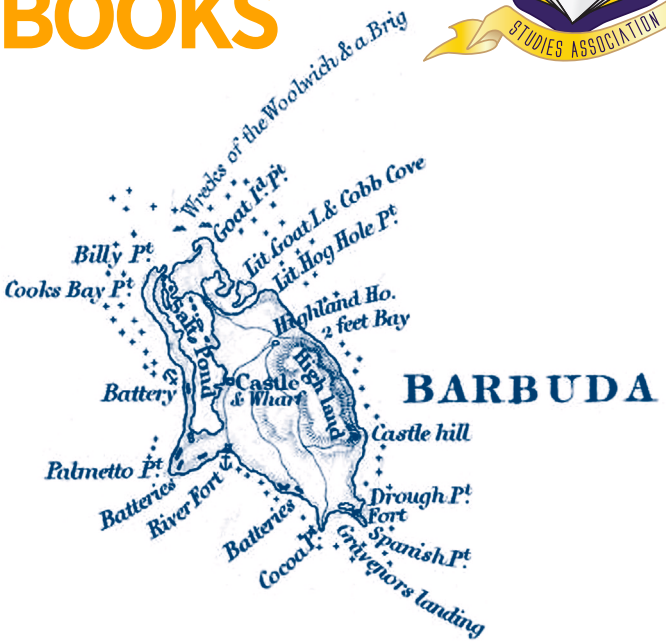
THE **ANTIGUA** AND **BARBUDA** **REVIEW** OF **BOOKS**



Rev. Birchfield Aymer on St. Luke

Dorbrene O'Marde on Barbuda

Lionel Hurst on Barbuda

Paget Henry on Barbuda

Edgar O. Lake on Clement White

Elaine Olaoye on Glenn Sankatsing

Elaine Jacobs on Clement White

Poetry with Sir Lester Bird, Elaine Olaoye and Clement White

And much more ...

BROWN

THE **ANTIGUA** AND **BARBUDA REVIEW** OF **BOOKS**

A Publication of the Antigua and Barbuda Studies Association
Volume 12 • Number 1 • Summer 2019

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

Volume 12 Number 1

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Dedication

The Editorial Collective of *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books* dedicates this issue of our journal to the memory of Allison M. C. Hull (1956–2019). She was indeed very dear to us. Her enthusiasm for education in general and the University of the West Indies in particular made working with her a distinct pleasure. Without her contributions and eager collaboration our annual conference with UWI (Antigua) would not have been the successes they turned out to be. Ms. Hull was a vital and very valuable member of our community of scholars here in Antigua and Barbuda. Her dedication to the intellectual life of our twin-island state will surely be missed.

Paget Henry

Elegy for Allison Hull

A light shone
Through gentle love
Dedication to so many
From an avowed small place

A breeze across white sand
Offered solace
From an epoch so fierce
Even hope sought counsel

Your offerings, humble
Yet so daring:
Knowledge
For the once forbidden

Yes, the sanctuary of that mind
Your heart-warming smile—a
testament to courage
Even when the Reaper's shadow
was near
You continued for others' sake

No fuss
No outcry
Not even a sigh
Life, you understood, was to
be lived

There you were
To the end
No fuss, no outcry
Not even a sigh

You have joined the ancestors
Generations will come
Unaware of having, through you,
Been blessed

Your eventual anonymity
Carries the paradox of memory
Allison, from *aletheia*, after all,
Offers truth

— Lewis R. Gordon

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MORE POETRY

INTERVIEWS

BOOK REVIEWS

REVIEWING THE WORKS OF CLEMENT WHITE

REVIEWING THE WORKS OF GLENN SANKATSING

Editor's Note

Welcome dear readers, old and new, to this issue, Volume 12, of *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*, the official publication of the Antigua and Barbuda Studies Association (ABSA). As in past issues, we have assembled here a collection of essays, poems, and reviews that illuminate the tradition of writing in our nation, which has engaged the problems we have inherited from our colonial past, the challenges we face, and continues to suggest ways of moving forward. One of the major themes of this issue is Barbuda, its ecological and socio-political significance. Focusing on Barbuda, in our feature essay section are the papers by Paget Henry, Dorbrene O'Marde, Lionel Hurst, and George Danns. Barbuda is also the theme of our 2019 annual conference, which we have been doing in conjunction with the University of the West Indies, Open Campus and The Antigua and Barbuda Youth Enlightenment Academy. This special focus on Barbuda is definitely a part of a larger reaching out to our sister isle after the devastation of hurricane Irma in September of 2017.

The paper by George Danns was first delivered at the second convening of the W.E.B. Du Boisian Scholar Network, during which I was presented with the Network's W.E.B. Du Bois Award for Distinguished Scholarship. So, Aldon Morris, Jose Itzigsohn, Karida Brown, Prabhdeep Kehal, Ricarda Hammer, Laura Garbes, and other leaders of this innovative movement, my heart-felt thanks and appreciation.

In addition to Barbuda, another important theme of this issue is the Afro-Christian tradition of thought as it has developed here in Antigua, through the works of scholars like the Rev. Kortright Davis and Edith Oladele. In this issue, the focus is on the work of the late Rev. Birchfield Aymer, who was a strong supporter of ABSA. Before his passing in 2018, he expressed a strong desire to have published in our *Review* the chapter from his dissertation, which is included in this issue. We were unable to do this earlier because of the number of un-translated Greek passages in the chapter. At the suggestion of his brother Sam Aymer, his niece, Rev. Dr. Margaret Aymer contacted me and offered to help with the publication of this chapter. A scholar of both theology and Greek, the female Rev. Aymer was the perfect person for this task. With great enthusiasm and skill, she undertook the introducing and editing of this chapter along with translating its Greek passages, all of which has turned it into the highly readable essay it is now. Margaret, many many thanks to you!

A third important theme in this issue is the Open Campus of the University of the West Indies here in Antigua and Barbuda. This focus on the Open Campus continues what was the central theme of last year's

conference and a major concern of the last issue of our *Review*. Here we continue our look at the Open Campus through an interview with Ms. Allison Hull, who was its former Program Officer.

In our poetry section, we feature the work of three poets. The first is a poem by our former Prime Minister, Sir Lester Bird. This is a new departure for the Prime Minister and we hope there will be more. Our second poet is Elaine Olaoye, author of the well-known collection, *Passions of My Soul*. Third and finally is a poet and Professor of Hispanic Literature from St. Croix, Clement White. You will have a fuller encounter with Professor White in our review section. The poem included here, "Caregivers", is one that he dedicated to me, and it is based on a story I told him of one of the super-mothers of Antigua and Barbuda. It is reprinted here with the permission of the poet from his collection, *Come Lemme Hea' Yoh Yank Soursap*.

In our review section, we open with Dr. Bernadette Farquhar's review of veteran Antiguan and Barbudan author Mary Geo Quinn's 2003 work, *Hol' de Line and Other Stories*. Following Farquhar's review, we have Leslie James' careful and detailed review of *Marxism, Colonialism and Cricket*, edited by David Featherstone, Christopher Gair, Christian Høgsbjerg and Andrew Smith. This volume contains some of the finest essays on CLR James' classic work, *Beyond A Boundary*.

Next in our review section, we feature a Crucian/Antiguan and Barbudan coming together to honor Professor Clement White, the poet and scholar from St. Croix mentioned above. Prof. White has been a contributor to our journal, reviewing the work of our own Valerie Knowles-Combie, in particular her book, *Memories/Recuerdos*. Valerie Knowles-Combie is a professor of English at the University of the Virgin Islands. Prof. White is introduced here by the well-known Antiguan and Barbudan author, Edgar O. Lake, who now resides in St. Croix. Three of Prof. White's books are reviewed by two scholar/poets from Antigua and Barbuda, who also now reside in St. Croix, Elaine Jacobs, and Valerie Knowles-Combie. Thus, between Lake, White, Jacobs and Knowles-Combie, we have in literature and literary criticism a discursive replica of the synergy that has developed between Antigua and Barbuda and the U.S. Virgin Islands. In grasping this synergy, we cannot leave out calypsos of King Obstinate, H. Akia Gore, author of the book, *Garrote: The Illusion of Social Equality and Political Justice in the United States Virgin Islands*, and Alscess Lewis-Brown, editor of *The Caribbean Writer* and chief organizer of the Virgin Islands Literary Festival. These are histories and bonds of solidarity that ABSA and our *Review* will continue to celebrate.

Last in this section but by no means the least, we have two reviews of Glenn Sankatsing's major work on ecological ethics, *Quest to Rescue our Future*. The first is by Elaine Olaoye and the second by me. This is a major

work by a Caribbean scholar, who moves between Suriname and Aruba. Hence our decision to give to this work the special attention that we think it deserves. Sankatsing will be the keynote speaker at our August 2019 conference.

In short, we have assembled here for you another engaging set of essays, poems and reviews that should speak very directly to your interests and concerns. Enjoy!

Finally, before I depart, thanks must go to the Africana Studies department at Brown University for their continued support of our journal. Special thanks must also go to Janet Lofgren, my very able editorial assistant, and to Dr. Shamara Alhassan for their valuable work on this issue of our *Review*.

Paget Henry
Editor

FEATURE ESSAYS

After the Storms: Barbuda and Antigua Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow

Paget Henry

The debris brought to the surface and scattered by hurricane Irma on Barbuda and by hurricane Maria on Puerto Rico were not just physical items, such as weak housing structures and faulty roofs, they were also of a social and political nature. The exposed and scattered debris also came from the exploding of long-standing weaknesses and deeply felt grievances, which have their roots in the social and historic inequalities between Puerto Rico and the U.S., and between Barbuda and Antigua. The exposure of these systems of social inequality and their underlying structures of economic and political domination pointed very directly to problems of dependent postcolonial governance and underdevelopment, which have deep roots in the colonial periods of both Puerto Rico and Antigua and Barbuda. In turn, these patterns of dependence revealed surprisingly ambivalent feelings about severing ties with former imperial powers and thus produced the seeking of sub-national or semi-colonial forms of local state organization.

In the case of Barbuda and Antigua, the violently exposed inequality between the two islands has been the result of the combination of sharp differences in their colonial histories and how these differences have been linked to passions that drive the formation of island-based identities. Antigua was a classic sugar plantation colony of exploitation for most of its life, while Barbuda was colonized first as private real estate and later as "a dependency" of Antigua. The constitutional status of "a dependency" of a colony is one that has consistently bred long-lasting layers of inequality and poverty between colony and dependency all across our Caribbean region. The status of a dependency is a form of double colonization, which has consistently doubled rates of underdevelopment and poverty. When these types of material differences are mapped onto the passionate dynamics of island-based identity formation we can arrive at very toxic forms insularism, which can result in highly discriminatory behaviors. As we will see, such has been the case between Antigua and Barbuda. This deep subjective fissure of toxic insularism between Barbuda and Antigua was a major part of the debris that the powerful winds of hurricane Irma brought to the surface and threw in our faces. This debris landed on our faces during the heated discussions about the reconstruction of Barbuda, exposing deep levels of distrust and the stereotypical ways in which Barbudans and Antiguans continue to see each other. Indeed without addressing more directly and honestly these insularist tensions and conflicts, the reconstruction of Barbuda after Irma will be an even more difficult challenge.

The main argument of this paper will unfold in three major parts. In the first, I will outline Barbuda's development history, how it differed from Antigua's, and the different rates of economic growth that the two islands experienced. Second, I will examine the ways in which these developmental differences were linked to patterns of island-based identity formation to create the toxic forms of insularism that continue to plague the relations between the two islands. Third, I will examine the responses of our postcolonial regimes to this insular inequality that they inherited from the colonial past. Fourth and finally, I will make some concluding suggestions for moving forward.

Barbuda's Developmental History

Although closely associated in the minds of many today, Barbuda and Antigua were not always linked together constitutionally, and as territories have traveled very different political and economic paths to our contemporary period. Antigua was colonized by Edward Warner in 1632 as a separate British territory. Barbuda was incorporated into the British imperial economy, and thus into the larger capitalist world economy, as an island leased to Christopher Codrington in 1685. In other words, Barbuda was private property, like a farm or a piece of private real estate, which Codrington would use to support his estates in Antigua. This 50 year lease was renewed several times, enabling the retention of Barbuda by the Codrington family for generations. This was an unusual form of imperial domination of a distinct territory that was 62 square miles in size. Indeed Codrington called his control of Barbuda a "private governmency" as distinct from a classic colony as in the case of Antigua (Dyde:2000:- 40). These two different modes of social existence have been among the major sources of the widely diverging paths to the modern era taken by Barbuda and Antigua. Different economic and political institutions were established on both islands in the seventeenth century that resulted in very different rates and patterns of growth and development. As these differing rates were compounded over the passing decades, Barbuda has not only been eclipsed, but has remained 30 to 40 years behind Antigua.

The Codringtons were classic examples of absentee owners, who lived in luxury in England, while their managers and lawyers dealt with the day to day affairs of life in Barbuda, including the African slaves that had been captured and imported. Codrington very likely stayed on Barbuda for a while in the early 1700s, but returned to England never to see it again. He may also have built Highland House, the first mansion-type structure on the island, where the family would stay on the rare occasions of their visits. Managers and lawyers also stayed there until residences were built for them. Surrounding these stone mansions were the wattle and daub huts of the African slaves. This gave the area the appearance of an African

village. The whole complex of master and slave came to be known as the Village of Codrington. A stone wall was built around this village, and by sundown all the enslaved Africans had to be inside before the gate was locked. Tour guides on Barbuda continue to tell the story of this wall, and how it was broken down in the years after slavery.

Before Barbuda became Barbuda it was O'wamoni. Before Antigua was Antigua it was Wadadli. In other words, both islands, like other Caribbean territories had a distinct pre-colonial Amerindian heritage. The remains of rock drawings, shell and stone tools suggest that the Ciboney people settled on Barbuda around 2400 BC. The Ciboney were subsequently displaced by the incoming Arawaks and Caribs. These prior invading waves of conquering groups made the Codrington invasion the fourth in the early history of Barbuda. There is significant evidence to suggest that these different groups travelled frequently between Barbuda and Antigua.

The Economy of the "Private Governmency" Period

Between 1685 and 1870, Barbuda was administered as a private governmency. This was a form of governance by the combination a private owner and local agent, in the course of which Barbuda was administered by different manager and/or lawyers serving as agents on the ground on behalf of the Codringtons. Among the first of these managers were Thomas Beech, Samuel Redhead, Nicholas Jackson, and John James. These managers reported regularly to the Codringtons on the state of things in Barbuda, including the business and the behavior of the slaves. Thus it is possible to speak of the Codrington/Beech administration, the Codrington/Redhead administration or Codrington/James administration and the differences between them. Indeed it is from the report of these managers that we are able to reconstruct the early history of Barbuda.

As a private governmency, Barbuda never developed as a classic sugar plantation economy, and thus never participated directly in the lucrative sugar revolution of 17th and 18th centuries, as was the case with Antigua. With the highest elevation on the island being only 125 feet, Barbuda suffered from severe droughts, sometimes lasting for years. Thus it was not an ideal location for sugar or other forms of commercial agriculture. These agronomic conditions would only support subsistence type of agriculture along with the raising of animals such as cows, horses, deer, goats and sheep. Indeed during periods of severe drought, the Codringtons had to import food—primarily from the U.S. The implications of this geo-economic divergence from the cases of Antigua or Barbados have been fateful for Barbuda's development. Rather than another plantation economy in its own right, the Codringtons turned Barbuda into a supplier of ground provisions and animals for their sugar estates in Antigua.

As a result, the Barbudan economy could only experience very limited growth in response to these agricultural and animal farming demands from the Codrington sugar estates. Along with these demands from Antigua, there were the local demands coming from the subsistence needs of the Barbudan population. Together, these two sets of economic demands were not enough to generate a significant cash surplus that would make investment possible and in that way grow and develop the Barbudan economy. Given the starkness of this dilemma, the Codringtons could have adopted a different economic policy for Barbuda. The American state of Virginia was a private for profit colony that was started by the Virginia Company of London. As this initial strategy began to falter, Edwin Sands, the head of the company, converted it from a "private governmency" into a regular colony in which other private investors had guaranteed rights to land ownership, and access to political institutions of self-government. Nothing like this took place on Barbuda, so the failed strategy of making it an adjunct of plantations in Antigua continued. Joined in this way, Barbuda and Antigua became a classic case of combined but uneven development.

In spite of the above weak demand for its products, the slave population and the number of livestock in Barbuda expanded significantly after 1700. In 1804, manager John James reported a slave population of 312, which by 1824 increased to 423. As no slaves were imported into Barbuda after the mid 1700s, this increase was the result of natural reproduction. By 1720, there were 310 sheep, 200 cattle, 50 horses, 20 pigs, and a dozen goats. By 1780, these numbers had increased to about 8000 sheep, 2000 goats, 600 horses, and 300 deer (Dyde, 2000:139). In addition to hunting or rearing these animals, Barbudan slaves fished and cultivated corn, yams, peas and other such crops for family consumption on their provision grounds, which averaged between 10 and 12 acres. These were the basic dimensions and features of the Barbudan economy that developed under the early administrations. These dimensions were small even by Caribbean standards and produced growth rates that must have been among the lowest in the region. Today, the population of Barbuda remains at about 1400.

However, there was another important sector to the Barbudan economy, which contributed significantly to the income of the Codringtons. This was the salvage "industry" from the many ships that ran aground on the extensive reefs that surround the shores of Barbuda. With "the right of wreck" written into their lease, the Codringtons were guaranteed a "major share of the value of anything saved from destruction" (Dyde, 2000: 139). This salvaging of wrecked ships was particularly lucrative for the early Codringtons as the slaves who did the actual wrecking work were "entitled to no share at all" (Dyde, 2000: 139). In support of this point, Desmond Nicholson makes note of an 1809 wreck from which the Codringtons were

able to salvage goods worth around 3,369 pounds (2003:22). Periods of war were particularly good for the salvaging industry as it brought many more ships to the waters off Barbuda. On many of current tours of the island, tour guides recount stories of fires being lighted in the Highlands area to lure ships onto the reefs in that area. As I now teach and reside in the American state of Rhode Island, I could not help noting this particular account of a July 1810 wreck: "On Friday Night the 22nd of last month, the American Sloop 'Uniform', from Rode-Island bound for Antigua with Corn and Provisions, was wrecked on the North reef of Barbuda, the whole of her deck load consisting of Fish and Wood Hoops, was thrown overboard immediately on her striking; the remainder of the Cargo has been saved with the exception of some corn which got wet" (Dyde, 2000:140–41).

With this account of the salvage industry, we have covered the macro-structure of the early Barbudan economy. It consisted of an agriculture sector that produced a variety of products and animals for "export" to the Codrington plantations in Antigua. This was supplemented by a significant salvaging sector, which generated income from shipwrecks off the coast of Barbuda. The lion's share of this income went to the Codringtons. This complete exporting of the small surplus produced by the Barbudan economy made it a classic site of what Marx called "primitive accumulation" for the Codringtons. Finally, the early Barbudan economy included a slave-based subsistence sector that supplied Afro-Barbudan slaves with food for their families. With this institutional framing and the primary source of external demand being the Codrington estates in Antigua, the potential for growth through investing was severely restricted. Further, this institutional framework not only established Barbuda as a site of surplus extraction but also of a double dependence on external demand that ensured widening rates of growth between Barbuda and Antigua.

The Early Forms of Government

As a private governmency and not a formal colony, Barbuda had no governor, no legislative, executive or judicial branches of government. It was administered simply as a piece of privately owned property. As noted before, these ruling administrations usually consisted of a manager and an attorney, and some times with an additional overseer. Thus, with most of these early administrations, there were two or three white persons on Barbuda, and in some cases, their wives and children. Further, when some managers had to depart for Antigua, they would leave their wives in charge.

An interesting twist on this practice was the case of manager and attorney, Samuel Redhead, who held that position from 1761–1779. Redhead maintained two families, one on Antigua with his English wife, and another with an enslaved mulatto woman, Sarah Bullock. With Ms. Bullock, Redhead fathered two sons. The first Joseph Redhead was born in 1767, and the second, Henry Redhead, was born in 1772 (Lake, 2017:99). Ms. Bullock was a very shrewd young woman, who watched closely the political issues affecting her life and the future of Barbuda. So much so, that when manager Redhead traveled to Antigua, he would leave Ms. Bullock in charge. This apparently made her very unpopular with the other slaves. On the death of his wife in Antigua, Redhead bought Ms. Bollock's freedom from the Codringtons, married her, and took the whole family to England to live with him among the aristocracy.

In England, the younger of the two sons, Henry, attended Cambridge University where he studied political philosophy and mathematics. After graduation, he began his publishing and activist career, and so became Barbuda's first major intellectual and published author. Within the larger context of the Antiguan and Barbudan intellectual tradition, Henry Redhead was preceded by Rebecca Protten (1718–1780) and followed by Mary Prince (1788–1833). Influenced by his aristocratic upbringing, Redhead's first publication was a political tract defending British slavery in which he used the communal life of Barbudan slaves as evidence in his argument (1792).

However this phase in his intellectual and political life did not last very long. In his second publication, he completely reversed his position. At the same time he began a life-long critique of monarchical rule, and became a strong advocate for liberal democratic forms of governance. This political work got him into trouble including being arrested, jailed and forced to change his name to Henry Redhead Yorke. He was the author of many books including *Thoughts on Civil Government,* and *Elements of Civil Knowledge*.

For Barbuda administrators, like Samuel Redhead, politics was essentially the managing of four potential sites of struggle. The first was the challenges associated with carrying out the orders and wishes of the Codringtons. Second, was the securing of the island. Third, was managing the discontent of the slaves, and containing their rebellious and insurrectionary tendencies. Fourth and finally, was fending off the efforts of governors and legislators in Antigua to bring Barbuda under their control.

With regard to securing the island, the main concerns were attempts of the Caribs to retake the island, and the many wars that broke out between England, Spain, France and Holland in which they would seize each others prized Caribbean territories. As noted before, the Amerindians

had claimed and named Wa'omoni and Wadadli along with the other islands of the region. Thus the first attempts of the British to colonize Wa'omoni and Wadadli were met with stiff resistance from the Caribs. Thus after securing his first 50-year lease of Wa'omoni, which by then had been renamed Barbuda, Codrington had to build a fort as the first line of defense against the Caribs and the French. However, because of its very dry conditions, Barbuda was never seen as prized possession to be fought over by the imperial powers like Antigua, Jamaica or Trinidad. Thus, for the various administrations that governed the island, securing it was not a major problem as there are no reported major foreign invasions. However, in the late 18th century, a larger defensive structure was build, which included a 3-story tower "with an elevated gun platform" (Dyde, 2000:140).

Probably the most challenging political issue the managers confronted was that of governing the slaves while extracting surplus labor from them. As in the cases of Antigua and other slave colonies, this was a delicate balancing act in Barbuda that often turned explosive. We have already seen that the first major move in controlling the slaves was the restrictive wall built around the village of Codrington. Further, as an integral part of their strategy for governing the slaves, the Codringons established a racial hierarchy that was based on values of white supremacy. This meant that Black Africans were at the bottom of this hierarchy with whites on the top. In between this top and bottom, they established a gradation of shades that favored closeness to being white. As in the case of Antigua, this shadist ideology was articulated through the use of categories such as black, mulatto, mustee, fustee, and dustee. These were also the categories used by managers in their reports to the Codringtons.

A third set of factors in the governing strategy of managers, as in the cases of Antigua and other Caribbean colonies, was the imposing of harsh and barbaric punishments on the slaves in Barbuda. Joy Lawrence reports that "in 1745, manager McNish accused certain slaves of stealing sheep and cattle. He ordered mutilation as the best punishment for the crime, personally carrying it out on the offenders. The slave community retaliated, storming the castle, taking possession of arms and ammunition, and killing McNish. Soldiers from Antigua came to put down the rebellion" (2015:21).

From the reports of managers John James and John Winter to the Codringtons in England, we can get additional insights into how the slaves on Barbuda were governed. John James, who served as manager from 1804–1827, boasted in his reports that "there are but two white men with myself on the island and I frequently leave my Wife and Daughters there without a fastening to the House … The greater part of the Negroes on Barbuda would lay down their lives to serve me … We haul the seine

as often as they like; sometimes 3 or 4 days together with fish aplenty" (Dyde, 2000:142). James' strategy was clearly one that prioritized the use of the carrot of access to large amounts of food through fishing and time to cultivate their provisions. At the same time, this approach had as its aim the cultivating of very subservient attitudes towards him and other whites on the part of the Barbudan slaves. This approach was basic to British strategies of enslavement, economic exploitation and colonial rule. In the case of manager James, it was a continuation of the old strategy that combined terror and indulgence. Thus he went out of his way to allow slaves to keep all of the produce from their provision grounds.

John Winter, who succeeded James as manager, employed the stick more than the carrot. He adopted a more authoritarian and exploitative strategy, imposing greater discipline on the slaves in order to get more work out of them. However, this attempts to extract more surplus labor out of Barbudan slaves in order to send more goods to the Codrington estates in Antigua failed miserably. Winter's governing strategy did not work. He only succeeded in disrupting the order that James had established with his more compromising approach. By trying to capture a greater portion of the surplus produced by the slaves for his bosses in Antigua and England, Winter unleashed and brought to the surface the oppositional and insurrectionary attitudes of Barbudans, along with open acts of resistance and defiance.

This more oppositional stance of Barbudans during the early years of Winter's administration only increased as the enslaved population began to hear, in the early 1800s, more about the upcoming end of the institution of slavery, that had so restricted their movements and activities. With the end of slavery approaching, Barbudans began imagining and fashioning their own views of the post-slavery period. Fired up by these views of freedom, a new Barbudan political subject was emerging with a new political imagination, and was much less tolerant of managers like Winter. In 1832, slave resistance on Barbuda moved into a higher gear. Acts of resistance and defiance increased to the point that Winter referred to them as a mutiny (Dyde, 2000: 144). This mutiny he was able to contain only by calling in troops from Antigua. This type of anti-slavery insurrectionary activity, which had also erupted many times on Antigua, and in several other Caribbean slave colonies, had made another striking appearance here in Barbuda. In short, this resistance to Winter shows that Barbudan slaves shared an insurrectionary dimension to their political personality with slaves in other Caribbean colonies.

The increasing insurrectionary upsurges motivated by this sensing and foretasting of freedom, changed politics in Barbuda and the related problems of governance. This change brings us to the third major issue that shaped the early political life of Barbuda—pressure from the imperial

center and some legislators in Antigua to incorporate Barbuda under its laws and structures of governance. Barbudan slaves were quite anxious about what exactly the ending of the slave system would mean for them. Would they be able to keep their provision grounds? Would they still have to continue the work of supplying the Codrington estates in Antigua? According to manager Winter, Barbudan slaves wanted their freedom along with continued access to their provision grounds. The older slaves wanted their freedom along with care from the Codringtons now that they were unable to work and care for themselves. This Afro-Barbudan view of the post-slavery order was strongly resisted by the Codringtons, who were primarily interested in the terms and conditions under which they would have continued access to Afro-Barbudan labor.

As this clash of views intensified, the more oppressive side of Codrington rule increasingly showed it ugly face. In 1834, they made it clear to all concerned that once the slaves were formally freed by the British Abolition Act, they would be "homeless, landless, provisionless trespassers" (Dyde, 2000: 145). The governor and the attorney general took the position that the legislature of Antigua should extend its laws to Barbuda and that Barbudan slaves should be freed under the emancipation act that the Antiguan legislature was about to pass. The Codringtons objected strongly. A partial compromise was reached just before Emancipation Day on August 1st 1834. The governor and the imperial directorate accepted the Codrington demand that the freed slaves would be able to retain their provision grounds and houses only if they gave "a portion of their labor to the owner of the soil" (Dyde, 2000:146). This labor would be paid and rates would have to be agreed upon. However, the details of this compromise could not be formalized in time for Emancipation Day, so the day passed without Barbudan slaves formally getting their freedom. Because of this lack of resolution, troops were brought in from Antigua just in case Barbudan slaves turned openly insurrectionary. It was not until 1860 that this impasse was resolved when imperial constitutional orders made Barbuda "a dependency" of Antigua.

Between Private Governmency and Dependency

Becoming a dependency of Antigua did not immediately end Barbuda's status as a private governmency. This ambiguous condition, which lasted from 1860–1901, was the result of the imperial government's decision, rather than taking full control of the political and economic development of Barbuda after the Codringtons surrendered their lease in 1870, to continue the failed practice of leasing it to private individuals. Thus in spite of its new constitutional status as a dependency of Antigua, Barbuda was leased to two gentlemen: George Hopkins and Rev. William Crowley. According to the terms of the lease, they had to pay the Crown 375 pounds

a year, observe the freedom of Afro-Barbudans, their rights to their houses, areas of common land, the lagoon and rights to salvage. If the Codringtons could not make a go of the Barbudan economy with exclusive rights to salvage, it was very unlikely that Hopkins and Crowley would be able to launch this economy under the terms of the lease. Needless to say, they failed.

After this failure, the imperial government tried yet another attempt at leasing Barbuda, rather than trying to develop it on the model of other colonial territories. It was leased to Robert Dougall and his Barbuda Island Company. Dougall was no more imaginative or innovating than Hopkins and Crowley, thus it should be no surprise that he too failed to transform the Barbudan economy. He was unable, as in the already noted case of the American colony of Virginia, to make it into a site that could attract more investors, increase the population and find some external markets. Unable to supply these innovations, economic stagnation and decline remained the order of the day on Barbuda.

The Period of Colonial Dependency

After the failure of these two additional attempts at leasing, Barbuda was brought more directly under the administration of the governor, who resided in Antigua. The Warden system of governance was introduced. A Warden was appointed by the governor, but with orders to run it as an estate and not as a colony. Under this Warden system, Afro-Barbudans became "tenants of the Crown" (Dyde, 2000: 194). As tenants of the Crown and governed by a warden, Barbudans did not fare any better than under the system of private governmency. The changes were cosmetic in nature as the institutional nature of the economy, with all of its difficulties, remained the same. Thus, again it should come as no surprise that the earlier patterns of stagnation continued under the Warden system.

To grasp the next phase in Barbuda's underdevelopment, we must bring into the analysis some very important changes in the 20th century global capitalist economy. First Britain had become an industrial power and much less reliant on sugar planters for increases in wealth. Second, the former British colonies of the United States had also become major sites of industrial, agricultural and commercial production. Also on the rise in the first decades of the 20th century were Germany and the Soviet Union. Under these changing conditions, the power of Caribbean planters continued to decline, and so did their chances of getting the imperial government to aid their declining sugar industry. Life was indeed getting much harder for George Moody Stuart and other big planters who had taken the place of the Codringtons.

As if all of these adverse economic trends were not enough, the entire global capitalist system, in spite of a decade of spectacular growth, experienced it's biggest crash ever in 1929. This severe and extended breakdown was a game changer. Unprecedented levels of unemployment gave rise to a global labor movement and socialist policies. These would in turn give rise to trade unions, mass political parties and movements for political independence. Before this great depression was over, the impact of these accompanying movements would change the plantation economy of Antigua beyond repair. In Barbuda, although further depressing its economy, the crash of 1929 and its aftermath left its centuries old economic institutions basically unchanged. Thus, in the decades after the recovery, the divergence between rates of economic growth on Barbuda and Antigua only increased.

However, before turning directly to the period of postcolonial party politics, let us look briefly at how these differences in the developmental trajectories of these two islands were incorporated and deployed in affirming the island-based aspects of identities in both Barbuda and Antigua. As we will see, this linking of divergent developmental trajectories and insular identities has been a source of contentious dialogues between the two, which have reinforced rather than lessened the inequalities between Barbuda and Antigua.

Between Antigua and Barbuda: Insular Inequality

Between the islands of the Caribbean, friendly and not so friendly differences around identity have emerged and continue to emerge. At their most basic levels, these have been binary, self/other or we/they, differences that naturally develop around observable differences such as size, gender, language, race, level of development, class or ethnicity. In other words, the maritime boundaries of one's island of birth, which separates it and its people from all others by miles of ocean, can be another of these factors of difference in the constituting of political subjectivities and popular identities.

As in the cases of the other identity-shaping factors mentioned above, the making of insular identities usually begins with the centering or seeing of the world from the perspective of one's own island. Centered in this way, one's island and its traditions—be it Jamaica, Aruba, St. Lucia, Antigua or Barbuda, becomes the basis for evaluating other islands, cultures, races or nations. Further, this island-centric way thinking is quite often a little biased in its own favor as it often leads us to think that our practices are better than those of other islands. Thus, at the same time that this type of thinking helps to determine what we like, it also shapes the things, people and practices that we don't like. How often have we heard, we have got the

best beaches, the best mangoes, the best cricketers. Similar binary forms of friendly and not so friendly differences over size are both well known in our region and have been of long standing.

Friendly constructions of insular differences such as the above become toxic and discriminatory when they are exaggerated and used to justify unequal treatment between islands on the basis of size, color, language, level of development, or other factors. Like sexism, racism or imperialism, discriminatory insularism has its roots in the exaggerating of the human differences that are at the basis of more normal self/other or we/they relations. These binary patterns of establishing insular difference or uniqueness, along with their exaggeration or inflation arise on both sides of the maritime divide. Consequently, clashes often take the form of two island-centric discourses trying to displace each other—in our case, an Antigua-first position vs a Barbuda-first one.

For such insular clashes to turn toxic, exploitative and oppressive, there is usually the pursuit, by one of the parties, of a perceived advantage that is justified by inflating the value its differences or uniqueness to the point where basic human equality disappears. This perceived advantage could be economic, political, cultural or psychological. As we saw in the case of Codrington rule over Barbuda, the economic motive was clearly the strongest. Politico-economic freedom, social equality, the right to determine their own future for Barbudans constituted mortal threats to the business interests of the Codringtons. On the other hand, exaggerating the basic we/they differences in an effort to widen the human gap between themselves and Barbudans, facilitated the persistence of their particular order of business. In the cases of managers like Redhead and Winter, inflating the we/they differences between them and Afro-Barbudans clearly had definite political motives added to the economic ones. Instilling these inflated differences between Black and White into hearts and minds of Barbudans, made it easier for the latter to occupy and accept inferior and subordinate role. In turn, the adaptation to these inferior roles made the governing tasks of managers much easier. This deflating of Barbudan difference and uniqueness and using it to justify the colonial super-exploitation of the island in the interest of some on Antigua, established patterns of inequality between the two islands that are still very much with us.

As our outstanding philosopher, Charles Ephraim has pointed out in his book, *The Pathology of Eurocentrism*, normal self/other or we/they relations can also turn pathological when the perceived advantage is psychological. Ephraim attributes the pathologizing of basic forms of Eurocentrism to an inflating of the value of whiteness and the corresponding deflating of the value of blackness. This white European need inferiorize, dehumanize and exploit Africans, Ephraim links very directly to what he calls "an

obsessive need for self-aggrandizement" (2003:2). This is the psychological advantage that many whites derive from the practice of anti-black racism. This need for self-aggrandizement, Ephraim links to compensatory efforts to avoid feelings of weakness and vulnerability associated with earlier defeats in the experiences of Europeans. As a psychological drive, this need for self-aggrandizement brings with it a will to power and thus an urge to dominate, which turn Eurocentric we/they relations pathological and exploitative.

The particular ways in which normal patterns of insular differences between Antigua and Barbuda were transformed into systematic practices of social inequality require that we take into account the special economic and psychological advantages by which they were inflated and pathologized. The specific institutional contexts in which these two advantages were pursued to high states of toxicity, were first that of a private governmency of a planter whose major business was located in Antigua, and second, that of being a dependency of the colony of Antigua. Rule as a private governmency had to be the worst form of colonization imposed on our region, and thus the ideal setting for deflating the value of Barbudan uniqueness, while inflating that of Antigua's. It accounts for Barbuda's slow rate of population growth, its economic stagnation, and its identity as a subordinate island to Antigua. The transition to being a dependency of Antigua only reinforced these patterns of stagnation and social inequality. Being a dependency is like being a colony of a colony, and thus the object of double exploitation and neglect. The exploitation and neglect are doubled because some of the social relations between imperial country and the colony get reproduced in the social relations between colony and dependency. Both the private governmency and the dependency are socio-political formulas for economic stagnation, underdevelopment and poverty, which in turn generate insular and other forms of social inequality. The presence of these features in other dependencies such as the 1954 Federation of Curacao and the Dutch Antilles, Trinidad and Tobago, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, help to make clear the relevance of Barbuda's colonial status as a dependency of Antigua, for understanding the processes by which insular differences between them turned toxic and contentious.

The contentious nature of the deeper feelings and perceptions between Barbudans and Antiguans produced by this history of dependency erupted violently during the 1858 uprising in the capital city of St. Johns. This uprising began with a fight between two stevedores, Antiguan Henry Jarvis and Barbudan Thomas Barnard. The altercation began after Barnard had secured a job at the Port, which had eluded Jarvis. Not only did the Barbudan get the job, he was also the victor in the fight. This triggered an assault on Barnard and other Barbudans in the Point area of St. Johns by Jarvis and other Antiguans. In her account, Natasha Lightfoot noted:

"Antiguan women attacked Barbudan women with as much force as Antiguan men used against Barbudan men" (2015:196). This then turned into a four-day uprising against the colonial authorities in Antigua, which concluded with over 150 troops being brought in from Guadeloupe.

With the start of the decolonization period, and the prospect of Barbuda and Antigua gaining political independence as a twin-island state, the people and leaders of this new nation discovered very quickly how difficult a challenge it would be to bring Barbuda and Antigua into a national union on equal terms after the long centuries of toxic inequality between them. Consequently, the designing of development policies for this twin-island nation would have to take careful account of this still explosive fissure between these two parts of the new nation. Would the new nationalist leaders be able to diffuse and constructively engage this inherited problem of toxic and potentially explosive insularism? Would they be able to move the Barbudan economy forward where Redhead, Winter and others had failed so miserably?

Barbuda in the Era of Post-colonial Party Politics

The global depression of the 1930s and the economic disruptions it produced across our region provided the motivating context for the birth of both the Caribbean labor and nationalist movements. The rise, successes and failures of these movements would transform Antigua and it dependency, Barbuda, but once again very unequally. The organizations that would lead these two movements were the Antigua Trades and Labour Union (ATLU) and its political arm, the Antigua Labour Party, led by V.C. Bird and comrades such as Ernest Williams, Novelle Richards and McChesney George. These leaders adopted a Black democratic socialist political philosophy, which directed their focus to issues such as wages, working conditions on sugar plantations and in factories, practices of racial discrimination, and the political rights of the masses of Antiguans and Barbudans. They maintained a firm grip on the leadership of these movements, but were soon joined by opposing and competing groups such as the Antigua National Party (ANP), led by Rowan Henry; the Port Union, led by Emanuel De Souza, and its party, the Antigua Democratic Labor Party (ADLP), and the Barbuda Democratic Movement (BDM), led by Robert Hall (Henry, 1985:151). However, in those early years of fighting the planters, the ALP did not address head-on the problems related to insular inequality between Antigua and Barbuda, and the deep wellsprings of feelings of resentment and distrust that they were inheriting from centuries of British misrule and neglect.

The difficult problems created by insularism were not restricted to Barbuda and Antigua. It was also there in other dependencies, and also between islands that were not dependencies. Indeed the political parties

and their leaders, who were replacing British colonial rule, realized fully the problems related to insularism with the collapse of the federation of 1958–1962. This was clearly one of the early failures of the nationalist movement that ran aground on the rocks of insularism that had developed between the islands of the region. However, in the case of territories like Antigua and Barbuda, in addition to these more regional problems with insularism, they were also faced with similar secessionist impulses coming from within their smaller sub-regional projects of nation-building.

In the early years of this nationalist movement, ALP leaders kept in place the Warden system of government that the British had established after the end of the period of private governmency. Thus the major political changes of this period, such as the introduction of the committee and ministerial systems of government, were highly concentrated in Antigua. The major political change affecting Barbuda was the seating of its appointed representative, McChesney George, in the expanded legislative council. In other words, amidst all of this talk about constitutional changes leading to political independence, Barbuda and its problems remained largely invisible. Further reinforcing this invisibility was the emergence of a growing split within the ranks of the movement, which would soon eclipse the fight with the planters. This split would eventually lead to formation of a strong alternative union/party combination, the Antigua Workers Union (AWU) and the Progressive Labour Movement (PLM). The tensions and conflicts arising out of this split would help to make a distant second of the economic, political and cultural development of Barbuda. This this eclipsing of Barbuda continued until open and organized Barbudan resistance threatened ALP negotiations with Britain to make Antigua and Barbuda and internally self-governing or associated state. The insurrectionary impulses that Barbudans had directed at managers like McNish and Winter, were now being directed at the nationalist leaders.

The historic opposition and distrust of Barbudans towards Antiguans found organized political outlets in some of the opposition groups that formed from tensions and splits within the labor and nationalist movements. This was particularly the case with the BDM and also even after its merger with the ADLP to form the Antigua and Barbuda Democratic Movement (ABDM). While engaging and giving voice to the oppositional feelings of Barbudans, Hall and the ABDM did not have an alternative program with broad appeal, which could have made it a credible electoral challenge to the ALP. However, it did provide an important basis for organized political protest for Barbudans who were opposed to Bird's leadership, and for their secessionist impulses. These impulses the ABDM often steered in the conservative direction of separating from Antigua and becoming a direct colony of Britain in the postcolonial era of global capitalism.

Barbuda's open push in this secessionist direction intensified as the talks leading to the status of associated statehood advanced. Many Barbudans perceived this new constitutional status as consolidating the hold of the Antigua-based central government over Barbuda. This Barbudan opposition to postcolonial rule in a unitary state with Antigua, gained significant momentum with the rise of the PLM and the weakening of Bird's leadership that it produced. This changed power position began in 1967 with McChesney George, Bird's long time comrade in struggle, pressing the soon to be premier to make the development of Barbuda a much higher priority or return the island to Britain as an associated state (Dyde 267). Bird's refusal of this pressure marked the beginning of a break between these two long time allies that would help to galvanize the secessionist movement in Barbuda. Responding to Bird's resistance, George returned to Barbuda called a major political meeting at which he announced that he was now in favor of secession. Later he organized a delegation to confer with Bird on the matter, and also a petition to the Warden that was addressed to the Queen of England. This petition argued that Antigua was itself an underdeveloped territory, and thus was in no position to develop Barbuda. An angry and disappointed Bird ignored these moves by George.

Indeed, Bird had more pressing issues to attend to: the upcoming 1971 elections in which he would have to face the equally well organized George Walter and the PLM. As many had predicted, Bird and the ALP lost that election, going down in defeat at the polls for the first time. It was a crushing defeat, in which the even the ex-premier lost his seat. However, in spite of Hall and the ABDM being integrated into the PLM, it did not do much for Barbuda. Walter's focus as premier was on his fight with the ALP and the challenge of establishing two-party democracy in Antigua and Barbuda. Claude Francis became the new parliamentary representative for Barbuda in the PLM government. However, the Warden system remained in place and virtually nothing changed in the structure and organization of the Barbudan economy.

As the years of PLM rule progressed, the political tide began to shift increasingly in favor of Bird and his revitalized ALP, which now included son, Lester Bird, John St. Luce, and Adolphus Freeland. Thus by the time the 1976 elections were approaching, the ALP was confident of victory, and win the party did. However, as early as their 1970 election manifesto, a clear change could be seen in ALP policy proposals for Barbuda, which reflected the growing pressure from organized Barbudan resistance. This shift was the promise to end the Warden system of political rule and introduce a democratically elected council as the new governing body on Barbuda.

Although this was a significant beginning, the language in which it was stated in the manifesto is worth noting here. The new policy statement begins: "Barbuda is a part of the state of Antigua and the party recognizes that the people of the island must be given the opportunity to play their maximum role in the development of the state, and in particular Barbuda" (1970:15). This would have been a fine opening statement if it had declared: Barbuda is a part of the state of Antigua and Barbuda. But such were the Antigua-centric practices of times that it was the norm to refer to the associated state as Antigua with Barbuda as the invisible dependency. Similar statement can be found in the PLM 1970/71 Manifesto. These practices were in wide use throughout the society including the scholarly community. They are there in my first book, *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua*, and also in Brian Dyde's, *A History of Antigua*. The names of the political parties and trade unions also reflected the Antigua-centric biases that were operative throughout this early pre-independence phase of the nationalist and labor movements. Thus we had name such as the Antigua Labour Party, and the Antigua Workers Union. It was only after this rise in organized resistance from Barbuda, that we got the changes to the Antigua and Barbuda Labour Party (ABLP) and to the Antigua and Barbuda Workers Union (ABWU).

Returning to the shift in the ABLP Barbuda policies, the 1970 election manifesto stated: towards the end of giving Barbudans the opportunity for a maximum role in their development, "steps will be taken to establish by an act of parliament an elected council for Barbuda with appropriate powers" (1970:15). In addition to this promise of greater participation in the life of the new associated state, the manifesto also noted that "steps have already been taken to assure Barbudans the ownership of their property and this will be positively pursued. Lands will be surveyed and title granted" (1970:15). This issue of land would turn out to be so much more contentious than these ABLP leaders realized at the time.

In their 1970/71 election manifesto, the PLM outlined an ambitious program for the economic development of Barbuda, but said little about reforming the Warden system of political governance. First on the agenda was addressing the land question through repealing the relevant sections of the Barbuda Ordinance of 1904. Second, the manifesto also outline plans for launching Barbuda's tourist industry, while at the same time promising to revive agriculture, particularly livestock and poultry, forestry, fishing and craft industries (1970/71:15). As these plans of the two major political parties make clear, the political upheavals of the 1967–71 period gave Barbuda increased visibility and made its development more of the priority that McChesney George was demanding. Unfortunately, for the PLM, in spite of its clearer seeing of Barbuda, the political competition with the ALP took precedence and it did not get very far with implementing its program for the economic development of Barbuda.

On its return to power in 1976, the ABLP moved swiftly to fulfill its 1970 promise of scrapping the old Warden system of governance and replacing it with an elected Barbuda Council. This promise was repeated even more forcefully in their 1976 manifesto: "the ALP will introduce a policy to abandon the colonial title of Warden of Barbuda. The residents of Barbuda will be authorized and empowered to periodically elect a council, which will be given effective powers to administer the affairs of Barbuda under the direct supervision of the parliamentary representative for Barbuda (1976:23). This council had nine seats all of which were initially won by ALP-backed candidates. And so the Warden system of political rule came to end after a period of 63 years. The political institutions that kept Barbuda a dependency of Antigua were being dismantled and those of democratic self-rule were being introduced. This institutional change marked an important stage in the continuing formation of the Barbudan political identity and in their rising levels of political self-consciousness. However, the deep social inequality between the two islands of this unitary state remained, motivating new rounds organized resistance, with a petition that was sent to the queen. This secessionist drive was given additional strength by the formation of the Barbuda Peoples Movement (BPM), which remained separate from the two major parties, the election of Eric Burton as the replacement for Claude Francis, and the subsequent election of four members of the BPM to the Barbuda Council.

The persistence of this insular inequality and the deep secessionist impulses that it fed erupted even more forcefully as Bird and the ABLP began making plans for independence from Britain. First on the party's agenda was making the 1980 elections a referendum on going for independence. Toward this end, the ABLP campaigned long and hard, knowing that on its agenda was an issue that gave it a major advantage. To oppose independence would only make one vulnerable to charges of wanting to maintain the old colonial system in a postcolonial era. The ABLP won the election and approached British officials in July of 1980 to make plans for the independence of the associated state of Antigua and Barbuda. Eric Burton refused to participate in these preliminary discussions. In spite of his objections, the conference began on December 4th 1980 and lasted until December 16th. The first sessions, which dealt with the Barbuda issue, were quite contentious.

Burton's opening position was that if Britain did not allow Barbuda to separate from Antigua and return to the status of a colony of Britain, then he would seek complete independence. The British representative made it clear that returning to the status of a colony of Britain was not an option. Bird insisted on the territorial unity of the state of Antigua and Barbuda. It took several days to shift these initial positions towards a compromise, but one was eventually reached. Burton surrendered his secessionist demands while Bird agreed to even greater powers to the Barbuda Council. As

a result, on November 1st 1981, with great social inequality and high tensions between its two constituent islands, Antigua and Barbuda joined the community of independent nations.

Although an important milestone, it should be clear that the gaining of independence by itself would not directly or immediately address the problems between the two islands that constituted our newly independent state. Only the further implementing of promises made in the manifestoes of both parties would help to lessen this deep cleavage at the heart of our new nation. Barbuda's distrust of the development and land policies of both parties would have to be addressed more directly. Barbudans fear that the development policies of the central government would be Antigua-centered and exploitative in nature, that is alienating the land through questionable foreign investment schemes, while enriching themselves. This approach to development runs counter to the pre-colonial West African communal and ecological approaches to land ownership that Barbudans revived in the decades after the departure of the Codringtons. This communal understanding made the lands of Barbuda the shared property of those residents born on the island. Thus, it should not be commodified, bought and sold as in the system of land tenure in Antigua. Land can be leased, but only with the consent of the Barbudan community. Reconciling these two positions on the land question was clearly an issue that the independence conference in London did not resolve. In short, these were some of the major changes that the pre-independence phase of the nationalist movement brought to Barbuda, the problems it addressed, and those that it did not. Most importantly, it raised the level of political organization among Barbudans and helped to crystalize more firmly the distinct Barbudan political identity.

But, eight years later, these feeling about independence with Antigua remained very strong. Thus, in a conversation with American novelist, Robert Coram, author of *Caribbean Time Bomb*, and published in the February 6th, 1989 issue of *The New Yorker*, member of the Barbuda Council, Hilbourne Frank, expressed these sentiments: "why should we celebrate independence? … We are not independent. We should all remain indoors and not celebrate … People on the outside have hardly heard of us. And people in Antigua seem to feel that we are just a village in the countryside, and not a people or a nation, though we have been a people and a nation throughout our history. We have the name of being a sister island of Antigua, an independent sister island of Antigua. That is only a name. In reality, we are worse than a subjugated dependency". These are certainly explicit and eloquent statements of long-established feelings of insular inequality. In our next section, we will examine the changes and problems of the post-independence period.

Barbuda in the Post-independence Period.

As we have seen, the organized resistance of Barbudans throughout the pre-independence period of the nationalist movement earned them a new and more democratic system of government. Thus, not surprisingly, the new concerns of Barbudans and their political leaders were about the actual workings of the new political arrangements. Concerns about the working of the Barbuda Council emerged in conflicts over precisely where the powers of the council in Barbuda ended and those of the central government took over. The Council was repeatedly pushing back against what it saw as encroachments on its newly won powers by the central government in St. Johns. Under the terms of the 1976 reforms, the Barbuda Council should be consulted when major decisions were being made about land use for development purposes. There were lots of complaints from the Council regarding not being appropriately consulted, and thus of the central government overstepping its authority.

Good examples of these post-independence conflicts between the Council and the central government were the cases of sand mining in Barbuda and the more widely publicized case of the quarantine station for llamas on Barbuda. Both of these were projects initiated by the central government with the aid of foreign investors. Barbudans either did not like the nature of these projects or the terms on which they were being executed. Many indicated that if the Council had been properly consulted, these projects would have been rejected or changed. In the sand mining case, the Council took the central government to court, while in the case of llamas, large numbers of Barbudans blocked the project by converging on the port and standing in the way of the landing of the animals.

The growing importance of relations between the central government and the council can be seen in the manifestoes of the two parties. In its 1994 election manifesto, the ABLP promised to "institute a system of half-yearly meetings between the representatives of the government and the Council to review the status of Barbuda affairs" (1994:40). At the same time, the new United Progressive Party (UPP), which replaced the PLM as the main opposition party, also made clear its position on Barbuda. Its 1994 manifesto noted that the party "is committed to ensuring the development of a proper working relationship between the Government of Antigua and Barbuda and the people of Barbuda, the Barbuda Local Council and the Parliamentary Representative for the constituency of Barbuda" (1994: 8).

An even more dramatic shift can be seen in the 1999 manifesto of the ABLP. It states: "we see the two islands as comprising one state with every citizen enjoying equal rights and entitlements … We recognize, however, that a problem exists in relation to land on Barbuda … The new Labor Party Government will hold a referendum on Barbuda to … enquire of

the people: Would they like to buy land on Barbuda and have title which they could use as collateral with Banks? Would they agree to Antiguans being able to own land on Barbuda since Barbudans are free to own land on Antigua? Would they like the Barbuda Council or the Central Government or a combination of both to decide on the development of land in Barbuda?" (1999:45). This section of the manifesto ends with the promise of a constitutional review committee to make recommendations.

In 2000, the ABLP government of Lester Bird commissioned a Commonwealth Review Team to examine carefully the relations between the council and the central government. Headed by the Caribbean political scientist, Professor Denis Benn, the report for the most part supported the councils claims about not being properly consulted. The report also identified real problems in the financial arrangements between the council and the central government. Thus, it concluded with suggestions for a "joint consultative committee", and for new financial arrangements between the two systems of governance (2000:27). This concluding section also noted the need to remove "attitudinal barriers" and to strengthen bonds of solidarity. However, given what was already there in the manifestoes of both parties, this report did not really contribute much that would advance the cause of finding solutions to the inequality between the two islands of our unitary state.

In spite of these attempts to address the above political problems, the overall situation did not improve much at all over the next seventeen years. Although all parties agreed that Barbuda had great potential as an ecologically low impact tourist economy, movement forward on this project did not really get off the ground. The referendum promised by the ABLP was not carried out, thus the conflicts over land and the scope of the Council's authority only continued. In 2004, under the leadership of Baldwin Spencer, the UPP won the general elections, and, unlike the PLM, secured two terms in office. The party came to power in the wake of a major scandal in the Medical Benefits Office during the second term of the Lester Bird Administration. Thus, Baldwin Spencer assumed the office of Prime Minister on a strong anti-corruption and transparency in government agenda. As he called it, his was "the sunshine administration". Unfortunately, it was the dark shadow of the Great Recession of 2008 and an IMF austerity package that would dominate this administration, leaving it little time to address Barbuda's concerns (Henry, 2009: 209-11). However, in 2008, it passed an amendment to the 1976 Act, which assured Barbudans of their right to own the lands of the island communally, and also of their right to be consulted about major development projects. But, in spite of this amendment, the relations with the central government remained difficult and with them the challenges of moving forward on Barbuda's development.

After Hurricane Irma: The Gaston Browne Approach

The general elections of 2014 were won by the ABLP team of 47-year-old Gaston Browne, and thus the third leader of this party to deal with the problem of bringing Antigua and Barbuda together on equal terms. With the Antiguan and Barbudan economy still in the grip of the Great Recession of 2008, the new prime minister was confronted with major challenges of economic recovery. Making good use of his business background, Browne immediately set about the task of revitalizing the economy of the state. He approached these challenges by moving proactively in two directions. First, he broke with the IMF's austerity regime and adopted a strategy of spending his way out of the recession hangover. Second, in response to the global neoliberal economic order, which had become dominant since the mid-1980s, Browne initiated a strong push to raise the entrepreneurial profile and performance of Antigua and Barbuda, both in the private and state sectors. Making extensive use of the ideas of the Peruvian economist, Hernando de Soto, about the role of legal title as potential dynamite to unleash the entrepreneurial creativity of the poor, Prime Minister Browne began his attempts at refloating the Antiguan and Barbudan economy. As we have seen from earlier ABLP manifestoes, this ideas of giving legal title to the masses, which they could then use as collateral for loans was an idea broached by past party leaders. With Browne, this was not going to be just an idea, but a policy by which he would try to make the Antiguan and Barbudan economy much more entrepreneurial, and thus come out of the Recession stronger. These ideas about legal title as potential collateral, Browne systematized into a new ideology for his party, which he called "entrepreneurial socialism".

With regard to Barbuda's development, this was broad ideological framework within which he saw its challenges. Barbudans would have to join the entrepreneurial train with Antiguans and work for the recovery of the national economy. Given this view of the way forward, Browne saw the communal system of land ownership in Barbuda as major stumbling block. Thus in 2017, before Irma struck, he had the Land Act amended, reversing some of the provisions of the 2007 amendment by the UPP administration. Browne's amendment made two major changes: first it gave to Barbudans and to Barbudans alone the right of legal title to lands in Barbuda. Titles to land currently occupied by Barbudans were being sold to them for $1:00. With these titles in hand, Browne has been hoping that they will become the dynamite that will unleash the entrepreneurial potential of Barbudans, and so get real economic development going. The second major change that Browne's amendment introduced was that it gave the cabinet independent authority to give 99-year leases to investors without the consent of the

Barbuda Council. In short, he was making explicitly clear the authority of the central government in relation to decisions about economic development in both islands of our twin-island state.

As could be expected, Browne's positions on these two crucial issues did not sit very well with many Barbudans. Indeed, they were deeply divided in their responses to the amendment and to Browne's overall approach, as it clashed head-on with the communal and ecological values of many Barbudans. Thus, it was strongly opposed by Trevor Walker, head of the BDM and member of the Council, while it was supported by Arthur Nibbs, former MP for Barbuda. The UPP opposed the amendment, and promised to repeal it, if they formed the next government.

It was into this growing political storm over land and development that hurricane Irma would unleash the fury of her powerful winds in September of 2017. These winds destroyed many homes and public buildings, including the Barbuda Council's building. Irma's devastation would only intensify the winds of the ongoing debates over Barbuda's economic development, as now added to these were the major challenges of rebuilding from this hurricane. Prime Minister Browne took immediate command of the situation ordering the complete evacuation of Barbuda to Antigua, and has been managing the recovery with the powers given him in his earlier amendment. Equally forceful has been the opposition of Trevor Walker and the BDM to many of the strategies employed by the Prime Minister.

In his 2018 budget statement, Browne made it very clear that he was even more committed to his entrepreneurial strategy for developing Barbuda than before Irma struck. Much more needs to be done now, and more money has to be raised in order to finance the recovery and to continue the development process. Barbudans using their legal titles as collateral for loans, Browne insists must be a part of the entrepreneurial and financial response to the challenge of recovery and continued development. These he hopes will be supplemented by foreign investments in an expanded tourism sector of the Barbudan economy.

Conclusion

Throughout the course of this paper, I have tried to make more visible both the objective and subjective foundations of the deep inequality that exists between Barbuda and Antigua, and which continues to be a threat to our national unity and growth. By developing more fully the concept of insularism, I have attempted to address more directly the subjective dimensions of this troubling inequality, as they have not been given the recognition and discursive articulation they deserve. At the same time, I have attempted to outline the historical under-development of the institutions of Barbuda's political economy, as they have constituted the objective side of this persistent inequality. I also stressed the colonial roots of this insular inequality, and the continuity between Barbudan insurrectionary resistance to British colonial misrule and the intense contemporary opposition that they have organized against a still too Antigua-centered form of postcolonial rule. As we have seen, the latter continues to make Barbudans feel excluded, invisible, and unequal.

The period of postcolonial party politics did dismantle some of the major institutional foundations of this insular inequality, such as the Warden system of rule and replacing it with the Barbuda Council. Although relations between the latter and the central government have become the new flashpoints between Barbuda and Antigua, this change has contributed to the growth of Barbuda's democratic traditions and to the emergence of its distinct political identity. However, given the contentious debris released by our opposing responses to rebuilding Barbuda after Irma, we clearly still have a long way to go with the healing of this deep split.

In trying to learn from and get past these post-Irma conflicts and impasses, it should be clear that movements along four crucial fronts are going to very necessary. First, the issues of insular distrust and persistent misunderstanding will have to be addressed more directly and honestly. It is only through honest dialogue about the history and meaning of our insular differences at all levels of our unitary state, in ways that parallel the discussion of issues like racism, classism or sexism, will we be able to move forward and get past distrust and misunderstanding. However, unlike racism or classism, there are no already established discourses that we can draw on to articulate, expose and diffuse this burning issue. A tradition of critical insular thinking is one that we must create for ourselves as an integral part of the field of Antigua and Barbuda Studies, which should most definitely have it home at the University of Antigua and Barbuda. From there, we can deepen the dialogue by engaging with scholars and activists in other ex-dependencies, and with scholars and activists fighting racism, sexism and classism.

The second front on which there must be movement is clearly that of better relations between the Antigua-based central government and the Barbuda Council. The tensions between the two have produced a form of gridlock that has paralyzed forward movement in ways reminiscent of the conflicts that have immobilized recent American administrations. If the positions and actions of the current Browne administration are able to secure a good recovery and also spur growth on Barbuda, it could be a performative basis for a change in attitudes. If it does not, we are most likely to go through another round of legislative changes regarding land and development in Barbuda. As we await the outcomes of the Browne program, let us be civil with each other and make a long-term commitment to working this issue out together within our unitary state. With increasing trust and good faith, we can do this.

Third, there must be movement on the economic front. Containing the conflicts between the central government and the Council, particularly by improving consultative practices will definitely be necessary here. Further, improving the quality of the investment projects to launch Barbuda's tourist industry will also be necessary. Too many of the past projects were not solid, long-term investments. Moving Barbudan development forward in the post-Irma period is also a challenge to the local private sector. Their absence here is particularly striking in the closing decades of a neoliberal era, which has privileged private sectors across the globe. A collective set of proposals to the Council and the central government from the private business sector would be helpful here. This is an entrepreneurial challenge and thus their leadership and input should be a contributing factor here. This extreme dependence on foreign entrepreneurs after so many decades into the postcolonial era is indeed disturbing and disappointing.

Fourth and finally, there must be movement on the ecological front. Reports from scientists on the ecological frontlines continue to grow more dire. They tell us that we can expect more hurricanes like Irma, and even stronger ones. They also tell us that sea levels are rising and that these increases could greatly affect our already small land sizes. In short, the impact of our development strategies on the ecological balances of our planet and on other species of life has been and continues to be highly disruptive. The ecology of our state is a very delicate one, so going forward we will have to be even more mindful of these issues.

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Towards Win/Win: Antigua/Barbuda Crossroads

Dorbrene E. O'Marde

The concepts of nationhood and citizenship have been missing from the public debate about the traumatic results of Hurricane Irma's destruction. The debate has become vitriolic. Overtures have been made to the legal entanglement and time consumption of the British Privy Council. A potentially years long wait for final decisions will give space for the acrimony to fester in subversion of the needed healing of the nation, AntiguaandBarbuda. The main contention is about land, the lands of Barbuda island. A little history might help.

Between 1671 and 1901 Barbuda was British Crown territory leased to various members of the Codrington family and others, who were either absentee landlords or residents of Antigua. Barbudans, were considered tenants of the Crown—living on leased lands first as 'enslaved persons' and since 1834 as 'freed' persons.

The British Emancipation Act of 1833 mandated the human rights of Africans and their descendants in the Caribbean. It did not mention 'Barbuda' probably based on the notion that Barbuda was a part of Antigua and/or that Barbuda in colonial eyes was seen as the estate, not an island.

The non-imposition in Antigua (to include Barbuda) of a mandatory apprenticeship system that resulted in immediate emancipation, created a unique problem for both the now freed inhabitants and the estate lease owning Codringtons, whose new reality—since August 1st 1834—was that over five hundred persons—now 'free'—were living on the 'their' island /estate, over whom they no longer had chattel control. The pro-slavery Bethel Codrington lamented ...*'Negro emancipation seems to have made the Proprietor the slave. The former will reside in*[1] *my property and have daily wages whether I have work for them or not.'*

Codrington could not have sold to the free persons the lands they lived on—those lands were not his. He could not get them off his leased property—they resisted strongly in 1834/35. To the majority, Barbuda was home—the only land they knew. Governor Hamilton writing to the Duke of Newcastle describes the 1871 situation as follows:

> *The inhabitants of the island have always been the subjects of the Queen...the island belongs to the Queen, by whom it is leased to the worthy Codrington family under which the inhabitants enjoy their lands.*

1 I note he says reside IN my property and not ON my property

The lands referenced here—that they enjoyed—must be the lands Barbudans simply acquired and built homes or cultivated or lands that were allocated to them by the estate mangers—all Crown lands still.

The lease to the *'worthy'* Codringtons ended in or before 1885, for that year, the British Crown granted a lease to Robert Dougall/Barbuda Island Company. This lease was terminated in 1898 when the Crown repossessed the island and placed it under the laws of Antigua, managed by a Warden[2].

The Codringtons since 1885 therefore would have no authority over Barbuda, certainly no authority over the lands of Barbuda that they once managed as a single estate. Prior to that they could not have willed the lands of Barbuda to anyone for they were never theirs.

The idea that they transferred the Queen's lands to Barbudans as reparations for enslavement is equally preposterous. The Codringtons, who had openly campaigned against abolition, had pocketed a whopping £6286 18S 11D (of the British £20 million reparations to planters and enslavers) on the 2nd Nov 1835 for 'freeing' four hundred and ninety two enslaved persons on Barbuda.

I find no evidence that the Queen/the Crown at any time since 1671 agreed to any transfer of British property to the inhabitants of Barbuda. The Codringtons could have willed the cash value of their estate, their property—to include enslaved Africans, their crops but never the land. It is therefore difficult to conclude that persons born in Barbuda and their descendants **owned** the lands of Barbuda before the passage of the Barbuda Land Act of 2007 so proclaimed.

There is no doubt however that since 1671 Barbudans have been virtually 'left alone' on Queen/Crown property exerting a nationalism and developing cultural traits based on their interpretation/assumption that they 'owned' the lands in common, a position they have steadfastly held even in the face of police and political aggression.

The Independence Act of 1981 transferred all British Crown lands to the Government of Antigua and Barbuda—a fact that never altered the relationship Barbudans had with the lands of Barbuda. Barbudans remained 'left alone', this time on what is legally national lands.

The inference that Barbudans owned the lands of Barbuda was further reinforced in 2007 when the Barbuda Land Act made legal the then existing system of land tenure in Barbuda, confirmed that all lands in Barbuda is vested in the Crown [Governor General] on behalf of the people of Barbuda, who own it—*not living on it, not possessing it, not*

2 My father James E. O'Marde (1924-1998) was a warden there during the early 1970s when I visited Barbuda for the first time.

squatting on it, owning it—in common! The Act transferred approximately thirty six percent of the lands of the nation of AntiguaandBarbuda to a select group of AntiguansandBarbudans.

This Act also delegated responsibility for the dispersal of Crown lands to a Barbuda Council, a rather unique local government institution that exists only in the north of Antigua and Barbuda. It established two separate land tenure systems in the nation.

The constitutionality of this Act must be questioned as must the amendments made under it in 2016 that gave the Barbuda Council power—for whatever reason or person(s)—to grant leases of up to ninety nine years.

I contend however that even if the Barbuda Land Act and its enforcements that define our present position are found to be unconstitutional—as I think they are—this should not be the end of the story.

Barbudans have had their present relationship with land since Emancipation. It is a relationship that existed through all forms of colonial government, made legal in national government since 1981, and reconfirmed in 2007.

Barbudans therefore must and do hold some legitimate expectation that their ownership of the lands of Barbuda remains now and into the future—the destruction of Hurricane Irma notwithstanding. This expectation seems reasonable and valid, and although not a legal right, simply asks for constructive consultation and fairness in reviewing established 300+ year old practice.

There is no basis for suggesting a history of strained relations between both islands. On the contrary the relationships run very deep—not only through legal and administrative systems but among people[3]. The relationship today is at a crossroad and the results of today's actions will have impact on the lives of the future generations. We must continuously recall our sustainable development commitment to leave our lands better than we met them—for our children.

There are two main proposals on the table. One—that we leave the status quo and allow it to govern our way forward, and two—that Crown lands in Barbuda be sold to resident Barbudans and their offspring for a commitment of a single dollar, allowing inhabitants a negotiable freehold title. This proposal eliminates the Barbudan legitimate expectation to

3 I cannot find the figures but I am prepared to hazard a guess that today there are more persons of Antigua/Barbuda parentage that that of Barbuda/Barbuda

own all their lands in common into the future. I do not think that the confusion that is sure to follow has been properly assessed—and if so, it has not been properly communicated.

Does this dollar for a plot of Crown land apply to Barbudan descendant who has never seen/contributed to/cared about Barbuda? Does the same price apply to lands for business, for grazing, for cultivation? Are there performance clauses attached or I can simply find my four dollars and own acres of Crown land? Can the freehold be transferred, bartered, sold, willed? To whom? Barbudans only? Is this offer available to 'foreigners' or other citizens who have investment ideas? Can these decisions be fairly made in the prevailing political climate? Will it hasten and engender the will of Barbudans to return and participate fully in the rebuilding of Barbuda?

I propose a third alternative, one which has potential to produce a win-win situation, one that buries the loose talk, the insults, the unreasonable demands and importantly appreciates the reality of evacuation and losses experienced by citizens on the island of Barbuda. I propose:

1) That based on the projected population growth and residential housing needs over the next fifty years, and taking into account the perceived impact of climate change, that an adequate portion of Barbuda lands be allocated to common ownership, the management of which continues as it exists today. This decision should at least satisfy the legitimate expectations of the more reasonable Barbudans who recognize the crisis we are in.

2) The remaining lands in Barbuda—all Crown lands—be managed as all lands of AntiguaandBarbuda are managed. Full stop. This promotes the constitutional right that citizens of AntiguaandBarbuda should enjoy the same rights and 'be one people'. It is feasible in this proposal to vest in the Barbuda Council however, the delegated power to democratically regulate and manage—with Cabinet approval—the lease or sale of these lands under conditions not different to those that exist today in Antigua.

There is no doubt that this proposal needs further deep thought and examination. It is only one part—important yes, to the planning of the way forward. It does not address a number of other issues. Do we continue to shape administrative and legal instruments that promote Barbuda as a state within the nation? Do we continue to support two systems of decision making in the nation—one by popular referendum and one by Cabinet rule? Do we need an eleven man Council to run the affairs of a population of less than two thousand people—a Council that employs over five hundred persons? Do we retain parallel systems of taxation and tax collection, of utilities pricing, of election and governance?

The proposal is offered as the entry point to honest negotiations. It calls for constructive consultation. It recognizes the imperative of bringing the people of the nation together, engaged in a process to further a collective agenda. It moves to make citizenship more whole and the union more perfect.

Dorbrene O'Marde
Chairperson Antigua and Barbuda Reparations Commission

The Legal Progression of Land Ownership/Control on Barbuda 1627 to 2019

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Introduction

The issue of land-ownership and control on Barbuda continues to be problematic and challenging in 2019. The plan to develop the sister-island of Barbuda—in order to ensure that it contributes meaningfully to the state's Treasury—begins with an important change to land tenure there. Providing Barbudans with title absolute, rather than the current lease limit of 50 years, would allow for land to be mortgaged. Barbudans would then be able to negotiate mortgages from banks and could build new homes on the basis of future income and not be compelled to rely solely upon current income, which delays completion of homes. Offering the land on which homes are currently constructed to the respective homeowners for $1.00 is quite a bargain.

The larger object is to end the chronic high unemployment and underemployment that are indicators of inhibitors to economic growth; bringing development to Barbuda will not be unlike what has been witnessed in Nevis or Tobago and other multi-island sovereign states. In order to achieve this end, it is necessary to change the land tenure arrangement that characterized land tenure there since 1870.

The layout of the paper allows for a chronological glance throughout nearly 400 years of modern history; it clearly demonstrates ownership and control of land on Barbuda by the Crown. Reliance upon several authors, as well as laws and judicial rulings, leave no doubt that the Crown is the final arbiter of land-use on Barbuda because it is Crown's property. Yet, the role of the Barbuda Council, as ordered by the Constitution and enacted laws, is pivotal in making decisions about development and land.

Section One

Margaret Tweedy, the Ph. D. candidate, whose dissertation is quoted extensively below in this Section One, did all the necessary research to uncover the relations between Antigua and its neighbour Barbuda since 1627. She concentrates on the Codringtons whose control over the land came to an end in 1870, and similarly, whose control over the Barbudan men and women came to an end earlier with the abolition of forced labour in 1834. The evolution of the relation between land and the Barbudan people is not explored because it did not arise until after the Codringtons ceded their lease back to the Crown. The ownership issue came about in the post-Codrington period when slavery ended and a new relation

between land and labour could possibly arise. This paper therefore finds it necessary to return to the beginning of the European and African settlement of Barbuda in order to provide a complete picture that could possibly have led to the later ambiguities.

The Dated Period of Early European and African Settlement

1627: Barbuda was probably uninhabited when English colonists began to take an interest in the Leewards. Nevertheless, it was not an easy island to settle and, until the late seventeenth century, their efforts met with little success. It is difficult to be sure when the first attempt was made but Barbuda seems to have been included in the lands granted to the Earl of Carlisle by King Charles I of England in 1627.

1628: The next year, the Earl of Carlisle in turn granted Barbuda to Thomas Littleton who tried to establish a settlement. Unfortunately, Barbuda did not live up to the name Dulcina which the colonists gave it. Attacks on them by Carib Indians, and the barren nature of the island made them decide to leave and they went to Nevis. Between then and 1664 there seems to have been no official settlement but there were some inhabitants.

1668: The Codrington family is referred to in the preamble to a grant of the island in 1668. According to this source, at the outbreak of the 'late war' (presumably the war with the French 1666–68), Barbuda was partly cut off by the Caribs and a few weeks later 'was wholly deserted by the remainder of the inhabitants and hath ever so continued'. A threat that Barbuda might be taken over by the Dutch had alerted the British authorities to the need for Barbuda to be in friendly hands; and, in 1668, Barbuda was granted by the Crown to four lessees for thirty-two years (or until 1700). Settlers were to be encouraged to live there to defend the island from Carib and other attacks. They were not entirely successful in this aim. In 1681, in revenge for English action against them (in Dominica, in 1675), the Caribs attacked Barbuda; it was then being used as a stock farm for Nevis. About twenty English people were living there, some of whom managed to make their escape while the Indians were drinking rum.

1684: At the time of that 1681 attack, two members of the Codrington family, Christopher and John Codrington, had already bought out some of the lessees of Barbuda, or their heirs. 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 Codrington for fifty years in 1684 (or until 1734), the rent being 'one sufficient able horse to be delivered at Nevis at Christmas'.

1705, 1800, 1854: The grant was renewed three times—in 1705, 1800, and 1856—so that with the exception of a short period in the eighteenth century, when they sub-let the island, Barbuda was controlled by the Codrington family or their trustees until 1870. They surrendered the lease prematurely, because of economic conditions, as revealed in the Codrington Papers.

Summary of Section One:

From 1627 to 1854, the modern history of Barbuda reveals that there was only a series of leases granted to a few settlers by the invading British, who fought the indigenous people, the French and Spanish privateers. Barbuda was never sold or granted outright to any Codrington, following its seizure from the Carib people; it was deemed to be British Crown property. This was the practice; to declare the conquered lands in the Europeans' New World—captured from the indigenous people of the Caribbean—to be the property of the Crown. While grants of land from the recently conquered people were regularly distributed to settlers, Barbuda remained crown property.

Section Two:

Tweedy provides additional details that allow for an incisive examination of the continued link between land grants by the Crown and the Codringtons' inability to claim ownership in fee simple. The relationship of that family with Barbuda's land was as a leaseholder of the Crown, and never an owner. The relationship between Barbuda and Antigua is explored below, briefly, for purposes of understanding the historical link.

Barbuda Is an Appendant Member of Antigua Under Royal Grant:

1668: Under the terms of the Crown grants there seems to have been no intention to separate Barbuda from the other Leeward Islands. The first grant of the island in 1668, to Samuel Winthrop, Joseph Lee, William Mildon, and Francis Samson, expressly stated that Barbuda was one of the Caribbee Islands 'and always deemed an Appendant Member of the Island of Antigua'.

1671: The British Colony of the Leeward Islands was created in 1671 with a Governor resident on Nevis. The eight islands were subsequently divided into two regions, in 1816. They were: i. The Presidency of Antigua, **Barbuda** and Redonda; the Territory of Montserrat; ii. the Presidency of St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla; the Territory of the British Virgin Islands. Together they constituted the Colony of the Leeward Islands under a single Governor, resident in Antigua commencing in 1802. The Presidency of Dominica would later be joined in 1833 when reform was carried out,

just before emancipation. A single Governor continued to rule from Antigua, and Administrators or Commissioners appointed in each island. It became known as **The Federal Colony of the Leeward Islands.**

1684: The grant to the Codringtons in 1684, although it gave them wide powers, expressly stated that it did not exempt them from the authority of the Governor of the Leeward Islands, and subsequent grants did not alter this. Moreover Barbuda was included by name in the list of islands under the Governor's control.

1738: A study of the records during the period 1738–1833, however, seems to show that Barbuda was for most practical purposes completely outside the influence of Antigua and the governor. Barbuda was not subject to Antiguan laws and did not pay Antiguan taxes; and successive governors made little effort to interfere in the island's affairs. Barbuda was thus under the almost complete control of the Codrington family who were able to develop it as they wished, keep others out and collect what seemed to be easy money from the many wrecks off the island. For these privileges they paid to the Crown annually 'one Fat Sheep (if demanded)'. Not surprisingly there were people who resented the privileged position which the Codringtons had acquired on Barbuda. Other Antiguan landowners objected to the fact that they could only visit Barbuda with permission from a Codrington attorney; and, sometimes, those in authority in Antigua felt thwarted that Barbuda was effectively, if not legally, outside their jurisdiction. For these reasons opportunities were taken to challenge the Codrington position there.

1780: From 1780, Sir William Codrington urged his attorneys in Antigua to negotiate with the governor for a new grant. In view of the fact that Governor Burt was unlikely to receive such an application favourably, it seems surprising that Sir William wanted the grant made in Antigua rather than in England. This point was put to him by his attorney in 1780. Sir William was, however, reluctant to apply in England. He believed he could indeed obtain a new grant in London because of his contacts in the government, but he was reluctant to prejudice his independence as a Member of Parliament and preferred to try his luck in Antigua. Hurt, in any case, was replaced in 1781. As a sitting tenant, prepared to offer a reasonable financial inducement to the governor, Codrington thought there would be no difficulty in obtaining a new and improved grant. He wanted it this time, too, to be passed by the Antiguan Council, and under the public seal, and properly registered. The negotiations were unsuccessful, however. There were doubts whether the Council could be persuaded to agree and the governor, Sir Thomas Shirley, proved un-cooperative. He seems to have feared displeasing the government and he either offered terms which were unacceptable to Sir William or maintained that he had not the power to make such a grant. It had not

been obtained by the time of Sir William's death in 1792. The official view was perhaps best expressed by Mr. Woodley, a friend of Sir William's who was thought likely to succeed Shirley as governor.

1791: Sir William [Codrington III] stated his opinions on this equally firmly in 1791: *Whoever has taken upon them to say that Barbuda is not an appendage of Antigua, or is not under the same Government as Antigua is a very knavish fellow; he can assert it from Wickedness only, not from knowledge or even fm belief. It is as much a part of the Leeward Island Government as any of the other Islands and is named in the Commission as particularly as any other.* Codrington did not welcome any restriction on his control over Barbuda, but wished for the benefits which appendage with Antigua would offer.

1800: On being approached by Christopher (Bethell) Codrington, Woodley (his friend) said he did not think that if he were the governor he would be inclined to renew the grant *'upon Peppercorn terms … he shd make no hesitation of renewing it, but … thought Barbuda might be made to be of some use by furnishing … provisions of some sort in war time, or something of that kind.'*

This was precisely the form in which the grant was eventually renewed in 1800 when negotiations were re-started by Sir Bethell Codrington. By that time the need for a new grant had become urgent as the 1705 lease was due to expire in 1804, and he applied for its renewal in England.

Although on questions of trespass the Codringtons did not see eye to eye with other Antiguan landowners, there were more important matters on which there was agreement. The wars fought in the area during the eighteenth century brought fundamental problems, and defence of the islands was a subject on which there was a common policy. Barbuda would have been of little use to the Codringtons had Antigua fallen to an enemy; and, Antigua's security would have been threatened in some measure if Barbuda had been occupied by a hostile force.

1805: Under the new grant the British government reserved the right to resume such parcels of land as might be necessary for the erecting of barracks, government stores, forts, or batteries. In return the lease was extended for a further fifty years (1805 to 1855), **the rent being, as before, one fat sheep annually if demanded**. The Antiguans were therefore prepared to go to the assistance of Barbuda if there was any threat of invasion. Barbuda itself was not entirely without a system of defence, though the manager of the island, in 1743, claimed that when he arrived there was no means of protection apart from the castle which he had put in the 'best posture of Defence it will admit of'. This building, near the lagoon, was supposed to offer shelter to the inhabitants in case of attack. It had been built originally in the seventeenth century but was destroyed by

the French in 1710 and rebuilt by the first Sir William Codrington 'at very great expense'. It was kept in some sort of repair and occasionally people lived there but at the end of the eighteenth century Henri de Ponthieu pointed out that against an enemy it was virtually useless. It might have served its purpose in the past against Indians but certainly not against Europeans and their weapons.

1834: On August 1, 1834, the dynamics shifted significantly when slavery was ended under law, though the relation between the emancipated people and the land remained the same. Stock-breeding and the growing of provisions on Barbuda to supply Codrington's five other estates on Antigua, would have to continue in order for the system of profit-making to survive. It could not last forever, because the labour system changed irreversibly. A generation of older Barbudans felt compelled to remain, but younger ones began to leave for greener pastures.

1855: In the bay to the west of Coco Point, on the south coast, he established a battery consisting of two nine-, two six-, and two four-pounders; and for greater security placed a nine-pounder at each Point. Another battery was put in order at Palmeto Point. This made the island, he felt, tolerably secure. Christopher (Bethell) Codrington's description, in 1790, of its being 'charmingly fortified' does not, however, really suggest efficiency. Actually Barbuda's main defence lay in the fact that it was not sufficiently important to warrant invasion in a serious way, though there would have been nuisance value for an enemy in capturing it. The Codringtons recognized that their position in Barbuda would be vulnerable if Antigua fell to an enemy and for this reason they made arrangements to ensure that Barbuda would be included in any peace treaty entered into by Antigua.

Summary of Section Two:

When the 1800s came to an end, Barbuda was no longer a part of Codrington's holdings, since his final lease expired in **1850.** The forced system of labour on which the Codringtons depended came to an end in **1834** and would have rendered impractical his system of total control. Although Barbuda seemed to have been forgotten in the list of islands whose slave-holders were to be compensated for loss of their property, by the 1833 British Emancipation Act, the evidence shows that Codrington collected £6,286, 18s, 11d for 492 slaves on 2nd November 1835—the value determined for his emancipated people.

He or his Attorneys may have tricked his no-longer bondaged population into believing that their compensation was the gift of "his" land. Hence, the erroneous but strongly-held view that Barbuda was bequeathed to Barbudans by Codrington, when he in fact did not have the authority to give-away the Crown's land.

There seems to have been some drift in the treatment of Barbuda following slavery's end. This lacuna may have led the formerly enslaved people to a **mistaken belief** that the Codringtons "*left the land to Barbudans to be owned in common."* The belief may have been reinforced by other occurrences which included a riot in Antigua, aimed at Barbudans, in 1858. What is evident is that many Barbudans left for Antigua where wage-labour replaced the system of forced-labour, extant under slavery.

Section Three:

Following emancipation and the move towards wage labour, many Barbudans continued to perform those tasks that were assigned to them before 1834. The Codrington managers (or Attorneys) did not provide wages to the Barbudans. Housing in Codrington was also discriminatory; there was "The Mulatto Quarters" and the area occupied by the undiluted African descendants. Many black Barbudans began therefore to migrate away from these circumstances. They entered Antigua in search of jobs, Professor Natasha Lightfoot has written in her 2015 publication, ***Troubling Freedom***. Later, many Barbudans would move to Britain, the United States, the US Virgin Islands, Nevis, St. Kitts and the British Virgin Islands in search of a better life. More Barbudans and their descendants live outside of Barbuda than the *circa* 1800 people who resided within Barbuda (prior to Hurricane Irma in September 2017), because conditions in Barbuda did not allow for a sufficient material existence or for personal growth. Movement of people, accompanied by competition for space or employment, always results in friction between the new group and those who arrived before or belongers. It was no different on Antigua, and the friction resulted in violence.

The New Challenges Of A New Era

1858: There was a riot in St. John's, Antigua, in March 1858 that lasted four days. The violence against lives and property was aimed at Barbudan workers living in the Point Area. At the end of the four days of confrontation with Police and soldiers, and sworn-in constables, all heavily armed, "*there were a total of 10 deaths, 172 arrests (115 men and 57 women), and three more women and two more men were released on bail,*" Professor Lightfoot revealed.

The Antiguan unemployed and port workers succeeded in visiting violence on their Barbudan brethren who successfully sought employment in Antigua. The resentment by Barbudans, which this episode generated, has lasted generations, Lightfoot believes. It may have acted to solidify the belief that Barbuda is owned by the Barbudans, with exclusions to ownership extended to Antiguans and others. Joy Lawrence has written about the Codringtons in her 2015 publication entitled: ***Barbuda and Betty's Hope: The Codrington Connection.***

1859: The Legislature of Antigua passed an important piece of legislation to ensure that the laws of Antigua would forever apply to Barbuda. The BARBUDA (EXTENSION OF LAWS OF ANTIGUA) ACT (**23rd September, 1859.**)

1. This Act may be cited as the Barbuda (Extension of Laws of Antigua) Act.
2. Whenever Her Majesty shall be pleased to order or declare that the Island of Barbuda shall be annexed to or made or deemed a dependency of Antigua, the said Island of Barbuda shall be subject to all such laws and statutes as shall be in force in Antigua, or shall at any time thereafter to laws of Antigua and shall not be disallowed by Her Majesty empowered to confirm (Extension of Laws of Antigua) be enacted by the Legislature, and shall not be disallowed by Her Majesty, Her Heirs or successors, in the same manner as if Barbuda had originally formed part of the Colony of Antigua.

The authority for the new law was actually passed by the British Parliament and signed by Victoria on 8th August 1859). Barbuda has remained tied to Antigua ever since.

1870: Codrington surrenders his lease on Barbuda, unable to make the island a successful economic enterprise without the system of forced labour. The Government appoints a Warden to oversee the affairs on Barbuda and the informal relations between the land and its people remain the same until the 1904 law concretizes that system.

1904: The Barbuda Act by the Legislature makes clear that Barbuda is crown property and the Barbudans are tenants. This deliberate assertion by the law may have been intended to cure the Barbudans and others of any mistaken belief that Barbuda was not the Crown's.

LAWS OF ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA, CAP. 42 (**30th April, 1904**)

Part II
Tenure of Lands by Inhabitants of the Island

5. All lands within the Island of Barbuda are hereby vested in the Governor-General on behalf of the Crown and shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of this crown.

(1) All persons inhabiting the Island of Barbuda shall be and are hereby declared to be tenants of the Crown; and such persons shall neither hold nor deal with any land situate within the said island save and except as hereinafter appears by the provisions of this Act and subject to any by-law made by the (Barbuda) Council in that behalf.

*(2) **Nothing in this section shall be construed as precluding the grant by the Crown of any interest in or over any piece or parcel of land within Barbuda** to any person whether or not that person is an inhabitant of Barbuda.*

The 1904 Act now reflects the final revisions made in the 1992 Revised Editions of the Laws of Antigua and Barbuda. Reference to a Governor General and the Barbuda Council were not made in the 1904 original edition. In fact, revisions were made to the Barbuda Act in the following years: **June/1904, 1908, 1909, 1920, 1922, 1927, 1929, 1932, 1959, 1972, 1976, 1981, 1982 and 1983.**

The amendments did not ever alter the relations between the Crown and the land, nor between the people and the land. Barbuda remained the property of the Government (read: Crown) except for those parcels that had been transferred to private hands prior to or following the passage of the law in 1904. The latter would have included long-term leases of parcels granted to several hotels that are still in force today.

1936: The very first Constitution of Antigua was adopted primarily for the purpose of holding elections for five representatives to the Legislature. Electors were registered in Barbuda to participate. The political inclusion of Barbuda had no relation to the land but signaled the end of any isolation that may have persisted in the century following emancipation.

1951: The second Constitution of Antigua created eight electoral districts or constituencies. Barbuda was declared to be a part of the St. John's City South Constituency. There was no change in the relations between the land and the people.

1967: The third Constitution of Antigua and Barbuda is adopted when Antigua is declared to be "A State in Association with Britain." Barbuda did not appear in the name of the country that had taken its first giant step away from a colonial past.

1970: The Representation of the People Act is amended to have Barbuda declared a stand-alone constituency. The Barbudans residing on Barbuda are still tenants of the Crown. The number of constituencies is increased from 10 to 17. The elections are held in February 1971 and the ABLP wins only 4 seats. Lester Bird was the ABLP Barbuda candidate and he did not win.

Summary Of Section 3:

The end of the era of forced labour changed significantly the relationship between the slave-master and the formerly enslaved. It did not, however, change the relationship between the land and the newly emancipated people. The law, however, was adopted to bring Barbuda under the control of the Antigua legislature so that there could be no doubt. It was electoral politics, however, linking the connection between both islands that affirmed the relations. Barbuda's eligible voters were registered in 1936 for the first election, and their votes even caused the results to be delayed since the vessel bringing the ballots to Antigua to be counted arrived the day after the polls closed. By 1951, when the Presidency of Antigua was divided into 8 constituencies, Barbuda was attached to the City South Constituency. Again, the relation between the land and the people remained unchanged.

Section 4:

After the new constitution of 1967 was made law and domestic affairs fell into the hands of the executive, led by the Premier of Antigua and not the British Governor, it was possible to forge a new alliance between the people of Barbuda and the land. The architect of the advancement came in the person of Claude Earl Francis, an outstanding Barbudan who won the Barbuda seat in 1971 as a member of the PLM, switched sides in 1976, and won the elections again. He was invited to join the V.C. Bird Cabinet as a Minister with Responsibility for Barbuda Affairs. Claude Earl Francis asked for and succeeded in getting advancements in the governance of Barbuda. Joy Lawrence credits him with drafting the 1976 Barbuda Local Government Act that established a new era in governance.

A New Era in The Relations Between Barbudans and Governance

1976: The creation of a Council to manage the affairs of Barbuda was made law in 1976 following the re-election of the ABLP. Sir Claude Earl Francis, the candidate who won the Barbuda seat for a second consecutive time, joined the Cabinet of V.C. Bird and it was agreed that a Council, as opposed to a Warden, would be introduced to the new governance period of Barbuda.

THE BARBUDA LOCAL GOVERNMENT (23rd December, 1976) ACT:

PART I: … *1. This Act may be cited as the Barbuda Local Government Act.*

PART II: *… 3. (1) For the purposes of this Act there shall be established a Council for Barbuda (in this Act referred to as "the Council") which shall administer the system of local Government for the Island constituted by this Act.*

PART V: … *Functions and Powers of the Council*

(1) The Cabinet may, save as respects the matters and duties of Council, and things specified in subsection (2) of this section, give general or special directions to the Council as to the policy the Council should follow in the exercise of the powers and functions of the Council under this Act or any other law. (2) In the exercise by the Council of its powers and functions under this Act it shall be the responsibility and duty of the Council- (a) to administer agriculture and forestry…

(4) Subject to the provisions of subsection (1) of this section and without prejudice to the generality of the other provisions of this section, it shall, further to the provisions of subsection (2) of this section, be the duty of the Council- (a) to improve and maintain public buildings, wharves and harbour facilities; (b) to promote hotel and tourist development in accordance with and subject to any law relating to the alienation of land, foreign investment or tax incentives…

19. (1) The Council shall have power to make bylaws, which shall be authenticated by the signatures of the Chairman and the Secretary, with respect to the following matters…

(xix) the regulation and control of unoccupied building lots; (xx) the levying and collecting of rates and taxes on ***all buildings and land in the Island*** *save and except buildings and land vested in Her Majesty the Queen for the purposes of the Government; (xxi) provision grounds;*

Land was not "vested" in the Council under this nor any subsequent Act. The relations between the people and the land remained unchanged even after the Barbuda Council became a creature of the law.

1980: In preparation for the Independence of Antigua and Barbuda in 1981, it was agreed that teams of Antiguan and Barbuda officials would travel to London to negotiate a new Constitution for the new country. In December 1980, nearly 40 members set off for London. The Lancaster House Meeting, of Government and Opposition members, agreed to upgrade the standing of the Barbuda Council by making it a creature of the new Constitution.

1981: The Antigua and Barbuda Constitution Order, was adopted on October 31, 1981. Under *Section* 123(1), the existence of the Council was enshrined in this higher law.

Section 123 of the Constitution states:

(1) There shall be a Council for Barbuda which shall be the principal organ of local government in that island; and

(2) The Council shall have such membership and functions as Parliament may prescribe.

(3) Parliament may alter any of the provisions of the Barbuda Local Government Act, 1976, specified in Schedule 2 to this Constitution…

The Parliament, after 1981, did not alter the relations between the land and its people, nor the land and the Crown. In 37 years, since 1981, the relationship has remained unaltered.

2002: The Court of Appeals ruled that all land in Barbuda that is not privately owned is crown property. That ruling made very clear the historical fact that had been in a state of confusion by those who wished the morass to live on. It was the definitive decision; it was not *obiter dicta.*

2007: The United Progressive Party (UPP) won the 2004 general elections and determined that it would reward the Barbuda People's Movement (BPM) for joining with it, by significantly altering the relations between the land and the Council, the land and the Crown, and the land and the people of Antigua. This new law has not been tested in the Courts, but several of **its provisions are likely to be deemed offensive to the idea of a unitary state, and to the rights of a significant proportion of the Antigua and Barbuda citizenry.** A unitary state is unlike a Federation where provisions are usually made to allow separation of its parts at some time in the future when the parties choose. St. Kitts and Nevis is a Federation that allows for separation.

Antigua and Barbuda is described in the ***1981 Constitution Order Section 1. (1): Antigua and Barbuda shall be a unitary, sovereign, democratic state***. *Section 1. (2) The territory of Antigua and Barbuda shall* ***comprise the islands of Antigua, Barbuda and Redonda***, and all other areas … together with such areas as may be declared by an Act of Parliament to form part of the territory of Antigua and Barbuda.

Analysis

The Antigua and Barbuda Constitution declares in Section 14(1): ***Subject to the provisions of subsections (4), (5) and (7) of this Section, no law shall make any provision that is discriminatory either of itself or in***

its effect. (2) …no person shall be treated in a discriminatory manner by any person acting by virtue of any law or in the performance of any public office or any public authority.

The Barbuda Council is a public authority within the ambit of the Constitution, and it clearly cannot be given authority to discriminate against citizens. **Barbudans are given special privileges that are not available to Antiguans**; this has never been an express provision of any law in the unitary state before. It may thus offend the Constitution which speaks to an equality of all citizens and to non-discrimination.

THE BARBUDA LAND ACT, 2007 *No. 23 of 2007 (16 November 2007)*

PART II: ***THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND IN BARBUDA***

3. Barbuda land is ***owned in common by Barbudans*** *(1)* ***All land in Barbuda shall be owned in common by the people of Barbuda****. (2) Subject to sections 4 and 20, the* ***title to all land in Barbuda shall vest in the Crown on behalf of the people of Barbuda.***

Title to all land in Antigua and in Barbuda that is not privately owned is the Crown's. In the Court of Appeals case No7 of 2001, The Attorney General v. The Barbuda Council, the Court asserted that the land which is not privately owned, anywhere in the state, is the Crown's. Specifically, Barbuda's land is all crown land since none of it is privately owned. Therefore, the 2007 law is flawed. It ought to read what has been decreed by the Courts; yet, the 2007 Act commands that the Crown's land is "owned in common." Land cannot be vested in the Crown on behalf of any other, whether a person or a group; and, Crown land cannot be "owned" by any but the Crown. The Crown may choose to vest the management of the land in another as is done with public parks.

6. Leases of land for major developments

(1) The Council, with the approval and on the advice of Cabinet and having obtained the consent of a majority of the people of Barbuda, may grant leases of land for ***major developments*** *in accordance with this section and Part VI.*

The authority to determine how Crown land is distributed and utilized may in fact be shared with another and does not offend; the Cabinet is the Crown or final arbiter.

(2) A person proposing to develop land in Barbuda shall apply to the Council in accordance with the regulations and pay the application fee set out in the regulations.

(3) Before the Council grants a lease under subsection (1) it shall obtain the consent of a majority of the people of Barbuda.

(4) The Council may grant a lease of land in Barbuda for a major development for a ***maximum period of 50 years****, or any longer period that the Council may, by regulation fix in accordance with this Act.*

(5) Leases granted under this section may be used as security for loans.

Although Sections (4) and (5) address the granting of leases and the use of the lease to secure loans, banks have been very reluctant to give loans on the basis of a 50 year lease.

(6) Full details of any mortgage or other security referred in subsection (5) shall be registered with the Council and in the Land Registry for Barbuda…

2018: The Gaston Browne Administration sought to rearrange the relationship between the land and its people. The new law No. 7 of 2018, made law on May 18, 2018, successfully re-arranged the ownership of land in Barbuda by permitting, for the very first time in history, title to the land.

Part II

Tenure of Lands by Inhabitants of the Island

4. Lands vested in Governor-General on behalf of the Crown

All lands within the Island of Barbuda are hereby vested in the Governor-General on behalf of the Crown and shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

5. Inhabitants are tenants of the Crown

(1) All persons inhabiting the Island of Barbuda shall be and are hereby declared to be tenants of the Crown; and such persons shall neither hold nor deal with any land situate within the said island save and except as hereinafter appears by the provisions of this Act and subject to any by-law made by the Council in that behalf.

(2) Despite the provisions of subsection (1), ***the Governor-General may upon application grant to any tenant of the Crown in Barbuda the right to purchase the freehold interest in land situate in Barbuda*** or to obtain a leasehold interest therein.

(3) Nothing in this section shall be construed as precluding the grant by the Crown of any interest in or over any piece or parcel of land within Barbuda to any person whether or not that person is an inhabitant of Barbuda.

The Crown Land Regulations (Amendment) Act, No. 6 of 2018, passed into law on May 31, 2018, repealed the mischievous laws that would have impeded the progress.

6. Repeals and Revocations (1) The following Acts are repealed— (a) The Barbuda Land Act, 2007 No. 23 of 2007; (b) The Barbuda Land (Amendment) Act, 2017 No. 41 of 2017. Crown Lands (Regulation) (Amendment) Act, 2018. 6 No. 6 of 2018 (2) The Barbuda Land Regulations, 2010 No.17 is revoked.

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The new administration, in less than four years in office, decided to change 390 years of history. The administration announced that the land on which homes have been built will be sold to the occupants for one dollar, in consideration.

Summary and Conclusion:

From 1976 to the present, a system for a fair control over land in Barbuda—through an acceptable system of ownership of land there—has been sought. The creation of the Barbuda Council and the transfer of certain authority over land there, in the 1976 legislation, was clearly an improvement over what existed previously. The successful negotiations which led to the clothing of the Barbuda Council in constitutional garb, in 1981, moved the Council to a higher authority than ordinary law. No parliament can bind a successive parliament; hence, the 1976 law could be altered in significant ways. By enshrining the Barbuda Council within the Constitution, its life is guaranteed beyond the term of any administration. A two-thirds majority would be required to amend or remove the existence of the Council from the Constitution, and the Council would also be required to agree to its dissolution.

Notwithstanding the guarantees of 1981, by 2007, political exigencies led to an anomalous arrangement where the people of Antigua found themselves excluded from land-ownership on Barbuda by a discriminatory law. It excluded a group of citizens within the unitary state from any possible participation in accessing land on Barbuda. That discriminatory act, both in effect and as ordered, offends the Constitutional guarantee of equality of treatment of citizens. There is nothing in the history of Barbuda, from 1627 to 2007 that compelled an outcome, as was engineered by the 2007 legislation. That 2007 law discriminated against a sizeable segment of the Antigua and Barbuda citizenry and would likely have been found unconstitutional. The law's repeal in 2018 ended that issue from rising its head.

The 2018 amended law makes specific the extension of leases for 99 years in order to ensure that those who wish to seek mortgages could borrow the money with the land acting as security. Those who default to lending institutions cannot now, with impunity, prevent any citizen of Antigua and Barbuda from acquiring property that is on the auction block. If only the narrow class of citizens defined as "Barbudans" in the repealed law were allowed to acquire mortgaged property by auction, then banks would still have been disinclined to lend; there must exist a secondary market of reasonable size for mortgages to work.

The repeal of the law in May 2018 made amendments to the 2007 law unnecessary.

The new Barbuda (Amendment) Act 2018 eliminates the several legal impediments that would have prevented land ownership in fee simple by the inhabitants of Barbuda and other citizens of Antigua and Barbuda. Further, by insisting that land which others wish to occupy are to be leased for 99 years if they so wish, Barbuda has been brought into a modern system that exists everywhere in the English-speaking world. It has taken political courage to make this change possible after nearly 400 years of occupancy.

A Socioreligious Revolution: A Sociological Exegesis of "Poor" and "Rich" in Luke–Acts

Birchfield Aymer

edited by Margaret P. Aymer

The Lucan Community: A Revolution of the Marginalized

The way in which Luke begins his two-volume work strongly suggests that the author is representing a definite community and reflects upon the community's peculiar belief in the person of Jesus Messiah as God's agent of salvation (e.g., Acts 4:12; cf. 2:36–38; 10:43, 48a; 22:8,14–16). Theophilus to whom the work is specifically dedicated (Luke 1:3; cf. Acts 1:1), and others who might read it, must understand that it is an accurate and orderly presentation concerning the…πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου ["things that have been fulfilled among us just as those eyewitnesses and servants of the word handed it down to us."] (Luke 1:1b–2)[4]

The reader will recognize in this introduction that the community consists of two groups. First, there are the original eyewitnesses and servants of the word (οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς v. 2; cf. Acts 1:13b–15, 21ff.; 10:37–42). The twelve disciples, called apostles, (οἱ ἀπόστολοι)[5] including the newly appointed

4 Note that Luke includes himself in this community although he has chosen to remain anonymous ("ἐν ἡμῖν…ἡμῖν [among us…to us"]). Note also that the author uses the verb κατηχέω [to teach or instruct] (v. 4) in reference to Theophilus and παραδίδωμι [to hand down or hand over] (v. 2) for his community. I agree with the judgment of Hermann W. Beyer, "κατηχέω," TDNT 3:639ff. [Editor's note: This chapter from Aymer's dissertation has been edited in the following ways. 1) English translations have been added in square brackets next to the Greek provided in the original text; 2) the citations have been updated to reflect current academic citation style according to the SBL Handbook of Style, Second Edition and the Chicago Manual of Style, Seventeenth Edition; 3) footnotes have been reset to start at 1, and first citations of all works have given in full. (In the original manuscript, footnotes for this chapter began at 309); 4) as necessary, editorial note have been added, particularly when other parts of the dissertation not available in this manuscript are referenced. All editorial additions to Aymer's dissertation are contained in square brackets. Additions longer than a translation of Greek text begin with the words "Editor's Note." All quotations from Aymer are taken from his dissertation (cf. bibliography) Two footnotes beyond those written by Aymer have been added: footnotes 8 and 15.]

5 Except for Acts 14:4,14 where Paul and Barnabas are called ἀπόστολοι [apostles] Luke reserves the title for the Twelve (Luke 6:13; 17:5; 22:14; 24:10; Acts 1:26; 2:42, 43; cf. 5:12; 4:35, 37; cf. 5:2; 8:1). See, Karl H. Rengstorf, "ἀπόστολος," TDNT 1:407–446, especially pp. 421–443; cf. I. Howard Marshall, The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1983), 238, 239.

Matthias (Acts 1:26),[6] are at the core of this group.[7] Second, there are those who have already accepted, and those who are yet to accept the Good News of Jesus crucified and risen (Acts 2:41, 47b; 10:39ff.) Under the aegis of the Holy Spirit (e.g., Acts 1:5, 8; 2:4, 15–21; 4:23ff.; 7:54ff.; 8:29; 13:2, 4) both groups are in unanimity (Acts 2:44; cf. 1:14; 4:24) and become the witnesses (e.g., Luke 24:48; cf. Acts 1:8b; 5:29–32; 10:39–48; 13:26–31; 22:15, 20; 22:16)[8] to the salvation of God in Jesus Messiah for all peoples—even infants (βρέφη) (Luke 18:15ff.; cf. Mark 10:13ff., Matt 9:13ff.)[9]

Luke's careful research (Luke 1:3) has shown him that in the past the invitation to accept God's salvation in Jesus Messiah had not been received by everyone. He had learned that John the Baptizer, being filled with the Holy Spirit…ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [while he was in his mother's womb] (Luke 1:15b), had borne witness to God's salvation in his message and baptism for the forgiveness of sins. However, while the invitation was acknowledged by "all" the people—even tax-collectors—it was rejected by the Pharisees and lawyers (Luke 7:29, 30); that is, those who were "… inwardly self-confident, and outwardly proud, and pitiless."[10] These, in

6 Scholars like Charles W. Carter and Ralph Earle, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1973), 2ff., n. S argue that Matthias was not Christ's choice because "...he is not heard of again in the New Testament and *evidently* did not fit the office....all subsequent evidence seems to point to Paul as the divine selection to complete the apostolate." (My emphasis). They find support for their position in G. Campbell Morgan, *The Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Fleming H. Revel, 1924), 24 whom they cite. Morgan's argument is attractive but most unconvincing. According to Morgan, the prerequisites for the apostolate in Acts 2:21-22 were wrong; hence the choice of Matthias was obviously wrong.

Against this view, Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, trans. B. Nobel and G. Shinn (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 162ff., has correctly shown that according to Luke it is God who chose Matthias and not the community. Besides "...the information that Matthias and not Barsabbas was chosen by lot to be an Apostle must also derive from some tradition.... the Apostles are witnesses of the earthly life of Jesus, from the baptism of John to the end, and thereby they are guarantors of the gospel tradition, the ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται [witnesses from the beginning] of Luke 1.2, and as ὑπηρέται...τοῦ λόγου [servants of the word] they have handed down the knowledge of events which the 'many' evangelists of Luke 1.1 have recorded." See also, Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 42. For the significance of "election *by lot*," see Richard A. Horsely, "The Zealots: Their Origin, Relationships and Importance in the Jewish Revolt," *NovT* 28 (April, 1986): 182, 183.

Finally, that Luke understands Matthias to be the one chosen by the Lord to complete the Twelve (Israel *in nuce*) is shown in what is to follow (Pentecost). "They were all together (including Matthias) in one place..." when the Holy Spirit was given to them (Acts 2:1ff.)

7 See, Kirsopp Lake, "The Twelve and the Apostles" in *The Beginnings of Christianity: The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (New York: McMillan, 1920-33), 5: 52ff.

8 With reference to Paul, one may add Acts 9:15 where Ananias is sent by ὁ κύριος [the Lord] to Paul and is told expressly ὅτι σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς ἐστίν μοι οὗτος [Παῦλος] τοῦ βαστάσαι τὸ ὄνομά μου [this (Paul) is a vessel chosen by me to carry my name]; cf. 20:22–24. See, H. Strathmann, "μάρτυς," *TDNT*, 4:492–495.

9 Luke's redaction of Mark here is significant. Infants had very low status in the world. They were considered among a man's possessions and could be sold, bought, killed or abused at the whim (usually) of their fathers. See, Lloyd deMause, "The Evolution of Childhood" in *The History of Childhood*, ed. Lloyd deMause (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1975), esp., 25–28; 43–46; A. R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), 69ff., also, F.R. Cowell, *Everyday Life in Ancient Rome* (New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1961), 55–63; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 4; 8:24.

10 Rengstorf, *TDNT*, 1:331, n.; also 332.

Luke's terms, are οἱ πλούσιοι[11] (Luke 6:24 ff.; cf. 16:14, 15). Similarly, Jesus—a man approved by God, and in whom the Holy Spirit resided from his baptism onwards (Luke 3:22; cf. 4:1,14ff.; Acts 2:22, 33)—had extended God's invitation to all in accordance with God's salvific plan (Luke 2:10, 11; cf. vv. 29–32; 3:6; 23:34; 24:44ff.; Acts 3:33ff.; cf. 3:17ff.; 5:30ff.) The socioreligious elites rejected God's invitation (e.g., Luke 5:27–32; 19:1–10; 24:20; cf. Acts 2:22, 24; 3:13b–15; 4:10; 5:30–32; 7:51–53; 10:39; 13:26–30, 33; 17:2, 3)[12] and consequently excluded themselves from the new community (Luke 14:24).

The author is convinced that his community has been called into being and empowered by the Holy Spirit to witness to Jesus Messiah (Luke 24:46–48), especially to the resurrection (e.g., Acts 4:10), "in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8). However, Luke knows from his own experience that as the community seeks to be faithful to its commission (Acts 4:19, 20; cf. 28:19f.) it, too, suffers rejection[13] from the proud and arrogant. In the end, Luke has a heart-broken Paul interpreting Isaiah 6:9, 10 (Acts 28:25b–27) for τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρωτους [the leaders of the Jews][14] as the prediction of the Holy Spirit. Paul declares:

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11 [Editor's note: Because of the nuance with which Aymer uses them, two Greek phrases are left untranslated in this article: οἱ πτωχοί and οἱ πλοῦσιοι. These are typically translated "the poor and the rich." Aymer defines these terms at length earlier in his dissertation.

For οἱ πτωχοί, or "the poor" (singular: πτωχός): "Disciples are poor because their obedience to God in Jesus Messiah causes them to be religiously and socially marginalized (e.g., Luke 6:20-23; esp. 22, 23). …disciples in Luke-Acts understood their mission as that of welcoming religious and 'social deviants.' Women and children, Samaritans, Gentiles, eunuchs, the economically poor, and religious and social outcasts within and outside of Israel are to be included in their community (Luke 14:21b-24). But there is a price to be paid for forming such alliances with these unfortunates. Disciples, like their Lord, must become religiously and socially marginalized (e.g., Luke 7:34; 14:25ff; 21:12-19; Acts 5:41). Therefore, the term "poor" in Luke's writing is synonymous with "socioreligiously marginalized." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 9).

For οἱ πλοῦσιοι, or "the rich" (singular πλοῦσιος): "For Luke… "the rich" are those who put their trust in worldly possessions, and those who pride themselves in their own religious piety and accept public acclaim for such piety. Because of their socioreligious positions of privilege they reject the message and the messengers… In a word, Luke's "rich" are the socioreligious leaders who may or may not have material possessions, but who are "proud in their inmost thoughts" (Luke 1:51b) and reject God's offer of salvation in Jesus Messiah (cf. Luke 14:15; Acts 5:3; 28:25b-27)." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 13)]

12 Note that Luke emphasizes the place of the resurrection as e.g., Acts 4:33; (17:31, 32—Jesus is not named but alluded to); 22:6.

13 See, Dennis M. Sweetland, "Discipleship and Persecution: A Study of Luke 12, 1–12," *Bib* 65, Fasc 1 (1984): 61–79. Robert J. Karris, "Poor and Rich: The Lukan *Sitz im Leben*," in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. Charles H. Talbert. Special Studies Series No. 5. Danville, VA: The Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978), 113–125 is right in making the connection between the themes of "persecution" and "poor and rich" in his search for a Lucan *Sitz im Leben*.

14 Elsewhere, οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ λαοῦ [the leaders of the people]—the chief priests and the scribes—sought to destroy Jesus while all the people, ἐξεκρέματο αὐτοῦ ἀκούων [listening, paid close attention to him] (Luke 19:47, 48); the Jews (Luke's short-hand for Jewish antagonists) incited the God-fearing women of high standing and τοὺς πρώτους τῆς πόλεως [the leaders of the city]—that is, of Pisidian Antioch—to persecute Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:50, 51; cf. 17:5ff.); the chief priests and οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων [the leaders of the Jews] were preparing a plot to kill Paul along the way to Jerusalem (Acts 25:2, 3).

> γνωστὸν οὖν ὑμῖν ἔστω ὅτι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ· αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται [Therefore, let it be known to you that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles and they will listen] Acts 28:29; cf. Luke 14:23, 24; 2:29–32; 1:50–53).

One of the ways in which Luke writes about this rejection and acceptance motif is in his theme of "poor" and "rich."[15] The leading citizens of Palestine and the Diaspora—indeed, everywhere the Good News is being proclaimed—reject it and its bearers. In general, they regard both as the vehicles of a social and religious revolution (Acts 17:6b) and consequently persecute the messengers.[16] To the contrary, those who are socially and religiously marginalized[17] welcome the Gospel, accept the invitation to participate in the new community, become witnesses to the resurrection, and experience καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως [times of rest] (Acts 3:20). In this chapter I shall show how Luke, through his theme of οἱ πτωχοί and οἱ πλοῦσιοι,[18] instructs his readers on the nature and composition of his community.

Although New Testament scholars have recognized the importance of Luke's theme on poor and rich, poverty and wealth, and have devoted considerable time in treating it, they have not reached a consensus in their interpretations. In this regard, scholars place themselves into two camps.[19]

On the one hand, there are some who hold that by "poor" and "rich" Luke means "the indigent, those who lack necessities, those who need alms. The rich are those who have considerable possessions or money."[20]

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15 Note that the terms do not appear in the Acts. However, the author's interest in the theme is manifest throughout, e.g., Acts 2:42–47; 3:2, 3, 6; cf. Luke 9:3; Acts 4:32–36; 5:1–10; 8:18–23; 9:36ff.; 11:27–30; 13:7, 50; 16:14, 15; 16:19ff.; 17:28; 18:8, 26; 19:23–27; 27:33ff.

16 See below 155–158. For exceptions to this generalization, Henry J. Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), 43, 55 n. 24; and Eckhard Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller: Studien zur Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 22ff., and Martin Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 36, 37. Hengel, however, claims that "The *majority* of early Christians will have belonged to the '*middle class*' of antiquity from which the 'godfearers' of the Jewish mission were recruited (cf., Acts 13.43, 50; 16.14; 17.4, 17; 18.7)." (My emphases). Cf. Ramsay MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations: 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 89ff. on "middle class." [Editor's note: Pages 155-158 referenced above correspond to pages 42-45 of this article].

17 See above pp. 8-10. [Editor's note: Pages 8-10 referenced above are summarized in footnote 8 of this article.]

18 [Editor's note: See footnote 8.]

19 See, Walter Shewring, *Rich and Poor in Christian Tradition: Writings of Many Centuries Chosen, Translated and Introduced* (London: Burns Oats & Washbourne, 1948).

20 Karris, "Poor and Rich," 112ff. Karris is indebted to Jacques Dupont whose work he cites [see also, J. Dupont, "Les Pauvres et la Pauvreté dans les Evangiles et les Actes," in *La Pauvreté Evangélique*, ed. Augustin George et al., *Lire la Bible* 27 (Paris: Editions de Cerf, 1971), 48–49]. Following Augustin George, Karris was to modify his position somewhat. In *What Are They Saying About Luke and Acts? A Theology of the Faithful God* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 86, he writes: "I espouse the definition of a poor person given by A. George. '...In *the biblical mind*, the poor person is less one who is indigent and more one who is oppressed, an inferior or a lesser one. It is a social ideal....' (*Gospel Poverty: Essays in Biblical Theology*. (Chicago, 1977,) 6). In brief, the rich are those who have considerable possessions or money *or power or pride*; they oppress." (My emphases.)

According to this interpretation, Luke's theme is given a social and economic meaning. On the other hand, others tend towards a spiritual interpretation. They claim that:

> The thematic statements designating the poor specify them as outcasts; the narrative shows us that this poverty is not an economic designation, but a designation of spiritual status. ...Because of their outcast status, the sinners and tax-collectors were among the "poor" to whom the Good News was proclaimed. Because they accepted this prophetic proclamation, they were among the blessed poor to whom the Kingdom belonged.[21]

This polarity in interpretations is due largely to two related factors. First, some scholars tend to conflate Luke's meaning of "poor" and "rich" with that of other biblical authors. Augustin George, for example, would have us believe that there is one view which he calls a "biblical mind" regarding

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Among others who share Karris' initial view are: Robert Sider, *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger* (Intervarsity Press, 1977), passim; Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, trans. and ed., Sister Caridad India and John Eagleson (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1973), especially, 297–299, n.; Julio de Santa Ana, *Good News to the Poor: The Challenge of the Poor in the History of the Church*, trans. Helen Whittle (Switzerland: Imprimerie La Concorde, Lausanne, 1977), 13–22; Karl Kautsky, *Foundations of Christianity*, trans., Henry F. Mins (New York: Russell & Russell, 1953), 276ff. According to Kautsky, 363f, 380ff., Christianity began as a revolutionary movement against the ruling class that was fired by economic and social conditions; and in its initial stages it practiced communism. He found that Luke's thematic statement lent support to his hypothesis (xiii; cf. 274).

21 Luke T. Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts*. ed. Howard C. Kee and D. A. Knight, SBLDS (Montana: Scholars Press, 1977), 139; see also, 140. Alan Richardson, *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1969), 97 holds that Luke's poor are "the humble and devout." Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology: The Proclamation of Jesus*, trans., John Bowdon (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 109–133 (also cited by Karris), observes that "The Lucan tradition has in mind those who are really poor,.... That is not, of course to say that by οι πτωχοί it means simply those who have no material possessions, the proletariat; rather, Luke 6.22ff. shows that the Lucan tradition is thinking of disciples, who have to suffer poverty, hunger and persecution because of their discipleship." (112). Note that Jeremias includes "sinners," "tax-collectors" and "outcasts" among the poor. Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Theology* (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1981), 900 recognizes that "... The difference between Matthew and Luke here suggests that Luke's beatitudes as a whole are making different points compared with Matthew's.... It is better to suppose that the 'poor' are those who in the O.T. sense, although afflicted, trust in God for help (cf. Ps 69:28–33; 37:14 ff.; Is. 61:1). In other words, 'poor' has a religious connotation." Later on (943 ff.) Guthrie writes, "The beatitudes, in Luke's version, contain a special blessing for 'the poor', relating, however, to the poverty of the disciple group....Jesus did not organize relief for the economic position of the underprivileged. But this is not to say that he had no concern for the poor. His mission was not political, but spiritual." He cites Acts 2:43ff.; 4:32ff., as "the earliest experiment in Christian communal living... although the motif for the experiment was undoubtedly spiritual rather than social." Cf. Albert Gelin, *Les Pauvres de Yahvé* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1953), 145ff. Gelin states: "Croira-t-on pour autant que Jésus a 'béatifié une classe sociale'? L'Evangile-a-t-il jamais l'allure d'un manifeste social? Aucun état sociologique n'y est canonisé; aucun, en tant que tel, n'est mis en relation directe avec le Royaume; seule une 'situation' spirituelle peut accueillir un don spirituel; seule la foi confiante ouvre l'homme à la grâce de Dieu. C'est cette ouverture à Dieu qu'on appelle la pauvreté spirituelle." Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 635, believes that the term πτωχός is generally used by Luke to mean the "pious and the recipients of God's grace (cf. 14:13, 21)." Cf. Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, rev. ed., trans. Howard C. Kee (Nashville: Abingdon; The Pantheon Press, 1975),139, n. 46; and Ernst Bammel, "πτωχός ," *TDNT*, 6:908 states: "One might see in this work the first, the most consistent and in the last resort the only Ebionite Gospel."

the term "poor."[22] However, textual evidence proves the contrary.[23] Second, scholars on either pole do not seem to take with sufficient seriousness the arbitrary nature of vocabulary. R.H. Robins observes:

> Not only are word meanings somewhat different in different languages; *they are not fixed for all time in any language*. Semantic changes take place all along (see below), and at any moment the semantic area covered by a word *is indeterminately bordered and differs from context to context*. This is a further aspect and condition of the inherent and necessary flexibility of language.[24] (My emphases.)

Robins' observation is important for this study because Luke does not deem it necessary to define "poor" and "rich" in a special section of his work. Moreover, Luke does not restrict himself to the terms "poor" and "rich" in his theme. He feels free to use terms such as ταπεινοί [lowly], πεινῶντας [hungry], κλαίοντες [weeping], αἰχμάλωτοι [captives], τυφλοί [blind], τεθραυσμένος [oppressed], χωλοί [lame] on the one hand, and ὑπερηφάνους διανοίᾳ καρδίας αὐτῶν [arrogant in the imaginations of their heart], δυνάστας [rulers], φιλάργυροι [money-lovers] on the other.[25] In order to discover Luke's meaning the exegete must be guided, therefore, by the different contexts in which the terms occur.[26] When this is done, it will be noted that Luke himself uses the terms ambiguously. Sometimes indeed, Luke uses the terms "poor" and "rich" in reference to the economic

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22 See, above 110, n. 323. [Editor's note: Page 110 n. 323 corresponds to footnote 17 above].

23 See, Friedrich Hauch and Ernst Bammel, "πτωχός," *TDNT*, 6:885–915; also, Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 249.

24 Robert Henry Robins, "Language," in *The Encyclopaedia Britanica* 15th ed. (in 30 vol. eds. Warren E. Preece, et al. Chicago, et al.: William Benton, Publisher, 1943–1973, Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973–1974), *Macropaedia*, vol. 10, 651.

25 This list is by no means exhaustive (see also 7, 10, n. 21, 29) but is given here as a mere sample of the ways in which Luke writes on this theme. I am aware that a proper understanding of the various terms is dependent upon their contextual settings. [Editor's note: On page 7 of his dissertation, Aymer states "…there can be little doubt that 'the poor' in this context means those who are *economically poor* (cf. Lk 18:23; 21:3; Acts 2:45). However, this is only Luke's "surface meaning" of the term οἱ πτωχοί." In footnote 21, he continues, "Note that the term πτωχός is not found in Acts. Luke uses, e.g., χρείαν εἶχεν [s/he has a need] (2:45; 4:35), ἐνδεής [lack] (4:34), and οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι [the weak] (20:35)." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 7). On page 10, he notes: "In his theme of poor and rich, Luke uses the term οἱ πλοῦσιοι to describe affluent people (e.g., Luke 12:15-20; 16:1; 18:18-25; 19:2; 21:1)." He continues in footnote 29: "Note, however, that Luke does not restrict himself to the term οἱ πλοῦσιοι. In fact, like οἱ πτωχοί, the term is not found in Acts. Yet, the Lucan theme is not abandoned in the second volume. Throughout his writing the Third Evangelist employs other terms and phrases, such as: τὰ ὑπάρχοντα [possessions] (e.g., Luke 8:3; 12:33, 44; 14:33; 19:8; 12:15; cf. vv. 16ff.; cf. 16:1; Acts 2:45--τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις [properties and possessions]--cf. 4:37); ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον [silver and gold](Acts 3:6; cf. 20:33; Luke 9:3); and μαμωνᾶς [mammon](Luke 16:9, 11, 13)" (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution,"10).]

26 Karris, *What Are They Saying about Luke and Acts?* 94, 95, warns that the author is "a spherical thinker who knows that there are many ways of getting to the center of the sphere of poor and rich….Luke has not felt it his duty to suppress these traditions, but to incorporate them into his biblical history." Cf. his 14–16. Yet, Karris, 86, "…espouses the definition of A. George with his 'biblical mind'."

conditions of people (e.g., Luke 18:22,23; 19:8a; 21:3; 12:16; 19:2). At other times he uses them in description of a peculiar class (e.g., Luke 1:48ff.; 4:18; 6:20–26; 7:21,22; 12:21,33ff.; 14:13,21; cf. Acts 3:6; 18:22–30; cf. 14:33)[27]

1 Who Are The Poor?

A short answer to this question is: the poor—including those who are hungry, the weeping ones, those hated, excluded and regarded as outcasts—are blessed disciples (Luke 6:20–23).[28] They are disciples[29] to whom the kingdom is promised (Luke 12:32; cf. 6:20; 22:28–30; cf. 6:22,23), but they are to be free from fears and anxieties and to "sell your possessions, and give alms" in order to provide for themselves the heavenly treasure (Luke 12:33; cf. 6:30; Acts 4:36,37; 10:2,4,31; 9:36–42; 20:35).

Disciples are *not necessarily* economically poor or destitute.[30] Luke discloses to his readers that there are people who, though economically wealthy or "rich," have received the message and the messengers and qualify as disciples and children of Abraham (e.g., Acts 4:36, 37; cf. 10:2, 4, 31; Luke 19:8–10); hence, members of his community. This is precisely why Luke can have Jesus address disciples in the manner he does in the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:20ff.)

There can be little doubt that Luke includes the economic poor in his meaning of οἱ πτωχοί (e.g., Luke 16:20, 21). However, in the context of the parable (Luke 16:19–30) it can hardly be missed that Luke wishes his readers to see something far more significant in Lazarus than his destitute condition. The meaning of the name Lazarus—God is my help—certainly qualifies for the readers the author's meaning of "poor."[31] The poor, as the

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27 Note, however, that the terms are not found in 14:33.

28 See, F. Hauck, "μακάριος," *TDNT*, 4:367ff.

29 Note that disciples, for Luke, are not limited to the Twelve. During the life-time of Jesus, there are already seventy or seventy-two disciples whom he could send out (Luke 10:1ff.; cf. 6:17). By the time of the ascension the number increases to one hundred twenty (Acts 1:14, 15). In Acts 2:41 Luke reports, "Those who accepted his [i.e., Peter's] message were baptized, and about three thousand were added to their number in that day [i.e., the day of Pentecost]." Later, Ananias is called a disciple (Acts 9:10); Paul and Dorcas (vv. 26, 36) are also called disciples. It is safe to assume, also, that the centurion Cornelius is a disciple.

Overwhelmingly, the term is used by Luke (twenty-two times in Acts alone) in reference to Christians (Acts 9:1; 11:26). See, Pierson Parker, "Disciple," *IDB*, 1:845; also, Karl H. Rengstorf, *TDNT*, 4:415–459 (esp., 457–459). Rengstorf correctly observes (457): "Before 6:1 Christians are οἱ πιστεύσαντες [those who believe] (2:44; 4:32), οἱ ἀδελφοί [the siblings] (1:15, also frequently between 6:1 and 21:16, e.g., 11:1,29; 12:17; 14:2 etc., and after 21:16; 21:17; 28:14ff.), οἱ φίλοι [the faithful], οἱ ἅγιοι [the holy] etc."

30 The woes (Luke 6:24–26), which follow the beatitudes (vv. 20–23), are also addressed to disciples. Besides, Luke 12:33 (also addressed to disciples) would make sense only if some disciples, at least, have possessions. Note the description of the term 'poor' offered by A. R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*, 62ff.

31 See above, 79, 80. [Editor's Note: On pages 79-80 of his dissertation, B. Aymer recounts the story of Lazarus in Luke16. He says, in part, "...Luke has named the πτωχός Lazarus = God is my help; and in naming Lazarus he is focusing attention not so much on the economic poverty of Lazarus' condition, but rather on his *dependence upon God.*" (B. Aymer, 80)]

name Lazarus implies, are those who place their trust in God and who rely upon God entirely for help. This includes all marginalized people regardless of their social or religious status within and outside Israel.

Chapter 15 of Luke is introduced by words of stern criticism of Jesus' action by the Pharisees and the teachers of the law…ὅτι οὗτος ἁμαρτωλοὺς προσδέχεται καὶ συνεσθίει αὐτοῖς […that this person welcomes sinners and reclines to eat with them] (v. 2b). This prompts Luke to tell three parables of Jesus—The Lost Sheep, The Lost Coin, and The Lost Son. In the last one, Luke portrays the lost son in a state of social, economic, and religious poverty.[32] In his miserable condition he comes to his senses and decides to return home as a hired servant. He did not reckon that he would be met half-way by his father who welcomed him home and eventually restored him to full status. The reason for his reception is given to the *elder son* (cf. v. 2b): εὐφρανθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαρῆναι *ἔδει* [But *it was necessary* to rejoice and be glad], because this brother of yours was dead and came to life, and having been lost also was found (v. 32; cf. 7:22, 23). All three parables—really example stories—succeed in showing God as one who seeks out the lost and is relentless in the search until they are found and returned to their rightful place.

The introduction to the Parable of the Banquet (Luke 14:12–14), and the parable itself (vv. 15–24), also help the readers' understanding of Luke's poor. The introduction to the parable is not merely a logion to teach Christians concerning a strange kind of etiquette. Rather, it is to teach disciples whom they *must* include in the new community or the church.[33] They are to invite those who are socially and religiously marginalized (the poor, the lame, the maimed, the blind) by beaming their message to them.[34] This is the mission of Jesus Messiah (Luke 4:18); and it is also the mission of the witnesses (e.g., Acts 4:27–35).

The parable itself[35] is given in answer to a comment of one of those who were reclining at table: …μακάριος ὅστις φάγεται ἄρτον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ [blessed is whoever eats bread in the kingdom of God] (v. 15b). In

32 He is penniless and in need (v. 14); he feeds pigs—one of the most demeaning tasks for a Jew (v. 15)—he is hungry to the point that he contemplates whether he should eat the pigs' food (v. 16); and Luke adds, …καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ […and no one was giving to him].

33 Note, however, that on this occasion Jesus addresses his host—one of the leaders of the Pharisees (vv. 1, 12a). The behavior of the other guests, Pharisees and lawyers (v. 3; cf. 11:43), prompts Luke to remind his readers about Mary's song (1:48ff.; cf. 14:11). The readers have been informed previously that "The Pharisees and the lawyers rejected for themselves the counsel of God" … (7:30; cf. v. 29; 11:39ff.) Later, the author will show (16:14, 15; cf. 18:9) the Pharisees to be φιλαργυροι [money-lovers]; meaning, they are in the habit of justifying themselves before others (cf. 16:31). See MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations*, 109–112.

34 Note that Luke omits Mark 14:7 //; Matt 26:11. See MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations*, 109–112.

35 Matthew's parable of the Marriage Feast (Matt 22:1–10) is similar. However, there are so many differences between both accounts that it is still an open question as to whether both Evangelists are telling the same story. See *The Gospel According to Thomas*, trans., Guillaumont et al. (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), Logion 64, 35–37.

Luke's view, the guest's comment was far more profound than the speaker had realized. Indeed, those who are guests at the eschatological banquet are blessed. However, Luke has a radically different understanding of the blessed.[36]

The three separate times that the slaves are sent out speaks to this point. First, they are sent to the properly invited guests (vv. 17–21a; cf. Acts 3:26; 28:28).[37] When these slight the invitation, the slaves are sent to the streets and lanes *of the city* in order to bring in the poor, the maimed, the blind and the lame (those marginalized within Israel). However, there is room in the man's house, and he is determined to have his house filled. Consequently, the slaves are sent out a third time. They are now instructed to go to the highways and hedges and compel people to come in (those marginalized outside Israel). The parable concludes: λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κεκλημένων γεύσεταί μου τοῦ δείπνου [For I say to you that not one of those men who were invited will taste my feast] (v. 24). The man's house will be filled with the socioreligiously marginalized within and outside of Israel (cf. Luke3:8; 6:20ff.; 16:25ff.; Acts 10:14–23,34–36,45ff.; 11:1–18; 15:5–19). The point is underscored by Luke in what follows; namely, Jesus' teaching on the Cost of Discipleship (14:25–35; cf. Matt10:37–38).[38]

Luke also uses the theme "poor" and "rich" to instruct his readers on the nature of disciples or the Christian community. According to the author, disciples—that is, Christians—are charismatics in that they are dominated by the Holy Spirit.[39] The original eyewitnesses and servants of the word

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36 See above, 113-114, n. 331, 332. [Editor's note: Pages 113-114, n. 331 and 332 correspond to page 9, n. 25 and n. 26 of this manuscript].

37 See above, 74, n. 217. [Editor's note: This footnote reads, in part, "...It is not accidental that either Jesus or the early evangelists begin their message in the synagogues, for in Luke's view the synagogue was the cradle of the church. ... It is only upon rejection in the synagogue that the messengers turn elsewhere." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 74, n. 217)]

38 The properly invited guests (by their given excuses, vv. 18–21; cf. Acts 3:26) have put business and personal needs at the top of their lists of priorities. Hence, they exclude themselves from the state of blessedness. "Therefore, everyone [sic] of you who does not say farewell to all of her/his possessions cannot be my disciple" (v. 33).

39 See above 71, 72, n. 213; and 15-18. See also, the example stories of Joseph Barnabas (Acts 4:36, 37) and Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1,3–9; cf. 1:16–18)

Note, however, William Sanford La Sor, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1972), 158 compares the attitudes of the Essene community at Qumran and the nascent church on *economic* poverty. He concludes: "It is readily admitted that both Qumran and the early church were opposed to greed and were aware of the dangers of riches. But to say that either group regarded poverty as charismatic is certainly stretching the textual evidence." [Editor's note: Aymer writes "Followers of John [the Baptist] in Ephesus ... are called "μαθητάς" [disciples]...a term reserved in Luke for Christians...but at Paul's inquiry these disciples turn out to be incomplete or 'half-Christians'...Christians who know nothing of the Holy Spirit or the Lordship of Jesus." In n. 213, which accompanies this observation, he cites Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968) 84. On pages 17-18, he writes, "...above all, Luke's community is charismatic *precisely because it is energized, directed, and held together by the power and the presence of the Holy Spirit* (Acts 1:8; cf. 4:31ff). (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 71, 72 n. 213, 15-18)]

(including the women) may have been perceived by the pious religious leaders to be ἀγράμματοί καὶ ἰδιῶται [unlearned and common] (Acts 4:13). Others may consider them to be drunks γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι [filled with new wine] (Acts 2:13). Festus, the Roman Procurator of Judea believes Paul to be a mad man: μαίνῃ, Παῦλε· τὰ πολλά σε γράμματα εἰς μανίαν περιτρέπει [You are out of your mind, Paul. Great knowledge is leading you to madness] (Acts 26:24). Individual Christians may even refer to themselves as δοῦλος, δούλη [enslaved].[40] However, the readers know that they are disciples whom the Holy Spirit has empowered and directed to bear effective witness throughout the inhabited world (Luke 24:48,49; Acts 1:8; 4:29,30; 2; cf. Luke 1:48ff.)

a Their Religious and Social Status

From a religious standpoint the maimed, the lame and the blind are excluded from participation in the covenant people.[41] They are regarded as religious outcasts or marginalized. Indeed, the Torah debarred them from cultic participation. In this regard, one particular passage from the Torah is worth quoting in full:

> ...For the generations to come none of your descendants who has a defect may come near to offer the food of his God. No man who has any defect may come near: *no man who is blind or lame, disfigured or deformed*; no man with a crippled foot or hand, or who is hunchbacked or dwarfed, or who has any eye defect [i.e., the maimed], or who has *festering or running sores* or damaged testicles. Lev 21:17–20 (NIV). (My emphases.)

The sectarians at Qumran certainly excluded such people from their community:

> ...And let no person smitten with any human impurity whatever enter the Assembly of God. And every person smitten with these impurities, unfit to occupy a place in the midst of the Congregation, and every (person) smitten in his flesh, *paralyzed in his feet or hands, lame or blind or deaf, or dumb or smitten in his flesh with a blemish visible to the eye*, or any aged person that totters and is unable to stand firm in the midst of the Congregation; let these persons not en[ter] to take their place in the midst of the Congregation of men

40 See Karl H. Rengstorf, "δουλος," *TDNT*, 2:261–280; and above 22 n. 62. [Editor's note: the two Greek words above are the masculine and feminine forms respectively denoting an enslaved male or female person. In 22 n. 62 of his dissertation, Aymer notes: "The terms δοῦλος, δούλη are often linked with charismatics in Luke-Acts (Luke 1:38, 48; cf. 2:29; Acts 5:29, 32; 26:19)."]

41 See, R. K. Harrison, "Disease," *IDB*, 1:847–854 for others marginalized because of disease. For despised trades, see Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 3, 303ff.

> of renown, for the Angels of holiness are [in] their Congrega[tion].... *that person shall not enter into the midst [of the Congregation], for he is smitten*. *Rule Annexe* II:3b–10[42]. (My emphases).

Religious attitudes in the Torah to the poor are not as clear-cut as those displayed against the maimed, the lame, and the blind. Augustin George[43] among others[44] has, in my estimation, presented detailed studies on the various biblical views on poverty. George writes:

> The Old Testament texts on this subject (i.e., the meaning of economic poverty) cover a wide range of differing evaluations which we can classify systematically under four headings:
>
> A. Appreciation of profane wisdom
>
> B. Religious judgment on poverty: It is a punishment
>
> C. Religious judgment on poverty: It is a scandal, a breach of covenant
>
> D. Different approaches to the religious acceptance of poverty[45]

And while Martin Hengel observes that: "We shall look in vain for direct praise of the poor or of poverty in Jewish literature:[46] it is first to be found in the gospel (Luke 6:20, see below p. 25)."[47], the poor are never precluded from participating in Israel's religion simply because they are poor. Indeed, textual evidence indicates the opposite.[48] Yet, Luke has grouped the poor with people who are obviously proscribed by the Law from participation in the covenant people (Luke 4:18; 7:22; 14:13, 21).[49] A study of the beatitudes, and the fourth one in particular, will reveal why Luke feels justified in placing these two different kinds of people together. In Luke 6:20–23 the poor are mentioned with those who are presently hungry, weeping, and

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42 Quotation from, A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. G. Vermés (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), 107,108.

43 "Poverty in the Old Testament," in *Gospel Poverty*, 3–24.

44 E.g., Hengel, *Property and Riches*, 12–22; Richard Batey, *Jesus and the Poor: The Poverty Program of the First Christians* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 83–97; Karris, *What Are They Saying About Luke and Acts?* 86ff.; and Hauch and Bammel, *TDNT*, 6: 885ff.

45 Augustin George, "Poverty in the Old Testament," in *Gospel Poverty*, 9.

46 To this, one may add, "or in antiquity."

47 Ibid., 17; cf. Augustin George, "Poverty in the Old Testament," in *Gospel Poverty*, 15, 16. Note, however, that poverty as a condition is *never praised in the Gospels*.

48 Ibid., 12ff.; and Augustin George, "Poverty in the Old Testament," in *Gospel Poverty*, 12–15.

49 In the Magnificat (Luke 1:48ff.) humble ones (including God's female slave), the ones who fear God, and those who are hungry receive God's extended favor; see above 55-58. [Editor's note: On page 55-58 of his dissertation, Aymer discusses the Magnificat. He notes: "Luke is well aware of the religious and social low status of the charismatic community (women, eunuchs, tax-collectors, Samaritans, infirmed, sinners, et al.); and he believes that God has acted in Jesus Messiah to exalt these humble ones and to fill them with good things (cf. Acts 13:26 ff.) Therefore, at the beginning of his work, the author places into the mouth of the spokesperson for the marginalized the song of the socioreligious revolution about which he writes." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 58-59)]

those who suffer hatred, separation, reproach, and are cast out on account of the Son of Man (cf. Acts 14:22; 4:1–31; 3:11ff.; cf. Luke 24:19ff.; 12:11–12; 9:20–27). Elsewhere, the poor are linked with the maimed, the lame, the blind (14:13,21); those who have leprosy, the deaf, and even the dead[50] (7:22); prisoners and the ones that are being crushed (4:18).

Luke does this for two main reasons. First, they are all religiously marginalized or outcasts because they suffer reproach, separation, or hatred from the pious religious leaders. It is of little import that the sick and deformed are marginalized or ostracized from Israel's religious life on account of their human impurities or their handicaps, and the poor (disciples) on account of their allegiance to the Son of Man. They suffer the same fate; and from a religious point of view they are all of marginal status. Second, handicapped and diseased people realize that they must especially rely entirely upon God for their salvation. By the same token, disciples also understand and accept that they must be completely dependent upon God for salvation (e.g., Luke 1:38,45; cf. 7:29–30; 8:21; cf. 11:27–28; 9:57–62; cf. 12:22–39; 22:28–30; 18:28ff.; [contrast 16:14, 15; cf. 12:43]; 14:33).[51] It seems to me, then, sufficient reason for Luke to list all these religiously marginalized people together.

Talcott Parsons has defined health "as the state of optimum *capacity* of an individual for the effective performance of the roles and tasks for which he has been socialized."[52] Because illness and physical handicap tend to incapacitate the individual from her or his role performance, Parsons refers to illness as a type of social deviance. It follows, therefore, that a society might devise means of social control in order to deal with this type of "deviant behavior."[53]

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50 Figuratively, the Lost Son (Luke 15:1ff.) was dead while he was away from home. Indeed, the elder son could not even bring himself to acknowledge the existence of his brother. He refers to him as… ὁ υἱός σου οὗτος… […this son of yours…] (v. 30). For the father, his son was not only found but had been brought back to life: … ὁ ἀδελφός σου οὗτος νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἔζησεν, καὶ ἀπολωλὼς καὶ εὑρέθη [this brother of yours was dead and now lives; and was lost and now is found] (v. 32).

51 Lazarus (Luke 16:20) embodies at one and the same time the poor, the handicapped and the diseased who suffer in the present but who are to become recipients of the eschatological rewards (v. 22). To be sure, Lazarus is not called a disciple in the parable; nor elsewhere. However, parables are used to teach disciples; never to extol them. Note that there is not a single parable in the gospels about a disciple.

52 Talcott Parsons, *Social Structure and Personality* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), 262, 274. (His emphasis.)

53 Ibid., 265–270; 274–277. Note Parson's inferences (275–276): "The first of these is the *insulation* of the sick person from certain types of mutual influences with those who are not sick, and from association with each other. The essential reason for this insulation being important in the present context is not the need of the sick person for special 'care' so much as it is that, motivationally as well as bacteriologically, illness may well be 'contagious'. The motives which enter into illness as deviant behavior are practically identical with those entering into other types of deviance, such as crime and the breakdown of commitment to the values of the society, partly they are dynamically interrelated with these so that stimulation of one set of motives may tend to stimulate others as well." (His emphasis.)

Parsons' observations are especially significant to the student of theocratic Israel with its belief in ethical monotheism.[54] Because it was believed that God is the Sovereign of the nation (or the nations), and because God is just and benevolent to all God's subjects, it follows that illness of every kind is God's punishment for, or God's wrath kindled against transgressors.[55] It is perfectly logical and understandable, therefore, that persons who are sick or handicapped (even from birth) and debarred from cultic participation will also be socially marginalized or ostracized. In Parsons' terms, such persons are "social deviants." Hicks correctly observes that "…The penal concept of sickness (from Old Testament era) survived into N.T. times, as illustrated by the cure of the congenitally blind man (John 9:2)."[56]

In Graeco-Roman society, which MacMullen describes as both a "shame society" and a "pride society,"[57] to be economically poor was synonymous with being "'vile,' 'dishonored,' 'ugly'."[58] The upper classes emphasized, for everyone to notice and acknowledge, the steep, steep social structure that they topped."[59] MacMullen writes:

> Nothing rewarded such efforts more richly than the power they (i.e., *hoi plousioi*) afforded to insult someone else in a lower station. Invite him to dinner and he came, sure to be shown a place at table that demeaned him, a serving of food that left him hungry, cheap wine, and the insolence of the servants—servants in this respect taught by their masters. The insults he handed out had to be swallowed along with the dinner,[60] …"Unhappy poverty has nothing about it harder to bear than that it makes men the target of ridicule"—so said Juvenal, and others echoed him….

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54 Religious beliefs frequently affect social customs, norms, mores and even laws. See C. J. Ducasse, *A Philosophical Scrutiny of Religion* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1953), 171–194; Parsons, *Social Structure and Personality*, 295ff. But the converse is also true. Ducasse (12, 142ff.), Parsons (265ff.), and Ian Robertson, *Sociology*, 2nd. ed. (New York: Worth, 1981), 403–407 evidence this in their work.

55 The classic biblical arguments regarding theodicy are to be found in the Book of Job.

56 Harrison, *IDB*, 1:848; see also Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 117–119; and Richard Palmer, "The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *The Church and Healing: Papers Read at the Twentieth Summer Meeting and the Twenty-First Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed., W.J. Sheils (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 79–99.

57 MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations*, 109.

58 Ibid., 116. Even small time artisans, traders and laborers were socially marginalized (114, 115); cf. Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 5, 6, 303ff., on despised trades.

59 Ibid., 109. Earlier in his work (88–120), MacMullen likens the social structure of the Graeco-Roman world in the age of Christianity's beginning to a very steep social pyramid upon the summit of which the aristocracy in any given city stood. Note, however, (Ibid., 89) that he acknowledges a middle class only statistically. For MacMullen, "'Verticality' is the key to understanding it.... The sense of high and low pressed heavily on the consciousness of both." (109,116ff.)

60 Luke 14:1ff., 18:9ff., are echoed in MacMullen's observations. [Editor's note: The words *hoi plousioi* in the quotation are a transliteration of οἱ πλοῦσιοι].

> … The mockery and scorn they endured was deliberate, unprovoked, and unresisted. In the very street it pursued them.[61]

Even rations of food or cash "…were handed out by rank, … Honor qualified, rarely need."[62] Such was the social status and condition of the economic poor in the age of Christianity's beginnings. People with physical handicap or disease (social deviants) and the economic poor shared similar fates. They were socially marginalized.

By addressing disciples as "you poor ones" (Luke 6:20ff.), and by grouping them with the diseased and the handicapped,[63] Luke wishes his readers to understand that his interest does not lie in the economic condition of these disciples as such, but in their social and religious status. Like the handicapped, the sick, and the economic poor, disciples (sometimes economically poor and sometimes rich) are those who suffer hatred, separation, reproach and even ostracism from the "haughty," "honorable" leaders of the society. Disciples are relegated to the margins of society "because of the Son of Man"; those who are economically poor are socially marginalized because of their sorry conditions of poverty; handicapped and diseased people are pushed to the fringes of society because of their human incapacitation. However, Luke knows that suffering tends to neutralize normal religious and social prejudicial barriers (e.g., Luke 171:11ff.; 10;25ff.) And because suffering is the common experience of all these people, Luke is justified in grouping them together. Whether they are viewed from a religious or a sociological perspective they are of marginal status.

b Reflections on Some Lucan Redactions

Luke's purpose is to show that God *has acted decisively*—through the birth, life and ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus Messiah—by making God's salvation available to all peoples irrespective of their sex, birth, ethnicity, trade, social, or religious status. To this end, therefore, Luke is free to redact and to rework traditional materials in order to highlight or secure this theological perception.[64]

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61 Ibid., 111,196, n. 71,72.

62 Ibid., 118, 201, n. 100.

63 See above 120, 121 for Luke's groupings. [Editor's note: Pages 120, 121 correspond to pages 14, 15 of the current manuscript.]

64 Note that I have already treated some of these above, e.g., 58–73; 115–117 [Editor's note: In pages 58-73, Aymer treats at length Luke's redaction of the baptism of Jesus found in Matthew and Mark. He concludes "Not only does Luke make John open the doors of the covenant community to the most unlikely candidates by definition of the socioreligious elites, but he has made it clear that judgment awaits the latter. Here is good news and bad news! It is good news for οἱ πτωχοί and bad news for οἱ πλοῦσιοι. It is nothing short of a socioreligious revolution." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 73). Pages 115-117 correspond to pages 10-12 of this manuscript]

Mark commences his gospel with two quotations which he attributes to the prophet Isaiah. In fact, the first is from Malachi 3:1, and the second from Isaiah 40:3. Both Matthew (3:3) and Luke (3:4) correct Mark by omitting the Malachi citation. However, whereas Matthew, following Mark, completes the Isaiah quotation at verse 3,[65] Luke expands it to include verses 4 and 5 (Luke 3:5, 6).[66]

Isa 40:5 underscores for Luke's readers the way in which God *has acted in history*. Luke will show that God has raised up the humble and the poor (e.g., 1:52ff.; 14:11; 7:22, 23, 29) and has cast down those who are proud, arrogant and rich (e.g., 18:14; 16:19ff.; 18:18ff.)[67] And because his purpose is to show that Jesus Messiah is the bringer of God's salvation to all peoples (e.g., 2:10,11, 29–32; 8:47ff.; 19:9, 10; Acts 2:21, 38, 39; 3:25, 26; 4:10–12; 8:34, 35; 13:47, 48; 16:31ff.; 26:17, 18, 23; 28:28), Luke's amendment of Isa 40:6 brings it into accord with his view.

All the Evangelists wish to impress upon their readers that the Christ event is a veritable historical fact, but it is Luke alone who specifically dates this epoch-making event in the manner of ancient historiographers.[68] In the fifteenth year of Tiberius, the Roman Emperor (c. 28 C.E.), John the Baptizer begins his preparatory work.[69] In Luke's estimation, the Baptizer's activities are in fulfillment of the Isaian prediction (Luke 3:4b–6).[70] Luke has told his readers previously that as forerunner, the Baptizer… προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἠλίου, … [will

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65 Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 136, and Frederic Louis Godet, *Commentary on Luke* 2d ed., trans. E. W. Shalders (Grand Rapids: Kregal, 1981); trans. of *Commentaire sur l'Evangile de saint Luc* (Paris: Sandoz and Fischbacher, 1872), 174 are among many to observe that all three Evangelists use the LXX rather than the MT and that they modify the text to show that the imminent Lord is Jesus, and not God of the LXX (or the MT).

66 Note that Isa 40:6 in the MT reads, "And the glory of YHWH (LXX the Lord) shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it [that is, the revealed glory of YHWH] together…." In the LXX, the first half of the verse is maintained, but the second half reads: "…And all flesh shall see the salvation of God." Luke omits the first half of the verse but retains the second. Note also, Luke's genealogy (3:23–38; cf. Matt 1:1–16) ends with Adam, the first human beings, while Matthew's begins with Abraham, the ancestor of the Jewish people.

67 Godet, *Commentary on Luke*, 111, and Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 136, 137, are correct in thinking that Luke intends his readers to interpret Isa 40:5 figuratively. See also Walter Grundmann, "ταπεινός," *TDNT*, vol. 8, 16 also cited by Marshall; and above 54–56, n. 155. [Editor's note: Pages 54-56 refer to Aymer's treatment of the Magnificat in his dissertation.]

68 The author has already served notice to his readers that his writing is not the figment of his or of anyone else's imagination (Luke 1:1–4). His work is reliable and the data verifiable by those who are eyewitnesses and servants of the word from the very beginning (cf. Acts 1:21, 22). References to the style of other ancient historiographers are given by Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 133.

69 Undoubtedly, Mark and Q overlap in this pericope. However, vv. 1 and 2 are probably drawn from Luke's special sources. Note e.g., John the Baptizer is the son of Zachariah; cf. Luke 1:5–25, 57ff.

70 In fulfillment of Isa 40:3–5, John is found in the wilderness neighboring the Jordan (cf. Luke 1:80); he is preaching a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins—repentance being the first step in the process of salvation (Luke 3:8; cf. Acts 19:4; Luke 1:77; 15:18; 18:9–14; 24:47; Acts 2:38; 3:19; 8:22); he exhorts the "crooked" to become "straight" and those who are "rough" to be "smooth" (cf. Luke 3:10–14; cf. Acts 19:4b).

go before him in the spirit and power of Elijah] (1:17a).[71] However, John is not Elijah *redivivus* (cf. Mark 9:11–13 made explicit in Matt 17:10–13; *11:14*).[72] Each time Luke encounters in his sources the suggestion that John the Baptizer is Elijah, the third Evangelist veers away from it, either by avoiding to mention it altogether (as in Mark 9:11-13 and Matt 11:14 [Q?]), or by reworking it (e.g., Mark 6:14–16 and par.)[73] The one remaining instance in which the allusion is made is Mark 1:6 // Matt 3:4; cf. 2 Kings 3:1ff., and Luke omits it.

In his redactions of his source materials concerning John, Luke shows his purpose to be that of confining the Baptizer's role to that of distinguished forerunner, and not of Elijah returned.[74] As Luke portrays it, the forerunner anticipates two fundamental and related themes which are to be developed later in Luke-Acts. First, the Baptizer, in his preaching (Luke 3:7ff.), prepares the way for what God is about to accomplish in Jesus Messiah, viz., to offer God's salvation to all peoples (cf. 4:18ff.; 5:27ff.; 14:1–24; 19:1–10; cf. Acts 2:36–39; 28:28). Second, John foreshadows what is to be the response of the pious, arrogant, and proud religious leaders to the proffered invitation to God's salvation in Jesus Messiah (e.g., 7:29, 30; cf. 4:28, 29; 7:39; 24:19–27, 44ff.; Acts 2:22–24; 4:10–12, 18, 21; 5:27-33, 40, 41; 9:1–2, 15).

Another example of Lucan redaction is Luke 7:1–10; cf. Matt 8:5–13—the healing of the centurion's slave or servant.[75] Although it is not universally acknowledged as Q material, the similarities between Matthew and Luke are, in my estimation, sufficient to suppose that both authors derive their material from a common source, viz., Q (e.g., Luke7:1b–2, 3a, 6e, 7b ,8–9,

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71 Does αὐτοῦ [the pronoun "him"] here refer to God, or to Jesus? One must concede that its usage in the present context seems ambiguous. However, in light of Zachariah's announcement, καὶ σὺ δέ, παιδίον, προφήτης ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ· προπορεύσῃ γὰρ ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἑτοιμάσαι ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ [And you, child, will be called a prophet of the Most High; for you will go before the Lord to prepare his ways] (Luke 1:76; cf. 7:26, 27; Acts 19:4), one can safely assume that αὐτοῦ [the pronoun "him"] is in reference to the Lord Jesus.

72 Note that Luke retains in 7:27 the quotation from Mal 3:1 which he finds in the Q passage (Luke 7:24ff. // Matt 11:7ff.) in reference to the Baptizer. Although Mal 3 and 4 refer to the figure of Elijah (esp., 4:5), and although, in Luke's judgment, John is a prophet, and more than a prophet (7:26), he is not Elijah *redivivus* (cf. Matt 11:14).

73 Luke does not even allow Herod Antipas to say that the Baptizer has been raised (cf. Mark 6:16 // Matt 14:1, 2). Herod Antipas is not far wiser in Luke than in Mark and Matthew. He does not know who Jesus is. He may be confused as to the identity of Jesus, but he understands that John's life and work ended when the Baptizer was beheaded on his orders (Luke 9:8).

This pericope (Mark 6:14–16 and par.) is given the heading: "Herod Thinks Jesus Is John, Risen," *Gospel Parallels*, ed. Burton H. Throckmorton, Jr., Par. 110, 77. The heading fits Matthew and Mark, but not Luke. Luke has reworked his source (Mark) in such a way as to suggest a different heading such as: "Who Is Jesus?" or "Herod Longs To Meet With Jesus." The emphasis in Luke is shifted from John the Baptizer to Jesus, and foreshadows Luke 13:31; 23:8.

74 Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 276, however, believes (from Luke 7:1–50) that "…John himself was fulfilling the role of the coming Elijah, and Jesus was making the messianic era a reality."

75 Note that Luke uses δουλος [enslaved person] (vv. 2, 3, 10) while Matthew uses παῖς [a word that alternatively means "child" or "servant" or perhaps "enslaved child"] throughout his story. However, δουλος becomes παῖς in verse 7. Note too, that there is a similar story in the Fourth Gospel (John 4:46–53) in which Jesus healed ὁ υιός [the son] of a royal official (βασιλικός) also in Capernaum.

10b; cf. Matt 8:5–6, 8–10, 13b).[76] The similarity between Matthew and Luke is that a centurion, anxious to procure healing for a sick member of his household, demonstrates implicit faith in Jesus Messiah. The profundity of his faith is so astounding to Jesus that he makes a memorable pronouncement upon it before he accedes to the centurion's request. For Luke, the incident looks back to what he has told his readers previously about God's salvation in Jesus Messiah (e.g., Luke 2:10, 11, 29–32), and it looks forward to the community's mission to the Gentiles (e.g., Acts 1:6–8; 8:26 ff.; 10:1ff.; 11:1–18; 15:1–29; 28:28). The Lucan amendments to this story are in accord with his theme of "poor" and "rich."

In Luke's version, the readers are presented with a Gentile centurion, φοβούμενος τοῦ θεοῦ [a God-fearer] (vv. 4b–5; cf. Acts 10:2, 22, 31). His respect for Jewish piety prevents him either from approaching Jesus personally, or from having Jesus visit with him at home (vv. 3b, 6b–7a; cf. Acts 10:28a).[77] Nevertheless, his unusual concern for his *slave* ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἔντιμος [who was respected by him], and who is terminally ill, (v. 2; cf. Matt 8:6—the lad is paralyzed ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ [in the house] and terribly tormented)[78] impels the centurion to seek help from Jesus *about whom he*

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76 I am indebted to Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 2 vols. AB (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1983, 1985), 1:648 for the division of the texts. Note that Fitzmyer also believes that "...the Matthean account (8:5–13) probably contains the form of the story that was originally in 'Q'." See Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 277, 278 for arguments concerning Matthew's and Luke's sources. Marshall concludes, "It is more likely that the story appeared in different forms in the two versions of Q, and/or that Matthew has abbreviated it, but the possibility of Lucan expansion cannot be excluded." (278).

77 Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 350 n. 4, thinks that "...diaspora Jews were not hermetically sealed off from dealings with the Gentiles." However, see Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 1:652, with whom I agree.

Note that in Matthew, the centurion comes to Jesus in person and he uses the title reserved by that author for people who believe in Jesus, that is, κύριε [Lord]. Except for relatively few cases where there is no title of address given to Jesus (e.g., 15:15; 17:19; 18:1; 19:27; 21:20) Matthew has consistently reserved κύριε as the believers' title of address to Jesus (e.g., 8:25; 14:28, 30; cf. Mark 4:38, Luke 8:24; 16:22; cf. Mark 8:32; 18:21; cf. Luke 17:4; 26:22; cf. Mark 14:19).

Except when a title is absent, Διδάσκαλε and Ῥαββί [the Greek and Hebrew words respectively for "teacher"] are almost always reserved for unbelievers in Matthew (e.g., 8:19, 21; cf. Luke 9:57, 59; 9:11; cf. Mark 2:16, Luke 5:30; 12:38; cf. Luke 11:29; 19:16; 26:22; cf. vv. 25,49; cf. Mark 14:45, Luke 22:47b).

Despite the fact that this man is a centurion and a Gentile, Matthew's readers are given a clue to this individual's faith in that he uses the believers' title of address.

78 Because Luke uses δοῦλος [enslaved person] *three times* in description of the one terminally ill, it is probable that the author wishes to instruct his readers about the status of this individual.

It is indeed quite possible to interpret Matthew's use of the Greek word παῖς as "son," "servant," or "slave"; and given the fact that he is in the centurion's house it is not at all unreasonable to argue that the centurion is his father (cf. John 4:46). Luke allows only one interpretation: the sick individual is a slave with extremely low social status.

To be sure, a slave is part and parcel of a person's possessions, often regarded as an economic investment, and contributes to one' social status. It may be argued that the centurion was concerned about losing his possession or his social standing. However, the readers are led to believe that possessions and social status are the least of this centurion's concerns (vv. 4, 5). What Luke seems to be emphasizing is a centurion God-fearer who has a healthy, but culturally unusual,

has heard. Luke's readers are to believe that the centurion, like themselves, has heard about the birth and infancy stories, reports of Jesus' inaugural speech (4:18–27), the exorcism of the demoniac in Capernaum (4:31ff.) with the comment: καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο ἦχος περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντα τόπον τῆς περιχώρου [and a report concerning him went out into every place of the surrounding region] (4:37; cf. vv. 38ff.), and the healing of the leper (5:12–14).[79] Such reports cause the centurion to place his faith in God through Jesus Messiah[80] whom he will, according to Luke, never meet personally.[81]

However, if Luke believes that the centurion places faith in Jesus Messiah from the beginning of the episode, why the two apparently conflicting messages by the two different groups of messengers (vv. 3–5; cf. vv. 6–8)? I. Howard Marshall comments:

Luke's version is thus more complicated [than Matthew's], if not actually improbable: it is odd that having requested Jesus to come to his house, the centurion then attempts to dissuade him,…[82]

I submit that the supposed improbability, or oddity in the Lucan episode is clarified for the readers by the author in the identities of the messengers themselves. The initial messengers are πρεσβυτέρους τῶν Ἰουδαίων [elders of the Jews] (v. 3a).[83] Fitzmyer, correctly attests that "*Presbyterous* means here not merely 'old men' (as in Acts 2:17), but 'elders,' i.e. a special group of Jewish community leaders in Capernaum (cf. 20:1; 22:52; Acts 4:5, 8, 23)."[84] This is important for, at least, two reasons.

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relationship with his slave (v. 2a). This seems to be Luke's reason for redacting παῖς, which he has found in Q, to δοῦλος. Marshall *The Gospel of Luke*, 279, reminds us that the slave "was ἔντιμος to his master, *a word that here means 'honoured, respected'* (14:8; Phil. 2:29), rather than 'precious, valuable' (1 Pet. 2:4, 5), and indicates why the centurion was so concerned over him; *Luke's own concern for the inferior members of society* is perhaps also reflected." (My emphases.)

The fact still remains that the author uses παῖς in v. 7. If Luke is using Q, as I believe him to be, it is probable that the author inadvertently omitted to change παῖς which he finds in his source at this particular spot.

79 Note that despite Jesus' injunction to silence, διήρχετο…μᾶλλον ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνήρχοντο ὄχλοι πολλοὶ ἀκούειν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσθενειῶν αὐτῶν [rather the word went out concerning him, and many crowds came together to hear and to be healed from their illnesses] (v. 15; cf. v. 26).

80 Note the centurion's concluding argument by analogy (v. 8; cf. Matt 8:9). Just as his authority is delegated authority (τασσόμενος [appointing], only in Luke), he believes—and correctly so—that Jesus' authority is also delegatable. Luke has already told his readers that Jesus is anointed (ἔχρισεν) and sent (ἀπέσταλκέν) by God to preach good news to the poor (εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς), et al. (4:18ff.)

81 Luke writes for the benefit of his readers, most of whom have never met Jesus Messiah personally, but have come to faith through the preaching of the witnesses. Does it mean that their faith will be less valuable than the original eyewitnesses? Of course not. They are as much Christians as those who were with Jesus from the beginning. See above 106–109. [Editor's note: Pages 106-109 correspond to pages 2-5 of this article]

82 Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 277.

83 "πρεσβύτερος" in Judaism and Christianity can be used either to designate old age or as a title of office. See Günther Bornkamm, "πρέσβυς," *TDNT*, 6:654.

84 Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 1:651.

First, their major reason for rejecting Jesus and the charismatics is that the latter consistently compromise themselves by associating with tax-gatherers and sinners.[85] It is quite probable that the centurion, for reasons given in verses 6b–7, did not ask these elders to invite Jesus to his house. This would also explain why the centurion initially elected to send Jewish elders and not his own friends who are probably Gentiles. But because these elders know Jesus to be one who has little regard for their emphases on ritual purity, it is perfectly understandable why they would believe it appropriate to invite him to a Gentile's house (v. 3b). Second, because this centurion loves their nation and has built a synagogue for them, the elders judge him to be worthy (v. 5). But Luke's readers already know (e.g., 3:15, 16) that the elders' criteria for worthiness are clearly and fundamentally different from those of Luke (cf. v. 6b).[86]

The second group of messengers—called φίλοι [friends][87]—seemingly reproduces the centurion's *ipissima verba* to Jesus. Fitzmyer believes that "this inconcinnity reveals the retention of source material by Luke."[88] He is probably correct, especially since their message almost exactly agrees with the words of the centurion in Matt 8:8b–9.[89] However, this second group is sent when Jesus and the accompanying crowd "were not far away from the centurion's house."

Believing in Jesus' power to heal even from a distance (vv. 7b,8), and having sent Jewish elders to Jesus so that Jesus, a Jew, may not have to come in contact with an unworthy Gentile centurion (vv. 3b, 7a), he could have been very surprised when he learned that Jesus was approaching his house (v. 6a). This would explain why he sent his friends with the message they bore (vv. 6b–8). Unlike their Jewish counterpart, they hold up before Jesus the centurion's unworthiness (cf. 18:9–14) and his implicit faith in Jesus as God's agent (cf. 1:38).

As a final example of Lucan redaction, I shall examine the Passion Narrative according to Luke, beginning from "The Road to the Skull" (Luke 23:26–49; cf. Mark 15:21–41; Matt 27:32–56).[90] After Pilate

85 Note that "Gentiles" were often regarded "sinners"; see Karl H. Rengstorf, "ἁμαρτωλός," *TDNT*, 1:324ff. The judgment of these pious religious leaders is echoed by Jesus in 7:34—Jesus is a *friend* of tax-gatherers and sinners. Note, too, that the elders do not deny (v. 4b) the fact that Jesus or the charismatics (e.g., Acts 4:16) possess the power to heal.

86 See Karl H. Rengstorf, "ικανός," *TDNT*, 3:294–295.

87 See Gustav Stählin, "φίλος," *TDNT*, 9:146–171.

88 Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 1:652.

89 The messengers even use the first person singular although they are only supposed to be delivering a message. See, however, Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke,* 278.

90 Note that Mark and Matthew both give the grecized Γολγοθά [Golgotha] as the name of the place where Jesus is to be crucified. However, they both interpret it immediately for their non-Aramaic speaking audiences as κρανίου τοπον [the place of the skull] (Mark 15:22; cf. Matt 27:33). The Hellenistic Luke omits the Aramaic name and simply records τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίον [the place that is called Skull] (v. 33). It was probably so named because of the physical shape of the hill.

reluctantly gives in to the will of the Jewish leaders to crucify Jesus (v. 25)[91] Luke passes over the scene of the mocking soldiers and picks up the story from Mark at the point where Jesus is being led away to "Skull Place" to be crucified. The sequence of events, extra materials, theological emphases, and language adopted by the Third Evangelist are so different from Mark and Matthew that the matter of Luke's sources is a subject of debate among New Testament scholars.[92] As intriguing as those questions may be, the primary concern of this study is to try to understand why the author has presented the incidents in the way he has. How does his presentation instruct his readers about his theme of "poor' and "rich"?

Like Mark, Luke informs his readers that Simon of Cyrene was coming from a field when *they*—probably the Roman soldiers in charge of the proceedings—[93] took hold (ἐπιλαβόμενοι) of him to carry the stake

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There are many other examples of Lucan redactions. I have elected to examine this section because like Paul Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus*, 2d ed., rev. and ed. T.A. Burkill and Geza Vermés (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1974), 158, I believe that "The end was there before the beginning had been thought of, and it was the climax that gave significance to the whole.... No bibliographical and no historical considerations affected the writers' governing principle: everything is seen from the high-point of Golgotha."

91 Note that according to Luke Jesus is not scourged; cf. Mark 15:15b; Matt 27:26b. However, twice during the trial (vv. 16, 22) Pilate proposed to Jesus' accusers (identified in 22:66) that Jesus be chastised—that is, be whipped like a child—as an alternative to crucifixion. But this does not occur in Luke. See George Bertram "παιδεὐω," *TDNT*, 5:621, n. 160.

92 See Vincent Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of St. Luke: A Critical and Historical Investigation*, ed. Owen E. Evans (Cambridge: The University Press, 1972), 3–38; 89–99. Taylor argues that Luke is using a non-Markan source (Proto-Luke) as the basis for his narrative. Cf. Joseph B. Tyson, "Source Criticism of the Gospel of Luke," in *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*, ed. Charles H. Talbert. Special Studies Series No. 5. (Danville, VA: The Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978), 26, 27. However, Tyson's three concluding paragraphs (39 and notes) should be noted.

93 Despite the fact that Luke has not mentioned the soldiers as yet, he knows that stoning is the method of capital punishment practiced by Jews (Acts 7:58; cf. Deut. 21:22–23). However, Ethelbert Stauffer, *Jerusalem und Rom im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (Verlag, Bern: A. Franche, 1957), 123, 125ff., believes that even before the Romans, Jews had adopted crucifixion from the Persians as the mode of capital punishment.

Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 17:10, 10; 20:5, 2; *Wars of the Jews*, 2:5, 2; 2:12, 6, et al. evidences extensive crucifixions carried out by the Roman authorities in Judea. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 18:3, 3, also attests that "...Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him [i.e., Jesus] to the cross, ..." See also Howard C. Kee, *Jesus in History: An Approach to the Study of the Gospels*, 2d ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970, 1977), 42ff.

Like Mark and Matthew, Luke makes the Jewish leaders put themselves to considerable trouble in implicating the Roman authorities. They find Jesus guilty of blasphemy and worthy of death (22:70b). Yet, they do not carry out the death sentence as one might expect (cf. Acts 7:58). Because they appeal to Pilate, it is safe to assume that the Roman soldiers are in charge. Later, Luke will make this explicit (Acts 4:27, 28). Note, however, that Luke does not exonerate the Jewish leaders from the part they play in the unfortunate death of Jesus (24:20; cf. Acts 2:23, 36; 4:10), but neither does he distort the historical fact that Jesus was crucified by the Romans.

Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 2:1496, 1497, commenting on the clause, "As they led him away," believes "they" refers to "...the chief priests, the leaders, and the people of v. 13 (cf. vv. 4, 18, 23)" and not to the soldiers. Admittedly, "they" in context is ambiguous and could refer either to Jesus' accusers or to Pilate's soldiers. But in light of the fact that Luke has placed a centurion, possibly the officer in charge, at the foot of the cross; and he has made it clear to his readers that the Jewish leaders handed Jesus over to be killed (Acts 3:13bff., 4:27, 28; 13:27, 28), I submit that "they" in both places where it occurs refers to the Romans and not to

ὄπισθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ [following Jesus].[94] And although the author does not let on that Jesus had been scourged (cf. Mark 15:15b; Matt 27:26b), he portrays Jesus as a person too weak to carry his own cross-bar to the place of his execution. However, Luke seems impelled to maintain the image of Jesus Messiah—even in his state of physical weakness—as one whose concern for marginalized people remains completely unshunted.

To this end, he interrupts the episode to report on the *women*[95] from Jerusalem[96] among the great multitude that followed. They were weeping and mourning (literally, beating their breasts out of grief; cf. v. 48b) for Jesus (v. 27).[97] And Jesus, "messiahed" and "apostled" to preach good news to the poor (4:18), focuses attention upon these "daughters of Jerusalem" long enough to proclaim to them words of consolation mingled with prophetic warning (vv. 28–31).[98]

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the Jewish leaders. Contra. Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 88; cf. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 863.

94 The phrase is reminiscent of 9:23 and 14:27 with certain changes noted by Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 863. In Marshall's view, the changes may be "nothing more than literary variation." But, was Simon a disciple? He and his two sons, Alexander and Rufus were known by Mark's community and were probably members of that community (Mark 15:21). Because Luke, like Matthew omits this detail it is not sufficient for the readers to conclude one way or the other. However, disciples in Luke-Acts are not restricted to the Twelve, and because Luke does not recount the flight of the disciples as Mark 14:50; cf. Matt 26:56, it is possible to argue that Simon was a disciple. Those who hold that he was a disciple must explain Luke's failure to give that detail, and why a disciple would choose a time like this to visit a field. The phrase "behind Jesus" (ὄπισθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) may have been added by Luke simply to inform his readers that Jesus led the procession and he was followed by Simon.

95 See above 52, 53 where I have discussed the low social and religious status of women in antiquity. [Editor's note: On page 52 of his dissertation, citing Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 357-376, Aymer writes: "Like Gentiles, slaves, and children, women had extremely low social and religious status in Judaism of the first century. While not completely debarred from participation in synagogue worship, women 'were there simply to listen.'" He continues, "Their counterparts in 'pagan' culture did not seem to fare considerably better. In general, Roman women were held under the power of their husband." In support of this, he cites Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 23-25; Howard C. Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective: Methods and Resources* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980), 88-91; and Evlyn and Frank Stagg, *Women in the World of Jesus*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978), 55-100. (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 52)]

96 These women are not to be confused with those of vv. 49, 55–56; cf. 8:2ff.

97 T.W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus: As Recorded in the Gospels According to St. Matthew and St. Luke. Arranged with Introduction and Commentary* (London: SCM, 1957), 343 is probably right in thinking that they show sympathy for the victim by raising "...a lamentation over him, beating their breasts and wailing...in token of grief."

98 See the comments on vv. 28–31 in T.W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 343. Cf. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 864, 865. Note also, Rengstorf, *TDNT*, 4:262. Rengstorf comments, "His [Jesus'] crucifixion as a λῃστής [bandit] was at the request of His own people (Matt 27:21ff.), which decided against His Messianism and in crucifixion instead of the peace which the Messiah of God brings (cf. Luke 19:42 with 19:38 and 2:14; χριστός [Christ])."

The interruption is also the occasion for the author to introduce two others—deviants[99]—who are to share a fate similar to that of Jesus Messiah. Luke insists that they are villains (vv. 32, 33, 39)[100] and *not necessarily* brigands, or zealous Jewish guerrilla fighters (cf. Mark 15:27; Matt 27:38, 44).[101] That they are, in fact, criminals will be underscored by Luke alone when he next mentions them (vv. 39ff.) Apparently, one of them does not fear God[102] and consequently joins in the mockery of the Jewish rulers and the soldiers.

In the short speech of the other, Luke allows his readers to hear at least three important things. First, the speaker admits the guilt of both criminals: καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν δικαίως, ἄξια γὰρ ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν [and we, rightly, for we are receiving the consequences for what we did] (v. 41a). Second, this criminal believes what Luke wants his readers to know: that Jesus is innocent, οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἔπραξεν [But this one did nothing wrong] (v. 41b; cf. 23:4, 13–16, 20–22; cf. Acts 2:22ff.; 3:14f.; 4:10; 23:20–35; 25:25; 26:31b,32). [103] Third, the criminal believes in Jesus as God's agent of salvation: "Ιησοῦ, μνήσθητί[104] μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν

99 See above 122, n. 356. Note also, that Jesus is not a criminal (v. 41b). Ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο σὺν αὐτῷ is correctly translated by the *KJV* "And there were two others, malefactors, led with him..."[Editor's note: Page 122, n. 356 correspond to 16, n. 50 of this manuscript].

100 Cf. *TEV*: "Two other men, both of them *criminals*, were also led out ...." See Walter Grundmann, "κακοῦργος," *TDNT*, 3:484. Earlier, in 22:37, Luke's Jesus predicts that the prophecy of Isa 53:12 (however, see above 97, n. 286) *must* find its fulfillment in him. Jesus, according to Luke, therefore, must be counted with lawless people (ἀνόμων). [Editor's note: On page 97, n. 286, Aymer writes: "Note that Jesus' death is not a 'ransom for many' as in Mark 10:45// Matt 20:28; rather it is a tragedy of human ignorance and evil... Luke has placed the emphasis on the resurrection..." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 97, n. 286)

101 The authors of *TEV* correctly translate λῃσταί as bandits; cf. S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), 238 n. 3, 351, 352 n. 1. Brandon believes that they were probably both rebellious Zealots. Richard A. Horsley and John S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiah: Popular Movements at the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985), 48–87 show that social banditry was a widespread phenomenon in Palestine during the time of Jesus. According to them, three main factors were the major contributors to banditry, all of them relating to economics. First, "... Jewish peasantry accepted their primary and traditional obligation of tithes and other dues to support the priesthood and temple apparatus." Second, "... Roman tribute was superimposed on the tithes and other taxes owed to the temple and priesthood.... The Jewish agricultural producers were now subject to a double taxation, probably amounting to well over 40 percent of their production." Third, there "... was periodic drought, and the resultant famine." See too, Rengstorf, *TDNT*, 4:257–262; cf. Ramsay MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest and Alienation in the Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975) 255ff.

102 See above 55, n. 162. The rhetorical question of v. 40b requires a negative response. [Editor's note: Aymer discusses "fear" in page 55, n. 162. He argues that "Generally, 'fear' is a proper response to God. ... However, "fear" for Mark is almost always a negative response and must give way to πίστις [faith]" (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution,"55, n. 162)]

103 Could it not be possible that Luke is offering more than a political apologia here? Cf. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 139ff.

104 See Joachim Jeremias, "παράδεισος," *TDNT*, 5:770, who gives the nuance of "remember" (μνήσθητι) as "graciously mindful." Jeremias also interprets the request as a prayer to Jesus. Cf. Godet, *Commentary on Luke*, 493, 494, who thinks that "The prayer which he addressed to Jesus (v. 42) is suggested to him by hearing the prayer of Jesus for His executioners." Godet even believes that the villain probably used the title Κύριε [Lord] to address Jesus—Ἰησοῦ [Jesus] was due to a mistake of the copyist who was giving the prayer from memory. Godet's

σου" [Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom] (v. 42).[105] On this occasion, the same Jesus who was sent to proclaim deliverance to the marginalized (4:18) responds by reaching out to this admitted sinner and assures the villain of fellowship with him presently— σήμερον [today] (v. 43). Jeremias is correct:

> The answer of Jesus...goes beyond what is asked, for it promised the thief that already to-day he will enjoy fellowship with Jesus in Paradise.... In the promise of forgiveness the "one day" becomes the "to-day" of fulfilment. Paradise is opened even to the *irredeemable lost* man hanging on the cross.... This shows how unlimited is the remission of sins in the age of forgiveness which has now dawned.[106] (My emphasis.)

Luke rejoins Mark at the scene of the crucifixion (v. 33; cf. Mark 15:22; cf. Matt 27:33) where, according to him, "they" crucified Jesus between the two criminals. If verse 34a is originally Lucan, as I believe it to be,[107] then the author is the only Evangelist who records Jesus in prayer for both his accusers as well as his executioners.[108] They act in ignorance but God has used even their lack of knowledge to fulfill the pre-ordained plan of salvation in Jesus Messiah (cf. 24:25, 26, 44ff.)[109]

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observations may be valid, but one cannot be certain that the criminal is actually praying; however, Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 872, correctly observes that "The attitude expressed (by this man) is one that reconciles a man to God: to accept one's punishment as justified is an expression of penitence...."

105 The phrase "... *when* (not, if) you come into your (eschatological) kingdom" confirms the criminal's faith in Jesus as God's Messiah.

106 Ibid., 770, 771.

107 See Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 867, 868. Marshall concludes, "The balance of the evidence thus favours acceptance of the saying as Lucan, although the weight of the textual evidence against the saying precludes any assurance in opting for this verdict." Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 2:1500 comments: "... Has Luke introduced Marcan material into an account from 'L', or has he inserted the 'L' material into 'Mk'? Who can say for sure? I think it is the latter, since he is basically following the Marcan order of episodes."

108 The Jewish leaders (οἱ ἄρχοντες) are ignorant because they reject Jesus and God's plan of salvation in Jesus (v. 35b; cf. 5:30; 7:30–35,39; 11:37–53; 16:31; 18:22,23; 19:38–40; 20:2–8; cf. 22:67–70; 22:52–53; cf. Acts 2:22, 23). Despite the use of δὲ καί [two conjunctions that can be translated "both...and"], Luke has distinguished the people from their rulers (v. 35a; cf. v. 48; 7:29; cf. v. 30; 20:1–8, 19, 20).

The Romans are ignorant because they lack knowledge (e.g., 23:13–16; cf. 9:7–9—even Herod Antipas is in ignorance). It is out of ignorance, therefore, that the soldiers join in the mockery of the Jewish rulers (vv. 36, 37). The ignorance of the Romans also explain the titular: Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΟΥΤΟΣ [This is the king of the Jews] (v. 38b; cf. John 19:21).

109 See above 45, n. 126. Even the soldiers unwittingly fulfill scripture (Ps 69:21) when they offer Jesus wine vinegar on the cross. [Editor's note: Page 45, n. 146 reads: "For a thorough discussion on "δεῖ," see Charles H. Cosgrove, "The Divine ΔΕΙ in Luke-Acts: Imaginations into the Lukan Understanding of God's Promise," *NovT* 26 (April, 1984), 168-190, esp., 189ff.]

Jesus' death is accompanied by portents, including the rending of the Temple veil which hid the Holy of Holies (vv. 45b; cf. Exod 26:31ff.; Lev 21:23; 24:3).[110] True to his theme of 4:16–30, Luke omits Jesus' cry of dereliction (Mark 15:34; cf. Matt 27:46; cf. Ps 22:1) and the reference to Elijah (Mark 15:35–36; cf. Matt 27:47–49).[111] Instead, he rejoins Mark at the place in his episode where Jesus cries with a loud voice (v. 46a; cf. Mark 15:37a; cf. Matt 27:50a). However, Luke alone records the content of Jesus' dying cry: πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου [Father, into your hands I commend my spirit] (v. 46b; cf. Ps 31:5).[112] Jesus was not going to the dark unknown of death; he was going to his Father whom he was sure would raise him up again. After this prayer he expires (ἐξέπνευσεν). Jesus dies in obedience to the will and plan of God who sent him (4:18ff.) His death now becomes paradigmatic for Luke's community (Acts 7:59f.)

The episode ends with the reactions of the centurion, the crowds who had come together to behold this sight, and those known to Jesus—including the women of 8:2–3; cf. Acts 1:14. They all react to the death of Jesus rather than the accompanying portents.[113] The exemplary manner in which

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110 For the darkness see Hans Conzelmann, "σκότος,"*TDNT*, 7:439. Mark 15:38; cf. Matt 27:51 report that the veil ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο *ἀπ᾽ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω* [was torn in two *from top to bottom*]. Frequently, when the biblical writers use verbs in the passive voice they assume God to be the actor. The phrase "from top to bottom" is suggestive that God is responsible for doing the tearing. However, in light of the passive verb ἐσχίσθη [was torn] it seems hardly necessary to add "from top to bottom." Luke, therefore, omits the phrase from his account. His use of μέσον [in the middle] in place of [εἰς δύο] may be just stylistic. Christian Maurer, "σχίζω," *TDNT*, 7:961 states, "... Matt 27:51ff. and Luke 23:45 list the event generally among the miraculous eschatological signs which accompany the death of Jesus.... This happening in the Jewish temple and the confession of the pagan centurion are thus complementary." However, the rending of the veil in Luke may also be a foreshadowing of the destruction of the Temple as already predicted by Jesus Messiah (vv. 28ff.)

111 See above 127, 128, and notes. [Editor's note: Pages 127, 128 correspond to 19-21 and the accompanying notes in this manuscript]

112 Note Luke adds πάτερ [Father] to Ps 31:5 (cf. 10:21; [11:2]; 22:42 where in prayer, Jesus addresses God as Father). He has also appropriately substituted for the future tense "παραθήσομαι" the present tense "παρατίθεμαι." See Arthur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, trans. Herbert Hartwell (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), 275, 276. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 2:1519, observes that "In later rabbinical tradition Ps 31:6 was used as part of the evening prayer that a disciple should utter before going to sleep. See b. Berak. 5a; cf. Str-B 2. 269." William Barclay, *The Daily Study Bible: The Gospel of Luke*, 3d ed., (Edinburgh: The St. Andrew Press, 1956), 302, comments: "Even on a cross Jesus died like a child falling asleep in his father's arms."

Note also that this last word is not universally accepted by scholars as an authentic saying. In this regard, see Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke,* 876, who briefly summarizes the argument of Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (London: SCM, 1973), 93–95. Lindars thinks that "... the possibility must be left open that he [Luke] has supplied it [Ps 31:5] from its Christian use, as the most suitable way of understanding the great cry mentioned by Mark." Marshall correctly counters, "... it remains possible that the early church usage of the Psalm arose from Jesus' use." Apart from Luke-Acts, the only possible allusion to Ps 31:5 is 1 Peter 4:19. Acts 7:59 (the death of Stephen) is modeled after Luke 23:46a; and the context of 1 Peter 4:12–19 indicates that the author is influenced by the suffering and death of Jesus probably according to Luke.

113 In Mark 15:38, made explicit by Matt 27:51–54, the reaction of the centurion is to the portents. By placing the portents earlier in his drama, Luke has shown that the centurion, the crowd and those known to Jesus react strictly to the martyr death of Jesus. In his second volume (Acts 22:20) the martyrdom of the righteous Stephen will have its effect upon Paul.

Jesus conducted himself on the way to "Skull Place" and on the cross itself caused the centurion, in typical Lucan fashion, to glorify God (v. 47a, cf. 2:20; 5:25, 26; 7:16; 13:13; 17:15; 18:43; cf. Acts 4:21 [13:48]; 21:20). He proclaims Jesus' innocence: ὄντως[114] ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν. [Indeed, this man was innocent][115] The reaction of the crowds who witness the crucifixion of the innocent Jesus concurs with the words of the centurion. They begin to depart…τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη [beating their breasts] in grief and mourning probably over the death of the innocence of Jesus (v. 48b). Those known to Jesus, for the moment, stand at a distance (ἀπὸ μακρόθεν) and witness the crucifixion. Upon receiving the Holy Spirit, these silent women and men are to become vocal, effective ."..witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8; cf. Luke 24:46–48). Commenting upon the acquaintances, Fitzmyer writes:

Actually the last role is played in the Greek text by the *women alone*, for the ptc. [participle] is fem. [feminine], *horosai*, "seeing." They are witnesses of Jesus' death; their function is not that of the idle crowds, "gazing at" (*theoresantes*) the spectacle (v. 48).[116] (My emphasis.)

2 Who Are the Rich?

For Luke, the rich and wealthy cannot be seen merely in economic terms. According to Luke, the rich are people of acceptable social and religious status. They include people who put their trust in possessions (e.g., Lk 12:13–21; cf. Acts 5:1ff.), those who are well fed (e.g., 16:19–31), those who believe themselves to be pious and enjoy a good reputation among the people (e.g., 16:14,15; 11:37ff.) All these bask in the comforts of this present life and forfeit the proffered eschatological rewards offered to disciples. The point is underscored by Luke in the four woes:

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114 Mark 15:39; cf. Matt 27:54 use ἀληθῶς [truly]. Luke, however, reserves ἀληθῶς [truly] for Jesus, even substituting ἀμήν ["truly" in Aramaic; in English, "Amen"] which he finds in Mark and Q with it (e.g., 9:27; cf. Mark 9:1; Matt 16:28; 12:44; cf. Matt 24:47; 21:3; cf. Mark 12:43).

115 According to Mark 15:39b; cf. Matt 27:54b, the centurion's words are: "Truly, this was a," or, "the Son of God." "This man was innocent" in Luke prepares the readers for the message of the charismatics in Luke's second volume. See above 97, n. 285, 286; and below 166, n. 483. [Editor's note: On page 97 n. 285 of Aymer states: "Note how Luke has underlined the fact that the Roman political rulers seemed willing to release Jesus (Luke 23:4-5, 13-16, 22-24)." Note 286 states: "Note that Jesus' death is not a "ransom for man" as in Mark 10:45 // Matt 20:28; rather it is a tragedy of human ignorance and evil (Luke 24:13ff.; cf. 23:47b; cf. Acts 2:23; cf. Mark 15:39b; // Matt 27:54b). Luke has placed emphasis on the resurrection (e.g. Acts 2:24, 31f.; 4:2, 10, 33; 5:30-32; 13:30-39; 17:18, 31f.; 26:8, et al.)" (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 97, n. 285, n. 286)]

116 Ibid., 1521. It must also be noted that the women are the first to bear witness to the resurrection (Luke 23:55–24:12). See also Elizabeth Moltmann-Wendel, *The Women Around Jesus*, trans. John Bowden (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1982). 108–112. However, Moltmann-Wendel believes: "Only in Luke do we find the church's view,.... Alongside the women under the cross there are also many acquaintances, who are even named for the first time, and perhaps in this way Luke is indicating the preponderance of men" (112). In light of Luke's treatment of women in both of his volumes, such a statement seems hasty, if not incongruent.

> Πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὅτι ἀπέχετε[117] τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν. οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι νῦν, ὅτι πεινάσετε. … οὐαὶ ὅταν ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι·κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.

[But, woe to you who are rich, because you have received your consolation in full. Woe to you who are full now, because you will hunger. … Woe whenever all people should speak well of you; for their fathers acted these ways toward the false prophets] (Luke 6:24–26 cp. vv. 21–23; cf. 1:46ff., especially vv. 51–53).

However, people are not condemned or excluded from Luke's community or from the eschatological blessings promised to disciples merely because they are economically rich or wealthy. Indeed, disciples are exhorted to sell their possessions and give alms (12:33, 34; cf. Acts 2:45); and Simon, James, John and Levi leave everything to become disciples (5:11, 28). Yet, Luke reports on a number of women with possessions αἵτινες διηκόνουν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν *ὑπαρχόντων* αὐταῖς [who served them from out of their *possessions*] (8:3)[118] and on Joseph Barnabas—a landowner and apostle (Acts 14:4, 14)—who, moved by love and the Holy Spirit, sold a field, brought the proceeds and placed them at the feet of the apostles (Acts 4:36, 37).

That rich people are not necessarily excluded from receiving God's salvation in Jesus Messiah is demonstrated by Luke in his story of Zacchaeus (Luke 19:1–10). Quite apart from describing Zacchaeus as one who is economically rich (v. 2b) Luke makes him say, ἰδοὺ τὰ ἡμίσιά μου τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, κύριε, τοῖς πτωχοῖς δίδωμι, καὶ εἴ τινός τι ἐσυκοφάντησα ἀποδίδωμι τετραπλοῦν [See, I am giving half of my possessions to the poor, Lord, and if I have extorted anything from anyone, I will repay it fourfold] (v. 8b). Luke's readers are therefore led to believe that Zacchaeus is not only rich but that he has acquired his possessions by illicit or improper means. He has risen to the top of his chosen profession. He is, in

117 See Hermann Hans, "ἀπέχω," *TDNT* 2:828.

118 Also, Martha owns a house (10:38). Tabitha is a disciple of means (Acts 9:36–39). Mary, the mother of John Mark not only owns a house large enough to accommodate a sizable gathering, but she has at least one maidservant (Acts 12:12–14). Lydia is a dealer in purple and owns her own house (Acts 16:14, 15). Apart from Tabitha, none of the above are called disciples. However, that the group of 8:2, 3 is regarded by Luke to be disciples is evidenced in Luke 23:49 and Acts 1:14 where they are included in the group of acquaintances and the Twelve, respectively.

Luke's terms, ἀρχιτελώνης [a chief tax farmer] (v. 2b).[119] Luke has painted the portrait of a wealthy and successful tax-collector for whom possessions did not seem to bring the kind of consolation he was seeking (cf. 6:24).[120]

Luke does not say what motivated Zacchaeus to put himself to the trouble of seeing who Jesus was (v. 3).[121] However, the readers already know that Jesus befriends and welcomes tax farmers, sinners and outcasts (e.g., Luke 5:27, 29, 30; 7:29, 34; 15:1–7; 18:9–14), and it is quite possible that such news may have preceded Jesus to Jericho. At least, Zacchaeus may have heard about the call of Levi.

First, Luke has Zacchaeus running ahead of the crowd and second, the author makes him climb up a sycamore-fig tree in order to see Jesus; probably not to be seen by Jesus. Marshall comments:

> Whether Zacchaeus intended to remain hidden from view or not is not stated, but it may be assumed that this was his intention, since it would hardly be consistent with his dignity to be found up a tree.[122]

Zacchaeus is rich but he is also socially ostracized because of his job. He is a rich man but he is excluded from covenant participation because of his occupation. He is, therefore, both a social and a religious outcast with little—if any—hope of sharing in God's kingdom as defined by the religious leaders of the time.

Luke ends his story with a Son of Man saying: ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός [for the Son of Man came to seek and to save the lost] (v. 10).[123] Despite the fact that the author has waited until the end to record this *logion*, it is the pivotal axis upon which

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119 See above 66, 67, and notes. As a profession, tax-farming was sure to bring Zacchaeus considerable financial gains. However, the occupation was generally despised in antiquity; and a Jew who engaged in this trade was especially ostracized socially and religiously. It can be reasonably assumed that as a Jew, Zacchaeus might well have understood the full implications of this profession before he decided for it. His motive for choosing toll farming, therefore, was probably because he wanted to become wealthy by it. See Walter E. Pilgrim, *Good News to the Poor: Wealth and Poverty in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1981), 131.

120 Note at Jesus' request, Zacchaeus comes down from the tree and *welcomes Jesus joyfully* (v. 6).

121 Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 696, and most commentators, think that "...curiosity is presumably the motif." However, as stated above, it could well be that he was dissatisfied with life as he knew it.

122 Ibid., 696. However, there may be another reason. The readers know that tax-collectors are despised people. Because Zacchaeus is a short man, and because he is despised, it is possible that the tree provided him with a good vantage point from which he could view Jesus as well as *protection* from a crowd of people who hated him for what he was.

123 See Ibid., 698, 699. Marshall argues convincingly for the authenticity of the saying. Pilgrim, *Good News to the Poor*, 130 observes: "...this statement effectively summarizes the Lucan view of Jesus' entire ministry. We find this text, therefore, to be uniquely Lucan, representing in many respects what is most essential and distinctive in his portrait of Jesus' ministry."

the whole story turns.[124] Zacchaeus—a "lost" son of Abraham (cf. 15:17–20a)—has resolved to see Jesus. But as the Son of Man on mission "to seek and to save the lost," Jesus is the one who finds this outcast probably hidden in the foliage of a sycamore-fig tree, calls him *by name*, and invites himself to stay at Zacchaeus' house (v. 5).[125]

The readers are not given any information regarding Jesus' conversation with his host at dinner. Instead, Luke first reports that all began to murmur, ὅτι παρὰ ἁμαρτωλῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰσῆλθεν καταλῦσαι [that he went in to lodge with a sinful man] (v. 7; cf. 5:30; 15:2). Second, he records the confession of the penitent Zacchaeus. His resolve (v. 8) is the spontaneous act caused by his encounter with Jesus Messiah with whom he has just had intimate fellowship at dinner.[126] Perhaps for the first time in his life, Zacchaeus—meaning, "the righteous one"—is to produce fruits worthy of repentance (cf. 3:8–14; 8:15) and suitable to the name he bears. At this juncture Jesus Messiah announces... ὅτι σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ [ἐστιν]· ["Today salvation is in this house, for he is a son of Abraham"] (v. 9). Walter E. Pilgrim observes:

> ...salvation for Luke includes repentance, the turning away from a life of sin to a new life with God, and the fruits of repentance, i.e., the ethical-social consequences of the new life. In this text we see the ethical fruits of Zacchaeus' repentance (cf. Luke 3:10–14).[127]

With this story, Luke assures his readers that they are not necessarily required to give up all their possessions in order to receive God's salvation in Jesus Messiah (cf. 18:22–28). Even Robert J. Karris who advocates that by "rich" Luke's means those with "…considerable possessions or money"[128] must admit from this story that:

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124 A similar line is adopted by Luke in his example story of the Lost Son (15:11ff.) The entire story revolves around verse 24, "'for this my son was dead, and is alive again, he was lost, and is found'. And they began to make merry." In a sense, the central focus of the story is upon the initiative taken by the loving and forgiving father restoring his lost son to the status of sonship.

125 Note σήμερον γὰρ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου δεῖ με μεῖναι. [For today *it is necessary* that I stay in your house]; see Cosgrove, "The Divine ΔΕΙ in Luke-Acts," 175.

126 Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 697, 698, rightly observes, "The amount to be given in charity was well beyond the normal requirements; 20% of one's possessions or (in subsequent years) of one's income was a recognized figure among the rabbis (SB IV: 1, 546–551). The present tense τοῖς πτωχοῖς δίδωμι [I am giving to the poor] is futuristic, and expresses a resolve (NEB; TEV; TNT; Barclay; cf. NIV: 'Here and now I give'); *self-justification* (Godet, 2: 217ff.) *would be quite inappropriate* at this point." (My emphasis). See also Pilgrim, *Good News to the Poor*, 189, n. 13, 14.

127 Ibid., 132.

128 See above 110, n. 323. [Editor's note: Page 110, n. 323 corresponds to page 6, n. 17 of this manuscript.]

> ...In sum, Luke's *Sitz im Leben* is one in which there are rich Christians. Their continued adherence to the Lord does not necessitate that they sell all. It does, however, necessitate that they give a genuine sign that they are not so attached to their possessions that they neglect the Christian poor.[129]

Luke gives his readers another clue to what he means by the term 'rich' in the saying … οἱ Φαρισαῖοι φιλάργυροι ὑπάρχοντες... [the Pharisees, money lovers, who had possessions]… (16:14)[130] Has the Third Evangelist reported elsewhere, either in the Gospel or Acts that the love of money is of special interest to the Pharisees? The simple answer is, no. Why, then, does he make such a sweeping statement about this group?

The statement is qualified for the readers in the verse which follows immediately. … ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ δικαιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ δὲ θεὸς γινώσκει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν· ὅτι τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑψηλὸν βδέλυγμα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ [You are those who justify themselves before the people, but God knows your hearts; for the exalted among humans is abominable before God] (v. 15; cf. 1:51–53). According to Luke, Pharisees love to justify themselves and be thought of by people as pious. Far from money, it seems as though Luke uses the phrase "lovers of money" to tell his readers something about how those folk regard themselves and like to be appraised by the people. They are self-righteous in their religiosity (v. 15), haughty in the understanding of their hearts (1:51b), and potentates (1:52a). These things lead them to reject Jesus, his message and the charismatics in Luke-Acts. Consequently, they are excluded, or exclude themselves, from the kingdom because they contemptuously decline God's invitation to salvation. Therefore, they have their consolation and their laughs (6:24ff.) This is a consistent theme of the author as exampled in the story of the Pharisees and the Tax-collector (18:9–14).

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129 Karris, "Poor and Rich," 123, 124. Note too, that the readers must assume that Zacchaeus remains economically wealthy and continues to practice his trade as a chief toll collector.

130 With regards to Luke 16:14, Luke's readers do not have any evidence that a peculiar characteristic of Pharisees is that they are "lovers of money." On the contrary, we do know Pharisees to spend their entire lives in researching the Law and in regulating it for the covenant people. They are guardians of the Law; see Paul in Acts 23:6ff.; cf. Phil 3:5. See also below 162–163. [Editor's note: On pages 162-163, Aymer writes: "Pharisees…are not necessarily economically rich because, as Morton Smith has noted, their '…teachers taught *without pay*, like philosophers; …they looked to gifts for support, like philosophers;'… (My emphasis)." The reference is to Morton Smith, Palestinian Judaism in the First Century," in *Israel: Its Role in Civilization*, ed. Moshe Davis (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), 81. Aymer continues "Nevertheless, they '…claimed the right to rule all the Jews *by virtue of their possessing the "Oral Torah" of Moses*,…' (My emphasis)." Here, Aymer references Jacob Neusner, *Judaism in the Beginning of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 53. Aymer concludes "For Luke, *Pharisees are haughty* because they flaunt a similar arrogance characteristic of the economically wealthy." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution,"162-163, n. 469-471).]

Luke remains true to his theme in his second volume. Believers are solicited from every segment of the society. True believers, or disciples, however, are either those who sell their possessions and goods in order to give to those in need (e.g., 2:44ff.), or all those who use their possessions in order to advance the Christian mission (e.g., 4:36, 37; cf. 5:1–9). The centurion, Cornelius is not economically poor but he uses his possessions to help the poor. In the end, he receives God's salvation (Acts 10:1ff.; cf. Luke 12:16–21). Cornelius' attitude may be contrasted with that of Demetrius (Acts 19:23ff.)

Luke's community, then, includes the economically rich, or at least, those of financial means (e.g., Luke 10:30–35—note especially v. 35). However, the "religiously and socially rich" are those who seem to be excluded, or those who exclude themselves from the salvation of God in Jesus Messiah (Luke 10:37b).

a Discipleship: An Expensive Enterprise

ἀφέντες πάντα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ [Leaving all things, they followed him] (Luke 5:11b).

καταλιπὼν πάντα ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ. [Leaving behind all things, he rose and followed him] (Luke 5:28).

According to Mark 1:16–20 // Matt 4:18–22, Jesus does not do any preparatory ground-work before he calls his first disciples. The story, as it is recorded by the first two Evangelists, is simply mystifying! The first pair of brothers, Simon and Andrew are engaged in the normal performance of their life's work when this stranger (Jesus) passes along and calls them away from their trade. The one promise made to this pair of fishermen is that they are going to be made into "fishers of men" (Mark 1:17; cf. Matt 4:19). Another pair of brothers, also fishermen, are to have a similar experience (Mark 1:19; cf. Matt 4:21). In their case, however, they are not even given a promise. This pair, James and John, seemed to have been part-owners of a family fishing business. What is mystifying to the readers is that these two pairs of brothers, upon receiving Jesus' call, *immediately* walk away from their trade and their father in order to become disciples of Jesus (Mark 1:18,20; Matt 4:20,22; cf. Levi—Mark 2:13–17, and par.) Because the readers are not told of any previous encounter between Jesus and these four individuals, but because they are expressly told in Matthew's birth stories (e.g., Matt 1:18–2:12-especially. 1:23b ... καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός [and they will call his name Immanuel, which, when translated, is "God with us"])[131] and from the baptism (Mark 1:9–11; Matt 3:13–17) that Jesus is the Son of God, they may safely assume that

131 "God with us" is underscored in 2:15b; cf. 3:17; 17:5 et al.

something about the aura of Jesus (Immanuel and Son of God) must have captivated the two pairs of brothers beyond all reason. They respond to the person of Jesus Messiah and to his authoritative summons as Son of God. Kee correctly observes, "The word of Jesus carries its own authority, and to it they respond with a commitment that detaches them from home, family, tradition, and means of livelihood."[132]

Like Mark and Matthew, those first called by Jesus to become disciples in Luke are fishermen. However, one cannot say with absolute certainty whether the third Evangelist uses Mark as the source for his story, or whether it is a post-resurrectional story which Luke has brought forward (cf. John 21:1–14).[133] Luke has not only relocated the episode from its Marcan sequence, but he has also completely recast it.

According to Luke, those whom Jesus calls at the first are: Simon Peter (not Andrew as in Mark and Matthew) and the two sons of Zebedee, James and John. Unlike Mark and Matthew, Peter is the fishing partner of the pair of brothers, and he even owns one of the boats (5:10, 3). Also, unlike his predecessors, Luke reports, ἀφέντες πάντα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ [i.e. Ἰησους] [leaving all things, they followed him (i.e. Jesus)] (v. 11b; cf. 5:28, Levi...abandoning all things, sets up and follows Jesus; 18:28, Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος· ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφέντες τὰ ἴδια ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι. [But Peter said, "Look, we left our own things and followed you"] cf. Acts 1:24b). Luke's story is different from his predecessors also in that Simon Peter and his business partners respond, not only to the person of Jesus, but to Jesus as preacher (5:1–3) and to Jesus' mighty works (vv. 4b–9; cf. 24:19; 9:43; 19:37; Acts 2:22; et al.)

The call of these first three disciples comes after Jesus has taught the people—probably including Simon and his colleagues—from Simon's boat, and after he has authenticated his message with the miraculous catch of fish.[134] And although Luke does not disclose the contents of Jesus' message on this occasion, his readers already know that Jesus is ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος [in the power of the Spirit] (from his baptism onwards) and is, therefore, enabled to teach with authority (cf. 4:18ff., vv. 31ff.) The readers also know that mighty works accompany Jesus' teaching (4:36–37; cf. 19:37; 24:19).

Peter and his companions had heard the authoritative teaching of the Spirit-filled Jesus. Now, they were to witness the mighty works wrought by him in the supernatural catch of fish.[135] It is in this context that Peter

132 Howard C. Kee, *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977), 163.

133 See Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 199–201.

134 The extra-ordinary catch will heighten Luke's later comment (v. 11b).

135 Note they had been laboring throughout the night—the right time for deep-sea fishing—and had taken nothing. Daytime was not the most appropriate time.

confesses to Jesus Messiah that he is ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλός [a sinful man] (v. 8b). His feelings of unworthiness and fear in the presence of the Spirit-filled Jesus may have been shared by his companions (v. 9), although Luke allows Peter alone to speak (cf. Acts 2:14). Realizing his own state of unworthiness—and possibly that of his companions—Peter bids Jesus ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ [go away from me], …. Instead of acceding to Peter's request, what follows are Jesus' words of forgiveness, prophecy, and invitation to discipleship. Marshall is correct:

> Jesus addresses him with the μὴ φοβοῦ [fear not] that characterises epiphany scenes (1:13) and which here has the function of a declaration of forgiveness.... There follows a prophecy which has the effect of a command. Jesus will not in fact depart from the sinner but calls him into close association of discipleship.[136]

According to Luke, discipleship means turning one's back upon one's old life-style and embracing a new life with God in Jesus Messiah. However, the turning from the old to the new life is *never* merely theoretical or a spiritual nose-gay (cf. 18:18–23; cf. 8:14). The new life *always* has practical implications for the disciple. In the case of Simon and his fishing partners, as in Levi's case, the practical implications are that *they leave everything*—boats, nets, catch, and trade—in order to follow Jesus Messiah (5:11b, 28; cf. 14:33; 12:22–34; Acts 3:6; 19:18–20).[137] In the case of Zacchaeus, he is not required by Jesus to give up all his possessions or to abandon his despised occupation (19:8; cf. 3:10–14; Acts 10:1–8).[138] However, his distributions promised to the poor, and his resolve to repay those whom he has cheated, suggest to the readers that for Zacchaeus following Jesus Messiah is really an expensive enterprise.

But discipleship is not only spoken about in Luke-Acts in economic terms, but in terms of *suffering* and *rejection*. [139] This is pertinent in a "pride and a shame society."[140] Those who follow Jesus Messiah (like the poor, the

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136 Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 205.

137 Note in 14:25–33, "...leaving everything" can mean hating parents, spouses, children, sisters and brothers—even one's own life. It also means the willingness to submit to martyrdom (cf. 9:23ff.)

138 As far as the readers know, Zacchaeus keeps his job. However, the new Zacchaeus will now accomplish what is impossible in antiquity. He is to become an "honest" tax-collector! See above 67. [Editor's note: On page 67, quoting Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Aymer notes that tax-collectors "were not only despised, nay hated, by people; they were *de jure* and officially deprived of rights and ostracized" (311 ff.). Aymer continues: "This had to be the case since (a) the tax-collector was employed by a foreign, pagan government (Rome); (b) his occupation brought him in close contact with the Gentiles, and with all sorts of articles considered to be unclean by Jewish Law; and (c)...his accustomed extortions and exactions, seen as part and parcel of his occupation, made him completely immoral." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 67)]

139 See above 108, 109; 120–123,124. [Editor's note: Pages 108, 109, 120-123, and 124 correspond to pages 4, 5; and 14-17of this manuscript]

140 See above 123. In 12:15b, Jesus warns disciples against covetousness of all kinds, ...ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ περισσεύειν τινὶ ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ [because one's life is

hungry, the weeping ones, et al.) must be expected to experience hatred, separation, reproach and ostracism at the hands of the socioreligious leaders, and others. Yet, disciples are exhorted by Jesus Messiah to rejoice and to leap for joy in the face of suffering and rejection because of their loyalty to God and to him (6:20–23; 21:12–19; cf. Acts 5:41).

In his second volume, Luke reports on followers of Jesus who experience persecutions and rejection as the norm. In his first volume (21:12–18) the author prepares his readers for this in the *predictions* of Jesus Messiah. Here, the faithful are guaranteed participation in eternal life (cf. Acts 7:55ff.) If Mark 13:9–13 is Luke's source, as seems likely, the author has reworked his source to this end. Marshall comments:

> By prefixing 'before all these things' at the beginning Luke has changed the section from being a further 'sign of the times' to a description of the situation of the disciples from the outset.... In general, the wording points forward to the experiences of the church recorded in Acts.[141]

Quite apart from Paul, who according to Luke, must suffer many things on behalf of the name of the risen Lord (9:16)[142] Luke 21:12–18 finds its fulfillment in the lives and ministries of Luke's community. Verse 12a is the experience of Peter and John who are imprisoned and flogged by the rulers and elders of the people (Acts 4:1ff.; cf. 5:17, 18, 27, 40, 41). Luke reports how Herod Agrippa I (ὁ βασιλεὺς) [the king] ill-treated some members of the church, killed James, the brother of John, and imprisoned Peter with the intention of putting him also to death (Acts 12:1–5; cf. Luke 21:12b,16b). Verses 13–16b,18 find their fulfillment in Luke's report on the eloquent and Spirit-filled Stephen who, although martyred, died like his Lord (Acts 6:8–7:59). In verse 17 the prediction is that disciples will be "hated by all for my name sake." In Acts, Luke records wide-spread persecutions that are experienced by the followers of the Way who witness to the resurrection (Acts 8:1–3; cf. 22:3–5, 19, 20; 9:1, 2; 11:19). One does not have any evidence from Luke-Acts to substantiate whether in fact disciples are actually betrayed by parents, brothers and sisters, relatives, or friends (v. 16b). Therefore, one must conclude that this prediction remains unfulfilled in Luke's writing.[143]

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not in the abundance of certain of his possessions]. [Editor's note: Page 123 corresponds to page 17 of this manuscript.]

141 Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 766. See also his exegetical comments on verses 12, 15 (767, 768–769).

142 Note that Paul, from the time of his call to the end of Acts, not only fulfills in his life and ministry the prediction of Acts 9:16, but much of Luke 21:12–19. E.g., see v. 12a; cf. Acts 14:19; 16:19–24; 17:5–8; 18:9–17; 20:22–24; 21:21–36; vv. 12b, 16b; cf. Acts 25:1–12, 23–26; v. 19; cf. Acts 14:22, 23.

143 Note, however, that Judas—a disciple (but not called "friend" as in Matt 26:50) betrays Jesus Messiah. See Douglas R. A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew* SNTSMS ed. Matthew Black (Cambridge: The University Press,

Verse 19 of this pericope is given as a word of encouragement and promise to those who remain faithful in their witness to Jesus Messiah. Faithfulness to Jesus in the face of persecution and martyrdom is the guarantor for participating in the eschatological kingdom. Earlier, Luke records Jesus' teaching on discipleship, ."..one's life does not consist in the abundance of one's possessions" (12:15b). And in concluding the parable of the Rich Fool, Jesus states, "This is how it will be with anyone who stores up things for oneself but is not rich towards God" (v. 21). Following upon the heel of this parable is another pericope in which Jesus continues to teach on discipleship (vv. 22–34). In verse 33 he says, "Provide purses for yourselves that will not wear out, a treasure in heaven that will not be exhausted...." This is immediately followed by a third block of didactic instructions; this time on watchfulness. But how does one provide a treasure in heaven? One way that Luke answers this question is in 21:19, ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν [in your persistence, you will obtain your souls] (cf. 12:2–12).

b The Problem with Self-Interest

Douglas R. A. Hare points out:

> In the communities with which we are concerned various types of eccentricity and religious laxity were permitted, but those deviations which challenged the community's way of life too drastically stimulated a hostile reaction which ranged in intensity from silent resentment to mob violence.... In going beyond the limits of tolerance they [Christians] invited anger, rejection, and, in some instances, violence.[144]

Hare continues:

> From a sociological point of view it would seem that the conflict arose because of Christian disrespect for ethnic solidarity, the fundamental principle of Jewish life from the Exile to the present.[145]

Hare believes that the conflict between Christians and Jews in the period of Christianity's beginnings, therefore, is largely due to four related factors. He identifies them as: i) Christians questioned the central symbols of Jewish solidarity—i.e., Torah, Temple, Holy City, purity and food laws, circumcision and Sabbath; ii) Christians rejected popular Jewish nationalism—including that of the militant Zealots; iii) Christians

1967), 19ff., for further instances of rejection, persecution and martyrdom of early Christians. Hare comments: "More common was the exclusion of Christians by the pressure of social ostracism.... Social ostracism was undoubtedly accompanied by economic boycotts, which may have led to financial hardships for some Christians." (78); cf. Luke 12:15b.

144 Ibid., 2, 3.

145 Ibid., 3.

accepted Gentiles as equals without prior naturalization into the Jewish nation; and, iv) that as a sectarian movement within Judaism, Christianity set itself up in opposition to the community-as-a-whole and to its traditionally accepted leadership.[146]

Hare's observations provide one reason why those whom Luke presents as witnesses (in word and deed) to Jesus Messiah suffer persecution and rejection in Luke-Acts.[147] Οἱ πλοῦσιοι who have reasons to maintain the status quo because it ensures them their social, political and religious positions of power and prestige, railroad Jesus Messiah to a martyr's death (Luke 22:52–23:25, 35b; cf. 11:53–54; 13:17; 14:1b; 15:2; 16:14, 15; 19:45–48; 20:9–19, 20–26, 41–47, et al.) Luke has also informed his audience that his charismatic community experiences persecution, suffering and martyrdom at the hands of the establishment.[148] The rich persecute Jesus and the followers of the Way precisely because they have a basic, fundamental problem, viz., *self-interest*.

However, Luke is not oblivious to the economic dimensions involved in self-interest (e.g., Luke 12:15). In his first volume Luke's audience has been shown repeatedly that discipleship involves the whole of a person's life—including one's possessions, and the way one uses those possessions.[149] Writing in description of his community Luke underscores for his readers that disciples are firm in their commitment to have no needy persons among them. Habitually, they share their possessions with those in need as the necessities arise (e.g., Acts 4:32–37; cf. 2:42–47; 6:1–4; 11:27–30; 20:32–35). In contrast, the problem with self-interest is that it does not allow for the kind of radical and loving sharing of possessions as the good news demands.

In this regard, Luke tells the story of the silversmith, Demetrius (Acts 19:23–41; cf. Ananias and Sapphira—5:1–11). Immediately prior to this incident Luke prepares his audience for the Demetrius episode by telling

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146 Ibid., 3–18.

147 See above 45–49. [Editor's note: In the pages referenced, Aymer discusses the violence with which the early Christian movement is met. On page 45, he argues that "...it was the heroic task of Jesus, as of the charismatic community in Luke-Acts to call the οἰκουμένην of the first century C.E., to accept the challenges of new thinking on old subjects found in Israel's scriptures. ... this now exalted Messiah who suffered is not exclusively for the Jews but for all peoples, including those on the fringes of society." On pages 48-49, he continues: "The message they proclaimed, together with their practice of communitarianism were compelled to bring them into open conflict with the socioreligious leaders. ... In the view of the authorities, they were deviants; for Luke they were charismatic heroes--ἐμπλησθησαν πάντες πνεύματος ἁγίου [all filled with Holy Spirit.]" (B. Aymer, 45, 48-49)]

148 See above 152–155. [Editor's notes: Pages 152-155 correspond to pages 40-43 of this manuscript.]

149 Note Luke omits in his story of "The Woman with the Ointment" (7:36–50) a word of Jesus recorded by all the other gospel writers (Mark 14:7a; cf. Matt 26:11a; John 12:8a.) It is uncertain that Luke uses Mark as the source for his story, but it can be assumed that he does know the Christian tradition as recorded by Mark and chose to omit the saying because it does not suit his purpose. See Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 304ff., for discussions on Luke's sources.

them about the effect of Paul's preaching and miracles in Ephesus (vv. 18–20). As a result of Paul's missionary activities a considerable number of people who practiced sorcery (περίεργα) brought their scrolls and publicly burned them. The value of the scrolls, according to Luke, was phenomenal—about ἀργυρίου μυριάδας πέντε [about fifty thousand silver coins]—that is, just over thirteen and one half year's wages. The story informs the audience that when the good news reaches even superstitious pagan magicians it can be, for them also, quite costly. Luke's readers are now ready for vv. 23ff.

Demetrius is portrayed as a successful business-person who owns quite a lucrative manufacturing industry in "devotional" goods. He is also, apparently, the leader of his guild (e.g., vv. 24b, 25). However, it is Luke's view that the good news which Paul is preaching threatens the trade of Demetrius and the members of his guild as surely as it menaces the very worship of the well-known Artemis of Ephesus (vv. 25–27).[150] Haenchen is correct:

> ...Paul with his preaching about a true God has brought a great crowd of people, far beyond Ephesus, to apostasy from the old belief in the gods...that Demetrius cries out against Paul as a business man, proves to the reader how genuine the force of the Pauline mission makes itself felt, how deeply it shook the whole of heathenism.[151]

To be sure, Demetrius understands two related, though fundamentally important things about the gospel. First, the good news concerning Jesus Messiah, as preached by Paul (and the apostles), undermines and devitalizes heathenism of every kind (vv. 26b, 27b; cf. 4:12; 16:17; 17:24–31). Second, he and his business associates who profit from the Artemis cult stand to lose their business and their livelihood, because of the good news.[152] Hence, out of self-interest, Demetrius organizes a mob against the Christians. Carter and Earle observe:

> How like the resentment of the owners of the demon-possessed slave girl at Philippi, when Paul cast the soothsaying demon out of her, with the resultant loss of their nefarious gain (Acts 16:19). And how like the unrestrained opposition of slave-holding Christians clergy and laymen to the activities of the ardent abolitionists of the first half of the nineteenth century in the United States. Thus

150 Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 573 and n. 4, believes that "The worldwide reverence for Artemis of Ephesus was a fact."

151 Ibid., 578.

152 See F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, 1952), 398.

> the offense of the Gospel to the combined religious devotion and economic gain of the Ephesian silversmiths produced a mob violence from which the Apostle narrowly escaped with his life.[153]

Apart from Demetrius' observations (v. 26) Luke has not given the contents of Paul's preaching on this occasion. But in light of Acts 20:35, Luke's audience knows that *in everything Paul does* he reminds his hearers of the word of the Lord: μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἤ λαμβάνειν [it is more blessed to give than to receive]. The problem with self-interest is precisely that it seeks to receive rather than to give. And herein is Demetrius' problem, and the problem of the "rich."

A Concluding Statement

-Birchfield and Margaret Aymer-

Birchfield Aymer's second chapter ends with his discussion of Demetrius, an appropriate pause within the argument of his dissertation, but one that can strike a contemporary reader as abrupt. The following excerpts from his concluding chapter help to place his research on the οἱ πτωχοί and οἱ πλοῦσιοι ("the poor" and "the rich" or perhaps better "the marginalized" and "the powerful") within the context of his larger argument.

B. Aymer begins by outlining his primary findings in his examination of the community of Luke-Acts, with a particular eye on the question of οἱ πτωχοί and οἱ πλοῦσιοι:

> … I examined the rhetoric and the praxis of the charismatic community. I have shown… that each of the heralds, without exception, declared that God has acted decisively to bring salvation to those who are socially and religiously marginalized within and outside of Israel by allowing them to participate fully in the present yet coming eschatological kingdom of God. I have also shown that the message, authenticated by Christian *koinōnia* [fellowship] and communitarianism clearly communicated that in Jesus Messiah God has brought about a radical change in the old social order and values of Greco-Roman society. However, people do not readily welcome such changes. Those who enjoy high social status, power, and prestige in the old order might even resort to violence in order to maintain the status quo. Luke explains to his readers that the reports they have heard concerning Christian persecutions are true, but they must be seen in this light." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 225-226)

153 Carter and Earle, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 294.

B. Aymer then explains the conflict between οἱ πτωχοί and οἱ πλοῦσιοι:

> Socially and religiously marginalized people (tax-collectors, soldiers, the economically poor, the lame, the blind, the maimed, Samaritans, Gentiles and "sinners") are all promised a share in God's kingdom…Therefore, "the Jews" rightly understand Christianity as a religious revolution which they are determined to squelch at all costs. Also the economically rich who love to flaunt their wealthy and the high social status it affords them, see Luke's theme of poor and rich as hostile to the accustomed ways of Graeco-Roman society. Should the Christian life-style of communitarianism …be allowed to go unchecked, and should it replace the old norms, then their enviable positions would eventually be endangered. Consequently, they viewed the Christians as advocates of a socioeconomic revolution and dangerous trouble-makers that must be opposed. (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 226)

In B. Aymer's opinion, Luke's vision is revolutionary to the first-century Graeco-Roman social order, both broadly and within the socioreligious and socioeconomic spheres governed by the religious leaders of Judaism and the economically wealthy:

> "Surely, the Christian message promises a new social and religious order…. God has acted in Jesus Messiah to break down the old religious and social prejudices that divide rich and poor, Jew and Gentile, women and men. God has made it possible, through the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, for all to live in loving fellowship. God has offered salvation for all peoples… . (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 227)

> The point is made all the sharper by the Third Evangelist's report on the composition and nature of the Christian community which I have studied in my second chapter. Whether by Jewish or Graeco-Roman standards, the constituents of Luke's community are, in the main, socially or religiously marginalized people. … But because they believe in the Lord Jesus Messiah and submit to baptism in Jesus' name (thus becoming Christians), they are, in Luke's opinion, the proper heirs of Abraham with full entitlement to the eschatological rewards promised to the initial disciples." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 228-230)

> "…caring for, sharing with and serving the weak in the age of Christianity's beginnings mean the supplantation of the old social order and religious values with new (i.e. egalitarian) ones. For the rich, living in obedience to the words of the Lord--"It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts 20:35b)--constitutes a socioreligious revolution that must be crushed (e.g. 17:6b; 19:23-41). For Luke, it is God's pre-ordained plan for bringing salvation to all humankind. This is the gospel (the Good News) of God's salvation in Jesus Messiah. To oppose it is to fight against God, which is surely a losing proposition…." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 235)

However, B. Aymer pushes against the early claims of some liberation theologians that read Luke's discussion of οἱ πτωχοί as claiming God's concern and welcome only for the *economically* poor:

> The Good News is good news precisely because it affects the whole of life. Hence, from a Lucan perspective, liberation theologians are right to assert the sociological dimensions of salvation….But they are wrong to think that Christian praxis of *koinoinia* and communitarianism which Luke depicts in his second volume is achievable apart from the power, the presence, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Hence, Liberation Theologies misrepresent Luke in at least two significant ways.
>
> First…Liberation Theologies understand Luke' s theme of poor and rich solely in socioeconomic and sociopolitical terms. It is their contention that the people whom God in Jesus Messiah saves are the literally poor, oppressed, and disenfranchised. … Second, Liberation theologians advocate that salvation is as much the acts of God in Jesus Messiah as it is the *struggle* or *work* of the poor themselves…
>
> …salvation is *never* the "struggle" or "fight" of any individual or social group to liberate or set themselves free from slavery and oppression. In Luke's writing salvation is the work and the *gift of God made available to all through Jesus Messiah*. Salvation is the *grace* of God that is being proclaimed in the gospel… For Luke, salvation is God's initiative and God's alone….Those who believe that they can justify themselves before God do not accept the conditions of salvation and exclude themselves from the eschatological rewards..." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 239-241)

Rather, for B. Aymer, Luke's charismatic community of οἱ πτωχοί includes all those marginalized because, out of their belief in Jesus Messiah, they choose to gather together in an egalitarian Christian community.

> "Luke has given his readers a portrait of the Christian community which, from all appearances, predominantly comprises the socially and religiously marginalized people of the Graeco-Roman world in the early era of the first centuries. In this community, marginalized women and children occupy prominent positions. …nascent Christianity embraced religiously ostracized, uncircumcised Gentiles and Samaritans--including hated soldiers, and an Ethiopian eunuch. In fact, Gentiles soon predominated the community. According to Luke, some people had material possessions, and high social status, others did not." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," 244)

B. Aymer then draws his conclusion regarding the purpose of Luke's theme of οἱ πτωχοί and οἱ πλοῦσιοι:

> In the main, Luke's theme of 'poor and rich' has a two-fold purpose. First, the Third Evangelist uses it to strengthen the church whose members are socially and religiously marginalized and who suffer persecution, rejection and ostracism for their faith in Jesus Messiah (e.g., Luke 6:20ff; 21:12-19; Acts 5:41; 7:55ff). Contrary to popular belief in the Graeco-Roman world at the age of Christianity's beginning, Christians are assured that *there is more to life than enjoyment of high religious and social status*--the consolation of the rich (e.g., Luke 12:13-34; 16:19ff; Acts 3:6; 4:13; 20:33). Luke's theme of 'poor and rich' is one way in which the Evangelist entrusts the Christian community with "God's words of his grace (cf. v. 35b; Luke 2:22), which is able to build [them] up and give [them] the *inheritance* among all the sanctified" (Acts 20:32) (My emphasis).
>
> Second, Theophilus and the others who read Luke's writing are exhorted to join the Christian way which, in Luke's opinion, is *the way of God's salvation*. Israel's scriptures, the Holy Spirit, and the Lord Jesus Messiah bear testimony that it has always been God's plan to include the socioreligiously marginalized into God's kingdom (e.g., Luke 1:50; 2:29-32; 3:6, 10-14; 4:18-27; cf. 24:46-47; 5:31, 32; 14:16ff; 18:9ff; 19:1ff; 26:16-18, 22-24; 28:26-28). Moreover, the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus Messiah who was disowned by Israel's religious leaders and crucified on a Roman cross (Acts 5:30, 31; cf. 4:27, 28) is held up by Luke as the ultimate proof.

To be sure, Christians must witness to Jesus Messiah because they know that in so doing they act in obedience to God and to the words of their Lord (Acts 1:8; cf. 4:19b)….They must also demonstrate the teaching of Jesus Messiah in their praxis of *koinonia* and Christian communitarianism, even though such a praxis is contrary to the old socioreligious values and system. The socioreligious elites who stand to gain by these old socioreligious policies will always treat Christians as revolutionaries and regard their rhetoric and praxis to be a dangerous revolution. …In Luke's opinion…the resurrection validates the Christians' message and praxis. Luke is confident that God will also vindicate all who live under the mandate of the gospel of Jesus Messiah. For Luke, this is Good News. It is Good News because, regardless of social or religious status, nationality, sex, or age, God in Jesus Messiah has made available salvation to all peoples. It is Good News because, guided and empowered by the Holy Spirit, this *corpus mixtum* [mixed body] *actually live together as friends and practice communitarianism.* Therefore, Luke invites his readers to believe in Jesus Messiah and to join this charismatic community of friends which is the church." (Aymer, "A Socioreligious Revolution," Aymer 244-46)

The Conversation We Never Had -Reflections from the Diaspora-

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Rarely does any family have a member who has earned a Ph. D. in biblical studies. Within the United States context, where I live and work, that rarity multiplies significantly when one adds factors of immigration and race to the calculus. So, heads often turn when I recount that mine is the third Ph. D. in New Testament in the last two generations of my family. I am preceded by my father, Rev. Dr. Albert J. D. Aymer, and my uncle, the late Rev. Dr. Birchfield C. P. Aymer, the author of the article above. Some people wonder about the conversations we must have when we are together; but the realities of diaspora and the geographic immensity of the United States have meant that we were rarely in the same place together long enough to have those conversations, aside from the family gatherings for my graduation (2004) and my wedding (2005). In 2006, my uncle suffered a massive stroke that left him partially paralyzed and he repatriated to his birthplace of Antigua and Barbuda; my father continued working as the President of Hood Seminary in Salisbury North Carolina, and I worked for fourteen years in Atlanta, Georgia at the Interdenominational Theological Seminary. I have recently begun my tenure as a full professor at Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, "deep in the heart of Texas."

Consequently, editing this chapter of my uncle's dissertation has been an invitation, of sorts, to engage in the conversation we never had. It is a conversation, perhaps, preserved in our writings: his dissertation and perhaps his sermons if they have been preserved somewhere, as well as my publications and sermons. These represent generational and cultural shifts, both societally as well as within the discipline of biblical studies. B. Aymer's dissertation resonates with the concerns of his Baby Boomer generation of Caribbean intellectuals. Just below the surface of his argument are the conversations about negritude, independence, and the creation of a new Caribbean community that formed and shaped his generation of Caribbean ministers. A young man deeply influenced by the 1960s and 70s, and the writings of James Cone and Gustavo Gutierrez, and a writer of Caribbean hymnody, my uncle was fundamentally liberationist, and as a parish minister particularly concerned with the poor and the oppressed. The advent of sociological methods in the study of the New Testament would have suited his concern for culture and acculturation well. The overall message of Luke-Acts would have appealed him and, as his conclusion shows, he saw

in it a vision for a *corpus mixtum*, a mixed community of socioreligiously marginalized persons, some with money, some without, who through the power of the Holy Spirit live together in covenant fellowship [*koinonia*] and communitarianism, trusting in the God who raised Jesus Messiah from the dead. In many ways, this second chapter of his dissertation reflects not only my uncle's thought but his subsequent life's work.

By contrast, I immigrated to the United States as a child, a child who had no immediate memory of colonialism, and too young to have adequately formed an opinion about island politics or culture. Born in Barbados and raised around the islands, but never in Antigua and Barbuda (by accident of my father's pastoral assignments), my heroes were Nanny and Marcus Garvey, Paul Bogle and Alexander Bustamante, as well, of course, as the generation who raised me. Academically, I came of age when sociological studies of the New Testament were well established, and were even beginning to be critiqued for their latent, unexamined anti-Judaic/Orientalist bias. At the same time, U.S. biblical scholars were beginning to examine the impact of their personal locations on their work, and, at Union Theological Seminary where I did my work, feminist, Womanist, queer, and liberation theological lenses were already quite established.

As a New Testament scholar, a professor, and an ordained minister, much of my work has been focused on the Letter of James. However, like my uncle--although far less extensively--I have also written on Luke-Acts. Six years after my uncle's 2006 stroke, my chapter on Acts appeared in the *Women's Bible Commentary: Twentieth Anniversary Edition.* In it, I concluded:

The Acts of the Apostles is written in the rhetoric of an occupied and colonized people imagining an empire stronger and more powerful than that which oppresses them. As such, we might expect that it would be decolonizing literature. However, Luke's reimagination of a divine imperial inbreaking did not remain a story of the disempowered. As the church became co-opted by the empire that it had first opposed, Acts became a central text in Christian imperialism, including a justification for the modern missionary movement. For their part, women in Acts were both colonized by Rome and colonizers of others' lands, both oppressed and oppressors….

How then is Acts to be read by women, women who see themselves in places of power and of oppression, women who see the God of acts as a liberator and women who have resisted what they can only describe as divinely authorized imperial conquest? I suggest that women read Acts in two ways. The first I have tried to demonstrate throughout this commentary. It is a postcolonial feminist reading that takes seriously the presence of women in Acts, but also their power differentials. It is a reading that takes gender seriously, particularly nonnormative gender….Patriarchy affects not only the power of women but also the power of all those who are unmanned.

However, other readings of Acts are also possible, and some of these are indicated by the interpretations of African American readers [and, now I would add, B. Aymer]. …These readings…point to the possibilities for the use of these imperializing narratives in dark, decolonizing ways. They call readers to acknowledge how these texts can be used not only to oppress and colonize but also to liberate and decolonize…

…Perhaps such readings are possible only when oppressive patriarchal, imperialist, gendered, and classist structures are named in our sacred texts. For then the promise of Acts, to women and men, to those unmanned and to envoys of occupying forces, to slaves and slaveholder, Gentile outsiders and the Judean temple elite may be fulfilled as [Spirit] continues to fall and to bring colonized and oppressed people to speech. (M. Aymer, "Acts of the Apostles," 545)

My reading of Acts inadvertently "talks back" not so much to my uncle's work directly as to that of his generation, pushing them to see the ways in which the Lukan author mimics the conquest narrative of the empire that oppresses his people. Yet, there are places of consonance also. For, while I am less sanguine about Luke's overall aims than my uncle was nearly four decades ago, at the same time we both held, and I continue to hold forth, a vision of socioreligious revolution, one perhaps not completely fulfilled in Luke-Acts, but that continues to spring into possibility "as [Spirit] continues to fall and to bring colonized and oppressed people to speech" (M. Aymer, "Acts of the Apostles," 545). And although I wish we could have carried on this conversation in person, I am grateful that his thought, his work, and his visionary, revolutionary hope remains, in the ministry he did in the islands and throughout the Caribbean diaspora abroad, and in his thought, captured in part in this chapter of his dissertation.

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
Bib	*Biblica*
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies. Monograph Series
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*

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The Second Axis: Paget Henry a Scholar for the Ages

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Professor of Sociology, University of North Georgia
Du Boisian Scholar Network Second National Convening, Brown University
May 3–4, 2019

It is a privilege for me to be invited to the Du Boisian Scholar Network's Second National Convening here at Brown University. And, it is indeed an honor that I was asked to say a few words in celebration of the considerable accomplishments of Professor Paget Henry. My friend and distinguished Du Boisian scholar and leader, Professor Aldon Morris in his invitation to me to speak billed this event as "a presentation on Professor Paget Henry's scholarship and career as an important scholar in the tradition of Du Bois." He added: "The plenary is meant to honor Paget's outstanding work that he has produced over decades. Yet, we know that like Du Bois, Paget has not received the recognition he so richly deserves for his work. The plenary is meant to correct this tremendous oversight." I agree wholeheartedly. In Morrisian terms, Paget Henry is "a scholar denied".

One may be tempted to ask: Are we a gathering for scholars denied or of scholars denied?

The eminent Caribbean philosopher and sociologist Paget Henry postulated "as human beings with will and agency our lives must progress along two axes simultaneously: First, a vertical axis along which we grow and develop the capabilities that are inherent in our subjectivity". The second axis is a "horizontal axis along which we give over our increasing subjective capabilities to the realizing of a political, religious, economic, educational, and other collective projects that are capable of transforming one's community and the lives of the people within it."(2006; 22) It is this second or horizontal axis that must be the focus for our understanding of this altruistic scholar, public sociologist and unsung political activist. Paget Henry has remained under the radar, while fervently organizing, galvanizing and crystallizing a school, indeed a Movement of Caribbean thought under an authentic and now recognizable epistemic umbrella. Paget Henry's crusade for Caribbean and Africana thought is one of rebellion and redemptive enlightenment dedicated to promoting the visions and voices of the dead, the living and the unborn of the historically marginalized.

I submit to this gathering that Paget Henry is a humble man; a great teacher; an eminent sociologist; an incredible exponent of sociological theories; an influential scholar of development; and a leading master and advocate of Caribbean and Africana Philosophical thought.

I first met Paget in the Department of Sociology, SUNY Stony Brook in 1975. He was perhaps the only black faculty in the Department in which Aldon Morris and I were graduate students. He was Anglo-Caribbean yet American; he was friendly and sincere, and spoke about Bob Marley, The Mighty Sparrow and famous West Indian cricketer, Vivian Richards, with the same ease of expression and analytical excellence as he spoke about Karl Marx, Jürgen Habermas, Franz Fanon and CLR James. He was a singularly tall, thin and amiable individual with a ready smile and who enjoyed a good laugh. He never used his height to tower over the vertically challenged and seemingly accomplished this by swaying from one side and then the next like he was playing a steel pan. When Paget spoke, he used his hands extensively like an orchestra conductor; one hand informing, the other persuading and both hands working in unison with always erudite vocals to create a medley of enlightenment.

I asked my good friend Aldon Morris: "Who is duh banna?" "Banna" is a Guyanese term for "dude". So, like all good graduate students we gossiped about Professor Henry and discovered that he had a girlfriend of caucasian persuasion. We gathered our courage and decided that we would ask Paget: How come you got a girlfriend of caucasian persuasion? He instantly responded with a contented chuckle and a twinkle in his eyes "Love is love". I realized then that Paget was a humanist. He saw people as people. Issues of race, it did appear, were not then for him a focal concern. We both came from Caribbean countries whose white rulers had long departed their shores. The color line had faded. Alex Haley's *Roots* was on at the time. My friend Aldon decided that Kunta Kinte was an appropriate name for me. As soon as I was finished defending my dissertation Aldon turned to me and said, "You Toby now". We had no name for Paget except "Paget". "Paget" sounded just right like Pele or Barack! He was the only faculty at Stony Brook that I did not address as Professor. Yet, we had great respect for Paget and greatly admired his depth and breadth of knowledge.

I had not seen Paget for over 10 years until I moved from Guyana to Georgia. Paget had contacted me since he was attending the annual Walter Rodney conference in Atlanta. He had grown a bit older. He had a beard and was wearing a dashiki like dem bannas from the 1960s. His presentation evidenced a very strong Afro-centric consciousness. He had embraced his roots. He told me a story of a police patrol car that would drive slowly behind him when he left his office each night. One night the police drove alongside him and asked who he was, where he is coming from, what he was doing at Brown University and where he was going. Paget said he felt profiled, devalued and threatened because he is a black man. Perhaps love isn't always love after all. I later discovered that he had spent three months in rural Ghana doing research for his book ***Caliban's Reason*** and as Walter Rodney puts it "Grounding with My Brothers" on African philosophy and identity.

Every summer religiously Paget made a pilgrimage back to Antigua to swim in the ocean and lie on one or other of its 365 beaches—one for each day of the year. He said that it was therapeutic, provided spiritual revival and enabled his intellectual powers to revive and create. I have never heard Paget curse nor swear even though I may have done both in his presence. I was made to understand that as a child he was being raised by his parents in Antigua to be a Methodist preacher. But I digress.

Paget Henry is a great teacher who educated, mentored, inspired and wherever possible provided opportunities for growth for his students. The poet Khalil Gibran speaking of teaching said: "No man can reveal to you aught but that which already lies half asleep in the dawning of your knowledge." I studied at Stony Brook with many professors, but Paget was my teacher. He was also the master teacher in the department. He won the best teaching award for the Department six years in a row. Paget and Distinguished Professor Lewis Coser taught the sociological theory classes for undergraduates. Paget was an incredible exponent of sociological theories. Students crowded Paget's classes for he is a charismatic teacher. I was the teaching assistant for Lewis Coser and our class was held in a smaller room and probably had half as many students.

Paget was a reliable mentor and treated me like a younger brother spending many hours helping me to hone the rational exuberance of my writings into insightful ideas. He served with selfless commitment on both Aldon's and my dissertation committees. Aldon Morris and I were his very first graduate students and Ph.Ds. Paget and I were co-editors on a special issue of *The CLR James Journal* on the writings of the great Caribbean political economist Clive Y Thomas. Paget availed me several other valuable professional opportunities.

Anyone who meets Paget Henry soon comes to recognize that he is a great scholar and a seminal thinker. Some of his colleagues, two of whom were former students—Jane Gordon, Lewis Gordon, Aaron Kamugisha and Neil Roberts produced the treatise ***Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader.*** They stated, "His work is foundational to what historic and contemporary Caribbean thought mean…Paget Henry is a great, and in our view, unappreciated thinker" (2016, p5).

Aldon Morris was right when he typified Paget as "a scholar in the Du Bois tradition." Like Du Bois whose work covered history, literature, religion, economics and sociology, Paget Henry's work, like that of most great thinkers, must be understood as that of a multidisciplinary scholar. His famous book ***Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy. (2000)*** challenged the disciplinary boundaries between philosophy and sociology and "offers both a phenomenologically rich philosophical treatment of the problems of philosophy in the Caribbean context and a sociologically rich discussion of the philosophical groups through which

such thought was developed." Paget reflected: "I became passionately committed to gaining academic recognition for Caribbean philosophy and through that the larger field of Africana Philosophy. I started increasing the number of under-recognized Caribbean scholars that I was writing about, in addition to James. It was in the midst of this expanding of my intellectual history project that it dawned on me that I was in fact at work on a book about Caribbean philosophy. This was how *Caliban's Reason* was born" (Henry 2019).

Further, in Paget's 2010 book ***Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: The Life of V.C. Bird*****,** he presented a political biography of Vere C. Bird, former Prime Minister and founding "father" of the small twin-island state of Antigua and Barbuda. The book is an enlightening narrative of the leadership style and philosophy of Bird; an exegesis on the Caribbean culture of which he was a product and in which he functioned; a fascinating, yet eclectic account of the political economy of colonial and post-colonial Antiguan and Barbudan society on which he impacted; and, a constructive lament about the failures of this leader to lead his people to a promised land. Henry adopted a multidisciplinary approach to the study of this transformative leader. His work is in part literature, history, philosophy and social sciences. Paget traversed freely among these disciplines, not bound by any. He presented the reader with a work of art. Like a highly skilled surgeon with multiple scalpels, Henry probed at the personal and the political, people and places, the idiosyncratic and the ideological, the spiritual and the mundane, the national and the global, all in an effort to find and construct a profile of the enigmatic Bird; and, to locate him in time and place. In the process he provided the reader with a menagerie of exciting theoretical and philosophical constructs which served to illuminate his narrative and make the book an intellectual feast. It is this multidisciplinary approach and liberty of creative thought that enabled this accomplished scholar to produce a book for the ages (Danns 2011).

Antigua and Barbuda is a small twin-island state, but in Henry's account this society is writ large; and, shown to encapsulate the same struggles for freedom from colonial rule and an exploitative planter and ruling class that was experienced in larger countries like Ghana, India or even Guyana. The people of Antigua shared the same disillusionment with their post-colonial rulers as was experienced in former colonies in the developing world. In Henry's work you soon forget the size of this country which produced large sociopolitical drama and spawned a titan of a leader in VC Bird, who ruled for decades and was larger than life. An advantage of studying this micro state and its leadership is that it presents a microcosm of the complex currents of conflict and change that exist in

larger societies. This gives this book a broader appeal to anyone studying systems of leadership and domination and seeking to understand the politics of developing countries.

Yet, Paget's insistence on studying the dependent underdevelopment of Antigua—the land of his birth—rather than the writings of Jürgen Habermas as his department would have preferred, may have cost him tenure at Stony Brook. He was not discouraged; and, subsequently set about establishing the Antigua and Barbuda Studies Association (ABSA) and also launched the *Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*.

Similarly, Paget encountered push back at Brown University to have Africana and Caribbean Philosophy recognized as legitimate academic subjects and fields for scholarly research. He succeeded as a program champion in making such recognition a defining feature of his tenure as Chair of Africana Studies at Brown.

As a social movement entrepreneur Paget Henry promoted the global recognition of Caribbean philosophical thought. Growing recognition of his writings enabled him to spread the word about Afro-Caribbean philosophy through invitations to speak in countries such as England, Scotland, Germany, Belgium, Ghana, Mexico, Senegal and Serbia.

Along with Selwyn Cudjoe and Paul Buhle, Paget started the CLR James Society and launched ***The CLR James Journal***. Together with Charles Mills, Clevis Headley and Lewis Gordon, Paget established the **Caribbean Philosophical Association (CPA)** in 2004 with its first conference in Barbados attracting 40 attendees and which has since been meeting annually with around 200 attendees. Paget took over the editorship of *The CLR James Journal* from Selwyn Cudjoe and in 2005, brought the CLR James Society into the CPA. *The CLR James Journal* became the official publication of the Caribbean Philosophical Association. Paget soon emerged as a movement entrepreneur and program champion for Caribbean Philosophy. As he puts it, he became "passionately committed to gaining academic recognition for Caribbean philosophy and through that the larger field of Africana Philosophy." He set about increasing the number of under-recognized Caribbean scholars that he was writing about and in the process engendering others to do likewise. Paget was instrumental in persuading Brown University to accept Caribbean Philosophy as an age-old and a living system of knowledge. The university soon enabled his creation and teaching of a graduate course in Caribbean Philosophy. Further, the Caribbean Philosophical Association has introduced a one week long Summer School aimed at popularizing Caribbean philosophical thought. "This is a week-long intensive exposure of graduate students and faculty to the most important figures and developments in the field. The summer school is now in its sixth year" (Henry 2019).

In mainstreaming Caribbean Philosophical thought Paget Henry, like WEB Du Bois, has been utilizing what Aldon Morris (2017) called "liberation capital" to counter epistemic dependence. Liberation capital is essentially the power of the powerless. The strength of Paget's work was a recognition that an effective understanding of human existence cannot be confined by either national or disciplinary boundaries. Neither CLR James nor Du Bois sought to exclusively study and separate the national from the international and like Paget both did so from a multi-disciplinary perspective. Paget's advocacy for Caribbean and Africana philosophical thought is akin to what Brazilian scholar Paulo Friere (1993) calls "conscientization"—a "pedagogy of the oppressed".

Things that make Paget wonder.

- Why is it that the small independent states of the Caribbean, such as Antigua and Barbuda, which have been being led by black leaders since the 1960s, remained largely underdeveloped?

- Why is there not greater collaboration between scholars from the United States concerned with race and internal colonization and scholars of regions of the global periphery such as Latin America and the Caribbean which are also concerned with race and economic dependence?

- What can be done to liberate people of color from seemingly perennial white supremacy?

The Caribbean Philosophy for which Paget Henry has been fighting is a pedagogy of enlightenment of the historically marginalized and indeed of the human condition. It is an episteme which has emanated from great minds such as CLR James, Franz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Sylvia Wynter, Marcus Garvey, Eric Williams, Arthur Lewis, Walter Rodney, Wilson Harris, Derek Walcott along with numerous largely unsung others whose writings Paget have been highlighting in *The CLR James Journal*. Paget Henry's sage advocacy and stewardship have served to ensure that Caribbean philosophy will no longer be denied.

I conclude this presentation with an excerpt from the poem "*I come from the nigger yard*" by the Caribbean poet and philosopher Martin Carter.

I come from the nigger yard of yesterday
leaping from the oppressors' hate
and the scorn of myself;
from the agony of the dark hut in the shadow
and the hurt of things;

from the long days of cruelty and the long nights of pain
down to the wide streets of to-morrow, of the next day
leaping I come, who cannot see will hear.

I come from the nigger yard of yesterday
leaping from the oppressor's' hate
and the scorn of myself
I come to the world with scars upon my soul
wounds on my body, fury in my hands
I turn to the histories of men and the lives of peoples.
I examine the shower of sparks the wealth of the dreams.
I am pleased with the glories and sad with the sorrows
rich with the riches, poor with the loss.
From the nigger yard of yesterday I come with my burden.
To the world of to-morrow I turn with my strength. (Martin Carter, 2006).

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POEMS BY ELAINE OLAOYE

A Psychology of Climate Change

Dedicated to
Her Excellency Ambassador Ngedikes Olai Uludong

In appreciation of
Co-sponsorship by the Permanent Mission of Palau
to the United Nations
11th Psychology Day at the United Nations April 12, 2018

A psychology of climate change can be
A litany of predictable personal loss
A litany of pity for those who will be effected
A litany of fear and despair over the repair of
Issues of mental health, security, identity, positivity…
With little focus on strategies for restoring basic wealth…
For the effected, the distant instantly disadvantaged
Do not need basic rights or stabilization of necessary resources
Cognitive, behavioral, social, and emotional analysis
Can effectively treat those who have lost almost all connections
To what as humans they need.

Cocooned in the current comforts of academia
Cocooned in the pride, the protections, of privilege
Cocooned in unconscious acceptance of a perception
That climate change will discriminate
That climate change will only affect dysfunctional communities
That climate change will only affect small islands
That climate change with only affect Black and Brown peoples
That climate change will not affect affluent communities
That climate change will not affect Western nations
That climate change will not affect White people
That climate change will not affect the wealthiest people…

Climate deniers will not be affected by climate change
Pollution creating corporations will not be affected by climate change
Politicians who blocked climate change regulation will not be affected by climate change

Climate change cares
It cares about human beings and what is most important to us.
Climate change
Is not related to human decisions or actions
Climate change
Is part of a cycle that will protect what is most important: human beings.
Climate change
Knows that the world cannot exist without people
Climate change
Will protect the fantasies, the finances the families,
Of the finally triumphant few,
The damaged remnants of a narcissistic earthly crew.
Clinging to the fragile powers of self-proclaimed superiority
But no longer protected by the creation of political, financial and health related asymmetries.

Elaine H. Olaoye, Ph.D.
Professor Psychology
April 12, 2018

A song to science

"The value of science remains unsung by singers; you are reduced to sharing not a song or a poem but an evening lecture about it."

Richard Feynman

Science and song
Strange
Bed fellows
Religion and song
Intimate
Bed fellows

Scientific cosmology
Gaining strength since
Galileo's, Newton's, scientists' many discoveries.
Religious theology and eschatology
Losing ground since
Those past several centuries…

Science can have songs
That lighten the burdens, the monotony
The details in all their brutal clarity,
The incremental delays that haunt the scientific mentality.

Religion has songs that
Stimulate fear and awe about
God's and the churches' grandeur.

Science can have songs
Of gratitude that welcome the new eras of longevity
That have revolutionized the modern lifestyle.

Religion has songs
Of praise for providing myths and
Hope over many thousands of years.

Science can have songs of
Appreciation for the comprehension of the
Universe with greater clarity, with greater depth
Firing up and developing our brains and imaginations.

Religion has songs of
Joyous proclamation of
All that is good, while struggling
With the many and varied forms of temptation.

Science can have songs
For all its revelations
For the joys of life saving understandings
Followed by saving lives of hundreds of millions, maybe billions,
Through successful testing of theories, ideas and vaccinations.

Science has its poems and songs
Unrecorded but whispered and sung and written
In the hearts and minds of millions
Grateful for deliverance from the grip, the epidemics of diseases like
Small pox, yellow and typhoid fever, tuberculosis, cholera, pneumonia…

And on April 12, 1955,
The day scientists pronounced Salk's vaccine against polio, safe,
Communities erupted into joyous poetry and song, **(Carter,1966)**
Bells rang, horns honked, factory whistles blew, toasts were drunk
People forgave each other, hugged each other and
Expressed themselves, in all manner of thanks.

Olaoye
April 2006/June 2009
Carter, R.1966. Breakthrough: The saga of Jonas Salk, p.3. Trident Press

Elegy to humankind

Eternal Mother who can save
Who can bind the arms, the hands of restless waves
Help us to listen to our thoughts, our language,
The workings of our minds,
Help us,
as we cry to thee
To save us from the peril
We create on land and sea.

Eternal Mother good and kind
Who can bind the heart and mind of humankind
Who has given us the gift to explore, sometimes to be free
To choose, what ere may be.
Hear us,
as we cry to thee
Help us recognize the perils we create on land and sea

Eternal Mother strong to save
Who can help bind us to thoughts and deeds
That have saved and can save man and womankind
Help us
As we gain more and more power with our discoveries
As we learn
To do more and more with our many technologies…
Help us
Use our many gifts that can make us free
Help us
To remember that it is our lives, that are at stake
Not the planet's,
Nor the energies that constitute a universe we begin to
Imagine but cannot see.

Olaoye
11/26/2018/June 2019

To Look at Anyone

(Respectfully dedicated to human beings everywhere)

To look at anyone
If you would know that one
You must look long,
You must enter into
The millions of minute silences that pattern
Their words,
Their acts,
Their moods,
Their seasons,
Their cycles.
The trillions of eloquent silences
That intertwine their words, acts, moods, seasons and cycles.
The rich background of soft silences
Waiting to be heard.

To look at any people
If you would know those people,
You must look long,
You must enter into
The trillions of coded silences that embed
Their language,
Their actions,
Their trends,
Their periods,
Their cycles.
The billions of trillions of incandescent silences
That interweave their language, actions, trends periods and cycles.
The rich background of potent silences

To look at Americans,
If you would know them
You must look long.
You must enter into
The trillions of secret silences that encode
Our speech,
Our behavior
Our moods,
Our epochs,
Our cycles.

The billions of trillions of censored silences
That interlock our communications, behavior moods, epochs and cycles.
The rich background of unspoken silences
Sometimes insist on being heard.

To look at African-Americans
If you would know them
You must look long
You must enter into
The trillions of silenced silences that enshroud
Our speech,
Our movements,
Our moods,
Our eras,
Our cycles.
The billions of trillions of pained silences
That interwind our speech, our movements, our moods, our eras,
our cycles.
The rich background of effluent silences
That will not be unheard.

Olaoye, 1994

Democracies, Autocracies, Oligarchies and Monarchies

Democracies, Autocracies, Oligarchies and Monarchies
Identities, processes, pathways, strategies, contracts
Human constructs, human systems, human beliefs,
Human legislations and human constitutions
For governing, for managing, for caring, for sharing
National, societal, communal and individual resources in
Efficient, in fair, in equitable, in ever-expanding manners
Embracing, articulating, directing our understandings
Of growth, of progress
If not for all, if that may not yet be possible,
Then at least for some, or maybe for none…

Democracies, autocracies, oligarchies and monarchies…
Might they have critical outcomes in common?
Might there be similar practices that permeate each of them?
Might these leadership models often perceived as vastly different,
So often seen in adversarial relationships,
Even recognized, accepted as worthy of annihilating the Other…
Might these models, nonetheless have much in common?

Democracies, autocracies, oligarchies and monarchies…
Have each of these models looking back through history,
Looking around the world
Have they failed time and time again to fulfill promises of its citizens?
Have they darkened with specters of unnecessary suffering and death
The horizons of the future
Of a large number of trusting followers, workers, soldiers, patriots who
Faithfully, daily, sacrifice their bodies, their minds for
Democracies, autocracies, oligarchies and monarchies?

Despite differences in their ideologies and scientific methodologies
Differences in their structural economies,
Differences in their powerful militaries and
Differences in their latest technologies
More than any of the celebrated or
Marketed proclamations and pronouncements
The annals of history, the stories from around the globe
Record tragic, dysfunctional decisions and directions
Each of democracies, autocracies, oligarchies and monarchies
Each is ultimately defined by the similarity of the results of their deeper,
Too many times, darker, covert determinations and intentionalities

Olaoye
Nov 24, 2018/June2019

MORE POETRY

Caregivers

Clement White

For Dr. Paget Henry

Auntie Telma from St. Johns Antigua
Generous kind, selfless lady
Aunt Telma renamed
In St. Thomas, maybe Miss Celes,
Miss Sella, Miss Lopie
The Aunt Telma's of our islands,
West Indian heroines
Giving and not asking for rewards,
Sacrificing
Seeking no recompense
Nothing in return for
Their contributions to the welfare
Of theirs and those not theirs
Because all belong to them
All are theirs
Aunt Telma operating in another's behalf,
Knowing or not knowing her
Beneficiary irrelevant
Not at all pertinent
In order to feed
Clothe
Give that last cent
Aunt Telma from St. John Antigua
Was from St. John, Virgin Islands
From St. Croix, Nevis, and St. Kitts,
I saw Aunt Telma in Tortola giving her all
To those in need
I recognized her because she looked
Exactly like Miss Maggie from Virgin Gorda
Like mey auntie dem in Grove, Fredriksted, La Vallee
Aunt Telma's identical twin lives
In Barbados and Tobago,
I know them well,
I met them all
And my mind still
Depends on them to lead,

As I try to master and apply those lessons
Taught for free by
Auntie Telma in her
Characteristic unassuming demeanor
Of love for her sister and
Brother islander
In a way only the Auntie Telmas can deliver
That Antiguan Woman setting the
Tone of generosity and
Goodness

Clement White
2019

5 Stars In The Universe, Our National Heroines and Island Girls

Sir Lester Bird

The Atlantic ocean
was no match for them,
for their names are etched forever
in marine lore, surpassing men.

Courage they said,
as they saw no land.
Our Island Girls
akin, not like
Tennyson's Ancient Mariners
but endemic in their souls
was bravery, unlike
those ancient sailors who
yearned for land.

Splash, splash they heard
against the oars,
as day and night receded into one
And they each silently
prayed to God.
Each other's name melted into a bond
Antigua's Island Girls
Elvira, Kevinia, Christal, Samara and Junella.

They rowed from Spain
without great pain
3,000 miles with slaves before,
3,000 miles they surpassed
Christopher Columbus
who claimed our shores

Fair Antigua they salute us all
We in Antigua must
praise them forever,
Ad infinitum.

At last they reached the land,
Nelson Dockyard.
Here we welcome, Lord Nelson,
You too must be proud
of our heroines.
But decades later
our girls have won.

Antigua's heroines
their dreams fulfilled
Now stand tall among men.
God has shed his blessings
on each of them.
Reaching our hero's soul within.

Review of *5 Stars In The Universe, Our National Heroines and Island Girls* by Sir Lester Bryant Bird

Lionel Hurst

One of the common practices among the literati in centuries past was the writing of paeans in favour of brave acts undertaken by kings, generals and others of high standing. The Psalms of David are a rich example of poetry and story-telling, written by a king, in language that can both be sung and recited as in poetry.

Lester Bryant Bird, a lover of ancient history and a bard himself, has penned many poems that are published in a beautiful booklet entitled *A Bird's Eye View*. He has set himself the task of memorializing events in Antigua and Barbuda's history that ought to be remembered, and he has chosen poetry rather than prose because of the recite-ability of the art form. His poem on the death of Vere Cornwall Bird is among the most memorable in that publication.

When those brave women, who labelled themselves "The Island Girls", chose to spend 47 days at sea in a rowboat, crossing from Africa to Antigua—along the same route as their ancestors travelled, forcibly, after being snatched from their homelands beginning in 1634—that great feat required not only television coverage and Facebook daily reporting, but poetry as complex as the Psalms of David.

Lester Bryant Bird fulfilled all the technicalities required in penning this beautiful, seven-stanza poem that elevates the feat of these women to historical proportions. He recognizes that in addition to television reviews and maybe even a movie, poetry is a must. The former prime minister and National Hero has fulfilled part of the duties imposed upon him by history. He has recorded the event and given it substance with his extra-ordinary skill.

The future cannot be predicted with certainty; however, I am sure that this is not the very last time that Antigua and Barbuda will hear from Lester Bryant Bird in poetry. He will continue to celebrate and to mark those moments in history that require recording by poetry.

INTERVIEWS

Paget Henry Interviews Allison Hull: On the Evolution of the UWI Open Campus (2018)

PH: So, let's talk a little bit about the phases before the Open Campus. I know that my first, my earliest recollection is the Department of Extra-mural Studies, is that correct?

AH: Yes, it is. My recollection also is that it started with that Department of Extra-mural Studies. But I do recall reading and hearing different discussions on how the whole distance learning, as it was referred to back then, came into being. And that was because we have the three residential campuses, Mona in Jamaica, St. Augustine in Trinidad and Cave Hill in Barbados. Mona began back in 1948 as University College of London. And at some point later it then became the University of the West Indies. And then, that went on for a while and there was a need to extend tertiary level education to what was referred to as "the under-served." And the "under-served" were actually persons living in the non-campus territories.

PH: Non-campus territories.

AH: And they included Antigua. Consequently, the Heads decided to set up these extra-mural centers and we in Antigua had one site. We still have one site today, and thus we got extra-mural or distance learning—these were all terms that we used interchangeably. And so it was that persons in the non-campus territories, through these extra-mural centers, we were able to get tertiary education. We offered these distance learning courses and that was how Extra-mural Studies started.

PH: Alright. Now, did this become then the School of Continuing Studies?

AH: Certainly, it morphed into that and the School of Continuing Studies went on for a while, and the School of Continuing Studies then became the Open Campus.

PH: Good.

AH: The Open Campus was actually established at a CARICOM heads of government meeting right here in Antigua and Barbuda.

PH: Alright.

AH: A treaty was signed here back in May 2008. Thus, the Open Campus will be 11 years next year, 2019.

PH: Okay. Now tell us what are the fundamental ways in which the Open Campus differs from the School of Continuing Studies? Is it more courses? Is it the degrees? What?

AH: Definitely both. The School of Continuing Studies itself and its technology too had a lot to do with these differences. Because this technology, the School of Continuing Studies courses were conducted via distance. Persons had to come in physically to the site, sit in the teleconference room, and all the courses were done via teleconferencing. Now leap forward to 2008 and on to today—all our courses are now conducted on online. You can complete a full degree right here at the Open Campus, you don't have to go to a residential campus to complete. When it was the School of Continuing Studies and in the early years of the Open Campus, you could do two years in Antigua and then you had to go to one of the residential campuses to complete your degree. Not so anymore. You can complete your full degree online and we not only offer bachelor's and master's, but doctoral programs as well. In short, we now offer the whole gamut of courses, certificate programs, diploma's, bachelor's, master's, and now we are offering doctorate programs. So, we have certainly come leaps and bounds from the Extra-mural Department, School of Continuing Studies, and now to be the Open Campus.

PH: Now, tell me a little bit about…

AH: The Open Campus (if I can just give a little background) the Open Campus actually is far more embracing, and it covers a wider area. The Open Campus covers 17 territories and at the last count I think we have about 45 sites. And these range from Bermuda in the north, to Trinidad in the south, and includes territories like Belize, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos, Cayman, and of course the OECS countries. The only CARICOM country that's not included is Guyana. But all the other territories as we know them in the Caribbean have Open Campus sites. Some of them have several Open Campus sites. We still have only one in Antigua and Barbuda, but places like Trinidad I think has about 14 or 18 sites. Jamaica, the last check was I think in excess of 11 sites. And so we have 45 sites over 17 territories.

PH: Yeah. Now, before we continue with the Open Campus, I was just interested for historical reasons about the teleconferencing that was done in the School of Continuing Studies. So, everybody would have to come to the site?

AH: Yes.

PH: And, when you came to the site, what did you see? Was it a monitor?

AH: Yes. It was, this was like a TV screen. And the technician would then have to connect you to wherever, this source information was coming from. And so, teaching was done via distance. Thus the way it worked was that you would have persons in Antigua and Barbuda, along with persons in several other territories listening to these monitors at the same time, and classes were conducted in this manner….

PH: The professor, where was he or she?

AH: He might be in Jamaica, Trinidad or Barbados. Yes, usually and it was primarily Mona because these extra-mural departments really came out of Mona.

PH: Right.

AH: And a lot of our regulations and rules were fashioned for the campus in Jamaica. Mona was the first of the campuses. And so, more or less took on that fatherly role for want of a better term. Thus, we were more or less governed by whatever laws and regulations that came down from the Mona campus.

PH: Okay.

AH: And that went on right through from extra-mural…. As a matter of fact the late Professor Rex Nettleford was the person who was in-charge, who had direct oversight over the Extra-mural Department of the School of Continuing Studies. There was a Professor Carrington then. I remember that name, too.

PH: Yes, I remember him.

AH: He did that type of thing.

PH: Oh, yeah. Yeah, he would come around to the various country conferences and stuff like that because I remember doing one with him and Ermina.

AH: Yes.

PH: And he was there….

AH: Right.

PH: ...officiating and reviewing the papers.

AH: Well actually Dr. Oshoba, Dr. Ermina Oshoba, was the last resident tutor because back then the Head of Site—which is what it's called today in the Open Campus—was referred to as resident tutor and we started out with Dr. Edris Bird who was the first resident tutor in Antigua. And then Dr. Ermina Oshoba I think between both periods there might have been other resident tutors but for short stints. I remember reading about Dr. Ian Austin, who was the resident tutor here for one year. I think he was, I'm not sure if it was the period between Dr. Oshoba and Mr. Ian Benn, but I do know these are things that we can verify. I do recall reading that he was the resident tutor for one year at some point.

PH: So, the new term is Head of Site.

AH: Head of Site.

PH: Okay. So, we're going from.…

AH: And another thing in terms of nomenclature, the old terminology used to refer to our site here as the University Center and it was called the University Center during the days of the Extra-mural Department and during the days of the School of Continuing Studies. But today it's now the Open Campus, not the University Center, because it is now the fourth campus of the University of the West Indies.

PH: Very good, very good, very good. So, all of the courses are online.

AH: Online.

PH: Yes.

AH: We do have some face-to-face classes as well. But these are more what we what we called CPE, continuing professional education. And they're designed primarily as enhancement courses. These are by and large short courses, which can run from a day workshop or they could be a short course—four weeks, six weeks, ten weeks, or three months. Some now go up to about one-year certificates, diplomas. By and large these continuing professional education courses are not for credit. And so, we usually issue certificates of completion, certificates of participation, for these type of courses. One of our courses, we like to refer to it as our flagship course, is the supervisory management course. It runs for about 10 weeks. It is one of our most successful programs and we have been doing that primarily with the hotel association which has been supplying us with most of our students. It's a win-win situation because apparently in the hotels there is what is called I think it's called a guest service tax. It's a small fee that is charged and that money is what pays for the hotel workers to do the supervisory management course.

PH: Okay.

AH: So, that has been like a steady source.

PH: Yes, of students.

AH: Yeah, at least every semester we offer the supervisory management course. In the beginning it was so popular that sometimes we had back-to-back cohorts. Usually in a cohort we carry about 25 persons to one tutor per class. We try not to go over that, you know.

PH: So, now to the online courses, are the professors from the UWI campus that they…?

AH: Yes. We have what are called e-tutors, and the e-tutors are like teachers and they are the ones who facilitate the courses online. They are, of course, coordinators. They are responsible for the content of these courses, and they supervise the e-tutors, and they are also the final graders, the final markers. E-tutors will be the first markers because all exams have at least two markers unless there's a query. So, there are whole different divisions of the Open Campus for dealing with different aspects, as in any university set up, you have the academic, those who are responsible for the academic programming and everything.

PH: But the people who are responsible for the content of these courses, are these professors at the campus territories.

AH: Well, professors teach, but the actual course would have been written by other experts, usually. I think there may be cases where there are professors who also write courses, but there is a unit called APADD—Academic Programming and Delivery Department. And that department is staffed with those responsible for the content….

PH: To grow.

AH: And they produce the courses. There's a whole process that they go through. The courses have to be reviewed, peer reviewed, also have to be checked for quality, making sure certain quality criteria have been met, and that type of thing. It's a whole process.

AH: And then we have the e-tutors who teach the course.

PH: Right.

AH: They are the course facilitators. And they are the ones who interact with the students on a day-to-day basis.

PH: Wow, that that's really different from the earlier….

AH: But it's, it's gaining in popularity, you know.

PH: Okay.

AH: Because we have to remember why this came into being, as I said earlier, to serve the undeserved. Not everybody will attend a physical university campus. For some, there are many reasons not only economic, but there are family and other reasons why persons can't leave their home and travel to a campus territory. So, in a sense, we are bringing the university to them. We are making it the Open Campus—the governing body is making it open, and we are making it accessible, we are making it available and accessible to all, to get a good quality tertiary education. And that is really the whole crux of what the Open Campus is all about.

PH: Okay, that's very helpful. Now, the library services for these courses, how do these students access them? Online, or…?

AH: Well, now it's becoming more so. We have a physical library here at this site in Antigua and Barbuda. Unfortunately, a lot of the material is quite dated. But there is an online library that they can access, and they can get all this information on the website in terms of links and that type of thing. There are campus libraries, the University Library, and every campus has a library in one of the territories. I think the Open Campus libraries are located in Trinidad. But there are physical libraries in the residential campus sites. And also quite a few sites also have libraries. But I think the main thrust now is that you have all these resources that are available online. So, you can access it that way.

PH: Mm hmm. I'm asking about libraries because there are now studies that have shown that students do better when they have a physical book. So, for those campus territories, we have to make sure that they don't continue to have this advantage of…

AH: No, the physical book is no longer such an advantage as we seem to think. We know that a lot of people, especially the younger people, they are very technologically savvy, and many of them don't even want to see a book, because they have the e-books, and a lot of people now have… What do you call it…

PH: Tablet?

AH: Well, I was going and trying to remember the actual term, you know, it's escaping me right now.

PH: Kindle?

AH: Kindle.

PH: Alright. Okay.

AH: We used to give physical books. That was a part of your education when you registered and you had to pay for it. Not anymore, you get it online to a PDF file. Everything is online. And there are some people who said they actually prefer it that way. I know initially you had this kind of struggle, as with any change, some persons may say they don't particularly like it. But I haven't been hearing that now.

PH: Right. It's just that, you know, there are all of these studies that people keep reporting that, if you look at students who have physical books and those who just go online, and they have… okay, this was a study done at Brown.

AH: How long was that study done?

PH: It was done last year.

AH: Okay.

PH: Now, some courses where you have these reading packages, where you have a physical copy of all the readings made, and then we have this program—I don't know what it's called, but you are encouraged to put all of your readings online.

AH: Okay.

PH: A lot of students, right, love the convenience of having all of this stuff online. So, here's what they say, "Yeah, I can, I can access this while in my bed." Yes, many of these early studies have shown that the kids with the physical packages are doing better. Now, this could be a temporary thing.

AH: That's interesting, because you know, it'd be interesting to see if these same studies are done five years later.

PH: What the results will be?

AH: Yes, what the results will be. But…

PH: No, I'm just raising it. Because, you know, if, indeed, these differences continue to hold, you will have to find a way to…

AH: But on the other hand, you are aware that online education is fast increasing worldwide. Just about every university now has an online arm and that is really taking off. So, I'm thinking just like libraries are becoming less popular and like certain things that we thought were just like a part of our society, because of the internet, they are now phasing out.

PH: Oh, of course.

AH: You know, I believe like the post office, maybe one or other such institution.

PH: Sure.

AH: Because when last have you written a letter? You know, everything is email now.

PH: Actually, I did one two weeks ago.

AH: Really?

PH: But that was just for the fun of it.

AH: Okay.

PH: Just to show, just to…

AH: So, similarly I'm thinking with education, online learning seems to be the way.

PH: Oh, of course. But…

AH: And, we have the future!

PH: But we are going to have to think very carefully about the right mix of having a physical site and what online services you offer. I think that is what's going to carry the future because everything is going to be performance-tested. And it could very well be that, maybe 40–60 mixture or whatever. But I think that it's the mixture of both, the right mixture, that is important. So, before we just jump completely into the online thing we need to listen to these studies because some of the students really complain about retaining stuff from just reading online.

AH: But you can always save it. I could download it, and a good thing about online teaching, too, is that you can download a lecture and have it so you can go back to it and listen and listen and listen again?

PH: Of course. Yeah, absolutely. The other thing that we find with kids who like online stuff is that they don't like to come and talk to their professors. And so, that's another concern.

AH: What did they do? Send an email?

PH: Yeah, I mean, I can tell in my classes the students who are totally online and those who still like to read a real book, you know? These are the students who come to my office.

AH: Yeah.

PH: And so, of course, what it means is that when you write a letter of recommendation or if there's any doubt, let's say you have a borderline…

AH: You really don't know the person? Yes.

PH: The person and all this kind of…

AH: You have to look at the records and then see what grades and say, "Oh, well, he got all A's and so he must be brilliant."

PH: Right.

AH: If you get C's and B's or couple F's sprinkled in, well, he's average.

PH: Yeah, or he's out if he's ….

AH: If he's struggling or something, yeah. But you don't know?

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: Yeah, that's the way of the future.

PH: Absolutely. But no, no, no, the good thing about it is that you can reach so many more people.

AH: Oh, yes. Well, that was the whole idea about going online too, to reach the underserved.

PH: Absolutely. How are exams administered in the Open Campus, because as you know, in a lot of the online courses in the US, the vast majority of them you can't take the credit because a foolproof system of testing has not yet been developed. So, you have these courses where you have thousands of people signing up with a very famous professor. So there's this guy—I'm blocking his name at the moment—he teaches finance at Yale, and so, he offers this course in finance every year, and about 15,000 people sign up. But there's no way that he can verify the writer of the exams with sufficient accuracy. So you take the course, but you can't take it for Yale University credit, you'd get a certificate if you took the course.

AH: Certificate of participation or something.

PH: Right.

AH: That is not an issue with us because when courses are done, and exam time comes around, we have a unit, the assistant registrar, whose primary responsibility is assessment which covers examinations, grades—that aspect of it. And that department deals with exams in that, remember that we are in a disparate type of environment. So for argument's sake, I could use Antigua as an example, okay? Let's say we have X amount of students, writing in a particular subject.

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: The exam papers for that particular course are couriered to us. We get them and the exams are conducted. Now, remember it's the same exam throughout all 45 sites, so we have to ensure that the exam is administered at the same time in all sites. And so that type of coordination is very necessary, particularly with today's Internet. If I do an exam here at 8 o'clock and do the same exam at 10 o'clock or at two o'clock, I could be WhatsApping you or copying the thing with my phone and sending it to you. There are lots of things that are in place, but to ensure that we don't have that situation occurring, we have strict rules governing examinations. And some of them are, for argument's sake, when you enter an exam room, you cannot leave under 20 minutes. So you cannot come in, look at the paper and then go outside and send it to somebody or call and say, "hey, so-and-so, send the paper." No. That is not allowed.

PH: Okay.

AH: And when you ask to go bathroom, you have to be accompanied by an invigilator. You are not allowed to go alone.

PH: Okay.

AH: And so, we have rules in terms of ratio of invigilators to persons writing the exams and we have a chief, you'll have assistants, and depending on how many in a particular room, you have—actually, the ratio is one to 20. So if you have 40, you will have a chief and two assistants. If you have 80, you'll have a chief and three assistants, and so on.

PH: So, the exam is…

AH: Very, very strict.

PH: The exam is actually given at a physical site?

AH: The exams are sent to each physical site. They are couriered, and we are not allowed to open them before the actual week. We keep them in a fireproof safe. We are not allowed to open them prior to the start of the exam. As a matter of fact, when you go into the room and the students are there, you'll have the exam sealed and everything. And the invigilators have the scissors, they have everything to cut it open in front of the students, take it out of the package. You read the instructions and you pass them out. They would have known that in Antigua and Barbuda, 20 people are doing this particular subject. So they might send you 23 or 25 exam papers. As you open it, you should have a sufficient number of exams and you'll distribute them. And at the end of it, you'll collect them, invigilators have to sign off, they do reports to say that, for example, the exam was conducted without incident.

If there's a particular incident, there are different forms for dealing with that. Maybe a student might come without an ID, then the new ID he/she would have to have a government-produced ID such as a passport or driver's license, some way of identifying the student.

PH: Right.

AH: Lots of rules and regulations to ensure.

PH: Right.

AH: And I can't say all of them work. I can get them to you, I could send you the documentation.

PH: No, no, no.

AH: But the fact is, everything is done to ensure the integrity of the exams.

PH: You know, the thing I was just trying to find out whether or not the exams were done online?

AH: Online? Some are, not all.

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: There is a course called EDC—electronic…. I'm not able to remember the full title, but there are one or two exams that are done online, fully online. And in that case, then you have certain rules. And so, in terms of the internet, you'll sign on and whatever rules and regulations you'll also follow and those are sent off electronically.

But there are not many of those. I know in education, there is one particular course that is done online. There's a theoretical written component in the traditional manner and there is a computer one that is done.

PH: Yeah. Okay.

AH: That is three, four or five hours, whatever…. I think it's two back-to-back exams in one lesson that we have for nearly the whole day, and it's online.

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: Fully online. Yes, the exam comes online, you will log in, click on whatever link, and you do it and then click on Submit. So we have more physical copies of everything, hopefully the internet and everything holds.

PH: Right. Okay, no, that's good. That's good, you know, because as I was saying there are all of these….

AH: But by and large, the bill comes very big. As a matter of fact, we have a very hefty courier bill, yeah.

PH: Well, of course.

AH: You know, because it's a lot of scripts going back and forth.

PH: Absolutely. Because…

AH: And then, we have to collect the scripts, the central office sites and the assistant registrar's office would have sent us information in terms of the markers to whom we have to send them because of this dispersed environment. So it's not necessarily going to our campus to be marked. You can live wherever, and you may be an e-tutor or a course coordinator, and so you will be marking exam papers. And so, wherever you are, we get them to you or you come in and collect them and sign for them, mark them, return them and then we send them back to head office wherever that is.

PH: Wow.

AH: So, it's a process.

PH: Yes.

AH: Quite a process.

PH: Of course, of course.

AH: And you have to pay attention to our detail.

PH: Right. No, that's why I said you have these huge online courses being taught by a lot of very famous professors. But you can't do them for credit because there is no physical site that you can go to, so that they will know for sure that it is you who are doing the exam.

AH: So these are okay?

PH: Yeah, it's just too much.

AH: But we do. We get requests all the time from different bodies, whether it's the ECCA or some CPA body or whatever exams all over the world, Canada, UK, Europe, and they are more or less seeking a place where their students can write the exams. And we provide the invigilation services. We administer the exams and courier back to them.

PH: Right, right.

AH: I'm a little perplexed that that isn't set up….

PH: That is definitely not a part of the Brown culture at the moment.

AH: You mean in terms of having these types of lectures?

PH: No, the examination.

AH: Oh.

PH: So you have the lectures, right?

AH: Uh-huh.

PH: But you know in advance, right, that the examination process is not yet done up to the satisfaction of the university. So that if you take the course, all you get is a noncredit certificate of participation.

AH: I guess to the content, two of that particular course would not have been designed by the university. It is that person doing everything?

PH: Yeah, it's designed by the professor.

AH: Right. Okay.

PH: But you say now, if you are registered at Brown, you can take it for credit.

AH: You can take it for credit?

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: But…

PH: But if you are a member…

AH: But if I sign in as an individual, that's it? Okay.

PH: All right? Because there's no way to monitor yours closely yet.

AH: Okay.

PH: But that's what they are working on, you know. Now in that regard, I think it's that the West Indies has always been ahead of the game because of this need to deal with the so-called underserved territories. And so I'm just really interested in in the exam process for those reasons because…

AH: Well, I'm not aware that we have that operating, certainly not in Open Campus. I do believe, maybe, Mona which is our largest campus even though not the most popular. St. Augustine now has taken over in that regard.

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: But I'm not aware of that scenario that you mentioned, because we have a type in terms of our own exam process. It's a keenly monitored one and it is audited, because sometimes we have a system where the auditors will just show up.

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: And it would just appear, just to do spot checks. So you really have to be on your P's and Q's because you won't know when they will come in.

PH: Yeah. No, it's the only way to guarantee the integrity of the exam, right? And so, because our online courses don't have that dimension, that physical dimension to it, that's why you don't get credit for these courses unless you are registered at Brown or at Yale, for that matter.

AH: Okay.

PH: Yeah. Okay, you were talking about numbers, enrollment numbers. Okay. So, here in Antigua, have enrollments gone up, remained the same, gone down—which way they are headed at the moment?

AH: This is a little embarrassing for me. I say this, because I'm unable to tell you, with any truthfulness, what our numbers are.

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: And that is because we recently transitioned into a new software system that to me is not very user-friendly. I don't know if I should say this one to you.

PH: Well, we just…

AH: I didn't want to publish my words, I mean this one.

PH: Yeah.

AH: But we had a system before, OCMS, which was one that you could go in, you could put up reports, you can do lots of stuff. But I couldn't just as I'm talking to you, tell you, oh, so far, 150 students have been registered to date. I am not able to do that readily in the new system. Maybe I don't know enough about it. But the system doesn't allow that.

I'll give you another example. The other day, we had orientation and in the old system, I could go in and pull up all the email, get all the new students get their email addresses and send them notices. I want them to do that on my own. And I was feeling very handicapped.

PH: Okay.

AH: And so, I had to write to the Registrar, the Assistant Registrar, requesting certain things, and she admitted to me that she didn't have that capability.

PH: Wow!

AH: So I ended up having to speak to someone, one of the technical persons who was dealing with that particular software. And he was very helpful, and I was able to get the information that I needed. And the only way I was able to get the record I needed was for me to log on and share my screen with him. Then he went through certain things because of his familiarity with the particular program, and so I was able to get the information.

AH: So in terms of numbers, I know that our numbers were not growing in the manner that we wanted them to, because they have put all types of initiatives like, I think two years ago, they offered a discount. Persons who registered early got a 5 percent discount. And clearly, if your numbers were up and climbing, there would be no need for that type of initiative.

PH: Right.

AH: You know?

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: And that is still in play today, that particular 5 percent initiative is still going.

PH: So you know…

AH: And then, people blame it generally on the prevailing overall economic conditions, in terms of persons just not being able to afford certain things even though our courses are very affordable.

PH: So, okay, two questions. What's the cost for the average or standard course?

AH: On average, you could do a degree, a Bachelor's degree for approximately $30,000 EC, which is good. Because I'm sure, in the States is like that per semester.

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: You know, depending on the degree program.

PH: Well yes, that's very competitive.

AH: Yes, it is.

PH: Very competitive.

AH: Because when we go on these promotional tours which we do from time to time in our different high schools, we usually present information to get student sensitized to what UWI offers and our main selling points, one of which is our cost.

PH: Right.

AH: Because we usually compare it with another university, with a Canadian and with an American University, and we try to use popular ones. You know, quite a lot of people from Antigua go to St. Mary's in Canada.

PH: St. Mary's in Canada, yeah.

AH: And I can tell you they are about three times, four times our cost.

PH: Right.

AH: So when we show them that, they usually gasp!

PH: Right.

AH: So, when you see the compared prices and similarly with American universities, the University of the West Indies definitely offers you a comparable quality education and a comparable quality degree for this.

PH: Uh-huh. Now, that's fundamental.

AH: Uh-huh.

PH: Okay, two last questions. Now at the moment, is the Open Campus closer or more connected to Cave Hill, Mona or St. Augustine? Or is it just all three depending on faculty? What offices are located where?

AH: Well, the Open Campus many times shares—I don't want to say offices, because we have our own offices in terms of where they are located. Because even within Mona I think you can find Open Campus on Mona campus property. And if it was in St. Augustine, the Open Campus offices are within the walls of St. Augustine.

PH: Okay.

AH: So, this talk of probably setting up a headquarters for the Open Campus…. I don't believe it's on the front burner because, quite frankly, I haven't heard it come up recently, or it may be because of what is involved if you're going to build a headquarters—finances, lots of it. And so, right now, it's probably more economical to continue the way we are. But I want to believe that at some point down the road they would want to move in that direction. What I observed, some of the governments have started doing…. I know the Grenada government just a couple years ago gifted—gifted is not a word I'd like to say, but it's a convenient word right now. To me, gift is not a verb but it has now been made a verb in popular parts.

PH: Right.

AH: The Grenada government gifted, and I think it's 80-something, 70-something acres of land to the University of the West Indies. Now when a government does something like that, I don't think it's difficult to imagine that that country may well get the headquarters because at least they have the land.

PH: Right.

AH: They already, you know?

PH: Uh-huh.

AH: And when you compare it with another territory that has made no such gift, they are going to put it to where they have land, right?

PH: Sure, sure.

AH: I remember when I came to work here first, I had all these "great" ideas. And I was saying, the Antiguan government did something like that because I'd heard a story that Guyana got the CARICOM Secretariat. Because the Guyana government went ahead and built this big office space and all the rest, and of course it makes sense.

PH: Sure.

AH: You know, you have to step off, take a leap of faith if you want certain…

PH: Things to come your way?

AH: Certain infrastructure and investment and certainly have university campus head offices. Imagine all the intellectuals who would be doing aside here, what that would do for our country and the level of discourse and just the types of meetings that it would naturally attract.

PH: Right.

AH: But that's just me thinking that way.

PH: Well, I think we certainly have enough land here for a headquarters.

AH: Well, they have to move from having it, and say, "Here it is and we would like you to do X Y Z." Right?

PH: Yeah. Alright.

AH: So that is to come, I guess later on.

PH: In other words then, the Open Campus is sort of integrated into all three campuses.

AH: Yes, but it's a separate campus now.

PH: Of course.

AH: It's a very separate campus, it has its own principal, improvised chancellor, has its own management staff as the other campuses. It has its own graduation ceremony and everything.

PH: So…

AH: When you get a University of West Indies degree, that's all it says, the University of the West Indies. To know where they went—Mona or St. Augustine, Cave Hill, Open Campus—you have to go into the transcripts to see. What the face of the big degree would say, "Paget Henry, Doctor of Whatever, University of the West Indies."

PH: So finally, the relations between the Open Campus and the Antigua State College…. Are there any plans to connect with the University of Antigua and Barbuda that is supposedly on the horizon?

AH: Well, I believe when that comes about, the powers that be will have certain protocols in place. Right now we have not been officially informed. I haven't seen any University of the West Indies communication in terms of any of its campuses versus the University of Antigua. So it's difficult for me to comment, because I would be speculating, and I don't think that's what you want. You want concrete information.

PH: Yeah. I heard that University of Antigua and Barbuda was to become a college of UWI, just as UWI was a college of the University of London.

AH: That is what I heard too.

PH: Yeah. I heard that….

AH: I heard also that it's being touted as the fourth campus, but I think that's an error, because the University's Open Campus is in fact the fourth campus, so if no other territory, nor the island develop another university that's affiliated, then the one in Antigua would become the fifth campus.

PH: Yeah, all right.

AH: In terms of relationship with the Antigua State College, we both offer some aspects of tertiary education, and the Open Campus site in Antigua is still the only representative of the University of the West Indies. And so this is where all University of the West Indies exams are written. Now, the Antigua State College has an undergraduate arm of the University of West Indies as part of its whole set up. It is more or less affiliated with Cave Hill Campus. They have what is called "Two Plus Two" where you do two years here, and then you're expected to finish your degree by going to the physical residential campuses.

PH: Right. Something like what you used to have with the Continuing Studies?

AH: Yes.

PH: Okay.

AH: So you have this Two Plus Two arrangement where they start the year, they do classes full time up there, and then they finish at either Mona, St. Augustine or Cave Hill. But most of the students seem to be channeled to the Cave Hill campus.

PH: Cave Hill, right.

AH: So those students too have to write their exams right here at Open Campus. We administer all UWI exams.

PH: Okay. Now, I think that's an important relationship there.

AH: And the Antigua State College, in terms of relationships, has also been using our venue. You know, we have a stage which allows us to do things like presentations and certain gatherings. And for the last few years, they have hosted the Dr. Alistair Francis Memorial Lecture, and that has been conducted right here at the Antigua Open Campus. So we are the venue. We are now known as the venue for that particular lecture series, and we accommodate them at no cost. They do most of the preparation, but we do allow them to use our site, doing it that way. So we have that type of relationship.

PH: So I think with all of this, the figures should show that both access to at least the bachelor's degree and the number of people who're actually acquiring bachelor's degrees should be increasing significantly.

AH: Yes, yes it is. Because when you look at the actual graduation figures—I think I remember at one point it was in excess of 500 or so graduates per annum. And I've heard higher figures—well, not all attend the physical graduation as happens all over the world—but when you look at the actual figures, the numbers for the Open Campus, it's in excess of 500 annually. And it's both bachelor's and master's degrees. Now we recently added the doctorate in education and leadership. I don't think we have had any graduates yet, because it was just introduced two years ago. I think this is the third year. So in years to come we will be graduating…

PH: Ph.D.'s

AH: E.D. …

PH: Yeah.

AH: Doctorates in Education.

PH: All right. So that's good. I think this is a good note on which to end and a good place for me to begin to think about the future.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mary Geo Quinn's *Hol' de Line and Other Stories*

Bernadette Farquhar

Hol' de Line and Other Stories is a collection of short stories and poems published by Mary Geo Quinn in 2003, her ninth literary output in a list that includes ***All of the Women of the Bible*** (1976), ***Sugar Mill Gems*** (1993), as well as ***Lest We Forget-Patriotic Poems*** (1993). This review of her ninth publication is based on the short stories, although reference is made to two of the poems.

The author excels as a story teller, providing highly informative glimpses into the history, social life and linguistic landscape of the island of Antigua. The subject of the poem "Nineteen Forty-Two" is the uprooting of families from one area of the island and their reluctant resettlement in another called Blizzards, in order to accommodate the construction of an American naval base. Such is the unhappiness of the displaced persons that they refuse to adopt the name of their new place of residence, preferring to call the area New Winthorpes, in remembrance of the area from which they had been removed. An enlightening revelation for any Antiguan/Barbudan who, like the author of this review, had no idea of the history of the village that many in the twin island state call "New Winthropes", interchanging the positions of the letters "r" and "o".

The last verse of the poem seems unclear in intent. It reads:

> The Americans have come and gone, and the local government
> Now owns the place; and there they've built as a true mark of development
> To take care of our ever increasing air transport
> The world famous V.C. Bird International Airport

Where tourism is the mainstay of a small island with few resources, the value of increased air traffic at its only airport can hardly be dismissed. It is therefore unclear whether the verse expresses irony, as the reader would reasonably expect, or whether it is meant to convey the tone of a typical tourist brochure or other piece of tourism promotion that is flattering in style and content.

While that poem largely recounts the history of the displacement suffered by the people who moved from Winthorpes to New Winthorpes, "Goodbye Winthorpes" is a short story, presumably biographical, which reveals their actions and emotions in that process. The narrator is a little girl, who is initially very sad at the prospect of moving:

> Suddenly, my tears started flowing despite my efforts to hold them back. As I lay sobbing softly, I thought of the friendly birds that used to coo and chirp merrily in our trees which had then all been

> cut down. I thought of the frogs that used to live in the ponds, and how I used to lie awake at night listening to their croaking. I thought of the crabs which used to live in the mangroves which the Americans dug up. Right away my mind flashed back on the sumptuous tasty meals of potatoes, yam, pumpkin and crab (a whole crab for each of us) which we often used to have for lunch. I wondered if in the new land to which we would be moved, there were also ponds and mangroves with frogs and crabs. I wondered if our fowls would have trees in which to sleep, and if there were birds also.

The passage above aptly describes the deep sense of loss felt by the displaced community. Another poignant segment occurs when the children in this story say goodbye to the familiar landmarks of their village. The music of their words recalls that of the utterances of another close-knit family, the Waltons, of American television, except that the Waltons always made these utterances at the end of each episode as they tucked in for the night, secure and unassailable in their home, in contrast to the disruption that the Antiguan family on the move was experiencing. Here are extracts from both sources.

Good-bye Winthorpes	**The Waltons**
"Good-bye Millars!"	"Goodnight, mama"
"Good-bye Top Hill!	"Goodnight children"
"Good-bye Sugar Mill!"	"Goodnight John Boy"
"Good-bye Winthorpes!'	"Goodnight Jim Bob"

However, despite the loss of the familiar, regret soon gives way to anticipation and by the end of the story, the child narrator admits to being curious about their new home: "The exciting, exhilarating spirit of adventure had me too much in its thrall."

Mary Geo Quinn is adept at capturing and reproducing the various language registers of Antigua and Barbuda. The dialogue in Antiguan-Barbudan dialect therefore has a high degree of authenticity. But there are lapses in which the author's voice, that of a well educated speaker, intrudes, with the result that the utterances seem stilted. In the story "The Netball Match", a mother says to her daughter: "Listen to me, Molly: I stop from school when I was twelve years old. I never went to school on Mondays and Fridays, and it hasn't done me any harm. When you go to school to waste time, and I don't have no brooms to sell in the market tomorrow, how I'm going to make up the money to pay the shop? If I can't pay the shop I'm not going to get any food to credit. Then what are we going to eat on Sunday?" The double negative and the verb unmarked for tense are indeed features of the vernacular, but other elements in

the utterance, particularly subject and verb inversion in interrogative sentences, are not likely to be characteristic of the speech of someone who left school at twelve.

Some features of the syntax and lexicon of the dialect are fused with English as though they are a part of that language, in such expressions as "look mangoes", "run way to Panama", the first of which is an example of elimination of a post-verbal particle, the second an example of syncope or the suppression of an unaccented syllable. There is a reference to children who were "disgusting" in class as well as in the playground, in which "disgusting" means annoying, as in the Antiguan dialect, rather than repulsive. Whether the author is unaware of the difference in usage, or is deliberately blurring the lines between the two language registers, is unclear. It is worth noting, however, that the Martinican author, Patrick Chamoiseau, does the latter in many of his writings.

Hol' De Line and Other Stories has the advantage of appealing to old and young readers and offers Antiguans and Barbudans the opportunity to see what their society was years ago, its history, customs, language and food. The illustration on the front cover suggests that the book is mainly for children, to be read by them and with them as bedtime stories. The story entitled "Dorothy" therefore seems far too adult for the collection.

Featherstone, David, Gair, Christopher, Høgsberg, Christian, Smith, Andrew, Eds. *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket: C.L.R. James's Beyond a Boundary.*

Leslie R. James

Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket is a must read for C.L.R. James scholars, those interested in cricket, sports in general, Caribbean Studies, postcolonial studies, cultural studies, and interdisciplinary studies. It is one of the best books published in 2018. The essays that fill the pages of *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket*, based on a conference in Edinburgh, Scotland to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of C.L.R. James's classic *Beyond a Boundary*, show how James saw the drama enacted on his local cricket field as the microcosm of a wider epic of social change taking place in the contemporary Caribbean, the British Empire, and globally. The book shows the regenerative capacity of *Beyond a Boundary*, "and more than fulfils it editors hope that its collection of essays" open up new ways to engage with and make use of *Beyond a Boundary* for the future" (vii).

Among other things, this work shows the enduring significance of James' work, scholarship, and the correlation between space and vision. It warrants a semiotic approach to the study of cricket, the role it played in the global dissemination of British civilization, and the way in which the subaltern used the master's game to interrogate his imperial sense of manifest destiny, and to interrogate the assumptions on which empire and privilege rested. Retrospectively, the book shows how James' work, from its positionality on the field of cricket, represented a shift in the geography of consciousness that was taking place at the outposts of the British empire. The impressive collection of essays bear witness to vitality of James' famous question, "What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?" In answer to the question, the editors of *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket* argue that *Beyond a Boundary* is that rarest of things: a serious book about popular culture that reckons with the ways in which sporting practices can express political meanings and act as the "muster points" of political struggle while also being shaped in themselves by the passions and divisions of the historical contexts in which people play and watch sports. (Cf. Foreword, vii).

Appropriately, the task of the various contributions in the book is "to engage with *Beyond a Boundary* through approaches that seek to gain the measure of this restless, curious intellect. The chapters assess both the historical and contemporary relevance of this text in diverse ways and from a range of contrasting positions" (Cf. Introduction, 22). While each article makes a distinctive contribution to the narrative, arguably, familiarity with the game and the historical context out of

which it emerged, enhances the degree of engagement, and the organic relationship of each essay in illumining and revisiting *Beyond the Boundary* five decades after its publication.

In addition to a Foreword ("Opening Up") and Introduction ("Beyond a Boundary at Fifty"), the book also includes four parts, followed by an Appendix, References, list of contributors, and an Index. The following pages offer a synopsis of each chapter, and the appendix to evaluate their salience in relationship to *Marxism, Colonialism and Cricket* and James' *Beyond a Boundary*. Part I, Cricket, Empire, and the Caribbean, chapters 1–5, provides an adequate setting or context to appreciate the book from the context of social history. The opening essay, "C.L.R. James: Plumbing His Caribbean Roots," (Chapter 1) by Selwyn R. Cudjoe, a major Jamesian scholar, argues that "We can better understand James's *Beyond a Boundary* if we can locate him in a tradition that made him who he was" (35). With focus on the concept of tradition, a number of questions are relevant. While the question of the nature of the tradition to which Cudjoe is referring is primary, it is plausible to hear a well-known poetic refrain, "respect to tradition yield." With regard to the social ethos and institutions that shaped James, the virtue of respect was foundational in his identity formation. Fundamentally, it impacted James' being and the process of his becoming. Cudjoe is apposite when he writes that "James had to tell his story if he wished to challenge the limitation of spirit, vision, and self-respect that British colonialism had imposed on West Indian people through their education, their religion, and their games, which were profound forms of politics. To do so, James had to go back into 150 years of history that followed from the arrival of his people on the island to truly understand who he was and what he had become in a process that was shaped by slavery and colonial rule" (49). Since slavery and colonial rule were processes of control, James had to know, understand, and critique the institutional mechanisms of control that were integral to the British mission civilatrice.

Christian Høgsbjerg's essay, "C.L.R. James's "British Civilization"?: Exploring the "Dark Unfathomed Caves" of *Beyond a Boundary*" (Chapter 2) takes us further into the abyss of James' quest. While the goal of the chapter is "to demonstrate that a fundamental aim of *Beyond a Boundary* was to historically situate the rise of English cricket alongside the Industrial Revolution for the first time in order to say something new about "English civilization" (55). Høgsbjerg argues that "to this day there are a great many "dark and unfathomed caves" within the overall text of *Beyond a Boundary* that deserves greater archeological excavation by James scholars" (56). In this regard, he invokes James' own suggestion to his long-standing comrade Martin Glaberman, in his comments dated July 11, 1963, made in Glaberman's personal copy of *Beyond a Boundary*: "I cannot prevent myself saying that within these

covers, there is everything. I shall in time go into detail and will surprise even you" (Glaberman 1999:xxvii) (56). James' promise to Martin Glaberman, referred to by Høgsbjerg gives the book a history, helps to drive the book's narrative along, and demonstrate that reality is more complicated than the imperial gaze imagines. Roy McCree's essay on the publication history of *Beyond a Boundary* gives it a special dimension. Ostensibly, *Beyond a Boundary* is a major artefact of Caribbean material culture. It is a classic expression of black will and literacy in the face of an imperial tradition that denied black agency, subjectivity, and self-determination. Thus said, James' determination to publish his well-known work was nothing short of a major event in the annals of Caribbean history, literary, and sports history. At the dawn of West Indian independence, it was a milestone. From the outset, Roy McCree captures the seismic impact of James' work through the organizational structure of his essay.

The production process of *Beyond a Boundary*, as described in Roy McCree's contribution, "The Boundaries of Publication: The Making of *Beyond a Boundary*," (Chapter 3), reads as a virtual odyssey that portrays book and author as heroic. The reader is left with the uncanny feeling that *Beyond a Boundary* was destined to be written, and published. McCree's essay focuses on the actual publication process through which the book was produced and its particular significance, vagaries, and contradictions in relation to two basic relationships (not so much on the finished product): author-publisher and metropole-colony. By way of elaboration, the chapter is divided into six parts: (1) its methodology; (2) its analytical framework; (3) the early failed efforts at publication; (4) the final securing of a publisher; (5) the peculiarities or boundaries of the publication process as they relate particularly to the naming of the text and the date and timing of its publication; and (6) its broader socioeconomic and political significance as part metropole-colony relations (72). He then theorizes on the work:

McCree sees the process of publishing the book as representative of a particular "figuration" of social relations, a concept traceable back to the German sociologist Norbert Elias who used it to capture the interdependent or reciprocal nature of relations between people, although he recognized that such relations may also be characterized by inequalities in power and resources" (73). This chapter resonates with the issue of British civilization raised in the foregoing chapter by Høgsbjerg. Consequently, utilizing the notion that the civilizing process was the actual framework of Elias' work, McCree argues that the civilizational theme was central to *Beyond a Boundary*, and James's work, as a whole. There was no need to invent a new tradition. To respect and yield to tradition meant to mimic British civilization; not to seek to change or transform it. But what future does an empire, institution, or

tradition have without a sense of the new? In response, McCree's analysis is credible when claims that the title, and phrase "*Beyond a Boundary*" has become a discursive code to signify the function that cricket has come to serve in the West Indies as a symbol of West Indian anti-British imperialism, the struggle for decolonization, democratization, independence, nationalism, and even regionalism (85). Ironically, though the book's publication depended on a British publisher and a British book market, "a book written by a black West Indian, or "colonial," was able to set a new benchmark of literary brilliance in the study and writing about sports in general, and about cricket in particular" (85). According to McCree, "James, however, might have seen this tension or contradiction as merely consistent with our multiple identities as part British and part West Indian" (85). In keeping with its name, *Beyond a Boundary* illustrates the complicated relationship between metropole and colony, colonizer and colonized. Using a metaphor from the game of cricket, McCree argues that "James produced a literary innings and record that, arguably, are yet to be surpassed" (86). McCree's general attitude toward the publication of *Beyond a Boundary* is nothing short of a praisesong to the book's author. As protagonist, "With James battling against rejection, pessimism, and ill health after his nearly fatal car accident, *Beyond a Boundary* is a book that almost did not see the light of day. However, due to James's resilience, his unwavering commitment to his work and the game of cricket, and the forging of a West Indian nation, the injured author still played as straight as he could, never taking his eye off his objective. (86).

James' work was phenomenal and he was eventually vindicated. McCree commented that while the publishers were generally pessimistic, James' optimism was eventually vindicated as the book went on to become a classic sporting text. In 2002 it was ranked thirty-sixth among the Top 100 Sports Books of All Time by, of all ironies, the American Magazine *Sports Illustrated*. "For sure, Caliban's pioneering masterpiece had borne fruit, though aided in part by Caesar" (86). The chapter is significant in terms of recognizing that the production and publication of *Beyond a Boundary* in 1963 represented a conjunctural turn in Caribbean and British imperial history: as the British empire rose on its cricket fields, so did its decline. Ironically, this decline was seen and enacted at the margins in a remarkable way.

Considering James' public school education, it is plausible to consider that Lamming's contribution to naming *Beyond a Boundary* signified common cultural and intellectual formation that transcended the insular boundaries set by the system of plantation economy. James' *Beyond a Boundary* represented an alternative route toward achieving Caribbean integration and cultural autonomy in the wake of the failure of the political path to Caribbean integration in the demise of the West

Indian Federation (1958–1962). Following the splintering of the vision of a West Indian Federation, and Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago becoming independent nation-states within the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1962, the year before the publication of *Beyond a Boundary*, James' work showed that West Indian cricket fields or pitches became the zone on which to forge an alternative vision of Caribbean integration and sovereignty. In drawing on a tradition that was integral to British civilization, James showed that reparation of the "inner life" of West Indians was fundamental, if not a prerequisite, to their emancipatory quest. *Beyond a Boundary* illustrated the deep connection between cricket and the interior life of Anglo-Caribbean folk. Minkah Makalani's essay, "West Indian Through and Through and Very British": C.L.R. James' *Beyond a Boundary*, Coloniality, and Theorizing Caribbean Independence" (Chapter four) bears witness to this thesis, though it proposes a different theoretical framework from McCree's essay.

Following the preceding chapter, Makalani's essay elaborates on the moral and mental outlook of *Beyond a Boundary*, and raises the question of the sports figure as hero in a colonial polity. The hero who embodied the contradictions of his or her society and culture, its virtues and flaws, also offered the possibility to transcend, resolve, go "beyond" those conflicts. Drawing on Nelson Maldonado-Torres' concept of the decolonial turn, Makalani foregrounds his discussion of *Beyond a Boundary* with James' thinking about the artist, democracy, and his concern with Caribbean coloniality to argue for a textual reading of James as engaged in a practice of decolonial thought (92).

On the one hand, decolonial thought is more a matter of praxis than abstract thinking. On the other hand, the suggestion that Matthew Bondman is the fictional name for James' most enigmatic character makes much sense. In the possibility of offering a variety of interpretive lenses to see Matthew Bondman, James implicitly made it possible for different individuals and contexts to interpolate themselves into the narrative of *Beyond a Boundary*. The goal was to make Bondman a credible character in various cultural contexts, whether Trinidad, Caribbean, or global. It is possible to detect resonances of the Christian biblical canon in the name Matthew Bondman. First, consider that the name Matthew refers to the canonical Gospel of Matthew. The first Gospel in the New Testament canon, Matthew is seen as the most Jewish of the Gospels since it provides a continuum between the Jewish tradition, and the emerging Christian tradition, heavily influenced by the Greco-Roman civilization. The Gospel begins with an inventory of the genealogies that lead up to the birth of Christ, and ends with Jesus' Great Commission to his disciples to "go into all the world." In the wake of the fall of Jerusalem, and the attendant process of decentering, Matthew can be considered as "decolonial" and universal in thrust. It

refracts a shift in the geography of consciousness. This line of argument fits in with Makalani's appropriation of Maldonado-Torres description of "the decolonial turn" as "a practice that draws on colonized and delegitimatized knowledges and "highlights the epistemic relevance of the enslaved and colonized search for humanity." In turn, this quest for humanization begins to "open up the sources for thinking and to break up the apartheid of theoretical domains through renewed forms of critique and epistemic creolization" (92).

While the argument admits that James was by no means unfamiliar with the Bible, it is not necessarily making a scriptural argument on James' behalf. Secondly, consonant with my proposal on the biblical resonance of the name Matthew, the surname Bondman echoes the thought of St. Paul that in Christ there is no East or West, no bond or free, but in Christ all are made alike. The Christ or Messiah is the mediator of a new system of human relationships. Here, Makalani writes that when James "identifies himself with his imaginative portraiture of Sobers, he is announcing a shift toward those Caribbean masses who gave cricket its local traditions. It hardly seems coincidental that James' portrait of a "barefoot" Sobers brings to mind the figure who loomed so large in his mind as he first sat to write *Beyond a Boundary*, whom James often watched as a young boy from his bedroom window: Matthew Bondman" (93). Since childhood, the vision of Bondman unbounded had been a major image in James' consciousness. Makalani argues that Mathew Bondman serves to identify the artist and the African as the very possibility for a Caribbean political future—not merely after formal colonialism (postcolonial), but after coloniality (post-coloniality). Like the young Garfield Sobers of James's imagination, Bondman belonged to a line of Caribbean artists who engaged in the practice of translating a foreign medium into a Caribbean tradition. The manner in which art accesses and expands on popular consciousness through a virtuoso's ability to shape national consciousness and express popular desires is central to this practice of translation. The cricket of a Bondman, a John, or a Sobers thus subverts the very social hierarchies attendant to coloniality (97–98).

David Austin's essay, "Looking Beyond the Boundary, or Bondman without the Bat: Modernism and Culture in the Worldview of C.L.R. James," (Chapter 5) elaborates further on the character of Matthew Bondman. Austin's central question is that if a game in which the British invested so much could be used as a tool to out-master the master on the cricket pitch, what were the potential implications of this prowess in the political arena? (104). His contends that "This is precisely the question that began, both consciously and unconsciously, to occupy increasing numbers of Caribbean women and men as West Indian cricket stoked the fires of Caribbean nationalism and Caribbean nationalism stoked

the fires of West Indian cricket" (104). Temporally, "By the time the British West Indies embarked on its many paths toward independence, the culture of cricket and its attendant codes had long ceased to be the master's tool and were increasingly an expression of West Indian autonomy" (104). From a contemporary vantage point, there is much truth in Austin's argument that while the popularity of other sports in the Caribbean, including the almost religious enthusiasm for soccer and the rising popularity of track and field, especially the sprint events, rival cricket's contemporary popularity, none of these sports has captured the Pan-Caribbean imagination in the way or carried the weight of Caribbean nationalism and identity in the way cricket has (104–105). By the time James wrote *Beyond a Boundary*, West Indian cricket was about to assume a more collective than individualistic identity. It became a vehicle to work through some of the most pressing political, cultural, and identity needs in the Caribbean. Consequently, it made sense for James to strategically place Matthew Bondman at the center of the debate concerning national consciousness and identity in the Caribbean.

From early childhood, James saw Bondman's performance on the field of cricket as a metaphor for the decolonized identity. I agree with Austin that "James' assessment of Bondman highlights the challenges associated with imagining a world beyond the boundaries of colonialism and coloniality while at the same time drawing on the master's tools to dismantle the master's house" (106). However, this reviewer wishes to take issue with Austin's suggestion that James' appreciation of Bondman's creative potential is limited to his achievements on the cricket pitch. As a result, James fails to appreciate the creative potential that Bondman represents as a symbol of the 'barefoot' man who rebels against the constraints that the rules and attendant codes of cricket imposed on him and the significance of his rejection of these limitations. (106–107). Much depends on how Matthew Bondman engages the imagination. James is particularly subtle, and sophisticated, when it comes to Matthew Bondman's purpose in *Beyond a Boundary*. He grants Bondman a higher role in his conceptual or dialectical framework as the person who radically interrogates the colonial system. Despite his positionality in the social hierarchy, James recognized the profound subversive potential of Bondman. Like Hamlet wrestled with his father's ghost, "the boy at the window," wrestled with Bondman, "the barefoot hero." James understood the function of cricket in coding colonial Trinidadian society; he was simultaneously involved in analyzing the meaning of those codes for the historical present, and mapping the future of that society. Whatever the framework of interpretation for Bondman—biblical, feudal, ideological, other—it is important to not overlook the fact that James imagined Matthew Bondman as an ideological signifier, as a composite signifier of James'

Marxist, decolonial, and cricket orientation. A kind of floating signifier, Bondman is a liminal or transitional figure whose name signifies the biblical (Matthew) and feudal system of Medieval period. The bondman was a figure in the feudal hierarchy who owed fealty to his master or landlord. Export of the feudal system into the Caribbean during the age of conquest and colonization led to its eventual morphing into the New World plantation in the Caribbean and Latin America. Against the background of the master-slave relationship, Bondman's performance at the wicket is multivalent or polyvalent, depending on its receptor. Seen against the wider backdrop of Caribbean history, Bondman is a symbol for the first modern. James' family members who condemn Matthew Bondman and his family, simultaneously confess their class prejudices and orientation. The tension Bondman introduces into their consciousness makes him a major protagonist in the drama of decolonization. Therefore, the question that Matthew Bondman raises is not only about the politics of representation and authenticity, the focus of the second section of *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket*, it concerns the connection between cricket and social power in the Caribbean. While still a child, Bondman taught James that connection, it was only in the course of writing *Beyond a Boundary* that he fully understood its significance. Hence, it is appropriate to see *Beyond a Boundary* as a *Bildungsroman*, a coming of age story.

Makalani's foregrounding of Bondman represented a view "from below," Anima Adjepong's essay, "Periodically I Pondered over It: Reading the Absence/Presence of Women in *Beyond a Boundary* (Chapter 6), the first in second part of the book, makes an important contribution to the volume in its attempt to gender the conversation from the perspective of "absent/present." Of immediate interest is Adjepong's ultimate concern to "read" the "absent/presence" of women in *Beyond a Boundary*. To address this concern, she turns to *Beyond a Boundary* "to try to understand the role women played in the social and political world of West Indian cricket. Her thesis is that "partially autobiographical, *Beyond a Boundary* offers insight into James's informal and gender politics in ways that his letters and other published works might not." Based on James' testimony, she refers to the text of *Beyond a Boundary* (2013[1963]:41) in which James comments that "there is a whole generation of us, and perhaps two generations, who have been formed by [cricket] not only in social attitudes but in our most intimate personal lives, in fact there more than anywhere else" (124).

While James' declaration testifies the role of cricket in shaping generational identity, Adjepong poses the question as to who is the actual "us" to whom James is referring. She considers this question "necessary" on the grounds of "the almost complete absence of women's voices and perspectives in the world James describes. Adjepong needed

to give evidence of the actual presence of women's voices or presence in James' work to show how they offer concrete insights into his informal and gender politics in ways that his letters and other published works might not have provided. In other words, her position warranted comparison of the female presence/absence in *Beyond a Boundary* as actually compared with other works by James such as *Minty Alley*. One gets the impression that Adjepong is trying to clarify her actual question in the essay when she later states that her main argument in this chapter is that "reading the silences about women's role in the world James sees from his bedroom window offers a modest way to recover the contributions women made to social and political life in the West Indies" (124). Thus, her central question is how does the world James sees from his bedroom window offer a way to recover the contributions women made to social and political life in the West Indies? If so, she risks absolutizing James' childhood gaze from his bedroom in her claim that it "offers a modest way to recover the contributions women made to social and political life in the West Indies" (124). It is plausible that Adjepong shifted her central question and thesis to make them fit adequately into the structure of *Beyond a Boundary*. The problematic with her task was not that it proposed a judgment of James, based on a very limited gaze of his work; one that made it virtually impossible to generate the knowledge she was seeking to extrapolate. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that Adjepong's engagement with James' work, like that of the other writers in the volume, was to relate it to her own project. Her particular reading of James' *Beyond a Boundary* in which women, though rarely mentioned in the text, contains theoretical insights that "can be relevant for thinking more broadly about women's place in sports and politics" fits in with the project (124). Thus said, her conclusion that "because James' account of cricket in the West Indies remains foundational to understanding sports and politics, a decolonial feminist reading of this text contributes to a reorientation of how we think about black women's historical engagement in antiracist and other political struggles" is problematic in its lack of specifics (135). Nevertheless, Adjepong's provocation warrants serious consideration of the continued relevance of critical reflection and theorization of "absence" and "presence" in mediating culture, social change, sociogenesis, and sport in the Caribbean. In *Beyond a Boundary*, James made a seminal contribution to these aspects in his engagement with the Caribbean world. *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket* is proof positive of the enduring epistemological and revolutionary ethos and challenge of James' work.

Neil Washbourne, in his essay, "C.L.R. James, W.G. Grace, and the Representative Claim," (Chapter 7), further elaborates on the problem of representation as a key factor in the construction of society through

exploration of "the model (or theory) of the representative hero or figure present in *Beyond a Boundary*, a model that is an important, rich, and suggestive means for exploring individual-collective relationships in real-world contexts" (137). Its critique of W.G. Grace as a representative figure in *Beyond a Boundary* is profoundly illuminating. By extension, its critique of James' apparent neglect of mediation, that is, the roles of intermediary bodies and communication media—in constructing W. G. Grace's image to counteract that of Oscar Wilde in contemporary England is simply compelling. Such considerations question whether James' analysis of Grace as the representative character in *Beyond a Boundary* was flawed. Since an astute publisher would undeniably have known of Oscar Wilde's ghost in Grace's cave, and consequently, in James' work, mediation is an act of signification or meaning-making.

Adopting Michael Saward's notion of representation as "a series of practices, meanings, and events that are thereby open for investigation" (149), Washbourne argues that people and institutions make representations that establish a subject which stands for an object, related to a referent that is offered to an audience (149). Representations are therefore symbolic. Acting like mirrors and root metaphors that represent individual or collect desire for transcendence, they provide significant windows into the construction and interpretation of cultures. In the process, they assume iconic status. From the perspective of transactional analysis, the representational process "involves representative claimants constructing verbal or visual images for and about their constituencies or countries for instance (2010:51). It includes, centrally, exploration of the incomplete control claimants have over how their claims are communicated. While Washbourne does not claim that the process of negotiating representation involves some degree of masochism (perhaps too strong a word), he is apposite in citing the example of W.G. Grace. In 1895, Grace can be regarded as having offered himself up (maker) through his extraordinary cricket to press and magazines, which were even more influential than the cricket institutions such as MCC and GCCC and other interested bodies, such as the established and nonconformist churches and the commercial music hall. The former, then, heavily influences the offering of "Him" (subject) as the embodiment of manly (not effeminate) national/imperial identity that had become increasingly hegemonic during the renewed imperial grabs of the United Kingdom (and other Western powers) since the 1880s (object).

Great man or icon, W.G. Grace represented a conjunctural moment in British culture. He "was thus known through various ideas of what this object meant ... to a number of constituencies" (150). These constituencies included "especially, the large-scale, middle-class-identifying public brought into existence by social, political, cultural,

and economic transformations of the nineteenth century... nuanced by the rise of a mass reading public, including many of the working classes, by the century's close" (150). Grace helped to bridge the social divides in British the almost impenetrable social divides in British society. Washbourne's concludes that "James' model of the representative figure in *Beyond a Boundary* provides a rich material and cultural analysis of cricketers and cricket in the colonial situation, as well as a broader model" (150). Referring to his scholarly task in the chapter, Washbourne notes that W. G. Grace in 1895 provided the locus of James biographical recognition of the representative figure. However, he argues that there is reason to think that James accepted a slanted model of Grace and of the claims that a unitary and spontaneous public gathered around his image. Here, Washbourne wishes to make a distinction between James' slanted appropriation of W.G. Grace as a representative figure and James' own commitment to popular sovereignty. The latter was constructed through a cultural reworking (creolization) of Rousseau's notion of the general will that applied to the situation in Trinidad in the first five or six decades of the twentieth century, and which formed much of the ground for the appeal of the concept of the representative figure to James. Consequently, Washbourne argues, against Rousseau, that "it is incumbent on us, both in scholarly productions and politically, to recognize the complex mediating work that intervenes between representative claims and the complex cultural-material reception of those claims" (151). In light of Washbourne's overall argument, *Beyond a Boundary*, can also be seen as performing a mediatory function in negotiating a new future on behalf of West Indians. Thus said, the final essay in Part II, Clem Seecharan's "Shannonism: Learie Constantine and the Origins of C.L.R. James's Worrell Captaincy Campaign of 1959–60: A Preliminary Assessment," (Chapter 8), an excellent contribution to the book, shows how the dynamics of color (the "color-line") shaped West Indian society.

Seecharan's foregrounds the intersection between cricket and cultural ideology, as embodied in Shannonism and Learie Constantine, and James' campaign to appoint Frank Worrell captain of the West Indies cricket team. Its reflection on the intersections between sport, racism, and class in deconstructing process decolonization, it is a superb analysis of James' identity conflicts. Seecharan suggests that James saw Worrell's belated elevation to the captaincy of the West Indies cricket team as an exemplification of Shannonism. James' successful campaign on behalf of Worrell's captaincy also represented rectification of his Maple error in which he went "light" four decades earlier (168). The myth of white natural leadership and its corollary of black tutelage was at stake. The argument is not without its contemporary echoes. On the eve of independence, it was imperative to interrogate existing cultural

presuppositions. In the face of the crisis, Frank Worrell's appointment as captain of the West Indies cricket team had deep symbolic significance in terms of the process of decolonization and sociogenesis in the Caribbean. Worrell's appointment filled West Indians with a sense of pride, and called for celebration. The appointment was a major testimonial to the cricketer as a homegrown hero from the underside of society.

As far as accuracy is concerned, since Worrell died in 1967, at the age of forty-two, it is difficult to imagine that he was offered the captaincy for a ten-year period (1958–1969). At the time of his passing, he had attained the status of folk hero—someone who was able to mediate a sense of national, or in the case Worrell, a regional consciousness, that transcended insular boundaries. Among other things, he shifted the geography of West Indian cricket consciousness by integrating players from the Leeward and Windward Islands (Combined Islands) such as Michael Findlay (St. Vincent and the Grenadines), Elquemedo Willette (St. Kitts Nevis) into the West Indies cricket team. Previously, the players who represented the West Indies team came from the major clubs in Barbados, British Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad. In light of this cultural practice, it is easy to understand James' dilemma in choice of Maple over Shannon. Ultimately, such considerations make *Beyond a Boundary* into a narrative of redemption.

The chapters that make up Part III, Art, History, and Culture in C.L.R. James, in *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket*, (Chapters 9–11), elaborate on the political significance of integrating art, history, and culture in the vision and deployment of a new world order. Claire Westhall's "C.L.R. James and the Arts of *Beyond a Boundary*: Literary Lessons Cricketing Aesthetics, and World-Historical Heroes,"(Chapter 9) "examines two interlinked dimensions of *Beyond a Boundary's* investment in heroes. First, it analyzes the literary lessons built into the text and their connection to James' portrayal of cricket and cricketing heroics, particular the traditions of the realist novel, the *bildungsroman*, and the repeated use of dramatic theory and the tragic hero. Second, it reads the importance of world-historical figures as expressed through James' highly nuanced theorization of performative aesthetic and his concern with the relationship between an individual and the community (174). Westhall opines that James' struggle to conceptualize the relation among different forms of aesthetic heroic endeavor is the core of *Beyond a Boundary's* originality (178). In short, "the creation of a character that will sum up a whole epoch of human history" (see James 1977 [1953]) lie at the very heart of *Beyond a Boundary*" (183). In a statement that recalls Adjepong's essay, Westhall points out that since across his work, James repeatedly portrays "great men" as the ones who make and transform history, it is not surprising that across the range of critical responses

to James' writing there is a repeated concern with his concentration on male heroes and masculine leadership, as well as his effort to connect these figures to their people (183). Though Westhall does not explain the relative absence of "great" female figures in James' work, her comparison of James and Fanon's thinking on heroics is one of the most interesting features of her essay. According to Westhall, a key difference between them is that James positions the people as being the "uplift" that brings life to, and is expressed in, exceptional action, cricketing and revolutionary. With, through, and via the crowd's recognition, or reading, of the world-historical cricketer in aesthetic action, James sees the Caribbean asserting itself and setting the pattern for the perpetual pursuit of freedom—historical, domestic, and international. Hence *Beyond a Boundary* is crucial to James' understanding of world history, and of the world-historical as manifest in specific people and communities as expressed in singular, specific, and aesthetic moments of revolutionary sporting action (190). What it means to be human was central to both James and Fanon. For both men, the answer to the question was the actual task of setting afoot a new humanity.

Following Westhall Andrew Smith's essay, "The Very Stuff of Human Life: C.L.R. James on Cricket, History, and Human Nature,"(Chapter 10) adds a significant dimension to the book through his assessment of James' contribution to understanding popular culture in *Beyond a Boundary*. Smith's inventory of various aspects of Jamesian anthropology contribute to his essay's level of interest, and elaborate on the connection between the narrative of *Beyond a Boundary* and the quest to be human. A recollection near the beginning of *Beyond a Boundary* is his point of departure. Methodologically, the question revolves on how to approach cricket "critically," that is, in historical terms. Phenomenologically, sports, particularly cricket, was a major lens through which James' developed his insights into historical causality, and its problems. James saw that "changes in cultural or creative practices are shaped by the specific demands of local situations and by the responses of those involved to those situations"(192). Hence the necessity to think of popular culture as a theater of "historical problems," that is, as something that we can understand adequately only through grasping the ways in which it is born, and consequently expresses particular social and historical problems (192). In James' thinking, politics and culture were always interrelated. He insisted on the need to continually reevaluate the means and the ends of political struggle in light of the demands that were voiced through emergent forms of popular insurgency (192–193). Eventually, Selma James reminds us of this Jamesian respect for popular culture in her contribution to the volume (Chapter 14). By way of summary, Smith argues that James' great achievement in *Beyond a Boundary*, the achievement that has made

the text such an enduring reference point is his success in thinking historically about a popular cultural practice such as cricket. In detail, he worked through the ways in which sporting play reflects its particular social context and simultaneously offers a space in which that social context, or aspects of it, might be contested or thrown into critical relief (193).

James' other central thesis is that cricket should be considered a form of art, and as a full member of the artistic community simply cutting through the boundaries between what was considered "high" and "low" culture (196 [193]). In two broad senses, cricket qualified as art. First, he argued that the sport has many of the qualities of dramatic art. One the one hand, it is a game structured around a continuously repeated confrontation between individuals who stand, in their play, as representatives of the wider team of which they are a part. On the other hand, it is also a game in which each individual passage of play has the potential to radically alter the ultimate outcome of the match (194). Second, James argued that the sport shared crucial qualities with visual art. Taking the concept of "significant form" from the art critic Bernhard Berenson, James uses the term to refer to the capacity of visual art to create joy by virtue not of its powers of representation but through its appeal to the "tactile consciousness" of the viewer—that is to say, a heightened recognition, felt as much as thought, of the human capacity for intentional movement (194–195). What is striking about these two claims is that they apparently rest on presumptions about what is of significance to human beings as *such* (195).

Putting aside the dimension of the dramatization of social conflict in sport, James' concentrated on its significance for being or becoming human. In terms of ultimate concern, cricket's dramatic qualities matter to its audience because they are expressions of "elemental sensations" that humans never grow out of and need to renew. Any art, whether by accident or design, that gets too far from these "elemental sensations" discovers "that it has to return or wither since they are the very stuff of human life" (198 [195]). Implicitly, such thinking raises notions of alienation or "social death." On this note, Smith deepens understanding of James' intellect by addressing an apparent contradiction in his thought between his Marxist oriented affinity for the masses, and his reference to "the opportunity to witness, in the game's great players, a life-enhancing visual enactment of the body in motion" (196). In the final analysis, Smith sees no contradiction between the two orientations: James the critical and political thinker or the historical materialist, on the one hand, and the James who appeals to the idea of a settled human nature, on the other (196). Smith's overall argument concerning James' anthropology, a critical juxtaposition of insights into colonialism and Marxism, is that he "uses the capacity for artistic response as

one indication of a common humanity to be defended against the invidiousness of colonial racism and against the no less invidious effects of class prejudice" (199). To understand the full resonance of James' argument is to recognize the extent to which these claims in *Beyond a Boundary* are informed also by his concerted reconsideration of the Marxist tradition that are found especially in the writings he produced during his time in America in which he sought to place the idea of "the human" at the heart of its historical analysis. He did not accept that there was any contradiction in doing so (199).

In a nutshell, "James sought to develop an account of Marxism that was centered above all on the active, creative human being" (199). Following Smith's argument, James can be classified as a hermeneuticist of suspicion who, along with his then comrades, tried to make the question of "concrete" human longing central to accounting for the emergence of political struggle. The argument contested the view that social change is determined by, or a mere effect of, technological change. Concurrently, this account treated the idea or ideal of the "human" as ethically central to any understanding of the "ends" or purposes of political struggle. This argument opposed an understanding of socialism as a kind of destination defined only in terms of a formal or bureaucratic alteration in the ownership or distribution of material goods (199). Smith concludes that this led James to the conclusion that the idea of "the human" emerges as something that is fought for or postulated in and through the history of popular struggle. Overall, Smith's "reasonings" help to draw attention to the significance of the title of James' classic, *Beyond a Boundary*. For James, history was not just conversation with the so-called heroic figures, but also of their relations with the masses.

A commendable feature of *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket* is the various "turns" the reader experiences in the course of reading the book, not just its portrait of James as a heterodox and radical historical figure. Paget Henry's essay, "C.L.R. James: Beyond the Boundaries of Culture," (Chapter 11) represents a major "turn" in transcending the boundary. Henry is one of the foremost Jamesian scholars. The primary aim of Henry's essay is to provide a comprehensive account of C.L.R. James' theory of culture and the place of *Beyond a Boundary* within it" (204). His goal is "to make James's crossing of these internal and external boundaries of culture more explicit, to link them to the Caribbean ontology of creative realism and to James' civilizational sociology" (204). Henry's thesis is that "Within James's broader vision of culture, we can distinguish three crucial moments, which came together in changing syntheses to constitute the dynamism of the larger dialectical whole" (204). Furthermore, within this larger whole there are three distinct ways in which James formulated and integrated the cultural, political, and economic aspects of his thought (204). These three

different syntheses of economics, politics, and culture were themselves creative expressions of an expanding process of integration taking place within James as a subject in formation (204). First, there is the poeticist synthesis that is centered in literature and cricket. It was the first major synthesis through which James linked the cultural, economic, and political aspects of this thought (205). James' second synthesis of culture, politics, and economics was the larger creative eruption that accompanied the emergence of the political theorist in James to a position of dominance (206).

Henry accounts for the originality and distinctness of *Beyond a Boundary* from its being the creative expression of another Jamesian process of inner integration (206). Echoing Wilson Harris' notion of the womb of space, he sees James engaged in a process of negotiation through which he revises his vision as he trades spaces and places; the only womb out of which *Beyond a Boundary* could have come. James' third synthesis is the poetic socio-historicism. The three distinct strategies by which James linked culture, politics, and economics with the three dynamic moments in the life of culture facilitate the full grasp of the significant changes in James' dialectical theory of culture (206). Henry is apposite when he declares that "It is this systematic inclusion of sports among the great sociogenic forces of human history that distinguish James' civilizational sociology and make *Beyond a Boundary* such a special work" (214). His emphasis on the intersection between cricket and the quest for subjectivity in James' civilizational sociology allowed him to go beyond the boundary of a bipolar interpretive framework of Caribbean reflections as poeticist and historicist. Undoubtedly, close reading of James' work contributes to the intellectual sophistication of Henry's essay, and allowed him to identify the third Jamesian the poeticist socio-historicist as the third Jamesian synthesis. Following Smith's essay which emphasizes the concreteness of Jamesian anthropology, the quest for humanity and self-fulfillment, Henry actually establishes a profound connection between James' personal and intellectual development and the three syntheses earlier identified. *Beyond a Boundary*, the major manifestation of this process, represents a three-dimensional, yet unified perspective on James. Consequently, Henry portrays James as a model of the Caribbean person; complex, fluid, and enigmatic, fully rooted in the contingencies of Caribbean reality, nevertheless in search of integration and wholeness. In other words, Henry emphasizes the sociogenic dimension of *Beyond a Boundary*.

The final section of *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket*, Part IV, Chapters 12–14, "Reflections," could as well have been named "Meditations." The affective and reflective dimensions of these chapters provide feelings of intimacy through response to James' famous question in *Beyond a*

Boundary, "What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?", conversation with James that led to the development of a personal project to "to create a discursive device to enable the propulsion of James' work into an even greater future relevance—into the age of globalization" (249–50), or typist of part of the book (260). Michael Brearley's essay, Chapter 12, "Socrates and C.L.R James," recall philosophical axioms such as "Know thyself, " and "The unexamined life is not worth living." In addition, it establishes a sense of intimacy through some memorable articulations that evoke feelings of actually playing cricket or witnessing a game in motion. One example is "James was inherently, Socratically, subversive, not only with regard to the British, but with regard to aspects of the anticolonial movement" (223). Another is "It is only by ambivalently going beyond boundaries that one can deepen one's knowledge" (223). One more reads that "Cricket is understood in its deeper currents only if one can bring in art, politics, sociology, and psychology. Religion, too, may play its part" (237). In response, the religious dimension can be defined as any individual's reliance on pivotal values for health and wholesomeness as an individual in relationship to society. Furthermore, the root of the word religion derives from the Latin *religare*, to bind. Brearley's idiom and Henry's discourse are mutually translatable. They implicitly anticipate Hilary McD. Beckles' essay in the volume, "My Journey to James: Cricket, Caribbean Identity, and Cricket Writing" (Chapter 13). The concept of "journey" in the essay provides a framework to present a repertoire of personal memoirs, autobiography, commentary on cricket and regional history, the role of *Beyond a Boundary* and Caribbean cricket in contesting South African apartheid, brought together through invocations of James' reflections. Inevitably, the reader cannot escape the Beckles' narrative of the rise and fall of West Indian cricket. Whether one calls it Lamentations, the Blues, Paradise Lost, Beckles makes it clear that one cannot separate the demise of West Indian cricket from other factors of lived Caribbean reality: "Systemic cricket decline and long-term socioeconomic recession are obviously linked in an umbilical fashion. The region continues to experience the externally driven and designed structural adjustment of economies, widespread youth disillusionment, weakening of functional regionalism, and growing political insularity. Citizens with reduced economic gains and a cricket team reeling in pain would have presented James with a second gift from heaven" (252). Through engagement with James' classic work, Beckles, like Henry, and others in the volume seek to transcend, probably the institutionalization of James, in Caribbean consciousness. They help to enshrine the concept of "boundary" as a root metaphor for Caribbean existence. Simultaneously, they embrace a dialectical process that anticipates a "post-Jamesian" moment in Caribbean cricket and history. Henry argues that Tim Hector extended James' civilizational sociology

(216–218). Brearley declares that "One has to go beyond a boundary to understand cricket and its complex place in society and in the mind" (239). Beckles notes his work in making Caribbean cricket an academic discipline, archiving the original manuscript of *Beyond a Boundary* on the Cave Hill Campus, University of the West Indies, scholarly publications, and the 2013 Cave Hill Campus international conference of cricket writers and academics, "Beyond C.L.R. James."

The actual typist of the drafts of some chapters of *Beyond a Boundary*, Selma James' essay, "Confronting Imperial Boundaries" (Chapter 14) provides an intimate gaze into the creation, unveiling, and the book's impact since its initial dissemination in 1963. First, she describes C.L.R. James in relationship to the book's eventual publication, and the colonial society that had shaped him and his vision. Secondly, she places its emergence in relationship to the "signs of the times" in which people had greater expectations, were more open minds, and ready to be active on their own behalf than they had been for years (256). And thirdly, she placed it within James' Marxist orientation, "Since the 1940s, C.L.R., a Marxist who saw history as a process of involving everyone from the bottom up had been trying to figure out how to address the power relation between working-class and intellectuals, especially within the anticapitalist movement to which he was committed" (256). According to Selma James, C.L.R. was convinced that those considered politically backward were better equipped to change the world than the formerly educated, knew far more than they were credited with, and had the capacity to understand anything once it was made accessible to them (256).

James' eventual return to his native Trinidad, as the manuscript of *Beyond a Boundary* neared completion, provided the opportunity for him to actually identify with the 'popular side' in society generally, and spend the rest of his life in their service (255). From this positionality, James' initial work on behalf of the creation of a West Indian Federation of the English-speaking Caribbean countries, so that the coming independence would be stronger and based on popular power made sense. However, West Indian Federation came and failed. By 1962, Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago took their own paths to independence. Nevertheless, the West Indian cricket team remained federated, the major symbol of regional integration (258). As the major symbol of regional integration, the West Indian cricket team represented the cultural bedrock on which to erect a prospective regional experiment/experience. However, as Selma James points out, the major fault-line in West Indian cricket culture—with a primarily Afro- and Indo-Caribbean population—was that its team had always been captained by a white man (258). Consequently, the conflict and divisiveness that this arrangement caused posed a major threat to social cohesion, and

regional integration (258). *Beyond a Boundary* bears witness to James' involvement in solving the problem of West Indian cricket leadership that revolved around his campaign to make Frank Worrell, the first black captain of the West Indian cricket team. This gives the book an iconic and charismatic appeal. Selma James' position is that "the book goes well beyond that boundary as all kinds of people love it—in particular, grassroots people, who are gratified to see their passions and preoccupations respected, explored, and celebrated" (261). In keeping with the spirit of the times, it was a radical affirmation of the dignity of all human beings.

The Appendix by C.L.R. James, "What Do They Know of England?", actually gives the last word to C.L.R. James himself. Deontologically, the fundamental challenge that James continually poses is that to exist is to hear the vocation to freedom, and to pursue it. Freedom is the fundamental context in which to explore what it means to be human. *Beyond a Boundary* is an extended reflection on freedom as Spirit. At the end of the Appendix, the story James tells about a West Indian man about thirty years old, a working man, he saw behind the ropes one day at Lord's, the Mecca of English cricket, makes the point. James noted the man's sense of humor, and pointed out that as the game was not in his favor, his companions could not resist the opportunity and chaffed him steadily. But, since he was a man of wit, he gave as good as he got. In more recent times, Paul Keens-Douglas' story of "Tanti at de Oval" echoes the performance of the West Indian James at Lord's, and the way in which Caribbean people have made humor an art form to go beyond the boundary.

When the West Indian innings began late that afternoon, Rohan Kanhai was out for 0 in the first over. Almost immediately, Brian Statham, the English bowler, bowled a shortish ball to Clyde Walcott, who stepped back and hooked it square to the boundary, the stroke of the day. A burst of applause followed, and the umpire made a routine signal; four runs since the ball had crossed the boundary line. The ball was returned to Statham, who started his long walk back from the point where he began his run-up to the wicket. The match settled down for the next ball. Then, with true dramatic instinct, the West Indian whom he referred to as "our friend" rose to his feet, cap, shirt and all, and, without a word, he signaled the boundary all over again. And, in the fashion of an umpire he solemnly waved his arm from side to side. His superb gesture brought down the house. James concluded, "I am sure that all who saw it will remember it long after the tour is forgotten. From his far island he had come to headquarters, bringing his sheaves with him" (265–66).

Among other things, the story reminds us that James was also a novelist, one who writes about the human quest for the new that suspends dogmatic and absolutist formulations. Like any good story, James' has a beginning, a middle, and an end. More than an invocation to stand one's ground, James' story illustrates the function of storytelling as ethical formation. As the story progresses, the West Indian protagonist, much more than a mere spectator, undergoes a virtual apotheosis in which he becomes a manifestation of life. In addition to energizing his section of onlookers, he embodies the power of cricket to bring a crowd to life. Moreover, in the face of despair over the current status of West Indian cricket, James' story serves as a reminder that resilience and joy are vital to the process of recreation James' resilience in the publication of *Beyond a Boundary* was exceptional. Imagine his joy on its completion.

Among other things, "our mutual friend" poses the question what does it mean to journey from the periphery to the center. His story recalls James' interpretation of cricket as art and drama, demonstrates the category of "boundary" as a root metaphor for Caribbean existence, and its religious resonances reflect cricket's emotional capacity to deal with loss, pain, mourning, and eventually to experience joy and celebration. In the midst of the wounds, it reveals cricket's capacity to heal, and transcend all that divides humanity. Just as he saw the future in the present, from the past, he speaks to us today, James speaks to us today in words that remind us that though we will of necessity go through periods of mourning, weeping, and wailing, ultimately, we will be preserved by the radical hope that anticipates in the present a joyous future in which "we shall come rejoicing, bringing in the sheaves!" Thus said, *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket* ended with words of James himself that remind us of the "elemental sensations," the very stuff of life deployed in cricket.

Around the dawn of the twentieth-century, W.E.B. DuBois published his classic, *The Souls of Black Folk* in which he defined the problem of the twentieth-century as "the problem of the color-line." Much later in the century, C.L.R. James published *Beyond a Boundary* in which he posed the question "What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?" Critical engagement with James' Appendix in *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket*, especially the concluding story of our West Indian friend's dramatic performance during a test match at Lords, raise profound connections between the two books, and their authors. While it is impossible to explore the details here, it is clear that DuBois and James, from different locations, recognized that "the souls" of black, brown, and peoples of lighter complexion, were at stake in the problem of the "color-line." Their paths must have crossed. Looking back, DuBois saw that "the Negro question" was central to the American Civil. Almost one hundred years after the American Civil War, in the aftermath of World

War II, James published *Beyond a Boundary* with the primary aim of making Frank Worrell the first black captain of the West Indies cricket team. Though there was "more in the mortar than the pestle." As DuBois drew on the popular resources of black culture, like the Negro Spirituals, James drew on cricket, to create alternative visions of humanity in America, the Caribbean, Europe, and the world. *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket* is a major literary and intellectual accomplishment. It is a must read, and a timely reminder that the problem of the twentieth-century has returned with a vengeance as the problem of the twenty-first century. They remind us that since cricket lies at the center of West Indian experience and culture; it is the site from which some of the most profound questions must be asked concerning the Caribbean and global present, and future. They have extended C.L.R. James' life and work into the twenty-first century, and contributed to the solution of the problem of the "color line" in the twenty-first century. Since its initial publication, *Beyond a Boundary* "unveiled" the "invisibility" to which the great mass of Caribbean people were relegated in the colonial polity. The result of that "unveiling" was the task to imagine a restructuring of Caribbean society. In revisiting James' classic *Beyond a Boundary*, the essays and list of references in *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket*, make an invaluable contribution to further understanding of the role of cricket in sociogenesis, human integration in the Caribbean, and *beyond*. The book offers a unique experience into how the quest for the new, the impulse to reach beyond, is a major force in exploring what it means to be authentically human. That impulse lay at the heart of *Beyond a Boundary*. Fifty years later, *Marxism, Colonialism, and Cricket* is a testimonial to the cultural apotheosis that James' classic work achieved, and the necessity to reconnect with that dynamic palimpsest.

REVIEWING THE WORKS OF CLEMENT WHITE

In the Shadow of Ozani

Edgar O. Lake

Introductory Remarks on Clement White
UVI St. Croix, VI, April 13, 2018

Good Morning,

I want to dedicate this reunion today with Dr. Clement White to Habib Ramlal Tiwoni, a mutual friend; a critically acclaimed VI poet inspiring Dr. White's commitment to poetry.

Dr. White is Professor Emeritus at University of Rhode Island from 1988–2018; and Director of the Graduate Program in Spanish Literature (Department of Classical Languages and Literature) from 1998–2018. For 26 years, he was Faculty Coordinator of The Institute for Recruitment of Teachers for some 41 consortium universities. (I invite you to visit online, The Clement White Fund at The Institute for Recruitment of Teachers, at Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts—named in his honor.)

Earlier he taught for 10 years in STT as a High School teacher and an Adult Education teacher of Mathematics and Spanish Language.

When the phone rang asking me to do this introduction of Dr. Clement White's presentation, I was reading a poem in Gertrude de Avellanede y Arteaga's Cuban anti-slavery novel, *SAAB*. Written in 1841, some 11 years before *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ("Life Among the Lowly" [1852]), this anti-slavery novel was not published in Cuba until 1914.

When the request came, I had instant flashbacks of our youthful days at the College of the Virgin Islands—negotiating the Mosquito Bay/ Lindbergh Bay campus on St. Thomas.

We had Judson Jerome, Laurence Lieberman and James Dickey teaching us poetry. Dickey was reading his poems from his first volume ("Helmets") and a favorite "Cherry Log Road" from his 3rd poetry volume (*Buckdancer's Choice*) about teenage lovers in the back of a red Chevy car in a rural Georgia junkyard). The St. Thomas Bowling Alley was on the edge of the campus, just where the Navy shore-patrol had stopped us, beckoning against our mothers' warning: ("Boy, Go, and learn something down at the college").

About 200 yards from the 3rd hole, a young U.S. Marine—'Steve'—was struggling from PTSE in the Rookery Dormitory, having been on the frontline in the Dominical Republic uprising; and (in the same administrative building used to issue 1918 Travel Passes to Virgin Islanders) a returning St. Thomas native son, Valentine Penha was questioning some of the foundational principles of Western Civilization.

We were an audacious group: a young St. Thomas woman, Olive Lettsomme, questioned Dr. Orville Kean about subset of Logic in his Introduction to Mathematics class; and Beatrice Nielsen questioned our Speech Instructor on the Romanian-French playwright, Eugene Ionesco's character, (The Logician) in his post-World War II play of Nazi Occupation in Vichy's France, *Rhinoceros*.

Penha died after telling us of Emmett Till, in 1967; we did not know, then, of Guillén's "Elegía a Emmett Till." But, five years before, our poet, Emile Griffith had pummeled the 25-year-old Benny "The Kid" Paret in Madison Square Garden.

The neighbors had rushed to knock on Lucy Paret's Bronx apartment door: "Señora, Señora, algo malo ha occurrido." ("Something bad has happened.")

Dr. Clement White already understood the depth of that tragic message delivered in Spanish. It may have been our first hero deserving of an unwritten Canto. Emile went to South Africa, visiting Soweto during the black struggle under Apartheid.

Paret was illiterate in two languages, but he is immortalized in Lanston Hushes/Arna Bontemps anthology *The Poetry of the Negro, (1746–1949)* (2nd edition); but, also in *The Ballad of Benny Paret*, by Neil MacDonald; an article "Death at the Garden" (*The New Yorker*, July 24, 2013). (See Hughes/Bontemps anthology @ UVI library copy.)

Both Dickey and Lieberman read their poetry, our poetry; critiqued and taught us how to see our efforts in a critical literary light. Dickey even collected some of our poems—promising to have them published in the University of Georgia's literary journal.

De Bungalow

But, we had *The Home Journal*'s "Under De Market", a vault of Virgin Islanders' wit and commentary of our political foibles. It was ours.

The Market Women (Ms. Sandrella Thomas, and Ms. Mary Magdaline Moore), poets, prolific social and political commentators, genealogists—who literally raised their families while providing a Communication Center for island-wide passersby.

These story-tellers were in the Bungalow's shadows; officially overlooked, weaving straw hats while interweaving genealogies and family histories "7 split" (with the knob plait), and "11 split" strand plaits. Some hats/stories were edgy with the popular "saw-tip" from the "saw-teeth" design. Some stories or recitals resembled the "hole in the middle" pattern

for ventilation; another ventilation variation was the "day braid" with "insertion"—as much an elliptical narrative pattern of interjections—to showcase their most confidential tales.

One remembers the Tan-Tan Bracelet strung from its seeds: a punch-line suspended till some spill seeds could be retrieved. Basket patterns of Wist Vine Place Mats, Melon Baskets, table-mats—all, into stories were our griots, our unofficial Town Councilors, God-mothers; and our mothers' "Commado(s)."

We had J. Antonio Jarvis—a living Harlem Renaissance poet (published poetry in *The Crisis*)— sculptor, illustrator, journalist, educator, White House Medal of Freedom recipient, author. We walked and talked in hushed tones past his home as we practiced our emerging poetics, dialectics and plenty-o'-tricks going over (to use Clement White's phrase) 'Polybuck' Hill.

So we return to the poem "Runagate, Runagate", by Robert Hayden, who visited our shores in the 1960s.

We knew precious little of the Coal Carriers, singing and climbing the gangplanks of the steamboats—awaiting their small coin. But, in the ensuing decades, we know Edna St. Vincent Millay would write of their ascending lines of grace in her epic poem, "Epitaph for the Race of Man". Edward Bliss Emerson's bucolic portrait of these islands in his 19th century *Caribbean Journal & Letter* (1831–1834).

In our tourism heritage, the travel writing of Lafcadio Hearns' passage of Frederiksted Town sketches African boys jumping into the green-blue of its dark green harbor waters in Hearns' 1890 feature-length account, "Two Years in the French West Indies".

To understand Dr. Clement White's scholarly project, I thought of Dr. Lezmore Emanuel.

These pioneer works coupled with Dr. Lezmore Emanuel's research as a linguist. His research of *African Retentions and Ethnonyms in Virgin Islands Creole* and *Broo 'Nansi: A selection of Anansi stories* are the forerunner of Dr. White's landmark book *Meet Meh Undah deh Bongolo & Tark Like We No: A Case for Virgin Islands Creole Den & Now: & A Socio-Cultural Lexicon*.

How astonishing was Dr. Lezmore Emanuel's VI Folklore Bildungsroman, *The Bull and the Golden Calabash*. The great Jazz percussionist.

His cultural house (bar, restaurant, calypso parlor) was called House of Palms. In the shadow of its confines, "Ozani" sold native dishes and sang his LP-recorded Calypsos lyrics while his patrons indulged in proverbial jousting, and dancing late into the night. The House of Palms was a

cultural way-station: part of an extensive Hospital Grounds' Underground Railroad ('Round de Field'—de old 'Tamarind Tree Yard') where hushed talk got feverish about our tall black gods—figures such as the legendary VI/Puerto Rico baseball league-cricket all-rounder, Smut Richards, or Rothschild 'Polly' Francis; (patrons saint for the Dahomean community "Downstreet"—were celebrated with a rum and lime juice punch toast.

For Dr. White (and our generation), Dr. Emanuel was a pioneer in preserving the Virgin Islands culture. He was a patriot of the "Free Access to VI Public Beaches Movement"; our "Peoples' Calypsonian"; the self-styled "Ozani: a Composer". And he was, finally, our pioneer agriculture teacher for mostly St. Johnian students at Ivanna Eudora Kean High School.

Beyond these feats, Dr. Emanuel was our author of Caribbean folk-stories; our playwright for children's theater, UNIA supporter and, our Bungalow taxi-man.

And yes, he taught Black literature and African history at CVI while continuing doctoral research in African history and linguistics at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Emanuel's work in *Africanisms in Virgin Islands Creole*, seeks to diligently correct the underrepresentation of Melville J. Herskovits' *Table One: Scale of Intensity of New World Africanisms* in his 1973 paper, *Problem, Method and Theory in Afroamerican Studies*. This statistical template was part of Herskovits' re-calculated "scientific study" for his major groundbreaking publication, *The Myth and the Negro Past* (1941).

In that regional comparative *Table One*, resulting from research done in the Virgin Islands by J.C. Trevor in 1936 and A.A. Campbell in 1939–40, the Virgin Islands' highest grade (B=very African) were in the categories of magic, folklore and music, followed by (C=somewhat African) in social organization; followed by (D=little African) in economics, non-kinship institutions and languages. The lowest grades of retention were (E=trace of African) in technology, religion and art.

In these categories, the Virgin Islands was ranked after Surinam, Haiti, Brazil, Cuba, Jamaica, Honduras, Trinidad, Mexico, and Colombia, but above the Gullah Islands, rural south and urban north in the 49 contiguous states.

This under-representation of Virgin Islands 'Africanisms' particularly that "D" (for very little African retention) in African languages, according to Herskovits, is what Dr. Emanuel labored to correct throughout his life.

It is within this field of cultural production that Dr. White has amassed in his body of work.

Meet Meh Undah De Bongolo

Consider the book cover for Dr. White's *Meet Meh Undah deh Bongolo & Tark Like We No*. It shows our forgotten national shrine—once an auction site—separating enslaved African ancestors; shattering their families, stories and customs.

But it was also a shrine of African languages.

From this site (and the Emancipation Garden) Rebecca Frendlich Protten, a 'house help' for the Van Beverhoudt family, was purchased—and became a Moravian Helper.

She would be exposed to many African languages—later working with her Ghanaian husband, Protee, compile a Fanti language dictionary in Accra, Ghana (1765–1769).

Revisiting the Bungalow—the mythical figures of the Ewe people of Southern Ghana—Mawu-Lisa ('mawu being the female principle and Lisa being the male figure) was re-staged every day.

When we passed as school-children, we glimpsed these traditions in slyly disguised practices:

What appeared as merely straw plaiting for grass hat-weaving was actually a part of a larger repertory of folk narratives—*Under the Bungalow!* There, in the women-governed marketplace and straw arts factory; and equally informal psycho-social shelter for depressed and post-traumatic stress veterans was administered.

In this light, one reconsiders only now, the 1922–23 Danish-Dutch archaeological exploration to the Danish West Indies under Jan P.B. de Josselin de Jongh: it was this expedition that collected Anansi stories—as told in the Dutch Creole—and published by the Royal Academy of Science in Amsterdam (1926).

Then, the eminent ethnologist/folklorist Elsie Clews Parsons early Virgin Islands folklore collection in her 3 Vols *Folk-lore of the Antilles: French and English* (1933–43).

The St. Thomas poet, José Patricio Gimenez (1893–1953) was first to preserve these stories into poetry, in his groundbreaking volume, *Virgin Islands Folklore and Other Poems* (1933).

After all, it is an astonishing portal to our Modernism—one that sourced four Virgin Islands in the original American opera *Porgy and Bess*; then, in far-away Harlem—our forging of the Lindy Hop at the Renaissance Ballroom. This, besides the exceptional gifts of craft we gave to Charles Lindbergh on his 1929 visit/landing on St. Croix and on St. Thomas.

Or our own Earl Neal Creque (a CVI classmate of Dr. White) offered his polychromatic jazz masterpiece of exile, "Wanderin' Rose", to the Ramsey Lewis Trio! Think of Duke Ellington in his recording "Creque's Alley", playing at CAHS for the PAL Fund in the 1960s; the Adderley Brothers, Carmen McCrae, Thelonious Monk—all burnishing our ears at Sebastien's on the Waterfront. Irma Franklin (Aretha's sister and recording sessions backup) singing upstairs of The Fallen Angel.

In our high school years, we heard her lonesome voice, in exile; we sensed the long vertical climb of this minor poet of song.

II
Work as Translator

Consider two of Dr. White's translation works: His early essay (co-authored with Dr. Jeannette White) "Two Nations, One Vision: America's Langston Hughes and Cuba's Nicolás Guillén: Poetry of Affirmation—A Revision". That often cited work, to include James de Jongh's masterful and original work of literary criticism, *Vicious Modernism: Black Harlem and the Literary Imagination* (1990). James de Jongh is also a St. Thomas native; a widely acclaimed dramatist, fashion designer, and literary critical scholar.

Then his 1993 examination of Nicolás Guillén's Cuban poetry as myth and folklore in "Decoding the Word: Nicolás Guillén as Maker and De-bunker of Myths".

All this inspired scholarship helps elevate Langston Hughes' arduous climb from the 1938 House Un-American Activities Committee HUAC shadows and into his rightful place in the American Literary Canon. But Clement White also joins the tradition of Antillean translators—Mercer Cook, Janet Worthley Underwood, Ben Carruthers, Dudley Fitts, John F. Mathieus and Langston Hughes—among others.

Consider, in his latest scholarly collaboration, the co-editorship of 2015 *The CLR James Journal* (special issue on Nicolás Guillén): his rumba-crystalized poem "Nuestro Nicolás Guillén: Un Canto in Two Acts".

I glimpsed his tribute to Nicolás Guillén's "Cantos para Solados y Sones para Turistas" (in the collection *Summa Poética*). Here, White's "Un Canto" echoes the form of Guillén's "Cantaliso en un Bar," "Visita a un Solar," "Son del Desahucio," and "Canto Negro." Written in Spanish and English languages, its rhythms stir the complex rhythms of "Los Muñequitos," "Bamboushay," "Pachanga" and "West End Pitchy-Patchy Masqueradors"—written in two acts.

Wey Butty?

Read, carefully, one of his two masterpieces, "Wey Butty?". Recite aloud the roll-call of his early comrade, his foundational platoon, in "'Dem Housin' Boys." You will better understand why he mentions no names (transcending with a deeper optimism the Kent State University 1970 shooting of his undergraduate years) in his tributary poem, "War Discotheque" in his other 2003 companion work "Network of Spheres." (Is this "sphere" a staircase to the nascent Sufi traditions brought from Senegal's Tukolor regional wars, and still flourishing among us in the Virgin Islands?

In "Wey Butty?" there is a mother-of-pearl titled "Jus Don' Cuss Mey Mudder", packed with mirth and humor—but, along with "Dem Housin' Woman" in "Come Lemme Hea' Yoh Yank Soursop" point to the great Cuban poet, Placido, who wrote "Farewell to My Mother."

In his recent 2017 collection of poems, *Uneven Steps Marking Time*, I feel Clement White's deep kinship interwoven with the Puerto Rican poet Luis Palés Matos (hailed as one of the founders of Afro-Antillean poetry), particularly Matos' 1937 "Tuntun de Pasa y Grifería," recently translated by Jean Steeves-Franco 2010 English translation "Tom-Toms of Kinky Hair and All Things Black."

Not surprisingly, in "Uneven Steps Marking Time," the same features of Matos' style exists—what the translator Jean Steeves-Franco calls "its beauty, innovative content, and the use of the Spanish and African languages in new patterns, sounds and rhythms…."

In this collection, one curious poem of deep reflection, titled "Second Chance" stills the air. Its theme of sacred and profane love appears in the English language translation of Mansur al-Hallaj: *Hallaj: Poems of a Sufi Poet*. There, in that volume the companion poem "While Love Remains Secret."

Note well: this representation of mysticism is first noted in Jose Patricio Giminez's poem "Live Today" and also as a Nancy figure represented in Dr. Lezmore Emanuel's 1973 collection of Broo 'Nansi [transcribed] Story: "Compere Zayeh praises Compere Tig"—an Anancy story from Grenada.

The oeuvre of Dr. Clement White takes another classic: "Come Lemme Hea' Yoh Yank Soursop." Read this title poem ("Come Lemme Hea' Yuh Yank Soursop") expecting to burst with laughter, for laughter is one of the salves that Clement White affords his readers to look at our vanities.

There is "Savanero Heaven" a poignant lament—a spiky anthem rising from the ashes of development. For the best contrasting plaids of nuance and pun, hear these dueling vernaculars; read companion pages featuring "Dese Rocks" and "Irma Tink She Bad."

The former—"Dese Rocks"—seems, on the surface, to be a lament of displacement, but actually echoes Nicolás Guillén's "Barren Stone," translated by Langston Hughes in *The Poetry of the Negro 1746–1949*.

The other, "Irma Tink She Bad," hints at a sly humor still so essential to recover from the hurricane—but, that too, is written in the allegorical style of Guillén's early poems.

Bings Deh Quarksa

I reveled in *Bings Deh Quarksa—and Other Stories*. Its first story (of the same title) was a rib-slitting opener, for which you will have need for a handkerchief—tears of unbridled laugher.

Only after having studied de Jongh's, Parsons' and Emanuel's groundbreaking collections can you really appreciate the innovative adaptations of this *Bings Deh Quarksa—and Other Stories*.

I regard this remarkable collection in the same light as Lydia Cabrera's *Afro-Cuban Tales*. In light of his anticipated lecture today, I recommend Cabrera's "Sokuando!" and the man/boys-killing patriarch "Bregantino Bregantin." Although one more story, "Chéggue", uses a term of endearment to a fabled child: ("why sukú-sukú?"). Only after having acquainted yourself with Cabrera's short collection do I suggest you really read Clement White's "The Elusive Creature: Tale of the Green Face Man." Or, from his childhood memory of La Vallee "The Obeah Artists." This brings forward and rehabilitates our esteem of Dahomean folk stories and cosmology once chronicled by J. Antonio Jarvis in his 1944 book "The Virgin Islands and their People" in chapter 8 of his *Superstitions, Witchcraft, an Necromancy*.

Within the collection, deeper inscriptions are evoked by, say, "On the Dock of the Bay." This evocative title brings alive the Long-Bay exploits of his St. Thomas childhood.

In 1967, Otis Redding was due to sing for PAL at Lionel Roberts Ballpark, when his plane plunged from the Wisconsin sky. Dr. White transforms our lost expectations—clutching our red PAL concert tickets—of that fatal realism into the red-soil runoff transforming his childhood Bay into his sea of poetic translations.

It heals Vietnam's penetration into our high school classmates' lives: my personal classmate, Wendell Stein, with whom I walked from Long Bay where he lived on a boat at Yacht Haven; after fulfilling his dream of going to the U.S. Naval Academy was commissioned on River Patrol boats on Cam Ranh Bay—only to die of the bends on returning home; providing charter diving trips outside of the St. Thomas harbor.

Dr. White's "On the Dock of the Bay" is a tribute to his own Long Bay neighborhood generation; venturing against their parents' admonition ("Doan go toh deh bay…"). The "DOAN/DOUEN" Anancy Crossroad axiom has many childhood accretions beyond the foretelling 'bays of South Vietnam: The annual Pollybery Hill torrential washouts; the red-mud rainwater runoffs of Paradise Point/Cable Car "Skyride" now overshadowing the old Water Catchment; the U.S. Navy Frogmen surfacing next to us on Sunday afternoons at Lindbergh Bay, and the dreaded Brewer's Bay of werewolf infamy becoming our first college campus from which we would learn to write poetry.

Only the Housin' Mothers—tasting their seasalt-flavored hair could have saved them/us from the Grim Reaper/Watchman/U.S. Arme Forced Recruiter—embodied by that figure: sitting on the West Indian Dock (of the Bay).

All these poignant sleight-of-hand narratives, these once-innocent forays renaming *our* boundaries with instinctively coordinated exploits augments his explosive humor, his boundless claims; and *our* impermanent triumphs—albeit, with the tenderest sentiments for our women folk. These are fiercely spiritual "weapons" in his imaginative quiver—which Dr. White deploys to lure us into the mirror of his "bay"—our Bay—once again.

In this elliptical way, I return to the 1841 Cuban novel, *SAAB*, to better understand what Dr. Clement White—in his remarkable tribute to these *Housin' Mothers*—has summarily accomplished. Indeed, he has harkened to the call of the SAAB protagonist, Carlota:

One day men will rue / the wrongs they do me / and only in this way, Damon / do they satisfy my vengeance / for I bestow greater contentment / in a poor and humble abode / than you, fool, with untold riches, / will ever be able to know…". (pp. 67–68).

So, now, in quoting the last lines of Guillén's great 1930 poem, "Negro Bembon":

"majagua de dril blanco"

I present Dr. Clement A. White, affectionately known to us as "Blanco".

A Review Essay of *Come Lemme Hea' Yoh Yank Soursap:* Indulging Virgin Islands Creole

Elaine Jacobs

Clement White, *Come Lemme Hea' Yoh Yank Soursap*. Author House 2018. 163 pages. h.c.

Yoh don frighten, don ready toh bus a cry,
"*Wa' happen Mammy, yoh no longa like me?*
Ah mash' up bad, please Mammy jus' look an' see"
(from "Garn Slingarin'" in *Come Lemme Hea' Yoh Yank Soursap*, stanza 3, page 30)

If you, the reader, are successful in interpreting the above text, perhaps it is because you are familiar with the English Creole spoken in many of the island nations of the Caribbean; this particular version is spoken in the United States Virgin Islands (mainly St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix). Like Creoles in the region, this Creole, United States Virgin Islands Creole, has had to travel a troubled and stifled journey of suppression, which has created much ambivalence surrounding its existence. Is it a *real* language or is it some sort of *broken-down, bad-form* of Standard English or Standard American English that translates into embarrassment when spoken (not to even mention written)? To many, however, the English Creole is neither broken-down nor ill-formed; certainly, it is not a language with which to associate shame. The Creole evolved out of the survival efforts of the African people who experienced attacks against their language and culture in the New World. English Creoles resulted from the union of multiple West African languages (spoken by the enslaved) and European languages (spoken by the slavers). Thus, the Creole spoken in the Anglophone Caribbean today must be regarded as primarily the language heritage of the people of African descent. Edward Kamau Brathwaite regards this as Nation Language and offers this: "Nation language is the language, which is influenced very strongly by the African model, the African aspect of our New World/Caribbean heritage" (311). English Creole, therefore, must strive to resist the negative labels that are often times associated with it, and as heritage, it must occupy a place of dignity. Still affirming, Brathwaite writes:

> Today, we have a very confident movement of nation language. In fact, it is inconceivable that any Caribbean poet writing today is not going to be influenced by this submerged/emerging culture…at last, our poets, today, are recognizing that it is essential that they use the resources which have always been there, but which have been denied to them—and which they have sometimes themselves denied (313).

The task at hand is to review *Come Lemme Hea' Yoh Yank Soursap (henceforth "Yank Soursap")*, a collection of poems written by Virgin Islands native son, Clement White, Professor Emeritus of the University of Rhode Island. The collection is bold, fresh and provocative, and White pridefully embraces Nation language, his Virgin Islands Creole spoken in the United States Virgin Islands.

White believes that speakers of Virgin Islands Creole, whether home or abroad should never find themselves in a position where they apologize for the Creole they speak. For example, when asked: *What language do you speak in the Virgin Islands?* The response should never be: *We speak English, **but** we also speak a **dialect, broken English***. This type of compromising response is central to White's purpose of the collection. A preferred response is: *We speak English **and** a Virgin Islands Creole language*. This response carries no suggestions that the Creole speaker elevates one language over the other; both are on par, on equal footing. In another of his books, entitled *Meet Meh Undah deh Bongolo & Tark Like We No: A Case for Virgin Islands Creole Den an' Now & a Socio-Cultural Lexicon (*henceforth *"Undah deh Bungolo")* he declares: "When I myself opt for the use of Virgin Islands Creole in short stories or poetry, this decision itself infers the primacy of the Creole language without apology" (33). White's purpose is simple and direct; he seeks to use his poetry to affirm and honor the Creole speech spoken in the Territory.

For the most part, the poems in White's *Yank Soursap* are definitive of the position he holds that the Virgin Islands Creole is indeed a language. He believes that the Creole is an independent language which bears a mixture of English words and expressions. He says this is a given and "to pretend that the United States Virgin Islands Creole and English are somewhat disjointed would be, at best, vain and ludicrous posturing" (*Undah deh Bongolo* 8). Pointedly, many of the poems in the collection are written in the Creole, perhaps to set the stage for the discussion. Others are written in Standard English and they explore poetic options of form, language and style. The bilingual poems, Spanish and English take their side-by-side position. Noteworthy is that White is a former graduate Professor of Spanish and Latin American Literature. One can infer that he is perhaps just as comfortable in Spanish as he is in English, and this lends credence to his multilingual approach when recasting Virgin Islands Creole as a language among English, Spanish or any other language spoken in the territory.

A broad theme of *Yank Soursap* appears to be identity. Who are Virgin Islanders? What role should the Creole speech play in determining who Virgin Islanders are? What does a collection of poetry—most of which

are written in Virgin Islands Creole—bring to the discussion? Pondering these questions can signal a vigorous conversation on how islanders may consider Creole language when claiming self.

The first poem in *Yank Soursap* also bears the title of the book except for the first word. The poem then is entitled "Lemme Hea' Yoh Yank Soursap" (1–2), and it initiates the conversation surrounding language pride. The Speaker complains about the haste with which Creole speakers drop and disregard their language:

> People leave from home to visit "deh States,"
> Gone for a short while to return to these gates,
> Bitin' deh tongue dey no longa want toh say "*tain no true*"
> Refuse toh say "*arm ting*" or "*me ain in dat wid ah you*."

To facilitate a wider readership of this verse, this writer will first address the basic language features. The poet utilizes English and Creole words, phrases and expressions to deliver the speaker's complaint. In line 1 "deh" translates into the article "the" and in line 3 into the possessive pronoun "their." The Creole word "dey," also in line 3 translates into "they" third-person plural. There is no place for the "th" in the Creole; that would mean the "bitin'" off of one's tongue. The preposition "toh" shares the same Standard English meaning and the creole in it, lies in the sound of the word. Also, in the verse, the Speaker cites these phrases: "*tain no true*" (it is not true), "*arm ting*" (a reference to a person whose name is not in ready recall), and "*me ain in dat wid ah you*" (I reject what you are saying/doing). They are all landmark phrases in the Virgin Islands Creole.

This word (or better yet concept), "yank," in the title is key. In the Virgin Islands Creole to "yank" is to speak or mimic American English. As a performance word it actually captures the act of speaking or mimicking American English. A person who "yanks" commits the act of distancing one's self from the Creole talk. Furthermore, "yank" or "yankin'" is understood as a way to establish one's *refinement* and *elevation* over what is considered a "substandard" way of communicating. Clearly, this is different and runs deeper than what W.E.B. Dubois characterized as double consciousness. In this case, the Creole speaker is not code-switching but perhaps language-dissing. Yanking is therefore preferred by many and rebelled against by others. White sums it up this way: "Some embrace it as complementary because consciously or subconsciously, they want to distant themselves from the local Creole. Others feel offended and reject the characterization because of their rebellious spirit and the affirmation of Virgin Islands culture" ("Undah Deh Bongolo" 237).

In the final analysis the Speaker of the poem gets the last word. He issues a litmus test that he understands check-mates the assault on the Creole: Because when you see Virgin Islanders trying to impress you with the new fake parlance,

> My brother Celestino gave me a sure way to stop them in their frenzied Linguistic dance.
> He told me: "Brudda, tis really quite easy, you know, to set up the perfect Language trap.
>
> Le' dem yank away, den quietly say: Ok, Partna' now lemme hea' yoh yank **sour sap**!" ("Yank Soursap" 2)

Ultimately, the argument is not against the speakers of the Creole who opt out in favor of Standard English. It is rather against the idea that there is something wrong or abnormal with the language and it warrants correction. White writes: "In essence, our tendency to reject our creole is not necessarily because we ourselves discern some abnormality in the way we speak. But rather, it is because someone peddling an ideology has convinced us of the inferiority of our language" (*Undah deh Bongolo* 31).

The question that pertains to what makes the Creole valuable is answered in the poems: "Ah Ain' Bitin' No Finga" (*Yank Soursap* 103–104) and "Wa Dey Name Again?" *(Yank Soursap* 8–11). Emerging writers who seek to be influenced by the lore of the islands can meet supernatural characters such as the jumbie and the cow-foot woman, and contemplate the powers of the obeah woman to use witchcraft to end miseries, solve problems and unite lovers. In "Wa Dey Name Again?" the speaker engages the practice of nickname dominance in the culture, and its effectiveness when "right names" become a conversational non-starter particularly in neighborhoods where individuals are seldom known by their formal names.

Poems in this collection delve deep into the identity question, which is often contentious in the United States Virgin Islands. A fundamental question is: *Who are Virgin Islanders*? This is exceedingly relevant at a time when the territory has become more and more pluralistic. Many Virgin Islanders today—as an outgrowth of migration—are grounded in diverse cultures to include Arab, Chinese, East Indian and European. The largest of all groups comprise island-nations of the Caribbean. For many Virgin Islanders in the latter group, along with native born Virgin Islanders (with whom there is shared history, culture and linguistic heritage) the problem of identity becomes a challenge. Are they Americans, Virgin Islanders and/or West Indians? Virgin Islanders either through birth or naturalization are American citizens but are they West Indians too? Do cultural heritage and geography matter? What is an interesting observation is that many Virgin Islanders prefer to suppress any kind

of association with the wider Caribbean, and for decades, rejected their Caribbean/West Indian roots; perhaps this is a matter for further exploration at another time.

Clement White neither rejects nor shies away, however. In the poem, "Lasting Bond" (48–49), the overlapping identities of Virgin Islanders are asserted, and in the poem, "Wey Yoh Sen Meh, Nevis" (34–35), White discloses his own roots which extends beyond the boundaries of his birthplace, the United States Virgin Islands. The poem, "Legacy" (126–127) rolls out his patrilineal claim: "My father's St. Croix/never abandoned me/never left me/Some claim that his /Grove Place did not belong/To my Granny this/Nevision born and raised/Matriarch of the St. Croix/And St. Thomas clan…" The poem ends with a full embrace of his "Crucian and Nevision self."

Yank Soursap is a small collection with 163 pages and some 88 poems, but it packs mightily in punch. There are poems that might call into question the poet's critical mission to affirm Virgin Islands Creole, noting the traditional (that is English/American) manner in which they are written. The poems "1733 – Liberation Quest" (5–7) and "I Weep for You St. John" (40–41) both of which are grounded in the proud history of St. John, Virgin Islands, are good examples. The diction, as well as other rhetorical devices employed are noted. The first stanza in "1733 – Liberation Quest" opens up with "**Revolt, Resistance/** will to be free/burning in the restless/ spirits of the **rebels**" (5) and in "I Weep for You St. John" these same words are repeated as the poet references "this island's glorious past of **rebellion/ revolution/resistance**" (40).

If the call for Virgin Islands Creole *legitimacy* is also one for Standard American English *illegitimacy* then there might be a debate. But White does not promote an "either/or" proposition. He states, "In point of fact, however, mine is not an *either/or* proposition but one that sees no inherent contradiction in the advocacy for local speech and the mastery of English…" (*Undah Deh Bongolo* 2).

There are poems that are cozily reflective and personal, but connect with Virgin Islanders in the diaspora, because of the shared memories of places and experiences. In the poem, "Bethlehem Sacred Fields" (*Yank Soursap* 3–4), the poet looks back and reflects on an ideal period in the cane fields on St. Croix. He writes: "I want to walk those fields again/And feel once more/The presence of the caretakers" (4).

Because he grew up on St. Thomas, the poems about memories of place are set there. "Yard Child" (24), "Savanero Haven" (46), "Big Gut" (53), "Soul Searching" (15), among others, draw on the simplicity and scarcity of a locale that requires resourcefulness and kindness of neighbors, struggling for survival. White was raised in Paul M Pearson Gardens, (also known

as Housin', or Old Housin') one of the first public housing communities on St. Thomas. His memories of life there are rich, deep and long-lasting. In "Dem Housin' Woman" (21–23), the poet recognizes a sorority of neighborhood mothers, who take child-rearing responsibilities seriously. They know who you are: "you fo' Miss Maggie/you fo' Miss Blulah/you fo' Miss Nita/you fo' Emma, come heh…" (21). They are "women offering guidance to young lads" (22) and "setting the pace/being models for/dem Housin' guirls" (23). They are the ones, "dem Housin' Woman/spreading themes of/protection/guidance/solidarity/sororate motherhood/ yeh meson what women they were!" (22).

Non-verbal communication in Caribbean English Creole, as a whole, is pervasive. The concept refers to the practice of "speaking" through sounds, glances, long-looks, gestures and movements. In the poem, "Irma Tink She Bad" (13) there is a hurricane competition between two recent, high category hurricanes, "Harvey" and "Irma," to determine the more belligerent of the two. "Irma's" response was non-verbal. She merely "suck ha teet" communicating snobbery and her intention to outmatch "Harvey." While easily understood by speakers of Virgin Islands Creole, this non-verbal response is lost in a different language setting. In "Garn Slingarin'" (30–31), a boy innocently deviates from his expected path, and after some time, returns to face his mother's wrath. Despite his bout with "darg bite," "kasha," "sting-ah-nettle an' so" mother is seriously displeased that her son went "slingarin':"

> Yoh mudda son vex, jus' cuttin' yoh eye
> Yon done frighten, don ready toh bus a cry,
> *"Wa happen mammy, yoh no langa' like me?*
> *Ah mash' up bad, please mammy, jus' look an' see"* (30)

What is transmitted in this Creole verse is strong and powerful. There is a very *present* anxiety that a mother feels when her son is out there slingarin'. She knows anything could happen; she is fearful. The trauma of the anxiety lodged in an ancestral memory and carried generationally may also be inferred. Mothers know what happens when their children wander off in their innocence—bad things happen. They get kidnapped, packed into dungeons and ships, sunk in the ocean, (and if they survive) sold into a system of slavery. There is no verbal language to capture this profound fear.

Some poems in White's collection are bilingual, Spanish on one side English on the other. For example, "Essencia Cubana" (42–43) and its English translation "Essence of Cuba" (44) are side by side. No surprise here when we consider that White is Professor Emeritus of Spanish and Latin American Literature of The University of Rhode Island and he is just as comfortable in Spanish as he is in English (with his "mother-tongue being Virgin Islands Creole). But there is something else to note. Perhaps

the embrace of three languages, all of which are spoken in the United States Virgin Islands (along with French, Haitian Creole and Arabic) is a personal way of positioning the elevation of the Virgin Islands Creole.

In *Yank Soursap*, White dedicates individual poems to family, friends, colleagues, scholars and local writers. One local writer and scholar, Edgar Lake, refers to this practice as a sort of "poetic genealogy." This is perhaps White's representational recognition of his communal background in neighborhoods on the islands.

Come Lemme Hea' Yoh Yank Soursap is a collection for Virgin Islanders at home and in the diaspora as well as creole speakers around the world. It can help to open a conversation about self. It should appeal to educators, particularly teachers and curriculum specialists. All will find freshness and stimulation.

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Virgin Islands Creole: A Mark of Cultural Identification

Valerie Knowles Combie

Clement White. *Meet Meh Undah deh Bongolo & Tark Like We No: A Case for Virgin Islands*

Creole Den An' Now & A Socio-Cultural Lexicon. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.

2018. 271 pp.

The fact that the United Nations has identified 2019 as the International Year of Indigenous Languages (IYIL) is tremendously significant to a large population of peoples. The Native North American Languages Spoken at Home in the United States and Puerto Rico: 2006–2010, conducted by the American Community Survey, reports that there are approximately 372,000 people who speak indigenous languages at home. The report also discovered that "one in five people aged 65 and over spoke a Native North American language in their homes compared with only one in ten of people aged between five and seventeen" (Census on Native Languages). The report states categorically that some of these languages are becoming extinct because younger generations are not learning or speaking them, a claim that Dr. Clement White makes in promoting his case for the recognition and acceptance of the United States Virgin Islands Creole as a language.

Another study by the American Community Survey identifies all indigenous languages and other languages spoken at home in the United States. It is interesting to note that French Patois and Creole are included on the list, which may be attributed to the fact that Haitian Creole, spoken by 10–12 million people worldwide, is the official language of Haiti, regulated by the Akademi Kreyol Ayisyen (Haitian Creole Academy). A comprehensive definition of *indigenous languages* suggests that they are the languages spoken by people who have had a "historical continuity" with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies. I would like to suggest that the application of that definition embraces all the Creole languages spoken in the Caribbean region, including the Creole of the United States Virgin Islands.

It is widely accepted that languages are essential tools to our existence because they extend beyond communication, education, and socialization. According to the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), languages are "at the heart of each person's unique identity, cultural history, and memory." In its proclamation, the United Nations has heightened awareness of indigenous languages primarily because "40% of the world's estimated 6,700 languages were in

danger of disappearing. . . ." Consequently, the primary objective of the designation is to "strive to preserve, support, and promote indigenous languages at the national, regional, and international levels" (IYIL 2019).

Even though the "indigenous" languages refer specifically to the Native American languages, by its definition as earlier indicated in this review, the Creole languages fall into this category. It is quite a propos, therefore, that White's recently published book has added the United States Virgin Islands Creole to this austere group of language family, a claim he asserts by referring to well recognized linguists such as Noam Chomsky, Rafael Seco, and Francisco Moreno Fernandez. His inclusion of Manuel Alvar Lopez's definition of languages adequately confirms his position (6).

Through its proclamation, the United Nations has created a forum for the continued discussion of Creole languages, and *Meet Meh Undah deh Bongolo & Tark Like We No: A Case for Virgin Islands Creole Den An' Now & A Socio-Cultural Lexicon* has taken its seat at the table. According to White, the idea for this book has been germinating in his mind "for decades" (xv); however, its publication in 2018 and the United Nations' declaration must not be construed as serendipitous. They are providential. Having established his claim that the United States Virgin Islands Creole is a language, White proceeds to argue for its formal recognition and acceptance. His argument is clothed in the garment of identification, a component of one's historicity. He claims that a "true" Virgin Islander will embrace his/her identification with pride, and that includes his/her language (17).

Meet Meh Undah deh Bongolo & Tark Like We No:A Case for Virgin Islands Creole Den An' Now & A Socio-Cultural Lexicon is a thoroughly researched and well documented resource, as is seen in the 45 endnotes (261–266) and a list of impressive references (267–271). The author's findings resonate with those of the American Community Survey, which states that indigenous languages are becoming extinct. In making his case for the recognition and acceptance of Virgin Islands Creole, White, in the introduction, clarifies his objective as "a defense of the United States Virgin Islands Creole" (xvii). He continues his impassioned case by saying: "I will argue that we should recognize and honor the Creole of the United States Virgin Islands as a legitimate mode of speech, with its nuances, regulations, and well-established structures" (xvii). He believes that one of the first steps in this process is the elimination of negative connotations surrounding the language as its philosophical adherent: English as the "official" or "only" language of the United States Virgin Islands (23).

White's organization of the book indicates a clear structure that presents a quasi-historical background or rationale, if you will, which he uses to promote his case for the legitimacy of the language. The inclusion of the "Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Negerhollands) and the Danish West

Indies" is another strong point in the author's argument. He refers to the work done by linguists Gilbert Sprauve and Robin Sabino (39) on this language, which though documented, became extinct. White wants to prevent such a phenomenon by guaranteeing the "survival" of the United States Virgin Islands Creole by its elevation and recognition (42). Subsequent chapters present lexicographical examples of Standard English being compared with the United States Virgin Islands Creole. Each example clarifies and explains the apocopation system, word suppressions, and other characteristics of Creole languages. The detailed attention to the grammatical structure, noun pluralization, and verbal usages, as well as other parts of speech such as adjectives, prepositions, and pronouns is the author's diligent effort to address every aspect of the language, anticipating and deflecting possible concerns.

The greater part of the book—pages 104–240—presents an alphabetical list of words and expressions with explanations of their usages and accompanying examples. This section of the book is an indispensable reference to the reader/learner. In this section, specifically, the author highlights the versatility of the language, as is demonstrated in the example of the word "ah." This word is defined in all of its usages in the Creole language, "depending on the context of the sentence" where it functions as an indefinite article "a," as a personal object pronoun "her," as in "Give it toh ah." "Doan tell ah notin'." "Ah" is also used as the personal subject pronoun "I," and "it is used emphatically to express negation'—"Ah doan have ah cent" (104–105).

The author's "next step" summarizes his argument, and he applauds Caribbean journals which include Virgin Islands Creole. His final thrust states that United States Virgin Islands Creole "deserves to be in the same category as other recognized languages with respect to its own authenticity and legitimacy" (242). Finally, the compilation of the charts as a handy reference is beneficial to the reader/learner (252–260).

I commend Dr. White's courage in attacking the metaphorical bull by its horns in presenting this comprehensive work whose time has come. This seminal work has surpassed similar works as it forges a legitimate case for the recognition of United States Virgin Islands Creole in a well-researched and documented work. To that extent, the author is preaching to the choir. I fully support his claim; however, I think the author should have gone one step farther to address a possible impediment in his argument. I would like to believe that similar to the Center for Solidarity and Study of Antilleans, Guyanese, and Reunion Islanders (CEDAGR), prejudices will cease against Creole languages (5); however, the "sense of language inferiority" (30) that exists may be the nucleus of a greater issue that the author failed to develop. I heartily agree that every "language becomes even more enriched through its interweaving and interlocking mode, its communication with

other cultures and traditions" (20), a phenomenon that we experience daily in the United States Virgin Islands where the language "is constantly being nourished by the springs of West Indian philosophies and ever changing social, political, and economic realities" (27).

I also agree that the United States Virgin Islands Creole should not be relegated to the "backrooms" as a "clandestine activity" (32). On the contrary, I think the United States Virgin Islands Creole should be accorded the same recognition as other languages. I think it is universally agreed that the raison d'etre of each language is to promote communication that is comprehensible. In the book, the author mentions the ability to code switch (12), which he explains in the endnotes as the speaker's "switching at will, or subconsciously, between two languages" (263). He also emphasizes the benefits of bilingualism, another point on which we agree. On that premise, I would like to introduce a caveat: Each student of the United States Virgin Islands Creole should use the language as a vehicle to understanding and communicating in Standard English. With our liquid/diminishing borders, speakers of the United States Virgin Islands Creole should be competent in Standard English, the language of business. Their versatility should be manifested in their ability to switch "at will, or subconsciously, between" United States Virgin Island's Creole and Standard English, to guarantee their socio-economic upward mobility. Then, and only then will White's stakeholders feel empowered to promote his impassioned claim.

Meet Meh Undah deh Bongolo & Tark Like We No: A Case for Virgin Islands Creole Den An' Now & A Socio-Cultural Lexicon is a compelling work that should be read and retained as a handy reference.

Brief Biography for Valerie Knowles Combie

Valerie Knowles Combie is a career educator, having taught English and other courses for over 40 years. She is an associate professor of English in the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences on the Albert A. Sheen Campus of the University of the Virgin Islands and a Master Professor at UVI. She is the founding director of the Writing Center on the Albert A. Sheen Campus at UVI, and she is also the director of the Virgin Islands Writing Project (VIWP).

Valerie believes that those who teach writing should be writers themselves. She has written five books that have been published, the most recent being her memoir *Lots of Laughter* (2013), a book-length poem *The HOVENSA Chronicles* (2013), and a book of poems in English and Spanish *Memories/ Recuerdos* (2016) published by Aspects Books. Valerie has also written reviews for *The Caribbean Writer*, and *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*.

REVIEWING THE WORKS OF GLENN SANKATSING

Analysis and Review of Glenn Sankatsing's *Quest to Rescue our Future*

Elaine Henry Olaoye

"The seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are our shared vision of humanity and a social contract between the world's leaders and the people," UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted unanimously by 193 Heads of State and other top leaders at a summit at UN Headquarters in New York in September.

Time's timeless whispers float, sometimes blow, across the ages
Allowing humankind to partake in conversations of gods and sages.
Olaoye Feb. 12, 2019

"The Quest to Rescue our Future" is a searing analysis of the thinking and actions of our past… The invitation to consider the possibility that too many of the actions of our so called civilization have succeeded in creating an uncertain future for human life on earth is laid out with brilliant and poetic insistence. The clarity of this analysis lays bare the underlying complexity of the cyclical patterns of motives, determinations, strategies and actions in a manner paralleling a skillful surgeon wielding a scalpel as he demonstrates how to excise a malignant tumor. New methods, observations and understandings emerge and there is recognition that the challenges before them are many and difficult and often not predictable. This quest is not for the faint of heart.

In the depth of his analysis and the rigor of his investigation of the major institutions of our civilizations, Sankatsing places them under a microscope that reveals increasingly bold and predatory motives and procedures that expressed themselves throughout centuries of successive,

relentless and ever widening strategies of domination and control, first of the many Others and more recently, directed also, at aspects of the planetary eco-structure and system that is supportive of human life.

But the compelling analysis and cogent arguments of "***The Quest to Rescue our Future***" only begin here, they highlight early, a fundamental observation, that a negative possibility presupposes a positive possibility. And with an incisive clarity, Sankatsing addresses and develops a relevant alternate reality. Employing a rare clarity of vision, he provides convincing arguments and identifies these two modes of possibility and realization, using language with the precision that comes with excellence in writing. With this he differentiates methodically and consistently throughout his harrowing analysis, the fine distinctions between the processes and trajectories of "***development***" and ***"envelopment***". With regard to the former, one sees embodied an existential process that allows for human flourishing while the latter engages a seductive and manipulated process that suffocates much of the freedom, conditions and resources that humans need to survive and grow.

The thrust of this magnus opus is to re-assert and recognize the fundamental tendencies that have worked to protect and nurture much of human life and to inquire without apology, as to how and sometimes why humans worked against this basic goal, and acceptance of related principles, but instead chose to raise the specter of becoming so self-destructive, that the earth can be turned into hostile environment for humans. Refusing to openly acknowledge the serious consequences of these modes of thinking and acting, in turn, created the possibility of man becoming his own worst enemy. This persistent denial by powerful and/or dominating groups and nations, may only increase the probability of the realization of Wagner's imagined spaceship, the Flying Dutchman… circling orbits with its dead crew.

The deft and vigorous analysis of many of our revered institutions of understanding and actions: history, politics, religion, culture, science social and physical as well as our humanity will surprise some, anger more than a few, annoy others, leave some cold with scorn but it will also relieve many of quiet but nagging and haunting questions, that some have been plagued with or in some cases, about which they were forced to be silent.

The above provide the critical value of this volume, the urgent truths that are laid bare: and the necessity to confront them at the individual, the societal, the institutional, the cultural, the national and international levels. Monumental tasks and overarching operations all need to be orchestrated in a timely fashion, in a last moment attempt, to undo, to shift habits of thinking and acting that have governed and moved progressively towards the possibility of the extermination of much of what humans have known and enjoyed as life, on planet earth.

The fundamental thrust of ***Quest to Rescue our Future*** is somewhat radical, an approach that will be rejected by some and welcomed by others. However, it provides a depth of analysis and a breadth of investigation that is needed to gain a necessary understanding, if not a detailed blueprint about how to move forward with an operational strategy that can assure us, that there might be a positive solution, that can contribute to averting the potential catastrophe that humans have helped to craft wittingly or unwittingly, especially in the last century or so.

As a psychologist who has embraced the use of statistics in the discipline, I find myself responding with the comment 'that's overstated' as I made my way through the volume. The wholesale writing off of disciplines as completely complicit with ultimately self-destructive motives, intentions and actions, requires qualification and recognition of those who refused in various ways and at various levels to go along with these trends and directions.

In addition, basic use of probability theory acknowledges a reality that limits the tendency to make absolute statements that in turn contribute to rejection, based on percentages related inaccuracy. However, despite this troubling tendency, the observations and issues raised are worthy of consideration and contribute to an improved understanding of our varying responsibilities, misguidances and conscious and unconscious actions that might be contributing to our current and future problems.

I will review briefly, Sankatsing's two major categories development and envelopment, already referenced above and five of the institutional strategies that power them, examining each at several of the following levels: the individual, societal, cultural, national, international and global levels.

The Quest to Rescue our Future takes you very much into our past rather than a journey into our future. It is a systematic examination of the long rather than the short history of many institutions that contribute to the structures of our democracies. The investigations and analyses look unflinchingly at the unexpected and contradictory results in so many instances where resources, opportunities and options allowed for institutions, corporations and nations to come to different and more wholesome outcomes.

The methodology in providing context and employing wisdom in its analysis, engages the thinking and observations of a wide range of diverse scholars, in particular philosophers and historians from the Southern and Northern hemispheres, as well as, those not just from ancient Greece but also from China and India.

Sankatsing notes that if human extinction already has a date on history's calendar, why bother folk with examining the conditions that are leading to their demise? Let them enjoy what is left, ignorance has been shown many times to be bliss. But if planetary demise for humans moves from possibility to a measurable probability, there is still a chance to avoid this event. For the latter reason Sankatsing while he spends much time identifying negative conditions, he tries however to lay out a positive path. Below is his definition of the two choices guiding humanity differentially around the world:

1. "***Development*** *is the mobilization of inherent potentialities in interactive response to challenges posed by nature, habitat and history to realize a sustainable project with an internal locus of command." p.35.*
2. *"**Envelopment** is the paternalistic, disempowering control of an entity by an external locus of command at the expense of its internal life process and ongoing evolution." p.38.*

The mining of the meaning that the clarity of using these two words convey should not be lost on the reader. When we coin phrases such as "sustainable development" instead, it introduces continuing levels of confusion and the redundancy brings to mind the Shakespearian line "Methinks thou dost protest too much."

Whether Sankatsing is ultimately able to take us from A to Z or even to G in carrying out his quest will not be question that I will pursue, though it is important. He goes as far as his methodology allows and with that, he has provided a good start.

Additionally the power balance with development and envelopment is so overwhelming, so asymmetrical, that a clear operationalization of development at this time is likely to just get crushed. A peculiar strength of envelopment at this time is the amazing presence and interconnectedness of its strategies of domination and control, a fundamental dynamic contributing to its enormous growth, expansion and financial success.

There will not be space to review all of the institutions that Sankatsing examines in his extensive work. Some may be more important or of greater concern than others, depending on one's interests or position in the world. I will focus on some of those that seem most in need of attention to me.

One of the page-turning variables that pulls you through this voluminous work is the depth of deception and the cunning contradictions that result in so much harm and devastation to so many but elicit little if any compassion or concern from a powerful minority. The avaricious nature of religions, the manipulations of academicians, the financial exploitation of

corporations, the toxic forms of pleasure relentlessly pushed by marketing moguls and the specious arguments that are boldly presented in the face of racism and its many variants, each contribute to the increasing concern that we are responsible for putting ourselves at risk, for making the earth an uninhabitable place for human beings. Sankatsing identifies the contributing complicity of each of many Euro-American institutions to the continued creation of modern human's current dilemma.

While ***Quest to Rescue our Future*** suggests a pragmatic operationalized plan, it is instead more of an epistemic and psychological journey. This underscores what Sankatsing was forced to confront in reaching his understandings: With all the opportunities and options afforded humans at this point in our civilization, it is not if we can do it, but why we do not do it, this is the critical focus for investigation. It also demonstrates the need at this time, that after a period of specialization, maybe over specialization, the very real need for interdisciplinary reconnections, as a necessary component to any real strategy and commitment to change.

Six dialogues and dynamics or what Sankatsing describes as *'Envelopment tales in Development attire'* will be reviewed:

1. Globalization: Imposition of Western controlled civilization vs allowing development of localized cultures around the world.
2. Economics: infinite growth vs sustainability
3. Psychology: identity vs. individualism
4. Education: science vs. human science
5. Religion: 'God'-made gifts vs. human-made problems.
6. Politics: profit and political will vs. suffering and peoples' wills.

While the early half of our civilizing experience left humans relatively isolated in their respective physical habitats, in this current phase of our civilized journey, the rapid advance and spread of technological products with their almost magical worldwide connectivity, the reality that we are no longer separate but indeed intimately connected has asserted itself, with accompanying perceptions, expectations and manipulations. A reasonable general expectation of the concept of globalization is that with the new resources, new opportunities and new ways of communicating and negotiating that there would be greater understanding, cooperation and increased wealth making and sharing across countries and borders. Sankatsing's observations are very different. Globalization has emerged to a large extent instead as an instrument of envelopment with disempowering and controlling strategies that stifle critical development and increase or maintain significant levels of discrimination, dispossession and divisiveness. Sankatsing writes " *'Modern civilization'*—

shorthand for the model that originated in Europe and went global into many variants, local adaptations and mutations—has played a leading role in the core problems humanity is facing today."

A second analysis of dialogues and dynamics will look at how these factors operate with an Economics framework. The current Euro-American normative model is one of infinite growth. Without apology but with bold, calculated and aggressive energies blazing linear pathways of growth that encourages competition and destruction of any values or persons that dare to block the path. Sankatsing continuously invites the reader to compare humans thinking and strategies to those of nature, so humans in asserting their intelligence and making decisions have been given models that can be used for comparison regarding impact of likely results. Infinite growth, despite it widespread acceptance can be and has been shown to be a seriously flawed model.

Sankatsing reminds the reader that *"the core trait of growth is not to grow in infinity but to grow into maturity, which means until one is full grown*." p.157. He provides a dramatic natural example from Andrew Simms, et. al. 2010: *"From birth to puberty a hamster doubles its weight each week. If, then instead of leveling-off into maturity as animals do, the hamster continued to double its weight each week, on its first birthday we would be facing a nine billion ton hamster. If it kept eating the same ratio of food to body weight, by then its daily intake would be greater than the total, annual amount of maize produced worldwide."*p.157. Similar statistics can be collected on excessive behavior of modern civilization, general estimates have indicated that we need several planets to sustain us on the path that developed countries are on.

Basic observations as well as common sense are clear in their assessments that our modern economic and marketing strategies are pathological and impossible to sustain. This model attempts to subordinate every sphere of life to a race of just increasing profit margins. This is all the more pernicious in that it also has the effect of neglecting or obliterating important social and personal dimensions of human life.

Further the absurdity of the infinite growth model that marches onward in plain sight has had to be sustained by going beyond human need satisfaction to stimulating relentless demand creation for privileged populations in developed countries. This very real aberration of capitalist reasoning is nonetheless the engine of multi-billion dollar market driven economies.

Although Sankatsing does not focus on the discipline of psychology specifically, in describing development as "*devotion to life enhancement*" he creates and defines a psychological space: For him life *enhancement "constitutes the driving force that mobilizes inherent potentialities in the*

dynamic process of bringing life into movement and keeping it afloat. The triggering point is the awakening of dormant inner forces and inherent energies when the required conditions fall in place." p. 36 Sankatsing identifies 'four underlying forces' associated with life enhancement or a psychological space:

1. Situatedness based on context-relatedness.
2. Sovereignty based on an internal locus of command.
3. Sustainability as the guarantee for continuity.
4. Participation as a prerequisite for self-realization.

Development is a fundamental psychological concept. However, as Sankatsing notes, the reality of development is not a human invention but a precondition of life, it is a process by which nature interacts, relates and shapes itself continuously from within. The dialogic and dynamic that comes with the envelopment model, imposes alien or context free models, underemphasizes relatedness, breeds alienation and generates frustration related to blocking potential life processes, contributing to current high and widespread levels of anxiety, depression and anger. The latter too often results in some degree of dehumanization accompanied by breakdown in community.

The fourth dialogue and dynamic to be reviewed briefly is the structure of our educational strategies. Three major practices of academia that tend to support envelopment rather than development will be reviewed: an intentionality to supply persuasive discourses that justify envelopment and block alternatives; and the complicating use of determinism and the status and use of science. Envelopment discourse helps to distract peoples from listening to their own voices by creating forms of ideology, philosophical streams and scientific thinking, each of which can act as effective vehicles of domination, while appearing to be agents of development. Subtle and often used academic strategies include promotion of universal truths and value which are really particular and specific to a singular context. This can amount to epistemic violence that can obliterate the awareness of necessary realities and limit abilities of millions to engage in meaningful learning, understanding and development of personal agency.

The use of determinism is a second academic practice that contributes to the establishment of thinking and practices that allow envelopment to anchor itself in the human psyche despite its destructive nature. Specifically *"At the root of all variants of determinism are theories of fatality that abolish ethic, since they eliminate responsibility and accountability… It invalidates ethics, because dismissal of free choice eliminated the role of agency and volition. Inherently, it discards the possibility of wrongdoing."* As Sankatsing continues, *"when in the last instance laws of nature or*

factors external to human will and agency are accountable for the outcome, nobody can be at fault, since geography, climate, economy, the divine, birth, hereditary traits, providence and natural law all take full blame." p.156.

The marginalization of ethical imperatives leading to elimination of responsibility allow determinism to be used as a major support and a critical component of the maintenance system of envelopment.

Science has also been coopted as part of the acceptance of envelopment strategies of control and domination. The claim of science to truth, knowledge and certainty has been a recurring debate for centuries. Despite this, the scientific worldview, with much justification, enjoys great prominence and enduring prestige. However, the foundations and strategies of science will benefit from a careful examination. Clarity regarding the anthropomorphic nature of science and its epistemological structure are needed to understand some critical roles that science is playing in the modern development/envelopment dynamic.

Modern science emerged from a specific Eurocentric context. As we track its ascendency from Aristotelian times, historically it takes place in a specific socioeconomic context that encouraged the rise of individualism and capitalism, as it asserted its epistemic control. Ironically, after forcing the church to recognize that it did not have a valid basis for the knowledge it was promoting, some current proponents of science, standing on the success that its methods are associated with, have adopted for the discipline, both an anthropocentric and androcentric characteristics. Inability to observe of these characteristics make some critical manipulations that permeate modern science relatively invisible and their effects unchecked.

An anthropocentric attitude in science makes plausible reification and assertion of a false objectivity of science. Anthropocentricity normalizes the acceptance of an objective science, a science that is reality, instead of the human science that it is and always has been. Science as we know it, is a product of human understanding and limited by that reality: the gift of our senses (and now the technologies that extend them); the sharpness of particular observations; the limited though vast capacity of our brains; the structure and conditions of our mind; the limitations of language, and other human forms of representation; our specific location in the world and in the universe; each and all dictate that human beings have unique modes of observing what is around them. Sankatsing sums it up in this fashion: *"Instead of offering a gateway to objective reality or to the secrets of the cosmos, science constitutes a customized reading of the universe from a window of perception confined to the physical limits, brain capacity, intellectual (and emotional, added) imagination and the technological capabilities of humans and of their imaging capacity in the forms of concepts, categorization and language itself."*

Human science, nonetheless, has produced much valuable, practical knowledge and a vast array of technological solutions in responding to the challenges humans encounter as we respond to events and the natural environment. These discoveries have contributed in truly amazing ways to humans ability to survive and thrive. *"The belief that the Universe, as perceived by human beings is the only existing reality is stark proof of science's anthropomorphic myopia."* A logical 'science' or human science must admit to the existence of other universes with modes of perception of phenomena that might be non-gravitational using energies yet unnamed and beyond current human imagination.

Anthropomorphic science can engage in aspirational acts to reduce bias by demanding commitment to inter-subjectivity, replication, and peer review but these checks do not add up to objectivity. Instead they offer some protections from fraud, identifiable human error, and verifiable methodological manipulations and biases, *"in fact, they are all reliability tests for anthropomorphism!*

Human science is our interrogation of nature, a continuous conversation with who we are and the world around us, that has been part of our development. However, growth of human science has been more in response to challenges, dangers and specific interests of particular and powerful groups, rather than a result of pursuing abstract knowledge and truth. In essence human science is a never ending search for perishable truths. Most times it is a dialogue or debate among humans who differ in their needs, perceptions and motives and therefore in their vision of what solutions human science should focus on.

An androcentric focus on human science refers to the trend that is still evident regarding the conduct of scientific enterprise to be dominated by males, at times leading to biased research in many disciplines. Evidence of this comes from the extent to which the work of women and minorities have been blocked, made invisible or stolen or still worse the negative bogus theories that were created and still haunt their personhood. So slaves were diagnosed with Drapetomania, a mental illness that, in 1851, American physician Samuel A. Cartwright hypothesized as the cause of enslaved Africans fleeing captivity. It is now recognized as part of the edifice of scientific racism. Currently black men incarcerated, many without good cause, in record numbers, are haunted with diagnosis of paranoia; women are identified negatively for the very same traits that are celebrated in men….

With respect to the dialogue and dynamics of human science, an argument can be made that science has made some false claims to high levels of validity, certainty and universality in too many instances. Additionally, academics have made it normative to outsource some of their reflective and creative capacities to experts and centers of reputation

or so named excellence. This has provided a strategy for not challenging the status quo and accepting a truth without making the effort to find out whose truth it is. These practices have made the academy currently at times, a favoured handmaiden of capitalism and corporate expansion resulting in being a major contributor to current planetary problems with limited will and capacity to provide effective solutions.

Sustainability goes hand in hand with survival and for this reason has permeated all human settings, simply because continuity and reproduction are the quintessence of life and evolution. The dialogical dynamic that emerges here for Santkatsing is the subtle inversion of intentions by creation and perverse use of oxymorons or pleonasms.

Thus development that is unsustainable leads to discontinuity which is tantamount to destructive envelopment. Development is sustainable by definition. 'Sustainable development' is the same as participatory democracy. If there is no participation there is no democracy. These labels introduce redundancy but can reduce clarity and provide a false sense of security.

Additionally, current focus on sustainability was not motivated or structured based on commitment to care for people and the planet but is an overdue response to the sustained damage that has ravaged the lives of millions as well as significant elements and parts of our ecosystem. With this as an underlying reality, sustainable development signals to many sustainable infinite growth, this means their focus is on exploiting the negative changes by turning them in capitalist ventures, rather than attempting to curb the conditions that human's excessive desires created. Using the term sustainable envelopment makes clear the political process that is engaged. The extent to which the development/envelopment dynamic becomes inadequate to the challenge, is further underscored by the hope of inter-generational equity: While planetary changes may not occur with the life-threatening vengeance during the lives of many baby boomers, the future of the planet is tied up with the future of their immediate offspring. The verbosity that characterizes the many expensive conferences and World Summits on everything and nothing, that can be related to our possible environmental catastrophe has created justifiable anger among many of our youth. Twelve-year-old Seren Suzuki at a 1992 conference in Rio de Janiero expressed some of the frustration of the youth with, *"If you don't know how to fix it, please stop breaking it."*

Social science disciplines as evaluated by Sankatsing suffer from four grave flaws that undermine their validity: "(1) fragmentation into autonomous fields of study; (2) the parochial origin of disciplines; (3) claims to context-free models and devices; (4) social science disciplines as agents of envelopment. p.231. The fragmentation without a systematic and sustained commitment to reintegrate them results in a critical loss

of needed synergetic capability, perspectives and logical capabilities that deliver less than adequate solutions but also delay meaningful shifts from an envelopment model to a developmental model.

Sankatsing's inclusion of the positions and roles of religions with regard to the development/envelopment dynamic is a worthwhile decision. For some it would seem that development should be triumphing over envelopment if the fundamental goodness that is embodied in all the varying concepts of a Godhead is true. How can such reckless and relentless destruction of the Other and the planet take place if Life is good? A response to this question invites a return to the anthropocentric posture of modern thinking: With the rise of scientifically based discoveries and the attendant generation of knowledge and technology leading to practical solutions by the thousands and increased conveniences in living, awareness of anything beyond human's abilities faded away, in fact humans became truly intoxicated with what was just the beginning of a wide array, as well as, a series of small and great discoveries.

Among the many gifts human received as part of how they are constituted, is the freedom to use our intelligence and our senses in pretty much what ever manner we choose. However, thoughts, behaviors and actions have consequences, ranging in degrees from negative to positive. When humans seek, plan and take actions that in turn create large scale problems, some of which can set off sequences and chain reactions which go beyond human control and are detrimental to planetary life. These are not problems created by religious Godheads, these are human made problems and require human made solutions and for centuries while human actions threatened particular groups, countries or nations, they did not present a global challenge, recent changes in available products and the behavior of millions of human beings, are forcing us to face a planet wide problem.

Discontinuity or death is and has been a consequence that has been made clear to humans as part of our gift of consciousness. While denial is a cognitive and emotional mechanism that humans can and do employ, denial does not change the reality of natural negative consequences, it merely increases the likelihood of their occurrence. Lives of human beings on a planet wide scale can be discontinued.

Mention needs to be made of the very well known creation story in Genesis that has been used extensively to show that humans were given a mission to subdue the Earth and to rule over everything with great passion and zeal. For over two millennia now, the mandate that the cosmos exists for the purpose of serving humankind has justified the right of envelopment supporters to dominate and if necessary, harm nature, notably, with divine blessing.

The three Abrahamic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam established patriarchal traditions that have maintained androcentric cultures around the world, that expresses itself in much of the gender and orientation abuse, that is still so widespread today.

The last dialogue and dynamic to be subject to a brief review is politics. Sankatsing focuses on the extent to which modernity has succeeded in dissecting communities and cultures into free atomistic individuals. This provided an opportunity to reassemble a new structure for aggregation and manipulation. Free-wheeling, self-indulgent individuals given unlimited freedom runs contrary to the dynamic of the evolutionary stream. An over emphasis on an individualistic approach to structuring peoples' lives can increase their vulnerability despite the power of 'one-individual-one-vote' political systems. As the shift continues from rural communities to cities all over the world, alienation from displacement occurs; the need for a self-marketing orientation emerges as competition at every level increases and complicity and responsibility related to labour and living escalate. These provide fertile soil for envelopment models, where marketing and technological tools can be used to further capitalism and fundamentalism. This in turn makes possible a homogenization of globalization. Ironically, however, with the politics of globalization individualism is a precursor to divisiveness and conflict: "Freedom can destroy freedom" *"Too often, identity has been about instrumental loyalty to oneself and one's next of kin. In history, we have frequently seen how this radicalized into nationalist and fundamentalist polarization and unjust wars, Competitive self-realization is the opposite of solidarity."*

Also, it is worthwhile to look briefly at the role of free speech, especially as it has evolved with the wide availability of media platforms. As Sankatsing suggests, the Euro-American dictate should be free communication rather than free speech. The problems created by the latter so evident in modern society is that although speech should facilitate the development of relationship, emphasis on free speech rather than free communication has fueled increase in monologues and bullying rather than dialogues and listening, resulting in more polarization and conflicts instead of communicating and establishing some common ground of understandings.

Sankatsing has reminded us that life is a fatal disease but denial of death and lack of compassion, has been a focus of many institutions and systems of governments and corporations in modern society. Many of us have been seduced or otherwise come to accept particular ways of thinking: We have been manipulated and seduced into a reckless pursuit of satisfying inflated egotistical behaviors such as wanting and buying more and more things, enjoying more and more things, then throwing away more and more things only to buy more and more again, in an endless cycle

of consumption, anxiety, waste, each believing in infinite growth while contributing daily to environmental toxicity, while in sharpest contrast, billions of other human beings lack adequate shelter and food, suffer with preventable diseases, and succumb to premature deaths, at the same time, the planet is moving to a point where it is unable to replenish what we do not need but take from it. Human beings are now faced not only with possible shortages of nonrenewable resources but also unnecessary destruction of conditions needed for the survival of humankind.

It is noteworthy that the hubris that has characterized the thinking of a significant percentage of human beings, has led them to ignore the fact that the gift of the intellect granted to them, how or why they truly know not. However, in the space of this silence, in this sacred vacuum, some human beings have aggressively sought with the reifying of science and the instruments of technology, to assert that they know or can know everything, dominate and control everything and make their wants and wishes, not their needs, the central focus of major planetary activity. They have remade, (but it is only in their minds,) the natural universe 4.5 billion years old, as far as humans, (only about 200,000 years old,) know, into an anthropocentric universe.

For millennia although individuals died, survival of the species under even better conditions, or with better knowledge and skills to cope with challenges was the human trajectory. The growth of hubris in modern times with the 'success' of scientific and technological discoveries, products, and instruments, particularly since the industrial revolution, created a trajectory that now points to the possibility of an end game.

The irony however, is that our hubris leads us to disassociate ourselves from the planet and to whatever extent some of us will acknowledge that we might be responsible for some irreversible destruction to the planet, many of us remain unaware that the planet is and will be fine whatever human beings do, the only issue is human survival. Some of us because of the narcissism and lack of compassion that often accompanies hubris, are blinded by this pathological way of thinking.

The universe, including Earth is part of a bigger, brighter, stronger and more powerful process than human beings or their petty endeavors. If we choose, we can activate what Sankatsing identifies as our moral reserves, if enough of us will refocus and recognize that we are talking about the future of each and every one of us, or that of our children and grandchildren and that this is of the greatest importance. If we understand that it will take nothing less than a strategically empowered, committed and well funded coalition of tens of millions of individuals the world over, working at intellectual, social, environmental, economical, cultural, national, international and global levels, working to avoid zero sum confrontations and conflicts and zenophobia, and choosing solidarity and

working with a great sense of urgency, supported by the best ethics in the applications of science and technology, humans will succeed in redirecting what has been a potentially catastrophic millennia long trajectory.

In the silent womb of night and sorrow,
In recesses too deep for language or thought
Responses, miracles that match seemingly unsurmountable challenges
Incubate and can be sought. *Olaoye, Feb 16, 2019*

Caribbean Ecological Ethics: A Review of Glenn Sankatsing's *Quest to Rescue our Future*

Paget Henry

Glenn Sankatsing's *Quest to Rescue our Future* is a powerful and moving work of ecological and philosophical analysis, which confronts head-on the meaning of our growing global ecological crisis from a very Caribbean perspective. It is also a brilliantly argued text and a major work of impressive scholarship. The author's reflections are profound and comprehensive as they are in direct response to the planetary dimensions of this crisis with which Antigua and Barbuda, the Caribbean and the rest of humanity are confronted. In responding so courageously to the global nature and scope of this threatening environmental crisis, Sankatsing has emerged as one of the Caribbean's major ethicists. His ethical voice speaks eloquently and fluently on behalf of a dominated but now resisting nature. It is from the perspective of what we have done and are still doing to "Mother Nature" and the major debts of recognition, care, and respect that we now owe her that Sankatsing's ethical voice soars. As a contemporary ethical philosopher, he must be read right alongside Nelson Maldonado-Torres, whose book, *Against War*, established him as one of the founders of the field of decolonial ethics. In a similar way, *Quest to Rescue our Future*, will establish Sankatsing as one of our major ecological ethicists.

Our author opens his text on a note of major urgency. The tone of this note comes from reading the "unmistakable omens" by which our oppressed planet has been warning us that it has already entered phase of resistance that could be very threatening to human survival. From a presence that had been generous and supportive, because it felt no major threat to its existence coming from us, our Earth is now locked in a deadly struggle with us for its own existence. Without fully realizing it, we have grown into a major threat to the life of the planet on which our lives depend. The growing realities of global warming, melting glaciers, rising sea levels, more violent storms and hurricanes, ozone depletion, and ocean acidification are some of the major omens by which our planet has been warning us of the growing threat that we pose to its very existence. This threat of ecological rebellion, Sankatsing links to three other dangerous contemporary trends, making the source of urgency in his voice a fourfold one. These additional trends are: (1) imperial envelopment, which we will explore later; (2) the rise of fundamentalism across the globe; and (3) increases in mental slavery.

In the last two weeks of the month of May 2019, the American Midwest was the scene of 500 tornadoes along with massive flooding that breeched the levies on the Arkansas river. For Sankatsing, the messages encoded

in these omens are quite clear. As he puts it, "the time that will tell has already told" (13). He is quite certain of major trespassing on our part, and that we have now entered a danger zone. He goes on to suggest that "beyond the differing assessments of the magnitude of our crisis, there is a general feeling that we have lost grip on our destiny and that we may be heading for some sort of unspeakable disaster" (17).

Given this view of our predicament, Sankatsing's goal is that of finding out how humanity got itself into this destructive war with the originating and supporting sources of its existence. In other words, a major part of his quest is to "find out how and when our species took the wrong turn that has been accountable for the derailment into today's frightening circumstances" (107). For Sankatsing, our phase of peaceful and cooperative relations with Mother Nature was that period during which our social life was governed by the basic principles and creative actions of our Earth's ongoing evolution. In his view, evolution is the ongoing, life-enhancing process, which is mediated by the creative powers of an organism that enables it to adapt to its surrounding environment. This affirmative and life-increasing evolutionary process is governed by the rule of "life seeking more life". This ability of a particular species to mobilize its creative powers in efforts to adapt to its environment is so important for our author that he gives it a special name, "the social response capacity" of that species (344). The wrong turn of humanity has been the sharp break it made with nature's evolutionary control over the course of human development and the substituting of our own discursively based rules.

In understanding the nature of this historic and fateful wrong turn on our evolutionary path, Sankatsing singles out the urge to dominate. He notes that "humanity has known times of relative serenity and happiness of people in the company of each other in the spirit of evolution, until domination and the usurpation of power by tyrants and selfish elites marred the voyage of humans across time" (111). This desire to dominate is the driving force behind our wrong turn, our separation from nature, and now our deadly war with her. Further, these "vices of selfishness and vanity, the urge of some to subordinate others and kidnap their fate became a plague that took dramatic form in megalomaniac imperial projects. Sankatsing concludes this crucial section of his text with the observation that this "journey into the deep past has located humanity's wrong turn at the point where selfishness prevailed over solidarity and envelopment could overwhelm development." We will return to what he means by envelopment.

In particular it has been the European imperial projects of global colonization that has consolidated and institutionalized this historic break with nature's evolutionary guidance. Sankatsing then goes on to outline in brilliant detail the many discursive strategies that Europeans, and

later Americans, have used to justify these practices of domination and enslavement. At the core of these discourses used to legitimate Western imperial projects was a very sharp contradiction: In spite of being very specifically European, these discourses were at the same time seen as being of universal significance. No one has stated this more clearly than the German sociologist, Max Weber in the opening of his classic text, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*: "a product of modern European civilization, studying any problem of universal history, is bound to ask himself to what combination of circumstances the fact should be attributed that in Western civilization, and in Western civilization only, cultural phenomena have appeared which (as we like to think) lie in a line of development having *universal* significance"(2002:xxviii; emphasis in original).

Along with this core contradiction, Sankatsing sees these legitimating discourses as resting on certain key notions such as individualism, competition, profit motive, modernity, science and technology, the hegemony of Reason, and Eurocentrism. These notions he finds in the works of the major Western scholars such as Darwin, Hegel, Marx, Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte. In chapters six and seven, Sankatsing subjects these legitimating discourses of Western imperial projects to a series of trenchant critiques that leaves the modern Western world without much legitimacy. What is important for our author from all of this is that the practices of Western imperial domination arrested and destroyed the social response capacities of colonized societies, robbing them of their independent capabilities for creative responses to changes in their surrounding environment. This disabling of the social response capacities of colonized societies had the effect of reducing them to what Sankatsing has called "trailer" societies.

The Development-Envelopment Dynamic

The meaning and significance of this subordinate incorporating of the adaptive evolutionary capabilities of these societies is analyzed by Sankatsing in great detail and constitutes one of the major theoretical contributions of this important work. This imperial arresting of the social response capacities of colonized societies Sankatsing calls "envelopment". This he distinguishes very carefully from development. The latter he defines as "the mobilization of inherent potentialities in interactive response to challenges posed by nature, habitat and history to realize a sustainable project with an internal locus of command" (35). In other words, development must include the continuing increase in a society's social response capacity. Yet, there are complex dialectical relations between envelopment and development. Indeed, another of the crucial

theoretical contributions of this work is what its author calls "development-envelopment dynamics" (43). In terms of theory from the Global South, this is an important contribution.

Sankatsing described these dynamics in the following way: "what powerful colonial, imperial and modern countries have widely acclaimed as development as in numerous variants and tastes, in the last half millennium was its exact opposite, namely envelopment, a process of enclosing, wrapping up, of molding from the outside through transfer and mimicry" (38). Put differently, envelopment is a form of imperial encapsulation that takes control of the commanding heights of the state, economy and culture of the invaded society. Particularly in the case of Western imperialism, envelopment imposed on its colonies the wrong turn that Europe had made when it rebelled against and broke with nature's evolutionary guidance.

In many cases this Western imperial envelopment produced changes in the colonized economy such as new modes of agricultural production such as the plantation, repressive labor regimes such as slavery and indenture, the mining of new minerals, and new trading practices. These changes have often also increased measures such as annual Gross Domestic Product, which have been taken as indices of development. This is precisely where Sankatsing breaks with the development literature. For him, such economic indices in colonial societies measure envelopment and not development. From the point of view of the latter, envelopment is an intrusive process that brings major disruptions in a society's relation with its surrounding context, which had been established by its social response capacity. With this vital organic connection to the ongoing evolutionary process broken, the result is distorted, externally driven underdevelopment.

After establishing the nature of the development-envelopment dynamic, Sankatsing turns his attention to a sustained and comprehensive critique of the "development" literature. This he does under the heading of "envelopment tale in development attire" (147). He begins with the following bold declaration: "the development theories and models of the last sixty years, and even before, have all failed. The reason for this is now clear. They were envelopment models, the exact opposite of what they claimed" (147). These failed envelopment models parading as development include ones such as Christianization, civilizing missions, modernization, Non-governmental organizations, informal sectors, and neoliberal globalization. The repeated failures of these "development" strategies have led to "a widespread disillusionment with developmentalism", which has now engulfed institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO.

We cannot here go through all of the theories examined by our author, so I will only mention, very briefly, his examination of the Lewisian, center-periphery and world systems models as these were among

the major Caribbean contributions to this literature. However, rest assured that Sankatsing's critique of this literature, as in the case of the literature justifying Western imperialism, is thorough, comprehensive, and leaves it without much legitimacy as development. Locating Lewis within the modernization tradition rather than the democratic socialist one in which Lewis situated himself, Sankatsing sees Lewis' model as essentially adapting Caribbean economies to the Western system of global envelopment. He therefore concluded that "the contemporary face of Arthur Lewis' economic growth paradigm is today's prevalent neoliberal global envelopment" (161).

With regard to the center-periphery and world systems models, Sankatsing suggests that their valuable contribution was "to reveal the anatomy of global envelopment as it had evolved historically from colonial and neocolonial domination" (162). However, for our author they had definite problems. The most important of these was an excessive focus on "the binary global opposition of the exterior and the interior" (162), which prevented them from adopting an extra-systemic point of view. Particularly in the case of dependency theory, "its inability to progress to an extra- systemic holistic framework was the reason for its stagnation and failure, after a period of terminal decline" (163).

Given his interest in ecology, Sankatsing also reviewed the literature on "sustainable development". He finds it very unsatisfactory on account of its many compromises with Western envelopment. The first major problem he sees is that sustainable development "did not find its origins in the care for the planet, love for nature, or fascination with natural beauty, but in anthropocentric environmentalism" (168). That is, the environment only became an issue when economic elites realized that the omens of nature's oppositional eruptions were negatively affecting their profit making. In short, "economy, not ecology, has been the driving force behind the sustainable development discourse" (169).

From this brief account of the major arguments and critiques that fill the first seven chapters of this book, I hope that it is clear exactly where its author has positioned himself in order to make his ethical response to both our worsening ecological crisis and to the failures of our major scholars to address it in an adequate fashion that is also genuinely developmental. First, we saw that the nature of this crisis was a fourfold one, an important root of which has been our human drive to subdue nature of which we are a dependent part. For Sankatsing, this is a self-defeating act that reminds us of the parasite that kills its host. Second, we saw that the major counter-responses from the Caribbean and the rest of the Global South has not enabled us to extricate ourselves from the grip of Western envelopment, which has been the major driving force behind our growing ecological crisis. To escape from this fateful entrapment, Sankatsing suggests

throughout his book that we need an extra-systemic, holistic perspective that is grounded in a global ethics. This must be the basis for our response to the crisis that is engulfing us. Let us now turn to this ethical alterative that Sankatsing develops in the last two chapters of his book.

The Ethical Alternative

The first step in the making of this global ethical turn is a fuller and more sobering recognition of the damage that we have been doing to our host planet. This we can do by listening to the omens it has been sending us. From the perspective of this needed ethical turn, "humanity needs to listen carefully to the omens of nature which demands a shift to an ethical worldview to recreate ourselves into a new humanity" (367). Assuming that we are able to listen deeply and hear what they are saying about our possible extinction, then the first task that we must undertake is to stop engaging in this destructive behavior, to end our war against nature, and to refuse to pass on to our children such a wounded and angry planet. To desist from this destructive behavior, we will have to stop seeing nature primarily through our survival needs, which intense competition has turned into predatory greed, and begin to see her as a living organism with a life of her own that demands our respect and thanks for her generosity. Seen through our survival and accumulative needs nature becomes just food and dead resources to be consumed and instrumentally exploited. These are the set of perceptions and habits that we must be prepared to surrender if we are going to make the ethical turn needed to rescue our future.

More specifically, among the perceptions and habits that we will have to surrender in order to make this needed ethical turn are our current levels of violence, individualism, greed, competition, egoism, scientism, nationalism, imperialism, and anthropocentrism. Our author engages in detailed critiques of these perceptions and practices and how they clash with the desired ethical behavior. For example in the case of science, he writes: the transition from a scientific to an ethical worldview is critical to rescuing our future" (368). He further suggests that the world of science and the realm of ethics diverge in their responses to reality. When science is at odds with reality, the way to proceed is to change theory, when ethics is at odds with reality, the way to proceed is to change reality" (369). For Sankatsing, science is instrumental and hence deadening and objectifying, ethics is moral and subjectifying. Hence we get the need to end the current epistemic dominance of science if we are to make the needed ethical turn. After this detailed critique of the dominance of science, Sankatsing goes on to make equally strong arguments against our current levels of violence, egoism, nationalism, etc., as they too must go if we are going to make the ethical turn to rescue our future.

The next major step in Sankatsing's outlining of his ethical alternative to ecological collapse is the specifying of the "social forces that are capable of rehabilitating ethics in an envelopment-based environment" (369-70). These forces include the cultivating of practices of cosmocentrism, freedom, concerted diversity, democracy, non-violence, communitarianism, and cosmopolitanism. The ethical dimensions of these social forces are all discussed in relation to their potential to assist in the restoration of social response capacities in a post-envelopment period, and thus to "reconnect humanity to the algorithm of evolution" (439).

Finally in the construction of his project of ethical transformation, Sankatsing takes up the organizing that will be necessary to give it the minds, bodies, hands and feet that it will need to get off the ground. For this gathering of concerned lovers of Mother Nature, he reserves the term "fellowship". This fellowship is "the mobilization of social agents that can jumpstart a species-wide movement and, next mobilize and strengthen the creative forces that can shape a new humanity" (437). He also sees the membership of this fellowship as "the moral reserves of humanity", which must be further cultivated and truly developed so they can be the living foundation of this project of ethical transformation and ecological revolution on behalf of Mother Earth.

As in the case of the arguments and critiques of the earlier chapters, the above is a brief overview of the key elements in Sankatsing's proposed ethical response to our threatening ecological crisis. I hope that together these two summaries have made clear the scope, vision and scholarship that inform this major work. It is indeed a very significant contribution to Caribbean and ecological scholarship and we owe its author a great debt of gratitude and many thanks for bringing it to us. It is the patient work of a lifetime of scholarship. Engaging with *Quest to Rescue Our Future*, has definitely made me more ecologically aware, and has also made me think more deeply and compassionately about the threats we have been posing to the life of our Mother Earth.

However, as the pointed critiques that arise from the pages of this work make clear, no book is without its contradictions, omissions, excesses, understatements, and other flaws. In other words, it time now for a short critique and for leaving behind the expository mode of writing and thinking.

Towards a Short Critique

As much as I enjoyed and recommend the theoretical and critical sections of this book, there are some definite points of disagreement and divergence. Most importantly, these are over the manner in which the binary oppositions employed in the composition of the text are allowed

to influence the methods of argumentation and critique developed throughout the work. This deployment of binary oppositions can be seen very clearly in the establishing of the development-envelopment dynamics. Within this key theoretical construct there also a number of other binaries that help to crystalize the opposition between development and envelopment. In most of these cases, the separations produced by these binary structures are pushed a little too far, producing levels of polarization that rob many of the author's arguments of subtle nuances and synergies with other traditions of scholarship.

For example, the binary between nature on the one hand, and civilization and envelopment on the other is definitely pushed to far, and negatively impacts the important concept of envelopment. This binary has a similar level of polarization as that of the good/evil binary. The two sides are mutually exclusive. Nature is all good – peaceful, harmonious, generous and wise, while at the same time being our life-affirming evolutionary guide. On the other hand, the history of civilization is marked by war, violence selfishness and counter-evolutionary envelopment of other societies and of nature by imperial ones. The two halves of this binary are polar opposites and are thus unable to touch each other constructively and learn from the others mistakes. Indeed, it is not clear if nature and development can make mistakes or wrong turns. More specifically, a major problem with this polar construction of this binary is that it block the recognition of the violence of nature and the possibility that the violence in humans is precisely because they are a part of nature.

Beautiful as nature is and that evolution is motivated by "life seeking more life", we cannot overlook the fact that in nature life feeds on other life in order to survive. All creatures are equipped to kill some other set of creatures as a basic condition of survival. This is the element of predatory violence that is embedded in nature's way of life. The moral question that Sankatsing's work raises is whether our human capacity to kill not only other species for our survival, but also fellow humans because they have different beliefs or look different is a natural inheritance. The complete attribution of this self-centered violence to civilizations seems to me the work of the underlying binary structure rather than the evidence, and is not necessary for the concept of envelopment to work the way in which our author wants it to work. The polarizing effects of this binary between nature and civilization reached their extreme when their author wrote: "the wrong turn that humanity took in evolution was civilization" (336). This bars any possibility that nature could be active in and supportive of civilizing processes.

Another example of this type of excessive polarization between constitutive binaries of this text is that between the broader and more encompassing opposition between development and envelopment. Here,

the construction evoked associations with the perfect/imperfect binary. Too often envelopment became the category into which Sankatsing would put all of the problems and failures of earlier attempts at development. Once located there, too often these past cases became simply what the formal definition of envelopment specified. On the other hand, development remains this perfect category that contains very little of these past failures and their problems with violence and straying from nature, and is populated primarily the future projects, which are more ethically inscribes and thus more in harmony with natures evolutionary guidance. The polarizing problems of this development/envelopment binary are further complicated when Sankatsing extends it to include practices such as sexism, ego-centrism, and anthropocentrism. This I think reduces the concepts precision and thus weakens its epistemic power.

Yet another example of this tendency toward excessive polarization is the binary established between ethics and other disciplinary discourses. This binary comes too close to that of the absolute/relative binary, particularly after rejecting so sharply the absolutist tendencies in Western discourses. In contrast to other disciplinary discourses, ethics has the potential to be global, extra-disciplinary and holistic. The other discourses such as philosophy or sociology are partial and fragmented precisely because they are part of a disciplinary division of intellectual labor. In this attempts to define ethics as distinct from other disciplinary discourses, Sankansing attempts to further specify the differences between extra-disciplinary practices and inter-disciplinary and trans-disciplinary ones. However, the concept of extra-disciplinarity remained very unclear to me as it was defined primarily in terms of not being the other forms of disciplinarity rather than in its own terms.

Much the same was true of the notion of holism. Philosophy and religion have consistently been the discourses for supplying humans with their comprehensive pictures of the world. They have been the locations of holistic thinking within the intellectual division of labor of many different cultures. Ethics has consistently been integral parts of both philosophy and religion, thus I found it unconvincing and unclear the attempted separation of ethics from its disciplinary locations within intellectual divisions of labor. By itself, I don't see how ethics can be more holistic, comprehensive or global than the work of other restricted disciplines. Further, it was not clear how the call for a global ethics would not be another case of cultural homogenization or universalism that Sankatsing earlier rejected.

These over-polarized relations between ethics on the one hand, and science, philosophy, sociology, etc., on the other, brings me now to a more direct engagement Sankatsings treatment of ethics and his project of ethical transformation. As we have seen, at the core of this project we

do not find the golden rule or Kant's categorical imperative. Rather, we meet the very different and nature oriented principle of our responsibility to pass on to the next generation a planet that is not in revolt because of how we have exploited and attempted to dominate it. Upon this foundation he built his key socio-ethical concepts such as cosmocentrism, communitarianism and cosmopolitanism. In this regard, Sankatsing sees himself in a tradition of ethicists, which includes philosophers like Albert Schweitzer and Hans Jonas.

While clearly linked to these scholars, Sankatsing's ethical project also draws on other ethical traditions. These additional influences derive from the projects of ethical transformation that many of our religions have undertaken over the millennia. Thus, the idea that we have "gone astray", turned away from nature's ways and have chosen those of our own making, are foundational themes of many of our religions. Further, when the gods have not been happy, they have communicated to us through omens. The major difference in cases of these religions is that the break has been with a creator conceived as a spiritual God and not material nature. In spite of this key difference, the classic religious themes of conflict between a guiding Divine will and an errant human will, parallels the tragic conflict outlined by Sankatsing between our human will and nature's evolutionary "will". In both of these cases of willful conflict, the problem has been identified as the human tendency to imaginatively locate ourselves at the center of creation, convince ourselves that we are in charge, and thus to openly challenge and break with the rules of the established order, whether of nature or of God. Human self-centered hubris is at the heart of Sankatsing's "wrong turn" as much as it is at the heart of religious notions such as the fall or human trespassing. Although very brief, I hope that these parallels are enough to demonstrate the similarities between our author's ethical project and those of our religions.

In dealing with problems of human selfishness and self-centered hubris, our religions – Egyptian, Akan, Yoruba, Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, Islamic or Rastafarian, have consistently assumed that they have been inheritances from our embeddedness in nature. Thus included in their projects of ethical transformation have been spiritual measures specifically designed to reduce self-centeredness, and thus the tendency to transgress against the Divine and to usurp its place at the center of our lives and of all creation. Ethical salvational projects were seen as failing without the aid of these special practices. Without them, the task of changing human self-centeredness would be impossible. Peace, love and harmony were seen as gifts from the spiritual kingdom. Without assistance from this higher realm to disable the nature-based codes of human self-centeredness, these themes of peace, love, and harmony were seen as being too high for mortal hearts and tongues.

The spiritual measures that have been employed by our religions include practices such as meditation, prayer, spiritual possession, yoga, fasting and confession. The goal of these practices was to bring to a more central position in the inner life of an individual, the presence of an indwelling spiritual center that has allowed itself to be eclipsed (Christians would say crucified) by the inflated survival needs of the ego-centered self. Thus for someone like Schweitzer, it was the emergence of this indwelling spiritual center within the boundaries of our everyday consciousness that is able to reduces levels of self-centeredness, and thus make possible the recognition of the sacredness of all life. In other words, the vision here is of us humans as transitional beings en route from our embeddedness in nature to an unfolding of an inner spirituality that will complete this transition by overriding the codes of self-centeredness and thus enabling us to reach the ethical ideals that have so far eluded us.

I think that Sankatsing's ethical project is subject to these challenges that the earlier ones had to confront. Even the best of the latter all ran aground on the reefs and rocks of self-centeredness, hubris and anthropocentrism, in spite of having the aid of these spiritual practices. These practices have all had the shortcoming of only being able to increase the spiritual openness, literacy, and consciousness of a few. They have not been able to effect a species-wide transformation in our spiritual capacities to consciously read, and respond constructively to the urgings of the spiritual center within. Hence the incompleteness of these earlier attempts at ethical transformation and the increases in self-centeredness that we can observe in periods following the passing of the awakened ones.

Sankatsing's ethical project is a distinct one. It is distinct from the classic religious one with which I have been comparing it, as its focus is Mother Earth. However, because of the central role he attributes to human selfishness and desire to dominate in the making of our wrong turn away from nature, there are many lessons to be learned from the successes and failures of these earlier undertakings. Is it possible to imagine reconciliation with nature without a spiritual disabling of the codes that auto-institute human self-centeredness? Can we really envision a post-envelopment era without a similar process of inner spiritual growth? There can be no doubt that the Western imperial project has been the ultimate in hubristic egoism and anthropocentrism, thus generating an ethical challenge that earlier ethical projects did not have to confront. Consequently the originality of Sankatsing's work derives in part from his addressing of the uniqueness and the ecological specificity of this challenge. However, as in the cases of the binary relationships established between nature and civilization or between ethics and science, the opposition between his own ethical project and earlier ones has blocked a clear recognition of the help that these can offer, particularly with the reef of self-centeredness, which his project is sure to encounter. Yes, it is

definitely worse among the hereditary economic and political elites but it is not confined there. It is also there among the moral reserves of the fellowship, who will be the carriers of his movement for a restoration with nature.

In sum, I am suggesting a relaxing of the binary oppositions that operate through this work as they have a tendency to create walls of separation where bridges to potential allies could be built. Thus, I think constructive alliances could be built with oppositional groups and thinkers working from within the system, such as center-periphery groups and thinkers like Dussel. But, most importantly, recognizing and embracing the similarities and challenges that our author's project shares with other projects of ethical transformation will be vital. The proposed restoration of peaceful relations with nature raises more explicitly than Sankatsing addresses the age-old issue of the nature of human self-centeredness and the possibilities of its transformation. This is a vexingly difficult problem. If it were just its presence among predatory elites, then the Marxist revolutionary strategy would seem a more than adequate response, and thus we should be speaking about eco-socalism. The ethical projects of the past suggest that the problem is more widespread and deeply rooted. As a result, they have pointed to the possibility that we are transitional beings suspended between our current degree of embeddedness in nature and a spiritual core that is still to emerge as the organizing center of our everyday consciousness. Bringing his ecological ethics into an engagement with these ideas and experiences would in my view further enrich Sankatsing's major moral undertaking on behalf of both us and Mother Earth.

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