have been deterred from entering into investigations of this nature, from a mistaken prejudice which have been widely diffused, that it requires the previous study, reason study and experiences of a lawyer, to trace the origin, reason, and objects, of our constitutional policy. Never was an opinion more erroneous, for though it be necessary to travel through the darkness of several ages of gross superstition, of unlettered ignorance, and of barbarous manners, in order to arrive at length to a full view of the ideal and beautiful

symmetry of the English Constitution; yet are there resting places to be found where we may not only refresh ourselves but also enjoy the highest degree of intellectual pleasure.”

Here was this once-towering figure reaching for the pastoral metaphor, a youth who once grew up on an island where resistance was bruited throughout the forest, summoning auscultation and conflating mediums of communing better to embrace the tree-shaded areas favoring ‘pasture’; he fashions from it a nugget he has carried through his brief childhood years on Barbuda (1772-1778). Yet, from the Barbuda woodlands, at once limited and besieged, he hammers an extremely important symbolism of disappearing ‘forest’ - (absence-as-presence): first, begun in the early history of Barbuda; but, also borne out concurrently, in the history of early Antigua. Here again, a year after he departs, in Henry de Ponthieu’s November 6, 1779 Letter to William Codrington, mention is made of a tree, *Linnoeus Oeshynomene Grandiflora*, “successfully introduced from the East Indies into Barbuda.”¹²⁵

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...
Beyond this votive of reforestation, an irony representing a deeper intellectual realm emerges: an October 13, 1790 Langford Lovell Letter to W. Codrington offers the bitter fruit: [It] “commences with a missing letter dated 20.9.1789, dealing with the selling of *undesirable* slaves and buying mahogany in British Honduras with the proceeds.”¹²⁶ The confluence of these two violent dislocations, may well have created the oeuvre of *woodism*, - (a similar phrase of aesthetics, *woodist*, as I have earlier mentioned, was coined by Master Photographer & Aesthetician, Mali Olatunji), - denoting an enduring existential metaphor in Antiguan and Barbudan materialist cultural, aesthetic and literary texts and critiques.¹²⁷ Here, in early genesis of *woodism*, Yorke grounds English civic and social law, in the enduring mythologies of the kingdom’s existing (and destroyed) forest(s):

“It was from the woods,” says Montesquieu, “that the English have taken their beautiful system of political government;” – and, Do not woods present to an intelligent observer of nature, a varied scenery, and an agreeable diversity of light and shade?¹²⁸ In words startlingly contemporary in tone, I have no hesitation in declaring that in the course of more than fifteen years of application to such a pursuit, I have derived much more gratification in contemplating the history, political and moral, of our forefathers, in the dark annals which commemorate their

transactions, precious to the Reformation of Religion, than in the events which followed the great epoch.” (p. 3)¹²⁹

Later in this lecture, Yorke expounds on this theme of ‘forests’ as Muse, - as source of poetic and intellectual inspiration for England’s ‘Public Liberty’:

“This ancient manners will illustrate ancient laws, and the song of the poet will unravel the obscure chronicles of cloistered literature.”

The Slave Trade and the Colonies Again

Yorke’s reputation is pickled with pivoting, embracing divergent political views, and espousing opposite doctrines from his initial rise. But they are examples of our own world development as we reclaim our national ancestral narratives:

“Nor is there any topics so much calculated to fill the wind with enthusiasm, as the sublime recollection of those daring souls who were the first to traverse the vast solitudes of the Atlantic Ocean, endeared of a New World, or to brave the region of storms and tempests which appeared to render India inaccessible to the genius of European adventure.

“The plantation of colonies, which soon followed in the train of all these wonders, accelerated the decline of the Feudal system, and inspired into the minds of men the best and happiest nations of civil freedom. It then became the fashion for the great ???????? to share in the universal pact of the age. The encouragement given by Henry the Seventh to commercial men, and his co-partnership with some of them, procured him the appellation of the Royal Merchant, while haughty and turbulent nobles abandoned their fierce habits, and boisterous revelry to participate in the pursuit of lucrative commerce.”

Yorke’s reputation in England as a ‘gentleman,’ – with a reputable flair, is at once the hallmark of a skilled social navigator, but also hints at the imprimatur of centuries-long West Indian Planters’ bacchanal. Yet, Yorke leans to the lyrical and the pastoral, ample deployment of political poetics in the 18th century discursive sphere:

“The ancient manners will illustrate ancient laws, and the song of the poet will unravel the obscure chronicles of cloistered literature.

“Nor will our pleasures be conferred to the festive halls of our ancient baronage: we shall smile in passing along at rustic revelry, and be often invited by princes, to j[o]usts, tourneys, barriers, tiltings, and other ‘glories’ of the Age of Chivalry.”¹³⁰

Immediately following this pronouncement, Yorke delivers these lines of poetry – (one of a very few documented in any draft of his lectures):

“and if aught else great bards beside,
 “In sage and solemn tunes have sung,
 “of tourneys and of trophies hung,
 “of forests and enchantments drear,
 “Where more is meant than meets the ear.”¹³¹

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 ... This strategic insertion of poetry was both tactical, and intuitively philosophical, - for Yorke.¹³² Wordsworth had written a poem, *To Toussaint*, sometime between August 1 – 29, 1802. He published it in the *Morning Post*, London, on February 2, 1803. As had a host of other English poets agitating for Haiti’s cause of Liberty, and protesting the slave trade.

But, Yorke’s essential life-story – and *woodist* aesthetics - can be overtly traced from line 121 through line 139, of Milton’s poem!¹³³ In the larger irony, Yorke (as Journeyman) selects a poem in which Milton’s protagonist anticipates visiting many places, facilitated by Melancholy (featured here as a goddess). Indeed, Milton – like Yorke – had suffered distractions of co-optation of his 1667 poem. A *republican*, Milton saw his poem turned to rhyme by John Dryden, a *royalist*. Others, like Richard Bentley added to the criticism,¹³⁴ furthered by Alexander Pope.¹³⁵

History, - and the verdict of contemporary poets, (*sui generis*), towards Milton – has not proved flattering; albeit, the charges are laden with supreme irony when undertaken by poets with the Icarus curse often found themselves too close to power.¹³⁶ Fantastist or pastoral advocacy for Liberty: past is prologue.

One year before his death, in his 1810 lecture (“Prospectus...”), Yorke only briefly mentions the status of blacks in the colonies, - and this,

against the stark backdrop of praising the virtues of the Magna Carta, in the Third Division of his “Prospectus...” [Against the Great Charter], he does so, briefly, – but, once again, renders, however surreptitiously, a burnished self-deprecation of his own twinned status:

“...The advantages acquired by the barons and clergy from Magna Carta, are of little advantage to the present age; but they were of the highest importance in the times when they were wrested from tyranny. A critical examination of the merits of this Great Charter will be necessary, as the common people were certainly [???] gains by it; every immunity granted to the higher powers having been also extended to their vassals. The lowest rank of society remained in a wretched state of servitude, and were sold in the same manner as Negro [sic] slaves in our colonies.”¹³⁷

But, Yorke renders deft rhetorical precision when speaking of the political economy of the plantation system, from whose womb he was birthed:

“There is no event in History which contributed to occasion so rapid and beneficial a revolution in government, laws, manners, and habits of thinking, as the commercial spirit which was the offspring of maritime discovery. Nor is there any topic so much calculated to fill the mind with enthusiasm, as the sublime recollection of those daring souls who were the first to traverse the vast solitude of the Atlantic Ocean in search of a new world, or to brave the storms and tempests which appeared to render India inaccessible to the genius of European adventure. The plantation of colonies, which soon followed in the train of all these wonders, accelerated the decline of the Feudal System, and inspired the minds of men the best and happiest notions of civil freedom.”¹³⁸

In Conclusion

Goodrich contemplates the boundaries of English interpretive history, “being careful about the labels we apply.... But it raises questions about how contemporaries and historians have labeled such political actors as ‘revolutionaries’, ‘radicals’, ‘Jacobins’, and ‘reformers, and also how they have identified the radical movement in terms of class and nationality.”¹³⁹

While I question her for not qualifying the etymology of the term “West Indian Creole” within this article, her overall caution is palpable and speaks volumes, - even today.

By showing the complexity of Yorke, Goodrich offers us a window for deep reflection on our contemporary challenges towards an Antiguan and Barbudan *democratic* heritage:

“Yorke slipped between revolutionary rhetoric, universalist ideology, and proposals for constitutional reform, between, identities as a West Indian Creole, an English gentleman, and a citizen of the world.”¹⁴⁰

I would propose this tradition recurs, again, in the 20th Century life-work of Antiguan Zephaniah Alexander Looby (1899-1972),¹⁴¹ as Civil Rights attorney, Social activist, teacher and scholar. He, too, left his homeland as a youth (14 yrs), arriving in the United States in 1914; becoming a ‘radical’ agent of Social Justice and Reform; even suffering the bombing of his home on April 19, 1960. It mirrored that classic Yorkean *Universalist* tradition, (including the bombing of Jacobins’ homes) that emanated from Henry Redhead Yorke’s late 18th-century political career.

But, in the end, his exposure to forces of the *Enlightenment* in France, caused him to denounce his earlier views.¹⁴² His collection of letters, revisiting France after imprisonment, is an unrivalled source of his impressions. That voluminous document, *France in eighteen hundred and two* described in a series of contemporary letters, was published posthumously, in 1906.¹⁴³ Its Introduction, written by R. Davey, is comprehensive and enthralling. Any student of Yorke must drink at this fountain.

York died in 1813,¹⁴⁴ some 28 years before the World’s Anti-Slave Convention in London, where William Clarkson addressed delegates from all over the world.

At that historical world summit, three blacks attended: “Henry Beckford, an emancipated slave from Jamaica; Edward Barrett, also from Jamaica; and M. l’Instant, the delegate from the self-emancipated Haitians.”¹⁴⁵ The seeds of Caribbean radical thought had been sown, both in the natal regions and the metropolitan venues. Caribbean activists, civic leaders and politicians both in America and Europe would deploy many of Yorke’s strategies, his allegiances¹⁴⁶ – and, experience his pitfalls.

A year after Yorke's death, Jane Austin would publish *Mansfield Park*, deeply inscribing in English literature the historic space of Bertram's 'absentee plantation' (then owned by James Langford Nibbs) on Antigua.¹⁴⁷ In twin destinies that seemed similar yet remarkably different, Bertram's spendthrift son crossing the Atlantic with his father in 1810, then returning to England in 1811,¹⁴⁸ intersects with Yorke crossing the Atlantic (whether ahead of, or alongside) his mother and father in 1778, and later called to the Inner Temple Bar, in 1811.¹⁴⁹

In retrospect, the intersection of writings between Jane Austen and Henry Redhead Yorke suggests that Antigua and Barbuda are now etched in the intellectual traditions of post-industrial England.

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This article could not have been written without the generosity of Robert Glen, who first brought to my attention (July 2014), Amanda Goodrich's article on Henry Redhead Yorke. It was Robert who suggested providing the missing dimension of 18th century life on Barbuda, as experienced by Yorke and his mother. The presumption to reinterpret deep inscriptions into the wider affinities of Yorke's life and Writings, was entirely mine.

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Also, my deepest gratitude to Elizabeth Sudduth, Director, Irvin Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of South Carolina Libraries, Columbia, S.C., for allowing me access to the only North America copy of another rare Henry Redhead's document from the SC Library listed above. Without Ms. Sudduth's generosity, I would not have been able to read Redhead's seminal document, "A *Letter to Bache Heathcote, Esq. on the Fatal Consequences of Abolishing the Slave Trade both to England, and her American Colonies*," by Henry Redhead, Esq. London: Printed by John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1792.

My enduring gratitude to Gregory Frohnsdorf, for his selfless recommendations of Matthew Parker's *Sugar Barons*, particularly as it relates to Christopher Codrington III's library at All Souls College, Oxford; and William Codrington (as executor of Christopher's Will), as well as his role in establishing Christopher's library. Further appreciation, for his recommendation to read Birke Hacker's research on various papers on English and German private law and legal history, particularly as it reveals one college-specific project related to the early 18th century litigation between All Souls and Christopher Codrington's executor, William Codrington, over the library bequest. (Hacker's forthcoming publication due in October, 2012). In addition, an important recognition for his many other generous sources, including the link to William Codrington's will (1741) from the UK Archives.; for his link to Samuel Redhead's will, in Oliver's *History of Antigua, Vol. 3*. Particularly useful from Frohnsdorf's communication, was the link to Simon Fraser University's online access to its digital collection: - *The Codrington Papers, West Indies Correspondence*. Finally, for providing the links to: Margaret T. Tweedy's 1981 Graduate paper, "A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons 1738-1833"; and, to the National Portrait Gallery (UK) engraving of Henry Redhead Yorke, which appears on the cover of this issue.

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Lastly, my gratitude to my wife, Janet Williams-Lake, who sternly enforced regimens essential to my health, during this period of intense engagement.

— Edgar O. Lake

(Endnotes)

1 Goodrich, Amanda, *Radical "Citizens of the World," 1790-95: The Early Career of Henry Redhead Yorke*, *Journal of British Studies*, v. 53:03, 2014 (p. 611-635). According to Goodrich, Henry Redhead Yorke, (1772-1813), born on William Codrington's estate in Barbuda, was sent to England at the age of six years. He added 'Yorke' to his name in 1792 - after an arrest warrant was made by Jacques-Louis David, forcing him to leave France. He died on January 28, 1813.

2 Goodrich, p. 611. At the onset of her article's title (Radical "Citizens of the World, 1790-95 Yorke:: The Early Career of Henry Redhead Yorke," the author states of the term, 'radical': "As is well established, the term 'radicalism' was not a contemporary term used to describe the English reform movement of the 1790s. Rather, it was not until the 1820s that this term began to be applied to the period. In the final decade of the eighteenth century, radicals tended to describe themselves as 'reformers,' and the government and loyalists denigrated them as 'Jacobins.' 'Radicalism' has since been liberally applied retrospectively to construct a collective English political movement oppositional to loyalism." pps. 611-612. Similarly, I will use the term 'radical' as it regards Yorke, - within this ideational framework.

3 Ibid. p. 614

4 Yorke, Henry Redhead, "*Prospectus of his lectures on the History of England including Inquiries into the Constitution of the Principal States, Ancient and Modern Europe*," [to be delivered in a Course of lectures], W. Hughes: Maiden-Lane, Covent Garden (1810) p. 4

5 E.P. Thompson, "The Making of the English Working Class," 1963, 1968 (rev.), 1980. Thompson footnotes that "Yorke had read Locke at public demonstrations," - part of the provincial Jacobin societies between 1792 and 1796, describing themselves as Constitutional or Patriotic. pg. 88.

6 Ibid. The author, Thompson, cites Yorke ('the Sheffield Reformer') at his own 1795 trial disagreeing sharply with the American patriot, Thomas Paine. Yorke's defence turned on this point: "In almost every speech I took essential pains in controverting the doctrines of Thomas Paine, who denied the existence of our constitution....I constantly asserted on the contrary, that we had a good constitution.; further: "that magnanimous government which we derived from our Saxon fathers, and from the prodigious mind of the immortal Alfred." Pg. 87

7 Goodrich. *Gentlemen's Magazine*, (1793), (1813). Goodrich states: "The Gentleman's Magazine mistakenly carried [one of] two notices of his death: 'one in 1793, gallantly on the battlefield fighting for the French Revolutionaries....'" p. 618

8 **Henry Redhead, Esq.** *A Letter to Bache Heathcote, Esq. on the Fatal Consequences of Abolishing the Slave Trade both in England and her American Colonies*, Henry Redhead, Esq. Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly. (London 1792).

Henry Yorke. *Reason Urged Against Precedent* (1793); *These are the Times that Try Men's Souls!*; *A Letter to John Frost* (1793); *Thoughts on Civil Government: addressed to the disenfranchised citizens of Sheffield* (1794); *The Trial of Henry Yorke for a Conspiracy, Etc. before the Hon. Mr. Justice Rooke, at the assizes for the County of York* (1795)

Henry Redhead Yorke. *On the Means of Saving Our Country* (1797); *A Letter to the Reformers* (1798); *Elements of Civil Knowledge* (1800); *Letters from France in 1802* (1804); *Prospectus of Illustrations of the history and constitution of England, including inquiries into the Constitution of the Principal States of Ancient and Modern Europe*

(1810); *France in Eighteen Hundred and Two.*, ed.: J.A.C. Sykes, Introduction by Richard Davey. William Heinemann: (London, 1906)

N.B.: Goodrich. There

9 New considerations of a Barbudan aesthetic emerges as Yorke is sporting a new Object of the Atlantic – a concretizing of a subtle sovereignty – in the bold wearing of his ‘Hessian boots and a stock of republican plainness...’, as documented in *Memoirs of The Life and Writings of James Montgomery*, eds., Holland, John & Everett, James. Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans: London, 1856. 1:165-66, 171. [Goodrich, p. 629].

Lake’s Note: It is important to remember that between 15,000-20,000 escaped enslaved Africans evacuated with the British at the end of the War of Independence, some to Nova Scotia, Sierra Leone, The West Indies; some even went to the German state of Hesse (Home of the notorious Hessians).

Also: Tweedy, states: “When Coleridge visited Barbuda in 1824, he described the huntsman in some detail: ‘they wear a leathern cap, a belt round their shoulders with a long clasp knife stuck in it, and a rude kind of half-boots. They generally possess a horse each, a duck gun and dogs...’” p. 183. I argue further, new and current literature of this concurrent time in Britain, supports this appellation of sovereignty amidst the ensuing embargoes. See further: Peter Stothard’s review of Jenny Uglow’s book, *In These Times: Living in Britain through Napoleon’s wars, 1793-1815*. Faber 740 pp, 2014. He writes: “One of Uglow’s strongest connecting threads is the same as Whiting’s, the planning for self-defence itself, the ‘fencibles’ of the home-front, local militia in varieties of splendid uniforms, vying with each other for glory until such time as Napoleon might arrive.

Britain might have lost its American colonies –and still be paying the bills for the loss – but it was at every level a great power still.. A Glasgow grocer might prove it with his squad of ‘Sugaraloes’, a glass-maker with his ‘Anderson Sweeps’, Uglow describes the intense competition for cockades and waistcoats and for the newly fashionable boots, worn suddenly in town and not just in the fields...,” *Times Literary Supplement*, November 21, 2014, p. 10

10 Tweedy. She writes: “In 1684, having acquired (with George Turney and Clement Tudway) the remainder of the original lease, for the whole island, they surrendered it to the Crown and applied for a new grant. This was given to Christopher and John for 50 years in 1684, the rent being ‘one sufficient horse’ to be delivered at Nevis at Christmas.” p. 10. Further sources: GRO, D1610 T9 Grant of the Island of Barbuda 1684 [p. 21]. To complete the Pegasus irony of Yorke’s political existential horizon, Tweedy quote Burns, who wrote of Barbuda in the year 1698: “Just before the death of Christopher Codrington III, a French force attacked Barbuda. They destroyed the castle and other buildings and carried off most of the inhabitants and their slaves.” P. 14. N.B. See further: Sir Alan Burns, *History of the British West Indies*, London 1954, revised edition 1965, p. 425.

11 During my 2010 research at the Ethnographie und Herrnhuter Mission: Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut (Außenstelle des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden), in Herrnhut, Saxony, I photographed a carved wooden model of a sugar-mill, listed as “Handmühle Modell; Zum mahiën von pfellwurzknoien (Marrantasp); Antigua. Holzerwoben von, Familie Niebert, 1893.

Further, on a research visit to the Japanischen Palais Museum, Dresden, GDR, as a private guest of Dr. Klaus-Dieter Klass, (Curator, Senckenberg Natural History Collection) to see his Amazonien: Indianer der Regenwalder und Savannen exhibit, I immediately recognized the wooden tray model traditionally used by Antiguan female street-vendors of the late 1950s. In that curatorial context, I was able to identify fragments of simple

vivified chants used by the South American tribes of some 6 distinct areas along the Amazon, as similar to chants sung by old carpenters, and house-movers; and melodic fragments and lullabies sung by confectionary street-vendors in Antigua, mid-1950s.

12 _____ Flannigan/Lanaghan. *Antigua and the Antiguans*, vol. II, London: 1844. Here the author-compiler of accounts establishes this event: "There are many worthy industrious characters among this class of persons in Antigua; not famous, it is true, for any great display of abilities, or of superior talents, like Juan [de] Pareja [Pareja], or our friend Sancho, but men of sound mind, well-behaved, and clever in producing little articles of native manufacture. A fancy sale was held in this island in January, 1837, and among the contributions was a miniature sugar-mill, with all its vanes etc., complete, capable of grinding the canes when peeled. This pretty little article was the work and gift of one who, in 1834, was a slave [sic] belonging to the Hon. Bertie E. Jarvis. It was purchased by two American gentlemen, friends of liberty, who were residing for a short time in Antigua, to see how free the system worked, and who carried it with them to America, to shew [sic] what a free negro could do. Had slavery still existed, that man could never have exerted his talents with such success, for either he would not have had the time allowed, or he would not have had the spirit." p. 21-22.

13 H.R. Yorke. *On the Means of Saving Our Country*. T. Lockett, Dorchester 1797. He writes: "We were told from the House of Lords, that the liberation of all those imprisoned for the publication of their opinions, was to be inevitably a condition of the treaty, and even my name was brought forward (as a scarecrow, I suppose) to fill up a chasm in the mystical and prophetic speech that was then delivered." P. 112

14 Davey. Introduction, France in Eighteen Hundred and Two..," Henry Redhead Yorke, ed., J.A.C. Sykes, W. Heinemann: London, 1906. Davey writes: "Naturally, Redhead, as an Englishman, has not many compliments to bestow on Napoleon; though, had he lived to see the accomplishment of the great Corsican's work, he might have entertained a higher opinion of the 'ogre'." p. 6

15 Yorke. His earlier Works, include a 1792 pamphlet, *A Letter to Bache Heathcote* (London 1792), against the abolition of slavery was written under his name Henry Redhead. Later, his 1798 *Letter to the Reformers* was written in jail, justifying the war in France. He wrote for twelve months in *The Star* under the pen name Alfred or Galgacus, reprinted in a short volume – part-proprietor of *True Briton*. His lectures given in 1810, and again in 1811, shows Yorke is _____ sued synopses of lectures on political and historical subjects.

His trial at the York spring assize of 1795 resulted in true bills for conspiracy, advocating for parliamentary reform, and declared he was opposed to violence and anarchy. On November 27, 1795, Henry Redhead was sentenced to two years imprisonment, fined and required to give sureties of good behavior for seven years. He was released in March 1798.

16 Goodrich. p. 622

17 Ibid. p. 622

18 Ibid. *Letter to Bache Heathcote, Esq. on the Fatal Consequences of Abolishing the Slave Trade both in England and her American Colonies*, Henry Redhead, Esq. Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly. London 1792. According to Goodrich, "the address of this pamphlet, Bache Heathcote, was a member of the Derbyshire gentry. p. 622. N.B.: The last phrase in the original document was written as "her colonies." Goodrich's documentation describes it, subsequently, as "the colonies." The difference considerably alters Yorke's ideological and perspectival language.

19 Goodrich. p. 622. The author mentions further James Pilkington, *A View of the Present State of Derbyshire; with an Account of its Most Remarkable Antiquities*, 2 vols. (Derby, 1789), 2:110-11.

20 Henry Redhead. *A Letter to Bache Heathcote, Esq, on the Fatal Consequences of Abolishing the Slave Trade, Both to England, and her American Colonies*. London, 1792. pps. 2-8. N.B.: Henry Redhead will change his name to Henry Yorke later in 1792.

21 Henry Yorke. *Reason Urged against Precedent, In a Letter to The People of Derby*, London, March 1, 1793. Yorke's publication advertises two forthcoming documents "shortly will be published": *Letter II of Reason Urged against Precedent*; also: *A Defence of the People of France: Against the Calumnies of their Enemies*."

22 Goodrich. 623. See: Yorke's own introduction.

23 Ibid. p. 83

24 Yorke. Reason Urged against Precedent. P.

25 Yorke. Reason Urged against Precedent. . . " p. 32

26 Yorke. Reason Urged against Precedent. . . p. 36-7

27 Yorke. Reason Urged against Precedent. . . " p. 36

28 Yorke. *These are the Time that Try Men's Souls!* (Derby, July 1, 1793), pps. 46.

Yorke characterizes the period of persecutions when the dubious distinctions of "Parties commenced – cavalier, and roundhead, court and country, and afterwards Whig and Tory" (9); exhorts of British patriots, "Let us invoke the spirit of Hampden, Russel, Pym, Vane, and Algernon Sydney" (30); Yorke writes: "I am firmly persuaded tht the greatest enemies to our cause are those who call themselves Whigs; men who are of so contemptible mind, as to respect an individual more than the principle on which he is supposed to act.. They oppose the common good, because they perceive that the People will be no longer duped nor imposed upon; and that they will make no further sacrifices in support of a phalanx of men whose sole object is to seize on the government of the country, and whose administration, if it were possible, would be more nefarious than the present." (10); Yorke writes: "Extent of territory would be the germ of future divisions and quarrels; and if we desire the French colonies in the west indies, nothing remains but negotiation (sic), the consequence of which would be the unreluctant surrender of every one of them." (43); Yorke, in an ill-fated deconstruction of Thomas Paine, a formulation that would haunt him in his own trial, he writes of Paine: "I am ready to prove at any time, that even in the celebrated writings of Thomas Paine, there is not a maxim which is not to be found in the works of Sydney, Harrington, Milton, and Buchanan. " (p. 29); almost prophetically, Yorke speaks of poverty and crime haunting youth: "Nor ought we here, to turn aside our eyes from those gloomy habitations of sorrow, where misfortunes is associated with crimes, and youth is cropped in the blossom, and suffered to wither and droop unseen. The scene of a prison must be shocking, if it be only considered that in that spot are consolidated the various combinations of vice, to which youth are unhappily nurtured from a wretched system of education and from the baneful and seducing example of a debauched age in their subsequent introductions into life." (32). Finally, Yorke delivers his gem: "Who ought to be the Judges of the excellence of a government, *the few who govern, or the millions for whom the government was originally made?* As to Kings and rulers, they are creatures of the people, and not made to be the instruments of their misery." (p. 23)

29 Henry Yorke. *These are the Times that try Men's Souls!: A Letter Addressed to John Frost, A Prisoner in Newgate*, (London 1793) [N.B. York has now legally adopted the surname Yorke.] Written in Derby, and dated July 1, 1793, Yorke absolves Montesquieu's

excesses against the American and French revolutions; adding about England: "The struggle that took place during the reign of Charles I, were not to obtain the original inherent rights of man, but the restoration of the civil liberties of the people, which the wicked tyrant had intrigued, and the removal of those odious tribunals that he had instituted." p. 7

30 Claire Harman, "English Verdure, English Discomfort," *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 27, 2014. Harman in a book review, charts Victoria Huxley's book (*Jane Austen and Adlestrop*, Windrush, 2014) which chronicles Jane Austen's three visits (at least) in the 1790s and 1800s to Adlestrop. The visits were "to see her mother's cousins Thomas, Mary and Elizabeth Leigh at the rectory and her second cousin James Henry Leigh at the 'big house', Adlestrop Park." Harman's particularly significant detail, tracing Austen's family ties to the Leighs, reveals their long-time loyalty to "the Stuart cause. Sir Thomas Leigh was awarded a peerage after sheltering Charles I, at Stoneleigh during the Civil War; several generations later at Adlestrop, the family was still drinking to 'Church and King' before every meal." TLS, 2014. p. 9

31 Lake. My research found that James Ward was influenced by Reubens, who moved in very impressive circles, to include having met the Spanish Court portraitist, Diego Velasquez in 1630; and, who was also knighted by Charles I.

32 Lake. I am reflecting here only on the similarity of writing technique, and interdisciplinary editorial style of the late Leonard 'Tim' Hector's column, Fan the Flames, *The Outlet* newspaper.

33 Yorke, *These are the Times that Try Men's Souls*, p. 20

34 Ibid. p. 34

35 Ibid. p. 25

36 Ibid. p. 32

37 Ibid. p. 43

38 Henry Yorke. *Thoughts on Civil Government: Addressed to The Disenfranchised Citizens of Sheffield*. D.I. Eaton: London: 1794.

39 Henry Yorke. *Thoughts on Civil Government: Addressed to The Disfranchised Citizens of Sheffield*, D.I. Eaton, London, 1794. p. 3

40 Yorke. *Thoughts on Civil Government...*, D.I. Eaton: London, 1794 pps. 9-10.

41 Ibid. p. 32

42 Ibid. pps. 20-21

43 Ibid. p. 48

44 Ibid. pps. 49-50

45 Ibid. p. 61

46 Ibid. p. 62

47 Ibid. pps. 58-59

48 Ibid. pps. 66-68

49 Ibid. p. 56. Further: Linebaugh, Peter & Rediker, Marcus, eds., *The Many-Headed Hydra*, Beacon Press: Boston, 2000. The scholars write: "Amidst dissension within the London Corresponding Society, with which Yorke was intimately familiar, the prospects of abolition and the 'idiom of monstrosity' attached to wider revolt from the Haitian revolution, fueled these remarks in the British Parliament: "In debate in the House of Lords, Abingdon argued that 'the order and subordination, the happiness of the shole

habitable globe is threatened' by abolition: 'All being equal: blacks and whites, French and English, wolves and lambs, shall al 'merry companions every one' promiscuously pig together engendering... a new species of man as the product of this new philosophy.' Abolish the slave trade, he warned, and other abolitions will pop out of Pandora's box: the transporting of felons to Botany Bay, the flogging of soldiers, the pressing of seamen, the exploiting of factory workers..." pps. 340-1. See further: J.R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilization of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 3.

50 Ibid. p. 15

51 Ibid. p. 72

52 Ibid. p. 37. Based on the 18th century religious bias, Yorke points out the purported hypocrisy that: "The Assembly of Jamaica proposed, in the last century, to banish all the Jews from the island, because they were the descendants of the crucifixion of Jesus— N.B.: There are slaves in that colony." p. 37

53 Ibid. p. 57

54 Ibid. p. 76

55 Henry Yorke. *The Trial of Henry Yorke, for a Conspiracy, Etc., Before the Hon. Justice Rooke, at the Assizes, held for the County of York, on Saturday, July 10, 1795*. Published by the Defendant, from Mr. Ramsay's Short-hand Notes.

56 Goodrich. p. 631. The scholar elaborates by giving credit to Amnon Yuval: 'Who has recently written convincingly on Yorke's trial: Amnon Yuval, 'Between Heroism and Acquittal: Henry Redhead Yorke and the Inherent Instability of Political trials in Britain during the 1790s,' *Journal of British Studies* 50, no. 3 July 2011: 612-38. See also: Wharam, *Treason Trials*, 76-77.

57 Yorke. P. 21

58 Ibid. p. 24.

59 Ibid. p. 68

60 Ibid. p. 71. Yorke mischievously questions a Dr. Wood, brought to testify against him. Q: "Were you called away to deliver a woman?" A: "Yes." Q: "What did you say to her?" A: "Nothing at all; the husband, instead of coming for me, he went to the Castle Hill, and was dragging you about the town, so fascinated with your speech, I suppose." Q: "I bewitched him with my eloquence and sublime metaphors?" A: "I don't know; he did stay however." Q: "Did you not tell that woman that I was a man too moderate a great deal for the Sheffield people; and that you desired her to christen her child Henry Yorke?" A: "That was at another labour before the meeting." Q: "Why did you tell her to christen her child after me?" A: "You are misinformed as to that." Q: "Will you swear you did not say so?" A: "Yes." Q: "Before God and your country?" A: "Yes; this said person, who mentioned you was certainly sent by heaven to be the Saviour of this country, says she, if the child is born, it shall be christened Henry Yorke Rhodes; and it was so christened." p. 71

61 Ibid. Yorke writes in the Introduction of the published record of his Trial: "I have never departed, I hope, from the character which a venerable father, respected by all who knew him, both here and abroad, left behind to his children, as a legacy for their imitation. My education, my means of life, and my views, must put me above the level of those who, having nothing to lose, wish to involve all in confusion to better their condition, or to screen themselves from public reproof. [sic]" p. xviii. N.B. Yorke immediately footnotes, in order to substantiate this claim: "...there is one whom I have singled out, who has long industriously endeavoured to sap my peace of mind, and to

defame and traduce my character—Love: cunning, and ignorant, he has made his way in the world, by truckling to all characters, and, with the profoundest simulation, seems to cover his own want of principle, by calumniating the character of others. Much as he is beneath the notice of a liberal mind, yet, for the sake of example, and for the sake of the unfortunate, I will, at a proper time, strip him of his disguise, and hold him up, in proper colours, to the detestation of mankind.” p. xix. Further, Yorke writes: “I cannot avoid observing, that it is rather hard that I should now suffer in prison for asserting, among other things, that the will of the people was the supreme law, when I saw Earl Fitzwilliam standing as spectator of my trial, whom I have frequently heard, as President of the Whig Club, of which I am a member, give this toast, “The majesty of the People.” Had his Lordship not “slunk scowling back to his dinner,” when I was addressing the Jury, I should certainly have reminded him of the circumstance.” p. xxiii

62 Ibid. Yorke : Mr. Law has said, that the meeting [Sheffield, April 7, 1794] was illegal. To arraign the legality of the meeting—to say that men may not meet together, to consider of their rights, or discuss subjects tending to their future benefit, is to deny the principles of the British constitution. . . What is the public advertisement? It states, first, that the friends of Justice, Liberty, and Humanity, were required to attend on such a day at the Castle Hill at Sheffield; and the publicity of the circumstances is a proof that we at least supposed our measures innocent; where Magistrates might have attended, where everything was publicly transacted, and where, if there was any idea of conspiracy, we should not have held it in that way, conspiracies being always carried on, not in the face of open day, but in secrecy. And for what purpose was it called? In the first place, to address the King in behalf of men transported, not by the laws of this country, but of another, for an action now called by Mr. Law an offence of the highest offence of the highest enormity, an offence exactly the same as that which Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Richmond, and Sir George Saville, your latest representative for this country, had set them the example—the attempt to obtain a more effectual representation of the people, and to restore their right of annual Parliaments.” p. 86

63 Goodrich. p. 631

64 Yorke, *The Trial of Yorke*. Yorke’s testimony exemplifies this apogee: “Men do not therefore surrender their natural rights as social beings, but only adopt a different mode of enjoying them. They surrender nothing, but they delegate much. Now, delegation strictly implies in the person who delegates, a power of revocation, when the agent abuses the trust. All just government is therefore, a delegation, or a combination of the particular force of each individual, for the express purpose of enjoying, with greater security, their natural rights. There is a portion of power entrusted mutually by men for protection against each other. Their object in so doing, is far from a surrender; it is, on the contrary, for the direct purpose of insuring the full enjoyment of natural rights; which enjoyment can be no otherwise secured, than by intrusting into the hands of the whole society the exercise of those powers, which one individual might employ to the injury of another.” p. 90

65 Ibid. Yorke’s closing plea, includes this passage: “Gentlemen, — Although I have mentioned my long proscription, I conceive it necessary to observe, that it ought not to operate on your minds, as a part of my defence: for being tried upon a specific charge, and you, upon your oaths, being bound to bring in your verdict according to the evidence, this will become a subject of future consideration. I am not asking you for mercy.—I demand only justice.—Justice, it is true, ought to be administered in charity; but I ask it not to be administered to me in mercy.” p. 135.

66 Ibid. Yorke exhorts in the summary of his defence: “With these [the histories of Greece and Rome...and the marginal notes of Livy] in your hands, you will read the

dismal history of the ignorance and depravity of the human mind, and with the history of your own country; with the history of the savage priest, who dips his hand in human gore; the gloomy inquisitor, who gluts his eyes with the slow lingering torments of his fellow-creatures; and the statesman reeling drunk with the adulation of the people; from all these you will be enabled to extract one substantial truth, which the vicissitude of human affairs justify, that without knowledge there can be no liberty." p. 110.

67 Ibid. :Yorke closes his own Defense, thusly: "At such an epoch, when old systems are received with great caution, and when thrones are vibrating on the precipice of destruction, it doth not bespeak wisdom in government to cry down and punish the efforts of the well intentioned. It is a measure hostile to its own security, but if I must yet be doomed to languish out the most precious moments of my life in a prison, fatal as it must be to my interest, blasting every where my hopes, and sinking me down completely into ruin, my mind shall be equal to the task—it shall bear with calmness and serenity the worst of ills, in support of a cause whose basis is truth, and whose object is the liberty of my country." p. 136

68 Linebaugh, Peter & Rediker, Marcus, eds., *The Many-Headed Hydra*, Beacon Press: London, 2000, The scholars write: of their Ira Berlin-acclaimed book, the title of which was taken from Yorke's own words: "Henry Redhead Yorke, who had been born in the West Indies, spoke against slavery at a mass meeting in Sheffield in the spring of 1794. The speech got him arrested, imprisoned, and tried. At his trial he brilliantly defended himself by turning the rhetoric of monstrosity back against the authorities, promising, 'The more sacrifices, the more martyrs you make, the more numerous the sons of liberty will become. They will multiply like the hydra, and hurl vengeance upon your heads.'" p. 341.

69 William Scott (Barom Stowell), John Haggard, High Court of Admiralty, Great Britain. *The Judgment of the Right Hon. Lord Stowell, Respecting the Slavery of the Mongrel Woman, Grace, on Appeal; from the Vice-Admiralty Court of Antigua, Michealmas Term, 1827.*

70 Moira Ferguson, ed., *The History of Mary Prince: A West Indian Slave, related by herself*. The University of Michigan Press, 1993. Ferguson writes: "In the first court case, Pringle sued Thomas Cadell, the publisher of *Blackwoods Magazine*, which published Macqueen's savage diatribe against Mary Prince, Thomas Pringle, and emancipation. This hearing affords us the only image we have of Mary Prince outside her narrative. In the recorder's words: 'At the London Court of Common Pleas, ...before Lord Chief Justice Tindal and a special jury... there was an action brought by Thomas Pringle... against[the publisher, Thomas Cadell]. Mary Prince was then called in and sworn. She is a negress,' the report continues, 'of very ordinary features and appears to be about thirty-five years of age. She state that she gave an account of her life to Mr. Pringle. No other question was put to her by the plaintiff's counsel, and the other side declined to cross-examine her.'" p. 23. See further: *The Times*, London, 22 February 1833, p. 4, column B.

71 Henry Redhed Yorke, Esq. *Elements of Civil Knowledge*, T. Lockett: Dorchester, England, 1800. Yorke writes, hauntingly of still being in the shadow of the 'castle' – this time, one as a namesake: "Accordingly, from some hints which I had written on the subject during my confinement in York Castle in the years 1794 and 1795, the matter swelled into a volume." p. 1, Preface

72 Henry Redhead Yorke. Esq., *Elements of Civil Knowledge*, 1800, T. Lockett: Dorchester. Here in the Preface, Yorke writes that he wrote this document "during my confinement in York Castle in the years 1794 and 1795," but says, further that: "It is a

singular fact that in the year 1797, no book-seller could be found in the metropolis, who felt disposed to affix his name to any publication of mine."

73 Henry Redhead Yorke. *Elements of Civil Knowledge*, Dorchester, 1800. In the Prefce, he quotes Sir W. Temple in his *Essay on Learning*: "that it lessens the force and growth of a man's genius, and doubts whether the weight and number of so many other men's thoughts and notions, may not suppress his own, or hinder the motion or agitation of them, or hinder the motion or agitation of them, from which all invention arises; as heaping on wood, or too many sticks, or too close together, suppresses, and sometimes quite extinguishes a little spark, that would otherwise have grown up to a noble flame." v. [Preface].

74 Lake. Correspondence with Conrad Luke, December 18, 2014. The ACLM, in their second publishing attempt at cultural and political education in Antigua and Barbuda, follows *The Outlet Magazine* (1968), with *The Outlet newspaper* (1975-78), in which was launched the regionally-noted column, "Fan the Flame", by Leonard Tim' Hector. Their third printing (and on their independently-owned pres) of *The Outlet newspaper* was launched in 1980.

75 Yorke. *Elements of Civil Knowledge*. Preface, p. 1.

76 Ibid. Yorke writes: "A man of knowledge can exist without being a man of fashion, and may illumine the sphere in which he moves; but a man of fashion, without knowledge, is a mere moving puppet, the slave and echo of other men's opinions, without having any of his own." p. 54

77 Ibid. p. 177, vol. I.

78 Ibid. p. 177

79 Ibid. p. 159.

80 E.P. Thompson. *The Making of the English Working Class*, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London, 1963. p. 455. Thompson's documentation offers this: "[And] Windham frsh from his Norwich defeat, made an extraordinary appeal in the House for national unity in the faceoff the return of war: 'To the Jacobins I would appeal, and as lovers of social order, of good government, of monarchy, but as men of spirit, as lovers of what they call liberty, as men of hot and proud blood—I would ask them if they are content to be put under the yoke, and crushed by France'" [Source: Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, II, Supplement, 1667, 1752] p. 455.

81 Ibid. p. 455

82 Ibid. p. 455

83 Thompson. He writes: "In one Northumberland village, with a high percentage of 'volunteers', 13 offered to serve in the infantry, 25 in the cavalry, 130 as guides, 260 as wagoners, and 300 as drivers of cattle." p. 456. Thompson suggests to further read: "Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, IV, 1191, 1362; *The Times*, 5 November 1804.. Also: T.A. Ward's Sheffield diary, *Peeps into the Past*, passim. And Jane Austen." [Thompson's footnotes, also on p. 456].

84 Ibid. p. 456

85 Ibid. p. 456

86 ibid. p. 456

87 ibid. p. 456

88 Ibid. p. 456. See also, Yorke's Work, *Thoughts on Civil Government: Addressed to the Disenfranchised Citizens of Sheffield*, (Sheffield, 1794)

89 Ibid. p. 75

90 Ibid. p. 75. Thompson suggests further reading: *Bristol Times*, 30 October 1931.

91 Ibid. p. 136. Thompson reminds us: "The Committee of Secrecy had advertised clearly enough the danger of correspondence, and the trials advertised the widespread employment of Government spies.) At Sheffield, the society remained quiescent, since Yorke was still in prison: his trial did not take place until July 1795, and he was sentenced to two years imprisonment for conspiracy. Moreover, these trials were only the show-pieces." p. 137.

92 Ibid. p. 76

93 Ibid. p. 82. Thompson points out: Even at the peak of of the repression of the Jacobins, in the middle of he 1790s, the fiction was maintained that the intimidation was the work of 'voluntary' associations of 'private' citizens (Reeves' Anti-Jacobin Society or Wilberforce's Society for the Suppression of Vice)..." p. 82

94 H.R. Yorke. *On the Means of Saving Our Country*, Published by T. Lockett, Exeter 1797.

95 Goodrich. p. 632

96 ibid. (12, 13, 14, 30,)

97 H.R. York. On the Means... [On the proposed armed neutrality of Britain toward France], Yorke wrote: "Too confident in our own strength and resources, and relying on that free spirit, which in former times had made us powerful and victorious over the armies of despotism, we rashly concluded, that it would support us with equal energy, in overthrowing the arms of liberty. What a strange infatuation was this! Ought we not on the contrary, to have learnt wisdom from the experiences of ages, and to have discovered that the struggles of nations, for what they call their freedom, have been almost universally successful?" pps.. 21-22. Further, in writing of Civil codes, he writes: "Indeed, the best and wisest regulations of civil wisdom, in this, as well as in most other countries, have originated without any formal compact, in the sense of their utility. The revolutions of time, necessary ripen them into stability; and under the general name of Customs, they operate in concert with the written law, and contribute with them to raise up that great civil code, which fixes the allotment, and determines and distinctions received and approved laws of England, are not on the contrary, engrafted in the heart of every Englishman, as his birth-right, and give him that dignified pride and political consequence, which justly make him envied by the better part o the surrounding nations, and dreaded by the slaves of arbitrary power." p. 97

98 Ibid. Yorke reminds of the many instances of 'benevolence of the sovereign people', contrasted by the many records of their crimes: "Hence the comic poet of Greece (Aristophanes) who knew them well, has justly branded them with the title of *Tremendous Talent*." p. 28. See Further: Comic Terminations in Aristophanes, Eq. v. 4. N.B.: in speaking of his imprisonment, and impending release, Yorke anticipates he 'will be found as ready and willing to shed my blood in defence of the King and Constitution of my country': "If therefore, like a spectre, escaped from the cold chambers of death, in which it hath long been entombed, I stalk for a few seconds on that world which I had once known, and hold converse with those beings whose happiness was the most desirable object of my heart; let it be remembered that I rise not for the purpose of exciting alarm and division, but to promote conciliation and union. If this happy end be achieved, I shall return with joy to the still shades of captivity, where I hope to remain undisturbed, till those things: ' ____ done in my days of nature/Are burnt and purg'd away.'" p. 17. N.B.: See further, Yorke's poetic selection – which are almost Freudian allusions to the Redheads' familial persecutions, by selecting an excerpt from

Shakespeare's Hamlet. *Ghost*; "I am my father's spirit;/Doom'd for a certain term to walk to walk the night'/And, for the day, confin'd to fast in fires,/Till the foul crimes, done in my days of nature,/Are burnt and purg'd away. But that I am forbid/To tell the secrets of my prison-house,/I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word/Would harrow up thy soul; freeze thy young blood;/Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres;" [Hamlet, Act I, Sc. V.]

99 Ibid. (68, 97)

100 Ibid. (9, 25, 42)

101 Ibid. In speaking of society's political assassins: Yorke writes: "But the low-minded, and cowardly assassin, who lurks unseen, in the lances and alleys of darkness, to stab with his stiletto, is a monster that ought to be vomited from human society. Such a character is capable of perpetrating any crime however abominable; he is a literally worse than the slanderer, who is without doubt, the greatest criminal in the world, greater even than the murderer himself." [Yorke then quotes Shakespeare]: "Shakespeare hath nobly touched this vice, when he says": 'Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;/'Twas mine, 'tis his; and hath been slave to thousands;/ But he that filches from me my good name,/Robs me of that which not enriches him,/ And makes me poor indeed.'" pps. 120-122N.B.: Futher, Yorke quotes references by Tom Jones, b. II. C. I.; and Locke, on *The Conduct of the Understanding*; Cicero, Plutarch in his treatise *de Sera Numinis Vindicta*; among other such references. p. 11, 12

102 Ibid. Yorke boasts of England's alliance with Prussia, which, along with her 'formidable navy': "...I fell myself emboldened in declaring, that with Prussia as an ally, with a formidable navy, and a well disciplined national militia, we shall have no cause to dread the enmity of the powers of Europe. That a powerful nave is essential to our national; a sentiment which we have all cherished in early youth, and which we never recall in later periods of life without feeling a glow of extacy [sic] and national pride." In his footnotes, Yorke details: "In order to support a naval militia, as well as to encourage Agriculture, to prevent poverty (which is more politic than to relieve it) and all those crimes, which are always expected from the defender, immediately after the conclusion of a peace, the waste lands might be appropriated under a small rent, to the use of such able-bodied seamen of naval service, when called upon by the crown; in the same manner, certain portions might be divided among the soldiers of the reduced regiments, no condition of their serving as marines onboard the fleet. By this plan, on a moderate computation, I have found support to 50,000 seamen, and 10,000 marines, with their respective wives and children, independently of the advantages which agriculture, population, and the national defence [sic] would derive from it." p. 156-57

103 Ibid. Yorke speaks of his name spoken in debates House of Lords, 7th October, 1796: "Whatever opinion the noble lord, may entertain of my 'enflaming doctrines' as he has thought proper to name my former political sentiments, or who ever he may have delighted to exercise his eloquence, in attempting to wound an individual, who could not at that time, defend himself, I feel no hesitation in avowing, that I have too much of the pride of an old Englishman about me, to have profited by such humiliation." pps. 112-13

104 H.R. Yorke. *On the Means...* On sentiments hauntingly reminiscent of the early Afro-Barbudan maritime society – its traditions and legacies - of his childhood, Yorke wrote with this unique phrasing: "On too extensive colonies [italics his], I have many objections unless they be defended by their own militia and by our ships of war only; they have a tendency otherwise to diminish the population, to debilitate the strength, and to exhaust he treasure of the mother country, by the number of civil and military

agent which they give occasion to employ. If indeed, the price of labor were to rise in proportion to the increased price of the necessaries of life; of the inferior class of society were not condemned to be stationary, when the more fortunate orders of mankind were reaping great and disproportionate profit from them, these objections would be removed: because then, a free and liberal operation would be allowed to the productive industry condition, wherein an affected charity doles out to them the scanty means of subsistence for nearly one half of the year, in order to keep them crawling upon the earth during the other half. With the Colonies we possessed before the war, our credit was so great that stocks were nearly *at par*." p. 156

105 H.R. Yorke. *On the Means*. . . . Yorke moves seamlessly from attacks on his political character, to the condition of emancipation of the enslaved blacks. He writes: "I shall name another reflection on this subject. The emancipation of the Negroes was considered also as a bar to peace; and to the pernicious and disorganizing system of the French, we were desired to attribute the ruin of their colonies, and our loss of St. Vincent and Grenada. Facts, however, on which alone, we ought to found our reasonings, speak the contrary. But, the misfortunate, ism that when England cross the linem they appear to forget the civil happiness and moral order of society at home, and are so soured over head and ears in the vast sea of traffic and opulence, that they become 'the most case-hardened of the Ironsides.' When will this abominable trade in human blood, this reproach of human nature, this blot on thee religion we posses he abolished? If the reasoning of freedom and philosophy will not avail, let a glaring fact plead the cause of the unhappy African. This disorganizing and pernicious system (the emancipation of the Negroes) which had been represented to be so baneful as to blast even the fruits of the earth, and to annihilate the once flourishing colony of St. Domingo, was productive of events peculiarly interesting to the advocates of the abolition. For when that part of the French colony, which had long been compelled to adopt the proclamation of Santhonax and Polverell, in which the Negroes were declared free, and entitled to one third of the value of the estates upon which they had worked as slaves, fell into the hands of English, it was declared to surpass in cultivation and in fruitfulness the richest of our own islands. In the extraordinary gazette published on Thursday July 17th, 1794, there was a letter from Brigadier General Whyte, in which the reader will find the following impressive sentence: 'The importance of this conquest to Great Britain, you, Sir, must know; there is more sugar now nearly ready to cut, than in all Jamaica.' I leave the reader to make his own comment." pps. 113-115

106 *ibid.* (10, 15, 16)

107 H.R. Yorke, Esq. *A Letter to the Reformers*. Dorchester: T. Lockett, 1798.

108 *Ibid.* Yorke continues his radical thought: "The firelock was to be laid aside, but a more potent engine of conquest was to be employed in its place, namely, the dominion of mind. The ill-understood names of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, were to resound through every corner of the earth, and serve as advanced posts of a desolating army. The French banner, or in other words, the bloody standard of insurrection was to be uplifted in every state, around which the idle, the profligate, the blasphemer, and the ignorant were to rally." pps. 45-46

109 *Ibid.* Yorke offers his hand: "If through me, the country have been wounded, I implore its forgiveness, and sincerely pray that the evils which may arise from any misconduct of mine, may light on my head, not on Great Britain; and that in Charity to the failings of human nature, it may be ascribed to the levity and inconsideration of youth,* not to any dishonesty of intention, nor defect of principle. If for such opinions, I am destined, in an ill-fated hour of my country,, to be led to the scaffold, I shall willingly resign my life, in testimony of a constitution, the beneficent effects of which, I have felt

even in the melancholy solitude of a prison. N.B.: * ["I was only twenty-two years of age when I was first imprisoned, and have remained nearly four years in custody."] p. 87

110 H.R. Yorke. *A Letter to the Reformers*. pps. 86-87.

111 Ibid. pps. 12-13

112 Ibid. p. 13

113 Ibid. Here, Yorke alloys the sacrifices of the common people to the principles advanced by their philosophers: "What had been fashioned by Locke, by Newton, by Reason, they defended with their arms, and upheld with their best blood. They have transmitted a noble inheritance to their posterity, which I hope they will never basely forfeit. Immortal shades!" p. 26

114 Ibid. Yorke admonishes the role of the philosopher, thus: "The luster which the latter casts around him is from an eminence; but that light by which he is illuminated, and with which he enlightens his countrymen, would consume the unlettered, if brought to converge suddenly upon them." p. 34

115 Ibid. p. 41

116 Ibid. p. 51

117 Ibid. p. 16

118 Ibid. pps. 36-37.

119 Ibid. Yorke warns, with prescient sobriety: "A general phrenzy [sic] ensues which none can remove; which adventurers improve the temporary advantages; and which, after ravaging the country by its violence, disposes it to bend under the yoke of military usurpation, or to return under the government is had contemptuously demolished." p. 38-39

120 Ibid. p. 63

121 Ibid. p. 83

122 Ibid. p. 83

123 Yorke. Yorke's final public lecture was, "*Prospectus of his lectures on the History of England including Inquiries into the Constitution of the principal States of Ancient and Modern Europe to be delivered in a Course of Lectures by Henry Redhead Yorke, Esq.,*" at No. 63 Poland Street, Beginning at Three o'clock on the 14th (recently corrected to the 24th) of February, 1811, London. Price: One shilling. [Printed by W. Hughes, Maiden-Lane, Covent Garden 1810.]

124 Revisiting France in 1802

125 Henry de Ponthieu, Letter to Wm. Codrington, June 11, 1779. Doc. HP51., in The Codrington Correspondence, Robson Lowe, R. Lowe, Ltd., London 1951. Further, for early Caribbean plants classifications, see Smithsonian's Natural Museum of Natural History website (www.botany.si.edu) for Flora of the West Indies, Introduction by P. Acevedo-Rodriguez and Mark T. Strong. They chart the Floristic Studies historiography, to include the adoption of the binomial system devised by the Swedish botanist Linnaeus (1707-1778). However, the reference work best accounting for the above mentioned period of Henry de Ponthieu's letter to William Codrington (since it would have escaped Sir Hans Sloane's classification expeditions in 1696, and later, between 1707-1725), might well be A.H.R. Grisebach's 1857 checklist (Urban, 1898). Later, Grisebach definitive tome, "flora of the British West Indian Islands", published from 1859 – 1864, included 3,409 species remains the most comprehensive floristic treatment of that time.

126 Letter from Langford Lovell, Doc. LL86, October 13, 1790. It should be noted, that

this sale-and-purchase traces a deeper passage: the 'presence' - between the 1779 retaking of St. Vincent with 'Red Caribs and British troops', and the 1795 forcible exile to Balliceaux; then, the extended forced exile or 'absence' of so-called 'Black Caribs' of St. Vincent to the Bay Islands, British Honduras.

127 Aside from my earlier footnotes, - today, several Antiguan and Barbudan carvers persist in achieving a mastery of wood – *woodists* - as a prevailing medium. Among them, are: Afrekan Southwell, Master Carver (raised in Gray's Farm, but residing now St. Thomas); mahogany-wood Carver, Zinga Hunte, (raised in Liberta, but now living in St. Thomas); and the young Moscow-trained Antiguan painter, Troy Roberts (also living in St. Croix).

128 This theme – rhetorically raised, but deeply inscribed - of 'woods' by Yorke as an aesthetic basis from intellectual and civic contemplation is further documented in my later footnotes. In more modern times, this metaphor of *woodism* continues to be expressed in the contemporary Works of this Antiguan author's 2004 novel, *The Devil's Bridge*; also in his forthcoming second novel, *Wake of the Empress*. But, in Fine Art photography, it is highly formalized in a remarkable pioneering visual vernacular of *woodist* photographic works, "The Art of Mali Olatunji: Painterly Photography from Antigua and Barbuda," by Antiguan Master Photographer, Mali Olatunji, (Hansib Publishers, London: 2015)

129 Henry Redhead Yorke, *Prospectus of his Lectures on the History of England 1810 (including Inquiries into the Constitution of the Principal States of Ancient and Modern Europe)*, p. 3. To be delivered in a Course of Lectures of Henry Redhead Yorke, Esq., 14, February, 1811. N.B.: The Lecture was actually delivered on February 21, 1811, at No. 63, Poland Street; but this document was prepared in 1810, and was printed by W. Hughes, and sold for one shilling.

130 *Prospectus of his Lectures on the History of England including Inquiries into the Constitution of the Principal States Ancient and Modern Europe*, London: February 24, 1810.

131 Henry Yorke, *Prospectus of his Lectures on the History of England including Inquiries into the Constitution of the Principal States Ancient and Modern Europe*, "p. 4

132 Yorke quotes (and, later, recites) John Milton's *Il Penseroso*, presented in the 1645 folio, *The Poems of John Milton, Both English and Latin*, as a lyric melancholy poem of 176 lines; and should be read as a companion piece to "I Allegro," which is contrasted as a poem of joy. Both poems share similar metric and rhyme schemes. The title of the poem, translates in Italian as "the pensive man."

133 *Il Penseroso*, John Milton, 1645, Lines 121 – 135: "Thus, Night, oft see me in thy pale career,/Till civil-suited Morn appear,/Not trick'd and frounc'd as she was wont,/With the Attic boy to hunt,/But kerchief'd in a comely cloud,/While rocking winds are piping loud,/Or usher'd with a shower still,/When the gust hath blown his fill,/Ending on the rustling leaves,/With minute-drops from off the eaves,/ and when the Sun begins to fling/His flaring beams, me, goddess, bring/To arched walks of twilight groves,/and shadows brown that Sylvan loves,/ Of pine, or monumental oak,/Where the rude axe with heaved stroke,/ Was never heard the nymphs to daunt,/Or fright them from their hallow'd haunt."

134 *Milton and The Critics: The Reception of Paradise Lost*, Sophie Read. Bentley's

135 'emended' edition of *Paradise Lost* (1732), is featured by Read, showing corrected passages from Book V.

Milton and The Critics: The Reception of Paradise Lost, Sophie Read. In her online

publication, Read writes that Alexander Pope pilloried Milton in his satire, *The Dunciad*; his own earlier work, *Rape of the Lock*, exhibiting a contrasting the antecedents to Milton's classic poem, by re-deploying elements of Milton's style to comic ends.

136 Octavia Paz, ["Jean Paul-Sartre"] in: *On Poets and Others*, New York: Arcade Publishing, 1986, 1990. Paz, who was himself a poet-Diplomat, and fatally close to the Mexican state, writes of Milton: "The loss and recovery of innocence were the theme of another great Protestant, involved as Sartre was in the battles of his century, and who, on account of the excess of his love for liberty, justified the tyrant Cromwell: John Milton. In the last book of *Paradise Lost* he describes the slow and distressing departure of Adam and Eve – and with them the departure of all of us, their children—toward the eventual innocent kingdom: The world was all before them, where to choose/Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:/They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,/ Through Eden took their solitary way." Paz adds his coup de grace: - "When I wrote these pages and read through them, I thought once more of the man who inspired them. I was tempted to paraphrase him—homage and recognition—writing in his memory: *Liberty is other people.*" p. 49.

137 Yorke, "Prospectus of his Lectures...." p. 13

138 Yorke, "Prospectus of his Lectures....," p. 23

139 Goodrich, p. 635

140 Goodrich, p. 635

141 For first mention of Looby, see: See Lake's original article, "Nascent Aspects of an Antiguan Literary Heritage,," CLR James Journal, vol. 13:1 Spring 2007, pps. 13-38.

142 Goodrich. p. 622. See Letters from France, xi

143 Henry Redhead Yorke. *France in Eighteen Hundred and Two, described in a series of contemporary letters*. Edited and revised with a biographical appendix by J.A.C. Sykes; with an introduction by R. Davey. W. Heinemann: London, 1906. This compendium of Yorke's letters was found by Lady Sykes six months before its was published by William Heinemann.

144 Goodrich. In her account, Goodrich writes that the 1813 Gentleman's Magazine stated that Yorke died "at the age of forty-one, as a respected man of letters." p. 618

145 Honour. p. 167

146 Goodrich. This scholar points out: "Yorke extended the geographical boundaries of English radicalism in his own non-Englishness, his 'exotic' performance, and his retention of a citizen of the world universalist ideology even at a when English radicalism was largely retreating into the safety of constitutionalism. Others who reflect similar positions and warrant investigation in this regard include some of the most ardent revolutionary radicals, such as Thomas Paine, John Oswald, Joseph Gerrald, John and Henry Sheares, and Maurice Margatot. Such men were all 'outsiders' politically and/or racially in Britain, and notably, they all had strong connections with British colonies." [N.B.: Here, Goodrich insists Ireland and North America as a recently lost colony – should be included.]...Moreover, the many radicals who migrated to North America from 1792 to avoid persecution, including Joseph Priestly, Joseph Gales, Robert Merry, Daniel Isaac Eaton, and Thomas Paine, also extended the margins of radicalism." p. 635. Goodrich recommends to read further: Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 285

147 Gregson Davis, *Jane Austen's Mansfield Park: the Antigua Connection*, ____, Davis, a distinguished scholar, and native of Antigua, first established the historic and symbolic origins in Austen's novel, *Mansfield Park*. Davis's paper was delivered at first annual

conference, The Political, and Artistic Cultures, of Antigua and Barbuda, in 2004.

148 Claire Harman, *English Verdure, English discomfort*, TLS, June 27, 2014. 9-10

149 Goodrich. p. 618.

**RETROSPECTIVE ON THE ANTIGUAN
AND BARBUDAN ECONOMY**

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THE ANTIGUA ECONOMY—A CLOSE LOOK

Tim Hector

Where there is no shame, there is no honour. A fool and water will go the way they are diverted. He who lives with an ass, makes noises like an ass. A man who continually laments is not heeded. Indecision is like a stepchild: if he doesn't wash his hands, he is called dirty; if he does he is wasting the water. The bird flies high, but always returns to earth. A wise man who knows his proverbs can reconcile difficulties, is a common saying in Niger.

I do not like writing about economics. When I have to I have to season that subject with proverbs, to satisfy myself that I will not be dull and boring. At University, economics professors kept encouraging me to specialise in economics, I kept insisting it was not a science, because it told you little about the future, and therefore lacked excitement. Now I am going to try to predict the future by way of economics. After the boom comes the bust. Who says economics does not have its own proverbs?

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... On October 9, [1990] the price of oil reached US \$40 per barrel! This is the third shock squirted by oil across the entire world economy. In 1973 the price of oil quadrupled. In 1979 it tripled. In 1990 it has now more than doubled. The big-shots who manage the world's monetary system, the IMF and the World Bank, have predicted that growth in industrialised countries will drop from 4 per cent in 1988 and 1989 to 2.5 per cent in 1990–91. They assumed the average price of US \$26 per barrel of oil. The higher the price, the less growth there will be.

Now I tell you this for certain. If there is war in and with Iraq the price of oil could rise to hitherto unimagined levels. Like US \$60 per barrel. Or believe it or not US \$100 per barrel! The latter would wipe out the Antiguan economy, and reduce it to 1930's level! War in and with Iraq will lead to the destruction of productive and refining oil capacity. That is for sure. The short-run prices in that event will be astronomical. If the war is protracted and not surgical (as Bush declared) then the price of oil will remain high, and the lower we will sink in Antigua and Barbuda, indeed, the entire non-oil producing Caribbean.

A wiser Government than Bird's since August 2nd would have looked to its refining and see if it could have bought at current oil prices, to refine when prices were outta sight! By the time the fool has learned the game the players have dispersed. That's an apt proverb isn't it? One thing

is not proverbial but factual is that the international economy holds no good prospects for Antigua and Barbuda, at any rate, in the short and medium term.

Grants and external inflows of capital into the Antiguan economy have been declining since 1986. From US \$24 million in '86 to US \$10.1 million in 1987 and while no figures are available for 1989, the guesstimated fall is about 75% of the 1987 figure. With Eastern Europe in chronic debt and dire need for capital we were all reminded, that Capital is white. In the boom years personal loans in Antigua leap-frogged from EC \$125.2 million in 1985 to \$215.3 million in 1989 without any significant increase in productive capacity. In fact, manufacturing fell and investment in agriculture in 1989 reached rock bottom. Agricultural investment declining to EC \$4.6 million in 1989. Spending on consumer durables boomed, production in manufacturers and agriculture declined.

Let me make this a little more accurate and a little more graphic. Antigua's **exports** in 1988 amounted to EC \$82.1 million, while **imports** in the same year amounted to the staggering figure of EC \$815.7 million. A trade gap of -\$733.6! In fact between 1985 and 1988 imports rose from \$518 million in 1985 to \$815.7 million in 1988 while exports declined from \$83.4 million to \$82.1 million over the same period. Even if one factors in non-factor services as exports, the trade gap is a negative trade balance of minus \$200 million. That is alarming moreso on a per capita basis.

Any half-intelligent person can tell that the prime need of the Antiguan economy is to increase its export capability. To do so by a Free Trade Zone, employing foreign labour and foreign raw materials is to do nothing—except improve the statistics—making them damn lies. (Sorry Hugh Marshall somebody had to tell you that your pet scheme is non-economic. And better forgotten, best scrapped. I have dared. Respond if you will).

The major imperative of the Antiguan economy is to begin a process of diversification, by expanding the portfolio of exports of goods and services. Contrary to Bird, this means **targeting** the export production in manufacture and agro-processing and **looking for** the right investment. This idea of responding to the investor who chooses to come to Antigua leads directly to Sarfati. The key **for the moment** would be to tie local and foreign capital, so that locals can learn how to penetrate, maintain and expand a market. Marketing is the second major weakness of the Antiguan economy. Capital formation is the first and foremost weakness.

But before I proceed let me point to a coming and clear economic danger. The coming devaluation of the E.C. dollar. Surprised eh? The guaranteed market for Windward Islands bananas will have the rug pulled from under it with the full integration of the European Economic Community and the impossibility of Britain maintaining preferential treatment of Windward Islands bananas come 1992. These protected prices for Windward bananas and St. Kitts-Nevis sugar, amount to about 25 percent of the total GDP. The withdrawal of these protected prices will shatter the economies of the OECS countries. And since we share a common currency it will throw our dollar exchange rate system into a tail-spin. Mark my word.

This devaluation will dramatically increase inflation without the corresponding capacity to increase wages. This devaluation will not make Antigua's exports more competitive. The fact is, we have no export sector worth the name. Real income will fall equally and dramatically. Antigua and Barbuda without a local production base will find inflation reeling out of control as the price of imports—with imported inflation—cannot be controlled. Inflation and stagnant wages will reduce the entire commercial sector to stagflation. Too few dollars chasing too much goods. Bankruptcies will result. Retrenchments will be numerous—often without severance pay. By 1992 current recession will deepen into deep depression.

Should I continue with this? Too bleak and grim eh? Frankly I won't. The question is, What is to be done? Antigua is now a demoralised society. The first requirement is to motivate it. Easier said than done. New leadership is a pre-requisite. Will V.C. Bird Snr go? Or will he be made to go?

Those are imponderables. The ALP alone cannot motivate this society. It will, even if there is new leadership, have to go outside itself to seek a national consensus as to where this society is going. Will it muster the nerve to do this? Another imponderable without ponderable answer. That is why I do not like economics. Too many of the variables which affect and effect are unknown. Only the event teaches in its hour.

However some essential economic requisites. Poultry and poultry products, pork and pork products must be replaced, by a programme of import replacement. This pre-supposes the local production of a local and cheaper poultry and pig feed. Which in turn presupposes the production of corn matched to fish meal. This in turn means applying

scientific knowledge and talent to production. It has never happened here before on a significant scale. This is a major assault on the time and scientific warp in which we have been held for so long.

Where is the infrastructure on which we spent more than a billion during the boom years? Desalting plant alone ¼ billion! Electricity generation is now inadequate, transmission is weak, and the unit price of electricity is prohibitive. Patching contributes to the terrible deterioration of our roads, which were poorly surfaced to begin with, leading to patching and further deterioration in a vicious circle. Some expert said recently that we have the worst telephone system in the region. Water is another horror. For every 1.2 million gallons of water we produce we put back 800,000 gallons in the sea! We are unable to store it—even for irrigation. The Leader cannot Lead. Again scientific knowledge and talent have to be matched for the rational use of water in production.

One school of thought says privatise water, telephone, electricity and roads. By which they mean foreignise it. Without much ado, I say rationalise it. That is, insist on standards and localise where necessary. To begin with we need a National Consultation on roads to determine what is the best sub-base, how best to seal the foundation, and what is the best mix to use on the surface. All of this is new politics for new economics. It means politicians, technicians and workers, even consumers meeting, discussing and deciding.

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The same is true of Agriculture. A National Consultation is in order and most necessary to see whether or not ACLM is right. ACLM has contended that Antigua needs to get out, and get out now, out of petroleum-based agriculture. This with its expensive and **dangerous** ecologically destructive fertilizers, herbicides, weedicides and insecticides is both dangerous and means heavy leakage of capital. ACLM poses the alternative as **organic agriculture**. This means an entirely new farming community with new farming practices, to produce healthy food for healthy people. That is a whole new ball game. Can petroleum trained experts make the transition? If so, how soon? Time and Tide waits for no man.

One last thing in this economic analysis. The Public Sector consumes more than 60 per cent of total revenue. Another 20 per cent goes to waste of time, of materials—building and otherwise—and on wasteful practices, vehicles, gas, poor maintenance etc. Let me make the point clear by numbers. In 1987 revenue increased from \$180 million to 217.1 million in 1988. In the same period current expenditure rose to \$232 million.

The proportion going to personal emoluments increased by over 40 per cent! Stupendous and horrendous. But, nevertheless, it has happened. It is happening. It cannot continue. A new fiscal policy is required and a complete review of expenditure. People should not pay taxes to be used as patronage—wasteful in the extreme. Every department must be made self-balancing. If it needs a car it must generate the money to purchase and maintain, it must pay its telephone bills etc. like everybody else. Strict limits have to be put on ministerial telephone, which item of expenditure is outrageous. Vere Bird Jnr alone, in the year of the gun-running his phone bill was over \$220,000! Boom has to produce bust.

While I have not discussed the national debt or Tourism here, I need only say that in 1988 Antigua was \$68.3 million in arrears on its national debt payments. The debt is burdensome, the arrears on payments tell us that the money is **not** there to meet the burdensome obligation. Antigua is caught in a debt-trap. Its credit-worthiness non-existent. Yet it needs to borrow. Yet it cannot pay. We are in a bind.

In a phrase our economy has been bent out of shape.

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Let me halt here for now with this. I challenge any Government official, economist or expert to refute any thing I have said here, and above all to demonstrate that the picture is not as grim as I have painted, or that there are any better alternatives than those I have posed.

Outlet, November 30, 1990

THE IMF LOAN AND EXPANDED DEVELOPMENT IN THE TOURIST SECTOR

A Critical Appraisal

Dr. Ermina Oshoba

Three years from now at the most, or what is more likely, within the next eighteen months, many persons reading this article will say that my words were prophetic. But deeply religious as I am, I cannot claim any divine revelation for the scenario I am about to paint concerning the near future of Antigua. All that I can claim is perhaps a certain boldness—a certain forwardness in putting forth my views. I am doing so because I feel that not to speak out to my fellow Antiguan is to be irresponsible. If none of what I predict happens, then I will be delighted because this would mean that our leaders have chosen the path of sanity and good sense.

Two recent, seemingly disparate happenings, have been given wide publicity in the news media. One, the visit of the Minister of Finance, the Honourable John St. Luce and his Budget Director Alphonsus Derrick to the World Bank and the IMF (the International Monetary Fund) and two, the much vaunted projected increase, early in the coming year, of many more hotels, villas, condominiums and marinas.

The World Bank and the IMF lend money to countries all over the world. The increase in investment projects brings more jobs and puts more money in circulation etc. etc. Great happenings for the people of Antigua, not so? Then why am I about to cast myself as a prophet of doom in regarding these two happenings as disastrous for Antigua?

I have always been curious to know whether it is the IMF that invites leaders of countries to visit them to discuss debt repayment and loans or whether the leaders take it upon themselves to go begging cap-in-hand. The question is a crucial one because if they are invited by the IMF to discuss debt repayment through a loan or loans from that organisation to do so, then the leaders of debt-ridden Third World Countries are having their arms twisted subtly (or perhaps not so subtly) to repay the horrendous foreign debts that they have accumulated on behalf of their people. If such is indeed the case, then the taking of an IMF loan would be an inevitable, inescapable consequence of having huge foreign debts and God help us all!

On the other hand, if because money for projects is scarce and the country is deeply in debt, the leaders, of their own volition, seek out the IMF for loans, then they are all either fools or criminals or both!

Every reading person should know by now, and all who have experienced such clearly know, that an IMF loan spells disaster and doom for a Third World Country. I was in Nigeria in 1986 or thereabouts when the Government of that country first began to toy with the idea of taking an IMF loan. The Government put the issue to the people: "Should we take or should we not take an IMF loan?" The matter was hotly debated in the press, on the radio and on television for months. The people said an unequivocal "No" and added "Please, please, we'll band our bellies". "We'll revert to wearing clothes made in Nigeria". "We'll give up foreign luxury goods like perfumes, cheeses etc. etc." Mark you, this was the elite speaking, for the majority of Nigerians are peasant farmers who have "banded their bellies" already for centuries! But it is interesting to note that this western educated elite—whose lavish life-style was one of the main reasons for incurring such heavy foreign debts in the first place—said they were willing to make sacrifices.

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Did the Nigerian Government listen to the people even if it was only the voice of the vocal minority who stood to lose the most? No! The Government never admitted that it took the loan, but the dreaded "IMF conditionalities" began to be put in place. Antiguan, learn of these because they will soon be on our doorstep. (I don't think the Minister of Finance and his Budget Adviser went to see the IMF for fun. Perhaps, though, they went as observers only). I cannot recount all the IMF conditionalities here but these three always stand out.

1. MASSIVE RETRENCHMENT OF WORKERS.

The IMF maintain that the major portion of Government expenditure in Third World Countries goes to paying unproductive workers especially Civil Servants. The Government bureaucracy is always seen as too large and unproductive (True, perhaps?). It therefore has to be pruned drastically.

2. REMOVAL OF ALL GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES.

That is, if government is subsidizing foodstuffs, petroleum products, utilities and the like, the measures that are used to keep the price of these goods and services at a minimum have to be abandoned. The prices of all these skyrocket immediately.

3. DEVALUATION OF THE CURRENCY.

The so-called “true value” of the currency must be realized. If the value is being propped up by any government policies and restrictions, these must eventually be removed and the currency must find its level on the world money market. Indeed, since in most instances the currency is being protected, the removal of such restrictions brings about instant devaluation. The money begins to get increasingly worthless vis-a-vis the U.S. dollar and other “hard” currencies because it does not have sufficient productive goods and services to back it up. (The Nigerian naira—Nigerian money—dropped in value from about one naira to the U.S. dollar in 1985 to its present level of about ten naira to one U.S. dollar. The Jamaica dollar is now at about the same level or worse).

As the “IMF conditionalities” were being enforced in Nigeria, the government removed the so-called “subsidy” on gasoline and petroleum products. Now Nigeria is a major oil producing country, but the IMF said that Nigerians were not paying a competitive price for gas and other petroleum products. That is, if they had to buy their oil on the world market like others, Nigerians would be paying far more to fill up their gas tanks etc. So even though they produce oil and should really enjoy cheaper gasoline than others who don’t have oil IMF said “No” they must pay the “true cost” of petrol.

What did Nigerians do? The urban poor people who now had to pay more for public transportation began a series of civil protests. The taxi drivers and bus operators, the passengers, took to the streets, loudly denouncing the price increases. The army was called out to deal with the people. Arms and legs were broken, heads were bashed in and a lot of people arrested. End of protest! Forward march with the IMF rules and regulations!

But then, the same thing had happened in Ghana, in Sierra Leone, in many Latin American countries long before Nigeria. Closer home, the same has happened in Jamaica. Again, the recent attempted coup or more accurately armed protest by Muslim militants in Trinidad and Tobago is not unrelated to the hardships caused by the IMF conditionalities imposed on the nation. The BBC reported recently that the people of Trinidad and Tobago are surprisingly, not terribly hostile to Abu Bakr despite the blood he and his men caused to be shed. They seem to get satisfaction from the fact that he made a protest against the government that brought in the IMF strictures. Bread riots, rice riots, gasoline riots,

retrenchment riots. The people try to protest the harsh consequences of IMF loans, and everywhere the might of repressive police or military comes out against them.

Must we in Antigua take an IMF loan and suffer the inevitable harsh consequences of deprivation and starvation? No matter what the leaders say, no nation that goes a-begging to the IMF can borrow on favourable terms peculiar to it. Nigerians thought they could get “special treatment”. No way. Mr. St. Luce, neither can ANTIGUA.

I come to the second point: the projected increases in hotel rooms, villas, condominiums and marinas. Has any of our readers been to Bermuda? That pastel-coloured island of pinks and blues and yellows and white—all pretty, pretty development with the blacks crowded into a few areas—most of them in the tourist service industry as waiters, barhands, hotels maids, and such like? It can’t happen here? It is already happening here! Take a look: our coast-line is being ringed by hotels, villas, condominiums and the like—all catering to an expatriate clientele. That exclusive Jolly Harbour development of over 2000 units will crowd out the people of Bolans. Mark my words!

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I was recently in Ocho Rios on the north coast of Jamaica and what struck me forcefully and visibly was that I could have been anywhere else in the world like the Italian Riviera, Spain, Miami Beach, Florida and so on. All the same uniform boring tourist development—villa after villa, condominium after condominium, fancy European and American chain stores selling anything from luxury leather goods to cheap T-shirts. And what were the Jamaicans, my fellow West Indians doing? “Hustling!” Hustling the tourists to sell curios to them. Hustling the tourists to enter the expatriate-owned stores to buy jewelry and bone china etc. And of course serving the drinks in hotels and making the beds.

We have only to look at Heritage Quay and understand the comparison. Heritage Quay—what a misnomer. Heritage Quay could be anywhere in the world. There is nothing that makes it distinctly Antiguan not even the Bishop Westerby Memorial which is now totally obscured.

Antiguans will be pressed by all this development into the middle of the island—away from the beaches, away from the hills, into more and more crowded urban areas. Deep Bay is gone; Jolly Beach is gone; Pigeon Point is going. What of Darkwoods, Fort James and Ffryes? I am mentioning only the popular beaches that Antiguan love to picnic at.

I have not mentioned the scores of other, more private, less accessible beaches that were a rare treat to go to—havens to lovers. Why do I say they have gone? They are lost to us because Antiguans do not feel comfortable going to swim at Jolly Beach. You have to pass through all the stares that seem to say “What are you doing here?” One is sensitive also to the patronizing grins that mask the relief of the tourist to discover that he or she need not feel guilty after all—some natives too, enjoy the facilities.

Up to ten years ago, it was said by our leaders that though our beaches had hotels on them, Antiguans still had access to them to picnic, swim and play. Where is that access now? Recently, I have been to Deep Bay only on a Jolly Roger Cruise which puts into that beach. Dare I pass through the compound of the Ramada Renaissance Royal Antigua Hotel to get to the beach? And do I want to use a boat as I have to, to get to Goat Hill, that historic landmark? Our children won’t ever know that area at all.

I returned to Antigua to find a part of Corbinson’s Point blasted away to make a marina. I couldn’t figure out for a while how to get to the beach there. I weep inside every morning when on my way to swim at Fort James I see the ruination of the small cove there. Remember that small beach next to the jetty at Fort? Where is it now? Buried under the muck from the dredging of the Deep Water Harbour. Buried also in most of the corpse of Casurina trees. The mountain of muck and sand that covers the area is an eyesore.

What of our heritage are we leaving for future generations? Must we continue to expand our hotel rooms when so many of the present ones are not being fully occupied? Do we need wall-to-wall condominiums and villas on every available beach? Do we want to be out numbered in our own country or exist just to serve an expatriate population? Is there no where that we will be able to feel at home, to feel we are in charge, that we control our destinies?

As you would notice, I have carefully avoided using the term “white people”, instead I say “expatriate”. I do not want to be accused of being racist—of not “wanting white people around”. If nothing else my religious convictions prevent me from being either racist or racistist. “The Earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof”. The Earth belongs to God first and then to all people. Therefore the best part of the earth—and I think Antigua is one of the best—do not belong exclusively to any one

racial group. However, not because the members of one group seem to have the greatest economic power that this gives them the right to crowd every one else out. Nor should we allow it.

When Antiguan are crowded out of the most scenic parts of Antigua where can we go? When the whole of Antigua becomes one vast tourist trap or retirement colony like Miami Beach, where can Antiguan go? Answer: For the majority, nowhere! The educated elite might be able to migrate if North America and Europe will have us, but the rest of us will have to stay here and will get caught up in the service industry.

Already many of us are trapped. Some of us teachers, moonlight at night as hotel receptionists, entertainers and the like. Others of us make curios and paint T-shirts for the tourist trade—jobs that twenty years ago we wouldn't have thought of doing. How subtle is our transformation. Making beds and serving drinks are now highly prized occupations because they pay good money. Again don't misunderstand me. There is nothing degrading about housekeeping and domestic shores. Women do them daily for no pay in their homes. But when a nation of young people is reduced to serving non-nationals, something is wrong somewhere. I may be totally wrong, but what has happened by and large to the people of Hawaii is not something I wish for Antiguan. I do not wish to see Antigua become a Bermuda or a Miami Beach, Florida.

The destruction of our peculiarly Antiguan environment and heritage is not something that I can sit by and applaud, all in the name of development. I am using this opportunity to beg our leaders to call a halt to the reckless expansion of development in the tourist sector. We do not need any more multi-million dollar, multi-unit projects like Jolly Harbour. We do not wish to be made to feel like intruders on our own beaches, neither do we want to find it hard to recognize just where we are in Antigua—the environment being so radically transformed that we are lost.

By the way summarizing these two happenings, (1) the visit of our Finance Minister to the IMF and (2) the projected increase in the development of hotels, villas and the like, I want to sound a word of warning to the many West Indians from other islands who have settled and are still coming daily to settle or work in Antigua. Personally, I welcome all fellow West Indians to Antigua. We share a common history and culture and I feel perfectly at home in your islands and with you. So, too, I welcome my brothers and sisters from Africa particularly the many Nigerians here.

My warning: Antigua is attractive now because of two main factors. The first is that the U.S. dollar is feely convertible here. The legal and banking restrictions on transaction involving the U.S. dollar that do exist, we all know, are no deterrent to attaining this highly prized currency. It passes freely from foreign visitors to taxi drivers, to shop keepers, to waiters and waitresses as tips etc. etc. If an IMF loan is taken all this freedom will come to an abrupt end. The dollar will get very scarce and the government will have to put restrictions on its convertibility. The second point is that Antigua is very close to North America, in particular the U.S.A.—the latter still regarded as El Dorado—the City of Gold. Many migrants to Antigua see their stay here as a stepping stone to the U.S.A. and then try to disappear there. Fine by me, but with the “IMF conditionalities” (if they come) and the consequent freezing of the cash liquidity of Antiguan, it is going to be very difficult for Antiguan, let alone migrants to Antigua, to get even visitors visas.

When the Nigerian economy was booming, it was the easiest thing for Nigerians to get U.S.A. visas. After all, they had the dollars to spend and it was certain that they would return home because home was very attractive. Come the IMF loan: an abrupt halt in the number of visas granted Nigerians. Indeed it is a well-known fact that very few, practically no Nigerians under the age of 35, male or female (except small children accompanying parents) are granted visitors visas to the U.S.A. Students still get visas but their applications are thoroughly scrutinized. The same is true for Ghanians, for Jamaicans, for Trinidadians and Tobagonians. The gate is closed to El Dorado.

My advise to you is: If you have assets such as lands or houses in your countries, do not sell or part with all to come to Antigua. When hard times come with the IMF loans and all the rich agricultural lands are covered with development—golf courses and shopping malls—there is going to be nowhere to plant food. Antigua is a dry island but who is going to ask someone who is accustomed to using plenty of water to take it easy with water in his or her \$300,000 U.S. condominium at Jolly Harbour? Is each of the housing units going to have its own cistern or have a water supply that is independent of government water?

In Guyana, in Dominica, in Nigeria, let us say, there is abundant rain in season and hopefully land to plant some dasheen or cocoyam. One might be able to hunt mountain chicken, agouti, bush rat or iguana. No one as far as I know eats mongoose—our main wildlife in Antigua.

Finally, those two great staples—weedi-weedi and cockle that sustained us through many trials in the past will not be available to us today. Where will we find weedi-weedi which used to grow wild in cane fields or where will we grow it even if we attempted to domesticate it? And cockle? That's already an endangered species of marine life, thanks to our many fancy marinas and the dredging of our harbour. Some of the richest cockle beds at Side Hill and Five Islands are lost to us forever. Let us not lose to marinas our spawning beds for fish in the mangrove swamps, our reefs to effluents pumped into the sea from courses and shopping malls, our dignity to servitude, our souls to mammon—all in the name of progress.

Outlet, October 26, 1990

THE ANTIGUAN ECONOMY—THE FIRST DECADE AND BEYOND

George Goodwin Jr.

It is certainly ironic but not coincidental, that the world economic situation which greeted the independence of Antigua-Barbuda in 1981, has returned to haunt it on the celebration of its first decade. Then, the major industrial countries were reeling from the massive oil price increases of the 1970s, inflation and recession. There are not oil price increases to be blamed this time around, but recession in the major economies has returned. Political, fiscal and economic disruptions, have created a world economic climate where weak and small underdeveloped nation states like Antigua-Barbuda, are again caught in the downdraft of declining economic conditions.

As the ten-year cycle completed itself however, some economies realised considerable gains in the interim. Antigua-Barbuda was one of these. It was able to cash in on a burgeoning world travel and tourist industry which acted as a dynamo, powering forward several of the other economic sectors and greatly expanding the economy generally. At the same time that the economy was experiencing this “unprecedented” constant growth as heralded by the economic indicators, its essential structural composition remained unchanged.

This review will examine in some detail, the performance of the three major economic sectors in the economy—tourism, agriculture, manufacturing—and what we refer to as “secondary” sectors to a lesser extent. The basic information used will be the GDP or Gross Domestic Product statistics. These figures are essentially “best” estimates of the value of economic activity and trends in each of the sectors and the economy as a whole.

General Performance of the Economy

At independence in 1981, there were four areas of the economy that contributed over ten per cent each to total economic activity. These were, Hotels & Restaurants (used as a measure for tourist activity), Government Services, Transportation (including roads) and Wholesale & Retail, in that order. By the end of the decade, Government Services and Wholesale & Retail had lost their pride of place to construction and communications. It is interesting to note that what can be called the three primary producing sectors—Agriculture, Mining & Quarrying and Manufacturing, were among the smaller contributors even when aggregated. In actual fact, they declined in relative shares from a composite 13.45% in 1981 to 11.05% by the end of the decade.

In the meantime, as measured in constant prices, the total economy had grown by approximately 75% in real terms over the ten-year period—from EC \$203.74 million in 1981 to EC \$355.94 million in 1990. This translates into an average growth rate of 6.4% per annum over the entire decade. By any comparative standards, the growth was indeed impressive even if only in statistical terms. Decline set in after 1987/88 with a dramatic drop to a 2.76% rate of growth in 1990 over 1989.

The national economy of Antigua-Barbuda like the world economy, has now come full circle—from one recession to another. The areas of activity that were responsible for the substantial gains posted, will in turn, be looked at in an attempt to draw some conclusions as the second decade approaches.

The Tourism Sector

The rapid expansion of total economic activity was based upon the direct and percolating effects of tourism. The characteristics of this sector mean that its impact is not confined to any single area of the economy but permeates through several different sections. So that, even though in the statistical tables Hotels & Restaurants are used to measure the level of activity, this is only a proxy indicator, representing the major share of direct expenditure of the tourist. Physically, the sector includes the facilities and amenities which are erected and created in the form of hotels and shopping complexes and services, such as water sports, tours and entertainment.

In 1981, 197,881 tourists came to Antigua-Barbuda of which 84,724 were stayover visitors and 113,157, cruise passengers. In 1990, these numbers had increased to 184,248 and 227,330 respectively. In other words, both groups virtually doubled their numbers over the decade displaying a constantly increasing growth curve throughout the intervening years.

Of equal significance during the period for both the tourism sector and the economy generally, were the accompanying developments in related sectors. Accommodation for tourists in 1981 amounted to 1800 rooms. This has now increased to over 3000. The capital investment required for these, in addition to other infrastructural projects such as Heritage Quay and the cruise ship pier, were substantially responsible for the ballooning of construction activity towards the latter half of the decade. The second area of impact would have been on labour and incomes. Direct employment in hotels is estimated to have increased from 2600 to 4500 or over 70% as a result of the expanded accommodation.

The Agriculture Sector

The experience of the agriculture sector is markedly different. In 1981, the agriculture GDP was EC \$12.40 million. By the middle of the decade it had declined to EC \$9.50 million but recovered in 1990, to a level EC \$13.15 million. Notwithstanding this, the relative importance of agricultural activities to the national economy, was on a reducing scale over the period.

Livestock since the closure of the sugar industry has traditionally occupied the largest share of agricultural production. It as been followed in terms of value by fishing and crops. The production of food and other crops while increasing over the entire decade, did so at a constant rate which allowed its share of the aggregate activity to remain almost uniform throughout. Fishing was the only area in which an increase was registered (approximately 60%) while the contribution of livestock declined to a position which was lower than that at the beginning of the decade.

What emerges clear, is that in a situation where consumption of food products generally, should have been increasing substantially as a result of higher incomes and an increased visitor population, the supply was not being met from expanded domestic production. This is particularly so with respect to meats, which represent the largest item of value in the food basket.

The Manufacturing Sector

Manufacturing while increasing in absolute value terms, like agriculture, declined in its relative importance to overall economic activity. In 1981, the value of output was estimated at EC \$13.90 million increasing to EC \$15.21 million in the middle of the decade and reaching a height of EC \$17.82 million by the end. Its share at the same time, declined from 6.82% at the start of the period to 5.01% in 1990.

At the beginning of the decade, the structure of manufacturing in Antigua-Barbuda, comprised import substituting industries aimed at the domestic, OECS and CARICOM markets. The product range included garments, furniture and consumer durables, in addition to various alcoholic beverages and food items. There was also, a small enclave section finishing garments and similar type products for the United States market. The trading and currency problems encountered with Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago dealt severe blows to those industries supplying the CARICOM market. Another cause for the reduced performance, was the nature of the activities in the enclave section.

Most were low technology, labour intensive and “foot-loose.” Once the comparative price of labour increased beyond certain levels, the owners/operators had no difficulty shifting operations to other countries.

As with agriculture, the manufacturing sector does not appear to have been able to seize the advantage represented by the new economic activity. For example, the expansion in housing and accommodation facilities for the tourism sector, should have realised increased production of such commodities as, appliances, fixtures and furnishing. This did not materialise as the bulk of these were met by imports. One area of manufacturing which has revealed considerable potential but is so far underutilised, is craft type items. The attraction of these activities is that they are dominated by small entrepreneurs. However, indigenous products still account for only a small portion of sales.

Secondary Sectors

Other sectors of the national economy also contributed to the rapid constant growth that occurred. The public sector, including social and infrastructural services and some economic ventures, greatly increased the participation of Government in the economy. There was substantial investment in roads, the airport and for the rehabilitation and expansion of all utilities. The Government also increased its presence in the tourism sector through the creation of a public corporation to oversee certain projects. Throughout the public sector, there was additionally, large programmes of social employment creation through direct hiring and institutional training schemes.

Government Services as a sector, increased from EC \$24.45 million in 1981 to EC \$34.03 million in 1990. This does not include some of the other sectors in which the Government is the primary agent such as utilities, or shares substantially as in the Construction, Transportation and Communication sectors. The aggregated value for the range of activities attributable to the Government, would give it a share of between 18% and 20% of total economic activity. This in fact, makes Government the most important economic sector in the national economy. It can be noted that this percentage contribution, remained constant throughout the decade.

Banking and Insurance as a sector, reflect to a large extent, the levels of general economic activity. This sector registered substantial gains in the share of the GDP, increasing from EC \$14.90 million to EC \$23.81 million over the decade. There were large financial inflows of loans,

investment and other forms of financial capital over the period in the main, between tourism and infrastructure projects. The figures also contain a component for the financing of mortgages, trade and service activities. The mortgage component is most interesting here because of its direct linkage to construction and related areas. This was reflected in the growth of the Real Estate & Housing sector. In 1981, the activities in the sector were valued at EC \$21.50 million increasing to EC \$34.03 million by the end of the period.

The First Decade in Retrospect

The national economy of Antigua-Barbuda has completed a complete cycle in its first decade of independence. Undoubtedly, the present recession has many of its roots in the conditions existing in industrial countries. However, the structural characteristics of the Antigua-Barbuda economy has meant that there is little internal dynamic to propel it out of the present doldrums and the longer the world conditions last, the more incapable the economy will become.

Tourism provided the primary impetus for the significant growth that occurred. A major portion of this was the construction of new hotel plant and facilities. This was bolstered by massive injections of loan and other capital from the public sector to create the supporting infrastructure. The poignancy of this, is that infrastructural and civil works projects are finite in character and relatively labour intensive. The level of economic activity created during the erection phase, is therefore not expected to be sustained beyond that period.

It is unlikely that the rate of growth experienced over the 1981-1990 period will recur or if it does, the motive forces will be the same. Based upon the type of foundation laid, it is difficult to imagine just where such a dynamo will be found. Tourism while it may continue to underpin much of the economic activity, will not experience the growth rate previously attained. The twin islands will shortly reach their physical and social carrying capacity for tourists. Even to get there and extract marginal increases from the world travel market, it will become more expensive as the competition becomes more intense. A leveling off or at best, small incremental growth, is all that can be expected. Any such growth however, will have to wait for the end of the recession in the industrial countries.

At the same time, the international environment is markedly different. The recession in the industrial countries has arrived at a time when new centres in Europe in particular, are likely to claim and receive first charge

on investment and concessionary capital. States like Antigua-Barbuda must therefore expect reduced inflows of investment or be faced with having to pay top dollar for new loans. Many of the infrastructural projects that now require new financing or refinancing, will have to suffer from a lack of, or more expensive capital. Depending on the priorities assigned, the state may be forced to finance such projects at the expense of the social infrastructure and services such as education and health.

The Way Ahead

The most viable option open to the state is to try to consolidate the gains and achievements of the past decade. This will not be easy. The obligations due on financing a major portion of the growth rate in the 1980's are placing the state perilously close to structural adjustment type measures. There now needs to be a general understanding that the first decade is history. Many of the programmes of the past decade cannot continue. A re-ordering of the priorities, the development and implementation of new programmes that may have to radically depart for the traditional ways of doing things will all have to constitute the approaches to the coming decade.

The following is proposed as an outline of the type of action programme that could be pursued in some of the leading sectors:

Tourism - Innovative and more creating marketing and promotional campaigns should be pursued. These will be required just to maintain current market shares. The more important thing however, is not to simply try to increase body counts but to extract the maximum dollar values from tourism activities. In order to accomplish this, it means the traditional concept of the sector mainly as an employer of low-skilled workers must change. Serious efforts have to be made to supply and provide as much as possible, the wide array of goods and services demanded and these include the activities ranging from the marketing, promotional and organisational end right through to the supply of the most basic services. The emphasis must be on the localisation of the supply of facilities and services not just in terms of ownership but also location.

Agriculture - The choice has to be made whether or not the state is going to produce food and other products of acceptable qualities and standards, in quantities and at prices that can meaningfully replace imports. Or is the state going to continue to plant money in a sector that is essentially run like a public service, providing jobs and inducements without producing

a harvest. If it is the former, then the entire approach to production conceptually and in practice has to undergo serious change.

Agriculture and the production of food perhaps more than any other sector, must be organised and managed efficiently. The traditional backwardness associated with the labour and production methods have to be replaced by modern technological and labour-saving processes and equipment. The people involved, either as workers or owners, must be able to enjoy comparable standards of living as the rest of the society. As in all modern societies, the role of the government is central to this approach. The infrastructure and services coupled with adequate levels of financial and other inducements must be provided.

Manufacturing - Antigua-Barbuda will never be Japan or Singapore. The differences in sizes and social structures alone will not allow this. It does not mean however, that there can never be a viable manufacturing sector. There is a range of products that could be produced for the domestic (including tourist), OECS and wider regional markets these include, a variety of high-value handicraft and curio items, specialised clothing and textile products and small consumer durables.

The major problem has always been, the choice of products and activity, coupled with the choice of technology and resulting low levels of productivity. Any new approach must seek to avoid these types of pitfalls through careful selection of activities and products. The promotion of the country as a "low wage" market for simple technology operations should be discarded. Competition for activities is based equally on productivity and here is where the emphasis should lie. This would mean among other things, providing a trained work force; maintaining a production and management process that is organised around efficiency; and services and facilities that are reliable.

Government - The emphasis in all of this has been on organisation, management and efficiency. Nowhere is this more needed than in the public sector. The public service as the employer of last resort; as the primary catalyst of economic activity; and as the ultimate architect of the operating environment for economic activity, must re-examine and re-define its role and its actual operations. The cult of mis-management, inefficiency and unaccountability cannot continue. The public sector and the government in particular, must not only lead by example, it must create the environment that nurtures the correct disposition and attitudes towards both life and work.

A Final Word

Antigua-Barbuda like all other small ex-colonial underdeveloped states is a non-viable economic entity in the present world circumstances. Such states have been seduced by the false promise that says "seek ye the political kingdom and all things will be yours." Eric Gairy is reputed to have put the same thing this way: "Independence will support us!"

The states are non-viable because they exist in a world dominated by technology hardware and processes which were crafted around the economic ideology of increasing returns to scale. The inverse means that small scale is doomed. Engineers and other scientists in these states have accepted the basic precepts of the ideology; economists and planners have embraced it; and the politicians have surrendered to it. None of them have appreciated that in doing so they are condemning the entire nations to bankruptcy and 21st century colonialism in the persona of the IMF and the World Bank. The underdeveloped and colonial psychology of the scientific and intellectual elite has prevented them from seeking to cast their minds and work within an ideological frame that is rooted in their own physical environment where the parameters were defined by the fact that the entities are islands, of small size and poor resource.

The fault is not only with the intellectuals and scientific elite. The ordinary citizens themselves have consistently demanded more than the physical environment can provide. Whereas they should always insist on value, competence and acceptable levels of facilities and services, these must be related always to what the society can deliver. Instead, society proceeds apparently without a sense of its origin and location. As the individual citizen, the business and professional elite and the politicians all apply standards of material accumulation that will not be universally forthcoming, the alternative is to turn to individual greed, exploitation and corruption.

The intrinsic character of the society of Antigua-Barbuda in the decade of the eighties mirrored these negative trends. It encouraged the appropriation and expropriation of the lions' share by several. My own fear is that now that the economy is proving itself incapable of sustaining the level of accumulation the monster that lurks within many of us will now surface. At the general economic level, if we are bent on continuing the same attitudes and activities a small group of individuals may prosper but the economy will be the eventual victim. The recession in time will have passed us by but the state will remain on the treadmill of underdevelopment still trying vainly not to get wet.

ECONOMY HAS COLLAPSED**NEW BEGINNING NEEDED**

Corthwright Marshall

The Antiguan economy is now in the throes of a traumatic shock. After a decade of political independence, the path to real development still remains an elusive goal.

Gross Domestic Production

The growth of the country's gross domestic production between 1981–1991 was strongly influenced by events in the international economy. The growth in OECS countries which averaged 2.8% between 1973–1979 dropped to 1.0% between 1979–1983. The capitalist world was undergoing a serious economic crisis. During this period, Antigua's gross domestic product, which in the latter half of the 1970's had averaged about 6% growth, fell to 3.0% in 1980, to record negative growth rates in 1981–82.

The economic recovery of OECS countries in 1983–1989, was characterised by a 3.5% annual growth rate. This impacted positively on the local economy. Between 1983–1988, the Antiguan economy grew by an average 6% per annum. However, with the slowdown in growth in OECS countries between 1989–90, the growth of GDP of Antigua declined to 3.5% in 1989 and 2.5% in 1990. The forecast is for continued declining GDP growth rates in 1991–92.

Although economic growth is widely used to measure the movements in total output or GDP, it should not be used as a total to measure the material welfare of the people of a nation state. Economic growth may occur simultaneously with increasing material impoverishment of significantly large groups of people in a country's population, or deteriorating social services. Indeed, this has been characteristic of Antigua's political economy during the last decade.

Production and Employment

Production is key to growth and development. It is fundamentally true that living standards cannot be substantially raised in any other way than by increasing the volume and value of the production of the economy. The level of development must be measured therefore, not by the GDP growth rate, nor the level of construction activity, but the country's ability, through organised production, to improve the quality of life of the people, enabling the people to develop themselves fully, not just in terms of wages, but also in terms of their intellectual, artistic, cultural and spiritual development.

The high growth rate of GDP in the 80's, did not impact positively on local production. Agriculture which in 1980 contributed 7.1% GDP, declined to 4.0% in 1990. The sector's prospects for 1991 is even less encouraging. In monetary terms, agriculture's contribution to GDP increased from EC \$19.7 million in 1981 to EC \$25.2 million in 1990, a growth rate of approximately 2.2% per year.

The poor performance of agriculture, and the consequent increase in food imports, created an ever-widening gap between domestic food consumption and domestic food production. Food imports are estimated to have increased from US \$32 million in 1980-82 to over US \$70 million in 1986-87. Antigua's food import per capita is one of the largest in the Caribbean.

To solve this growing food problem, a national food production plan is required. A national food plan will ensure that the country's food output, both in quantity and quality, meet the demands of the tourist sector, for exports, and local consumption. It can also provide the input for a modern agro-industry.

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Similarly, manufacturing contribution to GDP decreased from 9% GDP in 1981 to 3.1% in 1990. That is, in real terms, manufacturing's contribution to GDP increased from EC \$16.8 million in 1982 to only EC \$19.3 million in 1990.

These foreign-owned industries using foreign material and capital intensive machinery, developed no linkages with agriculture, or any other sector of the economy, so that there was no sustained development. The collapse was inevitable.

The sluggish growth in production between 1981-1991, is reflected in the level of employment. In 1980-83, the unemployment rate was estimated at 20.7% or just about 6,322. There are no recent data relating to national employment. However, between 1988-1991, there are signs that the rate of employment, which declined notable between 1983-1988, is on the increase.

This is reflected in the difficulties experienced by youths and displaced workers in finding jobs. In addition there is an increasing number of youths who are no longer seriously job seekers. Under-employment or disguised unemployment is chronic, especially in the public sector. In 1991, the government has placed employment freeze on public employment, while the private sector is in some cases laying off workers.

Tourism

With the decline of both agriculture and manufacturing, tourism continues to be the mainstay of the economy. This sector employs 60% of the labour force and contributes 40% to the GDP. Tourism expenditure increased from US \$49.4 million in 1982 to US \$213.5 million in 1989. However, 70% of tourist earnings are spent on imported goods or expatriated abroad. So that although the figures may look good on paper, tourism actually yields little benefit to Antigua.

The development of the tourism sector is apparently seen more in terms of maximizing the number per se of visitor arrivals, rather than maximizing the contribution which tourism expenditure makes to net national income and employment. The latter objective should be the goal of our effort. Economic linkages between the tourist sector and manufacturing, agriculture, handicrafts, and other ancillary sectors which can service the market created by tourism should be developed. In direct contrast to the present organisational and managerial structure, tourism must be transformed in ownership, size, purpose and quality. It must become the source by which the government can mobilize capital, and thereby permit the workers to industrialize the country.

After a decade of political independence, the national economy is more foreign controlled, vulnerable and dependent than ever. The people of Antigua need to share in the ownership of their own tourism, need to develop modern scientific agriculture and agro-industry.

Productivity, Wages and Inflation

The payment of salaries is one of the key aspects of government recurrent expenditure. In the latter half of the 1980's, public sector employees were awarded substantial pay increases ranging from 10–20%. Salaries and related payments which were 43% of total current revenue in 1980 increased to 48% in 1988. Since 1988 wage increases have moderated, but still exceed inflation.

However, the wage settlements did not appear to have a significant impact on domestic prices as the rate of inflation, as indicated by the GDP deflator, averaged about 4.5% in the latter half of the 1980's. Inflation was approximately 12% in 1981.

On the other hand, labour productivity in Antigua decreased considerably in the ten years since independence, and is presently one of the principal difficulty facing the nation's economy. To increase

production and foster self-sustained growth, labour productivity must increase significantly. Increasing political patronage and corruption are the two principal factors affecting the level of labour productivity in Antigua.

Trade Gap

The current account position in the balance of payments deteriorated sharply between 1981–1991, largely on account of a fall in the level of exports, which is estimated to have declined from US \$51.4 million in 1981 to US \$34.7 million in 1990. As imports rose at the same time as the GDP, the trade deficit accordingly widened from US \$86.4 million in 1981 to US \$292.8 million in 1990. Statistical data indicate that imports amounted to US \$137.8 million in 1981 and US \$327 million in 1991.

External Debt

Antigua's high level of external debt and the build-up of arrears is a critical issue. The country's national debt increased from US \$74.4 million in 1981 to US \$268.3 million in 1990, an average annual growth rate of 7.2%. At US \$3236.4, Antigua's debt per capita is one of the highest in the region.

Public Finance

The fiscal position of the central government weakened between 1981–1991. In 1990, the current deficit was \$4.5 million and the overall fiscal deficit was US \$11.4 million. Over this period, lower negative central government savings have contributed to a decline in the level of overall public sector investment.

Money and Credit

Between 1981–1991 Commercial Bank loans and advances increased considerably. By 1991, the figure had increased to EC \$602.2 million, from EC \$159.68 million in 1981. However, during the same period, less than 2% per annum went to agriculture, while that of manufacturing declined from 5.8% in 1981 to 3.6% in 1990. In 1987 the figure was 8.6%. The lending policy of the Banks clearly fostered foreign consumption, rather than local production.

An analysis of Commercial Banks assets, loans and advances, demonstrated a lack of confidence of the business and banking community in the management of the economy by the present government, and its future prospects. This is reflected in the proportional contribution of time, demands and savings deposits to total deposits. And the level of

commercial bank assets as a percentage of government securities and treasury bills, between 1986–90, time deposits grew at an annual rate of 2.9% in comparison to 7.3% and 10.57% for demand and savings deposits respectively. As a percentage of total assets, government securities and treasury bills decreased from 15.72% in 1981 to 8.96% in 1990.

Antigua's Economy 1981–91

The low level of bank's investment in Treasury Bills and government securities between 1985–1990 is indicative of the lack of confidence of the Banking Community in the government's management of the economy and its ability to meet its obligations. The level of public external debt and the build-up arrears, as well as the increasing difficulty of the government to meet its monthly obligation to public sector workers, and social security, do not help the situation.

Similarly, while total Bank deposit rose considerable between 1981–1991, there was a major shift from demand deposit into time and saving deposits. In 1981 demand deposit represented 23.3% of total deposit. In 1990, it decreased by 4.78%, to 18.52%. Saving deposit increased from 37.98% in 1981 to 46.46% in 1990. The shift indicates that the business Community is skeptical of the future direction of the economy, and is therefore hesitant to put their money in deposit accounts (in demand deposit) that cannot be easily in reality be converted into liquidity or cash.

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Medium term/Conclusion

In the medium term, real output is expected to decline further for the remainder of 1991–92. Tourism can no longer be relied upon as the main engine of economic growth. Agricultural and industrial production must come vital elements in the restoration of positive growth output. For the expansion of exports, international competitiveness will be essential and relative wage costs, efficiency and labour productivity in production, will determine the success of any such initiative.

Finally, to ensure self-sustained growth and development, the people must be mobilized in the Community, their workplace and at the national level. Organized Community Councils, Workers Council and National Assembly is a must. Only then will the nation-state be able to organize modern scientific production, with a modern society, to meet the needs and aspiration of the population.

Outlet, November 1, 1991

PROSPECTS FOR THE ANTIGUAN AND BARBUDAN ECONOMY

DIASPORA AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE POST-COLONIAL PERIOD: THE CASE OF ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Jay R. Mandle

With the ending of formal slavery, and as land gradually became available, Antigua and Barbuda's former slaves vacated the plantations and took up residence in independent villages. But as the Caribbean historian Douglas Hall writes, their holdings were "insufficient in area and productivity to give complete independence from [estate] wage-labor." With those limitations and, as Hall puts it, the fact that the British government was not "prepared to engage in the financing of economic development schemes," the former slaves had little choice.¹ To survive they had to become plantation employees, subjecting themselves to a work discipline not much different to that endured under slavery. The plantation economy was given new life. Paget Henry writes, "the ability of the planters to continue to control the labor of the working class in the post-slavery period made a mockery of their emancipation. In post-emancipation Antigua and Barbuda workers were *de facto* slaves."²

This continuity did not go unchallenged. Resistance, Henry writes, took the form of "a compelling impulse to violently overthrow the plantation order and to replace it with a more worker-centered one in which they would be very much more in control of their labor." People in Antigua, Henry goes on, sought "a new order of society in which they would be de-niggered, treated like real human beings, have greater access to land and political power and other resources...." He speculates that the former slaves would have preferred "a creole constitutional monarchy with African and European influences that rested on an economic base of medium sized independent peasants...." That monarchy, he explains "would probably not have been a modern liberal or socialist industrial order, but a formation that was somewhere between a pre-industrial and a post-plantation society."³

Such a peasant society was not to be. When unrest broke into a mass movement in Antigua in 1939, urban oppositional ideologies, not peasant aspirations, assumed a dominant role. The movement's Union rights, Black racial solidarity and Fabian socialism constituted motivating principles for Caribbean activists generally and for those in Antigua and Barbuda in particular.⁴ The resulting political dynamism was more than enough to achieve independence. But those motivating principles did not provide an adequate foundation upon which to construct a modern

economy, one that could reduce the endemic poverty that plagued the country. They provided little insight concerning the need to diversify Antigua and Barbuda's economy and to improve its productivity.

The colony's plantation owners were not capable of leading a transition to economic modernity. Henry writes that "...as a class they were not sufficiently innovative and dynamic to meet the challenge of reinventing themselves as 20th century entrepreneurs...."⁵ At the same time, the black population in Antigua and Barbuda lacked the experience and the wealth necessary for its members to own and manage the large scale enterprises that economic development requires. Henry writes, Antigua's "historical experience of oppression and economic disenfranchisement [had left its] business and entrepreneurial traditions in shambles."⁶ As the country shed colonialism, it lacked an internal source of economic dynamism.

Under these circumstances, the post-colonial political leadership possessed no alternative. To achieve economic growth, it had to attract foreign investment. To a limited extent it was successful in this effort. Overseas capital was attracted to the value latent in the country's natural factor endowments – sun, sand and sea. These raw materials provided the basis upon which foreign investors constructed a prosperous tourist industry.⁷ But the inflow of foreign capital was largely confined to that single industry and as a result tourism came to dominate the nation's economy. According to estimates prepared by the Caribbean Hotel and Tourist Association, tourism alone was responsible in 2012 for almost one-fifth (17.6 percent) of the country's gross domestic product and indirectly was responsible for almost three-quarters (72.7 percent) of the country's total output.⁸ Largely because of tourism, Antigua and Barbuda's per capita gross domestic product grew from about \$4,500 in 1970 to over \$17,000 in 2007.⁹

At that income level, Antigua and Barbuda is currently ranked by the World Bank as a High Income Country.¹⁰ This ranking however masks the fact that the country's growth has produced profound fissures by both race and class. The distribution of income in the country is markedly uneven. Its gini coefficient in 2007 was reported to be 0.4755, placing the country among those in which income is highly concentrated in the hands of the rich.¹¹ Just as troubling is the inequality that is revealed when the distribution of income is examined by ethnic group. As Table 1 indicates, the distribution of income viewed in that way is dramatically uneven.¹² Among the respondents to a 2007 survey, literally no one who was White, Mixed, Portuguese, Syrian/Lebanese or Chinese was in the lowest income

lowest quintile. Everyone who occupied that bottom quintile was Black, East Indian, or of Indigenous ancestry. Equally dramatic was the fact that 83.9 percent of Whites, 64.0 percent of Chinese/Asians, 50.8 percent of Syria/Lebanese, and 49.7 percent of Mixed people were located in the top income quintile. In contrast, the Black population was disproportionately underrepresented in the highest quintile, as was also the case for East Indians and the Indigenous population. It is no exaggeration to say that ethnicity to a large extent dictates the income status of people in Antigua and Barbuda, and that the White population in particular constitutes an economic elite.

Table 1

Population Distribution in Lowest and Highest Income Quintile by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Quintile	Highest Quintile
Black	20.9	18.3
White	0.0	83.0
Chinese/Asian	0.0	64.0
Syrian/Lebanese	0.0	50.8
Mixed	0.0	49.7
Portuguese	0.0	35.3
Indigenous	15.9	8.9
East Indian	31.3	6.2

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Source: Kairi Consultants Ltd. in Association with the National Assessment Team of Antigua and Barbuda, *Living Conditions in Antigua and Barbuda: Poverty in a Services Economy in Transition, Volume I – Main Report*. (Tunapuna, Trinidad and Tobago: Kairi Consultants Ltd, Association August 2007), Table 4.15.

The data that are available do not allow a detailed investigation concerning the sources of these disparities. But a reasonable hypothesis would build on Henry’s discussion concerning the weakness of Black entrepreneurship. Such a hypothesis would suggest that Black Antiguans and Barbudans (along with East Indians and the Indigenous population) tend to be poor compared to other ethnic groups in the country because they are underrepresented as owners of businesses and are concentrated as employees in the low wage tourist sector or are participants in the informal economy.

It is not a surprise that a scholar such as Paget Henry would be

critical of and seek to reform an economy that generates such outcomes. He understands that the tourist-dependent growth the country has experienced “was a fragile one that did not diversify the economy, did not address its problems with competition and product innovation, or resolve its problems with racial ownership and external control.” He believes that underlying these unresolved problems is what he describes as “the racial contradiction generated by our dependence on white capital.” He writes “the entrepreneurial gap that has justified and legitimated this dependence has to take center stage along with the conditions for its elimination.” Doing this, he believes, requires “mobilizing a greater volume and higher grade of entrepreneurial activity that would better position local actors to fill the roles now occupied by imported capitalists.” To that end he writes, it is necessary to “raise the performance levels of the various groups in our entrepreneurial sector.” In this regard he believes that because of the damage colonialism inflicted on Black entrepreneurship, the country is “confronted with the challenge of making original and unprecedented moves in our efforts to re-create our pool of entrepreneurs as investors who are internationally competitive and performatively capable of lessening our dependence on foreign capital.”¹³

Black entrepreneurship. In the Caribbean, the need to do so is not a problem unique to Antigua and Barbuda. The weakness of Black entrepreneurship is a region-wide phenomenon, rooted in its shared colonial and postcolonial history. That history is far different from what occurred in places such as Taiwan and Korea where colonialism also prevailed. The British in the Caribbean neglected infrastructural investment, fearing that the economic diversification it would trigger would drain labor from the sugar estates. In contrast, Japan, the colonial power in Asia, undertook substantial investments in roads, ports and sources of power. Furthermore, in the immediate post-colonial period, both Taiwan and Korea experienced radical land reforms. Wonik Kim describes those reforms as a process that created a class of rural entrepreneurial farmers who helped to set both Taiwan and Korea on development-promoting trajectories. He writes that with the reallocation of property rights in land, a “rupture or clear break away from extractive colonial institutions [was put in motion] during the decolonization period.”¹⁴ In contrast, nothing comparable was experienced in Antigua and Barbuda, or for that matter elsewhere in the region. The Antigua and Barbuda population along with other West Indian people was denied the opportunity to develop the business acumen that plays an important role in economic modernization.

Henry's emphasis on the need to upgrade entrepreneurship is consistent with modern economic development theory. Since the pioneering work done by Robert Solow more than fifty years ago, it has been understood that the proximate source of modern economic growth is the adoption of modern technology in production. Firms must learn to be more productive in production and be innovative with regard to their output. Bruce Greenwald and Joseph E. Stiglitz write, "most increases in standard[s] of living are related to the acquisition of knowledge..."¹⁵ Modernization is achieved where learning is promoted and the successful application of that learning in production is rewarded. In this perspective, the reason a society fails to achieve economic development is that it has not sufficiently become a learning society.

Of particular importance in economic modernization is the technical competence possessed by management. Development requires that at the firm level managers become agents of technological advance. But for this to occur, those entrepreneurs must have the intellectual and analytical tools that enable them to learn about, introduce, and successfully deploy new methods of production and introduce new products to be marketed. It is true that government policy has an important role to play in enabling and rewarding such efforts. In addition, successful innovation requires that the labor force be sufficiently well educated to adjust to and work with new innovations in production. But the managers are the initiators of the process of change. Weak managers – entrepreneurs who have not learned – cannot fill the role that economic development requires of them.

Henry's discussion of the weakness of entrepreneurship in Antigua and Barbuda joins an extensive literature that has discussed that same problem for the region as a whole.¹⁶ The pioneer theorist of West Indian industrialization, W. Arthur Lewis, wrote in 1950 that "the local capitalists know very little about industry. They are specialists in agriculture and in commerce. They think in terms of import and export rather than of production." To solve the problem, he advocated that the region actively recruit foreign investors to locate production facilities in the West Indies. He maintained that such an influx was necessary both because the level of investment needed for the region to develop was "beyond the resources of the islands," and because with such investment, local business people would be able to "learn the tricks of the trade" from foreign capitalists. Lewis thought that if local managers could learn from foreigners, they would be able to manufacture and sell their products to consumers in Latin America, the United States and the United Kingdom. But, as Lewis

put it “the islands cannot be industrialized to anything like the extent that is necessary without a considerable inflow of foreign capital and capitalists and a period of wooing and fawning upon such people.”¹⁷

Henry rejects this promotive role for foreign capital. He writes that “given our experiences of the past sixty years, we can no longer with Lewis assume that we can create a competitive bourgeoisie by importing one.” He writes that the investors who came to the region failed in the tutorial role because the Lewis model “underestimated the impact of race.” The problem was that “imported bourgeois groups have for the most part remained racial enclaves.” According to Henry, Lewis assumed that “foreign capitalist[s] would inter-marry [and] become Caribbean citizens” creating a mechanism for the transmission of an entrepreneurial culture....” But he concludes “this clearly did not happen.” As a result, Henry believes that Antigua and Barbuda requires “a clear break with the policies of the past that were inspired by the work of Arthur Lewis.” Henry does not believe that foreign investment will result in the “greater volume and a higher grade of [domestic] entrepreneurial activity” that he seeks. Rather his goal of greater Black ownership and economic control is to be accomplished through “the formation of a national united economic front, which would make economic independence the priority that political independence was in the 1940s and 50s.” What is needed, he writes, is “an import-substituting model not for goods but for entrepreneurs.”¹⁸

It is true that foreign investors did not fill the role identified by Lewis. Overseas capital remained largely confined to tourism, with industrial projects neglected. But in explaining why this failure occurred, Henry overlooks the fact that components of his model that Lewis thought necessary were not implemented. In his seminal publication, “The Industrialisation of the British West Indies,” Lewis said nothing about inter-marriage.¹⁹ But he did insist that both a regional customs union and a regional Industrial Development Corporation were required. The first was necessary to widen the market available to pioneer investors, enabling to businesses located in the Caribbean to achieve the efficiencies associated with scale economies before venturing into more distant markets. The second was necessary in order to succeed in attracting the level of investment that industrialization required. Indeed, Lewis believed that industrialization required federation. He wrote “...it is idle to talk about industrializing the islands in any big way, adequate to solve their problems until there are brought together under a single federal administration.”²⁰ That, of course, never happened.

Of greater importance than explaining why the Lewis model failed in the past, is an assessment of the role foreign capital can play today. The fact is that the process of global market integration that has occurred since the 1980s has, if anything, increased the validity of the Lewis model. Trade liberalization has increased the ability of poor countries to export their products, and changes in information and communications technology have increased their attractiveness as destinations for foreign capital. International capital inflows of the kind Lewis envisioned have greatly increased and have been critical in the successful export-based growth experiences of numerous countries, particularly in Asia. Countries that were formerly considered basket-cases, ranging from Singapore in the 1960s to Bangladesh in the 1970s, have experienced sustained high economic growth rates during the last three decades. As that process proceeded, domestic entrepreneurship has modernized. What was required for that to occur, as Lee Kwan Yu, the long-time Prime Minister of Singapore put it in his biography, was "...to make it possible for investors to operate successfully and profitably in Singapore despite our lack of a domestic market and natural resources."²¹

In rejecting an active engagement with foreign capital as the means to advance domestic entrepreneurship, Henry turns inward. With local entrepreneurship weak and given his desire to reduce the role of foreign investment, Henry places his hopes on Antigua and Barbuda's already existing industry, tourism. He wants local people or the state (he is not clear about which) to own or control "the lion's share of the investments in our beachfront and hilltop areas." This, he thinks will result in domestic entrepreneurs' developing competencies that would allow them to move beyond tourism to other lucrative industries. As he writes, "tourism is not a high-tech industry requiring sophisticated technical know-how and large research and development budgets." As such, he goes on, "it is an industry that we can master and remake in our image if we put our minds and wills to it." He urges the country to move quickly to secure ownership of the beachfronts before they are taken up by foreign investors. He believes, "from this economic location we can then move into other areas with the skills and confidence we acquired from mastering the tourism industry."²²

This is a strategy that cannot work. Its most likely outcome will be that little or no change will occur in the structure of the Antigua and Barbuda economy. As Henry himself notes, tourism is not a high-tech industry. As such it has not in the past and cannot be expected in the future to be an industrial location in which high level entrepreneurial competence is

nurtured. The kind of learning that development requires does not occur in tourism. Managers in tourism are not called upon to be technologically competent. The skills that they do learn are largely industry-specific. As such, tourism is not an industry that provides a platform for economic diversification. Tourist entrepreneurs largely remain confined to that industry. There is therefore little reason to accept Henry's operative assumption, namely that once Antiguan and Barbudans have established their dominance in tourism, they will be able to "move into other areas with the skills and confidence ...acquired from mastering the tourism industry." In short, Henry almost certainly overstates the benefits that would accrue to the country were there to be a domestic take-over of the tourist industry.

Conversely Henry's turn from foreign investment means that he fails to acknowledge the positive role it can fill in advancing economic development, notwithstanding the fact that to date it has not done so in the Caribbean. A consequences of his skepticism concerning overseas capital is that he fails to examine the potential that Antigua and Barbuda's experience with the internet gambling industry provided. Despite the fact that this economic sector was torpedoed by the United States, that experience illustrates that the contemporary Antiguan state is capable of attracting foreign investment that could provide a focal point for the development of local entrepreneurship.

On-line gambling was not an unintended aberration. As Andrew F. Cooper writes, it emerged because the government of Antigua and Barbuda developed a "rudimentary strategic design to develop offshore, online services industries." Cooper goes on, though "unconventional in its mode of operation, Antigua could not only contemplate but work out some notion of what it needed to do in terms of a 'strategic global repositioning.'" In effect the government articulated an ambitious scheme for a Caribbean Silicon Valley. It planned a 100 acre industrial park and free trade process zone that could have emerged, as Cooper puts it, as a "hub of an innovative form of Casino Capitalism." It is true that scandals and corruption marred the public sector's efforts. Nevertheless, it was also true that "amid all the flaws, there was a proactive drive with some consideration to the need for human resources, economic diversification, forms of corporate alliances, and a business-friendly environment."²³

Encouraged by the government, the offshore internet gambling entrepreneurs who invested in Antigua and Barbuda were individuals who, according to Cooper, were Americans "at the cutting edge of

the Internet gambling business...akin to the entrepreneurs of Silicon Valley....” As such they established an industry that was more than “an outlier, with a position only on the margins of the economy and society.... At its peak it was thoroughly embedded into the political and economic fabric across Antiguan society.” Not only did it create “many upwardly mobile jobs,” but there was also the anticipation that the “[Internet]G[ambling] firms under Antigua’s jurisdiction would stimulate infrastructural development and training.” In this way, the industry was part of a growth- promoting strategy that welcomed the economic dynamism that foreign investment could provide. The anticipation was that with internet gambling established, local business could “develop some technological components...especially software in support of the core firms.”²⁴ In sum, on-line gambling could have been a source of learning.

Learning from on-line gambling could have resulted in the birth of a locally based high tech industry. It is not at all hard to envision local business people and the on-line gambling’s employees learning its advanced technology “tricks of the trade.” With that knowledge, some of them could have created new sophisticated start-ups. In that way, a new locally owned sector of economic activity could well have emerged in Antigua and Barbuda. To be sure, objections might have been raised about the country’s benefitting from gambling, an activity considered by many to be a vice. These voices of opposition might have become strong enough to do join with the United States to destroy the fledgling industry. At the same time, the promise of the emergence of new firms and employment opportunities building on on-line gambling’s pioneering status, might have won over enough Antiguan and Barbudans to provide it with political support. If they had done so, they could have invoked Deng Xiaoping’s formulation that “It does not matter whether the cat is white or black, the main thing is it catches the mice.”²⁵ That the United States failed to adhere to its World Trade Organization commitments and brought the industry to its knees, does not in any way detract from Antigua’s success in nurturing a potential source of high-tech economic growth.

Resting somewhere between the learning potential of foreign investment and Henry’s domestic strategy for the development of West Indian entrepreneurship lies a development strategy that would focus on the Caribbean diaspora. West Indian people living overseas represent a source of human capital that has been all but untapped. The size and scope of modern entrepreneurship among this population is unknown. No census exists and its composition is simply a matter of guess work.

Some idea of its scale is suggested by the size of Caribbean tertiary level graduates living abroad. Estimates for 1990 and 2000 suggest that three-fifths of Antigua and Barbuda's graduates live elsewhere.²⁶ That outflow may have slowed in recent years. Nevertheless it probably is true that at least half of the country's highly educated people do not reside in Antigua and Barbuda. Residence in metropolitan counties by Caribbean people almost certainly means that there are at least some members of the diaspora who could fill a tutorial role that would advance the creation of a learning society. An important contribution to the region's economic development could occur if Caribbean business people resident abroad would undertake direct investment embodying advanced technology or they provided consulting services to upgrade managerial quality. They would have to be convinced that their efforts in the Caribbean will be profitable. But as Henry would view it, because they are Caribbean people their cultural identification would facilitate the process of entrepreneurial learning through family and other ties.

India, China, Israel and Taiwan among others have been successful in harnessing the human capital of residents living elsewhere to promote their economic development. AnnaLee Saxenian describes this phenomenon as the return of "new Argonauts."²⁷ The potential exists for a comparable success in the Caribbean. A World Bank commissioned survey reported that 80 percent of Caribbean people resident in United States, Great Britain and Canada indicated that they were "interested in investing capital in a business back home," but only 13 percent of them actually had done so.²⁸ It is true that remittances have made a significant contribution to well-being in the region. But at least to date in the West Indies a systematic effort to put to work the talents resident overseas does not exist.

Reintegrating "New Argonauts" into Caribbean society will not be easy.²⁹ Returning individuals will differ from the resident population in life style, dialect and, of course, wealth. These returnees might well decide to separate themselves from the rest of the population. But the fact that they might do so would not be a reason to neglect treating this population as a growth promoting resource. As either entrepreneurs directly involved in production or as consultants to domestic businesses, they could be effective teachers, helping local managers learn by doing.

There is no doubt that history has militated against the economic modernization of the Caribbean. If the Caribbean people in the diaspora joined hands with other overseas investors and with West

Indian business people in a collaborative effort to achieve technological modernization, a country like Antigua and Barbuda could not only occupy a position as a high income country as it does now. As well it could become economically developed.

Endnotes

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- 2 Paget Henry, *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: The Life of V.C. Bird* (Hertford, Hertfordshire, Hansib Publications, 2010), p. 67
- 3 Ibid., p. 68, 69.
- 4 Ibid. p. 82-85.
- 5 Ibid. p. 50.
- 6 Ibid. p. 220.
- 7 Cecil E.W. Wade, "Antigua and Barbuda's Emerging Tourism," *CaribbeanTimes*, September 13, 2014.
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- 9 Alan Heston, Robert Summers and Bettina Aten, *Penn World Tables Version 7.0*, Center for International Comparisons of Production, Income and Prices at the University of Pennsylvania, Nov. 2012
- 10 World Bank, *World Development Indicators 2015* (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2015).
- 11 Kairi Consultants Ltd. In Association with the National Assessment Team of Antigua and Barbuda, *Living Conditions in Antigua and Barbuda: Poverty in a Services Economy in Transition, Volume I – Main Report*. (Tunapuna, Trinidad and Tobago: Kairi Consultants Limited, August 2007), Table 4.3.
- 12 Because the Black population comprises almost 90 percent of the population in the country, not much is learned by observing its distribution over quintiles. About 20 percent of the Black population occupies each quintile just as is the case for the nation. But what is revealing is the distribution of the country's minority populations. Because of their limited population size, their distribution over quintiles reveals how different each is compared to the dominant population.
- 13 *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda*, p. 216, 217, 220, 222.
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- 15 Joseph E. Stiglitz and Bruce C. Greenwald, "Industrial Policies, the Creation of a Learning Society and Economic Development," in Joseph E. Stiglitz and Justin Yifu Lin (eds.) *The Industrial Policy Revolution I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) p. 44
- 16 See for example, Dillon Alleyne, "Boosting Private Sector Competitiveness for Development in the Caribbean," in Jessica M. Bailey, Claudette, Chin-Loy, Nikolaos Karagiannis and Zagros Madjd-Sadjadi (eds.) *Modern Competitiveness in the Twenty-First Century: Global Experiences* (New York: Lexington Books, 2011) pp. 191-224.
- 17 W. Arthur Lewis, "The Industrialisation of the British West Indies," in Dennis Pantin (ed.) (Kingston and Miami: Ian Randle Publishers, 2005) pp. 26, 32, 33, 34
- 18 Paget Henry, *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda*, pp. 217, 219.
- 19 At the Conference "Expanding the Intellectual Community of Antigua and Barbuda," August 6-7, 2015 Paget Henry reported that Lewis discussed the question of inter-marriage in a private conversation.
- 20 W. Arthur Lewis, "The Industrialisation of the British West Indies," p. 37.

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- 22 Paget Henry, *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda*, p. 221.
- 23 Andrew F. Cooper, , *Internet Gambling Offshore: Caribbean Struggles over Casino Capitalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) p. 59, 72.
- 24 Ibid. p. 8, 164.
- 25 Quoted in Lee Kuan Yew, *One Man's View of the World*, (Singapore: Straits Times Press Pte Ltd., 2013p. 325.)
- 26 Frederic Docquier and Abdeslam Marfouk, *International Migration by Educational Attainment (1990-2000) – Release 1.1* (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2005) p. 7
- 27 AnnaLee Saxenian, *The New Argonauts: Regional Advantage in a Global Economy* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006; See also Yevgeny Kuznetsov (ed), *Diaspora Networks and the International Migration of Skills: How Countries Can Draw on Their Talent Abroad* (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2006)
- 28 *Diaspora Investing – The Business and Investment Interests of the Caribbean Diaspora*. 2013. infoDev, Finance and Private Sector Development Department. Washing DC: World Bank, p. 14
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**BETWEEN ARTHUR LEWIS AND CLIVE THOMAS:
GASTON BROWNE AND THE ANTIGUAN AND BARBUDAN ECONOMY**

Paget Henry

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The history of the Antiguan and Barbudan economy has been marked by periods of major crisis such the outlawing of the slave trade, the ending of slavery, the passing of the Sugar Duties Act of 1846, and the impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s. The debates around the Sugar Duties Act, and the importing of Portuguese laborers that followed, have been very lucidly discussed by Natasha Lightfoot in her new book *Troubling Freedom*. These periods of severe crisis have consistently occasioned intense debates over the nature of our economy and how to get it back on track. In this paper, we will examine the latest of these crisis periods – the impact of the Great Recession of 2008 – and the debates it has occasioned. In particular, we will focus on the response of the recently elected Gaston Browne Administration to the persisting impact of this particular crisis period. We will look at the growth strategy that he has outlined and examine it from three different theoretical perspectives: the monetarist perspective of the IMF, the perspective of Sir Arthur Lewis’ development theory, and finally the perspective of the transformational theory of Clive Thomas. After examining Prime Minister Browne’s growth strategy from these three perspectives, the paper concludes with some suggestions for the future.

Some Earlier Debates

In the 1930s, as the impact of the Great Depression shook the foundations of post-slavery Antigua and Barbuda, several different strategies for recovery were proposed. The colonial state, under the leadership of Governor Gordon Letham (1936-41) introduced the “Antigua Recovery Programme”, which proposed maintaining sugar production as the backbone of the economy, a land settlement program for displaced peasants, and increasing the size and efficiency of the state bureaucracy. Differing from the Governor, the sugar planters proposed direct injections of capital into their collapsing industry from the British treasury. The middle class had its own agenda, which emphasized increasing access to education through the building of more secondary schools. The workers, in full insurrectionary mode were demanding a dismantling of the plantation order and the redistributing of its lands as the foundation for a new social order of independent peasants. Finally, there was the Black democratic socialism of the early years of the Antigua and Barbuda

Labour Party (ABLP) led by V.C. Bird. The outcome of these debates was the birth of a post-colonial and tourism-oriented Antigua and Barbuda (Henry, 2009: 77-104).

During the significant recession of 1989-1992, another intense debate ensued about the path forward for our postcolonial and now tourism-dominated economy. In this debate, Tim Hector, Ermina Osoba, George Goodwin Jr., Cortright Marshall, and others shared their views on this difficult but very important issue. Some of these are reprinted as earlier essays in this volume of our *Review*. In addition to these views, we also had the view of then Prime Minister, Lester Bird, who came to power in 1994 as neoliberal globalization and the formation of economic blocs such as NAFTA were beginning to really impact our region. In a 1992 address to Caribbean Rotarians in Antigua, Prime Minister Bird spoke about “the need for a new system of governance in response to the rise of “the magic of the market place, the triumph of economic liberalism, and the centrality of the private sector”(2002:251). The rise of these trends made that period “a time of great ferment in our country... All about us we witness a decline in economic performance, a rise in unemployment, and an increasing feeling of hopelessness” (2002:250). To address the decline in economic performance brought on by external changes in our trading regimes, Prime Minister Bird made two responses. First he pursued the expansion of the financial sector including the development of money and capital markets under the direction of the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank, and also the growth of an off-shore banking sector. Second, he suggested a significant deepening of the regional integration process. This deepening would include the removal of all non-tariff barriers to free trade within the OECS, the eliminating of alien landholding licences within this grouping for people wanting to do business, the free movement of money and the harmonizing of trade and investment incentives within the OECS. However, such a push for a single market is still not a reality, and recovery was driven primarily by renewed external demand for tourist facilities.

A third important set of debates occurred in the wake of the Great Recession of 2008, which significantly dis-equilibrated government finances, and also those of important banks and insurance companies. In 2009, our economy contracted by 13%, remained in negative territory until 2011, while the Debt/GDP ratio rose from 77% in 2008 to 102% in 2009 (Robinson, 2014:52). Total government expenditure dropped from over \$EC 1billion in 2009 to \$EC 683 million in 2012 (IMF, 2015a: 20). Further, the resolution process for the major investment bank, the

Antigua and Barbuda Investment Bank has still not been completed. This disastrous chain of events, which began with the bursting of a housing bubble in the U.S., pushed many to put forward suggestions for recovery. The primary contributors to this set of debates were Vincent Richards, Donald Charles, Petra Williams, Errol Samuel, Paget Henry and then minister of finance, Harold Lovell in the administration of the United Progressive Party led by Prime Minister Baldwin Spencer. Once again, the primary issue was the way forward for our economy. This time the official response was not further expansion of the financial sector and the deepening of the regional integration process. Rather it was a 2009 IMF program of austerity in exchange for a loan of just over \$US 100 million to cover gaps and other imbalances created by the dis-equilibrating of government finances.

My own contribution to these debates on our economy that followed the Great Recession was a package of short and medium term reforms, which would help to both refloat and diversify the Antiguan and Barbudan economy. The short-term responses included improving both the quality and visibility of our tourist services, or seeking additional opportunities to export agricultural products. The medium-term reforms have been of a more structural nature and called for increasing local ownership of tourist enterprises, raising the level of entrepreneurial performances by both the state and private sectors, and economic diversification through deeper linkages between tourism, agriculture and education (2009:216-230).

Over this period of more recent crises, our economy has grown slowly and steadily but at quite variable rates. In 1953, GDP was \$EC 12.1 million. Ten years later, in 1963, it had doubled to \$EC 24.8 million. In 1973, GDP almost quadrupled as it reached \$EC 100 million. In 1983, GDP doubled reaching the total of \$EC 215 million. After a period of rapid growth, GDP reached the \$EC 1billion mark in 1988. After a significant dip between 1990 and 1992, the economy continued to expand with GDP reaching the \$EC 2 billion mark in 1997. It peaked in 2008 at \$EC 2.8 billion and declined to \$EC 2.3 billion in 2011. For 2016, GDP is projected to be around the \$EC3 billion mark (ECCB). With a population of just over 80,000, per capita income peaked in 2008 at \$EC 42,000 before falling to \$EC 34,00 in 2012. As a result of these figures, Antigua and Barbuda has been classified by the World Bank and the IMF as “an upper middle income country”(IMF, 2015a:17).

The Gaston Brown Administration

The general elections of June 12, 2014 brought to power the Antigua and Barbuda Labour Party administration of 47-year old Prime Minister Gaston Browne. Mr. Browne, who has a business background, is a man with lots of energy and big visions, which he deploys with appealing boldness and confidence. Continuing a tradition exemplified by Baldwin Spencer and V.C. Bird before him, Mr. Browne is a man of working class background with a strong drive to better himself and his social class. As a young man, this drive took him into the field of banking, and specifically to Swiss-American Bank. Uncomfortable with just one source of income, the young Mr. Brown soon became a partner in a Subaru franchise while still working at the bank (Browne, 2014:42). This way of positioning himself in the socioeconomic arena is an important expression of Mr. Browne's character and outlook on life. Doing business and generating alternative sources of income was a necessity for him. Thus in the earlier phases of his political career before he became prime minister, Mr. Browne saw himself as a businessman in the area of residential housing.

With great energy and impact Mr. Browne has brought the skills, insights, lessons and the overall philosophy of his business background to the offices of the prime minister and minister of finance. However in spite of this drive, the challenges confronting the new Prime Minister have been both many and major. The impact of the recession of 2008 was still very present when he took office, in spite of the austerity program adopted by the Baldwin Spencer administration. Further, tourism had not yet fully recovered, and financial institutions were still on life-support in the emergency rooms of various agencies. Therefore, the new administration had to immediately decide on policy responses to the persisting effects of the 2008 recession. Prime Minister Browne would have to choose between continuing the IMF austerity program, or pursuing an alternative path to economic recovery.

According to IMF development theory, growth results from the supply side incentives given to private investors. In particular, incentives such as the privatizing of state assets, cutting government subsidies, reducing the debt and stabilizing government finances, and monetary policies supportive of investors. Thus as a condition for its loan, the IMF insisted on improvements in the credibility, efficiency and transparency in Antigua and Barbuda's system of public financial management (IMF, 2015a: 21). In its December 2015 report on the impact of its austerity program, the IMF pointed to "a modest recovery even though "macroeconomic indicators" were still weak. Supporting this claim, the report noted real

GDP growth of 1.3% in 2013, which was driven by the most significant increase in tourist arrivals since the 2008 recession (IMF, 2015b: 1). To sustain this modest recovery, the IMF recommended to the new Gaston Browne administration the “prioritizing of debt reduction” and the using of revenues from the CIP (Citizenship by Investment Program) to first pay off arrears and reduce debt” (IMF, 2015b:2). But this would not be the path of the new administration.

With characteristic boldness, Prime Minister Browne broke with the reigning economic orthodoxy of supply-side monetarist approaches to economic policy, which informed the austerity program. In its place, he has attempted to return to the state-led demand-side approaches to economic policy of earlier Antigua and Barbuda Labour Party (ABLP) administrations. The Prime Minister’s first step in this direction was his very open break with the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) austerity program in an address to the Antigua and Barbuda Chamber of Commerce and Industry in August of 2014. He held this international agency responsible for the negative investment climate hanging over Antigua and Barbuda, the stagnant nature of the economy, and the even more severe cash flow crisis that he inherited.

In this same address, he also announced his decision to adopt a policy of spending his way out of the continuing impact of the 2008 recession in spite of the significant debt overhang. To spend his way out of the recession would mean securing loans and attracting foreign investors to Antigua and Barbuda as the government had little money to invest and the local private sector had not responded to the opportunities in this recessionary moment. Thus the Prime Minister also announced that he was in negotiations with Venezuela for a loan to pay off the IMF “in short order”, and that he was also seeking a loan from China – contrary to IMF austerity prescriptions. In Prime Minister Browne’s view, the downward spiral in the economy of Antigua and Barbuda was a result of the drop in investments that earlier had driven periods of growth. Thus “in essence we have to attract fresh monies into the country’s economy. As it stands right now the capital formation is not sufficient to fuel any strong growth in the economy” (BF, 43). To address this issue of capital formation, policies that will attract new investments to Antigua and Barbuda, and also increase our exports, would have to be pursued

Toward this end, Prime Minister Browne has aggressively sought to get entrepreneurs and investors from abroad to resume doing business in Antigua and Barbuda on a large scale. In the first months of their

administration the Prime Minister and his team traveled extensively to capitals in the West, the Middle East, China and Latin America on missions to convince private individuals and governments that Antigua and Barbuda is once again open for business and a great place to invest substantial portions of their surplus. The first such agreement, which the new administration has signed, was with the Yida Investment Group of China for a US\$2 billion hotel and resort complex on the off shore Guiana Island. The complex would include five five-star hotels, 1300 residential units, a casino, a golf course, a marina and a conference center. This agreement, builds on a trend begun in earlier administrations of increasing Chinese investments in Antigua and Barbuda. With such large projects as this Yida agreement, Prime Minister Browne hopes that they will function as magnets for other projects in areas such as real estate development, marinas, and golf courses.

Further, the new prime minister is hoping that the momentum generated by these big investment in the tourist, real estate, marina and golf course industries will return Antigua and Barbuda to another period of sustained growth, like that of the 1983-1988 period, when average annual growth was about 6%. With a return to such a period of sustained economic growth, Antigua and Barbuda will be able to pay its debts, maintain a growth-producing program of investment and say goodbye to the lingering effects of the recession of 2008 and to the IMF austerity program that it brought. This is the core of the Browne Administration strategy for spending its way out of the downward spiral of the recession as opposed to the austerity approach, which often further reduces investments, slows growth and reinforces the downward spiral.

Supporting this core element of attracting foreign direct investment, are a number of other important initiatives that Prime Minister Browne sees as integral parts of his strategy for reviving and transforming the Antiguan and Barbudan economy into a powerful engine of growth. The first of these was his adopting of the Citizenship by Investment Program (CIP) that had been initiated by the Spencer Administration, even though earlier he had been opposed to it. This is a program that gives citizenship to individuals for a minimal investment of US\$250,000. This has turned out to be a quite lucrative program attracting investors from across the globe and providing the new administration with badly need cash, and further opportunities to push the news of the more receptive investment climate in Antigua and Barbuda.

The second of Prime Minister Browne's supporting initiatives is the improving of Antigua and Barbuda's "tourism product". This he hopes to do in at least three different ways. First and most important is shortening the turnaround time on investment decisions in this area. He has emphasized the point that "one of the things we're doing for investments is to make sure the investment climate is one where we have a very rapid turnaround time. And, the energy that our government has, no other government in the Caribbean can turn any investment quicker than our government and that is one of the areas we believe in which we can attract investment" (2014: 44). This bold claim is indicative of the energy that Prime Minister Browne has brought to this project. However, this may be a difficult claim to deliver. In its 2016 report on doing business across the globe, the World Bank ranked Antigua and Barbuda 104 out of 189 countries. This ranking placed it below several Caribbean countries including Jamaica, St. Lucia, Dominica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Puerto Rico (2016:8).

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The second way in which Prime Minister Browne hopes to improve Antigua and Barbuda's tourism product is the undertaking of a project of coastline development from the Deep Water Harbor to Heritage Quay, with the aim of significantly enhancing the shopping and cultural experiences of visitors to our nation. In particular, the development of this area of St. Johns will include a museum that will house cultural artifacts and thus bring more of our cultural heritage into the experiences of visitors. With such improvements to the Antigua and Barbuda tourism product, Prime Minister Browne is hoping to increase the stay of tourists particularly of those arriving on cruise ships.

Third and finally, our new prime minister plans to improve our tourism product by making it more visible. More aggressive advertising has already been undertaken to increase our visibility in already established markets, and to introduce our tourism product to new markets. In short, tourism, related investments in real estate and improving their attractiveness are also at the core of Mr. Browne's strategy for economic transformation.

In addition to these attempts at improving the tourism product, Prime Minister Browne has suggested three other important initiatives in support of his overall project of transformation and recovery from recession. The first of these is the building of two business parks. One would be primarily for foreign investors and the other for local investors. The first of these two parks would benefit from and also help to increase

the magnetism of the big investments, like the Yida Project, which are the anchors of this strategy for recovery. The purpose of the second business park would be to stimulate local entrepreneurs and to try and keep as level as possible the playing for both local and foreign investors. This is an important but also touchy issue as local investors have consistently complained that the system of incentives favors the foreign investor. In this spirit, Prime Minister Browne has more recently invited local investors to partner with his government in completing the abandoned carpark/mall on Independence Ave. in St. Johns.

The second of these important supportive initiatives is a plan to significantly expand opportunities for professional training in public sector. Prime Minister Browne sees a definite need to improve efficiency and productivity in public sector. Higher levels of efficiency and productivity are necessary in the services that the public sector offers to citizens and other businesses. Improvements in these areas are necessary in order to reduce the cost of public sector services and thus improve Antigua and Barbuda's competitiveness in our increasingly globalized and competitive world. It is this concern with improving our international competitiveness that lies behind Prime Minister Browne's call for a "training institute that will provide training for individuals within the public sector as well as the private sector" (2014:45).

Finally in this brief overview of Prime Minister Browne's approach to the re-floating of the Antigua and Barbudan economy, is his position on the role of the state in making possible this recovery from the continuing impact of the recession of 2008. From all that was said above, this is clearly a state-led strategy of economic transformation and recovery. As such, Prime Minister Browne is here reviving the stronger version of the developmental state that Antigua and Barbuda had before the rise of neoliberal globalization. This more assertive developmental state will not only be taking the lead in attracting new investments from abroad but it is also going to be more vigilant in how it polices the performances of these investments. Investors who have acquired land and sit on them without delivering the promised development will be much more likely to have their leases terminated. The same applies to local investors who fail to deliver on their projects. In short, Mr. Browne will be increasing the performative pressures on the private sector.

Closely related to this strengthening of the developmental role of the state is Mr. Browne's holding on to the right of the Antigua and Barbudan state to own businesses and engage in the production of goods

and services. This he is doing in spite of the strong neoliberal push for the privatization of state assets by Western capitalists and agencies like the IMF and the World Bank. As we have seen, he thinks that one should always be generating additional income by engaging in business. This rule he also extends to the state. Thus we have his acquisition of the West Indies Oil Company and his clear insistence on the Antigua Public Utilities Authority (APUA) remaining a state-owned company as a competitor and not a monopoly in the field telecommunications. These policies, along with the promise to eliminate income tax, represent a reasserting of the state capitalist policies earlier ABLP administrations, particularly those of V.C. Bird, in spite of the reigning neoliberal orthodoxies. Putting his whole philosophy of economic development together, Prime Minister Browne has some times referred to it as entrepreneurial socialism. The term represents an interesting and revealing response of an earlier democratic socialist labor party to the new competitive exigencies of the present neoliberal socio-economic order.

Brown's Strategy and Arthur Lewis' Theory of Development

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... The major theories of economic development that have come out of our region have been significantly different from the IMF model. They have been more state-centered and address more directly the demand side of growth through appropriate fiscal and state investment policies. Prime Minister Browne's strategy of development is more in line with this Caribbean tradition of economic thinking than the IMF's. Thus, in spite of the boldness with which Prime Minister Browne has responded to the challenges of growing the Antiguan and Barbudan economy beyond its "modest recovery", there are many things about it that are quite familiar. Indeed, it shares a lot with the development strategies of previous administrations. The common thread running through the development policies of all of these administrations – V.C. Bird's, Lester Bird's, Baldwin Spencer's, and now Gaston Browne's – is that they are all variations on the now legendary W. Arthur Lewis model of economic development. Lewis was one of the giants of the Caribbean intellectual tradition, a Nobel Laureate, and really helped to establish the field of Caribbean economics.

In spite of his capitalist/Ricardian approach to economic growth, Lewis was also a Fabian socialist and a member of the British Labour Party. His whole approach to economics was shaped by this experience and the devastating impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s. The distinctive mark that these influences left on Lewis' economics was that he saw

development in two quite distinct steps. The first was rapid economic growth, which was best achieved by market-driven capitalist models that emphasized international trade. The second was the redistributive measure that would be needed to correct the inequalities and other distortions produced by these market driven policies. These redistributive measures were best achieved by a socialist and labor-oriented state. Putting and keeping these two parts of his mixed theory together was a difficult challenge for Lewis. In spite of this difficulty, these socialist roots of Lewis' thought are undeniable. Here is Lewis in 1955: "Whatever socialists may argue about, we are all equalitarians ... We also believe that wide differences in income and property are bad, and we desire to limit differences of income to the minimum required to stimulate and reward initiative, effort and responsibility. Anyone who accepts these ideas wholeheartedly is a socialist, and belongs to a band of people who have been reviled and persecuted throughout the ages" (1994:1702)

Like Lewis, the growth that Browne hopes to produce is based on a market-driven export model: the supplying of an important international demand for satisfied tourists and vacationers, which will make pivotal use of the skills of foreign entrepreneurs, create jobs and absorb local labor, while creating profits for the entrepreneurs and investors. All of these features fit rather closely the model Lewis developed in his classic 1954 essay, "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour" (1994: 900-961). Assuming continued increases in the numbers of tourists arriving in Antigua and Barbuda, Browne's growth model should also be able to contribute to government revenues and to the payment of our nation's debts.

The major departure here from the original Lewis model is the type of economy that Browne's variant is likely to produce. It will not be the manufacturing economy that Lewis had in mind as a replacement for the sugar plantation economy. Rather, as we have seen, it will be a tourist economy with linkages to finance, insurance, and real estate – what some economists have called a FIRE economy. The missing manufacturing dimension was an integral part of the development strategies of the V.C. Bird and early Lester Bird administrations. It was during the later phase of the latter administration that the manufacturing sector was replaced by the financial services sector and the rise of the now infamous Allen Stanford. This financialization of the Antiguan and Barbudan economy was part of a broader regional pattern as the cases of Jamaica and Puerto Rico suggest.

Particularly in the case of Jamaica, financialization followed the American pattern of de-regulating the financial sector that removed the legal blockages to the formation of financial conglomerates consisting of savings banks, investment banks and insurance companies. Initially this de-regulation led to the growth of the sector between 1986 and 1990 (Chen-Young, 1998:1). However, in 1996 the closing of Century National Bank triggered the collapse of the domestically owned portion of this sector. The collapse forced the Jamaican government to establish FINSAC, a financial entity through which to reorganize and re-capitalize the sector (Chen-Young, 1998:7-10). Further, this collapse was in many ways a forerunner of the 2008 collapse and rescue of the American financial sector, which took down the Antigua and Barbuda financial sector. In all of these Caribbean cases, financialization was in part a response to premature de-industrialization, while in the U.S. it was an ill-timed attempt to flee an increasingly powerful and hence costly industrial workforce. The absence of a manufacturing sector from the Spencer and Browne administrations points to the de-industrializing impact of China's manufacturing growth on the economies of our region. Indeed, China's manufacturing sector is now one and a half times larger than that of America's. In short, de-industrialization and financialization are two important ways in which the unfinished project of the neo-liberal globalization of financial and commodity markets have changed the options available to us.

In the FIRE economy that is likely to develop during the course of the Browne Administration the growth dynamic will be the integrated process of hotel, mall and housing construction financed by mortgage credit, with jobs in these real estate establishments driving associated forms of consumption that will be further extended by credit cards. In other words, it will be a debt-driven model of development in which growth will come from two primary sources: the first of these will be increasing tourist arrivals. The second will be from financially engineered products, interest payments on credit card debt, mortgages, car loans, student loans, insurance and banking fees, and rents from increasing asset prices. During the Lester Bird Administration, this growth-producing financial superstructure came close to engulfing the tourist infrastructure as the primary chain of capital accumulation in our economy. However, it was the dramatic breakdown of this expanding credit-driven model of accumulation that explains the severity of the recession of 2008. It was the misfortune of the Baldwin Spencer Administration that it was saddled with the task of picking up the pieces from the derailing of this debt-powered growth train.

In the post-recession period in which the Browne Administration has come to power, a strategy of economic financialization on the scale of the Lester Bird Administration would be difficult to realize. The new financial regulations, the opposition of the Western powers and the major global financial institutions would stand in the way. Yet, in order to get the desired growth dynamic out of the model outlined by Prime Minister Browne, he will need a similar but more carefully managed credit-driven financial superstructure. Thus one of the major challenges that he will face is guarding against the development of bubbles and ensuring that this financial superstructure does not capture and deeply indebt productive activities in other areas of the economy. Managing these kinds of issues have become integral parts of governing economies where premature de-industrialization has led to rapid financialization.

In addition to these significant divergences from Lewis indicated by Browne's creating of a FIRE economy, there is also the issue of the supporting measures that Lewis thought should accompany the foreign investments in the industrial sector, which in this case would be the tourist industry. For Lewis it was important that developing economies secure more than just jobs, taxes and increases in GDP from programs of foreign investment. To derive more of the key long-term benefits from foreign investment, Lewis suggested these investments be accompanied by at least two additional sets of policy measures. The first set would consist of measures to help locals learn the tricks and skills of the trade of investing and so stimulate the growth of a local entrepreneurial class. The second was the need for an agricultural revolution to accompany the industrial transformations being produced foreign investments.

With his strong sense of the history of economies, Lewis was fully aware that any cycle of foreign investment his model might initiate would not last forever, that it was likely to stop or be interrupted before the developing economy was fully transformed. As a result, he always incorporated suggestions for what to do after the specific conditions that made these investments attractive ventures no longer obtain. For example, he considered what governments should do if the local supply of cheap labor was exhausted while investors were still very interested in further investments. But even more important, Lewis wanted to see significant increases in the entrepreneurial activities of local business elites. Toward this end, he proposed understudy programs in middle and upper management that were to be enforced through the control that governments had over the work permits investors needed to bring in the foreign managers they desired.

In short, Lewis made clear the need to go beyond securing the initial foreign investments, the jobs and taxes they often generate, and onto maximizing the learning of the entrepreneurial skills that would enable locals to make the type of investments that foreign investors are still being imported to undertake. Without such processes of real entrepreneurial growth, there will be increases in GDP and jobs from Browne's economic policies but not much long-term structural transformation of the economy or localizing of its growth dynamic. The resistance of foreign investors to these understudy programs is indicated by the fact that none of the previous administrations were successful in instituting them or any alternative program to grow the capabilities and international competitiveness of the Antiguan and Barbudan entrepreneurial class.

Like earlier administrations, Browne sees this class as "risk averse", not inclined to enter fields of productive activity, and inclined to stay in the area of merchandizing (2014:44). Further, even within this limited field, Browne, like earlier leaders, sees local investors as requiring government sponsored monopolies or special concessions in order to stay in business. This has been a long and contentious issue between postcolonial state administrations and the local private sector. Because of this stalemate, no major program is being undertaken to significantly upgrade the international competitiveness of this local class. Thus we can expect the pattern of dependence on foreign entrepreneurial capabilities to continue or even increase during the Browne Administration.

The second set of supporting measures suggested by Lewis has not fared much better than the first with the administrations that have governed Antigua and Barbuda in the postcolonial period. They have all talked about linkages between agriculture and tourism but have not succeeded in establishing them. They have not because none of them has been able to launch the type agricultural revolution that that Lewis suggested. In his book, *The Evolution of the International Economic Order*, Lewis pointed out that the most important but also the most neglected economic factor in industrial transformations "is the dependence of an industrial revolution on a prior or simultaneous agricultural revolution" (1978:9). By the latter he meant dramatic increases in agricultural productivity. Indeed Lewis went on to argue that "in a closed economy, the size of the industrial sector is a function of agricultural productivity" (1978:9). He saw these linkages as being vital to the growth of both sectors and thus to the economy as a whole.

As a very open economy, these linkages between agriculture and the tourist industry have been particularly difficult to establish. In addition to not being able to dramatically increase the productivity of agriculture, there have also been the obstacles created by multi-national hotel chains procuring their own agricultural inputs. These are very real obstacles that have not and will not be easy to overcome. Yet making these linkages and the agricultural revolution upon which they must rest were in Lewis' view vital for the long-term transformation and development of Caribbean economies. However, in spite of their importance there is little to suggest that their establishment will be an integral part of the Browne growth strategy. As we have seen, the focus will be on the linkages between the tourist industry, finance, insurance and real estate development.

In sum, from the perspective of Lewis' theory of development, the Browne strategy lacks some key supporting policy measures. Without these measure, the attracting of large investments such as the Yida project will, if successful, bring growth, jobs and even help to reduce current levels of indebtedness. At the same time it is unlikely to bring much in the way of the long-term transformation of the productive structure and capability of our economy that Lewis saw as necessary for the localizing and continuing of the development process.

Browne's Strategy and Clive Thomas' Theory of Development

Like Lewis, Clive Thomas is a major figure of the Caribbean intellectual tradition and a major contributor to its field of economic development. His books, in particular, *The Dynamics of Caribbean Integration* (with Havelock Brewster), *Dependence and Transformation*, and *The Poor and the Powerless*, are now classics of the tradition. If Lewis' roots were located in the economic and political upheavals of the 1930s, then Thomas' roots are to be found in the upheavals of 1960s and 1970s. A major factor in these upheavals was the strong intellectual and popular dissatisfaction with the outcomes of the first attempts to apply Lewis' model to many Caribbean territories including Antigua and Barbuda. This dissatisfaction focused on the reinforcing of patterns of external dependence on foreign markets, foreign investors and high levels of unemployment that came with the growths in GDP and regional expansions into areas such as tourism and bauxite production. As a result, this period of opposition to Lewis was also a period of intense resistance to the ABLP administration of V.C. Bird. It was during this wave of protests that this party suffered its first electoral defeat in 1971 (Henry, 1985:152-161). The alternative visions of the Antiguan and Barbudan economy that were helping to drive

this opposition were coming from people like Thomas and CLR James. Their ideas were being picked up and applied to Antigua and Barbuda by individuals such as Tim Hector, Vincent Richards and myself. The result was a set of serious debates on the nature and future of the economy of Antigua and Barbuda, echoes of which can be read in some of the essays from the 1980s reprinted in this issue of our *Review*.

Thomas was a member of the Caribbean Dependency School of economics, a group that included Lloyd Best, George Beckford, Havelock Brewster, Norman Girvan, and Owen Jefferson. As a group, these scholars, each in their own way, focused on the patterns of external dependence that the Lewisian phase had left largely in tact, and the limitations that these structures and relations placed on Caribbean development. Thomas' contribution to this school was his systematic outline of a socialist model of economic transformation that was aimed at uprooting these persisting structures and practices of external dependence. This sharp turn in Thomas' work was inspired by the socialist experiments in Cuba and Tanzania.

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To understand the framework of comprehensive planning that Thomas outlined, it is necessary to recall here his very distinct way of defining the dependent underdevelopment that Caribbean economies were experiencing and had inherited from their colonial past. He defined dependent underdevelopment as the disrupting and long-term separating of three sets of internal economic relationships, which were seen as vital for economic independence and self-sustained development (1974: 58-61). The first was the colonial disrupting of the mutually reinforcing relationships between the growth of productive output and the growth of local demand. This disruption was institutionalized through the integration of local production and local demand into the markets of the imperial countries. The second was the disrupting of similar relationships between the growth of local demand and the basic need of the Caribbean masses. Third and finally was the destruction of the tradition of local technologies that helped to facilitate the productive mutuality in the above two relationships. For Thomas, it was these historic disruptions and divergences that introduced, and continued to sustain, the dependent and underdeveloped features of Caribbean economies.

If these disruptions were the foundations of dependent underdevelopment then independent development would require a disrupting of those colonial roots that had been established in imperial markets, and the re-establishing of those broken relationships between

local production, demand, technology, resource use and the needs of the Caribbean masses (1974: 123-136). Consequently Thomas proposed a model of development in which the hierarchical relationships between long-term structural reforms and strategies for short-term growth – such as attracting foreign investment or regional integration – were the reverse of those in both the Lewis and Browne models. Short-term strategies of growth are here placed within a broader framework of comprehensive planning aimed directly at re-rooting local technologies, the needs of the masses, aggregate demand and supply in local markets. It is only after such re-rooting has taken place that production can be directed at external markets, and not at the same time reproduce old patterns of dependence. In short, the transformation Thomas is aiming for is quite different from Lewis' and by extension Prime Minister Browne's.

It is not necessary to get into the fine details of Thomas' model, just noting some of its assumptions, broad features, and important priorities will be sufficient to make clear its character and distinctness. The first major assumption of Thomas' model is the existence of a worker/peasant-based state that is able, with the support of other socialist states, to hold its own against the expected resistance of Western capitalism. The second is that this state will be able to disrupt those distorted market relations – both national and international – that carry and transmit the germs of dependence. Third and finally, Thomas' model assumes a high degree of state ownership of the means of production via nationalization.

Given these conditions, the challenge before this worker/peasant-based state would be the integrating of production, demand, resource use, technology, and the needs of the masses via their re-rooting in local markets. Such a re-integrative project would require the re-structuring of both agriculture and industry and their relinking to renewed and expanded local traditions of technology. For Thomas this was the integrated structure that would give Caribbean economies their internal growth dynamic and autonomy.

Like Lewis, Thomas' transformation of Caribbean industry must rest on a simultaneous transformation of agriculture. However, his agricultural revolution must go beyond dramatic increases in productivity and included structural changes aimed at ending external dependence. Thus in the early stages of Thomas strategy, investments in agriculture would be in the production of a variety of high protein products (eggs, cheese, meats) and mass consumption foods such as cereals, which would be in high demand as local incomes rose (1974: 145-149). This move would

lessen Caribbean agricultural dependence on external markets and establish major linkages between local production, demand, and the needs of the masses.

In the allocating of investments to industry, 'Thomas' model calls for the development of productive capabilities in areas such as iron and steel, paper, plastics, leather, cement, aluminum, and industrial chemicals. These he suggested are the key products used in the manufacturing of the goods that the masses would be consuming in increasing amounts as their incomes rose (1974: 195-201). Productive capacities in these areas would greatly facilitate the needed convergences between local demand and supply, technology, etc., that make economic independence possible. At the same time, the production of these key industrial commodities would have to be integrated and coordinated with the changes in agriculture and also with the re-orienting of the needs of the masses more in the direction of local resource endowments. This in brief is a broad outline of Clive Thomas' socialist strategy for meeting head-on the legacy of dependent underdevelopment inherited by Caribbean economies. These include the Antigua and Barbuda economy that Prime Minister Browne wants to transform into a powerful engine of regional growth.

The Differences Between Browne and Thomas

Thomas' socialist model of growth and development is even more different from the supply side monetarist approach of the IMF than Lewis' Fabian/Ricardian approach. As there were major differences between Browne's strategy and the IMF and Lewis models, we expect even greater differences between Browne and Thomas. Here I will note five significant differences between their strategies of development: 1) differences in the nature of their developmental states; 2) the role of foreign investment; 3) the nature of their desired growth dynamic; 4) the role of foreign trade; and 5) the importance of a regional market and production integration.

Browne's developmental state has a strong worker base. The absence of a strong peasant alliance reflects the decline of the Antigua and Barbuda agricultural sector. But even when the ABLP had a strong worker/peasant base its ideology during its most radical phase was a black democratic socialism, which, like Lewis' socialism, was profoundly influenced by the Fabian socialism of the British Labour Party of the 1940s. Over the succeeding decades, which saw the rise of an American dominated world economy and the decline of European social democracy and preferential trading rules, the ABLP has been forced

to abandon some of its core socialist/laborist positions. Although this pattern of forced accommodation was evident in V.C. Bird's later years, it was during the Lester Bird administration that this crisis of Caribbean Labor Parties really came to a head. In a 1995 address to the Dominica Labour Party, he said: "if the Labour Parties, which played so crucial a role in the twentieth century, are to have relevance in the twenty-first, they have now to redefine themselves and rethink their objectives. For the world has changed. The old era has ended. The old ways will not do" (2002: 259).

In redefining themselves and their parties, Lester Bird and other Caribbean Labor leaders have taken their cues from the "New Labour" regime of former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and the conservative democratic administration of former American President, Bill Clinton. As a result, the new spirit and ideological outlook of the ABLP has moved it in more conservative and pro-capital directions, and thus further away from its black democratic socialist roots. The resulting liberal-center developmental state that the party, and, now Browne, has fashioned is one that has attempted to grow the economy by attracting foreign capital. Hence the sharp divergence with the Thomas model.

With this shift from a redistributive labor-centered to a capital-centered approach to both growth and development, foreign investment, and not state-led investments, will continue to assume increasing importance in determining the nature, volume, and direction of economic activity. Hence the wide gap between Browne's strategy and Thomas' model on this point. It is a gap that forces us to ask the Browne strategy about its prospects for economic independence that are likely to accompany its growth strategy. Given its increased reliance on the established order of foreign investment, the transformation of structures of dependence raised so explicitly by Thomas could only take place as unintended consequences of continuing cycles of foreign investment over the coming decades. Thomas' model calls for a more conscious and intentional outcome on this issue of reducing structural sources of external dependence in the Antiguan and Barbudan economy. As a variant of the Lewis model, Thomas would suggest that the Browne strategy will continue to reinforce these patterns of dependence, as did the strategies of earlier administrations.

The sharpest difference between Browne and Thomas is the specific growth mechanism called for by their strategies of growth and development. As we have seen, Browne's growth mechanism is the

integrated economic chain of hotel, mall, and housing construction along with increasing consumption financed by mortgages, loans of various types, jobs in these establishments and by credit cards. In contrast, Thomas' growth mechanism is the integrated economic chain of producing an increasing number of high protein agricultural products along with a number of key industrial goods in order to re-root supply and demand in local markets. Thomas' is a much more complex chain of backward and forward linkages that is also aimed directly at uprooting patterns of external dependence.

Fourth, we come to difference over the issue of international trade as an engine of growth driven by Ricardian notions of comparative advantage. Thomas' position is that the dependent relations of Caribbean economies severely restrict the benefits of international trade. Thus he is not inherently opposed to trade as an engine of growth. Indeed, he refers to trade as a "super-engine" of growth. But this super-engine does not automatically deliver its growth and developmental benefits under any set of economic conditions. The Caribbean's long experience with international trade is for Thomas one of those cases where this exchange of goods has delivered very limited benefits. His suggestion is that we should try to lessen external dependence and see if our benefits from trade increase.

Fifth and finally, we must note the insular and regional differences between these Browne's and Thomas' strategies of growth and transformation. The Browne strategy is clearly insular in scope while Thomas' is even more regional than Lewis'. The wide variety of agricultural and industrial commodities in Thomas' growth mechanism are clearly beyond the capacities of smaller economies such as Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica or St. Lucia. The geographical scope of his model is at least the English-speaking Caribbean with the integration of market and production across these territories.

With the above discussion, we now have three different theoretical perspectives from which to look at the economic program of the Browne administration: the IMF's, Lewis' and Thomas'. As we have seen, Browne's program does not conform to the conditions, requirements and priorities of any of these three models of development. What then is the price that these models predict that Browne will pay for his non-conformity. From the Right, we saw that Browne departed from the conservative/monetarist prioritizing of balanced budgets, lowering debt/GDP ratios, and the making of regular payments over the direct

stimulating of the real economy. For his ignoring of these priorities and requirements, the IMF model predicts that the debt overhang, by scaring away investors, will eventually derail Browne's economic plans. From the Center/Left position of Lewis, we have seen the judgment that the prioritizing of the direct stimulating of the real or tourist economy is very likely to produce growth but needs to be accompanied by programs that will grow the capabilities of the local bourgeoisie. Finally from the Left, we have the judgment of Thomas model that Browne's projected FIRE economy is a realistic possibility but it will not address the issues of external dependence confronting the Antiguan and Barbudan economy. For those issues and their contributions to the underdevelopment of the economy, the FIRE economy would have to be incorporated into a more comprehensive socialist strategy.

The Significance of Predictions from the IMF, Lewis and Thomas

Do the above predictions of our three models mean that the Browne strategy is wrong? Not necessarily. I think that there is a lot more to be learned from the divergences between this strategy and the models. What if we assume that the Browne strategy rests on a good approximation of the contours and capabilities of the Antiguan and Barbudan political economy, and on that basis interrogate the assumptions, priorities and requirements of the three models.

From this Antigua and Barbuda centered perspective, the IMF model would appear to be too small for the contours and capabilities of our political economy. As Browne's response has made clear, this model is like a straightjacket for our political economy. The required ideological re-orientation would be excessively restraining for the Antiguan and Barbudan political identity, and thus a difficult adjustment to make. The emphasis on austerity, the cuts in social programs, the de-emphasizing of stimulus to the real economy are all difficult adjustments to make in the interest of debt payment. The internal tendency of the Antiguan and Barbudan political economy has been to resist these straightjackets and find better fitting ways of making our debt payments. If high debt/GDP ratios scare investors away, then it becomes necessary to make absolutely clear the factors behind these ratios and the contributions of excessive or bad government spending. Thus when we look at the events that contributed the most to our debt/GDP ratios, we find they were external shocks. The first was the dramatic drop in tourist revenues that resulted from the 9/11 attacks in the U.S. The second was the major drop in tourist revenues that came with the Great Recession of 2008. The vulnerability

and dependence on external demand revealed by these two events point us beyond mere debt repayment and towards some of Thomas' concerns about lessening this dependence. Nonetheless, debt repayment is a real issue, particularly in this era of the hegemony of finance capitalism in the West. Thus irrespective of its economic correctness, this debt-oriented model will be an objective external force that the Browne administration will have to deal with.

Turning to the predictions of the Lewis model, what is the significance of the fact that its assumptions and requirements are significantly bigger than the proportions of the Browne program? When we interrogate these assumptions and requirements the rejecting of their claims means very different things from rejecting the claims of the assumptions and requirements of the IMF model. If economic development and greater economic independence is our goal, can we continue to evade the challenges of industrialization and growing our business class? Past experiences of implementing Lewis without meeting these requirements suggests that the political economy of Browne's FIRE economy should indeed be stretched and expanded to accommodate them. These extensions would at least lay the foundations for a credible attempt at breaking a pattern repeated by past administrations.

Towards this end, my contributions to these debates on our economy have included a determined effort at increasing local ownership in the hotel sector as one base upon which to upgrade local entrepreneurial performance. In further support of such a drive, I have suggested the organizing of a national entrepreneurial sector, which would include entrepreneurs from all classes – the working class in particular. This sector should be linked to university programs in this field and to internships in state and private enterprises. As graduates of these programs, our rising entrepreneurs should be given special access to credit to get them started. Given Prime Minister Browne's entrepreneurial route to personal success, he would be a good person to champion such a program.

In his paper, Jay Mandle has objected quite strongly to this specific strategy of growing the local business class. He is convinced that the nature of the tourist industry is such that it "cannot be expected in the future to be an industrial location in which high level entrepreneurial competence is nurtured" (2016:10). In contrast, he suggests that the internet gaming industry was a much better candidate for this entrepreneurial role. However, the specific positions Antiguan and Barbudans occupied in this industry and the "tricks of the trade" they were able to learn really

do not support Mandle's claims. It was developing as just another enclave industry with all of the externally oriented features of the tourist industry. Thus, like Thomas, it is not foreign investment per se that I am objecting to but how foreign investment functions when not forced to partner or compete with capable local entrepreneurs and developmental states as in the cases of countries such as Brazil and China. Under the conditions then existing in Antigua and Barbuda, I think the internet gaming industry would have gone the way of the tourist industry and rather than "a Caribbean Silicon Valley". In short, the key issue is to change the local context in which foreign investment currently operates to at least approximate the requirements of the Lewis model.

On the assumption that Brown's FIRE economy rests on a good approximation of the contours and proportions of the Antiguan and Barbudan economy, then Clive Thomas' model is clearly much too large for us at the moment. Going beyond Lewis, Thomas' model calls for a more radical state ideology, much greater planning and entrepreneurial responsibilities for the state, and much higher levels of regional economic integration. Indeed these requirements are beyond the capabilities of the current state of the Antiguan and Barbudan political economy. Yet, it is important to note that the strength of Thomas' model is its comprehensive and highly illuminating account of the difficulties involved in ending or significantly lessening external dependence. No other model focuses as directly on this problem as Thomas'. So it must be with great caution and reserve that we reject or put on hold some of the requirements of this model.

However, in making this move, we must be very clear on what we will be doing or no doing. We will not be breaking out of our pattern of postcolonial dependence that we have been struggling with. Breaking this chain has never been a small or easy undertaking. Exactly how big an undertaking is the breaking of this pattern is the distinct value of Thomas' model. It rests on a very good approximation of the contours and proportions of this process. We can see just how accurate these proportions are by looking at the case of postcolonial America.

After the original thirteen colonies gained their political independence from Britain, it was only after three re-inscriptions of a modified plantation model that the new American nation was finally able to break this postcolonial pattern and gain its economic independence. The first of these re-inscriptions (1776-1790) was a period of severe depression when, in retaliation, Britain closed its tobacco markets on which the American

economy depended. The second (1790-1801) was a period of dependent growth during which the Napoleonic wars in Europe generated demand for American shipping and the reopening of British tobacco markets. The third (1801-1865) and final re-inscription of a modified plantation model was the rise of the cotton plantation economy, which was completely dependent on the external demand from the developing British textile industry. This thrice repeated pattern of postcolonial dependent growth was broken with the industrialization of the American economy after 1865 and the re-establishing of links between the local demand for and supply of cloth, clothes, and other textile products (North, 1986:46-74). It was this Thomasian dynamic convergence along with an agricultural revolution that broke the earlier cycles of dependent growth.

It is important to note here that American industrialization was not a socialist state-led process but one that was achieved through importing foreign capitalists like Samuel Slater from Britain. The rapid localizing of this imported industry was helped by a well-developed technological tradition, and the fact that many of these British immigrant entrepreneurs stayed in the states of the Northeast and became Americans. These in turn facilitated the rapid growth of an industrial bourgeoisie in the Northeast, who would not only take control of the U.S. economy but would later industrialize the American South. Further the process of national unification integrated American markets and production processes in ways that approximated the requirements of the Thomas model. Ironically, I had the pleasure of discussing the American case with Lewis, but not with Thomas.

Given these repeated cycles of dependent growth that we see in America and other postcolonial economies, where then is the Caribbean in its cycles of repetition? In the 1960s, Lloyd Best suggested that the English-speaking Caribbean was going through its third re-inscription, or as he would say "ratiooning", of our modified plantation model (1975: 10-25). The primary goal of the Caribbean Dependency School was the breaking of this cycle and thus preventing a fourth ratiooning. This clearly did not happen as Left Movements of the 1960s and 1970s failed in our attempts to put these ideas into practice. As we look at the economic policies of the "New Labour" governments of the region, including Prime Minister Browne's, we can see that these initiatives represent a fourth ratiooning of our dependent plantation heritage. It took the U.S. three ratoonnings and over 100 years to break out of its postcolonial economic cycles. The question is how many ratoonnings and how long will it take us?

These are some of the meanings and implications of interrogating our cautious rejection of the Thomas model. They force on us some difficult but unavoidable questions: Can we avoid the kind of transformation the U.S. went through after 1865? Can we avoid industrialization and its needed agricultural revolution and survive in the world ahead? Is it all just too big for the proportions of our regional political economy and geography? These are the challenges raised by Thomas that will not go away.

Conclusion

From our discussion of these models in relation to the Browne economic program, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that Antigua and Barbuda, along with the other Caribbean territories, are trapped in a very difficult situation. On the one hand, we know quite well the cycles of postcolonial dependent underdevelopment in which we are caught. On the other, the conditions and requirements for breaking out of these cycles seem to be much too large a set of undertakings for our insular and possibly our regional political economies. Thus, our best prospects for avoiding a fifth rationing of our plantation heritage would be the hope for changes in the current global conjuncture that would improve our chances of success. Four relevant areas of significant change come to mind immediately.

The first is the imploding of the conservative revolution of the 1980s that brought us market fundamentalism and strict monetarist economic policies. This revolution is fraying around the edges and is deeply divided within. One indicator of this implosion is the leadership crisis that has gripped the Republican Party in the U.S. with the rise within it of the Tea Party and also of Donald Trump. An even stronger indicator of this crisis of the Conservative turn is the failure of its supply side/monetarist approaches to economic policy to restore the growth rates of Western economies, in spite of trillions of dollars and Euros of “quantitative easing” and sharply rising levels of social inequality. These policies have pulled the Western economies back from the brink of a major depression but have not yet given them a viable medium term growth strategy. The long promised “new economy” of high-tech services is still very much in formation (Alcaly, 2003: 6-7). These failures could be the bases for ideological shifts and new economic approaches that may be more favorable to Caribbean political economies.

The second significant change taking place in the current conjuncture is the dismantling of the symbiotic convergence between the American and Chinese economies – sometimes called Chimerica – which has so

dramatically shifted the geography of industrialization (Karabell, 2009: 57-96). One of the key foundations of this Chimerican formation is what some scholars of the Chinese economy have called the Lewisian phase in China's development (Chang, 1993: 220-230). This export-oriented phase of intensified industrialization was complemented by processes of de-industrialization and financialization in the U.S. This complementarity between the two economies is now breaking down, as China attempts to internalize its growth dynamic by relying less on Western consumer demand and more on local Chinese consumer demand. This dynamic re-converging of local production, local demand and the needs of the masses through a local technological tradition suggests that this new phase in China's development could quite easily be described as Thomasian. If successful, this phase in Chinese development will very likely bring with it another major shift in the geography of industrialization, which could open new possibilities for levels of Caribbean industrialization that could support a phase of Thomasian transformation.

Third, is the ongoing revolution in the fields of information and communications technology. The era of informatic industrialization that is likely to follow will be very different from the passing era of mechanical industrialization. Thus here too we need to be vigilant and open to the new possibilities that such an era could open up for our political economies.

Fourth and finally is the formation of the New Development or BRICS Bank. Proposed by India and headquartered in Shanghai, China, the bank opened for business in March of 2016. The primary purpose of the bank is to mobilize financial resources for infrastructure and sustainable development projects in BRICS and other developing countries through loans, equity participation and other financial instruments. Access to this Development Bank should give Caribbean countries an alternative to the capital markets of the West, which have attempted to monopolize, and subject to their rules of capital accumulation, the financing of development in third world countries.

As we contemplate these future possibilities, we cannot escape the irony of the relevance of the models of both Lewis and Thomas for the developmental experiences of both the U.S. and China – the number one and number two economies in our world. In the 1990s, we saw the Brazilian economy go through a similar Thomasian internal convergence between local industrial production and mass demand, after earlier phases of an import-substituting and a Lewis-type export-oriented industrialization. From this perspective, it seems very reasonable to suggest that Antigua

and Barbuda has a future date with a fuller implementing of Lewis' model, while the region as a whole has a corresponding rendezvous with the transformative ideas of Clive Thomas. It also seems reasonable to suggest that between Lewis and the Dependency School, the Caribbean economic tradition has succeeded in theorizing some very important aspects of the development process.

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**POETRY WITH ALVETTE (ELLORTON)
JEFFERS AND ELAINE OLAOYE**

...
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...

FOR AUNT IVY

(The late Mrs. Ivy Roberts of Newgate Street)

There's silence
Here
That softer falls
Than fallen petals
On a windless day.

There's melody
Here
That sweeter rings
Than church bells
On a summer's day.

There's peace
Here
That deeper goes
Than the darkest abyss
Of a despairing day.

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...

There's clarity
Here
That clearer shines
Than untwinkling stars
Of the Milky Way.

There's courage
Here
That higher soars
Than the steepest heights
On which a soul grows.

Elaine Olaoye
December 1993

DEPRESSION

Enshrouded
In the mournful shadows
Of melancholy's veil,
Caught
In the o'er darkened paths
Of pity's citadel,
Removed
Far from the soothing charms
Of bright-eyed hope.
Depression
Bathes her wounds in the misty water
Of her tear-filled dell.

Drooped
As flowers that do languish
At end of summer's day,
Weary
As a traveller never able
To find his appointed way,
Sadder
Far, than mirthless children's
Silent play,
Depression
Lingers, cloying, clinging
As if wont to stay...

Elaine Olaoye
1993

HOW CAN WE GATHER

How can we gather
What ruthless suffering destroys,
How can we claim
The earth and its many joys,
How can we bless
Each passing year
When so many destructive times
Do appear.

How can we rescue
Our labour, our hours
From the dying embers
Of our defeated powers,
How like the Phoenix
From our ashes to rise
Despite pain, sorrow and grief
Of forbidding size?

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...

How to catch each day
From the winepress of time
The essence of each berry
On life's growing vine,
How to taste, how to savour
Every moment
And then
With renewed power
At length greet other men
Rich in humour, strong in strength
Sufficient in labour
Graced in beauty
And warm in love of one's endeavour:
For she who lives fully
Within herself can span
The earth
And be a hope
A promise
To her fellow men.

Elaine Olaoye

1994

HOW MANY KNOW THE TROUBLE I SEE

*How many know the trouble I see
How many know the sorrow?
How many feel the trouble I see
How many try to drown the sorrow?
How many are trapped by the trouble I see?
How many are sinking in the sorrow?*

*How many know the drug-induced troubles I see?
How many know its sorrow?
How many are hardened by the media violence I see?
How many suffer its sorrow?
How many are victims of the broken families I see?
How many die in its sorrow?*

*How many laugh at the trouble I see?
How many hide from the sorrow?
How many exploit the trouble I see?
How many profit from the sorrow?
How many help create the trouble I see?
How many enjoy the other's sorrow?*

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...

Elaine Olaoye
June 30, 1995

EDUCE*Educe**To bring out**To bring forth**To hold in**To hold back**Educe**To check in**To checkout**Of a phallogentric**Academic universe**To check out**Of constructs and disciplines**Omitting, denying female contributions to discourse**Educe**... To bring out***142** *To bring forth**... The multiplicity of consciousness and unconsciousness**The paradoxical and contradictory intentionalities**The specificity and variety of historicities**The use and abuse of the paradigm of scientificity**The multidimensionality and the infinite permutations of reality.**Educe**to bring out**To bring forth**The falsity of categorical and hierarchical identities**The futile trajectory of phallogentric power**The sterility of forced uniformity imposed on difference and particularity**The suffocating forces of rigid abstractions**The non-truth of economic and social linear continuity**The pretensions of political and religious transcendental rationality.**Educe**To bring out...**Elaine Olaoye**June 17, 1994*

DAWN

*Dawn
Breaks gently
On the night's lonely journey
Promising strength untried.*

*Solitude
Answers gently
The heart's lonely cry
Silently evoking melodies unsung.*

*Love
Soothes softly
The heart's many fears
Tenderly disclosing, joys yet unborn...*

*Still
Are you
An elusive apparition
An advent angel
My soul's deep desire
Whispering morning has come...*

Elaine Olaoye
1997

MAYBE THE ROSES

*Maybe the roses
will excuse us
we need time to get to know
each other.*

*Maybe the roses
Will find us
Breathing gently
The fragrance they bring*

*Maybe the roses
Will join us
Making their petals of beauty
An intimate offering.*

*Maybe the roses
will love us
blooming at Edgeworth
Late Spring after Spring.*

*Maybe the roses
Will fill us
Surround us
With soft, delicate rememberings.*

Elaine Olaoye
June 27, 1997

FULL MOON OVER ANTIGUA

With an illuminous, full moon over Antigua
You can see the milky clouds
cavorting with the hills
and down below,
the sea's calm surface shimmers
like splinters of glass under light.

Here and there
in tight embraces,
timid lovers fixed their gazes
upon the moon's round face
hoping that soon it relates
their fortunes.
And in the near distance,
the murmurings of the fishermen
hauling silver fish,
circles with the cool breeze
that eases
the humid night.

When the land is arid,
the earth's dusty covering
under the moon's luminosity
mirrors a dirty, colored sheet
on a lopsided, rusty bed.
The dry trees
swaying in the breeze,
cast a despairing shadow
mimicking gaunt children
with outstretched hands
soliciting alms.

The moon's ascendancy
always
heralds transparency.
In darkness,
gloved fingers that bear death
and sow mayhem,
populate the night.

But the moon's light
when in full glow,
frees the night from this horror
by dispatching,
in quick flight
the fright that binds.

Alvette (Ellorton) Jeffers
February, 27th 2016

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...

LAMP LIGHT

You are a Lamplight
glowing softly
in a terrifying night

I am drawn to you
seeking life.
Not death.

I am not that undiscerning moth,
who becomes excessively excited
the closer it edges to the mantle of light,
a light that finally disorients.

My yearning desire is,
to bask in your incandescence.
To feel eternally secured,
now that you have disappeared the menacing shadows,
which the darkness sustained.

Alvette (Ellorton) Jeffers
April 2015

OUR HYBRID LOVE

Your heart is fertile for love.
Let me sow its seed
and with tender hands,
I will nurture and watch it bloom and blossom
to bear fruits to sustain us through life.

I have always thought,
that with you we could grow
a rear, hybrid love;
and like water and sunshine to a plant,
it would nourish and see us flourish,
reaching always towards light
like vines endlessly striving.

Our love would be perennial,
despite our age and place.
... Remaining uninhibited by our race and taste,
148 it would be free of religious faiths
... but embracing our different, cultural graces.

Of course, there will be times
when the rhythms of our lives
and the weight of our disposition
can become,
like parasites circling a fugacious plant,
a menace to our love.

Our's will not be an ephemeron.
Its roots run too deep into our
ancestral lands and now that
we have found each other far away from our home,
through us, what was once
thought doomed
now finds fertile space
to bloom.

Alvette (Ellorton) Jeffers
February 15th, 2016

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

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...

THE FOWL-BATTY REVOLUTION

Lenin Jeffers

Growing up in Antigua and Barbuda much emphasis was placed on the word, properly. You had to eat properly, sit properly, walk properly, and the mother of them all was speak properly. For emergency purposes there was: “act properly”, which applied to everything else under the island sun that you did wrong.

Being that I was a very creative, and free spirited child I was a habitual violator of the five properlies to the dismay of my guardians. Actually what they had was a little gold mine. I could have been the next Picasso, Mozart, Bob Marley, or Sir Vivian Richards cricket superstar who was knighted for his greatness. Instead I was called Rudolph, because Rudeness made me according to my guardians.

Speak properly was my greatest nemesis. Our relationship was really bad, like superman and kryptonite bad. You see, in Antigua and Barbuda we speak two languages. English is the official language, because it belonged to the British who enslaved us, and ruled us. Then there is our own local dialect. Some call it dialect, some call it patois, but parents called it speaking badly. If you were caught speaking dialect you were quickly charged, convicted, and punished for breaking down the grammar tree. This process happened in the blink of an eye. You were often crying before it registered that you had committed treason against the Queen’s language. There was no escape she had agents all over the island. You would get home from school, and as soon as your big toe crossed over the threshold of the door, and into the dark side, you were greeted with an assassination attempt for treason against the Queen’s language.

Not too long after that the first assassination attempt on my little life I found out that agents were calling our home base as we walked home from school. They reported our crimes, who our allies were, time, speed of travel, route and our e.t.a. Reporting our allies was a critical part of their operation. If the agent did not know the names of your allies then your home base probably did, and happily forwarded that Intel to their respective home base.

Total annihilation was inevitable even for the blind, deaf, and mute ones. They were charged as an accessory or being present during the commission of a crime. Those of us who fell under the Christian umbrella had even more agents watching us. Not only did we have to pay homage

to the five properlies, we had to pay homage to the commandments. If you noticed I left out the ten. Moses found Ten Commandments the concise version. The church that I went to out did Moses. Somehow they were able to go back in time, and find more, the extended version. I called it the ten by ten to the tenth power commandments. So as you see our days were dark and full of terror.

The girls had it even worse, which should be of no surprise to you. Women are unfortunately scrutinized more in every society unless you are the Queen of England with an island filled with agents. The girls who walked home from school with us had to keep a three to one ratio. Three girls to every one boy any lower than that then one of the boys had to be a relative of one of the girls. Being a relative boy was being an involuntary agent, because they were expected to report on the girl whenever she broke any of the five properlies. If a report came into home base about a girl that the relative boy failed to report himself he would be charged with withholding information, or leaving his post if he had no knowledge of the violation. Often a girl who violated went missing for months, and would reappear wearing a different colored school uniform. Something had to be done, because we were tired of losing our girlfriends, and we were tired of assassination attempts.

We came up with operation shortcut. Even though we knew that there were agents along our route home from school, we were unable to identify them. After all we lived on a tropical island where everyone looks friendly, and are at peace and rest. Our shortcuts took us across the overgrown yards of empty homes, along dirt paths, and through lightly wooded areas. Every now and again we emerged on a main road where the agents were. For that short period of time our game plan was to stay quiet, and act as if we were drained by the sun's rays. That would eliminate any suspicion agents might have towards the unheard of silence coming from a group of school children.

Mission accomplished, we were free to violate all of the properlies. It was euphoric, and I was free to cut down every grammar tree in sight, and I did. I used words like nyam um (eat it), gyal (girl), pickinearga (children), and gwarn (go ahead). I perfected the art of speaking badly which is no small feat. Our dialect is a tonal language mixed with African linguistics, broken English, and English. It is also not an officially written language, which made me wonder why the agents were willing to let our language die, and not be passed down. Thankfully their mission was futile.

Eventually I became so fluent in our dialect that even my friends began telling me that I spoke very badly. Little did they know that hearing them say that made me very proud. I think they were afraid that I would forget how to speak the Queen's Language. Then the agents would know that I was secretly practicing our dialect, and all of them would be implicated with me. Needless to say that never happened, because as you can see I am still alive, and writing about it.

One girl did leave our circle, and became uppity, or as we say in Antigua *da gyal deh science!* She vowed never to associate with anyone who spoke dialect ever again. Her agent parents supported her decision, showered her with gifts, and told her that she was better than us. After witnessing how the power of dialect was able to suss out a traitor from amongst the midst of our circle, I dedicated my life to speaking badly. Shortly after that I had an epiphany. There were certain dialect words that could be said within earshot of an agent, without the repercussion of crying in the blink of an eye for the violation. At a young age I had discovered my first loophole in life. Of course I did not know it was called a loophole.

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The word that led me to this momentous discovery was fowl-batty. Fowl-batty is the name of a fruit that grows on a vine. It is of similar size, and shape of a chicken's butt hence; the name fowl-batty. The outside is a brightly colored orange yellow, and on the inside are small seeds covered by a thin sweet red membrane. The red membrane is the only edible part of the fruit. Children were the only ones interested in eating fowl-batty. Why? I don't know. Now let me break the name down for you. Fowl as you know is a bird. Batty in the Queen's language means crazy, but in Antigua and Barbuda the word is only used as a dialect term. In our dialect it translates to butt or ass, and filled with the essence of vulgarity. The stereotype that followed the use of the word batty was that you dropped out of school, or you just had no brought-upsy. To say batty in the presence of an agent was the equivalent of strapping on an opened parachute during a hurricane like Hugo or Katrina.

One day I entered the house after a long day of playing along operation shortcut. My guardian agent asked me what was I eating. Without thinking I answered fowl-batty. Realizing that I had violated the speak properly act in the worst way, I tensed every inch of my body as I slowly walked out of range from the punishment that would normally follow. Nothing came instead I heard "what's wrong with you walk properly." To my surprise my guardian agent was focused only on my walk properly violation, which confused me, but it did not scare me. Walk properly had

to be violated at least three times in a day before a punishment would ensue. That was my first violation for the day. I quickly relaxed my body, walked properly all the way to my bed, and stayed out of sight for the remainder of the day.

I tried to understand what had taken place. I pondered, wondered, and slumbered on it. Later that night I awoke, and began wondering, and pondering again. I said fowl-batty over and over again. It was now a magical word, and every time I said it I smiled or laughed. Then it hit me. I never heard it being called anything else, but I now know that the official name is Maiden Blush.

The next day I told my friends about my discovery, and encouraged them to try it in order to test my theory. Of course they looked at me as if I had lost my final marble. They told me to prove it first, and chose the worst agent we knew that terrified us beyond the realms of sanity. He was classified as a super agent. He was so good that parents paid him to terrorize us, and deny us freedom of speech, and free will. This super agent was Mr. Benjamin our school's headmaster. I had to do it. My life was now dedicated to speaking badly, and now I had a chance to start a revolution. We agreed that I would use the American tradition of bringing an apple for the teacher, but instead of an apple I would bring him fowl-batty. This was risky on two levels. Everyone at our school including faculty agents knew that I severely lacked admiration for teachers and Mr. Benjamin. My gesture would be suspect. The second risk was that I would be going up against a super agent capable of seeing through my gesture for what it was, a direct, and deliberate attack on the sanctity of the Queen's language.

On my way to school the next day I traveled along operation shortcut. Fowl-batty grew along that route. I picked a handful, and proceeded to school. All of my friends were bright, and early at school waiting to witness my demise. The news had circulated like wild fire among the students that I would be annihilated by recess. The fascination that children have towards cruelty never ceases to amaze me.

Mr. Benjamin began his rounds, and made his way to our classroom first. This was his way of using his presence to instill fear in us. He entered the classroom, and we all stood at silent attention. He looked over the brim of his glasses with his hands crossed behind his back. The wind stopped blowing, the birds stopped chirping, the bees stopped buzzing, and the sun began to set at eight-thirty in the morning. Mother Nature

knew she would lose a child that very day. It was so quiet I heard a strand of hair hit the floor, and for the first time in my life I heard the blinks of my eyelids. "Good morning class", he said. We replied "Good morning Mr. Benjamin." I raised my hand, which resembled an earthquake with a 9.0 magnitude on the Richter scale. "Speak child", he said. I removed the fowl-batty from my bag, and in a squeaky voice I said "Mr. Benjamin mah bring you some fowl-batty fuh nyam." In unison the class stopped breathing, and my lips mimed the lords prayer, serenity prayer, and two hail Mary's. I never memorized any of them, but at that moment I miraculously knew them all. He walked over to my desk, took the fowl-batty from my hand, smiled, and in a high pitched amused voice he said "I have not had fowl-batty since I was a little boy", and walked out of the classroom. Everyone was amazed. I was on my last breath, and on my way to fainting. I made history! I made a super agent speak dialect, which surpassed my original goal.

A revolution began, and more and more children were speaking badly. The country's literacy rate dropped by twenty percent. I became a local hero. Burning Flames, the most famous band on the island, made a song in my honor named "Ah Rudeness Mek Me" (Rudeness made me). My guardian agents were right after all when they called me Rudolph. The agents became overwhelmed, and negotiations began.

Speaking badly continued opening doors for me throughout the remainder of my life, and allowed me to meet some awesome people. Years later I was all grown up, and living in New York City. The Fowl-batty Revolution was long forgotten, and unfortunately was never documented in the archives of Antigua and Barbuda. I would soon learn that my fame had met its expiration date as well.

I hung out with friends from back home who were students at John Jay University. They were members of the Caribbean club at the university, and I often participated in their activities. One of my friends told me that there was a girl from Antigua that she wanted me to meet. We were introduced, and naturally I spoke our dialect to impress her, and to let her know that I was a proud Antiguan. To my surprise she was appalled by how badly I spoke, and how well I commanded the linguistics of our local dialect. She had the audacity to ask me how long I had lived in America, and why did I speak so badly. I was taken aback by her reprimand, and I began to suspect that she might be an agent. We were close in age so she should have known who I was, and all about the Fowl-batty Revolution. But she honestly had no knowledge of the revolution. Her agent parents

must have been very good, because they kept her away from it. Maybe she was just science was my next thought, which would mean that we could never be friends. However I had to admit that I did not know her, or her family either. Finally our friends intervened, and we worked it out. I found out that she did speak dialect, and actually admired me, because I spoke it with such eloquence. To this day she is one of the most loyal friends that I have. We both owe our undying friendship to fowl-batty, because I suspect that my friends went behind my back and told her that I was a revolutionist and the patriot who started the Fowl-batty revolution. That is really how I won her eternal admiration, but please don't mention this to her, because she would never admit it.

Oh yeah that science girl who left our circle, and became an uppity had a concussion, and forgot how to speak the Queen's language. She can only speak our dialect now, so her uppity friends stopped speaking to her. Her agent parents are now forced to speak dialect in order to communicate with her. Turns out even karma loves our dialect.

Another revolution is coming soon, because according to the lie that I read in *The Antiguan*, a tourist magazine, we only speak English. The agents are obviously back in operation, and they are more organized this time. Civil war is on the horizon, times are getting serious, and cantankerous, so every man, woman, and child needs to arm themselves with plenty fowl-batty. We will rise up, and fight to the last fowl-batty seed to preserve the sanctity of our dialect, and culture.

PÈRE LABAT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE MAKING OF BAMBULA A DYING ANTIGUAN CULINARY PRACTICE

Bernadette Farquhar

Up to the 1950s, bambula—pronounced [bambu 'la]—a variety of cassava bread, was a part of the Antiguan diet, not as a staple, but rather as an occasional substitute for bread made of wheat flour.¹ With reference to food, the word *bambula* is restricted to Antigua in Richard Allsopp's *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*, with *bamboola* and *bamboula* as variant spellings. That dictionary ascribes an additional meaning to the latter spelling: "a lively, African street dance accompanied by singing and drumming" in Trinidad and Tobago and the United States Virgin Islands.

There is other evidence attesting to the use of *bamboula* in the musical sense in the French West Indies, Haiti, New Orleans and St. Lucia. Two French West Indian musicologists, Maurice Jallier and Yollen Lossen, make mention of a kind of drum called *la bamboula* that accompanied the *kalenda*, a sexually suggestive dance in the folklore of Haiti, Trinidad and New Orleans (Jallier and Lossen 19) and use of the word in St. Lucia is documented by Henry H. Breen, who, in a work published in 1844, some thirteen years after his arrival in the island, described a ball that members of its black population held in 1841, reporting that they "gave a bamboula", that is, they engaged in an evening of dance, elaborately dressed (Breen 199). Lorna McDaniel, concurring with Lynne Fauley Emery, asserts that in Haiti the word *bamboula* "was taken to represent a dance event", while *baboula* is a term for "a specific dance style" (McDaniel 82).

McDaniel attributes the origin of both words to a Congolese word *boula*, "which means to beat" (McDaniel 82-83), whereas according to *Le Petit Larousse Illustré* and the *Centre national de ressources textuelles et lexicales*, "*bamboula*" is of Guinean origin. The latter reference posits the forms *ka-mombulon* and *kam-bumbula*, which translate as "drum", as the sources from which *bamboula* is derived and further states that the word occurs in a Haitian poem written in 1757.

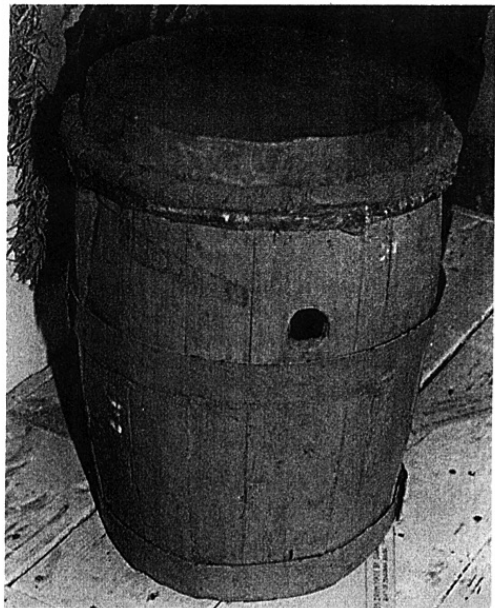
The French language assigns two genders to this entry. As a masculine noun, *le bamboula*, it refers to a variety of African drum, while the feminine, *la bamboula*, labels the dance executed to the music of that drum. The use of the term to refer to a black person is pejorative and outmoded, so that *faire la bamboula* in contemporary French should have the same innocuous meaning as *faire la fête* ("to live it up"), but if stronger in tone, presumably contains no racial slur. However, *faire*

la bamboula was the subject of immense controversy in France in 2011, when the owner of a small bookstore was brought before the justice for using racist remarks, having told a group of disruptive young men “Arrêtez de faire la bamboula”, or “Stop your carousing” (Cassen, 9 January 2012). This prompted one online writer to observe that the word *bamboula* is “*parfaitement fréquentable, de vieille souche guinéenne, mais chez lui depuis plus de trois siècles, au sein de la langue française, où il tient sa place avec honneur.*” (Séгурane, 30 May 2011). In other words, Catherine Séгурane, the writer of the article, identified *bamboula* as a perfectly respectable French word of Guinean origin and of long existence. She went on to remind readers that the word has been in the French language since 1688, pinpointing the year in which its use in French was first documented and its origin identified, by Michel Jajolet de la Courbe, who travelled to the African continent in 1685.²

While use of the word in relation to music is rather well documented, one can only theorize as to its possible association with an Antiguan edible item, given the absence of supporting documentation. There is, however, one hypothesis which might explain the Antiguan usage and link it to the musical instrument to which *bamboula* refers. From photographs of two *boula* drums in Lorna McDaniel’s *The Big Drum Ritual of Carriacou*, it can be seen that the top of the instruments is very similar in shape, relative thickness and colour to a bambula bread (McDaniel 84).

In the same source, McDaniel quotes in translation Jean-Baptiste Labat’s description of the drums, part of which follows below:

One of the ends is open, the other covered with sheep skin or goat skin, without hair, scraped like parchment. The largest of these two drums which they simply called the “big drum” (“grand tambour”) may measure three to four feet in length with a diameter of fifteen inches. The smaller one which is called the “baboula” is about the same length with a diameter of eight or nine inches. (Emery, Lynne Fauley, quoted in McDaniel 85).



10. Two boulas.

Fig. 1. Two *boula* drums with their thickly padded top, which resembles a bambula. From Lorna McDaniel, *The Big Drum Ritual of Carriacou* (Gainseville: University Press of florida, 1998; print; 84).

Jean-Baptiste Labat, a priest of the Dominican Order who lived in the French West Indies from 1693 to 1706, resided mainly in Martinique, but travelled extensively throughout the region, visiting Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, Barbados, St. Thomas, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, and Saba, among other settlements. Often referred in documents as Père Labat and having a reputation for being cunning, he was a keen observer, describing in detail the flora and fauna and way of life in the territories visited. There is no record of his having been to Antigua, although while he was on a return voyage to Martinique after visiting the northern islands, the vessel on which he travelled headed for Barbuda in pursuit of Christopher Codrington, Governor of the Leeward Islands, its passengers hoping to settle scores with the Englishman because he had burned a number of homes in Guadeloupe. Landing in Barbuda in the early morning and learning that Codrington was not there but in Antigua, the French party set out for that island, but apparently didn't get there, distracted by a larger ship that it initially feared, but which turned out to be a merchant vessel, which it pillaged (Eaden 250–254). In addition, Labat makes a brief reference in volume four of his West Indian memoirs to “*Antigue*” and “*la Barboude*” as islands in which a variety of tobacco—*le tabac à langue*—was grown (Labat, *Nouveau voyage*, vol. 4, 497). These two pieces of information are not enough to prove that he had extensive knowledge of life in Antigua and Barbuda, nor is it being claimed here that he ever used the word *bambula* to refer to cassava bread. In French, *manioc*, a word of Tupu or Guarani origin, refers to the cassava plant and its tubers, while *cassave*, from the Taino language, designates the bread which is made from its grated roots.³ What is of interest here is Labat's detailed account of the process of making this type of bread, the main features of which continued in Antigua well into the late twentieth century, although the practice appears to be on the decline, reserved for special events such as food fairs.

It was from the Caribs that the Europeans learned how to prepare this item that was to be a staple of their diet as well as that of the rest of the population. After describing the cultivation of the cassava plant, Labat gives copious details of the bread making process, from the poison which must be extracted from the grated roots, the toxicity due to “*une froideur*”—a coldness—that blocks blood circulation without harming the vital organs, to the storage and shelf life of the bread. (Labat, *Voyage* 101). Once the grated cassava is free of its poison and lumps are removed, the *cassaves* can be made, cooked on a round disk placed on a tripod or placed on stones, under which there is a fire. When the disk is sufficiently

hot, a layer of cassava flour is placed on it. The mixture is turned so that both sides can be cooked thoroughly, producing a bread that on the inside is “*blanc comme la neige*” or as white as snow, the outside being of a light golden colour. For the cooking utensil, the Caribs used a variety of stone found by the sea, which they pared down to the appropriate height, until the Europeans introduced the disks which replaced that stone (Labat, *Voyage* 102). The bread apparently had a delectable taste, as well as the advantage of lasting a very long time—over 15 years according in Labat’s experience—if stored in a dry area. His ultimate assessment of it was that it was very tasty and nutritious, as good as wheat flour and very easy to digest (Labat, *Voyage* 102).

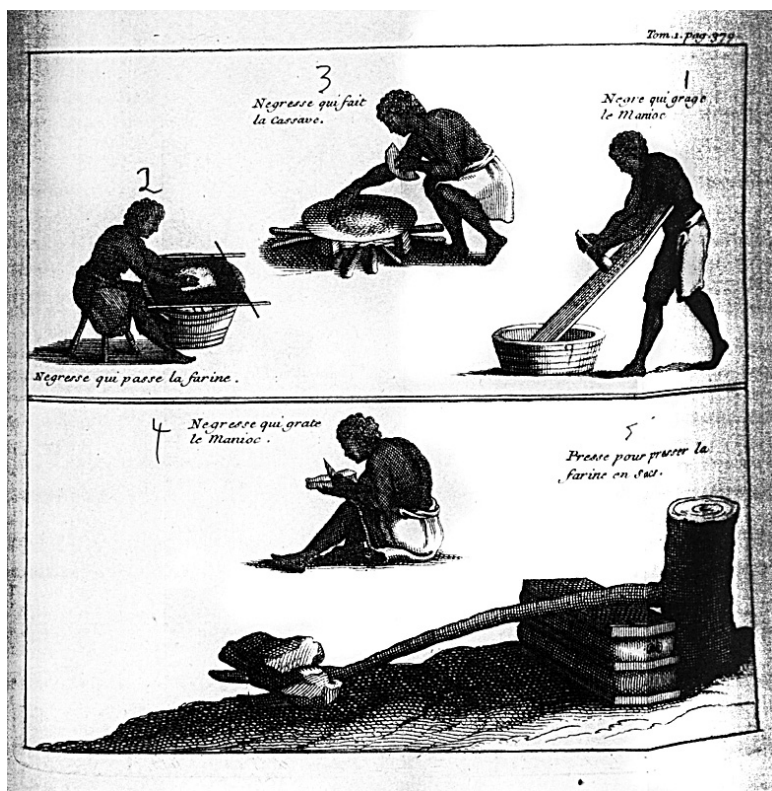


Fig. 2. Cassava being grated, sieved and cooked as bread (1–3), after being peeled (4). Cassava flour being bagged (5). From Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amérique*, vol.1 (Paris: Guillaume Cavelier, 722; print; 379).

Antiguans who can remember bambula making will recognize the process described by Labat, but with three differences. In that island a large rectangular cast iron slab about two feet by four feet replaced the small round disk of Labat's era, which could only produce a few breads at a time. In order to have a perfectly round bread, the grated cassava mixture is poured into cast iron rings approximately four to six inches in diameter. The Antiguan cassava bread also has a layer of grated coconut in the centre.

This bread has become increasingly rare in that island because of changing lifestyles and the decline in agriculture. As described above, the making of bambula is an outdoor activity that does not harmonize well with modern trends. Furthermore, it is labour intensive, even laborious by today's standards and the decline in agriculture in preference for tourism has had an effect on the availability of cassava for bread making. This an example of the weakening of truly authentic cultural practices that define the small countries of the insular Caribbean, a decline due in some measure to the influence of metropolitan practices that are considered less cumbersome and more attractive. In Antigua, the disappearance of an array of locally made sweets and local Christmas decorations is an example of such cultural attrition. Will the bambula go the way of the *trasha*? The *trasha* was another Antiguan bread substitute, made of cornmeal, flour, grated coconut, sugar and spices. The mixture was wrapped in banana leaves and cooked over an outdoor fire in a flat, earthenware receptacle called a *yabba*, a word surviving in the expression "*Yabba* no better dan *kyabba*" (The pot calling the kettle black) after the cooking practice had apparently died out.

Ensuring that the bambula survives requires modernization of its preparation as well as increased cassava cultivation as part of a general agricultural diversification. The need for increased cassava production has been noted in other countries of the region, including Barbados, where on the 31st of May, 2015, *The Barbados Advocate* reported that the Ministry of Education, along with other Barbadian entities and with the assistance of the Food and Agriculture Organization, intended to give new impetus to cassava cultivation in that country by creating cassava by-products, one of which will be cassava buns. The newspaper concludes that "According to the FAO, the cassava crop can contribute to a reduction of CARICOM's high import bill, much of which is spent on wheaten flour and other products that can be replaced with healthier substitutes such as cassava." (*The Barbados Advocate* 5). Important advice from the FAO on the use of local produce and a fillip for the cassava industry, but hardly new. Similar sentiments were expressed by Père Labat centuries ago.

Notes

1. Although the claims being made pertain to Antigua alone, it is likely that the cassava bread in question can also be found in Barbuda, given the islands' small size and their status as a twin-island state. *The Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* restricts its comments on the use of the word bambula to Antigua.
2. The authenticity of sections of *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale*, a work published by Jean-Baptiste Labat (Paris, Guillaume Cavelier 1728) is questioned in various sources. See pages i to ix of the introduction to *Premier voyage du sieur de la Courbe fait à la coste d'Afrique en 1685*, in which Labat is virtually accused by the writer of the introduction of plagiarizing parts of de la Courbe's work to construct an account of life in West Africa as described in the memoirs of André Brue, a merchant and explorer. Labat never visited Africa.
3. According to the unknown author of *Un Flibustier français dans la mer des Antilles en 1618/1620* (Paris, Editions Jean-Pierre Moreau, 1987), cassava was called *turri* by the Indians. He doesn't identify a group or country, stating only that while the common name was *manioc*, the term was "*turri pour nos Indiens*" (*Un Flibustier* 114).

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AN IMMIGRANT STORY, THE ARTS AND SELF KNOWLEDGE

Althea Romeo-Mark

Through the vehicle of poetry and prose, the art form which has chosen me, I share the journey of my people, fortunate and unfortunate immigrants, and West African slaves. Through this medium I will share my personal journey which has inspired my individual growth.

Vessel

I am a bearer of old souls.
Caribbean natives,
the slaughtered, the silenced,
slave trader and slave.

They skirt around each other,
betrayers and betrayed.
Their history is
an unforgotten stench.

But they lay claim to
collective wisdom
born out of
contrasting journeys.

The vessel, though fraught
with contradictions, sails
with the bloodline flowing still
down the river of time. (© Althea Romeo-Mark, 2015)

One of my European ancestors, Robert Finch, would be a sailor in the British navy; another, a Scottish overseer in Nevis, called Hendrikson, and the most powerful ingredient in this genetic stew, are my West Africans forefathers.

New World Bouillon

You need a curious man
called Columbus who carries
a large portion of courage in his bowels.

Add men of similar mind,
men who have nothing to lose.
They are the salt and pepper of adventure.

This is only the beginning
of the melting pot now known
across the Atlantic as the New World.

Add the smell of stories
of roads paved with gold
and battles with blood-thirsty
Tainos, Arawaks and Caribs
that catch the noses of restless
Spaniards, Portuguese and
scions of Vikings, Saxons and Celts,
tired of the tasteless broth of Old World life.

Ravenous for change, they throw themselves
into this stew and, still dissatisfied with the taste,
they add strange ingredients—black slaves,
indentured servants, Chinese and
Indians from the East.

This is not North American soup,
but a South and Central American boiling pot,
a spicy pot filled with temperament hot as chilies.

It has been simmering for centuries
and is the gourmet dish of the world. (A. Romeo-Mark ,
The Caribbean Writer, vol ,29, 2015)

My story is the story of immigration, re-immigration and of continuing immigration. It is a story which expands to three continents, lasts over a hundred years and, in fact never stops. It is the story of my family, the lucky immigrants, the unlucky slaves, survivors.

My grandmother, Sarah Finch, immigrated from Antigua to the Dominican Republic in the early 1900s together with her brother, Robert Finch. Robert Finch started a family there and made the Dominican Republic his home, while my grandmother returned to Antigua with a son—my father, Gilbert Romeo. My grandmother and her brother were among many British West Indians who immigrated to the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica to seek work at the beginning of the 1900s. Many settled in these countries.

Decades later, a rapidly developing tourist industry in the US Virgin Islands (USVI) demanded an increased labor force. The islands (St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John) unable to supply the needed labor, therefore opened the floodgates to immigrants.

Departure/Arrival

I Departure

We are driven away from English Harbour,
 watch the village flee into distance:
 its sea-splashed coves,
 its tiny island houses, some thatched,
 some wearing sun-glintered, galvanized roofs,
 its brown men on cane-stacked donkeys,
 pickers plucking cotton and the smells of
 callaloo, pepper-pot and dukanah
 teasing the sweltering air.
 It is the beginning of losing part of ourselves.

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II Arrival

Father makes a heroic figure
 guiding the landed plane on the runway.
 We watch as its swirling fans settle into standstill.
 Valises in hands, we disembark to new landscapes.

Our old island home is transformed into an idyllic realm.
 Its scenes become locked-away treasure taken out
 with flourish and shared at special gatherings.
 Our hands dance in the valleys and hills of loud recalling.

(A. Romeo-Mark, **Persimmon Tree**, International edition, 2015)

My immediate family, the Romeos, was part of this next big wave of immigration. We left English Harbour, Antigua in the 1950s. My father departed ahead of us for St. Thomas, USVI. My mother, my older brother, younger sister and I, followed in 1956.

My journey as an “*alien*,” as being seen as “*the other*,” had begun. It struck me one day that I had left Antigua, when a schoolmate in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, ridiculed my pronunciation. “*Is not kyat. Is cat.*” I realized then that I was different. Coming from Antigua, we were also called “*Garrots*.” I didn’t want to a “*garrot*” so I learned to say “*cat*” very quickly in order to fit in. Another incident which consolidated my “otherness” was being separated one day in elementary school by an authority into lines of “*aliens*” and natives.

We, the next generation, were fed on stories of intolerable working hours and hardship suffered while building roads and homes, cleaning houses, working as cooks, waiters, maids, elevator operators, doormen and fleeing as immigration officers raided construction sites to arrest illegal workers.

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 166 Our various residences, in St. Thomas, reflected our steady rise in
 ... social status within the working class and these quarters would become
 transitional abodes for family and friends coming from “*down island*.”

After being settled over a period of decades, homes are no longer places of temporary refuge. Islands, from which family formerly fled, are prospering. We have become builders of nations.

The Nation Builders

Brown men crowd an island hilltop,
 voice French-Creole and Spanish,
 not the English patois of generations
 who assembled there before them.

Shrouded in life’s hardness,
 they shrug off morning’s crispness,
 ignore the later sun’s searing sting.
 Hungry eyes, straining downhill,
 scout for trucks crawling up.

Like mongoose out to kill,
they charge the first that slows down.
The man, his engine still running,
shouts, "Two days wuk for four."

Men scramble, shove,
become acrobats, settle into place
speed to hard work and low pay.

The disappointed
remain on the look-out,
wait their turn.

They are builder of island nations.
They are fathers of leaders who see
with the eyes of the disenfranchised.

(A. Romeo-Mark, **The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books**, 2012)

What began as a move from Antigua to the Dominican Republic in search of work has spread far beyond the shores of this island. We are now separated by oceans and continents. My older brother and sister still reside in the US, Virgin Islands while I, having lived in Liberia and England, now live in Switzerland. My younger sister has settled in Sacramento, California. Few relatives remain in Antigua.

Many immigrants have died in their attempt to provide a better life for their families. Their tragic stories are headlines in daily newspapers around the world. We are the lucky ones. The story of immigrants is one of loss, survival and assimilation. We have passed the baton of hardship on to new groups and can laugh at the tribulations shared by our family.

Yet not so far away, in the Dominican Republic, Haitian people who migrated there, when my grandmother and her brother did in the early twentieth century, are victims of xenophobia and racisms.

Dispossessed, Stateless

The call went out, decades ago.

*"We will be your promised land,
if you lend us a hand with our sugarcane."*

Heard by islanders hunting for dreams,
searching for their Eden,
they went in droves to "Santo Domingo."

Some never looked back, as though fearing
they would be turned into pillars of salt.

Decades of slaving in cane fields have neither
spun stalks into gold nor paved streets of gold.

Some returned dressed in Spanish fashion,
pockets filled with little, heads filled
with stories about sheep that listened to wolves.

... For many, unable to return to island homes,
168 Eden is a shanty town or a shack in
... the rum-run Province of San Pedro de Macoris.

Our brethren of Haitian descent, defined by menial labor
they could not refuse, have been betrayed.

Draconian laws constrain and imprison them.

Roofs given decades ago, removed, they are homeless
in the only country they know. (© Althea Romeo-Mark, 2015)

My journey has taken me far. A victim of the Liberian Civil War in West Africa, and seeking refuge in England, and Switzerland, I am fascinated by the mitigating causes of the journey immigrants make, whether, driven by war, natural catastrophes or economics. We have one thing in common. We are the foreigner on whom suspicion is cast upon.

The Nakedness of New

In this place there are
no monuments to my history,
no familiar signs that give me bearings,
no corner shops where food
can take me on a journey home.

Fresh-faced in an old country,
the new lingo is a gurgle in throats.
Strange words assault my ears,
throw me off balance.

I seek refuge in mother-tongue
wherever I find or hear it.
Hunger for my people's voices
has forged odd friendships.
But they have begun to fray
and I cling to shreds.

Cold stares gouge an open wound.
Winter's icy fangs bite deep down.
A "foreigner" is dust in the eye
and many believe I have come
to plunder their treasures.

Come, hug the cold away,
rock me in your arms,
clothe me in your warmth,
tell me everything will be okay
Pull me back from the cliff's edge.

(A. Romeo-Mark, www.liberiaseabreezejournal.com, *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*, 2012)

I lived with fear during the Liberian Civil War and I understand fear. Liberia was home for fourteen years. It connected my West African ancestors to my present. It connected a Virgin Islands past (in Wilmot Blyden) to a Liberian past. These pasts have created a fascinating history which I share.

Liberia began to change with its first military coup—a culmination of a century of resentment by indigenous Liberians, second class citizens in their land. Soon tribalism raised its ugly head and tribal clashes led to a series of attempted coups.

REVOLUTION AND REGGAE (LIBERIAN COUP 1985)

Daylight is changing guard with night
and the radio blares *"Get up, stand up
Stand up for your rights"*
No national anthem.

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Suspicion is soon confirmed
a monotone voice interrupts
the laid back reggae tract
"The people's Revolutionary Party
has taken over the government
stay calm, stay indoors."
"Get up, stand up stand up for your rights."

Bob Marley doesn't know
his song has been hijacked
and drummed into heads
knees weak from fear
do not allow us to stand up.

We gather round a kitchen table
uneasy because of the rat-tat-tat of gun fire
and the singing of drunk "patriots"
prematurely celebrating the coup d'état
celebrating the climb of tribesmen to power
counting on nepotism to rise in stature
to climb the social ladder.

We pray to ride out the storm
'cause a revolution like a hurricane can

change directions, leave death and destruction
in its path as it fights to stay alive.

We switch the radio off
some standing up for their rights
are taking men away
to unknown destinations
despite the pleas of wives and children.

The change brings death for some
slaughtered by men putting them in their places
showing who is the boss, exercising their rights
in the name of destiny and "*Get up, stand up,*
Stand up for your rights," newfound anthem
hostage of a nebulous cause.

(A. Romeo-Mark, **Calabash: A Journal of Arts and Letters**. NYU, vol.
4, no.2, 2007)

And in 1989 when the Liberian Civil War broke out, we fled to England.
It was the beginning of our stay in Europe which we began by declaring
ourselves refugees.

I carry with me the determination of my ancestors. It has allowed me
to take many voyages. It has enabled me to grow and interpret my life
experience in the medium my forefathers have chosen.

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THE MAKING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Juno Samuel

Let me say to you, Dear Reader, that the topic is not just of intellectual curiosity or passing interest to me. To me, if Antigua is to develop, then the University of Antigua and Barbuda will have to be the catapult to launch it into the orbit of real nations. I will therefore never surrender the idea that Antigua and Barbuda must have its own university. If it does not it will remain an educational desert forever under-developed.

The idea of Tertiary Education has lurked in the hearts of Antiguan for over a century. As far back as the early 1800's, the Church Missionary Society had the responsibility for sixteen schools with an enrollment of 2004 students and it immediately became clear that a Trained Teaching Staff would become crucial to the success of the institutions. When they pleaded with their supporters in England for staff they received the following reply in 1824.

“There is no prospect of our supplying you with schoolmasters from hence. You must therefore look for help on the spot and particularly make it a leading object to bring forward free coloured persons.”

Let me editorialize—You must look for help among Antiguan in 2015 and make it the leading object to engage black Antiguan now.

During the same period, Governor Mc. Gregor urged the Colonial office to assist with the training of coloured youth in England. In his draft response the Colonial Secretary informed the Governor that “the British government’s plans for the islands would preclude the necessity for sending youth to Britain”.

So now these educators were forced to train their youth and produce a whole new generation of teachers and hence was born “apprenticed monitors” or later referred to as “pupil Teachers.”

Antigua was the first of the Leeward Islands to initiate teacher training and by 1837 the Mico Training College was established. The Methodists established a training college and the Wesleyan Coke College was born about 1887. The Mico College became a regional centre for training both male and female teachers from the Leeward Islands. In theory, students from the Windward Islands and Guyana were admissible, vacancies permitting. Unfortunately Mico closed in 1899.

The Spring Gardens Training College opened in 1840 as an all-female institution and continuously trained teachers for the next 159 years until it morphed into the Leeward Islands Teachers College in 1959. So then, from 1837 to this day we have been engaged in Tertiary education. This is 178 years. We are not neophytes to this level.

Following the flurry of activities among the educators of the day, our ancestors pushed relentlessly and fearlessly into Tertiary Education. These wonderful souls feared nothing as they launched themselves into Tertiary Education. No equivocation, no squeamishness, no fear!

Alas for the next 174 years, we then languished in the unambitious comfort of the 2 year institution (Jr. College) petrified to move to issuing 4 year Bachelor Degrees. This is astonishing since we now have among us more degreed and credentialed Antiguan and Barbudians than we ever had before. Indeed we lurched from idea to idea without any appetite for moving forward.

In the 1960's the students at the Leeward Islands Teachers Training College had visions of that institution soaring to become a degree granting entity. We looked out at the large plain stretching eastward to Bendals Road and south almost to Bendals and believed that surely this vast expanse of land would be set aside for our degree granting institution. Sadly this vision was blotted with a disorganized sprawling ghetto and as we stumbled, the thought fizzled as that venerable Teachers College lost its identity and its dominance in Teacher Training. Over the next 54 years, the idea of a university in this nation ebbed and flowed including a valiant effort by the late Dr. Charles Ephraim, to bring the idea to fruition.

By 2006, the Government of Antigua and Barbuda with a grant from the European Union contracted the Cambridge Education Consortium -

“To analyse the present structure of the Tertiary sector with particular emphasis on the proposed amalgamation of the 3 Tertiary institutions.”

The analysis was done by Robert Castley consequently his report is referred to as the Castley Report. In his report, Castley expressed the view that although amalgamation of the 3 institutions was desirable that the university status was **“too ambitious.”** He however recommended the following:

1. 3 Tertiary Institutions having a mix of certificate diploma and associate degrees} current
2. Antigua and Barbuda College – 60% associate degrees by 2008
3. Antigua University College – offer 60% full degrees plus some post graduate courses} probably by 2011!!! Fascinating!!

This Castley Report remained shelved and dormant until 2009 when the Government committed itself to establishing the University of Antigua and Barbuda.

Surprisingly, both the Antigua Labour Party and the United Progressive Party endorsed the idea and those who were passionate about this dream felt that this was a vision that would flourish and live forever. Sadly this grand vision has been abandoned and perhaps those in power now believe as the white man, that this vision is still “too ambitious” for a nation of black Antiguan and Barbudians.

It is exhilarating to contemplate that, **174 years ago just out of slavery** we had individuals in Antigua who created and forged an Education system that produced some of the finest educators ever to walk the face of this fair land of ours. Our Antiguan men who studied both at home and abroad had demonstrated such competence, that they soared to the top of their classes. Some of these were Oscar Bird, T.N. Kirnon, P.A.W. Gordon, J.H. Carrot, S.W.A. Davis, Sampson Vidor Martin, Massiah, Rowdan Edwards and others. I suggest that to this day you would be hard-pressed to find anyone in the profession who can walk in the shoes of those Education Behemoths. They were in a class by themselves. This elite group came out of our creation. Our own Education system, forged in the anvil of time through sweat, blood and tears. We made men of steel with fire in their bellies; men of heart and unquenchable spirits; men of courage and commitment.

Now one hundred and seventy four years later since our first attempt at Tertiary Education, it is painful to observe visionless squeamishness, regressiveness and spineless proclamations about why we cannot venture into the brave new world of our own University of Antigua and Barbuda. Are we so fettered, so lost, that the white man’s vision has become ours— Too Ambitious!!

In 2009 the Government formed a Committee to produce a plan to launch the University of Antigua and Barbuda and so I shall be providing

you with some of the thoughts of this Committee. Those of us who are the keepers of this dream are often asked, why do we need a University? What is annoying about this question is the superciliousness in the asking thereof. You see, this question has many layers. It is asking:

- Why don't we just depend on others to educate us?
- Why don't we spend our money on hotels that we do not own nor ever will own?
- Why don't we continue to issue 2 year diplomas?
- Why aren't we satisfied with our status?

Perhaps the questioner would even assert the following:

- We are too small
- Too poor
- Too unimportant

We are unable to manage such an enterprise.

I believe it is only fair that I give you my reason for being obsessed with the idea of the University of Antigua and Barbuda. Let me say, I have no interest, none in discussing any other version other than The University of Antigua and Barbuda.

Now Antigua is an independent Nation and I am convinced that most persons residing in Antigua are totally unaware of this fact as an internalized concept. They are aware of the event of 1981 and the acquisition of the paraphernalia of the event and that is the extent of their distant vision. I am convinced that as an independent nation we must be in total control of our education system from pre-natal to tertiary. I do not wish to have others educate my people. I believe that we need to produce a new generation of graduates who are not just amassers of information but creators and utilizers of this information to solve problems and demolish all barriers to a new revolutionary nationalistic Antigua and Barbuda.

We must create **thinkers** who will tread untrodden paths of knowledge. We must produce leaders who are wedded to their heritage having embraced their Africanness: leaders who are fearless, decision makers with a fierce loyalty to their cultural heritage and their nation of Antigua and Barbuda—nationalists, visionary, revolutionary, compassionate, honest. This is the new liberated Antiguan and Barbudian. It is this person we wish to exit the University of Antigua and Barbuda and launch into the world.

Our fortunes ought not to be vested in the latest empty suit and empty briefcase nor in the latest Negro hustlers, pimps and prostitutes. I would rather invest in the ingenuity of our liberated people for the size of our nation bears no relationship to the size of our intellects. Our own University can be the catalyst, the hatchery of bold new ideas, the well-spring of creativity. Should that day ever arrive, we could build a new Antigua, a new shining city on a hill.

Of course we could stumble along spending 6–8 million dollars annually, sending our youth abroad to far off lands to study with no plans to utilize whatever skills they may have acquired. Further, we know and have the empirical evidence that hundreds of them will never return to us. Therefore, because they will never make any significant contribution to our nation and our development, our education and culture indeed our nation will remain desolate, and we will just be another rock in the sea beset by the latest in a series of crooks and con-men seeking to divest us of this small corner of the world.

In 2009 the Government of Antigua and Barbuda established the University of Antigua and Barbuda Development committee henceforth referred to as UAB Committee. It was charged with the task of:

“Producing a report for facilitating the establishment of the University of Antigua and Barbuda”.

At that time the Committee or at least many on the Committee believed that the matter of UAB was now settled and the Nation would have its own University. The research indicated that not only were we at one time the Centre for Teacher Training for more than a century but a report funded by the Commonwealth Secretariat titled **Antigua and Barbuda Trade Diversification Strategy** posited the following:

“There are numerous opportunities to develop Antigua and Barbuda as a regional Centre of excellence for hospitality and ICT training, building on its previous good reputation.” The report continued: “Combined with opportunities for nursing students and student teachers, it should be possible to attract new overseas students to undertake their studies in Antigua and Barbuda in the medium term”.

The UAB Committee further noted that:

“There is a global shortage of nurses and teachers, so it would serve Antigua and Barbuda well to quickly position itself to take advantage of this shortfall and supply the needs of the world in these areas, training students from all corners of the universe. According to the International Council of Nurses, the need for nurses in the Netherlands, United Kingdom and Canada will greatly exceed their ability to supply the demand. Since 2002, the Bureau of Health Professionals in the US had been predicting that there would be a shortage of nurses and other health professionals by well over 600,000, so as a result these developed nations have been heavily recruiting our professionals.”{Excerpts from University of Antigua and Barbuda Report October 22, 2010 – Page 1 Introduction}

The Committee therefore saw the possibility of UAB becoming the Centre for fulfilling these needs and becoming the World Capital for Training in the selected areas. Because of this, and the role that education can play in the economic diversification strategy, the recommendations made by the Commonwealth Secretariat set out the following:

- The Government should set out its plans and timescale for the establishment of Antigua and Barbuda University as soon as possible.
- Consideration should be given to providing a central campus and student accommodation, either as part of AB University, or independently for ABITT and ABHTI.
- Antigua and Barbuda should be promoted as a regional centre of excellence for hospitality and ICT training.

There was such a plan with the intent to construct a small Teaching Hotel at ABHTI.

- The Government needs to ensure that it creates the correct enabling environment at all levels, to facilitate the expansion of AUA and other similar international training facilities.

Potential gains for economy through education services is set out below:

	Contribution to GDP US\$M	% GDP	Employment Workforce	%Total
Educational Tourism	38	3.9	900	2.4

In light of the fact that whatever the diversification strategy is, the nation cannot progress unless it creates a well-trained human resource pool.

Let me now turn to the question of how we would organize the University of Antigua and Barbuda. In addition to what has been posited before, we believed that we must establish our University to meet the growing demands for tertiary education that our high school graduates have been generating. With our high schools producing around 900 graduates a year, the key question becomes exactly what are we planning to offer these students in the way of the higher education they are seeking. Total enrollments in tertiary education in Antigua and Barbuda average around 1300, and we are likely to continue to grow with the regionalization (CSME) and globalization of economic life. In our view, this annual output of around 900 secondary graduates and current enrollment of around 1300 students in tertiary institutions is more than a significant basis upon which to begin to plan the University of Antigua and Barbuda. We think that current enrollments could easily be expanded through advertising in the OECS and further afield.

In the first phase of its development, the following disciplines can be established into the following broad interdisciplinary areas and the granting of Bachelor degrees in these integrated interdisciplinary areas. More specifically, we suggest that the existing disciplines be grouped in the following way:

- the humanities,
- the school of nursing,
- the social sciences,
- the natural sciences,
- the school of education,
- business and information technology,
- hospitality and hospitality management,
- agriculture and environment sciences

In the social science group, we would have theoretical and methodological courses in disciplines such as economics, sociology, psychology, political science and archeology.

The nursing program in Antigua and Barbuda has been in existence for more than half a century providing exceptional training and credentialing of our graduates. Those who completed this program successfully received a diploma in general nursing and midwifery. Over the years the authority for credentialing was ceded to the General Nursing Council and an external examining body which now grants diplomas to our nurses after they have successfully completed their requirements. As a testament to the high standard and skills demonstrated by our nurses wherever they have worked throughout the world, their skills have been highly valued and as a matter of fact, the respect for our nurses has acquired almost legendary status. Now aggressive recruitment drives have been launched from far off lands, both formally and informally, to secure the services of our professionals. Building upon this reputation and experience, we believe that now we can move forward to having our School of Nursing offering a Bachelor Degree in the University of Antigua and Barbuda. We believe that various specialties at this level can be developed to supply the nursing needs both at home and abroad.

The School of Education is the department with the greatest longevity and the most maturity. Indeed Antigua has been training its teachers for over a century with great success. We do have in place all the human resources necessary to expand our curriculum and offer to our people the Bachelor and the Masters of Education degrees. Therefore, we should now move swiftly to establish this program and to add the specialty of Special Education. With thoughtful and clever marketing we can seize the moment and draw our students from the rest of the Caribbean as well as further afield.

As the world gallops heading into the brave new cyber world, the UAB must position itself to benefit from this revolution. We do not have to build self-driving automobiles nor sophisticated robots of other kinds but we certainly can launch from the University of Antigua and Barbuda well trained sophisticated innovative young computer experts and the world will beat a path to our door steps to avail themselves of this army of professionals. This army of experts will spawn new businesses and all the ancillary support systems will be a rush of never ending opportunities for all.

It is useful to note that there is the large number of college employees who could provide a fertile pool of potential professors for our university. Most importantly though, a substantial number of the 68 full and part-time employees at ABIIT and the ASC who now hold Masters degree will have to be afforded the opportunity to upgrade their qualifications to the doctoral level so that they can become the new builders of the new University of Antigua and Barbuda. Whereas the UAB Report covers broad areas of importance, the recommendations also form a significant part of this working document.

Recommendations

While this UAB report lays out the broad framework for the University of Antigua and Barbuda, it is understood that a University is an ever-evolving entity and must change to meet the needs of the times and the needs of those it serves. There are six major recommendations I shall touch on:

Recommendation #1

Establish an Implementation Committee headed by the Minister of Education.

As has been stated in this document, we recognize that two of the three major institutions involved in this venture fall under separate ministries. The Hospitality Institute falls under the Ministry of Tourism and the Antigua and Barbuda International Institute of Technology resides in the Free Trade Zone which falls under the Ministry of Finance. Both institutions are publicly funded colleges. They are educational institutions and there can be no justification for these institutions to be operating outside of the ambit of the Ministry of Education. If this venture is to be successful, it will be necessary to change their legal status. Our recommendation there is:

Recommendation #2

Abolish the Board governing the Antigua and Barbuda Hospitality Training Institute; remove the Antigua and Barbuda International Institute of Technology from the Free Trade Zone and the Ministry of Finance and place both institutions under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education.

It is evident that the University of Antigua and Barbuda must have a governing structure which will allow it to function very differently from the civil service. To this end, even though it will be a public institution under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, it must be an independent body. The University must be able to raise funds and disburse funds for its operation. It must be able to enter into contracts for services and capital expenditure and to do all things necessary for a successful University.

Recommendation #3

The Implementation Committee should meet with the Ministry of Legal Affairs to discuss the University of Antigua and Barbuda Act. Soon after this meeting and the finalization of the Act, the Government should proceed to Parliament to have the Act passed.

It is clear that although there are a number of persons in Antigua and Barbuda with first degrees and Masters degrees, we must begin the process of carefully selecting individuals to staff the University of Antigua and Barbuda. Beginning immediately, we should identify individuals who would be enthusiastic contributors to this venture.

Recommendation #4

Begin immediately to identify a core of individuals who can utilize training opportunities abroad and return to Antigua to staff the University. Those selected must be willing to play the roles of pioneers in a new venture with all its complexities.

We now have at our disposal three (3) campuses with an inexplicable amount of duplication. In the case of Business Education, identical Business and Computer courses are offered at both the Antigua and Barbuda Institute of Technology and at the Antigua State College.

Recommendation #5

We recommend that all business and computer courses be consolidated on the northern campus at Coolidge. This will make room to return the School of Nursing and/or the School of Education to the Golden Grove Campus.

We see the future location of the campus of the University of Antigua and Barbuda to be at Coolidge to be referred to as the Northern Campus.

Recommendation #6

It is therefore recommended that all Government property in the Coolidge area be ceded to the University of Antigua and Barbuda Trust. This will include all real estate now under the control of the Free Trade Zone, all property now occupied by the armed forces and all property occupied by the Antigua and Barbuda Hospitality Training Institute. Further all property under the control of the United States, whenever relinquished by the US Government, should be ceded to the University of Antigua and Barbuda Trust for further expansion of the University of Antigua and Barbuda.

So Where are We Now

From the day the UAB committee was constituted the savaging of the idea commenced. One famous overseas Antiguan even declared that she “would have nothing to do with this”. The committee worked hard and with great enthusiasm dreaming of the day when this project would come to pass. Dr. Paget Henry and his team made a sterling contribution and the many here today witnessed our conference on education at the Hospitality Center at Dutchman’s Bay.

In time the plan was completed and from that day the fires of opposition intensified and flames roared to destroy this dream. As we the keepers of the dream advanced the issue, excuses were manufactured to derailed the proposition. A writer once said:

Excuses are tools of the incompetent
Used to build bridges to no where
And those who specialized in them
Seldom accomplish anything else.

The government’s resolve was paralyzed and even those who promoted and seemingly supported the idea failed to move forward aggressively. The University of Antigua Act was shelved as a stubborn Attorney General refused to take this Act to the Parliament of Antigua and Barbuda. Instead an act called the State College Act was introduced in Parliament signaling the abandonment of the dream of the University of Antigua and Barbuda. Now the betrayal of that dream is manifest in the promotion of another misguided aberration called a University at Five Islands. So now the UAB plan will join the many plans which preceded it and gather dust on some bureaucratic shelf never to be seen again.

Finally let me end by saying this. When this University of Antigua and Barbuda was promoted as a reality, it was like a plant which was placed in the soil with great care and enthusiasm. It was watered and nurtured by many and Antigua roared its approval. The schooled and the not so schooled relished the idea of even extending their education and to rub shoulders and minds with some of the brightest and best from around the world.

They thought that strangers would come to our land and tell of their land and their language and their culture and their dreams of a new world. We would join and tell of our story and together seek to change the world.

Alas! Some of those who embraced this great idea abandoned the dream and joined with the white man who declared that this vision, this dream was **too ambitious** for us. Those philistines took their tools of savagery and simply chopped the tree down. They destroyed this tree of life, this tree of development, this tree which would bloom and blossom and send its sweet perfume of success throughout Antigua and Barbuda and to many distant lands. Men and women would have been drawn to this tree for under this evergreen tree, eager human beings would have sought shade from the scorched, barren and desolate education landscape. This landscape is now littered with the bones of those who went before and only ruined edifices, gnarled trees and broken windows remain. Now the bitter erie winds of time howl across this education desert. All is lost!!! The University of Antigua is if not dead certainly comatosed.

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BOOK REVIEWS

OF SETTLING DUST, TRANSITION, AND TRANSFORMATION

Valerie Knowles-Combie

Althea Romeo-Mark. *If Only the Dust Would Settle: Selected Poems*. UK Ltd.: Author House, 2009. 100 pp. pb.

Althea Romeo-Mark's collection of selected poems, *If Only the Dust Would Settle*, is the outgrowth of a series of poetry readings commissioned by VITA (Verein für Interkulturelle Treffpunkte und Anlaufstellen), an "umbrella organization that focuses on the integration of immigrants into Switzerland." Romeo-Mark's introduction explains that her poems are connected to a personal essay, "A Home with Endless Space" (7), a very significant construct that reinforces the meanings of "home" and "space" to the author's primary theme. While her poems are divided into five sections, Romeo-Mark's skillful allocation of each poem develops the theme while simultaneously highlighting pivotal episodes in her life, which clarify and support her message. The five sections may be classified as periods of transportation or transition, which finally lead to transformation. As a self-declared "immigrant," Romeo-Mark weaves the fabric of her professional and social lives into her cultural experiences, which result in an insightful collection of poetry and prose. Her introduction to each section describes the author's journey from her birth in Antigua to her present status as a Swiss citizen, while the poems trace her movements and growth.

Romeo-Mark's inclusion of a German translation of each introduction and each poem makes her work more accessible to a wider group of readers, primarily those of her adopted home: Switzerland. This bilingual collection conveys a strong message as it portrays the author's attempted assimilation into various cultures and her ultimate Swiss acculturation and citizenship.

In the first part of the collection: "The Caribbean Scene," Romeo-Mark's autobiographical essay introduces the Caribbean and the author's attempts at assimilation, even though she claims possession of a nomadic spirit, "which makes her conclude that she is 'a perpetual outsider'" (9). These attempts are further described through the seven poems that follow. First, she introduces some traditions of her Caribbean heritage. The poem "Graveyard Sagas" ("Friedhof Sagas") details some Antiguan /Caribbean traditions related to funerals. Not only did "Men gather at a nearby bar; / drink straight rounds of rum/ in honor of the dead" (15), but as the funeral procession went "through the town/... each shop/ closed its door" (15).

Traditions are often combined with proverbs, more commonly known as Caribbean wise sayings, such as is depicted in “West Indian Wisdom” (“Westindische Weisheit”): “Don’t ever point/at a graveyard! . . . / Bite you’ finger quick/ before it rot and fall off” (20). This poem rekindles memories and invites the readers to reminiscence about some of the wise sayings with which we have been raised. The funeral proceedings have changed significantly, so that a millennial would think that the present environment surrounding the funeral has always existed. Today, the burden of the funeral with its accompanying accoutrements is assumed by the undertaker, which removes the community involvement as had been observed during Romeo-Mark’s childhood. Her references to traditions rekindle memories for her contemporaries, while they educate younger readers about the practices and traditions that were observed then.

Magda in the eponymous poem “Magda,” is the portrait of a typical Caribbean woman whose “life is church, / her son, Raphael, / a collection of hats/ paraded on Sundays/ and Cuthbert, the husband she mostly hates” (26). Her priorities are clearly defined, but the reader knows the true ranking.

Romeo-Mark imperceptibly progresses from childhood to maturity by the selection of her poems. She also includes anecdotes of her culture, which revive images of a period in the past and a kind of usage that is slipping from the language and from people’s experiences.

It is not surprising that Part II is titled “The American Scene,” which introduces us to the author’s relocation to the United States Virgin Islands and her subsequent graduate work on the US mainland. It is significant to note that the introduction of the second section begins thus: “Escaping to the USA . . . “(38). This prefigures the author’s life that she describes as “nomadic,” which will later require her to escape from Liberia for her safety. The author connected very readily with African students who became her friends. She writes: “Although we came from different sides of the world, I felt at home with them. We shared a common spirit, a cultural bond and were not fettered by the past. We shared common foods, for example, cassava, plantain, yams, and Anansi stories” (38). That bond would lead to a closer affiliation with Africa.

The descriptive poems portray an American landscape that includes the flora, fauna, and uninhibited people who openly display their affection or lust as is demonstrated in “The Kiss” (“Der Kiss”). “She sucks his lips,

/ lingers as if/ siphoning life We turn our heads away, / pretend we haven't seen/ their tongues tango" (44). Her unstated embarrassment is a typical behavior, vestiges of her Caribbean heritage, which required proper decorum at all times with no public display of affection. Is this the poet's unstated comparison of the great disparities between the apparent modesty of the Caribbean and that of the United States? Her use of alliteration adds a special dimension as it creates images of dancers' gyrating bodies as they perform the tango.

In the final poem in this section, "Can I Borrow Your Smile?" ("Kannichmirdein Lacheinborgen?"), the author conveys an image that rekindles memories of Ellison's *Invisible Man*. She writes: "I am/ becoming/a ghost" (48). Not only is she ignored, but there are serious implications that negatively affect her life. She is not undeterred, however, as she expresses further in the poem: "I must stoke up/ my flagging spirit/ battered/ and cold/ from long journeys/ filled with/ blistering winters" (48). The poet hints at the resilient spirit that refuses to give up in despair. Her spirit may be "battered"; she may be chilled by the "blistering winters" she has experienced, but the indomitable spirit of her forebears buoys her on. It is this spirit that reappears throughout the collection, a prediction of the poet's experiences and the final outcome.

This poem ends "The American Scene," where the poet seems to have barely survived though "battered and cold" (48). The journey motif recurs as she talks of "long journeys" and "blistering winters" (48). The poet juxtaposes this section between "The Caribbean Scene" of her birth, growth, and maturation and the "Liberian Scene." Her enlightenment comes with a price she seems unable to afford, but she needs a positive flavor in her life. Thus, she borrows a child's smile because she does "not wish to steal" (48). A child's smile is unrehearsed, guileless, innocent. The poet infers a return to her innocent childhood, a period of rebirth, which she experiences later in life. This is an excellent way to transition to the next phase of her life.

During "The Liberian Scene," the poet "felt at home" (50). She saw similarities between Antigua and Liberia not only in the foods, but in the stories and traditions. She became so entrenched in the Liberian life that she states,

Although I was born in Antigua, Liberia was more of a home to me than Antigua ever was. I lived there longer than in my birth home. Liberia connected the past of my African ancestors to my present. It connected a Virgin Islands past (in Wilmot Blyden) to a Liberian past. These pasts created a fascinating history, which I share. (52)

Unfortunately, that idyllic life soon changes with a military coup followed by other coups that forced the family to seek refuge in a more stable environment.

The poems in this section register a different tone, a sinister message with revolutionary overtones. In describing the Liberian Coup of 1998, the poet invokes the lyrics of the late Bob Marley's song "Get up, stand up/stand up for your rights" (62), but death and carnage are the results.

The title poem "If Only the Dust Would Settle" ("Wenn nur der Staubsichlegte") describes The Liberian Civil War 1989-2003. The poet graphically describes the survivors' experiences during the civil war. As they reminisce on those times, their "laughter camouflages pain" (66) while they describe their harrowing experiences. "They stumbled over the dead/ while fleeing to safety, marched long/across borders, battling searing sun/ and battering rain, skirted dogs/ devouring the flesh of swollen corpses" (66). Through it all, their resilient spirits willed them on. "Despite the horrors that drove them/ from their land, some crave home/ where they were their masters, / would surrender beautiful houses/ for huts in their villages" (67). The settling of the dust would revive their hope, but will the dust ever settle?

At the beginning of Part IV: "The British Scene," the poet claims that "England was a temporary home" (70), which is reflected in the two poems in this section. They also reflect the difficulties experienced by the family whose status has been reduced to that of refugees. Despite the change in location and status, the grief for lost friends and home, the poet realizes that she and her family are among the fortunate ones who have lost their "independence" (73), but they are still alive. She captures her sorrow and embarrassment cloaked in images of "soft silk memory" (76). Here again the poet resorts to alliteration to portray an image of apparent contradiction. And yet the journey continues. The image of the "nomadic" life reappears, but resolutely, the family moves on. The author's experience becomes more credible today when the news focuses

on refugees, primarily those from Syria, victims of the political upheavals in their homeland. The words stated by the immigration officer over two decades ago resonate today “Everybody’s coming to Switzerland” (78).

The final section brings the author full circle, not literally, but emotionally. She is resigned to her fate and is more accepting of Switzerland as her home. Is her poem “Castaway” (“Verlassen”) an autobiographical reflection of her status? Has she transitioned from a nomad to a “castaway”?

The poet summarizes her status beautifully in “The Familiarity of Strangers” (“Vertrautheit unter Fremden”) when after describing the behaviors of various people, she realizes that “People burst out of cocoons after a few beers,/ turn into butterflies, take wing in the unity of exclusion” (84).

The final poems in this anthology of selected poems present a paradigm shift in the poet’s mindset. The light tone and the hints of a dialect in “I Becoming Swiss” (“Ich werde zur Schweizerin”) describe a contented mind basking in the cultural appendages of the Swiss and even hinting at self-deprecation. As I read the poems, I detected a progression that led me to Kubler-Ross’ stages of grief. While there was no explicit statement of denial, anger, bargaining, depression, or acceptance, the tone of the poems leads the reader to detect a progression beginning with her denial of the coup that would destabilize their lives. This leads to anger as the poet and her family are robbed of their comfortable life and even descend into refugee status. The bargaining is followed by depression, and finally acceptance. In the last poems, no longer does the poet unburden her sadness or depression, but she revels in her transformation. She recounts the many ways she is adapting to the Swiss lifestyle in her diet: “I find myself eating raclette and fondue” (86). Her forms of disclosures have also changed “ . . . and if strangers/ come up to me and want to chat friendly/ I think they batty, especially if they want/ to talk ‘bout family. It’s too personal, you see. / I getting irritated when people not on time. / Before I never used to mind. / I don’t call out to me friends in the street/ ‘cause it’s not discreet” (86). Socially, her life has changed and she “can even understand a little Swiss German” (87). This is a definite sign of her acceptance of her fate. The dust is settling, and having experienced the earlier stages of grief, the poet experiences a transformation that is obvious even in her writing.

Althea Romeo-Mark's book of selected poems *If Only the Dust Would Settle* autobiographically portrays her life through art, poetry, and prose. Each section describes the author's life and the poems demonstrate the author's emotional state. From the Caribbean to the United States, on to Africa and Europe, Romeo-Mark makes herself vulnerable as she presents the episodes of her journey while simultaneously demonstrating her resilient spirit.

Whether you speak English or German, you will enjoy learning about the poet's very rich life and experiences. Her brief historical documentation of her many homes triggers interest in learning more; thus, this book will prove to be didactic as well as entertaining. It seems as if the dust, indeed, will settle as she and her family settle into their chosen paths. This brief anthology will appeal to a wide cross-section of people by virtue of the author's experiences and her adroit manner of capturing and relating them.

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NATASHA LIGHTFOOT AND THE WRITING OF ANTIGUAN AND BARBUDAN HISTORY:

A REVIEW ESSAY

Paget Henry

The history of Antigua and Barbuda is still very much in the process of being written. Long forgotten or ignored documents and texts from different periods of our past are still being uncovered. The recent recovery of the books of Henry Redhead Yorke is just one important case in point. Professor Natasha Lightfoot's new book, *Troubling Freedom: Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation*, is truly a major contribution to this important enterprise of writing the history of Antigua and Barbuda. It advances this project by hundreds of academic miles as it covers in great detail the everyday struggles of the working people of our twin-island state just before and immediately after "emancipation" from slavery in 1834. In the words of its author, "this book tells the story of how Antigua's black working people struggled to realize freedom in their everyday lives, before and after slavery's legal end, as well as the transformative nature of their many letdowns and few triumphs along the way" (2).

In executing this clearly defined goal, *Troubling Freedom* opens with a stage-setting overview of Antigua in the 19th century. From there it takes up the slave rebellion of 1831 that was triggered by the attempts of imperial and local elites to end the practice Sunday marketing by the enslaved Africans. Following her detailed account of this slave rebellion, Lightfoot examines in breathtaking detail what she calls "freedpeople's quotidian survival tactics from 1834 through the 1850s" (3). Capping this particular trajectory, *Troubling Freedom* closes with an equally detailed examination of another uprising by the working people of Antigua and Barbuda. This one was the long-forgotten 1858 uprising that was triggered by an altercation between a Barbudan and an Antiguan worker. The scholarly community owes Professor Lightfoot a great debt of gratitude for recovering this important insurrection from its long burial in the archives and returning it to a very visible place in our consciousness.

There are many scholars who have contributed to the writing of Antigua and Barbuda's history. Vere Oliver, Mary Prince, Mrs. Lanahan, John Luffman, Douglass Hall, Novelle Richards, David Barry Gaspar, Brian Dyde, and Keithlyn Smith, among others, come immediately to

mind. To this special list of scholars, we must now add Natasha Lightfoot. *Troubling Freedom* has earned her a rightful place in this important pantheon of the writers of our history.

The above authors, each in their distinct ways, have made important contributions to this project of writing our history. For example, in his *Bondmen and Rebels*, David Barry Gaspar has given us the most detailed account of the planned 1736 insurrection available. In *The Struggle and the Conquest*, Novelle Richards captured for us the struggles of the 1940s that led to the formation of the Antigua Trades and Labour Union. In his *History of Antigua*, Brian Dyde has attempted to give us a comprehensive overview of what we have done on the historical stage. In *No Easy Pushover*, Keithlyn Smith has provided us with a detailed account of another crucial moment in the history of the Antiguan and Barbudan working class: the 1960s struggles that led to the formation of the Antigua Workers Union. In *Troubling Freedom*, Lightfoot's special contribution is also about a distinct period in the life and self-formation of the Antiguan and Barbudan working class: its everyday oppositional and organizing practices between 1831 and 1858. Her examination of this period is so thorough that *Troubling Freedom* is sure to be the standard work on this period of our history for a long time to come.

In addition to its focus on mundane acts of resistance, *Troubling Freedom* is also about troubling the nationalist conceptions of freedom that many scholars have used to interpret the historical record of Black Antiguan and Barbudan resistance. With her focus on the quotidian or the mundane, Lightfoot wants to break with these nationalist readings of the quest for freedom in the immediate pre- and post-slavery periods in Antigua and Barbuda. Further, she wants to show that these everyday acts of resistance did not always lead immediately to improvements in the lives of the enslaved or the oppressed. She writes: "ultimately, I complicate the concept of resistance, in both mundane and spectacular forms, by pointing out its unintended and restrictive consequences for oppressed communities. The narrative of valiant and unified subaltern struggles against domination by the powerful, while recognizable and seductive, does not account for the range of acts chronicled in this book, which in this chaotic period were as ambiguous as they were courageous" (5). Hence we get Lightfoot's statement: "*Troubling Freedom* offers an unromanticized account of aspects of the past that have remained unstudied because of the discomfort that facing them honestly entails" (6). The advantageous difference that Lightfoot thinks her approach will make is the extent to which it makes clear the ambivalent and self-

contradictory nature of many of the acts of resistance undertaken by Antiguan and Barbudan workers. In short, at the theoretical level of conceptualizing the post-slavery freedom practiced by Antiguan and Barbudan working people, this focus on the quotidian and the ambivalent is Lightfoot's attempt to distinguish her approach from that of the more romanticized nationalist ones.

The Sources of Quotidian Ambivalence

The roots of the ambivalence that Lightfoot uncovers in the everyday acts of resistance by Antigua and Barbuda's "freedpeople" are to be found in what she calls "the hostile context" that white elites in both Britain and at home created for Black Antiguan and Barbudan workers. In this hostile post-slavery context, the colonial status of the territory remained unchanged, thus denying "freedpeople" political rights or access to state power; the economic and political hegemony of the planters remained very much intact, although weakened by the abolition of slavery; the dominance of the Christian churches over African religions increased during this period; structures of white supremacy remained basically unchanged as did structures of colonial patriarchy that developed during the period of enslavement. In addition to the persistence of this oppressive context in the post-slavery period, the planter class was constantly using its continued control of local state power to block Black workers efforts at advancement wherever they appeared to threaten their power, interests or profits.

Under these multiple layers of continuing hostility, Lightfoot argues that the responses of Black working people were not always unified or carefully thought out. On the contrary, quite often these freedpeople acted out of frustration and ended up doing things that compromised or contradicted their manifest drive for freedom and self-betterment. This is what accounts for the ambivalence in the "oppositional acts" and "frustrated efforts" of post-slavery Antiguan and Barbudans to build a new life for themselves.

As a good example of what Lightfoot means by mundane acts of resistance, she develops in great detail and with admirable care the mobility of slaves on and off plantations, into and out of major urban areas in spite of the legal regulations governing their movements. This oppositional mobility was closely linked to the activities that enslaved people had to engage in if their Sunday marketing was to be a success. Thus Lightfoot writes: "white elites, cognizant of their own inability to regulate slaves' activities beyond work, tacitly accepted the everyday

transgressions slaves regularly committed in their socializing about town and frequent movement between town and countryside. Their tolerance functioned as a safety valve to prevent the disastrous consequences of slave uprisings, which rarely occurred in Antigua, especially from the latter half of the eighteenth century onwards" (22). Lightfoot's treatment of slave mobility around marketing activities as an importance instance of mundane resistance sets the stage very nicely for the examination of the much more organized 1831 uprising in protest against the decision to end Sunday marketing.

Also important for the later chapters of this book is the particular concept of quotidian freedom implicit in these acts of oppositional mobility. It is a bodily centered conception of freedom that is actualized in motion, and the parameters of which are always being tested and negotiated. At that particular point in the historical formation of our working class, freedom's bodily movements were defined and circumscribed by an entrepreneurial/marketing set of spatial parameters. This is the conception of freedom, and the attempts to expand it, that will inform Lightfoot's further analyses of mundane resistance in subsequent chapters.

In the period after emancipation on August 1st 1834, our author explores the many ways in which ex-slaves attempted to expand the spatial and entrepreneurial parameters of the body-centered freedom that the ending of slavery brought them. They pushed against this freedom's pre-emancipation boundaries by expanding and moving into areas that were previously closed to them. In doing so, they pushed against the stipulations of the Contract Act, the piece of legislation that the planters passed in the local parliament to maintain their control over the labor of the ex-slaves. Lightfoot notes that this Act "was prompted by the disputes regarding time and work discipline that arose as newly emancipated people sought to expand their provisioning and marketing activities or engage in other pursuits of their own choosing" (87). Lightfoot further underscored the importance of this increased Black worker mobility throughout Antigua and Barbuda by noting: "their mobility within and beyond the island greatly alarmed planters, for it signaled their waning control over what had been a captive workforce" (87).

In developing this notion of freedom in entrepreneurial motion even further, Lightfoot points out the continuities between practices of quotidian freedom during the slave period and those of the post-slavery period. She writes: "emancipated people's multilayered challenges to the

Contract Act were similar to the tactics they had previously employed as slaves, simultaneously evoking their standing as subjects of the British Crown to prevent the encroachments of powerful local whites and engaging in extralegal tactics to uphold their material interests" (87). With this demonstration of the continuities in the slavery and post-slavery conceptions and practices of freedom, Lightfoot established beyond doubt the importance of mundane act of resistance to the economic and political formation of the working people of Antigua and Barbuda.

Before leaving this crucial topic of quotidian concepts of freedom and acts of resistance, it is important to note here the brilliant ways in which Lightfoot expands these notions to include Afro-Antiguan and Barbudan resistance to post-slavery attempts to Christianize them. Indeed she devotes a whole chapter to these practices of religious resistance and links them to the opposition of freedpeople to white attempts to recode their gender, sexual and family relations on the patriarchal model of the Victorian era. As we noted earlier, the influence of the Christian churches increased significantly in the post-slavery period. Using Moravian church records from this period, Lightfoot carefully documents the efforts of this church to police and reorder the family, sexual and religious lives of the newly emancipated Antiguan and Barbudans. In particular, she focuses on the many instances in which Afro-Antiguan and Barbudans defiantly continued to practice their African religion of Obeah and to inhabit African matrifocal forms of family life. This insistence on living these lifestyles, Lightfoot links to the spatial forms of quotidian resistance examined earlier. The result is a picture of the working people of Antigua and Barbuda in constant acts of everyday resistance that progressively increased their earlier body-centered sphere of freedom.

At the same time that Lightfoot examines these acts of religious and family-based resistance, she also makes space for detailed revelations of instances of Black male violence against Black women, which are contained in these Moravian records. On this important point she writes: "the literature's reluctance to acknowledge the violation of black women's bodily integrity by black men under slavery stems from a long standing impulse to portray black families as a refuge from white domination and to prove the resilience of their social ties despite the extremity of their oppression. The silence about gendered fissures within black families in freedom stems from similar sources" (144). Lightfoot has clearly broken this silence as she makes yet another major contribution to the writing of the history of Antigua and Barbuda.

A Short Critical Engagement

From all that I have said, there should be no doubt in your mind as to the importance of *Troubling Freedom* for the writing of Antigua and Barbudan history and, in particular, its accounts of everyday acts of Black worker resistance between 1831 and 1858. Lightfoot's detailed analyses these oppositional actions will stand the tests of time. Consequently, in this critical engagement, my concern is not to challenge any of these details, as I have not mined the many archives in which our author has clearly spent many hours. Rather my aim is to trouble the binary distinction that Lightfoot establishes early in her book between the "mundane and spectacular forms" of resistance. She suggests that the latter are rare, more unified, make more explicit challenges to structures of power, and for these reasons have been valorized and even romanticized by earlier scholars. In contrast, acts of quotidian resistance "were not always clear-cut acts of opposition to power and did not always advance the broader cause of social justice" (5). As a result, these acts tend to be undervalued and often ignored by the scholarly literature. Although I think it is important to make this distinction, pushing it too far can block the seeing of vital connections and intermediate forms of resistance between the quotidian and the spectacular. Further this binary can also obscure the conditions and resources that can make one form of resistance take on features of the other.

Thus we cannot escape the striking fact that Lightfoot tells us that "the two remarkable moments of civil strife in 1831 and 1858 that bookend this story, are also critical to how I rethink this trajectory of resistance" (5). This act of bookending the story of these quotidian acts of resistance between two acts of non-quotidian or moderate resistance was made necessary by the concrete and observable connections between these two moments of civil strife and the everyday oppositional actions that occurred in the years between them. However, the rigid deploying of this binary distinction inhibited a fuller exploration of these connections. For example, Lightfoot acknowledges that these "quotidian survival strategies fed into black working people's rare yet revelatory moments of collective and violent political protest" (4). She also acknowledges that "prior to the genesis of formal, institutional modes of political and economic struggle, everyday life in postslavery Antigua was the laboratory for black working people's politics" (4). These are clear statements of connections between the mundane and the spectacular forms of resistance but they are not systematically developed.

The need for this more systematic treatment becomes even clearer when we take note of the fact that Lightfoot's two non-quotidian bookends are themselves bookended by two even more spectacular instances of Black worker resistance: the very carefully planned 1736 uprising and the struggles of the 1940s that gave birth to modern Antigua and Barbuda. Both of these uprisings were nationalist in their goals, island wide in their organization, and thus openly challenged existing structures of power. David Barry Gaspar's account of the leadership and military tactics of King Court and his close colleagues gave us a very good idea of the conditions and resources needed for transforming quotidian into spectacular forms of resistance. Similarly, the Novelle Richard's and Brian Dyde's accounts of the leadership and non military tactics of V.C. Bird and his close colleagues have also provided us with important lessons regarding the conditions and resources needed for transforming everyday forms of resistance into spectacular ones.

At the same time, these cases also help us to understand those periods in which the movements are in the opposite direction: the forcing of spectacular forms of resistance to inhabit quotidian ones. Lightfoot describes in painful detail some of the barbaric deaths inflicted on leaders of spectacular uprisings and the significant expansions of the repressive activities of the Antiguan and Barbudan colonial state that followed these uprisings. However, these explicit strategies of containment are not systematically developed and linked to the increased terror and restrictions that kept Black resistance within quotidian forms. Rather, Lightfoot's acknowledgement of these strategies remains anecdotal and piecemeal in form, and thus does not treat them as a distinct but integrated part of that "hostile context" of both the slavery and post-slavery periods. Thus, earlier we noted Lightfoot's suggestion that the planters tolerated some everyday transgressions by slaves "as a safety valve" against the larger uprisings that they feared. However, this important observation is not explicitly linked to other elements in these containing strategies and their success in deterring or decimating the leadership structures and possibilities for organizing necessary for turning such everyday transgressions to more spectacular forms of resistance.

Other opportunities for linking these two forms of Afro-Antiguan and Barbudan resistance were missed because Lightfoot did not make use of an intermediate category of resistance. This becomes clear during her masterful and highly revealing discussions of incidents of civil strife such as the Emancipation Day strike of 1843, the response of workers to the Sugar Duties Act of 1846, to the importing of Portuguese indentured

laborers and to Vestry taxes. These were acts of collective resistance that moved well beyond the body-centered conception of freedom that informed classic cases of quotidian resistance. In her careful examination of everyday acts of illegal mobility, Lightfoot rightly insisted that they did not fit the spectacular model. However, these acts of civil resistance listed above do not fit comfortably within the model of the quotidian. Their levels of collective organizing and their limited but open challenges to structures of power took them beyond Lightfoot's ideal examples of everyday resistance. They clearly also do not fit within the category of the spectacular, and thus require one of their own somewhere between the two. Located in such an intermediary category, their inter-connecting possibilities become much more visible.

Finally, separating the quotidian so categorically from the spectacular inhibited the possibilities for Lightfoot to address in a sustained way the cumulative impact of all of this resistance. Our author hints that one such cumulative outcome was the emergence of "a semi-peasantry of sorts". But, this important insight into resulting processes of class formation is also not developed sufficiently. The more systematic treatment of this insight is vital as in its absence it becomes difficult to understand how everyday life in the 1850s was "the laboratory" for future Black politics, and also the important changes that made the spectacular struggles of the 1940s so different.

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JUST DON'T CALL IT PAINTERLY...

Joanne C. Hillhouse

"Sometimes," writes Mali Olatunji, in this book, appropriately dedicated to his elders, "even I have great difficulties in deciphering the pictorial or symbolic philosophy of some of my 'Woodist Jumbie' photographs" and this reader can't help nodding in agreement and relief. Because the book is confounding at times, though I must say never boring or, for that matter, frustrating. How could it be with the artistry of the master artist, as he is described throughout by co-author Paget Henry, and the guidance of a sage such as Henry, de-constructing the images throughout? But the personality of the book is sometimes a perplexing mix – is it coffee table art book for the art-lite appreciator, a philosophical journey in image, a technical work with appeal to fellow photographers and aficionados; it is at times all these. The effect is that sometimes the commentary gets in the way of simple appreciation of the work, sometimes it leaves the reader feeling lost especially when what's seen and what's explained are at odds, and sometimes it's absolutely necessary in bringing clarity to the artist's vision and helping the reader make key connections. And so where does this fit, this book: among other art books? among instructional photography books? among philosophical tomes? or within easy reach in the section for pretty picture books? The challenge is that it doesn't sit easily on any of these shelves – a marketing challenge to be sure. But marketing is not my business here. So I'll talk perhaps about the things I find most interesting about this book.

The images I appreciate for their essential beauty. The philosophy that underpins them, this intriguing sense of an artist grappling with both an idea and a new technical language to speak it, is also interesting to me. And I absolutely love the Antiguan-ness of it – that it is fine, fine art that acknowledges the existence of the jumbie of African-Antiguan/Caribbean lore, defiantly inserts them into privileged spots usually occupied by the deities of Western mythology – Jesus in Da Vinci's Last Supper for instance.

This book is significant on several levels. Consider, for instance, that the visionaries behind it – Olatunji and Henry – come from a small island in the Caribbean; and have both distinguished themselves as immigrants in that country so many hold on a pedestal, America, where Henry is head of Africana studies at Ivy-league university, Brown, and where Olatunji, though rooted in his African-livity, photographed and learned from the masters of western art for decades as the fine arts photographer at the

Museum of Modern Art. I mention this not in a look at them aren't they special way, but because I want to underscore that they then took all acquired there, and mixed it in with the ingredients that made them here, in Antigua, where folks had no choice but to be creative and inventive to make life. By so doing, they've brought that distinctive brew, articulated it as well as such a thing can be articulated, and offered it back to Antigua, though sadly an Antigua now more pre-occupied with looking out than looking within and celebrating its own creativity.

And so it is with some bitterness that Olatunji says in the book, "It is beyond doubt that contemporary Antiguan and Barbudans have already shifted from their African-Antiguan Distinctiveness to the adaptation of outside cultures. Our contemporary generation is fast becoming completely 'follow-fashioned'..." And if that is so, it is good that this book exists as another record not of our folk history – as do books like Monica Matthews' *Journeycakes* and Keithlyn and Fernando (and Papa Sammy) Smith's *To Shoot Hard Labour* – but as the articulation of a philosophy informed by home, Africa; nourished by the imagination, by the act of re-inventing ourselves here in Antigua; and which somehow also wouldn't exist without some Western instruction as well.

This book is unique for these reasons, and for being daring enough to stare down the mockery of even acknowledging the existence of jumbies much less the audacity to build a visual and spiritual philosophy around them. To suggest that they are more than just the boogie man, to posit that they are instead the non-corporeal essence of our ancestors still with us, still looking on on things, still formulating opinions on things, still watching, still guiding, still seeing. Their opinions and feelings on the things they see, certainly as the photographer sees it, is communicated with the careful selection and application of grains of wood (and sometimes leaves). This is not just for-so. As, per the photographer's own acknowledgement, given the belief that jumbies live/d in trees, this idea of their vision taking on a woodiness makes perfect sense. It's one story any way, and he backs it up with striking and convincing imagery.

I'll talk here about some of my favourites.

There's the cover image of the jambull/john bull, a fearsome creature we didn't have to imagine as children as he was always part of the Carnival, charging the crowds, barely kept in check by the whip man, scrounging for the pennies thrown - a confusing narrative even now into adulthood. Recently when I posted a picture of late artist E. T. Henry's impression

of a John Bull on my facebook page (facebook.com/JoanneCHillhouse), it got an origins conversation going, and no two theories were the same. Was the John Bull a stand in for 'Great Britain' per one narrative, was it a satirical character from the English imagination, or was it per the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda's newsletter, which prompted the post, a masked African witch doctor being tended by the 'Cattle Tender'? Olatunji's image – which I remember first spotting many years ago, likely my introduction to the artist's aesthetic, in the lobby of the Royal Antiguan Hotel – elevates the be-horned character to god like status as he hovers over the city at night. And I think that projection is intentional, the positioning suggesting that he has the freedom to move at will and to see all. There is no 'cattle tender' or bakkra in sight.

There's the Slapping Hands image which has a whole back story, a story some of us grew up hearing about a girl who opened a book she shouldn't have after being told not to. There's even a related calypso - penned by the late great Marcus Christopher and sung by Eugene 'Canary' Henry all the way to the crown in 1960. In the Olatunji image we see several ghostly hands coming at the subject, whose eyes are wide in undisguised horror. Who knows what the real story behind this bit of local lore is – though Glen Toussaint does a good job of chronicling it at his blog Dat Bwoi for Jackie (<https://charlieroots.wordpress.com/2015/02/10/slapping-hands>) as part of his series on regional folklore of the, shall we say, superstitious variety. As with these things even his version leaves question marks, "Some say that she was going insane, slapping herself, others claimed it was in fact a Jumbie attacking her. Whatever it was, the hand prints on her face were clear enough..." And whatever it was Olatunji's Slapping Hands does as good a job of capturing it visually as anyone could. What strikes me as I consider this image and Glen's accounting is, no modern Antiguan would perhaps admit to believing in much less seeing a jumbie...but they're not prepared to discount the possibility... for fear of vexing the very jumbie they're not prepared to declare they actually believe exists.

Olatunji, of course, shows his hand i.e. declares his belief, with this book. It's a bold move.

Olatunji is not a fan, I think it's fair to say, of the term used throughout by Henry – "painterly photography" – but it's hard to describe another of my favourite images, Eyeing the Groundswell, as anything but. It is a beautiful image and the strokes laid by the bark overlaying the beach scene has the brain instinctively categorizing it as a painting rather than

a picture. It is not something documented – as people tend to think of photographs – but something conceived; the realm of the imagination, artistry, painting (though of course, within that conceit is the dismissal of photography as something innately outside the realm of the imagination, artistry, painting, and perhaps that implied dismissal of the fact that he’s contemplating shutter speeds and depth of field rather than oils and brush strokes is what vexes Olatunji). Olatunji attempts to address this tension when Henry gives him the last word in the book. He writes, that paintings are a “referent” of the artist’s inner self while photographs are “light-reflected creations from a surface or a state being”. That being the case, he must conclude, but only sort of, that his images lie somewhere in between. His images, he writes, are “self-referential” but with “layers of multiple objective realities” and something quite different, and intuitive, as a result.

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This particular image, beyond its prettiness, gets the Henry treatment, a breakdown re the creative and technical process of creating it, a documentation of the artist’s intent, and the analyst’s interpretive treatment. If you’re interested in such things you can study the picture with this information as context, or you could simply appreciate the innate beauty of it, the hyper-sharpness of the colours, the storminess of the skies, the stillness of the beach below; and that would be enough.

The warm tones of “Graceful interfold of beachness” are also appealing in a way that has nothing to do with the brain and everything to do with the soul. But ever there to feed the brain, Henry explains again about the selection of the bark, what appealed about it, and the effects of the overlay. And you’ll agree, I think, that there is a Van Gogh-esque quality to the way the lines curve their way down the length of the image.

The entire beach series boasts a natural beauty, an alluring fluidity in the swirl of the bark, and a sense of nostalgia for moments of nature either uninterrupted or in harmony with the humans who come to her. Through Deconstructed Beach-ness, Dogging the Groundswells, Nascent Salt, Barbuda, and Sea Bathers, there is not a resort in sight, and so nostalgia is stirred by the sense of something lost.

In the two-picture Barbuda Conch Blues series, we get first a straight-up documentary image, a relatively mild interaction between nature and commercial activity with the return of fish boats to the beach. Then, the same image, as seen through the woodist eye of the jumbie, and you’ll find yourself wondering as you peer through the image of shadows and

light, and shadows within the light, what's jumbie's view of what he's seen. For my money, s/he seems troubled – maybe due to the fact that the men returned with no catch, a tid bit shared by Henry which, along with the turmoil surrounding resort development plans on the sister island, yes, is impacting my reading of this image. Is nature withholding her bounty or has she been overused? Is the environmental commentary deliberate or mere projection? This image interests me as it raises questions in my mind.

The book hits a sweet spot in terms of both text and images with the series that follows, the focus on the Anglican Cathedral, Big Church in the local vernacular, a conflicting symbol with historical and religious implications for Antigua and on a more personal level, as broken down by Henry, for Olatunji. The first image shows the church within context of the city, on the hill, dominant, towering over everything; the second image, Easter Sunday, in black and white shot from within the church garden/graveyard as people pour out in their Easter Sunday best, is almost idyllic – both are documents rather than straight up commentary, the jumbie has not weighed in as yet. That changes, the next five images showing a progressively tumultuous relationship between the viewer, the jumbie, the departed, likely African, soul, and this symbol of English and Western and Christian dominance. It is an uneasy relationship and the swirl and heaviness of the chosen barks, the way they shadow and settle like a cataract over the scene by the time we get to the last of these images, Entombed, underscore this. There is no denying the contrast Henry points out between the picturesque, relatively speaking, beach scenes, and these images awash with critical intent:

“Unmistakable is the tension from his boyhood between a deeply felt African spirituality that had been devalued and negated by an imperial Christianity. In this series, the colonized African strikes back through the vision of the Jumbie at the colonizer on the terrain of religion. The particular intensity of these images makes it quite clear how strongly our master artist has experienced and lived this conflict.”

I have to agree.

And it's at this point, I think that it hit me that as much as these images are supposed to be the world through the jumbie's eye, it's actually the world through the jumbie's eye as interpreted and sometimes influenced by the artist – if this were a book I was writing, the jumbie would be a character in that book, with a certain amount of agency/independence of its own but filtered through my understanding and shaping of that

perspective. It was for me a pivotal turning point in terms of my reading of this book. What I was reading/seeing was a story as told to the artist by the jumbie as shown to me by the artist and interpreted for me, to some degree, by his co-author. It was if not a work of fiction, a work of creative non-fiction, and all the more interesting because of it.

The Slave Dungeon one of the non-woodist images sprinkled throughout the book had me thinking of my first meeting with Olatunji – not a great beginning for us – and my introduction to this site which found its way into my novel *Oh Gad!* It's at Orange Valley and (like the baobab on the Freemansville main road where national hero King Court/Prince Klaas and his fellow rebels would meet to plot) should, in my view, be as protected and revered as the British fortifications. The dungeon is a place where you can feel the pained and long-suffering and enduring spirit of our ancestors, it is a place where their jumbie lives, or so I posited in my reporting on the site back when and my interpretation of it in my novel. What is the photographer and his co-author's intent in placing it here? Well, Henry explains that this image which continues the photographer's encounter with colonialism should have had a companion image as others in the series will, but the jumbie version of the image "has deteriorated". Now, I want nothing so much as to see it.

I suspect the jumbie's response to it was strong, stronger than society's lukewarm, ambivalent response, relative to the sites of British memory, e.g. Nelson's Dockyard.

In this section, I am particularly drawn to investigate the Papa VC image wherein the esteemed and yet all too humanly flawed Father of the Nation in grey tones overlaid with gold-hued bark and the suggestion of ghostly faces within his peripheral makes for a formidable presence. Love him or hate him, there's a solidity to him in Antigua and Barbuda's understanding of itself as a nation and in Olatunji's interpretation of him through the jumbie's eye. "The woodist brushes in this photograph are indeed quite historic and reflect Olatunji's appreciation and admiration of the early Bird," Henry writes, while at the same time commenting on the late leader's polarizing effect and Olatunji's later ambivalence.

Carnival is perhaps the most photographed Caribbean tableau, after beaches and sunsets, but Olatunji, ever the iconoclast, has but one Carnival image here, the revelers largely obscured save for peaks of colour, this obscuring perhaps reflecting Olatunji's disenchantment with the festival that was once an artist's dreamscape and is now basically, even

Carnival lovers like myself have to agree, an over-priced, all-inclusive, alcohol-laden, commercially-hijacked party – with music still too sweet to resist.

And so, Henry writes, “This decline in the cultural creativity and significance of Carnival Olatunji sees as part of the larger crisis of post-colonial governance resulting from gaps in the leadership practices of our governing political and cultural elites.” And yet, as the writer reports, Olatunji recalled being delighted by this particular Carnival display, underscoring this section’s theme of ambivalence – he loves it, he loves it not, he loves it, he loves it not...

There is no ambivalence, however, about the Antigua Sugar Factory, a site of sugar production, and by extension occupation of Black lives back in the day. The factory is decayed and overlaid with a bark so thick and cracked the decay is magnified, and is, paradoxically, almost a thing of beauty. The past is being petrified.

Among the New York images, some of the most striking for me are Fire Beyond Brooklyn Bridge, with the placement of the wood approximating a sun flare backlighting one of the city’s more iconic images; City Hall, in which the seat of government is murky looking, hinting perhaps at the corruption and stasis that so often infects politics making it ineffectual; Petrification at Harlem, which rather than seeming frozen to me, has the effect of waves that for me calls to mind the name of another image in the book Antigua a-wash-away. Let’s see what Henry has to say about these images and how his insights gel with or prove ‘wrong’ my interpretation. Hmm, bridge on fire, more “incendiary” than my interpretation; city hall rendered “stony, obstructed, and inaccessible”, yes, I can see that – I did not, however, see the “ghostly appearance ... (of the woman) ...walking away... with very uncertain results or unclear answers” until Henry, as guide on this journey, pointed her out; but I might have to agree to disagree with him that the water in the black and white Harlem image appears frozen though I can agree that it speaks to tension between nature and the urban landscape of the most (debatably) famous and infamous city in the world.

These New York images are great talk pieces, great for discussion, because of that, because they are so widely open to interpretation, because there’s a darkness to so many of them, e.g. A Shadowed Pathway in which the jumbie may or not be seeing a shadow of himself – but that’s just one interpretation.

Sometimes, every now and again, the woodiness is naturally occurring such as in *View from My Harlem window*, a beautiful picture of a New York street as seen through the leaves of a tree on what seems to be a quiet morning in Fall or, another favourite, the award winning *Solitude in Fall*, in which the trees line up in the distance in an image defined by its lines and mood; but more often they are chosen and imposed by the photographer to reshape the image into something otherworldly such as *Central Park Strollers*, a jigsaw of an image, or *Mah* in which a Twin Towers-like pairing of images is enswired in the rich reddish-gold bark representing the mother of one of Olatunji's friends. The latter is one of those images that makes a strong case for the description Henry favours "painterly photography". He shares an anecdote in which the film developer, when Olatunji went to collect his images, "insisted to the end that this was a painting that had been photographed", leading to the conclusion that "Mah is a very good example of the multiple ways in which Olatunji's works are seen by different viewers, and thus also of the kinds of heated exchanges that they can produce."

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You will marvel at Olatunji's mastery of his art form through simply beautiful vistas like *Moments til Moonrise*, and through images like *A Jumbie at Moma* in which the artist's Antigua crashes in to the 'hallowed' spaces of Western high art, wherein we're not seeing through the eyes of the jumbie but are observing the jumbie, a ghostly apparition, in this space. And if there's any doubt that Olatunji is not an opportunistic photographer but is very deliberate about his images, you have only to read Henry break down of how this image came to be:

"To get the shadow of the man that represents the Jumbie, Olatunji found a very cooperative subject. The group standing in the corner was much larger before the photograph was taken. As some were departing, Olatunji asked this man to be a part of his photograph, but did not tell him that he would be providing this all-important shadow....Hanging on the wall to the left is, of course Picasso's famous 'Les Demoiselles d'Avignon'. This is the painting that has in its upper right hand corner the much discussed lady whose face reflects the influences of the masks of the Fang people of Gabon." None of this is accidental – up to and including the decision to locate this jumbie in a space occupied by one of the masters' works, a work in particular that references Africa, which the Antiguan-born artist claims as his spiritual home from his style of dress to the name he owns.

Looking at Snow Play in Prospect Park, I think back to an earlier image, Labour Day at Fort James, and see intentionally or not an appreciation in the photographer if not the jumbie for the carefree joy and abandon of youth. The photographer was, of course, doing other things with this image, technical things that the writer admits went over his head, but whatever it is it makes for a beautiful winter wonderland in which there is a noticeable interplay of light and shadow on the snow.

Broadway, Times Square, these are all covered, literally under the jumbie's gaze but it's the second image of Brooklyn Bridge, in which the fire has burned out, the colour of the wood like fading embers or the warm tones of sunset over the scene. The post script to this chapter is the photographer's cheeky meeting of London and New York in which he lays a scene from one space over a moment from the other, to prove his mastery of his medium and his control over his narrative.

It is clear that Olatunji felt fired up on landing in England, the one-time 'Mother' of so much of the world including his homeland Antigua. The beauty of the parks clearly captivating him and the jumbie gazes on them almost affectionately, appreciative of the way nature resists being pushed out by industry – unlike New York where he lived for many years. The iconic sites are there Nelson's Statue, Trafalgar Square, Buckingham Palace, Parliament Square, River Thames (a beautiful image), Big Ben all blocked by the swirling, cracked, jaundiced and jaded eye of the jumbie. One of the more interesting series centres on Big Ben, on the artist's effort to rob Big Ben of its bigness, it's iconicity, its arrogant demand that the world run on its time – and if you're thinking Big Ben is a stand-in for Mother England herself and the jumbie working her voodoo via the photographer's hand is all of Africa's displaced children, I would venture you're not far off. That's certainly my read of it as the artist progressively ages the image, so that it seems to decay and wither to stillness under the jumbie's gaze. Of the final image, Big Ben stopped, Henry writes, "It has been largely silenced as decay has turned to petrification – a deadening that has encased Big Ben in photographic stone...(calling) to mind the complete erasure of the cathedral in our Big Church series." This is one of those moments where the presence of Henry as guide is critical in making key connections – because here is one of those moments that this book is more than just a pretty coffee table book, more than just a technical exploration for photographers interested in a new technique, a moment where the book is, in fact, decisive, emphatic commentary on the African experience in relation to England and, more broadly, Western powers. Politics is at play here in many ways, in the case of this series notably in

the commentary implicit in the images of parliament darkened by bark as though covered in smog and in the protests which declare 'Capitalism isn't working' which meet with the jumbie's and the photographer's approval. On a purely aesthetic note, Big Ben stopped and in fact the series of three of the iconic clock is among the more beautiful and, sorry, Mali, painterly images in the book.

We return to Antigua with the jumbie, with the photographer, and their spirit is not at ease – evident in the flow of wood grain over the image of the Holy Family Catholic cathedral and Mount St. John Medical Centre in Downward Flow of Spirituality and Health, the dark and foreboding shadow over shadow of The Ship of State, in the roughness of the bark over the harbor view in Storm of Corruption – no ambivalence there. Jumbie and photographer are angry and that anger turns in on itself to depression and despair as they look at the ships in the harbor, for instance - the kind of thing that makes those invested in cruise tourism's debatable offerings salivate - and see instead of beauty the Encroaching on the Environment and Pollution!

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It is not a happy ending though Henry attempts to make it so with the inclusion of images that for the most part don't fit the woodist aesthetic, images which he said represent hope – portraits of artists. One of those artists and the only one of four portraits seen through the jumbie's eye is the one of me, shot in New York, reading Jamaica Kincaid's *Lucy*. I've stared for long minutes at this image, trying to understand what the jumbie sees when she looks at me because though the image is positioned to represent hope, the dappled grain has an odd effect – where there might be hope, but also uncertainty and concern. The other woodist images in this section are of Olatunji's son at play, and the jumbie does seem hopeful looking on this image, and the master artist in prayerful pose, and though his face seems at rest the swirl of textures around him suggest he is not quite at peace – and given the images that have come before, who can blame him. It is also at odds with the sense those of us who think of Olatunji less as the fall on your knees in prayer type and more of the get up and fight type. If it were a story being told, this would seem a bit of a pat ending – which is not intended as a swipe against the writer, who does a good job throughout of bringing context to the work – but of the underlying tension between the spirit of the artist and the ordering of the writer.

But the artist gets the last word, re-focussing the reader on his intent – and it is here that we get a deeper sense of the technical innovation and philosophical searching guiding this work; his respect for his elders and for the unseen, for his culture and his people, for process, for intentionality – moving beyond taking pictures to making pictures. And reading this section one can't help thinking what a shame it is that he is not being used in some way here in Antigua and Barbuda to teach master classes in photography, yes, but also in so many of the concepts the book explores, which can perhaps be summed up as who are we – who we be. It is a soul searching sort of work. And perhaps it started as is suggested at one point as the artist tried to grapple with aging and death, with loss without losing hope; but it has evolved in to more than that – a documentary of a life, a commentary on space/s and history, and a probing at, yes, who we be.

Beautiful as the gallery is that follows, it could have, perhaps should have, ended with this final word from the artist. But since the gallery is there can I just end by commenting on the beauty in stolen slice of life moments like Boys at Sea, still life images like sugar apple and pupa, and additional woodist works like Autumn in Connecticut – a series that leaves a lasting image of a master artist, the master well earned, in full command of the language of his art and in the crafting of it.

MALI OLATUNJI'S WOODIST JUMBIE AESTHETICS AND THE INDIAN SPIRITUAL TRADITION

Ashmita Khasnabish

The Art of Mali Olatunji: Painterly Photography from Antigua and Barbuda from Hansib publications Limited published in 2015 is a fascinating book reflecting on aesthetic representations of life in the postcolonial era. What is unique about this book is that it is simultaneously a book of art and scholarly, erudite thoughts informing the world about the new trajectory that postcolonial discourse could take. It does not have to be only on problems, as postcolonial discourse could also show us the light beyond them. What Mali Olatunji informs us through his Painterly Photography is spiritual, time-transcending and educates the West about the African and Afro-Caribbean uniqueness or what Paget Henry calls, in Du Boisian way, “double-consciousness.”

Henry's text offers us a brilliant narrative of Mali Olatunji's growth as an artist and his grounding in the past artistic forms and how Picasso's engagement with the African masks of the Fang people influenced his works. The book mentions artists like Stieglitz and Steichen whose styles impacted Mali Olatunji's but also how he surpassed other artists in creating his own form of spiritual art. What is this form of spiritual art? This form of spiritual art is derived from his artistic mind and it is called woodist aesthetics and in this art form he combined photography with painting. Dr. Henry describes it in the following way: “What sets Olatunji's work apart is that its challenge to colonial realism is articulated through a woodist blurring of the boundaries between painting and photography. This is indeed a new and significant development in the aesthetic theory of the Caribbean region” (19). More than this observation what is stunning is his observation a bit earlier that “Woodism is an aesthetic that sees the world from the perspective of trees” (17). How strange it is to claim that one could see the world from the perspective of trees.

But if one look into oriental/Indian culture one could find an answer. It indicates a sheer plunge into nature: many litterateurs in Kolkata/India allude to trees as controlling our lives. Tagore said, “*dao bre sei aranya and lao he nagar.*” Please, give my forest back and take this city.) Sri Aurobindo in *Savitri* chooses the forest for the *sadhana* to take place. Savitri lives in the forest with her father Aswapati and her mother and in the forest she meets her husband, Satyavan, who is taken away by death—the lord of Death Yama. But the task of spiritual transformation,

of bringing Satyavan back from Death occurs again in the forest and one has to remember that Sri Aurobindo was the revolutionary in British India, who later turned into a Yogi and a spiritual philosopher and who allegorically represented British Raj as Yama. Thus, like Mali Olatunji's woodist technique or style Sri Aurobindo's epic tale in the forest offers a sharp criticism of British colonization.

I want to make the assessment of this monograph as a supreme work where the account of postcolonial, and neo-colonial paradigms coalesce with each other. This coalescing can be seen in chapter 2 where Dr. Henry plunges into the detailed narration of what he calls "painterly photography." In this chapter, the scenes of the beach, which he calls the Fort James Series, clarify what he defines as woodist artwork. Let us look at how Paget Henry delineates this painterly photography in his own artistic expression, "To produce our first painterly beach photograph "Eyeing the Groundswell at Sunset" (Image 16), a piece of tree bark for this specific photograph had to be selected, photographed and then layered on another straight photograph of Fort James. In selecting the particular piece of bark for this specific photograph, Olatunji 'noticed an eyelike shape in the bark' (Woodist Aesthetics, [WA], 2010:1). It was this shape in the bark of the tree that elicited the creative consent from Olatunji's inner painter. This was the inner agreement that gave birth to this particular composition"(41-43).

As Paget Henry describes a little later, this painterly photograph is constructed through the imprint of tree bark on a photograph very clearly expressed the emotion of the painter. Here in the story waves and clouds were juxtaposed with a calm sea beach and it was achieved through a specific kind of bark with an eyelike shape. There is something uncanny, mysterious, spiritual present in this kind of aesthetic representation which gets revealed further in the next photograph of the beach which in its artistic skill approximates the work of the post-impressionistic painting of Van Gogh. In this artistic creation called "A Graceful Interfold of Beachness" (Image 17), he used different parts of the bark and created different impression by pressing on the photograph and he compares it with Van Gogh's "Starry Night."

I pause here with great relief to make my critic's comment that Olatunji was marvelous in reconciling the attributes of the East and the West and to become truly global. Our author, Paget Henry, elaborated earlier how rebelliously he inveighed against his British or "slave name", Edward Livingstone and changed it to, Mali Olatunji when he was discriminated

at his job interview. But that did not mean that he confined himself to his Caribbean identity only, but went further to unite the two: the Caribbean or Afro-Caribbean identity and European or American identity as he established himself as an excellent staff member of MoMA in New York and worked there for 21 years.

In the next photograph of Fort James he turned his woodist aesthetic or used it to turn this woodist aesthetic to stoniness. The painterly photograph called “Deconstructing Beachness: Petrifying illusions” narrates the stoniness of this woodist aesthetics where he uses light to render woodiness as stoniness. So far in the creation of woodist photography in terms of creating the pictures of beaches at Fort James, Olatunji’s tone is placid but it gets quite intense as we enter into the more colonial phase of his painterly photography. Concurrently, the tone of our author also becomes rather stern and serious as he gives us the narrative of British colonization both in Barbuda and Antigua. He informs the audience about this bleak history of colonization; we hear the bleak history as to how Wadadli was taken from the Caribs and became a British colony in 1634 called Antigua and how Barbuda called by the Caribs W’omami was leased to Christopher Codrington in 1635. This torture of colonial slavery lasted until 1834, but Barbuda was under the Codrington family until 1860. The narrative is vivid and almost like historical fiction. It reminds us of the Indian postcolonial novelist Amitav Ghosh’s *Sea of Poppies* where fiction and history merge to create the ignominy and pain of the Indians deported to Mauritius under British regime.

I could say most emphatically that chapter 2 is the most significant chapter of the book; on the one hand, it unleashes the tension that comes with the discourse on colonization in terms of postcolonial and neo-colonial paradigms that follow as its aftermath. But on the other hand, it is redeeming in its ontological take on Mali Olatunji’s works. In an ontologically subliminal way, Dr. Henry juxtaposes Picasso’s work with Mali Olatunji’s work; it is admirable because of its universal and transcendental vision to connect East with the West without any reservation. It embodies the courage of a postcolonial critic and scholar reminding me of my own critical engagement with Immanuel Kant’s concept of the sublime, where I deconstructed that theory and reread it through the Indian philosopher Sri Aurobindo’s theory of “supramental consciousness.” Dr. Henry elaborates on Picasso’s style where Picasso strove to synthesize the rational with the non-rational identity in his artwork and, drawing on that, Paget Henry

delineates how Olatunji exposes the suffering of over- racialized selves in Antigua and Barbuda. Unlike Picasso, who had to deal with balancing the rational with the non-rational or primitive identity, Olatunji had to strike a balance between the dichotomy dividing the African self and the European self, between European Whiteness and African Blackness, between Colonialism and Anti-Colonialism, between Neo-Colonialism and Development, and between ego and Jumbie, between life and death, and European spirituality versus African spirituality. This juxtaposition is best expressed in Olatunji's creation of the Big Church series. The first image was done not as a woodist creation and it points toward Olatunji's broad and universalist vision, looking at a church which is an imperialist image of an Anglican church. However, the tone becomes bleak as he reconstructs the image of the Anglican church in his Big Church Series through his woodist aesthetics. Just to capture the tone, I want to offer here a quote from chapter 2: "The first woodist rendering of Big Church (image 26) was shot on a very clear, calm and sunny day. Yet through the eyes of the Jumbie this church appears to be in the grip of a hurricane. The sky appears to be quite threatening and the surrounding trees appear as though they are being tossed about by a strong wind. But the church remains visible, intact and unshaken by this ill wind that has come its way" (50). What becomes obvious in this rendition of photography is the juxtaposition of the theme of colonizer and the colonized.

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In this image from the perspective of Jumbie, the Anglican church is afflicted by a hurricane; the sky is threatening and so are the surrounding trees. But the church remains intact, constructing for us the meaning that the colonized are suffering and not able yet to overthrow the colonizers; the conflict is very strong and serious. However, the culminating point is reached in the next two images in the series Image 27 and Image 28, where the church is under decay. According to Dr. Henry the Jumbie vision shows the church is in decay spreading from the floors to the roof including the pews. Thus the Jumbie vision works as a voice of justice and offering critique and punishment. The Jumbie vision also works as the voice of a critic and a judge critiquing injustice caused by imperialism. The Jumbie vision continues further in the next series where Henry upholds Olatunji's work on neo-colonialism with a woodist painting of the political leader V.C. Bird, and also one of the airport called V.C. Bird International Airport. Olatunji loved all of these postcolonial ventures in terms of the progress of the nation after colonization, but is skeptical about the foreigners owning most of the businesses and industries, which propagates another form of colonization and we call

it neo-colonialism. The image of the V.C. Bird International Airport, image 36, is imbued with neo-colonial strain because the creation of this airport did not solve the problem of unemployment in Antigua and Barbuda. Olatunji's voice is ambivalent and skeptical about the owners being white Westerners and foreigners. A similar kind of fear, if I may share, ran through my mind when a few years ago I read in *Financial Times* about American Companies going to India for business and free market which alarmed me as I wondered whether we are going to face colonization again.

So, the woodist photograph captured that dilemma whether it is a picture of neocolonialism or development. Then comes Image 37, the photograph of the political leader himself who is the representative of postcolonial Antigua and the picture seems positive, as author, Paget Henry tells us that Olatunji admired V.C. Bird's spirit in his early years; however, this admiration was tarnished by his doubts about the leader when Olatunji was involved with opposition party PLM, and with his leadership of an Afro-Caribbean movement – both of which point toward his disappointment with the leader. The strain of neo-colonialism is vividly and staunchly expressed in the images called "Political Commotion Over Sickness" and "Carnival", where the first reveals how neo-colonialism is negatively impacting the development of Antigua and Barbuda. Also, in the second, the author portrays convincingly the diminishing glory of the original Carnival – a seven-day festival of Calypso and merry-making being reduced to an erotic spectacle with no connection to the historic events. Initially, it was an event that embodied the spirit of Antigua and Barbuda beyond Christmas.

What is also unique in this memoir kind of book is the author's timely interventions into Mali Olatunji's life. Thus, we are informed in chapter 3 how Mali Olatunji chose to come to New York, and so also did the author, and along that migratory line we hear about other Caribbean intellectuals who went to Canada. What is most interesting in this chapter on New York is to encounter the history of migration as Paget Henry announces that, like African Americans from the South, Caribbean migrants ended up moving from Plantation to Ghetto. It is pungently appealing to me, for the validity and truth underneath this statement, as I experience this kind of discriminatory treatment of immigrants in general in America. I addressed this issue in my recent monograph *Negotiating Capability and Diaspora: A Philosophical Politics*. I must mention here briefly that this theory of "capability" has been offered by our Indian economist cum philosopher, Amartya

Sen in his book *Development as Freedom*. It highlights the truth that immigrants, minorities and underdogs have to live in the USA by adapting to the status of a second-class citizen.

Thus, it corroborates Henry's view and Mali Olatunji's grief, sadness, and critique created through his painterly photography. Toronto was not Olatunji's first choice and he decided to come to New York in spite of his critical comment about racist America, because of the opportunities for being an artist. Paget Henry offers his own staunch critique as well by dwelling on Afro-Canadian author, Cecil Foster's two phases of life: whereas in the earlier work *A Place Called Heaven*, he describes the discrimination and dehumanized behavior he suffered in Canada, his later work *Where Race Does Not Matter*, is more accepting of his identity as a black Canadian. Henry suggests that his change in attitude was triggered by the fact that there is no ghettoization in Canada because of the legacy of democratic socialism. However, the "double-consciousness" that was very much a part of the atmosphere in which Olatunji grew in Antigua is fully embodied in the painterly photographs of the next series.

In what Dr. Henry calls the leaf series, we come back to the construction of the images of Churches, this time in New York. The first photograph in this Leaf Series is of a church in Brooklyn, New York directly across from Olatunji's house and it is captured in Image 48. In this image, the church is in terrible agony and let me quote the author here: "...the church is caught in a life and death struggle with vines, leaves, tree bark, roots of branches. The theme of an intense struggle between the church and something more natural is unmistakable here, as in the Big Church Series" (72). Mali Olatunji was almost possessed by a supernatural artistic energy as he was in the process of formulating this painterly photography in conjunction with leaves, barks, foliage, twigs, color of the church and the color of the sky. Nature directly intervenes thus in Olatunji's painterly photography and woodist Jumbie aesthetics. I can't help quoting this expression, "I murmured, murmured over layering procedures relating to the textures of leaves." (72).

The church is a haunted place in Olatunji's photographic and painterly creation and we find out shortly that it could be attributed to the influence of his great aunt Matilda Isaac, who he called Mamma and one of the painterly photographs called "Mamma: The Flower of Life" is dedicated to her or named after her. Olatunji also refers to Mamma as his mentor as she taught him and embedded in him the knowledge of African spirituality which one can see influencing Olatunji's painterly

photography and Jumbie Aesthetics. Mamma, who he called his primary mentor, was a devout Catholic as well and strove to strike a balance between her Christian values and African spirituality and tried to pass it on to Olatunji. But as it appears Olatunji remained stubbornly rooted in his African spiritual heritage and I feel as an Indian feminist philosopher, extremely impressed and happy about Olatunji's spirit of freedom untarnished by the Western impact. It is simply admirable! And not too many Oriental authors dare doing that, but Olatunji did and did it successfully as we see it in Dr. Henry's text.

The next series is called the bark series and the notable picture in the series is "Seeable Pharaoh's Dance", Image 52. Here we can see the snow-covered tree is in harmony with snow-covered city; the message is to bring the opposite forces that usually have potential for destruction into harmony and that is what Olatunji hears in the music of Miles Davis's album of the same name. Before I move on from this section, I want to ponder on the image "Mamma: the Flower of Life," as the gentle and nuanced effects in this painterly photograph reveal to us the impact of artists like Stieglitz and Steichen on Mali Olatunji. Also, "Fire Beyond the Brooklyn Bridge" is stunning in its magnificence.

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The painterly photographs of the city of New York now take our breath away with the painstaking grandeur and finesse of the artist/critic. The Manhattan-based collection of woodcut Jumbie painterly photographs open with a photograph of the City Hall (Image 56) —the political center. This painterly photograph deserves attention, deserves special attention indeed for its fine aesthetics; the blurry shadow of a woman in the middle is highly significant. We see her ghostly image walking away from the very center of the city "with very uncertain results or unclear answers." Dr. Henry points out the stoniness of this image to indicate the stoniness of city life, and also it signifies the harshness that immigrants encounter in the city. In the Central Park Series —the second picture, called "Petrification at Harlem" (Image 58) is a black and white photograph, and is about a lake that borders on the black community of the Harlem. Many pages in this chapter remind us of postcolonial identity as I also discuss in my latest monograph *Negotiating Capability and Diaspora; a Philosophical Politics* alluding to Sen's theory of "capability" that immigrants, underdogs and minorities have to adapt to the status of the second class citizen. I am not overgeneralizing but it is an existential problem, which Fanon strove to solve in *Black Skin, White Masks*.

The culminating point is reached in the painterly photograph “Mah;” it is serving a crucial role to juxtapose the contrast between the uptown Harlem and downtown Manhattan. The photograph was taken six years after 9/11 but in the photograph the positioning of the twin towers in Harlem from Manhattan conveys a subtle message. Paget Henry comments, “...It is hinting that here in Harlem is a base and site for the re-locating of the Twin Towers...It is a powerful statement about social justice, racial balancing and fair play in the life of the city of New York” (83). What is unique about this painterly photograph is its Jumbie aesthetics where Olatunji remembers his friend’s mother Albertine Edwards who passed away in 1999 and Olatunji recollects how he saw her floating by in Central Park of New York. I am pausing on Paget Henry’s line: “In short, the inspiration for this amazing vision of two buildings in Harlem was Mah’s Jumbie” (83). I pause here to dwell on this otherworldly feature of Olatunji’s Jumbie aesthetics. It is somewhat similar to what Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore did in many of his short stories, especially in “Hungry Stone”-where the boundary between the real world and the supernatural world or otherworld gets blurry and the spirits converse with each other. In a similar vein, the human world and the world of death also intersect with each other in the Indian philosopher Sri Aurobindo’s hyper-epic Savitri, and death is even conquered in this dialogue with the after life. It seems that Indian literature/philosophy has some strong connection with Caribbean literature, where the human and non-human worlds dialogue with each other.

This Jumbie aesthetics of Olatunji is repeated in his MoMa series and Time Square Series. It is very otherworldly when he creates “A Jumbie at MoMa” (Image 66). Apparently a stranger cooperated with him when he took the subject’s photograph and put him in the center of the picture as a shadow. Another unique attribute that became distinct in this chapter on New York is how Olatunji juxtaposed Woodist aesthetics with Jumbie aesthetics; whereas Jumbie aesthetics creates the aura and presence of a supernatural figure in the painterly photograph, in Woodist Aesthetics through leaf and bark series, our artist pronounces the staunch critique of colonization and its aftermath. It reaches its culminating point, when Olatunji combines two aesthetics as we notice in Image 71, called “Forty Second Street.” It depicts what happens to New York City after the dramatic intervention of the forces of nature. In this painterly photograph everyone is seen in terms of their spiritual identities; the earlier commercial age has been replaced by a spiritual one and everybody walks as a spirit and they are not present as fully embodied people. Let me

quote here, "...it is a vision of it through "the eyes" of someone who has experienced the death of the body and who now sees the world through the lines of branches, leaves and bark...." (91-92). The chapter ends with the Jumbie photograph of (Image 73), "Passport to London," and Dr. Henry makes his interesting observation; "This has to be our surest travel document for gaining entry to this most famous of British cities." It consists of the three layers: the Brooklyn Bridge, his friend Winston Ramsay jumbied, and a third layer of bark taken from a tree close to Regent Park.

The next chapter "London: Painterly Photographs of Anti-Imperialism" is remarkable for its rendition of British imperialism where Big Ben stops. Passing all the other painterly photographs critiquing imperialism, I want to focus on Olatunji's creation of the Big Ben in three moments: "Big Ben at Quarter to One," (Image 83), "Big Ben a Day Later" (Image 84) and "Big Ben Stopped" (Image 85). In the first two Images of Big Ben, we see a crack and decay and the walls supporting the clock look especially aged and thereby show Olatunji's critique of imperialism. In the second Image, 'Big Ben a day Later,' even though the clock is visible and the time is thirteen minutes past noon, it is being overtaken by encompassing decay, making it more difficult to see the face of the clock. In the fourth entry, "Big Ben Stopped" the anti-imperialist theme reaches its culminating point, when Olatunji lashes back on British imperialism and stops time. Here Olatunji's tone is caustic and justifiably bitter as opposed to the painterly photographs of Buckingham Palace, where the aesthetic instinct of the artist triumphs over the critical stance. In this London section, I want to mention with greatest enthusiasm the painterly photographs of the house of the great Caribbean intellect C.L.R. James in Image 98, and Image 97, "Celebrating Fanon in Brixton." Dr. Henry comments that Olatunji took the photograph and recreated it as if James was still living and writing there. Since it is a positive Image, there is no decay and the gentle woodist effects create the positive mood of the photograph.

In the last chapter of this book, "Antigua and Barbuda Again: Painterly Photographs of the Future," "Monica in Green" (Image 106) is clearly a symbol of positive energy and beauty. Monica Matthew is a renewed symbol of hope in Antigua and Barbuda, and Olatunji celebrates the writers and there are many other positive images like that of "Joanne Hillhouse who is a famous novelist in Antigua and Barbuda, known for her book *Oh Gad!*. This last chapter very uniquely juxtaposes painterly photographs of neo-colonialism, and as such are very bleak, with photographs of Hope. "Antigua A Washway" (Image 98) and "The

Ship of State” are called painterly photographs of the Molten Series, which represent the themes of cultural dissolving and “normative weakening.” Our author boldly writes that this indicates weakness and “The melting is the result of a combination of a cultural penetration from abroad and our inability to effectively affirm our African heritage”.

Let us now hear Olatunji’s prophetic observation, which he makes in the epilogue: “Second, I feel a kind of ethereal forcing, a compulsion to add a new layer or phase to our ancestral traditions of storytelling to help mitigate the forces of American cultural imperialism, and the emergence of post-modernist trends in Antigua and Barbuda” (131). I would also at this point take liberty and refer to the previous page where Olatunji inscribes the visionary attributes of Jumbie aesthetics very eloquently, “To my mind, inner meanings are of an inner life that is imperishable. Further, inner life is without material existence and thus beyond what meets the eye in ordinary experience and contemplation. Said another way, they are part and parcel of the essential elements of the isness of a human being” (130). Olatunji’s comment takes me back to Indian spiritual philosophy where we discuss the concept of the soul and this soul of Hindu philosophy Olatunji renders as “isness”. In the Hindu philosophical text, the Gita, and in Sankhaya Yoga it is suggested that even if the body leaves, the soul does not die and the Sanskrit *sloka* says, “*Na Hanyate Hanymane sharie.*” Olatunji does not refer to any concept of reincarnation and that is the subtle difference between Hindu philosophy and Caribbean philosophy. But the similarity resides in the fact both Indian and Caribbean philosophies share an otherworldly vision, and affirm the presence of an ethereal existence or spirit.

Olatunji’s ruminations remind me of the torture that freedom fighters went through during the British Colonial time, especially it is interesting to notice Sri Aurobindo’s critique of imperialism in Savitri in allegorical manner as well as Sri Aurobindo’s faith in visionary power and his vision of Swami Vivekananda (who already dies while Sri Aurobindo had his vision) and Lord Krishna (the Hindu God) in Alipore jail cell. Also, it is worthwhile to mention here that Sri Aurobindo heard a voice to leave British India and go to the French Colony Pondicherry and therefore he fled from the British Colony; otherwise, as he wrote in his book *Sri Aurobindo on Himself*, he would be put into jail by British again. So, the spiritual vision saved him from the persecution, torture and misery he was being subjected to in his jail cell. *The Art of Mali Olatunji* in similar vein narrates that “Many of these colonized and oppressed people looked to their local visionaries for psychological reliefs” (132). This

moment reminds me of the Hope Series that Dr. Henry narrates in the previous chapter talking about current status of Antigua and Barbuda. This painterly photograph is called "Praying for the Nation" is where artist himself is praying for Antigua and Barbuda and Olatunji insisted that Dr. Henry end the book with this image, which is highly spiritual nature and reminds us of the prayer of Tagore for India and the hymn of Goddess Durga by Sri Aurobindo, that India becomes one of the leading nations of the world. All evil could be destroyed by the sons of Bengal and they possess immense spiritual energy so that India could rise again.

The book is a masterpiece in its celebrating of a postcolonial culture that deconstructs imperialism. It also expresses an intense spiritual vision, thereby embracing other Oriental culture and philosophy, like Indian Philosophy. It also has an intense spiritual appeal and it will cater to both Western and non-Western audiences for a long period of time encouraging postcolonial critics to follow a new trajectory of spirituality and hope.

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INTENTION, PERCEPTION AND RECEPTION

PAGET HENRY'S AND MALI OLATUNJI'S *THE ART OF MALI OLATUNJI: PAINTERLY PHOTOGRAPHY FROM ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA*

Janet Lofgren

There are instances when an artist's intention more or less corresponds with the perception of his or her audience, and times when it does not. This could be due to any number of circumstances—the artist might be in the process of seeking out the particular group to whom the work is meant to speak; a visionary is creating work “ahead of its time” and the general public requires some time to embrace once unfamiliar aesthetics. There is the phenomenon known as “outsider art”—art created by the self-taught, the obsessive, the incarcerated or the committed which finds its way to high-art international markets for which it was never intended. And there is the case where the artist simply fails to communicate the intended message clearly through his or her respective medium. Of course all works of art are subject to acquiring new meanings and perspectives over time. As those works recede into history and become viewed through the eyes of successive generations, they inevitably take on new dimensions of appreciation, or perhaps languish in crumbling garrets and become lost to history. But whatever the cause or nature, any gap which comprises the disconnect between what the artist sets out to do and the response from his or her contemporaneous viewers can be very painful for a creative person, as no one enjoys being misunderstood, misrepresented or informed that their work is not communicating what they had hoped. This is where artists must either already own or learn to acquire the fortitude to believe in themselves and in what they are seeking to accomplish, public be damned. As we all know, history is filled with such figures.

This conflict between artist's intent and viewer's perception comprises the source of tension which fuels the narrative of Mali Olatunji's and Paget Henry's *Painterly Photography: The Art of Mali Olatunji*—a wonderful collection of the artist's photographs, accompanied by Henry's narrative text with an epilogue by Olatunji which also serves as the artist's statement. This combination of biography, monograph and travelogue introduces us to Olatunji's art and the social, cultural and historical context in which his life and work unfold. Henry's thesis—that Olatunji's photography is invariably influenced (however unconsciously) by Western modernist painting—at first appears contrary to the artist's

intention of creating a spiritually based body of work influenced by his Afro-Caribbean heritage, using a strictly photographic means of doing so. The artist's intent and some viewers' understanding (including Paget Henry's) seem destined to rest at the apogee of visual language and meaning. In spending some time with this book, however, in looking over the photographs and pondering the stories behind them, it is possible for the reader to discover that they may not be quite so diametrically opposed and could be seen to represent different facets of a larger interpretive apparatus. It is through this perspective that I will attempt to bring them into the same discursive space through sharing my impressions of this collection of what Paget Henry calls "painterly photography".

For more than two decades, Mali Olatunji worked on staff at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City as a fine arts photographer, a demanding position which requires a high degree of technical skill, a sensitive eye and attention to fine detail. Documenting scores of works from one of the most highly regarded collections of modern art on a daily basis, he spent countless hours closely viewing and capturing works from the Western canon of 19th and 20th century painting, sculpture and photography. During his tenure at MoMA, Olatunji got to use his photographic skills to the point of their becoming second nature, allowing him to achieve a fluency in the practice of taking large format photos with a high level of control. But for one who works in this profession, it appears inevitable that exposure occurs on both sides of the camera lens. Paget Henry argues that Olatunji's perceptual faculties were by profession saturated in modernist art, that the many images he documented had to have registered in both his conscious and unconscious mind. In the mid-1990s, he left his position there to follow an intuitive voice directing him to create his own original body of work. Leaving the Museum with a complete toolbox of experience, those post-MoMA years gave Olatunji the opportunity to immerse himself in what he truly wanted to express: his notion of "visualising the unseen" or, finding a way to depict the earthly life of mortals through the eyes of a deceased human soul—those of a *jumbie*, according to Afro-Caribbean spiritual tradition. Olatunji had a compelling message to share, and it is communicated through more than one hundred accomplished photographic works reproduced and thoughtfully arranged in this captivating book.

In the opening chapter, Paget Henry provides us with a brief but insightful biography of Mali Olatunji which includes his experiences growing up in Antigua and Barbuda, his migration to New York City, the progression of his career as a photographer, his social and political

awakening and the growth of his inner spiritual life. The development of his artwork unfolds in different locations where he found personal fulfillment and artistic inspiration—from Antigua and Barbuda, to New York City, to London, and then full circle back to Antigua and Barbuda. Henry and Olatunji render the meaning of this body of work more explicitly by grouping the photographs in various series such as “Fort James”, “Big Church” and “Cricket” in Antigua and Barbuda; “Prospect Park”, “Branch” and “Harlem” in New York; “Regent’s Park”, “Big Ben” and “Tottenham” in England. This is useful in helping the reader to connect geographical location with time period and each corresponding phase of Olatunji’s artistic development. Looking at some key works in the book shows us that artist’s intent and viewers’ perceptions do not necessarily contradict, but can affirm the rich tapestry of meaning we can draw from Olatunji’s photographs.

Paget Henry’s Notion of “Painterly Photography”

Initially I found Henry’s use of the term “painterly” for Olatunji’s photographs rather puzzling, because in my view they look to be fairly straightforward composite photographic images created with varying degrees of transparency. I could not tell *how* they were created—whether by using a digital software program, layering multiple negatives in a darkroom, or layering multiple exposures in-camera on a single negative (it is the latter, as the artist will discuss in his Epilogue). I could understand how a descriptive word like “painterly” would likely get under the skin of an artist dedicated to using photography as an art form in its own right. But as I looked at more of the images, I began to warm to Henry’s use of this descriptive phrase. He bases the term “painterly” on both the resemblance and reference to paintings, and he cites a number of instances when viewers mistook them for either photographs of paintings or actual paintings themselves. It also has to do with the expansion of visual language or “...the bending and stretching of the representational principles of photography by a painterly eye and painterly effects that enable photography to do things that it could not do before.” (p. 13–14) This is to go beyond the realistic and documentary abilities of the photographic medium into something that is more of the imagination, of the fantastic—something more abstract than the naturalistic qualities of light and shadow usually captured by the camera.

There are several ways in which Olatunji’s works evoke painting as a medium. The most immediate is through the appearance of brush strokes in many of the images. Examples can be seen in such works as *Mr. Leo*

Gore (Sir Vivian Richards Stadium), Eleven Thirty One Hurricane and Petrification at Harlem. The marks resemble those left by elongated brush strokes suggesting a flowing effect of movement and rhythm—indeed painterly qualities. Other lines and shapes resemble brushstrokes of a more stippling, staccato effect such as those seen in *Antigua Sugar Factory, Fall Through Leaves, City Hall and Parliament Square 2.*

Another quality reminiscent of painting is Olatunji's choice and use of landscape—not only because photography commonly shares this genre with painting—but particularly because landscape is used *in combination with* the brush stroke-like imagery. Of course, he creates his images using other subjects, including a number of moving portraits, but I personally found many of the landscapes especially reminiscent of paintings. This could be due to the vast difference in the depth of field Olatunji employs in each exposed image. He often shoots his woodist textures (the “jumbie” layer) at close range so that, when laid over a landscape scene shot at a greater depth of field, the two images correspond in scale to the manually applied brush strokes and the image they describe in a landscape painting. Think of the heavy, sensual strokes Van Gogh's *Cypresses* or the dappled blotches snow in Monet's *The Magpie* or *Snow at Argenteuil*. The strokes are large and seem to have a life of their own when seen up-close in contrast to the middle and distant ground of the landscape with its disintegrating details which fade into the horizon. This creates that common museum experience we have when viewing a painting up close to see the brushwork and then stepping back from it to perceive the holistic impression or “the big picture.” It will serve to remind, however, that this is only an illusion in Olatunji's works, for the “brush strokes” in his photographs are actually images of the textured surfaces of trees. The lines of bark and wood form curved lines and shapes which only resemble brush strokes. Upon closer examination this becomes evident in such works as his *Graceful Interfold of Beach-ness* or *Dogging the Groundswells*. The reference to painting is generated not by material, but by likeness and implication.

Another way in which Olatunji's photographs can be seen to resemble paintings is through references to artistic movements and/or their stylistic conventions. The works *Brooklyn Bridge Over River, Big Ben Stopped* and *Parliament Square 2* emit a mysterious and moody quality reminiscent of the late 19th century Symbolist movement and such painters as Odilon Redon (see *The Battle*) and Edvard Munch (*The Storm* or *Moonlight on the Shore*). In his discussion of the *Big Ben* series, Henry informs us how Olatunji felt Munch's influence to be particularly strong in his creation of *Parliament Square 2*.

I found the piece entitled *Pollution!* to have a strong impressionistic quality, and V.C. (*Papa*) *Bird* reminded me of a Cubist portrait, as its high-contrast geometric shapes and earth tones punctuate the Prime Minister's head and torso in a manner similar to Picasso's *Portrait of Ambroise Vollard*. The striking *Seeable Bitches Brew* brought to mind the drip-and-splatter action paintings of Jackson Pollack and other Abstract Expressionists. Inspired by and partly named after Miles Davis' pinnacle album *Bitches Brew*, *Seeable* draws its energy, spirit and rhythm from jazz. And like Davis, who culled his innovative elements from an amalgam of American, European and African influences, Olatunji also draws on different aspects of Nationalist Caribbean, Pan-Africanist, European and American modernist art, while his voice is uniquely expressive of his Afro-Caribbean cultural and spiritual heritage. This Creolization of influences provides the cultural grounding for virtually all of his work, to be addressed in more detail below.

While Henry has provided us with a valid argument with regard to the painterly influences in Olatunji's photography, what are we to make of the artist's "woodist jumbie aesthetics"? Are they incompatible aesthetic philosophies competing for the truth or rather differing interpretations which can sit peacefully side by side? Throughout the book Henry alternately refers to Olatunji as "our painterly photographer", "our woodist photographer" and "our master artist", almost as if he himself is oscillating between his own painterly impressions of the work and the artist's aesthetic intentions. But if the painterly is about resemblance, reference and unconscious influences, it may be that intention really does stand as the theoretical foundation of Olatunji's art. It is at this juncture we can turn to determine the nature of the artist's intention and the concerns that lie closest to his heart.

Mali Olatunji's "Woodist Jumbie Aesthetics"

External influences aside, there is a core substance to this body of work which is not necessarily known to the viewer unless he or she reads the book or is already familiar with the artist's intent. It is a very personal matter for Olatunji. While knowledge of his "woodist jumbie aesthetics" is not necessary to enjoy these intriguing photographs, understanding that the imagery is generated by the artist's vision of how the world might appear through the eyes of a departed soul provides a key to the deepest and most poignant layer of meaning in his art. It also provides insight into the placement of his work in the context of the Afro-Caribbean aesthetic tradition, with its roots in African spirituality.

Henry describes a transformational period in Olatunji's life which served as the catalyst for creating this new body of work through the development of his woodist aesthetics. We learn how he had lost a number of friends and family in a relatively short span of time, and that undergoing the process of grief intensified his personal search for that aspect of human consciousness which survives bodily death. Through contemplation and self-reflection he turned toward his Afro-Caribbean roots and remembered the many stories of jumbies which he had heard from his elders as a child growing up in Antigua and Barbuda. These memories inspired him to use his photography as a vehicle to express his sense of loss through intuitive impressions of the afterlife and its continued connection to incarnate life on earth. So he set out to convey the jumbie's point of view—to give voice to the silent, to give form to the formless, and presence to the absence of souls who have passed—by what he has termed “visualising the unseen.” As Henry explains “...the meaning of woodism is that it functions as the aesthetic lens through which Olatunji articulates and gives expression to the Jumbie's post-death vision of existence.” (p. 36) In other words, the artist has entered into the very subjectivity of the spiritual entity—the jumbie—and wishes to share his experience of this phenomenon with us. So what we are also seeing when we look at Olatunji's art is not limited by something that simply looks like a painting or a multi-layered photographic image. We have been given the gift of looking at our earthly landscapes and objects as they might be seen through the soul-eyes of a spirit looking through the trunk of a tree, as part of that tree, or as one with the tree itself.

But if jumbies remain with us on earth, we are left to wonder, what is the jumbie thinking or feeling (if anything) as it dispassionately views, say, a group of people in *A Tree Grows in Broadway* or *Sunday in Regent's Park*? Henry claims that it is through Olatunji's visual grammar that we are given clues to their language delivered to us by his woodist aesthetics. The degree of image transparency, the variety of textures and the nature the materials or marks they suggest—whether wood, stone, leather or brush stroke—all communicate an emotional response to the social and political state of our earthly reality. This is one purpose for combining otherwise multiple views into a single image and how the artist's photographic technique connects with the work's content. It is also where *who the artist is* meets with and becomes *what the artist creates*. And it is in this overlapping, hybrid space where we become able to decipher the jumbie's ethereal response to our living human concerns. It is also where Olatunji's phenomenological approach to photography is

articulated through his process of abstracting the image through multiple exposures in the camera. The degree of obfuscation of the “straight” image often rises with what one might regard as the approval, indifference or indignation of the jumbie viewing our social and political life on earth. To take one of Olatunji’s favorite images as an example, *Capitalism is Dead*, we encounter this obfuscation of the image as we can barely make out a scene of demonstrators gathered near Parliament in London. The buildings are obscured and therefore made somewhat abstract by the inclusion of the woodist layer. In this image the texture appears more like that of stone than wood and therefore serves to connote petrification rather than the sense of life and movement implied by leaves or branches. Henry brings our attention to an eye that can be seen in the clouds which is often considered by viewers to be a jumbie’s eye. If this is the case then could the jumbie, as the viewing subject, be looking at another jumbie who is watching over the scene? Or could it be that the jumbie is looking at itself, so as to be indicative of the self-reflexive nature of the artist’s phenomenological approach to making photographs?

Looking at a photograph with a lesser degree of woodist obfuscation or erasure, such as *Fall Through Leaves*, we are presented with a fairly easy reading of a street scene showing Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn, New York. It does not give off a sense of urban anxiety or decay; rather, it is a pleasing mix of yellows, oranges and the greens of trees at dusk, when day and night convene for a few moments to mix things up for us perceptually. Unlike the petrification of the woodist layer in *Capitalism is Dead* and other stronger political statements, the painterly quality of *Fall Through Leaves* gives the appearance of gentle pools of watercolor settled on paper. These mottled shapes are concentrated mostly in the center of the image, at the single point of perspective on the horizon line. This is a significant feature of Olatunji’s woodist aesthetics, to defy the traditional pictorial elements of photography—depth of field, in this instance—to make room for visualising the unseen. While the details left for us to contemplate are quite small, they are suggestive of larger things. The viewer is made to feel as if he or she is walking into a misty verdant space at twilight where fantastic creatures begin to dance. The twinkling headlight to the left of the center, echoed by the barely legible yellow banner above it, tell us this is so. The artist convinces us that, truly, jumbies could reside in this place.

Absence and Transcendence

Regardless of what the viewer may believe about the jumbie phenomenon, we can see how the social and political impact of the world meets up with the spiritual for this artist. The departed spirits do not leave us with nothing. What happens on earth matters, and continues to matter after each of us has shed our earthly costume. Olatunji's woodism comprises the mysterious and mythic conceptual framework from which he can generate his vision and reveal the transcendental within the material, in the free and open form of art. In a personal sense, it is what connects him to the customs, traditions and beliefs of the elders who told him the jumbie stories he took in so fervently as a young boy. In the cultural sense, it is his creative response to the loss of those oral traditions altogether. To his dismay, they have been replaced by inane American television shows which now serve as the tellers of tales to new generations of Antiguan and Barbudans who have no memory of jumbie story telling. A deeply rooted, intergenerational tradition discontinued.

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As Henry places Mali Olatunji and his woodist aesthetics within the larger history of Caribbean art, we are able to uncover the nature of this loss or absence and better understand its connection to the transcendental. He turns to writer Wilson Harris for insight into this creative dilemma faced by the Caribbean artist in relation to his European colonialist past, a predicament Olatunji shares with his fellow artists from the region. As it was because African slaves were torn away from their families, customs and traditions that they had to rely on a universal form of creativity—that inherent human gift unmodified by culture and bestowed upon them by the infinite creative source of life itself. And so it has remained for their descendants in the African diaspora, in that, according to Harris, “It is only by being such an earthly surrogate and conduit for the transcendent, that the Caribbean artist can help to reconstruct the legacy of cultures imploded by colonialism.” (p. 38)

There is a type of recurring imagery in Olatunji's work that makes one think of molten lava, heavy and creeping over the surface of whatever else there is in the picture. In the woodist photographs this lava-like imagery can be detected in such works as *Nelson's Dockyard 2*, *Petrification at Harlem*, *A Shadowed Pathway*, *Antigua a Washway* and *Antigua, a Stranded Turtle*. Like the brushstrokes in works discussed earlier, these are not images of actual molten rock or flowing lava, but are only reminiscent of such. But there is one image of real lava flowing from an active volcano taken on the island of Montserrat by Olatunji in 1974, long

before his woodist period. The authors have wisely included *My Poor Mind A Washway* in the book, and Henry rightly regards it as no accident that the artist would have been fascinated early on by this prescient image: "...the aesthetics of this melting and liquefying rock immediately took on very real symbolic value for Olatunji—representing a mind in the process of losing its sense of solidity and firm grounding." (p. 15) This volatile earth stands for both absence and transcendence—absence in that it is the universal mind in the process of emptying out into the creation of the universe, forming the galaxies, the stars, the planets, and our own mother Earth. Pre-cognitive, pre-linguistic, pre-sentient, it is the absence of the not-yet created consciousness that will be made flesh in the human race. It is at the same time the transcendence of infinite creativity, the grounding of the unconscious, the grounding of the Creator's creativity. It is the perfect metaphor to stand in the artist's imagination for a body of work he has yet to create. The reader will see it come full circle later in the book in the woodist piece, *Antigua, A Stranded Turtle*, a statement on the precarious state of the Caribbean's (and all the earth's) delicate ecological balance. In this image the primordial ooze reminds us that mother earth will reclaim her generous gifts if we don't play nicely with her.

The art of Mali Olatunji holds its grounding on a number of levels. Multi-layered both literally and figuratively, it is a body of work which can mean many things to many people. And many people can bring many things to this work in their search for meaning in art. Paget Henry may have irritated his friend by writing a book on the "painterly" aspects of his photography, but he has articulated another way of seeing and interpreting it. In bringing Olatunji's work into a conversation with modernist painting, he has provided a context for its art historical influences. By including a thoughtful biography of the artist and social history of the region, many of the issues facing contemporary Caribbean artists are brought to light in a relevant way. Olatunji has contributed not only his inspiring photographs, but also a meaningful explanation of his woodist jumbie aesthetics and an informative statement on his philosophical and technical approach to art. To Henry, he has developed a multifaceted visual language—woodist *and* painterly—for expressing his concerns for the nation of Antigua and Barbuda, the greater Caribbean region, Pan-Africanist cultural identity, as well as cross-cultural uncertainties facing us globally in terms of economics, ecological sustainability, human freedom and spirituality.

One could approach this work as an imaginary form of photography, a cultural treatise on Antigua and Barbuda, photographic art informed by Western modernist painting, or a visual treatise on mystical

subjectivity...or perhaps something else altogether. It is my hope that the reader will have found this assessment to be of some value and that, to a certain degree, finding one's way into this work—and this book—as an expansive act of the imagination. The nature of that path is an intuitive one in terms of what interests and inspires, and what the reader finds along the way in *The Art of Mali Olatunji* can be regarded as a testimony to its wealth of meaning.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Valerie Knowles Combie is a professor of English at the University of the Virgin Islands. She is the author of two books: *Lots of Laughter*, and *The Hovensa Chronicles*

Bernadette Farquhar is a recently retired lecturer in the Department of French and Spanish at the University of West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados. She is a graduate of Hampton University and received her PhD from Cornell University, as did three other Antiguan: Adlai Murdoch, Vincent Richards and Paget Henry. She has worked extensively on the socio-linguistic aspects of Caribbean creole languages.

George Goodwin, Jr. was a well-known economist and Carnival reveler. He was the Chief of Sector Policy and Planning at the Economic Affairs Secretariat of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS).

Tim Hector was one of our major scholars, who combined very successfully journalism and activism. He was the writer of the highly influential “Fan the Flame” column in the newspaper, *Outlet*. He was also for many years the political leader of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM).

Paget Henry is Professor of sociology and Africana Studies at Brown University. He is the author of *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua*, *Caliban’s Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy*, then, *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: The Life of V.C. Bird*, and most recently, *The Art of Mali Olatunji*. He has been a strong contributor to the discussions on Antigua and Barbuda’s development.

Joanne Hillhouse is one of Antigua and Barbuda’s most distinguished writers. Her books include *The Boy from Willow Bend*, *Dancing Nude in the Moonlight*, *Oh, Gad!*, and *Musical Youth*. Her creative and journalistic pieces have appeared in other books and periodicals, and she also blogs online.

Alvette (Ellorton) Jeffers is a specialist in labor relations and a political activist. He was a former Vice-chairman of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM) and a former editor of its paper, *Outlet*.

Lenin Amilcar Jeffers was born in Antigua. He grew up in the Villa area of St. Johns and attended the Grace Christian Academy before going onto the Princess Margaret School. Jeffers relocated to the Bronx, New York before completing his education at home. In New York, he attended Dewitt Clinton High School, and from there Penn State University. He loves creative fantasy, and practices Buddhism, veganism and Humanism.

Ashmita Khasnabish is a professor of English and Postcolonial Studies at Lasell College. Her areas of interest include Feminist Theory and Indian Philosophy, particularly the work of Sri Aurobindo. Her books include *Jouissance as Ananda, Humanitarian Identity and the Political Sublime*, and most recently, *Negotiating Capability and Diaspora: A Philosophical Politics*

Edgar Lake is a distinguished novelist, playwright and poet. He is also an archivist and a past president of the Virgin Islands Historical Society. He is the author of *The Devil's Bridge* and of the forthcoming work, *The Wake of the Empress*. He is also a founding member of the *Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*.

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Janet Lofgren attended Hunter College of the City University of New York where she earned her MFA in painting. She continues to be interested in the visual arts with an emphasis on how social and political forces become manifested in visual forms of representation. She also serves as Editorial Assistant here at *The A&B Review of Books*.

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Althea Romeo-Mark is another of our outstanding poets. She was born in Antigua and Barbuda, grew up in St. Thomas, where she attended the University of the Virgin Islands. She has lived in Liberia for several years and now resides in Switzerland.

Jay Mandle is the W Bradford Wiley Professor of Economics at Colgate University. He is the author of many books including: *Persistent Underdevelopment, Caribbean Hoops: the Development of West Indian Basketball, Plantation Economy: Population and Economic Change in Guyana*, and, *Globalization and the Poor*.

Corthwright Marshall is a political activist, economist, and attorney. He was an active member of the ACLM and served as its chief writer on economic affairs.

Elaine Olaoye is a professor of psychology at Brookdale Community College, and also a well-known poet. Her area of specialty is stress management that incorporates the use of poetry. She is the author of the book of poetry, *Passions of My Soul*

Ermina Oshoba is a well-known anthropologist and a researcher on the status of women in Antigua and Barbuda. She has lived and taught in Africa before returning home. Until a few years ago, she was the Head of the University of the West Indies Center for Continuing Education in Antigua and Barbuda, which is now the Open Campus.

Juno Samuel is a very well known educator, political activist, and advocate for a University of Antigua and Barbuda. He is probably best remembered for a struggle he led on behalf of teachers during the Progressive Labour Movement Administration

