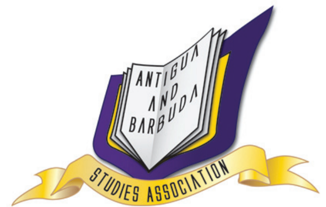
THE ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA REVIEW OF BOOKS



VOLUME 6 NUMBER 1 SUMMER 2013

Poetry with

Rowan Ricardo Phillips
John Hewlett
Marcus Jeffers
and
Edgar Lake

Patrick Lewis on Kortright Davis

George Roberts on Kortright Davis

Gregory Frohnsdorff on Frederick Jewett

Leara Rhodes on Jamaica Kincaid

Jessica Byron on Paget Henry

Robert Glen on John Luffman

Edgar Lake on Mrs. Lanahan

Neil Roberts on Paget Henry

And Much More.......

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

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

Paget Henry, Editor

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

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

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Editor's Note

Looking over the rich contents of this issue of the *Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books,* its feature essays, its poetry and its reviews, I am truly delighted to pen my editor's note. In addition to furthering our project of reconstructing our neglected literary tradition and reviewing its books, this issue is special for three crucial reasons. First it takes up an aspect of Antiguan and Barbudan writing that we have not addressed before: its religious/theological dimension. A field of Antigua and Barbuda Studies as a distinct feature of a University of Antigua and Barbuda would certainly require the inclusion of this dimension of our history of thinking and writing. This engagement with the religious side of our literary tradition takes the form of a revisiting of the path-breaking book, *Emancipation Still Comin'* by the Rev. Dr. Kortright Davis. The special occasion for this revisiting is the 22nd anniversary of this important theological work. To perform this celebration, I have joined with Dr Patrick Lewis and Dr. George Roberts to reflect on and evaluate the impact of Davis' book.

The second reason that makes this issue special is its very important four feature essays. The first is by Gregory Frohnsdorff. In his essay, Frohnsdorff gives us a very wonderful account of the life of Frederick Stiles Jewett. Jewett was a poet and journalist from the American state of Connecticut who live in Antigua from about 1845 to 1853. During this time he served as the editor of *The Antigua Observer,* and also founded his own paper, *The Antigua Weekly Times.* Frederick Jewett is definitely someone that Antiguans and Barbudans should know more about. For example, in my book *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua,* here is all that I could say about Jewett: "the only glimpses of the poetry of the period come from a collection of poems by an unknown poet, FSJ, entitled *Court of Content and other Poems.* These poems are very English in orientation." In short, I completely missed the American features in his writing.

Our second feature essay is by Robert Glen, who has written for us before. In his essay, Glen focuses on John Luffman, the author of the 1789 text, *A Brief Account of the Island of Antigua.* This essay is not primarily a review of Luffman's text, but much more an examination of who Luffman was, his life, and what he was doing in Antigua. It is very well researched and makes for great reading.

The third of our feature essays is by our own Edgar Lake. Like Glen, Lake focuses his essay on a very well known historic text, *Antigua and the Antiguans.* However, even though it contains an extensive review of the con-

tents of the book, the primary aim of Lake's essay is definitely not to review this 1844 text that has already been extensively reviewed. Rather, the primary aim of the essay is to take up the question of the authorship of this work on Antigua. Was it really written by Mrs. Lanaghan? Was the author Mrs. Flannighan? Or, was it some one else? You will have to see what Lake means by "authorship as literary interloper", and judge for yourself.

Our fourth and final feature essay is by Dr. Radcliffe Robins. This essay lifts us out of our distant past and returns us to some of the heated controversies of our present. Robins' essay is about a calypso by the very popular group, The Burning Flames, which won the road march competition at last year's annual carnival. The song, "Kick Een She Back Door" generated a storm of controversy as many interpreted it as encouraging violence against women. Dr. Robins discusses the controversy surrounding this calypso, and then offers his views on the whole matter.

The third reason why this issue of our *Review* is special is its extended third section that contains a sample of the poetry of the men of Antigua and Barbuda. This sampling is intended as a complement to the last year's special issue on the poetry of the women of Antigua and Barbuda. This special section is not as extensively researched as the whole issue on the poetry of the women of Antigua and Barbuda, as I did not have the very able and nimble fingers of Edgar Lake to assist me on this project. Nevertheless, it is extensive enough to give you, the reader, a real taste of what has been stirring in poetic imaginations of our men. I am sure you will enjoy comparing it with the stirrings in the poetic imaginations of our women.

This special section features the works of four of our male poets; John Hewlett, Rowan Ricardo Phillips, Marcus Jeffers, and Edgar Lake. John Hewlett is a musician and a teacher in addition to being a poet. He is a musical colleague and close friend of George Roberts, the author of the third essay in this volume. The poems by John Hewlett are from an earlier period in his life –the period of the 1980s – and they take up themes such as slavery, the meaning of political independence for Antigua and Barbuda, motherly love, blackness, and our African heritage.

Although born in Harlem Hospital in New York, as he tells us in his first poem, Rowan Ricardo Phillips insists on letting you know that, via his parents, he is from Potters Village in Antigua. He is now the most celebrated poet and critic of Antiguan and Barbudan descent. As Phillips' second poem reveals, both as critic and poet, the conundrum of the relationship between poetry and prose has been central to his writing. The very form of

the poem, “The Difficult Archangel: On the Poetry of Wilson Harris”, embodies this theme of the tension between poetry and prose in our time. Its surprising quotations and footnotes raise the question: is this really a poem? But its stanzas strongly suggest that it is. In his 2010 volume on black literature, *When Blackness Rhymes With Blackness,* Phillips concludes this work with a poem written in this ambiguous style. This ambiguity in style is one of the signatures by which we can recognize his work.

Marcus Jeffers grew up in Antigua and was a boyhood friend of mine. Like so many of us, he migrated to Canada and later to the United States. It was while he was abroad that he discovered his poetic voice. In the poems that I have selected, we can hear the voice of immigrant from Antigua and Barbuda as it traverses different spaces of the North American diaspora. We can pick up quite clearly themes of alienation, desire for home, racism, urban anonymity, freedom and the city club scene. These poems are very rhythmic as they are infused with the rhythms of cities in which they were written.

Edgar Lake needs no introduction. He is one of our finest writers of fiction, poetry and drama. Here he offers poetic tributes to two Antiguan and Barbudan writers who have passed on. The first is to Gary Burton, a playwright and dramatist, and to Charles Ephraim, our first professional philosopher and author of the masterpiece, *The Pathology Of Euro-centrism.*

So on account of all this poetry by our men, the feature essays by Lake, Glen, and Frohnsdorff, the celebrating of the 22nd anniversary of Davis’s book, plus a fine compliment of shorter reviews, this is indeed a special issue of the *Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books.*

These shorter reviews cover a range of topics and authors. In this fourth section, there is a review of Rowan Ricardo Phillips’ new book, *The Ground* by the young Antiguan and Barbudan scholar, Amir Jaima. We have Leara Rhodes of the University of Georgia on Jamaica Kincaid and Edwidge Danticat. Finally we have three reviews of two of my books by Patricia Agupusi of Nigeria, Neil Roberts of Jamaica, and Jessica Byron who is of Antiguan ancestry. The last two of these reviews indicate the continuing interest in the figure of V.C. Bird, the first Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda. We continue to get lots of inquiries about him.

Finally let me thank the department of Africana Studies at Brown University for its continuing support of the *Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books.*

Paget Henry

UWI ADDRESS: RECEIVING AN HONORARY DOCTORATE

Kortright Davis

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Class of 2010, Honorable Officers, Faculty, Staff, and Alumnae of this great University, Distinguished Guests, relatives and friends of our graduates, Greetings! I bring you greetings from Dr. Sidney Ribeau, the President of Howard University, who is very proud to name Vice-Chancellor Harris and Deputy Principal Barriteau among Howard's distinguished alumnae. Lady Sylvan Alleyne and I, as graduates of the UWI, have been doing our best to accentuate the full meaning and message of our UWI motto, *A Light Rising from the West,* as we valiantly serve on the Howard University faculty in two different schools – Education and Divinity.

I wish to congratulate all who are graduating today. I also wish to congratulate my fellow honorary graduands. Their record of service and unparalleled excellence far outstrip any pretensions of my own, and the nobility of their dedication to their several professions has been of continuing inspiration to so many for so long. I count myself very fortunate and highly privileged to be numbered among them; and accordingly, I thank the Council of the UWI for the high honor which they have conferred on me today.

Permit me to pay a special tribute to my deceased mother, Florence Edna Albertha, who, although she had lost most of her sight by the tender age of fifteen, never allowed that physical disability to deter herself, or her only child, from turning every potential obstacle into a stepping stone. Quite often she would say to me, "What man has done, man can do." She never allowed derailment to triumph over engagement, however faint were the prospects of a fruitful outcome. I remain convinced that it is that same combination of sacrifice, diligence, service, and determination that my wife, Joan, and I have observed in the lives of our three children Jackie, Andie, and Michael. It was my mother's sacrificial will that released me, her chief means of support, to enter Codrington College in 1961 to pursue a vocation that offered no prospects of a lucrative career in the Anglican ministry. It was also with that same sacrificial will that she endorsed my acceptance of an invitation to join the Faculty of Howard University in 1983, and to leave her behind here in Barbados. But it was with sacrificial joy that she was present at my Inaugural Lecture in Washington, DC, as a Full Professor some four years later.

I offer this personal testimony mainly for the purpose of reminding our graduates today of the immense sacrifices that have been made by so many

parents, spouses, relatives, friends, and tax-payers, to bring us to this point of achievement and success. There is great pride and joy in here today. There is immense relief and unimaginable excitement here today. However, there is also a strong wave of vast expectations. Hundreds of our graduates, I am sure, have been the beneficiaries of benevolence and support in many shapes and quantities. More particularly, they have been fortunate to benefit from a Culture of Entitlement – whether from the public purse, or from private resources. Let none of us ever trample over the memory of what others have done for us. Let it never be that as primary beneficiaries in a Culture of Entitlement we refuse to become primary agents in a Culture of Engagement, adorned and enriched by a Culture of Excellence. In other words, it must always remain true for us that "To whom much is given, of them shall much be required".

Although graduation addresses often succumb to the perils of amnesia, let me exercise my brand new credentials as a Doctor of Laws to plead the court to suspend its collective amnesial rights and privileges on this occasion. I wish to focus on just one letter of the alphabet. Since today is the twenty-third day of the tenth month, I would ask that you briefly journey with me on a terrain of reflections on the twenty-third letter of the alphabet. It is easier to reach that letter from the bottom, rather than from the top!

The letter **W** has become perhaps the most commonly used letter throughout the global community, mainly because of the Internet. When the letter is doubled "WW", perhaps we can refer to the public utilities service and mention the Water Works Department, "WWD". There is a popular slogan "WWJD" which stands for "What Would Jesus Do?" For this occasion, however, I would draw your attention to "WWS", and to an address delivered in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, some twelve years ago. The address was entitled "Women, Wine, And Song". It dealt with the issues of women's health and the need to improve our strategies to ensuring safer motherhood, and to reduce the rate of maternal morbidity and mortality. The speaker claimed that he had adopted the title from the famous fifteenth century theologian and Reformer, Martin Luther, who wrote: "He who loves not wine, women and song remains a fool his whole life long." But the speaker offered the following observation: "When I was asked about my expertise in the three areas, I had to admit that it was varied. Certainly I appreciate song, I am no expert on wine, although I am very fond of it, and my only claim to expertise with women is that I have learnt a lot about one of them – my wife to whom I have been married almost 40 years. Forty years of marriage to the same woman gives me some claim to

expertise." The quotation is taken from a volume entitled *A Quest For Equity, Selected Speeches* by The Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, Dr. George A. O. Alleyne, 1995 – 2002.

When the letter "W" is tripled, however, "WWW", it is imbued with a vast variety of acronyms and connotations. Locally, for example, "WWW" can call to mind the three great Barbadian cricketers – Worrell, Weekes, and Walcott. Universally speaking, however, "WWW" has come to stand for the World Wide Web. The age of nanotechnology has fully come. It has ushered in a global capacity of artificial intelligence, instant communication, information overload, and computerized speed that might eventually become as fast as that of human thought itself, along the so-called Information Highway.

In the meantime, the WWW-dot-com, or dot-org, or dot.edu, has almost completely transformed our habits, life-styles, relationships, and work-places. This is the age of the Blackberry, iPhone, ipad, Androids, Kindle, Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, BajanTube, Linkedin, and other devices. Simple cell-phones are fast becoming modern antiques. But it would be disingenuous not to admit that, in this age of the Internet, the World Wide Web can also be described as Wild, Wicked and Weird. In a very real sense, that which was devised to be a most effective tool for all forms of human advancement and social development, has at one and the same time become useful as a weapon of destruction and deceit, a tool for global cyber-theft and invasion of privacy, a theatre of global terrorism, and an instrument of distraction, distortion, and decay. The challenges of the Internet and its opportunities are enormous. Nevertheless it is my fervent hope that all of us who graduate today will struggle to ensure that we function as responsible and accountable masters of the technology at our disposal, and not as suppliant addicts and vulnerable captives of its vast potential. I remain unalterably committed to the belief that while we may make advances in the field, and gain access to all of its usefulness, technology was still made for humanity and not the other way round.

Come with me now as we look at two other configurations of WWW. I will call the first configuration "WWW-dash", and the second "WWW-plus". Let me suggest that "WWW-dash" should point us to three global challenges, while "WWW-plus" should provide us with three regional imperatives. Let "WWW-dash" point us to three contemporary realities about Wealth, Wisdom, and Waste.

We dare not ignore the fact that there has emerged in our times a steady **Dislocation of Wealth,** together with the gradual distortion of the real meaning of wealth - whether globally, nationally, corporately, or individually. Ponzi schemes, industrial greed, unbridled corruption, fragile and fraudulent investments, high speed trading on the stock markets, stock manipulations, and pyramid scams, have tended to debase the quality of human livelihood. Property values have plummeted. Foreclosures have multiplied astronomically, sometimes fraudulently. Homelessness, hopelessness, and hunger now carry some new and more unusual faces. Joblessness is increasingly more structural than seasonal. Economies have collapsed like dominoes. Grave and precipitous national indebtedness is now more commonly reported than before. The highway to poverty is steadily getting wider. These are the critical times in which we live, as far as some of the measures and meanings of wealth are concerned. On the positive side, however, the rise in philanthropy amongst the world's billionaires and other persons of influence has been phenomenal. The global attention to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG'S) is very encouraging. It has now become a globally accepted principle that human development is the primary engine that drives any and all forms of sustainable growth, social equity, and national changes for the better.

There is also, in my view, the **Devaluation of Wisdom.** The traditional pathways in educational processes have given way to a vast array of detours. The dilution of assessment standards has been accompanied by the acceleration of some strange measures of excellence. The proliferation of schools, colleges, academies, institutes, and programs has been exponentially aided by the commodification of the intellect, and the rapid industrialization of the Internet. The lines between adequate education and valuable certification have become extremely blurred. One often gets the sense that the value of acquired wisdom and accumulated knowledge is being subverted by the lure of instant commercial profit. The famous words of W.E.B. Dubois come readily to mind: "Before the Temple of knowledge swing open the gates of Toil." The motto of the Royal Air Force puts it this way: "Per ardua, ad astra" – You reach the stars by working hard. We must always welcome and support every valuable effort to make more educational opportunities available for as many of our people as possible, particularly as our wits are still the primary resource that most of us have for our own growth and lasting benefit. We must strengthen and sustain the value of educational models like our own Open University. But we must also ensure that the quality of our intellectual enterprise is not driven only by institutional appetites for quantitative outcomes.

Thirdly, there is the **Degeneracy of Waste.** It is perhaps one of the greatest ironies of our times that as we have gradually assumed the commanding heights of our civilizations, with hitherto unimaginable discoveries, inventions, and achievements, we are still so far from accomplishing the most effective stewardship of human life and human capital. This new century has already witnessed the lamentable waste of precious lives in warfare and drug-fare, interminable violence, genocides, waves of industrial negligence and professional mal-practice, together with myriad forms of social, political, and cultural malevolence. More painful yet has been the wasting away of the precious time, talents, and treasures enshrined in vast multitudes of the young and not-so-young, or in the institutional memory of public servants, whose claims to usefulness in their society have sometimes been trampled on by the deadly reaches of partisan political expediency. "If you don't have a ticket, you don't have a chance!" While it is true that we are more environmentally conscious today about the management and disposal of material waste, it is also true that we are still strategically and ethically degenerate in our waste of the human resource and potential. I firmly believe that the times are urgent, and that we can no longer afford to give aid and comfort to any further surges in the degeneracy of waste, especially of human capital.

If we are willing to take seriously the three conditionalities of Dislocation, Devaluation, and Degeneracy concerning Wealth, Wisdom and Waste, respectively, under the "WWW-dash" category, how might we, as graduates, members, and associates of this great University, attempt to confront these realities with some "WWW-plus" imperatives? As we march proudly out of this assembly today, what kind of new pilgrimage, or crusade, or even revolution, can we courageously and purposefully embark upon? How can we use our newly acquired accolades and honors more as the instruments and mandates for elevating others, rather than as mere means for re-positioning ourselves? How will our Caribbean region truly benefit from what we have accomplished and acquired here today? How might we creatively, imaginatively, and collectively engage in an enlightened and fertile encounter between the "WWW-dash" realities of our times, and some "WWW-plus" imperatives of our potential? But what are the "WWW-plus" imperatives anyway? Well, I am so glad that you asked! Let me suggest that we might do well to envision and chart a better Caribbean when we link Caribbean Wealth with Wellness, when we season Caribbean Wisdom with genuine Worth, and when we counteract the modes of Waste with the art and legacy of Caribbean Writing. Let me briefly outline what I mean by this.

Most of us, I am sure, are familiar with the famous words of Oliver Goldsmith: *"Ill fares the land, To hastening ill's a prey, Where wealth accumulates, And men decay."* While we dare not suggest that there is any direct correlation between the accumulation of wealth and human degeneration; and while we recognize that Goldsmith was in fact alluding to the moral degeneracy and human greed that sometimes accompanies the pursuit of riches; we must also recognize that getting and staying healthy carries within itself its own intrinsic wealth. This is precisely why we must passionately affirm and support all regional initiatives to promote a progressive and enlightened approach to Caribbean wellness, especially the CARICOM Port-of-Spain Declaration of September 2007, by the prevention of communicable and non-communicable diseases, and the life-styles that would trigger them. This goes well beyond the ancient rhyme: *"Early to bed, Early to rise, Makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise."* Increasing levels of intelligence and information in the Caribbean should inevitably be accompanied by more responsible levels of health awareness and wellness promotion, especially at a time when the reduction of our capacities for wealth creation and distribution is forcing all of us to do much more with much less. This is an era in which corporal fortitude must increase, even if corporate and national resources do not. In any event, the marriage between Caribbean wealth and Caribbean wellness must never contemplate any divorce. If I may borrow some more words from our Chancellor; he once offered the following admonition: "As responsible members of your communities you must be conscious of the need to promote health as an instrument for enhancing other areas that contribute to quality of life. You cannot afford to be so inward looking that you forget the power of your collective voices in ensuring that health is appreciated not only because of its intrinsic merit, but because it is instrumental for ensuring progress in other areas that touch human well-being." [Op. cit. p.529] Although these words were addressed to nurses, we must all take part in nursing the Caribbean region into a better state of health and wellness.

The "WWW-plus" imperative also beckons us to make every effort to season Caribbean Wisdom with that which is of genuine Worth. One early Christian writer offers us these words: "All things are lawful but all things are not expedient. All things are lawful but all things do not edify." The fact that Caribbean society is such an open region, with so much sea and so little land, with few recognizable borders and boundaries, and with such a vast expanse of the native Diaspora, we are inevitably open to all forms of global wisdom and cultural values. Some of them are good; some of them are not so good; and some of them are good for nothing. How do we deter-

mine which is which? Can we sanitize the Tourism industry, or filter CNN, ESPN, and MTV, or divert the satellite signals? The answer is obviously No. What we can do, however, is to spare no effort to instill within ourselves and our offspring a hierarchy of personal virtues and values that will not only suppress the baser human instincts and appetites, but will also promote and pursue a vision of the Caribbean that is sustained by human dignity, cultural prudence, scholarly worth, and the highest reaches of the creative imagination. I speak of a vision of Caribbean society that is driven by the worthiness of a culture of compassion, a relentless search for truth, and a contagious passion for mature and ethical public discourse. It was The Rev. Andrew Hatch who once said to us, as Codrington College students: "If you get into the habit of uttering every little nonsense that comes into your mind, you will never be respected for the weight of your judgement." As a community of learned persons, we are to walk worthy of the wisdom to which we have been called.

The spectre of Waste in the Caribbean goes far beyond the matter of physical, material, or even fiscal resources. It touches the very precious and priceless reaches of time, talents and internal treasures. The "WWW-plus" imperative impels us to spare no effort in counteracting Waste in the region with the art and legacy of Writing. I am referring initially to the fundamental art of hand-writing. We used to call it "penmanship" in school. Now that texting has become the order of the day, what will become of letter-writing with the pen? How will our generations yet unborn learn how to form letters, and sentences, and paragraphs, and to craft ideas into beautiful images of verbal architecture, and write poems, and short stories, and novels? Who will be the literary artists in time to come? Will we still write for ourselves, or will others write for us, and about us? More broadly speaking, we must as an enlightened region take seriously the need for promoting and enshrining the arts of chroniclers, documenters, essayists, and folklorists, for example, alongside our historians and journalists. As generations of experience, expertise, and insight move on and move out, how will we capture and retain the wealth of knowledge which they have embodied?

These are some of the questions that occupy my mind as I reach forward into the years beyond my natural existence. The "WWW-plus" imperative would seem to summon us to become architects, framers, trustees, and exponents of that which is foundational to Caribbean social development and human well-being. It summons us to be architects of the Caribbean memory. It summons us to be framers of the Caribbean conversation. It summons us to be trustees of the Caribbean intellectual and literary

reserves. It summons us to be authentic exponents of the Caribbean identity, in all its marvelous diversity. It summons us to waste not; but to want to become more, always bearing in mind that the verb "to be" is substantively more significant than the verb "to have". It summons us to take seriously the words of our late Vice-Chancellor Rex Nettleford: "The Caribbean is crying out for new ways of living, and is beckoning its economists, its intellectuals, technocrats, politicians, and private sector leaders to turn their energies to this task. Are we ready? Well, the work has only now begun!"

In closing, let me once again thank you all for the inestimable honor and privilege that you have afforded me today. Let me wish all of our graduates good jobs, productive careers, good health, shared wealth, and fruitful service with joyful fulfillment. Let the habits of your minds conspire with the habits of your hearts, and of your spirits, to seek the Common Good. In finding it, may you always seek to praise it. And in praising it, may you always seek to preserve it. May God's providential care and gracious protection go with you, wherever you may roam. Above all else, let us forever keep before our minds' eyes the vision of a better and brighter world – not by just thinking ourselves into a new way of acting, but rather by acting ourselves into a new way of thinking. THANK YOU.

Kortright Davis
Christ Church, Barbados, October 23rd, 2010

Kortright Davis' *Emancipation Still Comin'*

Patrick Lewis

Which I read for a second time after twenty years, is indeed a memorable contribution to Caribbean Literature. On my second reading, which, of course, was done from a critical standpoint, I realized how much I had missed or not taken full note of twenty years earlier. As we say in the Caribbean, the book was "deep" or "heavy." It was packed with valuable information, which, at times required a slow and deliberate reading, or a second reading of certain paragraphs.

I saw the book in the manner of a good sandwich. The first three chapters and the last two form the encasement, while chapters four through seven contain the "meat" or the essence of the book. Six years ago, I had an extraordinarily brilliant student, who told me that Eric Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery* had four theses, and proceeded to manifest them. Whereas Davis has sub-theses, I believe that his fundamental thesis is right in the middle of the work:

> "Emancipation" is the Caribbean word for liberation
> not only because it denotes the major Caribbean event but
> also because it evokes a sense of accountability to the
> Caribbean forebears in slavery and to the Caribbean descendants
> in freedom. Emancipation is still an event to be fleshed out,
> structured, refined, and reinforced in the Caribbean life
> system. It beckons Caribbean people away from their poverty,
> dependence, alienation, and imitation, and thus challenges
> them to reconstruct a social and historical reality that will
> banish the "old days" forever."[1]

The above probably amplifies what I meant by the middle of the work being the profound substance of the complete essay. In his introduction, Davis makes it clear that Caribbean people do not do enough for themselves. But beyond the harsh conditions of their everyday lives, they have maintained their faith in the Almighty. "Caribbean people do not seem to give up, they do not even like to give in. They stubbornly refuse to be intimidated by anyone or anything—even by forces beyond their control." Not knowing what is a Gehenna, as I am neither a Roman Catholic nor an Anglo Catholic, my vocabulary was improved when the author stated that "for every time the Caribbean was written off as a sure and certain Gehenna, God seemed to answer with a greater certainty of survival, and

meaning for the region." Whereas, Davis is undoubtedly correct, I have wondered if that is not a part of our problem. Is that why we seem to disregard the adage that "the Lord helps those who help themselves?"

Kortright Davis rightly describes Caribbean people as a noisy people, who are joyous under the blessings of a glorious sunshine. But they are technically still enchained as people living on the periphery of the dominant industrial entities. Caribbean people are migrant people, as most of the indigenes have been decimated by Europeans. Davis does not state it, but most Caribbean people are descendants of slaves, as both East Indians and Portuguese were initially bondaged individuals for a limited time, admittedly, not chattel, but they were slaves nonetheless.

The resourcefulness of Antilleans is brought out; and much of the resourcefulness is related to their religiosity as religion permeated every aspect of African life, and, presumable, one could argue for East Indians as well. Whereas the international or global academic practice of linking the Caribbean with Latin America, had found itself into university courses, it leaves much to be desired, even though there are substantial quantities of Latin speaking peoples within the Caribbean Sea. Though, theologically based, Davis is admired for how he integrates the varied economic, social and political practices, hence cultural, of Caribbean people into the quest for liberation.

The fact that Davis is a teacher or professor helps with how he tabulates salient points or concepts throughout his work. For example, in discussing the Caribbean Winds of Change, the author has:

1 The devastation of natural disasters, which throughout the Caribbean cause the inhabitants to recognize their affinity, commonality, and willingness to render assistance to one another even with their meager resources. This aspect of West Indian commonality is certainly reminiscent of the Ashanti tribe in West Africa, which are bound together in the belief that their ancestral spirits reside in the golden stool at Kumasi. African Caribbean people knew that even though they were dropped off at different ports, they are the same people. One calypsonian expressed it in a manner which stipulated that "all ah we is one."

2. The complexity of the economic story of oil rich Trinidad and Tobago." It points us to a very important facet of Caribbean poverty—namely, that huge inflows of money do not necessarily make poor countries rich."

3. The existence of the Francophone country of Haiti. Haiti represents that uniqueness of the only successful slave revolution, in terms of slaves overcoming, defeating, and displacing masters. Yet, Haiti, as a result of numerous factors, both tangible and intangible, has remained one of the poorest countries in the world and easily the poorest in the Caribbean.

Davis described the three examples of natural disaster, economic collapse/decline, and political upheaval, as demonstrable of endemic realities in the region. Subsequently, Caribbean society is still in the formative stages; but the lingering effects of the plantation obligations, and the monoculture which it generated, has been a central retarding aspect. It vents itself in middle class pomposity, racism, elitism, and social contempt.

One of the problems which retards the development of the human personality in the West Indies is the trafficking in and use of narcotics. It was a Caribbean Prime Minister, A.N.R. Robinson who was most insistent in describing and discussing this problem. The Caribbean is a central area for the trafficking and subsequently the usage of forms of drugs which are considered less harsh, such as marijuana. But since Davis wrote this book the harsher forms are being experimented with in the region. Cocaine, for example, is now used by locals, as the tourists demand it and share it with nationals of the territories. It leads to corruption as drug barons can easily bribe customs officers, while the ships of the Caribbean coast guards have not been able to stop entry into many of the less frequented harbors and/or beaches. When Davis wrote he identified the corruption of many prominent persons in the Bahamas, the Turks and Caicos Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, and he did say elsewhere. Today, however, there is no need to start reciting where the areas of corruption are. It is much easier to question, where not.

Today, he would no doubt have made mention of the efforts of the Caribbean governments to control narcotics. They have signed a number of indirect agreements, and have participated actively in regard to the International Criminal Court. The decision to focus on demand reduction, elimination of illicit crops, judicial cooperation, money laundering, stemming illicit production of synthetic drugs and the control of drug-production chemicals, has not made any significant impact; and one wonders if a blind eye is not turned at times, so as to keep tourists happy and willing to return.

Moving into a more positive topic, and one which is germane to Caribbean celebratory expression, whether through carnival or otherwise, is Caribbean polymusicability. Musical styles in the Caribbean are "blended" or having a mixture of African, Middle Eastern, European, and Amerindian. Davis stated that "music sweetens the fabric of physical work and energizes the practice of spiritual worship." Music to be sure, "is the Caribbean voice of God. Caribbean people have been generally successful in sustaining most of their cultural heritage through music, dance, and religion, despite rigidly countervailing social structures and institutions." He applauds the calypsonian and the calypso, and sees the calypso as displaying the capacity of Caribbean people to laugh at themselves and to straighten out the pompous ones and those who take too serious a view to existence.

Dealing now with the last two chapters of Davis' book—"The Black Story: Emancipatory Connections", and "When God Emancipates," they form the closing encasement to his essay. The essence centers on the reliance of African Caribbean and African American people, to steadfastly hold on to their faith in the Almighty, and the hope that He will see them through all the varied difficulties, as he has done in the past. Difficulties, obviously of slavery, segregation, depression, and deprivation were major problems which plagued Caribbean people in their quest for ultimate freedom. God has seen the descendants of slaves through much travail, and Davis emphasizes that Caribbean people know that He will always be their hope and refuge. The term "black" argues the author is an all comprehensive one, "it denotes that dynamic spirituality of a particular type of people who have had the distinction of being the only ones in history whose claims to being human have been systematically called into question…" He went on to state that it symbolized a people whose vitality had sustained them from generation to generation, as the basic ingredients of their existence were kept intact. However, he admits that reinforcement for this has come through the linkage with their fellow oppressed in North America.

Dr. Davis discusses the intellectual struggle to formulate an authentic approach which would maintain Christian values, while portraying the symbolism of the black existence. But more on that later. He does it by speaking about the "black soul" in a manner, which for me at least, raises questions about the "unity in Christ." But highly praiseworthy is his insistence that people of African descent in both North America and the Caribbean should honor each other's heroes. But why did he only give us a list of some North American heroes? So, Davis, here, is unconsciously participating in the same mental exercise, which, he quite rightly pointed

out, has retarded the steps in the Caribbean toward ultimate liberation. He advocates cultural exchanges, but they would be more meaningful if North Americans knew of Paul Bogle, Clement Osborne Payne, Uriah Butler, V.C. Bird and Sister Rachel, to mention only a few.

The author makes reference to some of the internal problems among the two major ethnic groups in the region, the Africans and the Indians. For Indian Christians, there is a struggle with caste, pluralism and economic bondage. With Africans, it is with traditionalism, neocolonialism, and political instability. And in the Caribbean itself there are areas of crises, such as fragmentation, poverty, and, one who has not been schooled in the region, might wonder what Davis meant by classism, which, of course, may be more detrimental to a foreward thrust than the others.

I did say that in some areas, the book is dated, which does not take away from its tremendous value. Davis rightly discussed the gaining of political independence as emancipation from above, and how it foreshadowed linkages with the dominant industrial entities of the world. Whereas emancipation from below demands meaningful relationships with the poorest countries of the world: "The linkages with other parts of the Third World always leave much to be desired, for the lines of communication seem inevitably to be joined through the agency of the rich Western countries." On the surface that seems very true, as the United Nations is certainly propelled mainly by the WTO and Others group, which comprises Western Europe and the former white settlement colonies of the United Kingdom. Put another way, it is Western Europe and the areas of settlement, as opposed to the areas of exploitation. The Caribbean, as an area of exploitation, required perpetual underdevelopment, if it was to fulfill its declared purpose as a colony. It therefore, as Paget Henry has pointed out, existed, and to some extent still does exist peripherally. That is it survived, and still survives, on the outskirts of the "developed."

I was, however, surprised that Davis used the term "Third World." The term originated during the East/West struggle, or what is referred to as the Cold War. Western Europe and Japan comprised the first world, the Soviet assortment was the Second World; and the deprived, oppressed, and overly exploited formed the Third World. The arrogance and self-righteousness of the "developed" to classify developing countries as being another sphere of existence cannot be overlooked. But whereas one may argue that many of the francophone countries still exist, to a significant extent as appendages of France, the developing countries, for the most part, have been the most

forward looking in regard to global concerns. Davis may argue that they lack the power (not resources) to be meaningful. But it was the developing countries, lead by Antigua/Barbuda and Malaysia that brought the issue of Antarctica to the United Nations, where it was the only issue that the "First and Second Worlds" joined together and voted in unison, against the concerns of the developing. It was this forward thrust by the developing countries that brought about a cessation on mining in the last pristine heritage of mankind, and brought about efforts to regulate the exploitation of fish stocks, and were successful, to some extent, to put a stop to the extermination of some species of marine mammals.

It was likewise, the efforts of developing countries to cause the developed to recognize what their unregulated diffusion of harmful gases was doing to the environment. The island countries of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, joined with the Caribbean States (which included Guyana and Belize) to form the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), which has been fighting against bilging in their waters, indiscriminate exploitation of marine resources, the true application of the Law of the Sea, and against the shipment of nuclear waste through their borders. They have also carried the torch to see that the existing non-independent states are given basic and fundamental human rights. In many developing countries the focus has been on human capital and its development, rather than narrowly on the economic question. That to me suggests some type of recognition of the spiritual and social factors. Voices from the Caribbean were regularly heard explaining what the present practice (not the concept) of globalization has done. They have pointed out their increased woes since the establishment of the World Trade Organization, and the trends which point in the direction of exclusion rather than inclusion, and of marginalization rather than economic integration. The Caribbean linkages with the other developing areas have indeed been established, and collective approaches to problems generated.

With reference to cultural emancipation, here too, there have been changes and a wider acceptance by Caribbean people of their own unique manifestations, starting with language. In reality the francophone Caribbean has always been ahead in accepting their expressive utterances. Creole is commonly used, even in the banking sector; and there is now wider acceptance of the English Creole in the English-speaking Caribbean, even though there are "pockets" of pontificators that continue to refer to it as bad English. Someone will have to enlighten me as to how "cu pan e" or "tut moon and baggi" are bad English. But this is not the forum to explain German and Arab influences. Likewise, I do not see racism as still a domi-

nant factor, but, by all means, classism is, and in Trinidad and Guyana, though there have been improvements, concerted work has to be done in regard to ethnic divisions. So, the church, I will agree, has to continue to attack these divisions which in Trinidad were compounded by the singular efforts of Bhadese Maraj; as opposed to the unifying efforts of Solomon, Cipriani, Lifouk, and Butler. But whereas Davis called upon the youth to develop increasing levels of self-esteem, now, twenty years after his soul-searching presentation, there is greater confidence among young people, greater togetherness, and greater "cross-overs." I remember how thrilled I was in 2001 while in Trinidad and witnessing the pre-carnival activities. It was the appointed time for a certain school to take the stage at Woodford Square; and the leading calypso soloist was an East Indian young lady of about fifteen or sixteen years old.

Now I turn to the center of the work, chapters four to seven, where the "meat" or greater substance is concentrated. These chapters are the more spiritually oriented ones, and where it means dabbling with Davis at his best; and where it may appear that I am somewhat evasive, due to the lack of religious theoretical training. Though a firm believer in Martin Luther's Priesthood of All Believers, I prefer to deal with practical realities, rather than theoretical postulations. Davis deals with the African Soul in Caribbean Religion, Caribbean Theoretical Foundations, and Praxis for Theoretical Emancipation, and Emancipatory Existence, and Christian Life as Praxis. The African Soul—what on earth is that?

As a practicing Christian, I have long been made to understand that the unity in Christ stipulates a similarity among mankind. Indeed, history shows how exploitative of others certain groups, ethnicities or sub-races have been; and in many instances continue to be. But the issues both in the Old and New Testament clearly show that there is a commonality and equality before God, hence Naaman, hence the Roman centurion, hence the Ethiopian eunuch. These people were all of different nationalities and ethnic groups, but according to scriptures were the same before the Almighty. Throughout the world, there are different cultures, behaviors and forms of veneration. But in Christianity, this seemingly unidentifiable aspect of spirituality requires the same allegiance, compassionate existence, and inner depth of sensitivity among all people. It is something that cannot be explained through the brain, or the mind, hence some people explain reactions as "feeling it in their hearts." Technically, or as far as my limited understanding has led me to accept, the Ethiopian and the Roman centuri-

on, were similar from a Christian perspective, had the same types of souls, as all true Christians have. What Davis describes as the African soul, appears to be an accommodation or blending of what some call negritude, what others refer to as African expressiveness, African commonality, African determinism, and the uniqueness of African passion and determination for cultural continuity. True, Davis does describe his "African soul" on page 51, and I hope that readers of this review will seek it out in the work itself.

Undoubtedly, unmistakably, the Europeans brought their "brand of Christianity to the Caribbean while they brought their slaves from Africa."[2] The key word here is brand, and some of them even underwent afflictions, such as John Newton, a slave ship captain, who heard the tune of a West African sorrow song from his shackled slaves, had an inner conversion, became an Anglican clergyman and an abolitionist, and gave us "Amazing Grace." At least the United States Library of Congress has it listed as words by John Newton, tune unknown. The tune sung in many of the original or christening churches is speeded up to sound European; but played as it was sung by the "sufferers," it is a spiritual, which can be played on the five black keys of the piano like most spirituals. Even though in my youth I would not sing John Newton's hymns, particularly "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds in a Believer's Ear," now, in the later stages of my life, I am forced to accept that the likes of John Newton had the same type of soul as I have.

Not for one moment am I disagreeing with Davis description of the complex nature of Caribbean religions, and the impact of cultism and cultural pluralism, its syncretism, and the approach to death and the afterlife. So the argument is not with what Davis states in this chapter. I am simply stating that this is not a matter of any difference or uniqueness of souls. The "African life force underlies a deep sense of communalism." That is an ingrained sense of continuity, which some may find linkages to the Ashanti concept of the Golden Stool, which housed the ancestors who looked after the present generation, which was duty bound, not by an imposition, but by a sense of commitment and affinity to walk in the path of the forebearers.

That sense of purpose is not "soul" related, but a genuine feeling of family orientation, much as how grandchildren cling to their grandparents and await their tales and lessons from which they learn. It is the sense of accountability that Davis aptly portrays in relation to true emancipation. "It beckons Caribbean people away from their poverty, dependence, alienation, and imitation, and thus challenges them to reconstruct a social and

historical reality that will banish the 'old days' forever."[3]

The matrifocal nature of Caribbean society is mentioned, but Davis, unfortunately, does not explain why, as matrifocality comes from the matrilineal heritage in West Africa, as opposed to the patrilineal one in some parts of East Africa. It may also help to explain why women will hold on to "worthless" and abusive men, as the matrilineal societies tend to be patriarchical. It also explains why many of us know most of our relatives on our mother's side from tender ages, but only later in life were directly cognizant of our father's kin. Many of us adapt to this new found reality in an all encompassing manner, because of our adaptability and resourcefulness.

Father Davis artfully manifests the inner feeling of Caribbean people, of the profound certainty that God is a reality. They know how to differentiate between "Churchianity" and "Christianity." They recognize the existence of evil and its continued presence among them, comfort themselves through the recognition that God does not like "ugly." The ugliness of deception and wrongdoing is therefore an unwelcomed and undesired reality. God must never be blamed for misfortune; he is their strength and hope.

Specifically, in regard to Davis theoretical discussions of religious literature, postulations, and developments, most readers will have to read and ponder, as they, like me, have not the deeper insights into religious formulations. Yes, we know about certain heresies and St. Augustin's City of God, but trained clergymen delve into depths that the laity, under normal circumstances have not been exposed to. Undoubtedly, Davis has simplified some of the brain-teasing theories, and I accept that emancipation theology "is the struggle for real life and liturgy, real purpose and praxis, real context and conduct, real hope and happiness." [4] Theology to Davis is both a science and an art, which seeks to integrate elements of earthly existence into all aspects of everyday life.

Some of his assertions are: 1) Emancipatory theology bases its fundamental rootage not in the choice between God on the other hand and freedom on the other, as Western liberation suggests in our post-Christian era, but rather in the affirmation of God as freedom. 2) The chief and pivotal focus of the God-experience is the human body. God cannot be experienced by us apart from our bodies, since we are in fact what we were made by God. 3) The meaning of Jesus as the Christ of God and Savior of the world emerges from the reality of the freedom in the God-experience. Davis suggests that this freedom is not an escapist one, but one which comforts physical and social pain concretely.

I did state at the beginning that Dr. Kortright Davis was "heavy", and the above-mentioned three assertions, hopefully, gives an indication. The idea, however, is that freedom/liberation is all encompassing, and takes in both the mental and physical state, with the acknowledgement that God is in full control and is the only genuine source of deliverance.

Now for the summation, and what may even resemble the Pastor's insistence on a charge. Kortright Davis, though on the surface, a religious scholar, makes those of us who deem ourselves to be political scientists, historians, economists, and sociologists delve deeper into our projective visions of or for an emancipated Sea Island and Mainland Society touched by the Caribbean Sea. In the process we overlook the most mentally held back society in the new world, for African people or peoples; and that is Brazil, how sad. Yet we must deal with what touches us directly, and acknowledge the wisdom of Father Davis, and strive for total emancipation, which is our birthright. The reality is, however, that many of us were programmed to consider ourselves not to be Africans, and so we are as bad as the pontificators from the homeland.

We do not know ourselves and some of us do not wish to know ourselves. I recall that when John Arrindell told me years ago, that he had been to the College of William and Mary, and had come across a book by Thomas Jefferson's slave, asserting that Jefferson, after his twelve course meal, drank only Antiguan Rum, twelve years old, as it was the best in the world. I told David Farquhar about it, and he wanted immediately to secure a copy of the work. I assured him that such a book would certainly be no longer in print. To my surprise, a few weeks later, Farquhar sent to call me and presented me a copy of *Jefferson at Monticello: Reflections of a Monticello Slave and a Monticello Overseer,* edited by James A. Bear, Jr., published in 1967 by the University of Virginia Press at Charlotte (ISBN 0-8139-0022-0). Twice in his recantation, Isaac, the dutiful slave, made mention of that glorious Antiguan twelve year old rum, the best in the world. Hopefully, this knowledge may be passed on to numerous Antiguans/Barbudans, particularly those in agro-industrial production, that even in the eighteenth century, when our forebearers were physically enslaved, they could produce an item that no other entity could match. If worthy bits of information such as the above, could be infused into our populations, then something within us could be awakened to be more self reliant, and project us toward the sought for emancipation. I dare say that each of our individual communities has more than one thing from our bondaged experience to propel us forward.

But the popular musical group, the Burning Flames, sang a song in which they described the movements of "backwards, forwards," and still today we are fighting the Eurocentrisms that propel us backwards, and keeps us, at least, stagnating. I believe it was the Vincentian, Orde Coombs, who asked: "Is Massa Day Dead?" (Orde Coombs, Is Massa Day Dead? Black Moods in the Caribbean (Anchor Books—ISBN 0385079478). Like Davis, Orde Cooms pinpointed our legacies through slavery, colonialism and segregation. In one English-speaking Caribbean country, an incident presented itself in 2012 through governmental circles, that clearly manifested that Massa Day was far from done, and that emancipation is no way near. The government of the country considered introducing a bill that would pardon the nation's first national hero, for planning a slave insurrection which would lead to a takeover of the government by the bondaged. A pardon is what the elected leaders of the people were advocating. Such absurdity is hard to fathom. For an individual who was "doing the right thing," to be pardoned is clearly manifesting that the government in question is operating from a concept of inferiority, in regard to its former colonial maser.

Until Eurocentrism is put in its rightful place, and people of African, Asian, and Amerindian descent assert themselves into manifesting their contributions toward our earthly existence, a profound forward thrust such as existed in the British Caribbean during the economic riots of 1935-1938, will continue to be cloaked in the finery of phraseology, punctuation, physical appearance, and precise table manners. Why must we always be looking to advanced industrial entities to be the purveyors and originators of all that we consider positive? Why is William E.B. DuBois still considered and accepted as the Father of PanAfricanism. The answer, Father Davis, is that DuBois is from the "Lion of the North," and many of our African brethren born in the United States, see us as only followers of their glorious heritage. Frankly, they do not know their history, which we know to be part of our history. DuBois is emblazoned in textbooks to be the father of our efforts to unite African people through their commonalities. Were not Edmond Wilmouth Blyden of the then Danish West Indies, as well as Henry Sylvester Williams and George Padmore of Trinidad before him? (The term Trinidad is applied and not Trinidad and Tobago, as this existed in the colonial times).

But our "educated" and materially bountiful elites seem content to relax and be served by the "workers" as they have achieved success and rubbed shoulders with "internationals" and know that white wine is to be chilled,

while red is better at room temperature. Today, it is common to hear on radio stations from the smaller islands of the Caribbean, recitations that though different, emphasize that we are all similar and united—"I AM CARIBBEAN." That is indeed a positive thrust, if we keep saying it, we will grow to believe it, even the "big-little" country in our midst, might stop its vacillation, and contribute more meaningfully to our collectivity.

For those of us who have been brought up in the Caribbean, we have a strong religious background. Some, like Kortright (here I feel justified in using his first name) became clergymen; others have remained faithful to the principles and beliefs imbued in us. At the church that I attend, I have more than once been asked, what my conversion was like. I have to explain that I did not have a sudden conversion, that I consider my christening as a form of water baptism, and my whole being centers around helping, assisting, and advocating human upliftment. It cannot all be done by those who we consider to have entered into "Holy Orders." Yet, I believe that those who have entered into holy orders should do as the Reverend Dr. Kortright Davis has done, that is, lead. That leadership is desperately needed today, when it is considered that in the "existing world a number of countries have nuclear weapons, chemical and/or bacteriological weapons, and within them are various forms of extremists, religious or otherwise, and the hope is that the nationalistic sentiments that plunged the world into the Great War will harness themselves in realizing that a modern world war would make the Great War appear to be "child's play."

I made reference to the religiosity of Caribbean peoples that caused us to have developed a philosophy of quality, which we seem to have lost, or, at least, been seriously and severely diminished. And, let it be not forgotten, that in Antigua and Barbuda, it was a Salvation Army Captain who projected that territory forward through Salvationism and Laborism. In that island there had been an intellectual tradition which caused individuals from other territories to go there to be educated. Yet, the Antiguan intelligentsia (Barbuda has to be exempted from Antiguan elitism) totally rejected Marcus Garvey's teachings on the glories of Africa, and the fact that most black people should take pride in its achievements, and behave accordingly. The story must be told that only a few prominent Antiguans found value in his teachings, among them were Vere Cornwall Bird, Hesketh Daniel, and J. Oliver Davis. George Weston of Loblolly Hill, Green Bay was in the United States at the time and so was Bishop Maguire, both of whom had been key pillars in Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association.

Antigua had been mentioned as an example, but Antiguan behavior among the "chosen" was not different from those in other territories. The statement of Trinidad's V.S. Naipaul that "history is built around achievement and creation, nothing was created in the West Indies," is in itself a manifestation of European norms. Other leading novelists in the Caribbean, one must proudly proclaim, are concerned with the totality of the West Indian perspective that includes cultural relationships and personal identities.

But the charge, specifically, is to the clergy. They "control" their congregations. It is not only for Catholics to campaign against abortion. As a people, we have allowed homosexuals to achieve the highest ranks in our societies clearly manifesting our fairness in regard to ability. Why not join with our calypsonians and reggae entertainers to move against present excesses, and avoid Sodomic and Gomorrahic consequences. The clergy (male and female) need to be more vocal about social realities. It is amazing how preachers preach for forty minutes, repeating what they said within the first fifteen minutes. Unity in Christ contains a practical exercising of the social gospel. The awakening of populations to strive for total liberation has to have its impetus from the pulpit, and, quite naturally to receive assistance from the leaders in all walks of life, whether trade unionists, academic educators, medical caregivers, or entertainers. But the clergy must lead, and so take up the charge. There should be a collective appeal from all the religious denominations, whether they come from a Christian Council or an Evangelical Council, to condemn violence. More attention should be paid to the significance of women, and the fact that they have formed the "backbones" of all thriving societies without been given the opportunities to fully participate in most aspects of daily existence. In many Christian churches women are still curtailed and not fully liberated. There are denominations which need to change their polity. If we are unwilling to practice internal self-liberation, how can we achieve total liberation in a global context? Again the social context has to be deeply intertwined in the spiritual context. The basis of emancipation is religion, and religion is a daily experience and practice. Pastors must take up the challenge, put their hands to the plough and not look back, remembering that ploughing forward leads to liberation or emancipation. Yes, it is still comin'.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Kortright Davis, Emancipation Still Comin,' (Eugene, Oregon: WIPF and Stock, 1991), p. 71.

[2] Davis, p. 51.

[3] Davis, p. 71.

[4] Davis, p. 107.

CHURCH MUSIC IN OUR NATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE: ARE WE MADE LIKE JESUS?

George Roberts

I'm glad I'm made like Jesus
cast in his special mold
forged in his fiery furnace
I am his to have and hold
I'm glad he shaped and formed me
made me like royalty
that I am made like Jesus
is cause for true eternal bliss

I have been asked to write on the topic of church music and its development or lack thereof in the years prior and subsequent to independence in Antigua and Barbuda. I will also be discussing the associated implications of its progress and relevance to our independent nation, and to the work of the Rev. Kortright Davis.

THE SHAPING OF MY PHILOSOPHY CONCERNING MUSIC AND CULTURE IN THE CHURCH

I left Antigua for university in 1973, 8 years prior to independence, and returned in 1989, 8 years afterwards. Prior to my departure I was active in the musical life of the Methodist church, being an occasional pianist and organist, choir member, and a regular concert participant. Congregational singing was of paramount importance to the worship, and consisted almost exclusively of hymns from the 18th and 19th centuries from a hymn book published in 1933. Choir anthems and incidental music were of similar vintage, though there were occasional forays into more modern material. Having been schooled in classical music, I easily adapted to the musical demands of the church. Caribbean material was sparse, and mostly patterned after traditional hymns. The situation was similar for most of the other 'established' Protestant churches. The Catholic Church on the other hand was different. I will elaborate on this later in my presentation.

Throughout this time, however, there were a number of smaller churches, evangelistic in character, which often used music of a lively beat. This was often associated with dance. Not attracting the so called crème de la crème of the prevailing society, they were often looked upon with a level of disdain by the 'big' churches.

On arriving in Jamaica, I was immediately fully immersed in all musical areas of campus life. I was a chapel organist, an accompanist and later arranger and composer with the university singers and Father Richard Ho Lung of the Catholic Church. I also played at weddings, funerals, shows and concerts and anywhere else that would allow me to pursue my musical passion. I was struck by the variety of music and cultural forms practiced in church, which, to me coming from the conservative Leeward Islands, seemed to be shoving not pushing the envelope. Being fully active in secular music, I rapidly realised that this could be and was incorporated in church services.

1981 was the most important year of my life. This was not because of Antigua's independence. Actually, I must confess I was far removed from this momentous occasion both emotionally and physically. Something else was dominating my attention and engaging me for most of my waking hours. It was important for me because that was the year my first child was born. The enormity of the responsibility of having the fate and future of a human being almost totally in my control impacted me deeply, especially with the knowledge that my parents had been instrumental and critical to my progress thus far, and this shaped my approach and philosophy in life from that time. Please bear with me, as this is absolutely germane and fundamental to my thinking and opinions concerning church music and culture in our independent society.

As I indicated, I was far away during independence. I was working as a young surgeon in training in New York. I was an alien minority. My son was born there, but within a year I realised and decided that whereas I could survive, there was absolutely no way I wanted my son to grow up in that environment. Though I was a doctor, I acutely felt the negative effects of racism in addition to cultural and national discrimination. My reaction to it frightened me, as I realised that despite my relatively priveliged position, were it not for the sound ethical grounding and sense of self worth which I had received at home, I could have ended up disillusioned and very angry. Seeing its effects on me and young black persons around me I was not convinced that I could adequately protect him from the virulent and malignant effects of the American society. I wanted him to truly feel he was made like Jesus.

So, ignoring the incredulous protests of my colleagues and acquaintances I decided to return to Jamaica and the West Indies, where I felt better able to control my son's environment. I re-immersed myself into Jamaican musical life, concentrating mostly on music composition and arranging.

I worked for some time in England, and there an interesting incident occurred. While at a conference, we had a reception at which there was a grand piano. I started playing and was soon surrounded by an appreciative audience of my colleagues. I employed my classical repertoire, and was going quite fine when a slightly inebriated British colleague leaned over and whispered in my ear 'you know, George, you could play Chopin and Beethoven all night but it will not make you white.' I was initially quite upset, but then I reflected and saw the important lesson in his statement. Music and culture needs to reflect and express the culture and philosophy of the performer. Too often in our colonial existence we are taught to learn, adapt and regurgitate cultural expressions which are not intrinsically our own, and which may sometimes even be culturally irrelevant. In this way we reinforce, support and augment cultures which are not seamlessy in concord with our own wishes, desires, history and philosophy. Indeed they may sometimes be directly in opposition. I then and there made a vow to myself to prioritise my efforts in promoting and proselytizing music which was culturally relevant to my situation.

On returning to Antigua 8 years after independence I was taken aback to find that little had changed in the music in my church. The same hymns were being sung, and it seemed to me that some of the innovations of the 1970's had stagnated. I perceived that the situation was similar in most of the other main Protestant churches. The Catholic Church, however, was different, in that they had adapted more contemporary cultural expressions in their worship.

I was made to understand that the adaptation of the Catholic Church in Antigua was the result of two things. First, during Vatican 2 in 1963, decisions were made to hold Catholic masses in the language of the recipients rather than Latin, and to have more culturally appropriate offerings during mass, again determined by the local situation. The Catholics were showing the perspicacity and forward thinking which had kept them in ascendancy and prominence over the past two millenia! Secondly, the use of local music had been actively promoted, under the guidance of my friend Bishop Don Reece, who took office in Antigua in 1981.

I immediately resolved to work to change what I perceived to be the stagnation in my church. This was not a totally altruistic decision. As usual, my decision was directed by considerations related to my children, as I felt that with the current musical activity in the church it would be difficult to keep them interested, connected and engaged. I might have also been challenged myself.

I therefore started writing contemporary music for my son to perform in church, and graduated to writing music for hymns, choirs and singing groups. Though it has been well received, there has been a great deal of inertia in getting these forms of music to be a regular feature used in my church. I will examine the factors leading to this situation, and give my feelings on its relevance to independence, nationhood, and the work of Rev. Kortnight Davis

An overview of the history of music in Christianity

Music has been integral in Christian worship throughout the ages. From the religious traditions of the ancient Jews, and the early Christian church through the middle ages and continuing to the present day it has played important roles. A significant shift occurred with the Protestant Reformation movement and Martin Luther, who maintained that music was next to godliness. He wrote many hymns, encouraged the use of a variety of music in worship and promoted congregational singing where much of the singing had previously been the province of monks and priests. Later in England, Charles Wesley, the co- founder of Methodism (my church) was to write over 8000 hymns. Methodism then, as in Antigua, catered to the poor and dispossessed, making it a preferred denomination for slaves and their descendants, and a significant force in the abolition movement.

Caribbean music has disproportionately influenced cultural expression around the world today, especially when one considers our small size and lack of economic clout. Whether directly through reggae, calypso and other forms, or indirectly through a heavy influence on pop, rap, hip hop etc. It has an undeniable position of prominence in modern music.

But even with this, it has been woefully underrepresented in church worship. Whereas it is sometimes used in special situations, Eurocentric and sometimes North American musical styles dominate in the ‘established’ churches. On the other hand, increasingly large and influential congregations are developing which use a lot of non- traditional music in their worship. They are often expanding at the expense of the traditional giants, which though still considerably influential, are losing their stranglehold on trends in Christian practices in Antigua and Barbuda.

Why then is modern and especially Caribbean music finding it hard to take its rightful place in church worship? The answer is multifaceted.

Religion is based heavily on tradition and ritual. The Protestant churches have very strong foundations in music and singing. It is often said that Methodism was born in song, and the hymns of Wesley dominate the Methodist practice, sometimes arguably supplanting the *Bible* itself. Thus for many, replacing or discarding traditional hymns is akin to ultimate heresy, and would cause serious battle lines to be drawn.

Another factor is related to mental associations. I have a close relative, very deep into classical church music, who maintains that whenever he hears a calypso rhythm all he can think of is chipping down high street with a bottle of rum in one hand and a woman in the other. I myself must confess that though I write hymns in calypso beats I find it hard to dance in church- I was not socialized in that manner. So, I have some sympathy with those uncomfortable with these genres in the worship ceremonies.

The association with dance and movement is another particularly difficult problem. Dance has been associated with worship since early Christianity and Judaism. Due to a perception of immoral influences introduced by Greek and Roman cultures, it was gradually phased out and by the time of the Reformation was almost completely banned both by Catholics and Protestants. It has been making a cautious comeback in recent times, though there is much ambivalence and reserve concerning its use.

Caribbean music suffers heavily from this factor. Dance in early Judeo-Christian times consisted of leaping, whirling and other similar movements. Caribbean music, in contrast to much of traditional Eurocentric music, heavily emphasizes rhythm as opposed to melody. Dances associated with Afro-Caribbean music have an instinctively greater emphasis on hip movements. These movements are associated with sexuality not deemed acceptable in our society with cultural norms and standards derived from Eurocentric traditions. Acceptance in divine worship will then naturally be problematic.

It does not help that despite socially acceptable lip service, calypso and other non- Eurocentric creole cultural expressions have working class associations which do not blend well with many individuals and institutions that see themselves as 'high society'. Thus many may wish to quietly distance themselves from activities which they perceive may be socially degrading.

Before outlining my plan of action to change the unsatisfactory situation of church music, let me address the theme of music and the church in that special work of the Rev. Dr. Kortright Davis, *Emancipation Still Comin':*

Explorations in Caribbean Emancipatory Theology. This is in keeping with others who are celebrating the 22nd birthday of this important book of which all Antiguans and Barbudans should be very proud.

KORTRIGHT DAVIS AND THE PROBLEM OF CARIBBEAN CHURCH MUSIC

Davis' emancipatory theology is a powerful response to the socio-cultural fact that Caribbean people are still in search of real emancipation almost 200 years after the end of slavery and several decades after political independence. This longed-for emancipation has evaded us because in the post-slavery and post-colonial periods life in the Caribbean has continued to be marked by "persistent poverty", "racism", "classism", "migration", "cultural alienation", "dependence", and "drug trafficking". I am particularly interested here in what Davis calls cultural alienation, as it encompasses some of the issues regarding music that I raised earlier.

Davis links the problem of cultural alienation very directly to colonial policies that stressed Caribbean people's "natural inferiority and the inconsequential nature of their basic cultural heritage" (36). As a result of these policies, Caribbean people "began to assume that everything foreign and white was good, whereas that which was local and non-white was not good enough" (35). The church as an institution was not exempt from the debilitating influences of these colonial policies. Davis notes that "the evidence is overwhelming that white churchmen as a rule held West Indian blacks in generally low esteem' (61). One significant result of this colonially imposed cultural alienation was the practice of highly imitative behavior on the part of Caribbean people, including the church. On this point Davis writes: "most of the preaching and teaching in the churches were adapted from models and images of other cultures. The literature and the music, the liturgies and the theologies, the vestments and the sacred vessels, the patterns of holiness and the canons of saints – all were given sanction and approval from abroad" (75). I am very much in agreement with this thesis of cultural alienation, its impact on our people and the importance that Davis attaches to it.

Given the imitative impact of the heritage of colonial cultural alienation, Davis raises the very necessary and important question: "what is the antidote for such social, religious and theological imitation, which eats away at the very soul of Caribbean spirituality?" (85). For Davis, this antidote lies in a new phase in the history of the Caribbean church, which he calls "The People's Church" (7). This project of a people's church must be at the center of our quest for emancipation. Davis writes: 'far from being the opiate of the masses, Caribbean religion has consistently been the bastion of

Caribbean liberation. Caribbean reconstruction will not be fully achievable through religion without a rediscovery of the African soul" (50). In other words, the antidote to cultural alienation is the project of establishing a people's church, which in the Caribbean context must include a rediscovery of our African soul.

Thus among the new cultural patterns that must mark the phase of the people's church is clearly a greater acknowledgement of the African heritage of Caribbean people and the ending of European cultural superiority in the church. Such a shift in outlook must include a profound change in our attitudes toward African-based music in the church. Davis recognizes through his text the importance of music in the religious life of Caribbean people. On more than one occasion he notes that "the deeply religious [Caribbean] personality is often manifested in the singing or whistling of hymns or other sacred songs, the movement of the body in quasi-ritualistic modes, or the ready interpretation of daily events as signs from above" (53). He goes on to point out that "in the Caribbean religious experience, nothing exceeds the power of singing and music as a vehicle of praise and worship" (112). At another point in the text, he declares: "Music, to be sure, is the Caribbean voice of God" (44). On these estimates of the centrality of music to Caribbean religious life, and to the concept of a people's church, I am in full agreement with Davis.

Another crucial point on which I am in agreement with Davis, is his estimate of the global significance of Caribbean music. On this point he writes: "the Caribbean is indeed a musical region, and the rich musical forms created in the region have been exported to all parts of the globe. The calypso and reggae are but two examples of these forms, apart from the musical sounds of the steel orchestra" (42). These claims are very much in sync with my own regarding the disproportionate influence that we have had on cultural expression around the world.

But in spite of its importance and global significance, Caribbean music continues to be discriminated against within the life of the church. As I noted earlier, Caribbean music has been woefully underrepresented in church worship. Davis acknowledges that during the colonial period, "local music was treated as demeaning, and much of it could not be sung on Sunday, the Lord's day" (36). He also acknowledges that such attitudes continue into the present. Hence we get the important suggestion that the emancipatory theology of the people's church must draw "its nurture from the wisdom of the folk culture – proverbs, stories, songs, spirituals, calypsos, and hymns" (109).

I agree in principle with this suggestion, but I do not think that it goes far enough. In its stated form it does not directly address the issue of the antidote to the persistent resistance to changing the dominance of Eurocentric hymns over calypso, jazz or reggae based forms of creole religious music in church worship. There is a contemporary divide in many Protestant churches that needs to be more directly addressed if the music of a people's church is to come into being and take its rightful place in praise and worship. This is the primary thrust of all that I have said in the first two sections of my paper.

Further, the mildness of Davis' position on this issue is inconsistent with his call for the recovery of "the African soul" of the Caribbean, and also with the deep Christology that he affirms in his text. For example, he states that Caribbean Christology likens human conditions in the Caribbean to incidents in the life and times of Jesus of Nazareth". [...] All these characteristics and events are parts of a constant narrative that informs the Caribbean people's understanding of who Christ is" (82). This position on how we should think about Christ is very close to the Christology contained in my claim that we, Caribbean people, are made like Jesus and cast in his special mold. If indeed we have been forged in his fiery furnace, and music is "the Caribbean voice of God", then the religious music that comes from the depth of our souls must be the music of our worship, the voice in which we address our great Creator. In short, Davis needs to be stronger on this issue of Caribbean religious music if he is to have a people's church that has recovered its African soul. Having made these points about Rev. Davis' book, let me now turn to my plan of action.

RATIONALE FOR ACTION

So, why then should we want to modify the status quo? What is the benefit, if any? After all, I am sure that there are many like me who love our traditional rituals and hymns, and feel slightly uncomfortable when asked to clap and dance. But I feel passionately that for the good of us all, this needs to change, and here's why.

Genesis affirms that we were made in the image of God. This can be interpreted as being not only related to physical but also to cultural and philosophical parameters. If then our culture is not represented in our highest endeavour, which is praise and worship of our God and creator, what then does that say about us? Are we therefore truly made like Jesus? Or are we second class Christians and inferior people? And then do cultur-

al stereotypes affect our perceptions of intelligence, goodness, honesty and beauty? Is this why we bleach, weave, adopt foreign accents and mannerisms, crave foreign investors to bring in a few dollars and to come and exploit us while we lose hundreds of millions of dollars with Clico, British American and Stanford International Bank, and give our own a hard time while accommodating individuals from far away?

Let me catalogue what I see as the possible awful consequences which can result when we do not fully appreciate, nurture and practice our culture in our daily lives. Many young people nowadays will not meekly accept second class status as some of us who grew up in the colonial era. They will question consciously or subconsciously the merits of looking to and behaving like sometimes long dead individuals who did not look or act or talk like them. And many of them are voting with their feet. Many established Protestant churches are mostly populated by those advanced in years or those too young to say no. Many young people are moving to institutions where they feel more culturally comfortable or in which they think they are truly catered to and respected.

The danger is, however, that they may move away from church completely. Whether or not one is a Christian, few will disagree with the premise that church is one of the important civilising and ethically sensitizing forces in our society, and removal of this influence leaves a vacuum which may be filled with undesirable elements such as the gang culture. These young people are made even more vulnerable if they are made to feel less than equal when the 'supreme endeavour', religion, subliminally tells them that they are not of primary or supreme importance, not 'made like Jesus'. And they will be easy fodder for those who want their bodies or services for illegal pursuits. They will be more pliable because they will feel they have less to offer, and so must 'flex' more to be accepted. Lack of self- regard is also transferrable to lack of regard for others, and so crimes like murder, rape, assaults become more palatable and in some cases even commonplace to them. Truly, it is the fate of the children and young people in our nation-village which concerns me most, and gives me the strength and will to persevere with my work.

This is not only applicable to the young. The adult who accepts his second-class status will have difficulty accepting or believing good about others from a similar background. So, we may have difficulty cooperating with each other to form true and lasting partnerships. At the same time we are open to being suckers for persons coming from afar with different accents and appearances. It's as if they were made like Jesus, not us!

A nation of people who lack a sense of their true value and self worth cannot be successful. They will always be looking for external help, direction and intervention. That cannot be true independence. We need a nation of persons who believe that they are made like Jesus. I passionately believe that if we embrace our cultural heritage, equally from all legitimate sources, both in and outside of religion, if we respect it, use it in all aspects of our lives, record and archive it and present it with pride, we will be a more cohesive, effective and truly independent nation. We will have a nation where we will be happy to bring up our children with the assurance that they will have a positive self image, confident in their worth. Only then will we be a truly sovereign nation.

I will end with some short phrases or catchwords that we sometimes hear which indicate that we have some work to do in the furtherance of self-esteem and confidence among ourselves. Some are obvious, some are a bit more subtle

We love ugly
Nice hair
Good nose
Pretty black woman
Neaga no like to see neaga prosper
High colour
Partnership is sinking ship
A who he feel he be? He t'ink he white?

Why is it that some people never believed that Vivi was a great batsman until Englishmen said so?

I will now end as I started, with the words of the chorus of a song written by myself and Dr. George Mulrain of the Methodist church, performed a few years ago in the Methodist church by Lincoln Blade Stanislaus, Claudette (CP) Peters and the Anglican Youth Choir

I'm glad I'm made like Jesus
Cast in his special mold
Forged in his fiery furnace
I am his to have and hold
I'm glad he shaped and formed me
Made me like royalty
That I am made like Jesus
Is source of true eternal bliss

Kortright Davis and Caribbean Emancipatory Theology: A Review Essay

Paget Henry

> There is a wideness in God's mercy,
> Like the wideness of the sea;
> There is kindness in his justice
> Which is more than liberty
> …
> For the Love of God is broader
> Than the measure of man's mind
> And the heart of the Eternal
> Is most wonderfully kind.
>
> But we make his love too narrow
> By false limits of our own
> And we magnify his strictness
> With a zeal that he will not own.
>
> Frederick William Faber

Introductory and Contextual Remarks

In Volume four of this *Review,* we celebrated the work of Antigua and Barbuda's first academic philosopher, Charles Ephraim. In Vol.5, we celebrated the works of a number of women poets from Antigua and Barbuda. In this issue, Vol.6, we celebrate the work of our most distinguished contemporary theologian, Rev. Dr. Kortright Davis. Theology is a vital part of that neglected literary tradition of Antigua and Barbuda about which our poet and novelist, Edgar Lake has been reminding us. Thus to see Davis' place in this literary tradition, which our *Review* is in the process of excavating, he must be viewed in relation to two earlier Pan African theologians from Antigua and Barbuda, Bishop McGuire and the Rev. George Weston.

Both of these gentlemen were responsible for the theology of the Garvey Movement, which legitimated African and Afro-Caribbean tendencies to think of God in their own image – that is, as black. This Garveyite project came to fruition a little later in the theology and religious practices of the Rastafarians. In what he calls "the Blackstory", Davis connects with this Pan African tradition of theological thinking although he is more concerned with building new connections between theology and economic development. Also important in locating Davis in our literary tradition are the connections around themes of development and blackness that can be seen between his work and that of fellow theologian, Rev. Dr. Leslie Lett, and philosopher, Ephraim.

Influenced significantly by the Caribbean New Left Movement of the 1960s, and also by the legacy of the Garvey Movement, Rev. Davis' theology foregrounds the political economy of Caribbean poverty in ways that are comparable to the role of race in the earlier theologies of McGuire and Weston, and in the philosophy of Ephraim. This influence of the Caribbean New Left Movement is indicated by the many references to the works of political economists such as Clive Thomas and George Beckford, who helped to create the Caribbean School of Dependency Theory. In addition to this economic background, Davis is also a professor of theology at Howard University's School of Divinity, and the author of many books including *Emancipation Still Comin', Can God Save the Church?, Serving With Power.* and most recently *Compassionate Love and Ebony Grace.* Our focus in this review essay will be the first of these four texts, *Emancipation Still Comin'.* This work is a classic of Caribbean theology, and the best-known work by a theologian from Antigua and Barbuda. We celebrate its twenty-second birthday.

Indeed it is twenty-two years since the original publication of Rev. Davis' breakthrough volume, *Emancipation Still Comin': Explorations in Caribbean Emancipatory Theology.* Celebrating this anniversary is very meaningful to me as I can still recall how deeply engaged I was when I first read it, and how much richer an experience it was re-reading it a few months ago. What engaged me twenty-two years ago more than anything else was the almost seamless manner in which the theological aspects of Caribbean social life were linked to its politics, economics, and history. As Davis notes in his introduction: "all the realities of the Caribbean context have been brought into the process of reflection: history, culture, economics, politics, social relationships, demography, external relations and religion" (x). Keeping these different realities in focus was and still is the balancing act that engages me the most about this text.

This impressive balancing act is the textual strategy that made possible the powerful synthesis between religion and the political economy of poverty that is at the core of Davis' emancipatory theology. This theology sees Caribbean people as suffering under the weight of a distinct political economy of poverty and racism, but at the same time as being "incurably religious" (53). That is, in spite of their poverty, Caribbean people thrive on "a relationship with some supernatural form of existence" (51) and constantly interpret everyday events as providential signs of the working of this higher power. Given this religious view of Caribbean people, Davis goes on to suggest that the principal forces in their emancipatory struggles against

poverty and racism "have been their cultural and religious strengths" (10). Consequently, this inherent religious creativity of the Caribbean masses becomes a very important factor in his emancipatory theology. Davis writes: whenever organized religion has attempted to make use of the religious wellsprings of Caribbean people, without any further forms of domestication and suppression, signs of emancipation have been in evidence" (10). In short, this text opens with, and is framed by, a theology that very convincingly brings together the emancipatory practices of religion and political economy against the "demons" of poverty, racism, and cultural alienation.

I was particularly engaged by this synthesis because at the time (1990) I first read this book there was for me a yawning gap between Caribbean religion, including my own Methodist heritage, and the other "realities" that Davis brought into the process of reflection. This separation had a long history, dating back to my early adolescence, when a growing but competing interest in science produced profound changes in my relationship to the Methodism of my youth. I experienced science and religion as being in a head-on conflict.

As a young Methodist, my parents saw my future in the ministry, as I won lots of prizes in Sunday school. At age nine, my aunt, Ivy Roberts and Rev. Davidson conspired and had me conduct a Harvest Cantata, in which I did everything except say the prayers and preach the sermon. One of the many prizes I won in Sunday school was John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress,* which I read with great fascination. Of the many persons that the main character, Christian, encountered on his way to the Celestial City, I was most intrigued by his conversations with Mr. Worldly-Wiseman. He steered Christian in the direction of morality and legality. Unfortunately, this turned out to be a dead-end and Christian had to be rescued once more by Evangelist. I can still recall being puzzled by this outcome as I imagine this conversation with a very different ending.

Although not being able to grasp these subtleties of theology, I still felt a part of my church on St. Mary's Street. For me, the most real and engaging part of church life was the singing of the hymns. I could spot a Charles Wesley hymn before I looked to see who the writer was. Something important was definitely coming through to me from these hymns, but what it was I certainly was not able to put into words. Even more important for me at that time was the fact that I could not in any way compose religious verses or generate religious ideas in the way Wesley had done. I had not a clue as to where or from what experiences these compositions were coming.

At the same time, the physics, chemistry, and biology that I was learning at the Antigua Grammar School were posing very real challenges to many Christian truth-claims as I understood them. The astrophysical origins of the universe, Darwin's evolutionary theory of origins of human beings, Freud's theory of the human psyche were all challenging intellectual creations I absorbed with great ease and found quite convincing. Further, the more I got into these theories, the more I started thinking scientifically and began developing some real clues as to how scientific theories were generated. In short, at the level of experience I was much closer to science than I was to religion.

I was particularly aware of this turn to science as my cousin Roy Daniel – now a physicist at the University of the West Indies – also experienced it, while my sister, Elaine Olaoye, moved in the opposite direction. As Roy and I were absorbing Newton and Einstein, my sister was feasting on Shakespeare, Milton and Pope. She and Aubrey (Sketch Map) Edwards were always talking about Pope and Milton's attempts to justify the ways of God to man. It all went over my head. But from the little I did glean, Pope was definitely more appealing to me. His attempt seemed wider, more universal and inclusive of Christians and non-Christians. It was a similar universalism in science, which I found to be wider than the boundaries of either Methodism or Milton, that really caught my attention. I saw this wider inclusiveness as being in sharp contrast to the sectarian differences between the Christian denominations. Militant hymns like "Onward Christian Soldiers" did not appeal to me. I had a hard time separating myself from these "others" of the Christian or the Methodist.

Not surprisingly, in my early and middle years, science was the undisputed winner of this conflict. Knowing Rev. Davis as a young man in training, and again while reading *Emancipation Still Comin',* I sensed that something like the opposite of my struggle must have been the case within him. In other words, in his experience there had occurred something like a struggle that established religion as the undisputed winner. Whether real or imagined, I had a keen sense of some such difference which made me place Kortright in a different category from all of my other cousins. In contrast to Roy, with whom I shared physics, I did not know how to talk to him about what he was studying. Also, this sense of difference was a major factor motivating my interest in reading his book. After reading Bunyan's book there was no doubt in my mind about his internal struggle having an outcome that was the opposite of mine, and that was probably one of the reasons why I was so engaged by it. I will return later to this conflict/sepa-

ration as it will be one of the perspectives from which I will evaluate *Emancipation Still Comin'.* First, I must address some of the central theses of this historic text.

Entering the Text

Reflecting very much the integrated textualities of Davis' emancipatory theology, the basic thesis of *Emancipation Still Comin'* is that there are seeds of Divine emancipation deeply embedded the political, economic and cultural efforts that we have been making in our struggles against racism, colonialism and poverty. In other words, God is immanently working with us in the emancipatory struggles in which we are already engaged. Hence it is possible to speak of an emancipatory theology "that is already on the way in the Caribbean". Because of the cumulative impact of these emancipatory struggles in which God is immanent, Davis goes on to suggest that the Caribbean is going through "a traumatic period of transition" (x)in all of its major aspects, from politics to religion. An appropriate emancipatory theology would therefore be one that would be capable of embracing this process of change and presenting it "in the light of Caribbean faith" (x). More specifically, it would have to be a theology that is capable of bringing religion, "the major force which Caribbean people have to call their own" (2), into the service of making the ex-slaves of these societies into owners and decision-makers. This has not happened yet, hence we get the assertion, emancipation still comin'.

Given this need for ex-slaves to become owners of the land and important decision-makers, it is not surprising that Davis devotes the first three chapters of his book to detailed descriptions of the oppressive social conditions in our region that must be changed. In our efforts at changing these conditions, in areas that extend from politics to religion, we must work in concert with those seeds of Divine emancipation that are already immanent in our undertakings. This is the framework within which religion meets and works in harmony with political economy, sociology, history and culture. As a sociologist with a strong interest in political economy, I was understandably intrigued by this synthesis with religion.

The Political Economy of Caribbean Poverty

Davis begins his analysis of the social conditions of the masses of Caribbean people with the plantation legacies of regional economies. Within this plantation system, "most of the Caribbean people have had to exist on lands belonging to others, lands in which they could plant no seeds of prosperity, or power or pride" (3). It was under these conditions of economic separation from the land that the modern poverty of the region was born. The policies and institutions that maintained this historic separation are integral parts of the evil in our region that must be overcome. This separation and it related patterns of labor exploitation also account for why poverty persists in spite of fragile veneers of progress. Under these conditions of economic alienation and separation from prosperity, Caribbean citizens have become since the end of African slavery "a migrant people" (4), for whom "moving up often means moving out" (4).

In addition to the pursuit of migration as a response to plantation poverty, Davis notes the efforts of Caribbean governments to displace the plantation and establish tourist and mineral industries. These industrial shifts have expanded the GDP and changed the sectoral compositions of regional economies. Thus in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, GDP moved from US$273.7 million in 1956 to US$163.3 billion in 2010. In the case of Antigua and Barbuda, GDP moved from US$9.411 million to US$1.103 billion in 2010. However, in all cases, this growth potential of our economies have exhausted themselves before they were able to deliver on the promises of economic autonomy and the elimination of poverty. To this image of economies that pre-maturely exhaust their growth potential Davis adds the hurricanes, earthquakes, and other natural disasters that regularly threaten the region to produce what he calls the "sandlike nature of Caribbean existence"(292). On this "Caribbean sandscape" promises have transformed very rapidly into regressions and circumstances hardly hold out much hope for long. These are the new but fragile foundations of Caribbean economies whose sandlike nature makes it impossible for these frail engines of production to overcome the evil of poverty and usher in the dawn of real emancipation.

Consequently, the pressing question for Davis is: how have the people of our region been able to survive the plantation past, and how will they survive the patterns of pre-mature exhaustion that are inherent in their post-plantation economies? From this economic perspective, "the traumatic period of transition" toward an emancipatory future is still very much with us. This is another of the many meanings of the claim, "emancipation

still comin'". Indeed it is possible to argue that we are now deeper in this traumatic period than when Davis first wrote about it. This immersion means that much work remains to be done and more popular and empowering responses to poverty must be undertaken. As we gird ourselves for these new offenses against the evil of poverty, Davis encourages us to draw on our deep well-springs of communalism, the benefits of our social pluralism, and, most important of all, the providential seeds in our shifting economic sandscape.

As we embark on these new undertakings, we must fully understand why past strategies such as migration, and externally owned tourist, bauxite and oil industries have not been able to eliminate the problem of poverty in our region. In Davis' view, these strategies have only delayed the ultimate reckoning with the institutional structures that maintain external dependence, underdevelopment and poverty in the region. These structures will not go away until Caribbean people are able to throw off the weight of external control, take hold of our institutions, and steer them in self-emancipatory directions. Without such a turn in a people's direction the hardships and emotional scars that have come with poverty will not go away, and neither will the providential seeds within us be able to really germinate and flower. In other words, it is our responsibility to prepare and nurture the social and subjective soils in which these Divine seeds are already planted.

Given this people empowering orientation in Davis' economics, the Caribbean quest to end poverty and the institutions that sustain it, must, without fail, include a quest for greater freedom – freedom from oppressive institutions and freedom to invent new and more people-controlled ones. Such a quest for a greater freedom than that of the post-plantation period is absolutely vital for Davis' emancipatory theology. This call for a more radical practice of freedom brings us back to the field of theology as it is around this quest for a greater freedom that Davis really links religion and theology to the political economy, sociology and history of poverty in our region.

Theology and the Quest for a Greater Freedom

In Davis' view, "theology is a science for freedom" (9). Even now I still find this a rather unusual but highly engaging definition of theology. How is this possible? What is the underlying connection between God and freedom? It is on this point that Davis' theology really comes to the fore within the broader framework of his synthesis between religion and the political economy of poverty. The foundational assertion of Davis' theology is "that God is sovereign" (8). This sovereignty means that God is not subject to

any higher authority. God is therefore the ultimate center of unconditional freedom. In other words, Divine sovereignty spells Divine freedom, which includes the freedom to create or to not create, and to be limited by the independence of creaturely freedom. Human freedom is one form of creaturely freedom, and "it subsists in the continuing affirmation of Divine freedom" (8). Davis further argues that the relation between Divine and human freedom is such that God wills "that all human beings should be free" (8). Thus theologically understood, freedom is the gift of God because it is the nature of God" (8).

Given this theology of freedom, it is not surprising that "it is the fundamental theme of this book that the only freedom deep enough to offer and inspire emancipation, and authentic enough to be concretely functional, is essentially that which actively acknowledges its origins in the sovereign free God" (8). In short, freedom is not ultimately to be found in constitutions, as it is a gift from God with the inherent creativity to guide and support our more conscious efforts at emancipation. Thus it is only when freedom is acknowledged as a Divine gift will our quest for a greater freedom carry within it the energy and vision that will enable it to succeed.

This theological definition of freedom stands in sharp contrast to more familiar liberal, market-oriented, or socialist definitions freedom. Yet, in spite of these differences Davis is challenging us to bring these apparently irreconcilable approaches to freedom into the harmony of concerted action. Only such concerted action will get us past the concepts of freedom that informed the nationalist struggles, which established the post-plantation period with its pre-maturely exhausting economies. This is the core argument of this text that sustains its promise of emancipation still comin'.

The argument behind this promise is what is so engaging about this book. As I read its synthetic approach to freedom and emancipation for the first time, I recalled Davis' work in Antigua and Barbuda when he was a very active part of the organization, Christian Action for Development in the Eastern Caribbean (CADEC). This organization did indeed embody a similar synthesis between the theology and the political economy of development that was very fresh and appealing to me. After completing the book, I drew the conclusion that CADEC was the practice of this synthesis, while *Emancipation Still Comin'* was its theory. Indeed, it was CADEC that funded my very first attempt to launch a journal of this type, *The Antigua and Barbuda Forum.*

Towards a Critique

Having outlined the major argument and some of the rich ideas that are contained in *Emancipation Still Comin',* it is time now to take a critical look at how this argument and its underlying inter-disciplinary synthesis have weathered the twenty-two years since their formulation. Is this argument still "authentic enough to be concretely functional"? Can it be the foundation for a contemporary praxis that is comparable to that of CADEC? I raise these questions as so much has changed in our world since the original publication of this book. The developmental contradictions and challenges embedded in our sandscapes have only intensified and increased in magnitude. At the same time the church has changed significantly as it continues to deal with the challenges, triumphs, and disasters of modernity. In other words, it is a changed political economy of Caribbean poverty and a changed church that must now work together. The question is: can they come together on the basis of Davis' synthesis between the theology and the political economy of freedom?

To give these questions the proper answers that they deserve, it will be necessary for us to take a closer look at three crucial trends in Caribbean societies that over the past twenty-two years that have been moving counter to some of the assumptions and expectations that informed *Emancipation Still Comin'.* The first of these counter-trends, is the fact that the Caribbean New Left push for more participatory and worker-empowering political economies across the region, which was quite strong during the 1970s and 1980s, has been halted and replaced by more conservative, finance-driven, and market-oriented political economies since the 1990s. Until the Great Recession of 2008, these new economic regimes continued earlier patterns of increasing the GDP, but at the price of greater socio-economic inequality than the political economies of the immediate post-plantation period. This conservative turn has brought with it new problems of racism, classism, out-migration, and external dependence that are now standing as major obstacles in the way of the desired people's political economy. In particular, issues of racism and classism have kept alive the problem of what Davis called the black "disvalued self" (103), which had been the primary concern of the earlier Pan African theology. Overcoming this devaluation, while moving towards a more participatory political economy, was a vital part of the synthesis informing the theology of *Emancipation Still Comin'.*

The second counter-trend of which we must take note is a similar receding of the quest for a people's church. This receding of the project of a people's church is in part related to the fact that modern societies contin-

ue to erode the deeply symbolic foundations of churches in the Caribbean (and elsewhere) and thus in the former case to make the church a part of the Caribbean sandscape. This symbolic aspect of church life sociologist, Peter Berger, has likened to a "sacred canopy" of ritual practices and beliefs that embraces its subscribers and anchors them spiritually in ways that are beyond their conscious understanding. This is important as it makes Spirit – which is in fact beyond the precise grasp of human language – present in an indirect or humanly mediated form. Further, sacred canopies make Spirit accessible through active rather than primarily intellectual participation. However, in spite of their ability to make us feel the presence of Spirit, sacred canopies cannot be equated or made identical with the reality of Spirit. That would be to lose sight of their symbolic nature. Further all sacred canopies are historically marked religious constructions that are partial maps or indirect accounts of the spiritual domain. Although they are quite often good guides, these maps, valuable as they are, must never be confused with the real territory of which they are symbolic representations.

Modern societies have been very hard on ritual practices and thus the sacred canopies of churches. As Karl Marx has pointed out, in modern societies 'all fast-frozen relations with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned" (10). Emile Durkheim, another sociologist of modernity, has referred to this modern eroding of the power of religious symbols, norms, rituals and values as "anomie", or normlessness. Under these melting and anomic conditions, cracks and holes must appear in the sacred canopies of churches, which have and will continue to reduce the power of their symbols and rituals to anchor people spiritually in those ways that are beyond our normal understanding. With this loss comes the progressive eroding of the power of the church to regulate the behavior of its members, who in large numbers have been transferring their loyalties to other sites such as science, art, the market, the pursuit of wealth or power. These are the challenges posed by the secular canopies of modern societies. They are the modern versions of the human types that the main character, Christian, encountered in Bunyan's text, intensified, fortified and multiplied.

In his later works, such as, *Can God Save the Church?,* and *Serving With Power,* Davis is much more keenly aware of these mounting challenges with which modernity confronts the church. In the latter work, he writes: "there often comes a time in the life of the church when codes and customs, values and virtues, even words and symbols become worn and jaded. They

seem to lose much of their force and efficacy and no longer command any authority in people's lives" (1999:1). This is a powerful statement regarding the aging of current sacred canopies in the harsh modern environment. Davis goes on to link this loss of symbolic power to the fact that "scientific pragmatism and technological rationalism have forced their way into the religious understanding of God's relationship with God's people" (1999:13). Not surprisingly, in these two later works, the synthesis of *Emancipation Still Comin'* remains very much in the background as Davis finds it necessary to focus almost exclusively on this problem of modernity's transformation of sacred canopies into sandscapes.

However, this fallibility of sacred canopies and the need to reform and re-imagine them is an integral part of the synthesis of *Emancipation Still Comin'*. This realization that canopies are often flawed and very partial is clear in Davis' account of the sacred canopies of the colonial period in the Caribbean. He describes them as being centered around a God who "was to sanction and protect everything that the Europeans had designed and implemented… That "God" was to ensure that the plantation ethic flourished in the hearts and minds of all who had to depend on the crop. That "God" was to transform and reorient all factors – whether physical or metaphysical – towards the attainment of an ever bountiful profit… Under so heavy a burden, that "God" could not survive. That "God" died from suffocation" (4-5). This is a masterful account of the death of the colonial version of the sacred canopy of the Anglican Church in the Caribbean; the death of a religious map whose scales, lines and icons were obscuring the way to and misrepresenting the realities of the spiritual kingdom. The history of religion has known many such deaths of canopies. However, the one that concerns us here is the canopy of the church that Davis assumed when he forged the powerful synthesis that informs *Emancipation Still Comin'*. Given the concerns about it that Davis expressed in his later works, can it still be a part of that engaging synthesis?

The third and final set of counter-trends that we must consider consists of those forces affecting the patterns and practices of ecumenism in the Caribbean region. In his discussion of Caribbean social pluralism, Davis noted that it was "both a strength and a weakness in the struggle for emancipation" (21). On the positive side, "it engenders a spirit of tolerance for differences between its various groups" (21). On the negative side, it has led to the accommodating of mediocrity. However, the question of the current ecumenical trends in the region requires that we look a little closer at our attitudes of tolerance towards others who are of different religious persuasions.

Although the sharp polarizations between the various Christian denominations of my youth have eased significantly, they have not gone away. Further, new ones have been added to the mix as the religious terrain shifts to accommodate new denominations or the expansion of some and the decline of others. This was and still is the sectarian aspect of Christian life that I found difficult to embrace as a youth. I have been convinced for quite some time that Caribbean ecumenism needs to be established on the basis of a deeper and more universal set of conversations that transcend and are in a more critical relation to the sacred canopies of denominational worship. These conversations would have to be of the nature of the conversations that take place between three different directors of the same play or four different singers of the same song. In other words, it is the story of the same human urge to re-connect with an ungraspable and unfathomable creator that the various religions and denominations have been trying to narrate and dramatize. But it is precisely the lack of growth in these types of conversations that have marked the period following the publication of *Emancipation Still Comin'*.

The need for these more universal and inclusive conversations become all the more clear when we take into account the presence in the region of half a million Hindus, and smaller numbers of Muslims and Yoruba inflected religious worshippers. Significant dialogues have opened up with Christianized Indo- Caribbeans, but not with the majority who have remained Hindu and Muslim. Here the need for ecumenical dialogue is even greater than between the various Christian denominations. As an undergraduate, my interest in Indian philosophy only confirmed the need for these broader ecumenical conversations. I could not bring myself to believe that the masses of Indian people, whether Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, or Muslim, were lost in some state of pre-Christian darkness.

This need for greater ecumenism also extends to church relations with African and Afro-Caribbean religions. As in the case of Indians, Caribbean Christian churches have embraced Christianized Africans and Afro-Caribbeans. In other words, the church has been in dialogue with those Africans who have entered the fold of its sacred canopies and have abandoned their own. It has not been in ecumenical dialogue with those Africans and Afro-Caribbeans who have chosen the fold of their sacred canopies and are willing to invite Christians under its reach. These are canopies in which God and other important spiritual figures are imagined in black giving stimulus to and at the same time echoing the Pan African tradition of theology to which McGuire and Weston were great contribu-

tors. A theological dialogue in search of how these two canopies are different dramatizations of the human desire for encounters with Spirit is yet to fully emerge. Rather what has emerged is an exchange that makes clear the ways in which the Christian canopy can supplement or replace the African and Afro-Caribbean maps of the spiritual kingdom. How these can supplement the Christian canopies is a dialogue that is still to emerge in full.

This imperial legacy of the churches from their colonial past continues to mark relations between Christians and the practitioners of African and Indian religions. In the place of ecumenical dialogue, a cold war, with an absence of real theological and religious exchange, exists between the Christian churches and these other Caribbean religions. Because of this imperial legacy, Davis notes that there has been a push for "the decolonization of Caribbean theology" (72). However, as in so many other cases, this push for theological decolonization has come to a halt well short of the goals of regional ecumenism and theological independence. Thus as Davis further pointed out twenty-two years ago: Caribbean theological and religious vessels are still "carriers of many non-Caribbean goods and services to their own people" (70). This continues very much to be the case today.

Putting together these three counter-trends of new disempowering and impoverishing forces in Caribbean political economies, the progressive eroding of the power of sacred canopies in the region and the modern world, and the premature exhausting of impulses toward ecumenism and theological decolonization, there is no escaping the fact that the Caribbean society of today presents the synthesis of *Emancipation Still Comin'* with much greater challenges than did our society of twenty-two years ago. In the face of these greater challenges, we must now return to our earlier question: is this synthesis still authentic enough to be concretely functional? My answer is that with new injections of energy and more inclusive reforms it is still a sufficiently authentic foundation upon which the Caribbean church can concretely move forward.

To maintain its earlier authenticity and responsiveness to the Caribbean context, Davis must be prepared to introduce some new categories and theories into his synthesis of Caribbean theology and political economy, which will enable it to address creatively the new challenges posed by these and other counter-trends of the past twenty-two years. Advancing the project of a greater freedom through more participatory and worker empowering political economies will require new mass movements such as the Caribbean New Left Movement from which new categories of political economy can be bor-

rowed. There are new participatory stirrings around the world such as the World Social Forum and the Brazilian Solidarity Economy Movement. In spite of being overshadowed by the project of neo-liberal globalization, these movements and other like them have been and will be the originary sites for the new categories and theories of the participatory and worker-empowering political economies of the future. These will have to be the new instruments with which Davis repairs and updates the political economy side of the powerful synthesis that informs his emancipatory theology.

Also needing similar redress and the invigorating of its agency is of course the symbolic life of the church. Here also such a reinvigorating will depend on forces that are beyond the control of the theologian. As the sociologist of religion, Max Weber has pointed out, the reforming and reinvigorating of sacred canopies has been the work of visionary and prophetic figures, who he labeled as charismatic. Sacred canopies he saw as the "routinization" of the charisma of the prophetic figure. By charisma, Weber meant a "gift of grace", an original vision of the ungraspable spiritual terrain and its relation to our lives. Like social movements, prophetic figures emerge rather unpredictably and cannot be produced on demand. However, the cycle of charisma and its routinization operates on a long-term basis. Unfortunately, the current trend of this cycle in our region is clearly towards a fundamentalist response to the modern erosion of the power of the symbols and rituals of the canopies of the church. I can only suggest here the likelihood of the emergence of new forward-looking prophetic figures after the decline of this period of backward-looking attempts at holding onto the aging canopies of the past. In other words, to continue to be true to the specificities of the contemporary Caribbean moment, a new attitude of greater openness to new relations between sacred canopies and living experiences of Spirit is called for.

To revive the growth of Caribbean ecumenism and the push for regional theological independence will also require being more openness to the emergence of new relations between sacred canopies and charismatic or living experiences of Spirit. Ours is a moment that calls for greater reliance on the latter, and on a clearer and more transparent understanding of how and why some gifts of grace get ritually and symbolically transformed or routinized into sacred canopies. A widening of understanding in this area of religious thinking and experience is an imperative if the project of Caribbean ecumenism is to go forward. This more explicit thematizing of religious and theological transformations of more primary spiritual experiences must be done in conjunction with a more radical renewing of the project of decolonizing Caribbean theologies – Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and Yoruba.

Such a more radical approach to this project is now possible as other disciplines upon which Caribbean theologies depended are also being decolonized. For example, a successful decolonization of Caribbean theologies was highly unlikely while Caribbean philosophy was still colonized and externally dependent on European philosophy. Many of the problems that Davis identified in his discussion of the challenges to the decolonization of Caribbean theology mirror the problems I have encountered in the project of decolonizing Caribbean philosophy. Consequently, there is now greater room for cooperation between these two disciplines that could benefit both of them. But, in whatever manner it is achieved, a more radically decolonized theology and a new understanding of relations between living spirituality and theological thinking must be parts of the new synthesis that will be able to reflect and to speak to the new era that is emerging around us.

Conclusion

These are some of the important changes that I think will be needed if Davis' synthesis of theology and political economy is to speak to our time as its earlier version spoke to its period. Context is extremely important for Davis and these changes should help to retain the sensitivity to context that is such a hallmark of his writing. Equally as important, if not more so, are the factors in his synthesis that remain constant in this new period. The unifying thread of a quest for a greater freedom is certainly one of these factors. This quest, which requires of us the simultaneous creating of a people's political economy and a people's church, is a dialectical link of great longevity in the context of the Caribbean. This dialectic has not only longevity but also authenticity as at the level of popular theologizing, where the ethical perfection of the individual, the pursuit of the good, the quest for freedom from sin has consistently been coupled with the transformation of social institutions of injustice and oppression. The popular theology of the Rastafarians makes this link very clear. It is precisely this dialectical link between individual and collective salvation that makes the reforming and renewal of Davis' emancipatory theology possible within the changing Caribbean context.

At the same time, broader changes emanating from within and beyond our region are making it necessary for us to rethink very carefully the complex and symbolic nature of the relationship between sacred canopies and living experiences of spirituality. Ours is a time of increasing global compression that has brought people of different religious persuasions into closer contact, and also into more regular experiences of the scientific ways of thinking that have entered our relationship with God. Consequently,

ours must also be a time that draws closer to that wideness in God's love and mercy, which is broader than the measure of man's mind; a time to let go of those false limits by which we narrow the love of God, and also of that zeal of strictness which He will not own. Ours must be a time for new types of religious exchanges, for the revising and creolizing of spiritual maps, while at the same time understanding more fully their important intermediary role in making Spirit present in our Spirit-resistant everyday world. In short, only more constructive dialogues or new points of agreement from these deeper and more elusive locations will enable us to move Davis' dialectical vision forward during this extremely difficult period that our Caribbean region is going through. We all, but especially those of us here in Antigua and Barbuda, owe a great debt of gratitude to Rev. Davis for writing *Emancipation Still Comin',* a book that is still able to engage us so profoundly twenty-two years later.

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Frederick Stiles Jewett: A Connecticut Poet and Newspaperman in Antigua

Gregory Frohnsdorff

When Connecticut native Frederick Stiles Jewett died at the age of forty-five in 1864, the *Hartford Daily Courant* stated that "among notables in art, he was ranked second to but one marine painter in the country. His paintings, in time, will undoubtedly command high prices."[1] Jewett's work as an artist has indeed come to be appreciated and, consequently, to command high prices—one of his paintings sold for more than $70,000 in 1983[2]—but his earlier accomplishments as a poet and newspaperman are scarcely known. As a teenager, he spent a few years at sea before beginning work on a Hartford newspaper. Later in life he was associated with another Hartford paper. The years in between were spent largely in the West Indies, primarily in Antigua, and this period typically receives but a one- or two-sentence mention in any biographical material on Jewett. Yet Jewett's years in Antigua were especially significant, both for himself, for it was there that he came to feel a sense of self-worth, there that he entered into a lasting marriage, and there that he published his book of poetry; and for the island, where, as a newspaper editor, he facilitated communication, influenced public opinion, and helped bring the news of the world to an isolated community.

Frederick Stiles Jewett was born in Simsbury, Connecticut, in February 1819, the son of lawyer Frederick William Jewett and Charlotte Melissa Jewett, née Phelps. His paternal grandfather, Joseph Jewett, was a notable physician. His other grandfather, Noah Phelps, had served as a general on the American side during the Revolutionary War, and had played a significant role in the capture of Fort Ticonderoga.

Jewett spent much of his youth with his aunt, Frances Pettibone, and her daughter Charlotte. Charlotte Henrietta Pettibone, five years younger than Jewett, remained especially close to Jewett throughout his life. As a schoolboy, Jewett displayed a "propensity for picture-making,"[3] an artistic talent that was really only allowed to flourish during his final years.

Although his later accomplishments suggest he received a good education, schooling must have been too restrictive for Jewett, and close to the time he turned fifteen—shortly after his father died—he had made his way to New York City. In April 1834 he wrote to his mother from New York, informing her that he had "at length succeeded in getting a situation … in a wholesale commission Store" which dealt primarily in oil and candles. This was the firm of Frederick R. Bunker, where Jewett was given "instruc-

tions in Book keeping & writing" and was paid $75 per year "to attend the office, copy bills & invoices, keep accounts of the Delivery & reception of articles," and perform similar tasks.[4]

Jewett did not remain with Bunker long. Perhaps contact with the oil suppliers—hearing of the adventurous lives of the whalers who pursued the oil—sparked in the youth a longing to see the world, and when he was sixteen Jewett set off on a whaling voyage that took him as far away as the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. His experiences at sea helped define him, so that when he returned to Connecticut in 1838, he was a mature young man ready to accept new responsibilities. Many years later, when his passions turned to painting, images of the sea and particularly of whaling remained with him, and it was these that he committed to canvas.

With his wanderlust temporarily, albeit briefly, at bay, Jewett settled in Hartford and focused his attention on literary matters. By 1840 he was an editor and, with Edmund Brewster Green, co-publisher of *The New-England Weekly Review,* a prominent journal that several years earlier had been edited by poet and abolitionist John Greenleaf Whittier. In a June 1840 issue of the publication, Green and Jewett announced their business partnership, stating their desire "to assure the public that no change will be made in the character of the Review," and their "hope to merit a continuation of that patronage which [previously] has been so freely bestowed upon it."[5]

Affiliation with an important journal gave Jewett status as a man of letters and, apparently, the confidence to change his status in another area as well. In December 1840 Jewett married Fanny M. Cook, daughter of Hezekiah S. Cook of Middletown, Connecticut.[6]

Jewett's situation in Hartford was not to last. Whether he had a falling out with his co-publisher, whether he was lured away with a specific offer from another publication, or whether his restlessness returned is not clear, though he later looked back on this period as a time when "everybody had to work hard, & apparently without reward & with little hope."[7] What is clear is that in March 1841, just three months after his marriage, he left both Connecticut and the United States and soon found himself in Jamaica, where he began editorial work on a Kingston newspaper.

Little is known of Jewett's Jamaican sojourn. The newspaper he worked for has been identified in one source as the *Kingston Despatch*,[8] but it is more likely to have been the *Jamaica Despatch.* If so, this was a daily paper

that in 1836 had "a circulation of 1,400 copies [and] had been an object of awe to rival newspaper proprietors."[9] Jewett's new position, then, appears to have been with the most widely circulated of the Jamaican papers.[10]

It must be assumed that Fanny Jewett accompanied her husband to Kingston; however, their life together there would have been short, for she died in January 1842.[11] Thus, in the space of just over a year, Frederick Stiles Jewett had married, moved away from his native land, taken up a new editorial position, and suffered the loss of his wife. This seems to be the period, as well, when he began to view himself seriously as a poet.

For a newspaper editor to turn to poetry was by no means uncommon. It was observed in 1873 that "Most of our poets have been, or are, editors and reporters … connected with the Newspaper Press. [Many] have been political editors, engaged, during their lives, in mixing in equal proportions the muse of Parnassus with the mud of politics."[12]

Jewett had certainly written some poems prior to his marriage, and 1841 saw at least two of the expatriate's works published back in the United States. Each is simply titled "Stanzas," and one may read into them an author's sense of loss and despair—the sentiments, perhaps, of a man who was aware his wife was dying:

Like the oak of the forest when dauntless in pride,
I stood with the sunlight of love by my side;
Like the oak when the red wing of lightning had passed,
I was bowed, for that love was struck down by the blast.

I have dreamed–'twas of bliss; but my dream woke in tears,
And the gloom was yet deepened by gathering fears;
For hope fled away, and, wearied with care,
I sunk to repose on the couch of despair.[13]

Additional poems appeared the following year. "Palenque," a timely piece, coming as it did on the heels of the travels of John Lloyd Stephens and Frederick Catherwood, was published in the April 1842 issue of *Godey's Lady's Book,* and "The Teachings of Nature (Written on the Summit of a Mountain)," saw print in the December 1842 issue of the same magazine. The latter poem was printed with the author's place of residence clearly identified as Kingston, Jamaica.

Jewett may have remained in Jamaica for another year or two, but no later than 1845 he had resettled in St. John's, Antigua, where he lived until 1853. His journalistic credentials had undoubtedly given him some opportunity to move around, and his new affiliation was with *The Antigua Observer*, a newspaper which had begun publication in St. John's in August 1843.

Jewett's responsibilities on this newspaper were great. In a letter to his cousin Charlotte, written in 1846, Jewett discussed these responsibilities at length and also provided interesting insights into his general situation at the time:

> I may mention that I am sole Editor and Publisher of the "Antigua Observer" …. This is a Religious and political paper, published weekly, owned by a company of 40 shareholders, & entirely & independently controlled by your humble servant, who is annually elected to the post by ballot. I acceded to the situation many months since upon the death of the former incumbent, and as since that time, fortune has made me somewhat popular, I am quite independent with a stipulated income approaching upon 600 Dollars per year. I board in a private family—pay 3 dolls per week for my board—am frequently invited out to dinner—ride over the hills on horseback once a week—own a whole pew at Church, which is never empty—bathe in the sea at daybreak every two or three mornings—and smoke a Spanish Cigar immediately after dining, which is invariably at 7 o'Clock in the evening…. I add that I am smiled upon most languishingly by at least twenty young misses and double that number of young widows, and that I am respected and respectable …. At the first thought, it might seem strange to you in America that my paper unites the character of both a Religious and Political one—but you must bear in mind that in this country the Church and State are connected. In Politics the "Observer" is "Liberal" or "Whig," which is much the same as the *"Loco"* Party in America—In Religion it is Protestant, but a "Nonconformist."—So you will observe that I am pretty comfortable …. Providence is lavish in its blessings and I am contented. I have many very kind friends here; if I am sick my wants are attended to; and it may be pleasing to you all at home

> to be assured of my belief, that should I die, I should not go unfollowed nor unwept to my grave. Oh, why could not my native land have afforded me these simple blessings, which I have so readily found among strangers![14]

In another letter home—this one to his Aunt Fanny (i.e., Frances Pettibone) in 1847—he provided additional information about how the paper was run and his role in running it:

> I have the sole management of an establishment second to none in the West Indies, and in the conduct of which I can claim neither assistance, support, or advice. My paper belongs to a *Company,* of some 40 or 50 joint stock-holders—these annually appoint 12 [of their number as] Managing Committee—this Committee employs an Editor—and meets but about two or three times in the course of a year, unless called together by emergency. The proprietors are men of the very highest standing in [the] community—being composed of Clergymen, Lawyers, & Merchants. As these are of various religious sects and politics, *the character of the paper* is by law left to the Editor, who cannot be removed, or impeached, except by vote. In regard to conduct and opinion I am independent. It is, of course, my policy to please the majority; and during my administration … I have been wonderfully successful, & … I retain my position by the *unanimous* wish of every proprietor…. The paper has a powerful influence throughout the islands of the Leeward Government—and I am so presumptuous as to believe that, in the hands of Providence, I have been an instrument of some good.[15]

During Jewett's affiliation with the paper, the *Observer* was issued as a four-page publication on Thursday evenings. The first page of each issue generally included such literary offerings as poems, stories, and essays, but the bulk of the publication was made up of announcements, advertisements, editorial material, letters, and local and foreign news. News of what was happening elsewhere, whether on a neighboring island or as far away as Germany or Russia, was typically extracted from other papers. These papers included not only other West Indian papers, but papers from the United States, Canada, and Europe as well.

The Antigua Observer was not the only newspaper in St. John's at the time. Its two rivals were *The Antigua Herald and Gazette* and *The Antigua Weekly Register*.[16] For the most part, the editors of the different papers maintained a peaceful co-existence—Jewett even recognized one of them as "a gentleman of acknowledged tact and ability"[17]—yet they were not averse to taking frequent, sometimes harsh, digs at one another. For example, in one issue of the *Observer,* Jewett, addressing comments that had appeared in the *Register,* stated, "And so our editor of the Register, detected in his wiliness and Jesuitism, starts up, angry and affrighted, touched by the spear of truth…. A most ludicrous sputter does he make."[18]

Not only was Jewett unafraid to comment on other newspapers and their editors, he was known to stand up for what he felt was right in other areas as well, and on more than one occasion this resulted in legal action being taken against him.

At least at first, though, Jewett came out unscathed in such cases, as when in April 1848 the court decided a libel suit in Jewett's favor:

> The long-pending action against the Editor of the *Antigua Observer,* at the suit of his honor the Chief Judge of the Virgin Islands, for alleged libel, in publishing a letter signed *Fair Play* in that journal in 1846, ended on Monday the 17th ult. in the learned Plaintiff being nonsuited…. We regretted from the beginning that Mr. Justice Gordon was induced to institute this suit … particularly … when the alleged libel contained nothing really reprehensible, or for which the publisher ought to be punished. Mr. Jewett, in inserting it in his paper, acted from the purest motives, and stated nothing offensive to the most delicately sensitive mind, and was influenced alone by the love of truth and justice which we ever hope to see exhibited by those who have command of a press.[19]

Other things turned out well for Jewett in his first years with the *Observer.* For example, when the Legislative Assembly sent out a call for bids to perform the public printing—a desirable and potentially valuable source of income for a colonial printing establishment—"the tender of Mr. Frederick S. Jewett, on behalf of the Proprietors of the 'Antigua Observer,' being the lowest, was accepted."[20] In general, Jewett's newspaper position brought him considerable esteem, satisfying within him a need for recogni-

tion. He became something of a big fish in a small pond, socializing with the prominent men of the community, becoming active as a Freemason, and having a voice that was respected. In the same letter to his aunt mentioned earlier, he asked her to let his mother know that he had recently "dined with His Excellency the Governor General of the Leeward Caribee Islands—Had I not possessed some claim to respectability, I should hardly have had the honor …."[21] In another letter, he pointed out that he had "recd calls from Merchants, and Members of Assembly, Lawyers, & Doctors: the President of a Bank actually came into the street & hailed me as I was passing."[22] But despite the good, there were problems as well. Jewett had various health concerns, which he felt were caused by or made worse by the island's climate; moreover, he became homesick and increasingly began to miss his Connecticut relatives, especially his cousin Charlotte.

Communication between Antigua and New England could be slow and unpredictable, as Jewett himself made clear: "The brig 'Atlantic' from Barbados bound direct to New Haven, has just come to anchor, & by enquiry I learn that she is to proceed on her voyage early to-morrow morning. I cannot well afford a moment's time this afternoon but as this is the first opportunity which has been presented for several months of communicating with any of you 'at home' … I cannot possibly suffer it to pass without sending you one word. It is some seven or eight months since I have heard from you."[23] Jewett's relatives did their best to keep him informed, sending him long letters and supplying him with books, newspapers, and magazines. After receiving one package, Jewett stated, "For the papers & books I cannot be sufficiently thankful—you do not know how much they aid me in making up my paper."[24] His family also sent other things, including walnuts, blackberry preserves, bookmarks, and seals. In 1847 he received several daguerreotypes, and these gave him his first look at his relatives in just over six years. He was disturbed to realize how much things had changed in his absence, especially that Charlotte had grown up: "I do not like the picture as I should …. With a kind of melancholy feeling I … throw myself upon my sofa, and … try to believe that the splendid and dignified *woman* thus pictured, images our little pliant Charlotte—But the resemblance is all gone! ... the girlhood is gone entirely—A beautiful, and sedate woman is there, but she is a stranger!"[25]

About the same time that he was viewing the pictures, Jewett was thinking of making a trip to Connecticut. He had been advised by his physician that travel would be beneficial to his health, and he was eager to see his family again. He had recently returned from a short trip to St. Thomas,

where he had gone "for relaxation and the benefit of a change of air."[26] He had been complaining of "a sort of inactivity of the nervous functions in the chest," something which he had apparently dealt with a few years earlier while in Jamaica, and which caused "dread apprehensions" that at times rendered him "incapable of business."[27] The St. Thomas trip had made him feel better, and he now hoped to take a three-month leave of absence.

Jewett was aware that more than just his family had changed over the past few years. He had heard of "the great changes that are taking place in the United States."[28] He knew that railroads were spreading throughout New England and that the telegraph had made its appearance, and he joked about how he might react to these innovations: "Like a country bumpkin's first visit to a city I shall stare on all sides, & shall need to have some one lead me about to keep me every moment from being run over by some whizzing monster, or from being knocked down by an electrical shock from some magnetic wire."[29] But joking aside, Jewett was excited at the prospect of the trip. "A visit to my home!" he wrote, "How my brain thrills at the very thought! It is the hope of *this,* which has buoyed me up through all the vicissitudes of years—and I ever look forward to it, as to the greenest oasis in the Desert Journey of my life."[30]

Jewett travelled in the summer of 1847 and remained in the United States until late October. The trip home nourished his spirit, but the temporary boost it gave him was counterbalanced by a deepening unhappiness that set in the moment he began his return journey. On 19 November, just over a week after he was back in St. John's, Jewett wrote, "I do not remember to have performed an act, in the course of my whole life, with greater reluctance than I went on board. During my stay in the U. States life had put on a new aspect. I had begun to experience the comforts of *Home*—had learned to feel that I had *relatives* in the world; feelings & affections which had lain dormant for years had been opened afresh—new ties had been formed:—and now, when the moment of departure *actually arrived,* I felt that all was to *be closed over again*—that a long interval of time, and even the very seas were to separate me from these fond endearments—and for the instant *I was almost unmanned.*"[31]

Periods of emotional turmoil often drive the pen of a poet. For week after week upon his return to Antigua, poems written by "YSLA" appeared in the *Observer.* The significance of the initials is unknown, but they served as a pseudonym for Jewett himself. The 25 November issue of his newspaper included "Departure, Written on Embarking for the Island of Antigua":

Farewell to thee, Maiden, the twilight is throwing
  A roseate hue over Nature's decay;
With the mild tints of Autumn the evening is glowing,
  And I from my Meeta must hasten away.

The Red-bird that rests on the yellow-leaf bough
  Is warbling a song of departure in glee;
And the Whip-poor-will, fleeing the season of snow,
  Is wooing a mate for his flight o'er the sea.

These haste in enjoyment: their young spirits yearn
  For the evergreen groves of a sunnier zone,—
But I to the Isles and the blossoms return
  With a desolate heart—for I wander alone!

Sweet voices of welcome are waiting me there,
  And the fond eye of love looketh long on the sea:
But my heart to my home doth a laggard repair,
  For that home is afar, gentle Maiden, from thee.[32]

Less than a month later appeared the poem "To Miss C.H.P.," which included as its second stanza the lines:

Thou to womanhood hast grown,
   Lovely grown;
And the childish joys we knew
When in childhood cares were few,
All have passed, like dreams, from view—
  All have flown—
Yet the fonder love has grown.[33]

Some of these new works were also being published in American periodicals under Jewett's own name. For example, "Rosalie" saw print both in the *Observer* on 2 December 1847 and in the February 1848 issue of New York City's *The Columbian Magazine.* Jewett had entered an extremely creative period, one which was not limited to versification. While in the United States he had renewed old contacts or made new ones that led to his work being placed in a variety of publications. In a letter to Charlotte in February 1848 he mentioned that an article he had written was to have appeared in the *Saturday Courier,* published in Philadelphia, and also that a volume soon to be published by a Mr. Everest contained one of his poems ("He does not tell me the name of the Book, nor *which* piece is in it"), with

"others being reserved for future works."[34] His new-found energy also inspired him to put forth $115 to purchase "a very fine *horse,* for the purpose of trying the effect of horse-back exercise daily." He began to "take a gallop of several miles every day" and felt this was beneficial to his health. The horse was also from Connecticut and had been brought to Antigua shortly after Jewett's return, prompting Jewett to claim, "He is the nearest relation I have this side of the Atlantic."[35]

But Charlotte remained his favorite relation at the more northern side of that ocean. Although a modern reader might wonder about the closeness of the cousins' relationship, it should be viewed, within the context of mid-nineteenth-century sentimentality, as really that of an older brother and younger sister. After all, the two had grown up together, for Jewett had "lived during his childhood and much of his youth with [Frances] Pettibone, who loved him almost as much as an own son."[36] He had been saddened a year earlier to realize that Charlotte had grown up, but he had come to terms with that and remained proud and encouraging of her. In March 1848 she sent him a poem that she herself had written, and this, which he called her "exquisite poetic 'Thought,'" [37] he almost immediately published in the *Observer.* Its first two stanzas follow.

The sun-light is fading,
The bees have done lading
  Their wings with the nectar of flowers;
Their toil they have borne
While the long day has worn,
  To provide for the drear winter hours.

So let us while we can,
Every one to a man,
  Work well for a season to come,—
Without stopping to ask
Have we finished our task?
  Till the night overtaketh our home.[38]

Jewett sent Charlotte a copy of the newspaper containing her poem, and shortly thereafter he mentioned that he was thinking about permanently returning to the United States. He told Charlotte in May 1848, "I have a bold project in my head: and I am half inclined you will deem me silly when I inform you that I am intending to return to America in order *to study for the Bar!*"[39] He felt that his experience in having reported on various court

cases over the past several years—including, perhaps, his own, for which he had recently expressed in print his gratitude to his lawyer "for the consummate legal skill and ability which he so admirably displayed in the defence"[40]—had given him good background knowledge of legal procedure and that he would "make a good lawyer."[41] He planned to support himself in this endeavor by acting as an agent for the sale of tomato pills in the West Indies, and he hoped to "make a tour thro' these islands on Pill business"[42] sometime before August. Tomato pills were an extremely popular patent medicine that, if the advertising of the time could be believed, cured "dyspepsia, jaundice, liver complaints, scrofula, ulcers, … constipation, rheumatism, worms, tumors, nervous face ache, depression of mind, dropsy, female diseases, eruptions of the skin," and just about every other condition imaginable.[43] Although interest in tomato pills had peaked in the United States about ten years earlier, Jewett's continuing interest in the pills can be easily explained, for his uncle, Guy Phelps, was behind one of the most well-known brands.[44] An advertisement appearing in the *Observer* the same month as Jewett's letter announced that Dr. Phelps' Tomato Pills, "the invaluable remedy for diseases peculiar to warm climates," were "sold in St. John's by William Thibou & Co." and "in English Harbor by David M. Malone."[45] Jewett's name was not mentioned, but he may already have had some involvement with the importation or distribution of the advertised pills.

Although Jewett told Charlotte he expected "to reach the U. States as early as August or September,"[46] he was still in Antigua at year's end. His enthusiasm for a career in law evidently proved short lived, and the tomato-pill business, which he thought would "have a fine run in these islands,"[47] brought him no wealth.

His newspaper may not have been bringing in quite enough money either. As a reminder to those subscribers who neglected to pay on time, Jewett sent out a humorous message in June 1848 in the form of a poem entitled "Pay the Printer." It is not known whether he actually wrote the poem, which he introduced with the statement, "We have read some little poetry in our day … but rarely have the tender chords of our soul been touched so sensitively, as while perusing the following …," but its final lines made its message clear:

> For no man ever can expect
>   To finish life's last caper
> In peace, who blindly does neglect
>   To fork up for his paper.[48]

There were in fact other problems taking place at the *Observer,* at least in the eyes of the editor of the *Herald and Gazette,* who felt that some of those problems resulted from the fact that Jewett was a foreigner with "Yankee 'notions.'" Latching onto Jewett's outsider status, the rival editor stated, "It is … a misfortune of no ordinary kind to any country, to have for the conductor of a public Journal a mere bird of passage, an alien—an exotic indeed! without a stake in the hedge, and totally impervious to sympathy with Tax payers."[49]

Jewett was not one to allow setbacks to hold him down for long. He remained active as a Freemason, serving as secretary in Lodge no. 723, which had been established in Antigua only a few years earlier, and, most significantly, he was married not long after the new year began.

On 23 January 1849, Frederick Stiles Jewett and Sarah Jane Steele, "daughter of the late William Steele, Esquire,"[50] were married in the cathedral in St. John's. Jewett had probably known Sarah for nearly as long as he had been on the island—in 1846 he had asked Charlotte to send some flower seeds to a William Steel, "who was formerly a junior clerk with me … for him to plant in his sisters' flower-garden"[51]—and their marriage lasted until Jewett's death.

Just over two weeks after the wedding, Jewett's feelings toward Charlotte were presented again, this time in a poem simply titled "Lines." It appeared in the *Observer* with the explanatory statement, "Inscribed to one who will understand them,"[52] and in it Jewett examined his love for Charlotte, stating in essence that even if they had not been related, even if she had not come from such an admirable family (he alluded to the heroism shown during the Revolutionary War by her Pettibone ancestors), he would still love her. Its timing and the strength of its sentiment suggest that, where his cousin was concerned, Jewett felt somewhat apologetic about his marriage, almost as if he needed to reassure Charlotte—or perhaps himself—that their relationship was still a special one.

In "The Light of Absence," a further poem addressed to Charlotte, Jewett reflected on the fact that he had not seen her for two years:

> Two years! Alas I had not dreamed
> The time thus hurriedly had passed:
> So weary, yet so brief, they've seemed,
> Sweet Cousin, since I saw thee last![53]

The poem is dated "Antigua, Oct. 23": two years to the day since he had sailed away from New Haven, Connecticut, at the end of his 1847 visit to his family. In its second stanza he let be known:

> My memory leaps that silent waste,
> And fancy skims the distant sea,—
> And all the griefs the time has traced
> Evanish in my dreams of thee:
> I seem to hear thy words again,
> And clamorous cares but call in vain;
> I sit beside thee, as of yore,
> And gladness wins me, as before.[54]

Apart from Jewett's marriage, other significant changes were having an effect upon him. Jewett's older brother, Noah Amherst Jewett, an attorney, had died in Albany, New York, in June 1849. In 1850 Charlotte herself married, and in that same year Jewett's connection with the *Observer* came to an abrupt end.

Charlotte Henrietta Pettibone married Horace Winslow, a Congregational Church minister, in New York City on 8 May 1850. The couple, who ultimately had three daughters, lived in Connecticut for much of their married life but spent time in other states as well. When Jewett eventually returned to New England, he got to know Winslow and the two became friends.

Three months before his cousin's marriage, Jewett inserted a lengthy notice in the *Observer* explaining, "With the present issue of this journal, the connection of the present Editor therewith terminates. Various considerations … have induced us to resign our post." He added, "It will be generally remembered that we assumed the control of the paper, under circumstances peculiarly inauspicious: We trust we shall be pardoned for the feeling of pride, or *vanity,* if you will, evinced, in the assertion that we leave it prosperous, influential, and useful." After acknowledging that over the course of his editorship he may have ruffled a few feathers, but that "any severity of manner which we have exhibited, has been induced by a corresponding injustice, which the most forbearing would scarcely have sustained with indifference," he expressed his desire of "retiring upon terms of amity with all." The notice closed with the statement, "Our contemporaries have therefore our best wishes;—the public, our thanks, and our bow."[55]

When the men who worked with Jewett in putting the newspaper together found out that he was leaving, they wrote a letter expressing their admiration for him. Jewett's successor ran the letter, which had been written on 4 February, in the first issue of the newspaper to appear after Jewett's departure:

> Sir:
>
> We the undersigned, Compositors of the *Observer* newspaper, having heard of your intention to resign the Editorial Chair, avail ourselves of this opportunity to thank you heartily for the kindly feelings which you have always evinced towards us, during the period you have had the honor of occupying so important, and honorable a post, in connection with this Journal.
>
> Your invariable attention to our interest, and your generous solicitude of our welfare, entitle you to our particular thanks and gratitude, so long as it shall please the Almighty to spare our lives.
>
> But, Sir, whilst we will regret the loss of your long continued services, it is a great satisfaction to know that your contemplated change will no doubt place you in a better way of promoting your worldly interests.
>
> In conclusion, Sir, we wish yourself and Lady long life, and happiness, together with a renewal of your health and prosperity; and sincerely trust that your Successor in Office will be induced to follow your good example so long as our connection with the *Observer* newspaper shall continue.[56]

The letter was signed by C. C. Mascall and nine others. Jewett's response, written on 5 February, was printed as well:

> Gentlemen:—
>
> I thank you for the kind expression of your regard, tendered on the occasion of my relinquishing the management of the Observer Office. The regret which I must naturally feel at separating from an establishment,

> in which I have long been, heart and mind, engaged, and throughout which the utmost harmony has ever prevailed, is much enhanced by this unexpected demonstration of your regard.
>
> You have undoubtedly overrated my services in your behalf; but if I have been in any degree successful in promoting your welfare, or in carrying out the purposes of the Establishment, justice bids me acknowledge that such success has been largely attributable to your co-operation, and to your industry, willingness, and never-failing good conduct.
>
> Upon whomsoever the future direction of this Office may devolve, with such cheerful and efficient aids, he can hardly fail of success.
>
> Permit me, Gentlemen, to thank you for your generous wishes; and to express my fervent hope that, each and all, you may long enjoy every blessing which is reasonable for mortals to expect.[57]

The Antigua Observer continued without Jewett, lasting into the early twentieth century.[58]

Jewett did not sit idle after severing ties with the paper. Before the year was over he had collected the bulk of his published poems and issued them in book form. *Court of Content; and Other Poems,* a small volume of 84 pages, appeared about the beginning of November. It was printed at the office of Jewett's former newspaper in an "edition … so limited as probably to confine [its] circulation to [the author's] circle [of friends]."[59] Only two or three copies of the original printing are known to have survived, yet *Court of Content* has become Jewett's printed legacy, for the work, which includes thirty-two of his poems, was made available in microform in 1975.[60]

In a short introduction to the book, Jewett indicated that most of the pieces therein had originally been published in periodicals in the United States. "They were written at wide intervals, chiefly in moments of relaxation from occupations of a harassing nature, and, consequently, under circumstances peculiarly inauspicious to literary effort" and were "now collected without material revision."[61] He did not mention that some of the poems actually first saw print in *The Antigua Observer*—for example, "Departure"

was printed in the *Observer* two weeks after his return to Antigua from the United States in 1847 and is extremely unlikely to have appeared anywhere else first—or that the *Court of Content* versions in some cases (e.g., "Palenque"; "Stanzas") differed significantly from earlier printed versions.

Jewett maintained a humility in relation to his poetry which was probably sincere. He admitted that it was "beyond a doubt, faulty."[62] Even so, certainly within the context of its time it holds up rather well, and the best of it may be examined with no contextual restrictions.

Any humility he displayed regarding his editorial skills, however, was much less sincere. Not much more than a year had passed since Jewett's departure from the *Observer* when a new newspaper appeared in Antigua. This paper, *The Antigua Weekly Times,* began in mid-April 1851, and was "published in Ratcliffe Street, in the City of Saint John, every Friday, by Frederick S. Jewett."[63] Jewett included a prospectus on the final page of the first issue to "enable the enquirer to define our intentions":

> This paper will be a zealous and fearless advocate of Colonial interests, and will be identified with whatever tends to advance the prosperity and happiness of our community. It will be especially devoted to the promotion of the Commercial and Agricultural affairs of the island—in the full belief that these considerations should be held paramount with those who take part in our public matters. As a medium of *Commercial* intelligence, this paper will supply a vacancy in the community, which, notwithstanding our various channels of public information, yet exists;—while in *Agricultural* matters, it shall ever engage with that ardor and zeal which must naturally accompany the conviction, that upon this interest all our others depend.
>
> The Weekly Times will watch with vigilance our civil institutions—never failing in its support of the Constitution under which it is our blessing to live; and never relaxing its efforts for the advancement of educational measures—the inculcation of morality—and the perpetuity of law and order….

> In whatever matter the Weekly Times will assume the character of Judge or Censor, it will exercise criticism with liberality; and temper reproof with mildness—ever maintaining the opinion that harshness and personality are impotent weapons, and their use at variance with that decorum which it shall be our careful aim to observe, and which is inseparable from the true dignity of the Press; always implying in our policy the language of a celebrated satirist, "We lash men's *vices* but their *persons* spare."
>
> In short our projected journal will be actuated by a spirit of morality; — it will be honest — independent — purely impartial—and guided rigidly, *under all circumstances,* by the motto—PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN.[64]

Jewett's attention to his new publication during its first year paid off. In the first issue of the paper's second volume, he announced that the number of subscribers had nearly tripled since the paper began and that the *Weekly Times* was now "in point of influence and respectability, occupying a position in the front rank of West Indian journals." He further stated, "The advantages thus afforded by a wide and increasing popularity, have been sensibly appreciated by those desiring a channel of commercial publicity—and our business department, as the reader may have noticed, has become the favorite advertising medium of the trading community."[65]

Thus, by Jewett's own account, 1852 looked to be a good year for the *Weekly Times.* In addition, Jewett still had time to devote to interests unrelated to his paper. As an officer in his Masonic lodge, which had more than sixty members, he had risen in rank to Junior Warden just before the year began and to Senior Warden at year's end.[66] He allowed his interest in art to resurface when he became an overseas subscriber to the Council of the Art-Union of London, one of nearly fifty subscribers reported for Antigua that year.[67]

Literary arts in particular experienced continuing support in Antigua in 1852. A new library known as the Antigua Circulating Library was established in April with an initial collection of 300 volumes; the collection had doubled in size a few months later. Jewett gave the institution his endorsement when he wrote, "All measures for the diffusion of knowledge are entitled to our encouragement; and this, among them, has our good wish-

es."[68] In August it was announced that a new magazine "devoted … to Literature and Science"[69] was in the planning stages, and a book of poems by Agnes F. Satchell, the wife of a Wesleyan missionary, was issued just before the end of the year.[70]

But harsh times, both for Jewett himself and for the community at large, were already beginning. Jewett had customarily been paid for running certain types of official notices in his newspaper, but in August one of his requests for payment was not honored. He had expected just over £18, but the Assembly had formed a committee to examine the request, eventually reducing the amount granted to less than £4. In October, Jewett was called into court "for publishing in his paper … offensive letters written by Dr. Agar."[71] After the matter had been addressed, both Jewett and the author of the letters were sentenced to pay the costs of the proceedings. Jewett had evidently printed the letters as a paid advertisement rather than as a communication and felt that his sentence was unfair. Nonetheless, he wrote that "the Court … has, in its wisdom, pronounced us guilty; and we cheerfully submit to its judgment, irrespective of individual convictions."[72]

As 1852 was coming to an end, Jewett on Christmas Eve acknowledged in print that Antigua itself was suffering:

> We embrace the opportunity presented in the return of the Christmas anniversary, to tender to our readers the usual compliments of the season, and to convey to them our cordial wishes for their increased happiness. In conforming to this custom, we regret that the congratulations originating in the blessings secured in the event we commemorate, must be accompanied by but few founded upon enjoyments springing from our temporal concerns. Although the island has of late been favored with heavy rains, and the hopes of the agriculturalist have been somewhat enlivened thereby, the prevailing and unprecedented commercial depression has imparted to the season a shade of gloom. The depression is, probably, in some degree influenced by the rains, which, by stimulating the growth of the canes over that of the weeds, or clogging the soil, have operated against the extended employment of the laborers, and, in many instances, reduced the expenditure of the estates. And, as a greater portion of the wages received, at this time of the

> year, by the laborers, finds its way into the hands of the shopkeepers, the reduced expenditure is sensibly felt in the trade, and the falling off extends to all classes.[73]

The situation worsened over the following year. Jewett carried on as best he could, but he was not exempt from the effects of the depression. In April he wrote, "it is certain that trade has never before been so completely prostrated as at present—that money was never so scarce. Merchants and shopkeepers feel this distress keenly; artizans [*sic*], for the want of employ, still more so—and printers worse than all."[74] A few weeks later, a follow-up to the previous year's legal conflicts affected him greatly. He once again faced charges of libel, accused of having "made repeated attacks … through the columns of his paper."[75] This suit, according to Jewett, was "instituted … by Mr. Peter P. Walter, a baker of this city and member of the House of Assembly … in consequence of our having on several occasions expressed our opinion … that Mr. Walter was not possessed of the requisite intellectual qualifications to render him a fit member of the House of Assembly."[76] Although Jewett's lawyer "clearly showed that the 'attacks' … were the legitimate weapons of political warfare" and that Walter "in his political aspirations had been much more mildly dealt by than political characters are, every day, by the newspapers in England," Jewett was ordered to pay damages of £10, plus court costs.[77]

As had been the case the previous October, Jewett found the outcome unfair. He felt that his writings had been directed exclusively and legitimately at Walter's political doings, and that they had neither been aimed at nor caused harm to Walter in his private capacity. Those sharing Jewett's opinion included the editor of a Barbados newspaper, who wrote, "From what we can gather Mr. Walter had much better have taken no notice of the attacks in question."[78]

Though Jewett had reached a point of personal financial concern, an official announcement in mid-May that the British government expected repayment of loans it had earlier made to Antigua served as a reminder that Jewett's experience was taking place within the context of a much larger crisis. He observed to his readers that the announcement "imparts the melancholy tidings that all hope of further indulgence in the payment of the loan instalment is at an end. It is needless to add one additional comment upon this painful topic—nor have we the ability faithfully to depict the distress which we fear must become speedily witnessed in our Island."[79]

Less than a month later Jewett made an announcement of his own:

> The connection of Mr. F. S. Jewett with this journal, ceases with the present issue. Its proprietorship having passed into other hands, it will, in future, be conducted by Mr. Paul Horsford.
>
> Our retirement from the position which we have so long occupied before the public, is accompanied by painful sensations. We cannot but regret the permanent interruption to the pleasant, and, we trust, not profitless, communication which we have long held with our readers; and we eagerly embrace the opportunity of returning our thanks for the support which has enabled us to establish our journal in its present position. We leave it as a monument, less of intellectual ability, than of steady determination, toil, and diligent application, which were themselves born of the indulgence and encouragement of an enlightened community. We relinquish it in full confidence of its perpetuity. Under the control of its new Editor—who abundantly supplies any want of experience, with the endowments and qualities essential to the complete success of his new undertaking—the great purposes of its existence will be ably served. As we cannot be indifferent to its future success, these qualities are the source of satisfaction to ourself, as well as of congratulation to our readers. We therefore solicit on his behalf a continuation of the patronage which has been so liberally accorded to us—and we endorse the solicitation with our assurance that such patronage will be merited….[80]

Several years earlier, in April 1846, Jewett had suggested that his younger brother ought to consider coming to Antigua, for "he might accumulate a rapid fortune here."[81] But times had changed, and many of those who had connections elsewhere and the means to do so were leaving the island. It was not much longer before Jewett and his wife were among them.

They settled in Hartford, Connecticut, where Jewett was able to concentrate on his art. His abilities in both drawing and painting were acknowledged almost immediately. A committee judging works exhibited

at the 1854 Hartford County Fair not only noted that "the sketches submitted by F. S. Jewett … evinced considerable talent in the use of the pencil," it also awarded him a silver medal for his "fine painting in oil."[82] The committee for the following year's fair gave him a gold medal "for best Landscape Composition."[83]

This new path for Jewett took him through the final years of his life, bringing him prestige but not, in itself, enough income. Setting himself up as an art instructor, he also continued with newspaper work, served as a Hartford alderman, and took a position with an insurance company. One of Jewett's art students was Gurdon Trumbull, described in 1879 as "the finest fish-painter of America."[84] Jewett himself kept learning, studying in Europe in 1857 and 1858 "under the best French and English teachers."[85] When he returned from his studies abroad, the *New York Times,* acknowledging his rapid rise as an artist, announced that "Mr. F. S. Jewett, the celebrated marine painter, has returned to his home in Hartford."[86]

Jewett's work as a painter has been briefly discussed in a few reference works but is worthy of much more attention. A search of the online Smithsonian American Art Museum Art Inventories Catalog provides basic information about some of his paintings,[87] and an example of one owned by the Mattatuck Museum in Waterbury, Connecticut, may be viewed through that institution's website.[88]

The focus here, however, has been on Jewett's accomplishments in Antigua. Frederick Stiles Jewett served his adopted community well. When he gained editorial control of *The Antigua Observer* and realized he had a voice that counted, he took great satisfaction in that knowledge. Yet his satisfaction was tempered by a sense of duty, a sense that remained with him throughout his tenure at both the *Observer* and the *Antigua Weekly Times.* As time passed, he came to find fault with his island home—especially the climate and its perceived effects on his health—but any unhappiness he felt resulted, initially, more from what he had given up, and particularly from his isolation from his family, than from his experiences in St. John's. Later, however, other factors weighed in. Jewett suffered financially, both at the hands of the law and as a victim of a generally sinking economy.

His time on the island thus came to an end; however, having spent more or less a decade in Antigua, Jewett had left his mark. Information should be a valuable commodity in any modern community, and Jewett's efforts to supply accurate and timely information were indeed valuable in facili-

tating interactions and awareness among the people of Antigua at the time he was publishing his newspapers, and they have remained valuable today for having produced a rich historical record of that time.

As a poet, Jewett's ambitions and dedication were never as high as those he later displayed as a painter. Yet his poetry is not without merit, and the fact that *Court of Content* has been preserved in the *American Poetry* microfilm series allows today's students of literature the opportunity to give his poems fair evaluation. Jewett also presented works by other American poets to an Antiguan audience. For example, Edgar Allan Poe's "The Bells" was published in the *Weekly Review* in 1853.[89] Though this was four years after Poe's death, it was likely the first encounter most readers on the island would have had with that famous work.

Frederick Stiles Jewett died in December 1864. He had gained a certain level of fame as a painter, but he deserves recognition for his literary efforts as well. Perhaps now, with some attention having been focused on his West Indian years, this will be possible.

From the *Hartford Daily Courant:*

> Information was received here yesterday of the death of Frederick S. Jewett, formerly First Selectman of this town …. Mr. Jewett was a man of more than ordinary ability. His life was an eventful one….[90]

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1 *Hartford Daily Courant,* 28 December 1864.

2 This was the 1860 painting *Ship* Huntress *off the Cape of Good Hope*, included in Sotheby's New York sale no. 5130 (fourth part of the sale of the Barbara Johnson Whaling Collection).

3 H. W. French, *Art and Artists in Connecticut*, The Pioneers of Art in America (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1879), 104.

4 Frederick Stiles Jewett to Charlotte Melissa Jewett, New York, 30 April 1834, Simsbury Historical Society, Simsbury, Ct.

5 *New-England Weekly Review*, 27 June 1840.

6 Oliver Seymour Phelps and Andrew T. Servin, comps., *The Phelps Family of America, and Their English Ancestors, with Copies of Wills, Deeds, Letters, and Other Interesting Papers, Coats of Arms and Valuable Records*, vol. 2 (Pittsfield, Mass.: Eagle Publishing Co., 1899), 964; Kristin Noel Millich Rivers, "ID: I7753; Name: Fanny M. Cook," *Kristin Noel Millich Rivers' Full Tree So Far...* , http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=knrivers&id=I7753 (accessed 28 January 2012).

7 Frederick Stiles Jewett to Frances Pettibone, Antigua, 19 April 1847, private collection.

8 *Commemorative Biographical Record of Hartford County, Connecticut, Containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens, and of Many of the Early Settled Families* (Chicago: J. H. Beers & Co., 1901), 608.

9 Roderick Cave, "The Jamaican Press Viewed from King's House: Governor Darling's Report to the Colonial Office, 1861," *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History* 2 (Winter 1985): 12.

10 The full title of the *Jamaica Despatch* at the time Jewett was in Kingston was probably *The Jamaica Despatch, Chronicle, and Gazette*. See Howard S. Pactor, comp., *Colonial British Caribbean Newspapers: A Bibliography and Directory*, Bibliographies and Indexes in World History, no. 19 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 63.

11 Rivers (accessed 28 January 2012).

12 Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 328.

13 These are the final two stanzas of the poem "Stanzas" that was published in: S. G. Goodrich, ed., *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir, a Christmas and New Year's Present* (Boston: W. D. Ticknor, 1841), [49]-50. The other "Stanzas" appeared in *The Ladies' Companion* 14 (1841), 145.

[14] Frederick Stiles Jewett to Charlotte H. Pettibone, St. John's, Antigua, 17 April 1846, private collection.
[15] Jewett to F. Pettibone.
[16] The title of the former was at times presented with an ampersand rather than the word *and*. For a list of Antigua newspapers, see Pactor, [1]-8.
[17] *Antigua Observer*, 2 August 1849. Jewett was referring to Robert Sproule Heagan.
[18] *Antigua Observer*, 30 November 1848.
[19] Extract from *Dominica Colonist* included in *Antigua Observer*, 1 June 1848.
[20] *Antigua Observer*, 25 November 1847.
[21] Jewett to F. Pettibone.
[22] Frederick Stiles Jewett to Charlotte H. Pettibone, St. John's, Antigua, 19 November 1847, private collection.
[23] Jewett to C. H. Pettibone, 17 April 1846.
[24] Jewett to F. Pettibone.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Frederick Stiles Jewett to Charlotte H. Pettibone, Antigua, 8 May 1847, private collection.
[31] Jewett to C. H. Pettibone, 19 November 1847.
[32] *Antigua Observer*, 25 November 1847. The text presented here, however, is, apart from the title, taken from a reprint of the poem in *Court of Content; and Other Poems* (p. [76]; see n59 for publication details) and may differ slightly from that appearing in the newspaper.
[33] *Antigua Observer*, 23 December 1847.
[34] Frederick Stiles Jewett to Charlotte H. Pettibone, Antigua, 10 February 1848, private collection. The Reverend Charles William Everest had edited several of the gift annuals popular in the mid-nineteenth century (e.g., *The Moss-Rose*, *The Hare-Bell*). The poem referred to was probably "Departure," which appeared in *The Primrose* not much later.
[35] Ibid.
[36] *Commemorative Biographical Record of Hartford County, Connecticut*, 608.
[37] Frederick Stiles Jewett to Charlotte H. Pettibone, St. John's, Antigua, 29 May 1848, private collection.

[38] From Charlotte Henrietta Pettibone, "A Thought," published in *Antigua Observer*, 13 April 1848.
[39] Jewett to C. H. Pettibone, 29 May 1848.
[40] *Antigua Observer*, 20 April 1848.
[41] Jewett to C. H. Pettibone, 29 May 1848.
[42] Ibid.
[43] *Antigua Observer*, 4 May 1848.
[44] See Andrew F. Smith, *The Tomato in America: Early History, Culture, and Cookery* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994; reprint, Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 102-131.
[45] *Antigua Observer*, 4 May 1848.
[46] Jewett to C. H. Pettibone, 29 May 1848.
[47] Ibid.
[48] *Antigua Observer*, 22 June 1848.
[49] *Antigua Herald & Gazette*, 24 February 1849. The problems perceived by the editor of the *Herald & Gazette* may have been what led to an advertisement appearing in his newspaper on 5 May 1849: "For sale, A few Shares in the Proprietorship of the Observer Newspaper…."
[50] *Antigua Observer*, 25 January 1849. The announcement appearing in the *Herald & Gazette* two days later identified Sarah Jane as "third daughter of the late William Steel, Esquire."
[51] Jewett to C. H. Pettibone, 17 April 1846.
[52] *Antigua Observer*, 8 February 1849.
[53] *Antigua Observer*, 1 November 1849.
[54] Ibid.
[55] *Antigua Observer*, 7 February 1850. Jewett may have felt that through some of the backlash to his writings over the previous year he had lost too much public support. For example, six months earlier, in the 4 August 1849 issue of the *Herald and Gazette*, one letter writer had said of him, "The man who professes to be a Christian, *a Mason* and a Gentleman … is unworthy to pass his existence in a country so famed for civilization as our little Island."
[56] *Antigua Observer*, 14 February 1850.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Today's *Daily Observer* (St. John's, Antigua) and its affiliated publications are not a continuation of Jewett's newspaper. John A. Lent indicates that the last known issue of the *Observer* which had begun in 1843 dates from 1903. See John A. Lent, "Oldest Existing Commonwealth Caribbean Newspapers," *Caribbean Quarterly* 22 (December 1976), 99.
[59] Frederick S. Jewett, *Court of Content; and Other Poems* (Antigua:

Printed for the Author [by Joseph Phillips, at the Observer Office], 1850), [5].

[60] The microfilm version is included in *American Poetry, 1609-1900*, Segment II, no. 1138 (New Haven, Ct.: Research Publications, 1975). The copy filmed, now held by the John Hay Library at Brown University, was originally presented to "Rev. C. W. Everest … With best compliments …." Contents: Court of Content, The Dreamer, The Winter of the Heart, To the Earth, Never Despair, The Light of Absence, The Destiny, Woman's Faith, To Minna, Palenque, The Young Husband to His Bride, His Pharos has Fallen, Sea Song, The Stranger, Lizzie Mills, Ballad, Parting, A Page of Nature, The Mother's Prayer, A Lament, Moonlight, I Know That He Loves Me, The Deserted, To Charlotte Henrietta, Stanzas, The Shore of Wrecks, Departure, A Tropic Evening, Elegiac, Stanzas, A Charade, A Paraphrase.

[61] Jewett, *Court of Content*, [5].

[62] Ibid.

[63] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 11 April 1851.

[64] Ibid.

[65] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 9 April 1852.

[66] See *Freemasons' Quarterly Magazine* 1 n.s. (1853), 210-211; and *Antigua Weekly Times*, 2 January 1852.

[67] *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Council of the Art-Union of London: With List of Subscribers* (London, 1852), 60, [108].

[68] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 30 April 1852.

[69] See *Antigua Weekly Times*, 20 August 1852.

[70] This was her *Miscellaneous Poems* (Antigua, 1852), announced in *Antigua Weekly Times*, 19 November 1852. For Jewett's comments on the book, see *Antigua Weekly Times*, 14 January 1853.

[71] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 22 October 1852.

[72] Ibid.

[73] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 24 December 1852.

[74] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 8 April 1853.

[75] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 29 April 1853.

[76] Ibid.

[77] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 6 May 1853.

[78] Extract from *Barbados Globe* included in *Antigua Weekly Times*, 17 June 1853.

[79] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 20 May 1853.

[80] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 10 June 1853.

[81] Jewett to C. H. Pettibone, 17 April 1846.

[82] *Transactions of the Conn. State Agricultural Society, for the Year 1854, with the Reports of the County Societies for the Same Year* (Hartford: Press of Case, Tiffany and Co., 1855), 186-187, 190.

[83] *Transactions of the Conn. State Agricultural Society, for the Year 1855, with the Reports of the County Societies for the Same Year* (Hartford: Press of Case, Tiffany and Co., 1856), 116.

[84] French, *Art and Artists in Connecticut*, 150.

[85] Ibid, 104.

[86] *New York Times*, 9 August 1858.

[87] Information about the database and a link to its search page may be seen at http://sirismm.si.edu/siris/aboutari.htm (accessed 28 January 2012).

[88] See http://www.mattatuckcollections.org/Obj933$255 (accessed 28 January 2012).

[89] *Antigua Weekly Times*, 20 May 1853.

[90] *Hartford Daily Courant*, 28 December 1864.

Through an Enlightened Lens? Luffman's View of Antigua in the 1780s
Robert Glen

Luffman, John. *A Brief Account of the Island of Antigua, Together with the Customs and Manners of Its Inhabitants, as well White as Black: As Also an Accurate Statement of the Food, Cloathing, Labor, and Punishment, of Slaves. In Letters to a Friend, Written in the years 1786, 1787, 1788*. London: T. Cadell

(1789)

When John Luffman sailed for Antigua in 1786, he was an obscure London engraver who specialized in map making. He gained only moderate fame after he returned to England two years later and has remained a somewhat enigmatic figure for scholars down to the present day. Yet the main result of the trip, his book entitled *A Brief Account of the Island of Antigua*, has the distinction of being one of the few works published in the eighteenth century that was entirely devoted to Antigua. Its survey of politics, society, culture, and natural phenomena furnishes a compendium of facts and observations that had not been available in any published work up to that time, and it continues to be regarded as a major source of information on the island's early history. Moreover, among Luffman's accounts of flora and fauna, clothing styles and curious customs, he offers extensive commentary on the island's government and the slave owners' treatment of Antiguan slaves. His work thus serves not only as an important early description of one of Britain's richest colonial territories but also as a critique of important aspects of British imperial administration.

Much of Luffman's life remains obscure. He kept a shop in the Strand in London during the Regency period, and he was undoubtedly the John Luffman of the Strand who died in November 1821 at the age of seventy. Thus, he is probably also the John Luffman who born less than a mile away in Cripplegate in November 1751. He would then have been fourteen years old when he was apprenticed to John Bayly, a London engraver, in early 1766.[1] Yet there are many unanswered questions regarding his identity. A John Luffman began work at the Survey Office of the Portsmouth Dockyard in 1773, he was still there in the 1780s, and he began receiving a government pension of one hundred pounds per year in 1805. There have been some suggestions that this man was also the map maker who worked in London from time to time. The main task of the Survey Office

was not to survey land, however, but to inspect (that is, "survey") financial accounts and manage dockyard inventories. Luffman of Portsmouth, moreover, signed an official document in England in 1787 during the time that Luffman of London was in Antigua.[2] It seems safe to say they were two different men. They may have been related, of course, but no links between the two have yet been discovered.

The first extant works of John Luffman the London engraver are six maps dated 8 February 1776. They were included with maps engraved by others in George Taylor and Andrew Skinner's compilation of Scottish road maps.[3] In the same year, Luffman also engraved at least three of the sheets in another set of road maps.[4] While his career seems to have been off to a good start, over the next few years his extant work includes only a handful of maps and other works.[5] He presumably completed additional items that are unsigned or have not survived. Yet he was probably also gaining a sense of how precarious the engraving trade could be, especially during the economic downturn that accompanied the British war with the rebellious American colonies. Even his erstwhile employers, Taylor and Skinner, were able to sell only about half of the copies of their Scottish road map collection and had to appeal to the government for help. By 1779 they were in America where they received posts with the British army that involved, among other things, preparing a survey and plan of Charleston, South Carolina. They returned to Britain in the latter part of 1782.[6] Taylor and Skinner's problems—and their solution—were probably not lost on Luffman. One of his few extant works from this period, the *Plan of the French Attacks upon the Island of Grenada…July 1779*, was most likely a government commission. Later, he indicated that he had crossed the Atlantic at least once prior to his trip to Antigua (92).[7] Perhaps this occurred in the early 1780s when there is a gap in his biographical information. It is even conceivable that he joined the Taylor-Skinner survey mission to the New World. The American Revolution officially ended in 1783, and Luffman is next seen in business as an engraver in a shop in London in 1784-85. He departed for Antigua in March 1786.

While the text of *Brief Account* gives no explicit discussion of his occupation during his two-year sojourn in Antigua, the map of the island that was issued with the book offers some relevant information. It states that it was derived from a map published in Antigua that was based on an actual survey carried out in 1787 and 1788. A large map of Antigua was indeed published by Luffman while he was still on the island.[8] It contained estate owners' names, a long list of subscribers, and much additional information.

The map derived from it and presented as the frontispiece of the *Brief Account* is smaller and greatly simplified. Among other things, it uses little circles to indicate the locations of sugar grinding mills but omits the names of the planters who owned the mills, information that was available on the larger map. Some of Luffman's time in Antigua was clearly devoted to mapping the island. Was he in the employ of the British government during that time? Possibly, but evidence on the subject remains elusive. While a later work refers to Luffman's patron and patroness,[9] it is not known who they were, where they were located (it was presumably England or Antigua), or precisely why they would have patronized an obscure mapmaker.

Luffman provides no formal introduction or conclusion to the *Brief Account* and offers no other explanation of what he is trying to do or summary of what he has accomplished. The account is presented wholly in epistolary form and mostly as an entertaining travelogue, a familiar genre which typically featured British observers reporting on their experiences in foreign lands or in scenic or curious corners of the British Isles. Luffman presents many of his lighter topics in scattered passages. At the outset, for instance, he tells his readers a few things about his living arrangements. He arrived on 6 May 1786 and by the end of the month had leased a house—"a palace of timber," he calls it—which was newly built and, he optimistically adds, "therefore, probably, free from vermin." It may have been on the south side of St. John's since he writes that he has a good view of the Shakerly Mountains which are located in southeastern Antigua. He hired a slave to be his servant and a mulatto woman, presumably also a slave, to be his cook (5-6, 8-10). By June he had fallen into a routine. "I write this from the platform [veranda] of my Indian villa," he states in his third letter, "where I generally pass away the hour from six till seven every morning, reading, writing, or walking…" (11).[10]

He later states that he has chickens and at least one lamb and a milch goat (38), and he gives a delightful description of the hummingbirds nesting next to his house: "I have a family of these little beauties, in a calabash tree, adjoining my house, which affords me pleasure and contemplation; this extraordinary work of nature makes its nest of cotton, and is particularly careful of its young…" (56-7). Early on, he also mentions the "mosketos" and the prickly heat which has given him a rash that "itches intollerable [sic]" (7, 14). By the thirty-sixth letter he reveals that Antigua is actually a "hot bed" for vermin, many examples of which he has found in his own house. They include ants, cockroaches, lizards, and also chiggers that attack the feet: "Some people here say it is a pleasure to have one

of these creatures, that the sensation they cause is amusing." Luffman does not agree. He says that he has had chiggers, too, and would rather "have their room than their company" (158-62).

Luffman includes scattered theatrical allusions in his letters along with descriptions of the plays performed in St. John's in 1788. He clearly had an interest in the stage. At one point, for example, he states that the battalions of the Antigua militia "remind me of Shakespeare's description of Jack-Falstaff's heroes" (173). Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and Richard Cumberland's *The West Indian* (1771) were among the productions he saw at the unfinished Freemasons' Lodge on the east side of town (155-6). Some, or perhaps all, of the performances were held in order to raise money for the completion of the building.[11] Luffman mentions fund raising specifically in conjunction with Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved* (1682), which was performed early in 1788, and again in reference to Samuel Foote's *Mayor of Garratt* (1764). The proceeds were impressive, around one hundred pounds each night. The "orchestra" that accompanied these productions was really just the band of the 67th Regiment conducted by Mr. Green, the organist in St. John's Church (119-21).

Luffman refers to the actors as "gentlemen of the island" and in another passage to "the abilities of the gentlemen performers" (119, 137). Besides being amateurs, in other words, all the actors were men just as they had been in the English theater down to the Restoration period. He describes a performance of *Jane Shore* (1714) in which the title character was played by a man—"he spoke it well, but looked it ill." The character of Dumont was played by "Mr. M-t-n," whom Luffman praises as "a finished actor." Possibly he was a member of the distinguished Martin family of Green Castle estate (171).[12] For all his admiration of the Antiguan theatrical productions, he appreciated the London stage immeasurably more and looked forward to "the pleasure of hearing the inchanting [sic] notes of a Billington, the admired declamation of a Siddons, the laughable buffoonery of an Edwin, or the dry humour of a Quick, or a Parsons" (156).[13] Around that time, a new edition of Shakespeare's plays was published in London. There were many subscribers including two Antiguans, the planter Henry Lightfoot and "Mr. John Luffman."[14]

Amidst the scattered anecdotes of the *Brief Account* there are some notable set pieces. One deals with the visit Prince William Henry (39-42), who later succeeded his brother on the English throne as King William IV. At this point in his life, the prince was serving as an officer in the Royal

Navy. From the time of his arrival in Antigua in December 1786, his sojourn was a continual round of dinners, balls, and public appearances, with the young prince almost always under the watchful eye of Capt. Horatio Nelson. Among other things, Luffman notes that the prince danced on more than one occasion with an attractive Antigua woman he discreetly refers to as "Miss A—."[15] Luffman's respectful account of the prince's visit furnished the basis for narratives of the episode found in various nineteenth and early twentieth century histories, but it is mostly neglected now that William Henry's private correspondence has become available.[16] Among other things, historians have learned that just before arriving in Antigua, the prince and his party visited a Barbados brothel and left hundreds of pounds worth of damage in their wake, this according to the brothel-keeper.

For his part, the prince was complaining around this time of another outbreak of venereal disease, specifically of "a sore I had contracted in a most extraordinary manner in my pursuit of the *Dames des Couleurs*." It is in that condition that he arrived in Antigua. That he did not pursue a dalliance with Miss A— is perhaps not surprising for that reason and also because she is identified in other sources as Anne Athill, the daughter of a prominent Antiguan doctor. A social historian has recently written the following about Prince William Henry and his brothers: "All the royal brothers were dedicated lechers, with the possible exception of the Duke of Kent. The Duke of Clarence [Prince William Henry] had ten illegitimate children by Mrs. Jordan…and the Duke of Cumberland was rumoured to be guilty of incest." Mrs. Jordan was a famous actress with whom the prince began a long-term affair in 1791 soon after his return to England. He paid her eight hundred guineas a year for two decades which meant that their affair took place on a different financial level than the serial encounters with prostitutes and other women that he had enjoyed while in the New World.[17] For his part, Luffman supported constitutional monarchy and probably would not have divulged any of the indiscretions of the prince even if they had came to his attention. It was during William IV's reign (1830-37), incidentally, that slavery was abolished in the British empire.

Another set piece involves a funeral in St. John's that Luffman found quite droll (73-7). The parish sexton went around town to recruit people who would be willing to attend, and Luffman acquiesced even though he was not acquainted with the deceased individual. He soon wished that he had "the pencil of a Bunbury"[18] so that he could make drawings of the mourners. Most, it seems, turned up in borrowed clothes whose main char-

acteristics were "the indifferent fitting, and the still worse color, for many of the coats, disdaining to be black, have changed from that hue to brown." The coffin was set out on two tables with "three or four negroe [sic] and mulatto women crying and making a noise over it, as if in real sorrow." The procession to the graveyard likewise amused Luffman. "The hearse is more like a London bottle cart, than any other carriage I have ever seen, and we imitate your nodding plumes, with grizzled horse tails, shaped not very unlike old wigs fixed upon a kind of mopsticks [sic]: so much for funerals."

Beyond the copious travelogue material, it is possible to identify a few more serious objectives. Without stating his intentions, Luffman was able to: (1) provide basic information on a rich British colony, facts that a geographer would deem interesting and useful to the general reading public; (2) analyze colonial government operations and suggest improvements; (3) offer ways to promote the growth of the white settler population of the island; and (4) furnish ideas on how to improve the functioning of the island's slave system.

Early in the *Brief Account*, Luffman provides descriptions of Antigua's main towns, including English Harbour (29-31), Parham, and other centers of population (26-8). The capital, St. John's (20-6), receives the most attention, of course, with considerable space being devoted to the Anglican church, the impressive court house and nearby jail, the customs house, and on the east side of town, the new barracks and military hospital. These buildings, when viewed in conjunction with the theatrical performances, dancing assemblies, and other social and cultural developments, may prompt readers to consider whether St. John's qualifies as one of the colonial towns that was undergoing what Peter Borsay has described as an "English urban renaissance." Along with Philadelphia, Boston and Charleston, South Carolina, it certainly seems that St. John's satisfies Borsay's criteria, and there were probably other examples of "urban renaissances" in the British West Indies.[19]

Luffman has much to say about food and drink, including alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages (claret, grog, tea, and goats' milk) and the water supply. He notes that the latter is mainly derived from rain water collected in stone cisterns and then "filtered through a Barbadoes stone, which renders it free from animalcula, or any disagreeable quality it might have contracted by being kept in the tank. It is exceedingly soft, and well flavored…" (60-1). He talks about imported foodstuffs, including flour from the United States, and locally grown items such as yams, cassavas,

pineapples, and cashews (62-8). His discussions of local fauna (54-9) and flora (68-72) are necessarily selective but can be supplemented by material found in other letters. The list of fauna, for example, can be extended by the discussion of "vermin" mentioned above, and the examples of Antigua flora should be read in conjunction with his separate treatment of edible island produce.

There are other pieces of miscellaneous information that are of interest. In various passages he provides details on currency exchange rates. The figures he gives indicate that one pound of local currency equaled about six-tenths of a pound sterling. That meant that a multiplier of 1.67 would to be used to transform local currency amounts into sterling.[20] Other exchange rates are given for the Spanish dollar, the bit, and the Joannes or "joe" (9, 54, 96, 121). He mentions earthquakes a number of times (19, 67, 123, 144, 170). On 16 May 1788, for example, he wrote: "This morning while I sat at breakfast, the earth shook violently three or four times, many of the whites as well as negroes were much alarmed and ran into the street" (154). In his sole discussion of a wind storm, he calls it a "little *puff*." He does not seem to have experienced a full hurricane during his stay (97-8).

Another of Luffman's implicit objectives was to point out deficiencies in the Antiguan government and, in some cases, to suggest solutions. He notes that governors who have been popular have not always enforced the laws, while governors who have been "active," that is strict in their management of government affairs, have rarely been popular (164-7). There were problems with the courts, which, like the theatre, seemed to fascinate Luffman. He provides gossipy details on an adultery case (an old planter's involvement with the young wife of a schoolmaster, 168-70). He also mentions the cases of two Jews convicted of robbing a fellow Jew (147-8)[21] and of a free black man named Richard who was convicted of killing a slave and sentenced to death (147). One of the major problems with the courts, according to Luffman, was the quality of the judges who were usually men chosen from among the island's planters. Luffman states that judges "are frequently dictated to and even directed by the Barristers…." Symbolic of these problems was the fact that when Luffman arrived in 1786, the position of Chief Judge remained vacant and was filled when necessary by the governor. Luffman states that he knows a gentleman in England who has practiced law in Antigua for some years and is soliciting the position: "…if he should succeed, probably this brow-beating system will be laid aside: Arrogance and impudence must then give place to sterling sense and real

legal knowledge, too long obscured by power, insolence, and duplicity" (17-8).[22] Luffman's idealism is also on display in his discussion of freedom of the press in Antigua. He notes that the island had three newspapers, the *Antigua Gazette*, *Antigua Journal*, and *Antigua Chronicle*. When the latter published letters exposing government corruption and the "amours" and "ridiculous attachments" of a government official, there was a concerted attempt to intimidate the paper into halting the publication of further letters of that kind. The *Chronicle* soon gave in to the pressure and resumed its deferential attitude toward the plantocracy (142-4).

In a number of instances, Luffman does not criticize directly but simply describes a problem. The implicit message, of course, is that the government should be doing something about it. For example, the streets of St. John's, though wide and well laid out, are unpaved, dirty, and cluttered with prickly pear bushes and other shrubs (20-1). The harbour of St. John's is large but "is choaking very fast" (25-6).[23] Fires in 1769 and 1782 caused considerable damage, and many of the buildings still lay in ruins. Although wooden shingles on the roofs of houses contributed to the spread of fires, their continued use has not been restricted in any way (23-4). A small fire in St. John's during the last months of his stay leads to a discussion of the "friendly fire company," a private group formed in 1782 that successfully extinguished the house fire witnessed by Luffman. He also mentions the Caribbean activities of the Phoenix Fire Office, a London insurance company that had begun issuing policies in the West Indies in 1785 (150-2). A modern history of the company indicates that by 1805, its net premium income from the West Indies amounted to only one percent of its foreign income. At that point the Phoenix appointed agents to eleven British Caribbean colonies including Antigua.[24] Self-help and private initiatives, in other words, were also possibilities, but Luffman does not openly advocate the wider adoption of either one.

A third objective was to promote the growth of the island's white population. This had been a perennial matter of concern for the colonial government, and numerous laws had been passed to increase the number of whites. A typical approach was to set quotas on the estates. A statute passed in the 1750s, for example, required planters to have one white employee for every thirty slaves.[25] Luffman notes that such laws were "shamefully evaded," and he reveals one of the tricks employed for that purpose (87). The white population needed to be expanded above all in order to maintain public order. As Luffman put it, government officials must "keep up a strict military discipline, and endeavor also, by every pos-

sible encouragement, to encrease the number of white inhabitants." As matters stood, the 1200 white men eligible to serve in the militia lacked many of the most basic military skills. When a troop of horse put on a public display in 1788, Luffman thought that "they made awkward play of it," and he commented on the militia in general: "I have seen the negroes laughing at their unsoldier-like performances." He proceeds to use some of his strongest language on this subject: "It must be a matter of surprise to Britons, that the people in power in the colony should so much neglect that best of institutions for public safety, and internal protection, the *Militia*…." According to Luffman, these strictures also apply to the other British islands in the West Indies (173-7).

A fourth objective was to make the operation of Antigua's slave system more efficient. In his discussions of slaves, he provides a considerable amount of useful information. He admits that his knowledge of the slave trade to Africa is based on second-hand evidence, but it nevertheless proves to be quite accurate (79-80). Among other things, he reiterates the important insight that wars and turmoil in west Africa were often caused or intensified by the existence of a lucrative overseas market for enslaved captives. His account of the Middle Passage is brief but harrowing (80-2). His own observations then inform his description of slave sales. In a letter written in early July 1787, he notes that the average sale price was about thirty-seven to forty pounds per slave (82-4). By that time, he had probably witnessed the arrival of many slave ships and the subsequent sale of their slave cargoes in St. John's. From December 1786 to May 1787, a slave ship was arriving from Africa nearly every month. While some of the slave cargoes were small, a ship in December brought 348 slaves and one in April contained 255.[26] The

warehouses in which the slave sales took place were "crowded almost as much as those of the the [London] theatre, when the immortal Garrick, or the inimitable Siddons, were to represent the finest passages from our greatest and most favored poets" (84). He goes on to describe slave music featuring the banjo and tambourine (135-7), the Sunday market in St. John's, which featured scores of slaves offering a wide variety of goods for sale (138-41),[27] and slave funerals that sometimes attracted hundreds of mourners (110-3).

Luffman did not favor the general emancipation of the slaves. He did support the abolition of the slave trade and better treatment of the slaves, a policy historians refer to as "amelioration" although Luffman himself never

uses the term. Slave amelioration could mean many things, but it is typically defined as including one or more of the following: (1) improvement in the quantity or quality of food, clothing, shelter and medical care; (2) better working conditions; (3) less severe punishments; and (4) increased access to basic education and religious instruction. As a sometime student of the Enlightenment, Luffman shows little interest in promoting religion[28] but, somewhat oddly, he has nothing to say about educating the slaves either. Perhaps in this, as in so many other matters, he was simply reflecting contemporary views which, in the 1780s, were only beginning to acknowledge the importance of slave education and religious conversion in the overall process of amelioration.[29] The first amelioration category mentioned above was of greater concern to Luffman. Although his description of slave houses is quite positive, he believed that ending the slave trade would necessitate the provision of better food and clothing for slaves in order to increase the slave population (126). He thought that medical care undoubtedly needed improvement and that the estate hospitals or "sick houses" were "not only destitute of almost every convenience, but filthy in the extreme…" (96). Luffman believed that better treatment of slaves should definitely include restrictions on the punishments inflicted by owners. In another enlightened passage, Luffman recommends the establishment of "a committee of humanity" that would adjudicate complaints regarding excessive punishment of slaves (106). His overall judgment of current conditions was harsh: "Many slaves, who cannot properly be said to be murdered, die from a want of care, or continual ill-usage…" (133).

Luffman, in short, was a selective ameliorationist, and this has no doubt contributed to the confusion over his views. His grandiose statements have surely added to the problem. He dedicated the book, for example, "To the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty." At one point in the text, he writes to his correspondent: "I think I hear you say…'let the banners of liberty, which are those of justice, and virtue also, be displayed in their fullest glory, in every clime under British government,'" a sentiment that Luffman seems to share (125). It is not surprising that Lowell Ragatz could therefore characterize Luffman's Antigua book as follows: "Presents one of the best pictures of plantation life in existence and a splendid account of social conditions in Antigua. Luffman was anti-slave [that is, antislavery] in sentiment."[30] By contrast, a standard reference work on Antigua and Barbuda states that Luffman's "wide-ranging interests and access to the planter class, along with the length of his visit, enabled him to give a detailed picture of Antigua life at the height of slavery—albeit primarily from the planter point of view."[31] Not completely antislavery or proslavery

in his views, Luffman wanted the slave trade to end while believing that slavery should be allowed to continue albeit in a more humane manner. In advocating these views, moreover, he employed the high-flying language of liberty and virtue, and he probably committed these views to paper on the veranda of his St. John's house while his hired slaves were working inside. The Founding Fathers of the United States would have immediately recognized that scene. Indeed, when Luffman was writing his letters, they were writing a constitution (1787) that famously supported both liberty and slavery. For Luffman, as for Jefferson and Madison, enlightenment had its limits.

Luffman began his return voyage at the beginning of August 1788 and probably arrived in England around the end of September. Within nine months of his return, he had arranged for the publication of his *Brief Account* with one of London's major publishers. In the meantime, he became a contributor to a new literary periodical, the *General Magazine and Impartial Review*. He ultimately published eighteen signed pieces under the heading, "The Passions, and Their Effects. Exemplified in a variety of Incidents." By "passions," he was in fact referring to virtues and vices. He illustrated them through moralizing tales that ended with the inevitable rewards and punishments that each "passion" deserved. He started with gratitude, benevolence, and fidelity but soon also included such vices as dissipation, prostitution, and libertinism. Most of the tales are set in Britain with some references to the West Indies. The third essay on "Fidelity" is actually set in the Caribbean and features an early eighteenth century Antiguan family that settles on Crab Island in the Virgin Islands. Many exciting events follow, including two attacks by the Spanish and various heroic responses by Pollio, one of the family's devoted slaves. Pollio eventually helps his master and the master's young daughter escape from Crab Island and return to Antigua. In gratitude, the master frees Pollio who then continues to live with the family as a friend. A similarly idealistic world view informs most of other the passion tales.[32]

Luffman's experiences with the *General Magazine* were probably not unrelated to the publication of his book on Antigua. The magazine was published by the affable Thomas Bellamy (1745-1800), a man with a rather unusual background.[33] As a youth, he was apprenticed to a hosier, and he then worked as a hosier in London from about the mid-1760s to the mid-1780s. During that time, he developed a keen interest in the theatre, poetry, and literature. In the mid-1780s, he left the hosiery business and worked briefly for a bookseller. Then, for about the last thirteen years of his life, he

devoted his time and money to various literary pursuits beginning with the establishment of the *General Magazine* in June 1787. During the publication of the first six issues, his premises were in Fleet Street, but starting in December, he was located in Fleet Street's western continuation, the Strand. Theatrical subjects dominated the contents the magazine. Bellamy featured accounts of current productions at Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and other theatrical venues, and many issues included biographies of theatrical figures, with actors being given pride of place. With each issue, moreover, Bellamy included installments of Shakespeare's plays in the form of supplements running to twenty-four pages or more in length.

Luffman began contributing his passion tales to Bellamy's magazine soon after his return. His first piece appeared in the November 1788 issue, which presumably meant that he submitted it less than two months after his arrival from Antigua. It is conceivable that Luffman first met Bellamy and began writing articles for him within a few weeks after landing. It seems much more likely, however, that the two men had known each other in the mid-1780s before Luffman's trip. At that time, Luffman had an engraving shop in Coleman Street, and Bellamy was embarking on his career in the book trades. In fact, they could have known each other earlier than that. In the 1770s while Bellamy was working as a hosier in Newgate Street, Luffman produced his earliest extant engravings at an address in the same street. To speculate further, perhaps the letters from Antigua were addressed to Bellamy, carefully preserved by him, and then turned over to Luffman on his return.

Various scraps of evidence provide circumstantial evidence on these matters. In his first letter, Luffman sends his regards to "C.B. and E.B.," individuals who, obviously, could have been Bellamy family members (6). Bellamy was famous for his conviviality and his wide circle of friends. On New Year's Day 1788, Luffman devotes considerable space in one letter to a discussion of his friendship with the unnamed addressee: "I cannot help telling you how much I wish to be with you at this season of festive mirth and joy, to be one to close about [sic] your sociable fire-side, to be one to join in the cheerful, but innocent holiday revels of song, and dance and joke; to be one to shake the hand of my worthy friend, and wish him an increase of happiness with the increase of years, thereby rejoining the society of a select few, whose acquaintance I have so many worthy reasons to be proud of." Luffman closes this paean with some lines of verse, perhaps of his own composition, opening with: "Hail friendship! Softener of the human heart" (117-8). In another passage, he names four famous per-

formers whom he is looking forward to seeing on stage again when he arrives back in London, but the fifth name on the list is that of a somewhat less noted figure, the comic actor William Parsons (156). It turns out that Bellamy and Parsons were good friends from at least the mid-1780s, and Bellamy was even able to use some of Parson's drawings in the *General Magazine*.[34] Bellamy published the magazine at his shop in the Strand starting in late 1787. By the time Luffman had finished preparing the Antiguan letters for publication in the spring of 1789, he had contracted with Thomas Cadell, a publisher located in the Strand not far from Bellamy's shop. It seems likely that Bellamy and Cadell had some sort of relationship since Bellamy's *General Magazine* contained numerous reviews of works published by Cadell, and nearly all of the notices were favorable. Circumstantial evidence is not proof, of course, but it is difficult to believe that all of the aforementioned facts are the results of mere coincidence.

Thomas Cadell had become a leading publisher of important new works in a number of fields.[35] In the 1770s alone he published Henry Mackenzie's novel, *The Man of Feeling* (1771), a work that epitomized the emerging culture of sensibility; Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776), a treatise regarded by many as the foundation of modern economic theory; and the early volumes of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the towering achievement of enlightenment history. In the 1780s, Cadell published the remaining volumes of *Decline and Fall* [36] and various works by Hannah More, the famous evangelical whose writings and activities had an impact on British society for the next half century. Among her works published by Cadell was *Slavery: A Poem* (London, 1788), a notable early condemnation of involuntary servitude. Cadell also published one of the most influential antislavery tracts of the period, Thomas Clarkson's *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (London, 1786). In sum, by having his Antiguan letters published by Cadell, Luffman's name became briefly associated with some of the major writers of late Georgian England.

While Luffman may have written some of his Antiguan letters in the form of little essays suitable for publication, it seems likely that he edited most of them by removing personal greetings and private information. Perhaps he also amended them. The emergence of the organized antislavery movement in 1787 could have prompted Luffman to incorporate a fuller treatment of slavery and the slave trade than he had originally included in the letters. While he never offers an explicit statement of his intentions, his finished book suggests that he was interested in practical

matters above all. He observed, analyzed, and then sometimes offered suggestions for change and improvement. To some extent, this was a version of the "scientific" methodology that many thinkers and writers were trying to apply to human society in the age of the Enlightenment. Yet Luffman was far from being a Locke or Montesquieu or Adam Smith. Although highly informative, his book is discursive in the extreme while still giving numerous indications of being the product of an enlightened sensibility. Moreover, in stark contrast to Mrs. Lenaghan in her *Antigua and the Antiguans* (1844) and most of the major writers of the age, Luffman almost never quotes, mentions or alludes to famous works or writers of the past (plays and playwrights being the notable exceptions). This may be regarded as a conscious matter of style—his was decidedly plain—but it is more likely a reflection of his educational background and experiences.

Before his apprenticeship in the engraving trade, Luffman had probably received little more than a primary education, perhaps six years or so of basic schooling that most likely did not include the study of Latin or the classical authors. The fifty-eight day passage to Antigua was "tedious" in part because he spent most time playing cards and fishing. He does not mention reading as one of his shipboard pastimes (1-5). In Antigua, he attended plays and the subscription assembly at Smith's Tavern. The assembly evenings featured dancing and card-playing until midnight when dinner was served and enjoyed over the following two hours (155). He seems to have spent quite a bit of time at Smith's. During one rainy season, he noted that the scene there was rather quiet and "taken up wholly by whist, cribbage, and all-fours…" (101). He mentions reading on the veranda of his St. John's house but offers no details. Perhaps his reading there did not extend much beyond letters and newspapers. Scholars now know that he subscribed to a new edition of Shakespeare's plays during his sojourn, but in the *Brief Account* itself, he never mentions purchasing or reading a single book while in Antigua.

That being said, Luffman was more fortunate than most young men in the skilled trades because he served his apprenticeship in London and then resided and worked there. His engraved maps would have required a degree of literacy not needed by tailors, blacksmiths, or many of the other skilled workers. At the same time, he would have been exposed to a wide range of metropolitan publications ranging from books and periodicals to printed sheets that were handed out, displayed in shop windows, and pasted on walls and fences. In both work and leisure, moreover, he probably spent considerable time with others in the book trades, some of them well-

read and many perhaps merely well-informed about current politics, overseas developments, and intellectual trends. Even without extensive formal education and systematic reading, in other words, it would have been possible for Luffman and others in similar circumstances to be knowledgeable about a wide range of topics, including the major currents of the Enlightenment.[37] The *Brief Account of Antigua* reflects all of that, its shrewd enlightened insights jockeying for the reader's attention with prosaic depictions and vulgar comments, some of them more suitable for Grub Street than for Fleet Street and the Strand.

Newspaper advertisements announcing of the publication of the *Brief Account* began appearing in late June 1789 and continued to appear for about a month or so. Magazines were still noting its publication in early 1790.[38] During that period, a relatively small number of reviews appeared. The reviewer in the *General Magazine and Impartial Review* was probably not completely impartial since Luffman was still one of its regular contributors. Even if that were not true, the *General Magazine's* opposition to the slave trade would probably have elicited a sympathetic reception for the *Brief Account*. In fact, it is possible that the reviewer was the magazine's editor, Thomas Bellamy. Whatever his identity, the reviewer states that the letters are "entertaining and instructing" and continues: "Mr. Luffman's stile [sic] is clear and unaffected, and his occasional reflections speak for him as an accurate observer and a humane member of society."[39] The short notice in the *New Annual Register* is less effusive, and merely comments that the work "is not without utility."[40] The reviewer in the *Critical Review* was slightly more enlightening. He states that Luffman furnishes "a very faithful and not unentertaining account of the island of Antigua." A scrupulously even-handed assessment then follows: "According to his narrative, the treatment of the slaves is neither so severe, nor yet so mild, as to justify what has been affirmed, on either hand, in the controversy on this subject."[41] The reviewer in the venerable *Monthly Review* was decidedly more negative: "This account of Antigua, and of its inhabitants, contains nothing very interesting or new. What is here told, might be learned from half an hour's conversation with a native; …and would be related, we trust, with as much accuracy, and perhaps more elegance. Even in table talk, we should be surprised to hear our companion say, that he is 'not a little troubled with a rash over the greatest part of his body, which itches *intolerable*…'." The reviewer also believes that the judges of Antigua were probably more independent than Luffman claimed. Yet he presents a long extract from Luffman on the slave trade virtually without comment, which seems to amount to a tacit endorse-

ment of Luffman's description. The reviewer concludes by writing, "These letters seem, at least, to have the merit of originality, and are evidently the fruit of an actual correspondence."[42]

The most sustained attack came from Dr. James Mackittrick Adair who uses an entire chapter of a book he published in 1790 to criticize the *Brief Account*.[43] Adair's animus probably had something to do with differences between himself and Luffman in social status and experience. As physician, he had practiced for over two decades in Antigua and had become a part of the island's medical fraternity during a time when it was steadily improving in education and prestige. At the same time, Adair readily embraced the planters' justifications for slavery, including the need to maintain the slave trade. After his return to England, he became well-known for his lucrative medical practice in Bath and for his various publications.[44] By contrast, Luffman, who was Adair's junior by over twenty years, was merely trained as an engraver which placed him not in the ranks of the professions but among the skilled artisans, a distinctly lower social category. While he had spent only two years in Antigua, in his first book, the *Brief Account*, he had the courage—or audacity—to argue at length against the slave trade and to offer numerous other criticisms and suggestions for change in the colony. Adair, a Scotsman, was probably also annoyed at Luffman's somewhat dismissive comments about Scottish people in Antigua.

Adair furnishes numerous examples of Luffman's errors. Some deal with "orthographical errors [which] are very numerous." One occurs when Luffman refers to a mound in Antigua as a "tumuli," which Adair notes is the plural for "tumulus," the word Luffman would surely have used if he had studied Latin. Adair had served as a judge while in Antigua and challenges Luffman's claim that judges were dictated to by barristers. In a number of instances, Adair disputes Luffman's generalizations and suggests that some of them may not apply to the upper ranks of Antiguan society but only to shopkeepers and others at lower social levels. While Luffman states that the dresses of the Antiguan women are "tawdry," Adair counters that it was not true for those above the rank of "hucksters ladies." When Luffman is critical of the manners of some women who covered their faces with sun masks or veils when he approached, Adair opines that he must have encountered "hucksters wives, or some such low-bred cattle." Luffman describes a tea party featuring a slave who served the guests while nearly naked (trousers only), but Adair suggests that he must have been taking tea with "the base society of hucksters; or mulatto or negro gentlemen

and ladies." Luffman refers to pickets (sharpened stakes)[45] and thumb screws that were used to punish/torture slaves, but Adair writes that he never heard of them being used in Antigua although he admits they may have been employed by Luffman's "good friends the hucksters, most of them Europeans" (that is, not natives of Antigua and probably *nouveaux arrivés* in more than one sense). Many of Adair's other criticisms address exaggerations and over-generalizations. When Luffman states that overseers are "generally poor Scotch lads" who "frequently become masters of the plantations" (99), for instance, Adair claims that he knew of only a few cases in which that was true.[46]

A parting shot in this paper war was fired from Thomas Bellamy's *General Magazine* in a hostile a review of Adair's book. It referred to Adair's "ungentlemanlike reflections" on both Luffman and John Newton, the former slave trader best known for his hymn, "Amazing Grace." Those two men, the reviewer states, "by their writings, have vindicated the cause of the oppressed Africans, and exposed the nefarious practices of some of our West-India Negro-owners. …Doctor Adair's attempt to refute what is advanced by those gentleman [Luffman and Newton], seems only to fix in our minds a strong belief that every line written by them is literally *true*."[47]

There seems to have been little mention in print of the *Brief Account* during the remaining three decades of Luffman's life. One other source is noteworthy, however. The national campaign against the slave trade that began in 1787 generated numerous parliamentary debates and inquiries. In 1791, a number of individuals gave testimony regarding the situation in Antigua. While none of them mentioned Luffman specifically, the information they provided can be used to evaluate some of the material in his *Brief Account*. Of particular relevance was the testimony of William Duncan who was in Antigua from 1785 to 1789, that is, during the same period as Luffman's sojourn. Duncan served first as a clerk in a shop, then as an estate overseer, and finally as a shopkeeper. There is no evidence that Duncan and Luffman knew each other, but Duncan's evidence confirms much of what Luffman wrote about the island. With respect to slaves, for example, Duncan states that they were often cruelly treated, that some were not provided with enough food, and that the theft of food was the crime most often committed by slaves. Yet he also observes that slaves often stole food not out of need but in order to sell it at the public market. While the natural increase of slaves was hampered by their poor treatment, Duncan believed that better treatment (that is, amelioration) would lead to increases in the numbers of slaves. He stated that good treatment had

already produced precisely those effects on the unnamed estate on which he had been the overseer, on Sir George Thomas's Belfast estate and on Carlisle's estate.[48]

While possessing undoubted strengths, Luffman's *Brief Account* also has various omissions and shortcomings. In addition to his neglect of religion and education, he all but ignores the rise of the free nonwhites as a distinctive social group. Among his other deficiencies is his handling of statistics, or "political arithmetic."[49] In one passage, he indicates that there are twelve black and coloured individuals for each white person, and that eleven out of twelve of the nonwhites were slaves. These rather broad strokes suggest that 8% of the island's inhabitants were white, 8% were free nonwhites, and about 84% were slaves. In another passage, he gives the total population as fifty thousand, with five thousand, or ten percent, being white (175, 15-6). In still another place, he states that the white population had declined by nearly half in the previous forty years (87), which would have made this group's share of the total population 16% or more in the 1740s. Some of these figures are plausible, but others definitely are not. Probably the best figures available around this time are those for 1774. They indicate that there were 2590 whites (6%), 1230 free nonwhites (3%), and 37,808 slaves (91%), for a total of 41,628.[50] The white population in the 1740s was about 3500, which was actually less than ten percent of the island's population at that time. The numerical decline over the next thirty years amounted to about one-third.

With regard to St. John's in particular, Luffman states that the town contained nearly 1800 houses and huts (20). Someone had probably given him this figure, and he recorded it without comment or question. In another place, he is almost certainly referring to St. John's when he states that many of the huts were for slaves and were located in the yards of the houses of the slave owners (93).[51] Nearly sixty years later, a census in 1844 shows that in St John's, there were 2438 houses and a population of 9021, that is, 3.7 persons per "house." That term undoubtedly encompasses every type of residence, including the huts. Using the 1844 persons-per-house figure, that is, 3.7, as a multiplier, the population of St. John's in 1786 would have been nearly 6660. If that figure were approximately correct, then about one in six Antiguans lived in St. John's. The 3.7 multiplier was not available to Luffman, of course, but in any case, he shows little interest in the problems involved with explaining and interpreting the demographic statistics he provides. For a mere travelogue, they were probably adequate. For a work that uses data as a basis for advocat-

ing policy changes, Luffman's rather casual use of statistics did not meet the standard being set by those practicing enlightened political economy in the late eighteenth century.[52]

Luffman continued to contribute his passion tales to the *General Magazine* through 1791. In that year, if not before, he had a shop of his own in Windmill Street off Finsbury Square in London. His earlier businesses, by all accounts, had been relatively short-lived, and this endeavor was to be no exception. Possibly he was encountering difficulties already in 1792 when he became involved in a number of business arrangements with the well-established publisher, James Ridgway. Among them was a separate publication of the collected *Passions*, a work whose dedication is dated 1 February 1792. At the end of that work, there is an advertisement for a second edition of the *Brief Account of Antigua* described as "just published."[53] The English Short Title Catalogue and most libraries and bibliographies give the date of this second edition as 1789 (sometimes with a question mark), while a standard reference work confidently states that the "second edition was printed for Luffman in 1790."[54] It is now clear that the correct date was probably 1792. By that time, Ridgway had embraced the radical "Jacobin" ideas of those in England who supported the French Revolution and the ideas of Tom Paine. This caused increasing trouble for him with the authorities by late 1792, and he was tried and imprisoned in the spring of 1793.[55]

Despite his close association with Ridgway, Luffman seems to have been only mildly sympathetic to Jacobin ideas. While he avoided prosecution, his business suffered during this period, and he had to declare bankruptcy in May 1793. His printing presses, stock of books, and copyrights were then sold at two public auctions.[56] It was in the context of these various events that another "second" edition of the *Brief Account* was published, this time by Darton and Harvey, the Quaker publishers in Gracechurch Street.[57] As with the Luffman-Ridgway second edition, the English Short Title Catalogue and most other sources give 1789 as the publication date for the Darton second edition. Yet one may surmise that Darton had acquired the existing stock of second editions during Ridgway's legal difficulties or possibly at one of the Luffman bankruptcy auctions in 1793. Darton inserted a cancel title page and probably published the work without delay in order to gain a quick return on his investment. There was little or nothing to be gained by waiting. The Darton second edition thus probably appeared in 1793.[58] Little is known about Luffman for most of the next five years (that is, 1794-97 and nearly all of 1798). Then, his life had a long and rather

notable final act. By the end of 1798, he was in business again in London. Over the next twenty years, he achieved sustained success in large part on the basis of the hundreds of maps he produced and also his atlases and surveys of geography. He thus ranks as one of the most prominent and prolific English mapmakers of the early nineteenth century.

Luffman wrote about Antigua at the beginning of a new period in Britain's imperial history immediately after the demise of the "first British empire" in 1783. Based mostly on territories in the New World, this first empire had featured a considerable degree of local autonomy in most of the colonies. One consequence was that policies involving the treatment of indentured servants, slaves, and indigenous populations were left to the discretion of the colonial governments. Even though the resulting policies varied considerably, they were typically of little concern to the imperial rulers in London. The "second British empire" that began to take shape in the 1780s would focus increasingly on newer acquisitions in Asia and Africa. It was marked both by greater authoritarian control from London and by an increased emphasis on humanitarian policies and practices in colonial areas, with slavery and the slave trade being major concerns for many decades.[59]

In the midst of this transition, few people questioned the wisdom of continued colonial expansion itself. Luffman was undoubtedly part of the majority of Britons who, according to one scholar, saw expansion as "the natural result of the expansion of human enlightenment and industry [that] was heartily to be welcomed. …This [view] held that though Empire had been managed badly in the past, good government would bring economic advantages to the metropolis from both tropical and temperate colonies."[60] While not a deep thinker or systematic reader, Luffman was member of the book trades in London and had ready access to printed works and informed conversations in bookshops, coffee houses and elsewhere. Whatever his sources, he was able to absorb many of the prominent contemporary ideas on imperial matters and other topics. Specifically in the *Brief Account*, Luffman was able to respond to the British desire to avoid a repeat of the American debacle by controlling and exploiting colonial peoples and lands with greater effectiveness and a greater display of sensibility. While not an advocate of unrestrained enlightenment, he ultimately seems to have embraced a version of enlightened despotism that was tailored to Britain's new circumstances. Like the philosopher David Hume, he never wanted enlightened despotism to be employed for domestic governance—Luffman did not wish to see a Frederick the Great on Britain's throne.[61] Instead, he wanted a considerable degree of liberty to prevail at home while strong

British leaders dictated enlightened policies for Britain's territories overseas. It is clear that, even with all its insects and itches and drolleries, Luffman's book on Antigua deserves to be included among the earliest works to promote the emerging ethos of the second British empire.

APPENDIX: THE CONTENTS OF LUFFMAN'S BRIEF *ACCOUNT OF ANTIGUA*

None of the original editions of John Luffman's *Brief Account of the Island of Antigua* contains a table of contents or an index. Complicating matters further, those who have made use of the work have cited it in various ways, some of them rather idiosyncratic. When Vere Oliver reprinted the book in full in his *History of Antigua*, he furnished only the letter numbers and dates but did not include the original pagination.[62] Over the past century, the various writers who have used the Oliver reprint were consequently not able to cite specific Luffman page references but furnished only the letter numbers and dates (Deborah Mistron, for example) or perhaps only the letter numbers (Lowell Ragatz).[63] Mrs. Lenaghan used material from the *Brief Account* in various ways. She mentions Luffman by name only in conjunction with the royal visit described in letter no. X, which she reprints in full. In another instance, she quotes from a letter sent from Antigua on 1 August 1786, but does not say who wrote it (it is Luffman's letter no. V). In other cases, she uses material from Luffman without giving any indication of where she obtained the information.[64] Her handling of Luffman's work and other sources in this rather cavalier fashion led one early reviewer to accuse Lenaghan of plagiarism.[65] The following list of contents can help readers locate extracts from Luffman that have been cited in various ways and will also furnish a brief overview of the main topics Luffman discusses.

LETTER NO.		DATE	PAGES	MAIN TOPICS
I	1786:	15 May	1-6	Atlantic crossing
II		31 May	7-10	household in St. John's
III		18 June	11-14	oppressive heat; dinner and ball
IV		14 July	15-19	population; government structure
V		1 August	20-4	description of St. John's
VI		3 September	25-8	Antigua's main towns
VII		7 October	29-31	English Harbour
VIII		11 November	32-4	Monk's Hill and other forts
IX		6 December	35-38	Antiguan ladies
X	1787:	16 January	39-42	visit of Prince William Henry
XI		28 January	43-6	estate managers

XII		15 February	47-50	“the huckstering business”
XIII		10 March	51-3	claret, punch, tea
XIV		21 April	54-59	fauna
XV		12 May	60-3	water, milk, and basic foods
XVI		1 June	64-7	local fruits and nuts
XVII		12 June	68-72	local plants
XVIII		24 June	73-7	funeral in St. John’s
XIX		6 July	78-84	the slave trade and slave sales
XX		20 July	85-8	a sugar estate described
XXI		1 August	89-92	sugar cane planting
XXII		15 September	93-8	slave life in Antigua
XXIII		3 October	99-101	overseers and drivers
XXIV		9 November	102-8	slave punishments
XXV		8 December	109-13	slave marriages and funerals
XXVI	1788:	1 January	114-118	coloreds and prostitutes
XXVII		27 January	119-23	dramatic performances
XXVIII		7 February	124-29	arguments against the slave trade
XXIX		1 March	130-34	idleness among free coloreds
XXX		14 March	135-37	slave music and dancing
XXXI		28 March	138-41	Sunday market
XXXII		12 April	142-44	Antiguan newspapers
XXXIII		30 April	145-49	army and law courts
XXXIV		10 May	150-53	fires and the fire company
XXXV		16 May	154-57	dancing assembly and plays
XXXVI		4 June	158-63	pests (insects, rats, lizards)
XXXVII		30 June	164-67	governors and smuggling
XXXVIII		15 July	168-71	adultery and more plays
XXXIX		21 July	172-77	the army and the militia
XL		26 July	178-80	planned departure; final thoughts

NOTES

[1] The new birth and death information was obtained from the website of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (www.familysearch.org). The English Short Title Catalogue and many libraries and bibliographies give his dates as 1756-1846, a ninety-year lifespan that, while not impossible, should have raised suspicions. Those dates apparently achieved currency at some point in the twentieth century and replaced earlier statements that simply indicated that Luffman was active from about 1776 to 1820 (cf. Thomas Chubb, *The Printed Maps in the Atlases of Great Britain and Ireland: A Bibliography, 1579-1870* [London: Homeland Association, 1927], pp. 439-40). It is not known who chose the new dates or what evidence was used to support the change. Unless or until contrary documentation surfaces, the dates 1756-1846 should probably be replaced by 1751-1821. On his apprenticeship indenture, see National Archives (Kew, UK), IR 1/24, p. 187.

[2] *Reports of the Commissioners on Fees, Gratuities, &c. of Public Offices*, Parliamentary Paper 1806 (309), VII, 436-7. The 1787 statement signed by Luffman of Portsmouth indicates that when he became a clerk to the clerk of the Survey Office in 1772, his father had to pay a fee of two hundred fifty guineas. The Luffmans of Portsmouth were obviously quite well-to-do. See also R.J. Knight, comp., *Portsmouth Dockyard Papers 1774-1783: The American War* (Portsmouth: City of Portsmouth, 1987), pp. xxxvi, 144, 150.

[3] George Taylor and Andrew Skinner, *Taylor & Skinner's Survey and Maps of the Roads of North Britain, or Scotland* (London: pr. for the authors, [1776]), nos. 41, 47, 52, 55, 58-9. Luffman engraved the title page of this work and may also have engraved some of the maps that contain no engraver's name. See also Yolande Hodson, "Maps, charts and atlases in Britain, 1690-1830," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*: vol. 5, *1695-1830* , ed. Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 773.

[4] Mostyn John Armstrong, *An Actual Survey of the Great Post-Roads Between London and Edinburgh* (London: pr. for the author, 1776), nos. 1, 2, 30. As with Taylor and Skinner (n. 3), many of Armstong's maps have no engraver's name and thus could have been Luffman's work.

[5] *This Map of Leicestershire: From an Actual Survey begun In the Year 1775, and Finished in the Year 1777…* ([London]: William Dawson, 1779);

To the Nobility, Gentry and All the Subscribers for the County of Rutland… (London: J. Luffman, 1781); D.G. Moir, ed., *The Early Maps of Scotland to 1850*, 2 vols. (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Geographical Society, 1973-83), 1:122-3, 142, 196.

[6] I.H. Adams, "George Taylor, a Surveyor o' Pairts," *Imago Mundi*, 27 (1975), 59-62.

[7] *Plan of the French Attacks upon the Island of Grenada…July 1779* (London: J. Harris, 1779). On this plan, see also P.A. Penfold, ed., *Maps and Plans in the Public Record Office: 2. America and the West Indies* (London: HMSO, 1994), p. 591, item 3393. Parenthetical numbers in the text refer to page numbers in the first (1789) edition of Luffman's *Brief Account of the Island of Antigua.*

[8] John Luffman, *Antigua. Abstracted from the four sheet Map Engraved and Published in the West Indies by John Luffman. In the Years 1787 &1788* ([London: Cadell?], 1789). The date of this map is 1 June 1789, at which point Luffman's *Brief Account* was probably in press. Luffman was also offering copies the large map for sale in 1789, but it is not clear if this was part (or all) of the remaining stock of the map published in Antigua or a London reissue (*Times* [4 February 1789], 1a). The rights to the larger map were probably sold after Luffman's bankruptcy in 1793, and a second edition soon appeared: John Luffman, *Antigua, in the West Indies, Laid Down by Actual Survey* ([London]: W. Faden, 1793).

[9] James Makittrick Adair, *Unanswerable Arguments against the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London: J.P. Bateman, [1790]), pp. 101, 105.

[10] Cf. Brian J. Hudson, "Lady Nugent and Tom Cringle on the Veranda: Early Nineteenth-Century Observations on a Caribbean Architectural Feature," *Journal of Caribbean History*, 38 (2004), 35-48. It is odd that, when referring to St. John's, Natalie A. Zacek states that Luffman "visited the town in 1789"—he was back in England by that time (*Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010], p. 175).

See Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasonry and British Imperialism, 1717-1927* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 38-9, 49, for a discussion early freemasonry in Antigua. Three lodges had been established in Antigua in 1737-8, including the "Great

Lodge" in St. John's: see R. S., *Jachin and Boaz: or, an Authentic Key to the Door of Free-Masonry, Both Ancient and Modern* (new ed.; London: W. Nicol. and E. Newbery, 1785), p. 2 [of the second pagination].

[12] The flamboyant Robert "Romeo" Coates (1772-1848), a planter's son, probably finished his education in England and returned to Antigua after Luffman's departure from the island. Coates's performances in amateur theatricals in Antigua in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries eventually furnished him with the confidence to appear on the English stage after his father's death in 1807. His confidence proved to be unwarranted; see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *ODNB*], ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 12:254-5.

[13] For Elizabeth Billington (1765-1818), Sarah Siddons (1755-1831), John Edwin the Elder (1749-1790), and John Quick (1748-1831), see the *ODNB*, 5:730-2, 50:515-22, 17:979-81, 45:674-6. On Parsons (1736-1795), see Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-1993), 11: 218-27.

[14] *Bell's Edition of Shakespeare*, 20 vols. (London: John Bell, 1788), 1:34-5. See also Mary Deverell, *Theodora and Didymus, or, the Exemplification of Pure Love and Vital Religion. An Heroic Poem, in Three Cantos* (2nd ed.; London: pr. for the author, 1786), which included Thomas Cadell among its London sellers and William Jarvis of Antigua among its subscribers (Jarvis obtained two copies; see p. x).

[15] On Anne Athill (1769-1850), the daughter of the physician, James Athill, see Oliver, *Antigua*, 1:10-11. Upwardly mobile, she soon married another naval officer, Captain Richard Bickerton, who afterward became the second Baronet of Upwood (*European Magazine*, 15 [1788], 78).

[16] Works relying on Luffman's account of the prince's visit include [Mrs. Leneghan], *Antigua and the Antiguans: A Full Account of the Colony and Its Inhabitants form the Time of the Caribs to the Present Day* , 2 vols. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), 1: 119-20; and Algernon E. Aspinall, *West Indian Tales of Old* (London: Duckworth, 1912), pp. 184-7. Recent biographies that ignore Luffman in favor of the

juicy royal correspondence include Philip Ziegler, *King William IV* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); Tom Pocock, *Sailor King: The Life of King William IV* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991), esp. p. 91 on the "*Dames des Couleurs*"; and Anne Somerset, *The Life and Times of William IV* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980). The latter (p. 48) includes a picture of Rachel Pringle, the black proprietress of the Bridgetown brothel that was patronized (and vandalized) by the royal party.

[17] Venetia Murray, *An Elegant Madness: High Society in Regency England* (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. 5-6, 135.

[18] For Henry William Bunbury (1750-1811), sometimes styled "the second Hogarth," see the *ODNB*, 8:676-8. One of his works with a West Indian allusion, *The Coffee-House Patriots, or News from St. Eustatia* (1781), is discussed and illustrated in Amelia Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), p. 39.

[19] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in The Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), esp. ch. 4 ("Prospects, Planning, and Public Buildings").

[20] In a work published a few years later, a multiplier of 1.75 was used: *Extracts from a Work, Entitled The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. by Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore, with Observations, Thereon* by "A Lady, A Member of the Church of England" (London: H.D. Symonds and J. Luffman, 1792), pp. 32-4. The anonymous author clearly had intimate knowledge of Antiguan affairs.

[21] For a useful account of Jews in the Leeward Islands, see Zacek, *Settler Society*, pp. 133-49.

[22] Luffman might have been referring to William Gilbert (1763?-c. 1825), a son of the founder of Antiguan Methodism; see the *ODNB*, 22:202. Gilbert was apparently in Antigua from late 1783 to mid or late 1786. Luffman may have become acquainted with him in England before that period or in Antigua during the few months that their sojourns on the island overlapped.

[23] In October 1788 only a few months after Luffman left Antigua, "A scheme [was] suggested for deepening St. John's Harbour": Vere Oliver,

The History of the Island of Antigua, One of the Leeward Caribees in the West Indies, from the Earliest Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time, 3 vols. (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1894-99), 1:cxxxiv.

[24] Clive Trebilcock, *Phoenix Assurance and the Development of British Insurance*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985-98), 1: 185-6, 188.

[25] Brian Dyde, *A History of Antigua: The Unsuspected Isle* (London: Macmillan Education, 2000), p. 88.

[26] Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org), slave voyage nos. 81378, 82002, 17969, 80589, 80922 (Dec. 1786 to May 1787). The figures for net imports would be lower because some slaves were resold to purchasers in other colonies and some were taken by their owners to other islands. The net average annual number of slaved imported to Antigua in the final quarter of the century was 480; see David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Tranatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 201. The annual average was undoubtedly higher during years of peace between 1783 and 1793 than during the wars with the American colonists (1775-83) and revolutionary France (starting in 1793).

[27] The essential starting point on this topic is Natasha Lightfoot, "Sunday Marketing, Contestations over Time, and Visions of Freedom among Enslaved Antiguans After 1800," *CLR James Journal*, 13:1 (2007), 109-35.

[28] He merely notes in passing that the Anglican churches are not well attended except for funerals and special occasions (38). Later, he refers to "the Methodist and Moravian preachers, whose meetings are crouded [sic] by these people [nonwhites], and to whose discourses they listen with seeming attention" (110-1). The well-documented impact of the Methodists and Moravians after their arrival in Antigua in the 1750s was clearly of little concern to Luffman.

For a recent account of some of these developments, see John Mason, "Peter Brown of Bethlehem and the Revival of the Moravian Mission in Antigua 1770-1780," *Journal of Moravian History*, 5 (2008), 41-67.

[29] Robert Glen, "Methodists in the Caribbean: Educational Initiatives in the Slave Era," *Wesley and Methodist Studies*, 3 (2011), 135-45. For early

signs of what was to come, see *Christian Directions and Instructions for Negroes* (London: J.F. and C. Rivington, 1785), which opens with an "Address to the Negroes" (pp. iii-iv) and includes the song, "Praise to God for Learning to Read" (pp. 148-9). Two hundred copies of the first edition were sent to Antigua according to *Abstract of the Proceeding of the Associates of Doctor Bray, For the Year 1785* ([London: s.n., 1786?]), p. 15.

[30] Lowell Joseph Ragatz, comp., *A Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History, 1763-1834, including the Abolition and Emancipation Movements* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 228.

[31] Riva Berleant-Schiller, Susan Lowes with Milton Benjamin, comps., *Antigua and Barbuda* (Oxford: Clio, 1995), p. 73.

[32] For the first and last passion tales in the *General Magazine and Impartial Review* [hereafter *General Magazine*], see "Gratitude," 2 (1788), 576-7; and "Jealousy," 5 (1791), 473-5. "Fidelity" can be found in 3 (1789), 7-12.

[33] *ODNB*, 4:991-2.

[34] See Thomas Bellamy, *Life of William Parsons* (London: pr. for the author, 1795); and his earlier sketch, "Memoirs of Mr. William Parsons, Comedian, of Drury-Lane Theatre," *General Magazine*, 3 (1789), 47-52.

[35] *ODNB*, 9:405-7.

[36] For the book launch, see [William Hayley], *Occasional Stanzas, Read after the Dinner at Mr. Cadell's, May 8, 1788; Being the Day of the Publication of the Last Three Volumes of Mr. Gibbon's History, and his Birthday* ([London: s.n., 1788]).

[37] On the channels through which "enlightened thinking worked its way down the social hierarchy," see Robert C. Allen, "Why the industrial revolution was British: commerce, induced invention, and the scientific revolution," *Economic History Review*, 64 (2011), 379; and more generally, Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (3rd ed.; Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 322-66.

[38] *Morning Post* (27 June 1789), 1c; *Analytical Review*, 5 (1789), 584; *Scot's Magazine*, 52 (1790), 23.

[39] *General Magazine*, 3 (1789), 356-7.

[40] *New Annual Register* (1789), 247.

[41] *Critical Review*, 68 (1789), 496.

[42] *Monthly Review*, 1 (1790), 106-8. The reviewer was apparently Thomas Ogle, a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons who worked at the Middlesex Dispensary; see Benjamin Christie Nagle, *The Monthly Review, Second Series 1790-1815: Indexes of Contributors and Articles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 49-50. It seems possible that he knew Dr. James Adair and thus could have been influenced by Adair's hostile response to Luffman's work

[43] Adair, *Unanswerable Arguments*, ch. 2 (pp. 94-109). On Adair, see *ODNB*, 1:186.

[44] *Idem*, "Some Remarks on certain Articles of the Materia Medica, communicated in a Letter to Dr Duncan…," *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries*, 10 (1786), 233-41; *idem*, *Medical Cautions; Chiefly for the Consideration of Invalids* (2nd ed.; Bath: pr. R. Cruttwell, 1787). See also the Edinburgh medical dissertation by John Ffrye of Antigua, a work that briefly mentions his native island: *Dissertatio Medica, Inauguralis, de Colica Saturnina* (Edinburgh: Balfour and Smellie, 1786), pp. 25-6.

[45] For a description and illustration of the practice known as "picqueting," see James Epstein, *Scandal of Colonial Rule: Power and Subversion in the British Atlantic during the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 21. It involves suspending a slave over a sharpened stake. The weight of the body slowly causes it to descend, with the stake then poking and perhaps piercing the flesh until the desired information is obtained.

[46] For the increasing numbers of Scottish university graduates found in Antigua and the British West Indies, see Richard B. Sheridan, "The Role of the Scots in the Economy and Society of the West Indies," in *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies*, ed. Vera Rubin and Arthur Tuden (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1977), pp. 94-106. For other prominent Scots in Antigua, see David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1707-1785* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 128-30, 178. Dobson has also compiled a comprehensive list of early Scottish emi-

grants to the New World (*The Original Scots Colonists of Early America 1612-1783* [Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1989]).

[47] *General Magazine*, 4 (1790), 530-40.

[48] *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Sheila Lambert, 145 vols. (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources 1975), 82: 141-6. See also the testimony of Robert Forster (82:129-35) and Capt John Samuel Smith (82:135-40) on Antigua and other islands in the 1770s. The estates that Duncan mentions were apparently in St. George's parish to the east of St. John's, but it has not been possible to identify the specific estate on which he worked as an overseer.

[49] For a useful survey, see Julian Hoppit, "Political arithmetic in eighteenth-century England," *Economic History Review*, 49 (1996), 516-40. Hoppit notes that greater attention was being paid to political arithmetic after William Pitt the Younger became prime minister in 1783, a trend that intensified during the wars with France that started in 1793; see also J.E. Cookson, "Political Arithmetic and War in Britain, 1793-1815," *War & Society*, 1:2 (1983), 37-60.

[50] *Report of the Lords of Trade on the Slave Trade* [1789], in *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Lambert, 70: 277; William Young, *Commonplace Book* (London: R. Phillips, 1807), p. 3. Perhaps Luffman was told that about ten percent of the population was *free*, which was true, but he then misinterpreted the statement as meaning that one-tenth of the people were white. Note that Young assumes that his statistics are for the year 1787, but his figures for whites and slaves are identical to those reported in 1774.

[51] For a famous reference to a hut in St. John's, see *The History of Mary Prince*, ed. Sara Salih (London: Penguin, 2000; [1st ed., 1831]), pp. 30-1, which describes the anger of Mary Prince's owner, Mr. Wood, when she married Daniel James without permission. Eventually, however, Mr. Wood relented and "allowed Daniel to have a place to live in our yard, which we were very thankful for."

[52] Andrea A. Rusnock, *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). The Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands estimated that the population of St. John's was about 4100 in 1827. If accurate, this suggests that the town's population experienced

wide fluctuations over time. See Christian Faith Society Papers (Lambeth Palace Library, London), Letterbook (1822-32), F 1/393-8, Bishop of Barbados to Rev. J. T. Barrett, Barbados, 7 July 1827.

[53] J. Luffman, *The Passions and Their Effects Exemplified in a Variety of Incidents* (London: James Ridgway and J. Luffman, [1792?]), p. [147]. This collection opens with "Fidelity," the tale of the Antiguan family and their faithful slave (pp. 1-13).

[54] Berleant-Schiller, *Antigua and Barbuda*, p. 73.

[55] Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 272. Among the many Jacobin and antislavery works published by Ridgway, see [William Cuninghame], *The Rights of Kings* (London, 1791), and *Virtue Triumphant: or, The Victory of the Planters in Parliament* (London, 1791).

[56] *Times* (13 March 1793), 2c; *Morning Herald* (5 April 1793), 4d; (9April 1793), 3c; (5 July 1793), 4d; *World* (2 Dec. 1793), 2a.

[57] The *ODNB*, 15:174-5, contains an entry on William Darton (1755-1819) that also discusses his partner Joseph Harvey (1764-1841). They are especially noted for publishing works for children. Their publications for adults consisted mostly of Quaker works, including many with antislavery themes. Luffman's obvious sympathy for the plight of the slaves is probably what led Darton and Harvey to acquire the rights to his *Brief Account*.

[58] Ragatz, *Guide*, p. 228, notes that German translation appeared in 1791, but it is not known if it was authorized by Luffman.

[59] See especially C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London: Longman, 1989); Eliga H. Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

[60] C. A. Bayly, "The Second British Empire," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. V, *Historiography*, ed. Robin W. Winks and Alanie Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 54-72. In this volume, see also P.J. Marshall, "The First British Empire," pp. 43-53.

[61] Jonathan I. Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights 1750-1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 270, states that Hume thought enlightened despotism was “the best solution in most cases (i.e. outside Britain)….”

[62] Oliver, *Antigua*, 1:cxxviii-cxxxviii.

[63] Deborah Mistron, *Understanding Jamaica Kincaid's Annie John: A Student Casebook to Issues, Sources, and Historical Documents* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), pp. 22-9; Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833: A Study in Social and Economic History* (New York: Century Co., 1928), p. 48, 66. Probably the most extensive collection of extracts from Luffman's letters can be found in Roger D. Abrahams and John F. Szwed, eds., *After Africa: Extracts from British Travel Accounts and Journals of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries concerning the Slaves, their Manners, and Customs in the British West Indies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 23-4, 165-6, 286, 331-5. The editors provide both the letter numbers and the original page references.

[64] See Lenaghan, *Antigua*, 1:119-20 for the two letters; and 1:117-22, 327 and the notes at 2:211-12, for examples of additional Luffman material she used.

[65] R.S. Heagan, *A Review of the Work Lately Published, Entitled “Antigua and the Antiguans”* ([St. John's], Antigua: Herald Office, 1844), p. 15 and n.

ANTIGUA AND THE ANTIGUANS:

The Question of its Authorship

Edgar Lake

ANTIGUA AND THE ANTIGUANS: A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE COLONY AND ITS INHABITANTS: [From the Time of the Caribs to the Present Day
[Interspersed with Anecdotes and Legends; also a Partial View of Slavery and the Free Labor Systems; The Statistics of the Island, and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families].
The Author.
Published by: Saunders and Otley: Conduit Street, 1844; Spotiswoode, Ballantyne and Company Ltd.: London and Colchester, 1967; Biddles and Guildford: Great Britain, 1980. 2 vols.; Macmillan Caribbean Publisher, vol. 1.1991; Kessinger Publishing, LLC edition, 2007.

REVIEWING THE CHAPTERS

VOLUME I

This essay will review in two parts the well-known 1844 work, *Antigua and the Antiguans.* In the first (this) part, I will review volume one. In the second part, I will review volume two in the next issue of this journal. It has been widely assumed that *Antigua and the Antiguans* was authored by a Mrs. Lanahan or a Mrs. Flanagan. Against this accepted view, I will argue that she was not the author of this book. I will try to show that it is more likely that this work was pulled together from a collection of writings by a Mr. Patrick Lenaghan, who quite possibility was her son. If correct, this view will change significantly our reading of this classic work, and also our account of the literary history of Antigua and Barbuda, which has consistently included Mrs. Lanahan. I will begin with an overview of volume one, and then take up in detail the issue of the authorship of this historic work.

Volume one of this work is structured by twenty-eight annotated chapters of colonial correspondence, genealogy records, and an addenda. The first nine chapters oscillate between the nautical and cartographical position of the island, and its general topography before quickly morphing into references to Columbus's imperial accounts. There is a lengthy histrionic fable, 'The Legend of Ding-a- ding Rock" (10-14) representing a xenophobic fear of "Carib" raids. This is highlighted in great detail by the shadowy abduction of an English woman and child, erupting in homophobic suspicions of spousal purity, a wife's dungeon banishment, and a

letter of petition to decimate the ‘Carib people’.[1] While the destruction of the Indians, gets frequent mention, (and is propitiously interspersed with tales of war between France and England), it suggests the great divide of misunderstanding in the centuries-long imperial discrediting of native cultures of the colonies. These first chapters are accounts of Settlers’ inter-island excursions and London-dispatched trials of governors, hurricanes and recovery. By Chapter Eight, Governor Parke’s arrival, transgressions and ignoble demise quickly follow; and competing accounts of Governor Parke’s fatal expiration are provided.

By Chapter 12, a conspicuous mention of “historiography” surfaces: Antigua was visited in1805, “by the very clever author of *The Chronological History of the West Indies,* Captain Southey.”[2] A slave woman in irons impresses the visiting historian, her “owner” justifying her neck irons “to keep her at home.” This curiously echoes the earlier ‘account’ (and seeming justification) of imprisonment of Colonel Warner’s wife. As if penitently, the Spartan life of the Methodist head, John Baxter, is mentioned; followed by mention of the 1806 parliamentary debate, and subsequent passing of the 1807 Abolition of the slave trade on the high seas, prohibiting slave arrivals in the British Colonies in 1807. Lavington arrives to govern the island, with an especially virulent brand of racist policy (barefoot black servants and footmen in waiting). Curious investment in the immaculate genealogy of Carlisle is duly chronicled, and is followed by advocating for the 1809 death penalty for the “infatuation” of Obeah (sic), or witchcraft by enslaved African peoples. This resilience of African religious cultures, their attendant metaphysical languages and ontological signs, stubbornly practiced without any anticipation of the 1834 ‘Emancipation,’ was menacingly uncompromising – and, apparently, worth mentioning.

Many vivid metaphysical images insisted - one of the iron-willed runaway slave woman with neck irons, which haunted The Author. These are among the myriad “unyielding silences”, to borrow a phrase from Jamaican critic, Michael Dash, that shout from the creases of the work.

In Chapter 14, the tone of the narrative describing (“My first voyage to Antigua”) shifts dramatically to one that is personal. Clearly, the sentiments and descriptors are of an eyewitness; a sensual encounter with the environment. Here, the voice is gender-selective (“the cry of land,” “bosom of the ocean,” “a beating heart,” “tied on my bonnet,”); the mountains appear “barren and sun-burnt”. Here too, strange voices of the caged Booby bird’s cawing welcome, the Black Pilot’s orders, a convincing chamber-echo of

"dialect." Next, the raw paternalism: sugar-mills' sails as ghostly allusive, winged and pure; the protective 'great house' looking down on "its [Antigua's] little hamlet of negro huts, picturesquely embosomed in trees." A portrait of St. John's ("its white houses and green jalousies lay stretched before us, surmounted by its neat and pretty church…"); the flag ran up the mast – the imperial message "to the good people of St. John's, the arrival of a ship from home." This neatly painted vignette, scrolls quickly to the focal point: the ownerships of estates, offshore islets and cays. But, these carefully noted ownerships, and genealogies, are listed only after an obsessive return to the Black Pilot's cacophonic language. This useful foil - the unbridled black seaman, effusive with mastery of the sea, is contrasted with the necessary Settler defense of the harbor - ("one of the finest", and later, ("generally full of shipping") is shadowy, at best. One last counterpoint: a wreck of the ill-advised mail-boat, *Maria*, sunken on the rocks, with "an inanimate female" rightfully rescued by 'a party of gentlemen.' Under the veneer of the "impartial voice of the observer," this undulating oscillation of stereotypes and limpid evocations renders the pattern of the work.

By Chapter 15, another seismic shift occurs, a grudging mention of free blacks: having abandoned field labor ("patriarchal occupations"), preferring instead to be artisans; others of those shy of the 'Patriarchal' Arts are tempted by passing ships, beckoning from the southern colonies. The freed blacks pathologically prefer the wanderlust of emigration, but the writer's intention is revealing, and specific: - "he leaves his native island, his wife and children without remorse…"). To make the blunt point of bonded immigrants' perils, a bizarre letter ostensibly written by "Seizar" – a racist letter parodying the creolized English, is printed ("Dear Pomp Eye," "an me tink wid you," "who will way lay an take de nagurs," "Your Fren'," etc), from an undocumented West Indian newspaper (no date].[3]

Chapters 16, with its detailed observations, attempt to show a commanding intimacy of someone who actually visited Old Road Estate: weather, road conditions, Tom Moore's Spring, an apparition, Fig Tree Hill, melancholy churchyards, the remote country school. Then, in a pasture hardly resembling a garden or orchard, a well-endowed paradisiacal lime-tree is seen. Throughout this work, there are numerous 'surprises' (tombstones, manners, vistas, apparitions).

Seasons, droughts, desolate countryside, fill Chapter 17; meteors, hurricanes, heavy rains, famished livestock and earthquakes comprise a catalog of natural disasters, gone awry.

This Chapter deals wholly with the weather, the list of shipwrecks from the unpredictable and violent storms, a ghoulish theater of England's finest – their sacrificial lives, inferred as extra-worthy offerings in supreme imperial sacrifice.

Chapter 18, by contrast, is the colorful description of the social scene in St. John's Town. Here, the narrative slyly shifts to male-deference in a town's maelstrom of activity; a town with no causeways; the visitor "elbowing his way." Beyond the bedlam of the huckster, emerges a loftier authorial mission – to inventory, describe and define things: ("streets in straight line to the sea, houses in white or light stone, glass windows and small garden"). There is mention of two undocumented newspapers. In necessary contrast, there are grog shops, retail providers, lumber yards and warehouses; the Antiguan merchant ("far too wise for that…") amidst the exotic "assemblage of goods." A ladle of luxury goods arrived by sea, on the *Randolph*: cheese and backgammon sets, sugar biscuits and rocking chairs – all luxuries from this American ship. Lexicographical excursions about lumber understood to be timber; even here, a compulsive authorial need to name, to define and to catalog Place, surfaces: ("Having endeavoured to give the Antiguan definition of lumber, I will now proceed to describe the yard"). Of fashion and the Scotch shops, a new branding emerges: ("Antiguan haberdashery stores"), and, ("Antiguan shops").

But, amidst this compulsive inventory comes the "contradictory omens": barbs concerning the origin of the Scotchmen swiftly follow, the quaint names of streets (no real familiarity attached), and finally, a 1769 fire of the town blamed on "the negligence of a woman who was employed in ironing, and who omitted to extinguish the fire in a coal-pot, after finishing her labours." A straw bonnet-maker is implicated in another fire of 1841, then, buttressed in Imperial legacy: "in the words of an old writer, when describing the fire in London in 1666,…a graphic description answers equally for the fire of Antigua, as it did of yore, for that of London." Against this spectacle of colossal loss, "the negro-men behaving very ill, refusing to lend assistance [in most instances]"). In a fit of nostalgia, the writer notes that more than eight months pass, "since the awful cry of 'fire!' awoke the Antiguans."

More Planter mythology consumes Chapter 19, 'visits' to the Tombs, sepulchral inscriptions; the town cathedral's auspicious mural – a monument for Robert Cullen – conspicuously misplaced far from his interment.[4] This particular detail is meant to lend impeachable pedigree to the English

settler settlement; and the book's contrived poetic legacy.[5] Misplaced stone figures – St. John the Baptist, and St. John the Evangelist – extend the figurative space, mutely frame one entrance of the town's churchyard. Once, booty from la belle France, and slated for Catholic enshrining in Santo Domingo, they gaze somberly over-shadowing all else. The accretion of Black Venus mythology replicated in the "Adam and Eve" appellation, anchors a loci of Black Atlantic mythology, effectively passed down for another century.

Public buildings, the Court house's origins (1747) its colorful role in the early life in the town; the Moravians ' earliest missions, and Methodism's prolific and meteoric rise are well documented, in Chapter Twenty. The chronology of the island's civic and benevolent societies consumes most of Chapter 21; the civic support of the merchants, and also legislative and professional support is well chronicled. The records excerpted here, the dates and demographic memberships of their initial efforts are invaluable to the foundational and early institutional life of the post-Emancipation period. For example, The Antigua Library Society is well represented, and detailed samples of its early stock show how good records by donor groups, served the compiler.

For a different analysis, one finds Chapter 22 – by far the longest chapter in both volumes - accounting for literary descriptions of human activity. The author artfully opens the chapter ("The church clock proclaimed the hour of five, as a gentle rap came at my chamber door"), transcribing a line from Poe's poem, *The Raven*. Poe writes ("suddenly there came a taping,/as of some one gently rapping, rapping at my chamber door - /"). To find the author's near-Masonic impulse – why he may have selected this line of 'interior space', above all else, and from this American poet, consider Poe's very next stanza. The last line reads, ("Nameless *here* for evermore"). This was Poe's mytho-poetic code (to write of something not named nor spoken to, in this world). Poe went to school in England in 1815, learning Latin and French. Interestingly, he published his poem, *The Raven,* in 1844. Which of these corresponding variables, then, account for the author identification with Poe's line? What was it in Poe's descriptive task, ("Many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore"), that struck the Author? There is, notwithstanding, a surfeit declaration of concealment about the real identity of this work's author? The last line of his opening paragraph: - "It is time to dress, in order to prosecute our intended journey to English Harbour." Curiously chosen word: prosecute.

How then does he diffuse it? Almost immediately, he quotes 14 lines from the Scottish poet, James Thomson's (1700-1748) poem, *Spring* (1727), about the virtues "of early rising". Thompson also wrote 'Rule Britannia!' - a lightening bolt of the British Empire's "rising", published almost a century before, in 1740.

The ride to English Harbour, otherwise dull, offers up negroes (sic) flush in Bunyanesque greeting, carrying produce to market, on their self-appointed Monday Market day. Clearly, this is an encounter of the alternative tradition, a post-Emancipation departure. Later, leaving All Saints, "the village of Liberta" boasts its own formal sign ("as a painted board informed us"). The narrative necessarily counters, repeating the legend of Ding a Ding Nook.

Finally, after mention of a tragic death of a lieutenant refusing orders on the night of a ball, a visit to some caverns, glimpsing Indian Creek ("So famous in 'story'") that is narrated as a 'Legend," the author reconstructed in the safety of Spring Gardens. There is method to the author's circuitous madness.

For the first time there is a transition between chapters – the proverbial page-turner. Chapters 23, 24, and 25 are solely is about *Zulmiera, The Carib Girl*. The legend is twenty-eight pages long! (It extends in *Continuation of the Legend*, through Chapter 24; and *Conclusion of the Legend* in Chapter 25.) (Only volume II's Chapter 42 on *Botany* exceeds it with 36 pages.) In this convoluted tale of unrequited love between an English-raised 'Carib girl' and a Saxon youth (son of a late archrival to the Governor) is pure fantasy. This Carib figure ("The clear olive tinge of her complexion, the large black eyes, which sparkled with dazzling light, and the long coal-black hair, braided and twined round and round her head, told that she was not of the same country") [287] serves the governor's daughter, Bridgette ("The beautiful daughter of the governor. If ever there was a personification of extreme loveliness it was known in Bridget. Scarcely seventeen, her slight but rounded figure, and her sweet, mild face, while it struck the beholder with admiration, and riveted his attention, gave the idea of some embodied sylph. Her complexion was of that ethereal tint of which the poet say – 'Oh, call it fair, not pale.'"). Her mother, Xamba, ("fell to the share of a young Englishman, a follower of Sir Thomas Warner's son, in his after colonization of Antigua.") Xamba accompanied her master to his new residence, and there bore him a daughter, but dying soon after, the infant was brought up in the governor's family. This fantasy is instructive for it serves the Victorian period in its viral

genetic mutation of cultures, well founded in the period's literature. Kipling and his Mowgli tale in Kim, is here duplicated by a careful compiler who, too, must face his own conflicting muteness, vague identity – invents this exhaustive fable between the realities of horror in the colony of "Antigua', to augment his own self-division, his necessary pretensions, and allegiances, in the metropolitan center. But, he also strategically places it at the end of the first volume – before the grandiose sketches of volume II, in every vulgar descriptive detail (again, beginning with the Caribs, Negroes), - for the next 20 consecutive chapters. Biology and Government, necessarily follow, in that order. The ignominies are ratcheted up: oblique praise against pathological disappointments, reports of wonderment about decrease in crime, increase of Christian marriages, dastardly hope to "see the negroes improved in their mental, as they are in their temporal affairs."

To conclude this review of the contents and claims of Volume I, it may be fair to quote, again, Ragatz's synopsis: "Its chief value is as a mirror of contemporary Caribbean society and for this it is invaluable."[6] For retentions persist, despite our best efforts.

Reviewing the Work for Authorship

Even now, genuine cautions emerge regarding authenticities of this "Work":[7] primary among them is the establishment of Place – whither a real or imaginary 'Antigua' as here portrayed; then, secondly, of a sensibility more troubling, there is a question of Pluralism. In short, a presence of absence in the democratic application of the term, 'Antiguans.' In re-reading this anachronistic construct of 'Antigua' and its corollary term, 'Antiguans', I see a worrisome proclamation of white Settler triumphalism, a demarcation hauntingly persistent – even at this contemporary juncture - when the paradigm of 'Country', 'Nation' and 'People' (or, put another way, History, Culture, and Language) - is interchanged with such confidence, and across so many media.[8] Additional care must ensue when historicism is offered up as something other than collectible hagiography.

At the onset, the well-known Jamaican Francophone Studies scholar, J. Michel Dash, offers us a useful gem of caution, to better contemplate this "work" reviewed, when he writes of "unyielding silences" and "contradictory omens":

"The poet's desire to reduce the world to an ideal expressivity has much in common with the literary historian's aim to enclose or tame the wild profusion of things, events, phenomena within neat conceptual categories.

Such a task is particularly daunting in the face of the unyielding silence of the New World and the 'contradictory omens' that abound and appear to resist all effort at creating symbolic orders." [9]

As we proceed in cautionary review of *Antigua and the Antiguans*, this curious prism of ledgers, faux-inscriptions, and fabled accounts should compel us towards a more textual regime, a more exerted taxonomy, in building future moral economies. [10]

This work, *Antigua and the Antiguans*, while filled with literary excerpts, botanical listings, monumental and genealogical inscription that are intermixed with colonial documents of treaties, would hardly be misrepresented, today. as Antiguan history. [11] There are good reasons why *Antigua and the Antiguans* appears in few works of Caribbean historiography. Goveia (1956, 1980) does not mention it; nor does the more recent B.W. Higman (1999). [12] Only the voluminous UNESCO compilation (1999), also edited by Higman, gingerly lists the book.[13]

In matters of its journalistic style, we are reminded of its published date (1844), to exact some soundings – narrative and other literary features. In 1844, R.S. Heagan, of The Antigua Polytechnic Association, ascribes the book's style to a poor imitation of one or two similar works.[14]

For me, Charles Dickens is as good a marker for these purposes, with his first major work, *Sketches by Boz* (1836). Dickens presented his readers with "a startling assemblage of tales and vignettes that can best be described as a montage."[15] This is strikingly similar to this dubious work about 'Antigua'. Dickens's disparate collection formed "a mixed or heterogeneous work, a remarkable hybrid that combines journalistic reportage with excessive sentiment and pathos."[16] And, in the uncertainty of the mid-1800s, Dickens's consolidations used journalistic conventions to describe the marginal picaresque lives of flophouses, prisons, gin and pawnshops; grouping these sketches into a single domain "could create the illusion of an immanent design, formal coherence, and narrative progressions."[17]

Certainly, *Antigua and the Antiguans'* format was an outgrowth of the Victorian Age, continuing through British imperial writing, ongoing and persistent as exemplified in Kipling's 1902 *Just So Stories for Little Children*; a "mixture of story, graphics, captions, and verse."[18] True to form, *Antigua and the Antiguans*, with its disparate rotation of Decrees, Royal Court Land patents, and breathlessly concocted fables and myths, the work can hardly conceal its obvious tonal shifts and ironic point of view.

Disclaimers abound in its Preface, along with the hallucinatory language partial to the trappings of a leisurely interloper: "Not being a native of the West Indies, and visiting that part of the world for the first time, in an age when all looks bright around us, the novelty of the scenes…" [19] These idyllic sentiments smack of an imagined sea-going class whose very dependency on the engulfing dehumanization seems increasingly unexplainable.

A hint of The Author's sources is breathlessly offered, and after the Contents, a list of "Subscribers." Understandably, the Preface contains obliging but urgent entreaties aimed at the socially ranked Subscribers; offering up impressions of private colloquies as a condensed and contrived history: "Pursuing the same practice at subsequent visits, my memoranda expanded to a considerable bulk… Some of my friends in the islands who had become acquainted with my pursuits, were gratified by the specimens of my labours, which were exhibited to them, and urged me to throw my scattered notes into form. I yielded to their solicitations, and the result has been the following pages, which, while they afford a condensed history of the colony from its earliest days, present also a record of the impressions produced on one, at first, fresh from English society, but now, by long continued residence, become almost an Antiguan…." [20]

This last caveat ("almost an Antigua") is, indeed, a jeweled revelation; one to be seriously re-considered, as we pursue the identity of the author, and what influences, interests, gave birth to this project.

On one hand, this work insistently burnishes institutional slavery as one that "can only in justice be referred to a state of society when the practice of torture had hardly befallen into desuetude in the civil courts of Europe, when the Inquisition was in full glory, when, only a few years before, the politest capital in the world had looked unmoved on: "Luke's iron crown, and Damien's bed of steel" – and criminals continued to be strung up by dozens in England…What wonder, then, that at such a period, and under such alarming circumstances, the Antiguans should have shown themselves cruel and barbarous?"[21]

This justification of the "peculiar institution" of slavery aside, the first epigram is deployed between the advent of 17th century 'Sensibility' and the emerging 'Anxieties' of the 19th century colony of Antigua. As with the carefully crafted narrative, this jingoistic poeticizing may, no doubt, incite a radical re-reading of the book's many literary reiterations. [22]

This first excerpt of poetry in *Antigua and the Antiguans,* can be traced to the perennial English linguist, Dr. [Samuel] Johnson. He provides its origin as being from Oliver Goldsmith ("The lifted axe, the agonizing wheel/Luke's iron crown, and Damien's bed of steel/"). Goldsmith (1728-1774), quoted from his poem, *The Traveller. It* was ostensibly written in 1768 about R.F. Damiens's 1757 attempt on the life of France's king, Louis XV.[23] But, Boswell, the great English lexicographer of his day, firmly believed that Goldsmith mistakenly modeled his reference to Luke from *Respublion Hungarica, an account of a* rebellion in 1514, "headed by two brothers of the name Zeck, George and Luke." [24] But when the rebellion was quelled, it was George – not Luke – who was punished by having his head circled with a red-hot crown. It is further documented that Goldsmith simply adopted Luke "for the euphony of the line."[25]

But the empowering obsessions with particularistic terms ("iron crown," and, "bed of steel") give way not only to elements of heuristic imperial language, but to the eradication of man-powering technologies undermining the settler-class's interests. [26]

After this first of many poetic allusions, The Author's benediction comes swiftly, - followed by the elastic endorsement of its Settler "Subscribers"[27]: "In conclusion, may the Great Giver of all good pour down His choicest blessings upon this beautiful and favoured little island; may her legislators be ably endowed in all true principles of jurisprudence; may her planters be blest with kindly showers, so that their golden canes may raise "tall plumes" in luxuriance; may her merchants, the prop of every civilized state, be prosperous – her peasantry happy and good, as they are *free (Author's italics)*; and, finally, may her ministers (of every denomination) be long spared to watch over and pray for her teeming inhabitants, that one choral song of praise may resound from every quarter and from every tongue."[28] These burnished conceits of planter class privilege, absentee profits and God-given Right seem audacious, but quite familiar.

Since English women were foundational writers of 19th century English literature, and the emerging travel book industry,[29] - How might the gendering of the author of this enigmatic work have been profitable?

Even at the onset of the initial printing, several "authors" were attributed in book trade reviews. For a certain concealment and mystery is inferred, as the phrase, The 'Author', is deliberately printed – despite the copyright registration process. This accounts for a certain calculation, on

the part of Lenaghan. How then, has the work's author been so repeatedly cited as, "Mrs. Flannigan," and/or "Mrs. Lanaghan"? What accounts for this unsubstantiated perpetuation by the book-traders, Reviewers, catalogers and bibliographers?[30]

By the end of this anomalous construct, one minor fact is certain: there has been a pneumatic seal around the identity of the published 'author'.

A few primary review sources expand the title from, 'The Author', to the honorific surname, "Mrs. Flanagan," or "Mrs. Lanaghan. [31] Since then, many identities – and incipient interests - are conjured, and offered up in millennial service.

Yet, only one, an 1844 review (and, this, originating in Antigua), seems convincingly reliable.[32] Robert Sproule Heagan attributes authorship to "Mrs. Lenaghan, an English lady who married a coloured Creole." There is no mention of where the union took place, or that she, in fact, ever resided in Antigua. As a member of the Antigua Polytechnic Association, Heagan was in a position to be acquainted with social details. The APA organization was described by Heagan as "a group of blacks and whites organized to promote the study of science and literature."[33]

AUTHORSHIP AS LITERARY INTERLOPER

The distinct linguistic and tonal shifts in the various chapters suggest the work might have been compiled and written in London by someone named Lenaghan; and sourced, in part, by an inheritance/inheritor from an estate. [34] Initially, it may have been advantageous to promote these documents as the collection of a widow of a "colored Creole" planter, (say, Patrick Lenaghan); or, more fancifully, an 'insider/outsider' observer; or, by the time of the book's publishing date, may have been legally filed as widow. (According to some accounts, it is verifiable that Mr. Patrick Lenaghan returned to England after considerable business transactions in Antigua.)[35] The more substantial motivation for having published this work could have been to further aid the social advancement of an offspring.

In England, a younger Patrick Lenaghan, a namesake, does surface as a Barrister-at-law in the Middle Temple, London, filing a Brief [36] brought to his legal attention in 1846, "when he advised an executor in Britain on a testator who had died in Antigua and was required to pay a large legacy duty."[37] But, Barrister Patrick Lenaghan may have 'inherited' the initial papers from a relative, or as an heir, and for personal or legal reasons sim-

ply published the accounts (sewn together by a partially imagined; partially researched narrative) - under the enigmatic name, 'The Author'. And, given the changing status of Creole society in 19th century English discourse, the voyeuristic projections (chapters 30 - 49) of "Negro life" included in the Work, suggests Patrick Lenaghan's own need for metaphorical gesturing. [38]

For Lenaghan, compiling this amalgamated work in England, it might well have been Sir Robert Hermann Schomburgk[39] - and not Froude[40] – who inspired the prospective author; thereby encouraging him to amass archival documents for self-promotion. How better to secure a royal commission, or a vaunted seat in Parliament? One historian was succinct in this 19th century landscape of flux, opportunism and ambition: "A large number of active historians and antiquarians sat in the Commons during the course of the century: Macaulay, Alexander Kinglake, Stanhope, J.E. Thorold Rogers, E.P. Shirley, Beriah Botfield and Lord Londesborough for example, and Disraeli's Young England derived much of its philosophy directly from the most tenacious of Victorian mythologies, the idealization of the Middle Ages. The attraction of an ideal of social cohesion based on the *noblessse oblige*, the evocation of a land in which freedom and responsibility were ineluctably yoked together was a compelling image of powerful cultural force in a society as radically divided as Victorian England"[41]

From Mrs. Lenaghan's notes, or visiting father Patrick Lenaghan's notes,[42] he forged an autobiographical tone - a scaffold of familiarity to the cobbled documented facts - so important to the book's authorial voice.

Who is this Author claiming substantial 'residency' in Antigua: ("Having been resident in Antigua both before and after the passing of the Emancipation Act, and having had ample opportunity of judging of the practical effects of that memorable event…"), while offering with lamentable paradox: "In justice to the character of the country which I have learned to love, I must, unwillingly, notice another and a most painful subject. I refer to the exceedingly harsh laws passed respecting the slaves (sic), and the shocking executions of those concerned in the insurrection of 1736.“ [43]

Evidently, the 1736 rebellion seems of the utmost primacy to 'The Author' – though it occurred more than a 108 years before the book's publishing. Yet, The Author feels compelled to deposit it as a lament in the Preface, while reserving ample space for it, later on. However, the designation of Preface, by itself, indicates a Teutonic purist preference over the

Saxon substitute, Foreword. [44] The rise of philology pioneered in England in the 1830s and 1840s, originated with the study of Old English, exploiting Anglo-Saxon manuscript material for the new printing clubs. [45] Certainly, The Reform Act of 1832, "Whilst affecting the structure of government and representation only minimally had called forth much rhetoric about the sacred heritage of English constitutionalism." By the time Lenaghan was studying Law, the notion that "identification with a parliamentary system of great antiquity, defended in the Stuart period with bloodshed, was an attractive argument for tradition.[46]

'The Author overlooked the 1728-9 Rebellion in Antigua, no doubt well remembered by the Planters in Antigua. Moreover, Humanist sentiments were incubating in Europe: Voltaire's *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, written after his sojourn in London; and, Joseph Priestley's criticism of David Hume's "masterpiece, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, written in the 1730s."[47] These signaled the growing cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment which, along with England's economic crisis of 1739 came Methodism, "with its trinity of Gain/Save/Give, with the stipulation that 'to gain money, we must not lose our souls'." [48] According to Moira Ferguson, (The Hart Sisters), they had already built a school in Antigua by 1813.[49] The hysteria of the 1736 'Conspiracy' may have seemed suitably advantageous to planters' interest in the short term, but ultimately may have backfired.[50]

In retrospect, news of the trial amidst irrevocable pan-Caribbean navigations,[51] may have encouraged Abolitionist forces in Parliament to pass the now-forgotten Leeward Islands Slave Act of 1794.[52] David B. Gaspar documents this lesser-known but more potent period, writing that "as early as 1791, Sir William Young, a wealthy absentee planter with property in Antigua, declared himself in support of amelioration; but the real initiative for such a program of reform came in April, 1797, when Young and Charles Rose Ellis, another prominent absentee planter, guided a motion through Parliament. On April 6, 1797, the House of Commons passed a resolution asking the king to recommend to the colonial legislatures that they 'adopt such Measures as shall appear to them best calculated to obviate the causes which have hitherto impeded the Slave Trade, and ultimately to lead to its termination…'"[53]

19TH CENTURY PRE-EMPTIVE EVENTS

Were there preemptive events incentivizing the publication of *Antigua and the Antiguans*? To be fair, there had been the crippling earthquake of 1843, described towards the end of the book.[54] In addition to this earthquake, let me suggest some other 19th century events that may have prompted the younger Lenaghan to publish this work. These were events, like the earthquake, which brought world attention to Antigua.

What larger forces might have incentivized Patrick Lenaghan to publish this Work in 1844? First, there was the fall of West Indian sugar profits, spurred by the Haitian and the American revolutions. Since 1834, the year of emancipation, with sugar production of 12,858 tons, it had taken a decade (1844) for sugar production to recover – with 11,255 tons. It would be1862, before those 1834 figures would be exceeded with 12,920 tons.[55] Drescher looks at the field of criticism about the decline theory, charting powerful market forces and their affect on the West Indies.[56] But beyond failing sugar economies, the boom in Egyptian cotton shifted English banking interests, including British seizure of Aden in 1839. [57]

Second, there were the wealthy Antiguan absentee planters, who resided in London and whose fortunes would be of public interest. According to Douglas Hall, the period between 1830 and 1848 shows at least two examples of pre-emancipation profiteers. By 1848, absentee-ownership among the 150 estates in Antigua was revealing two contrasting patterns. Francis Shand who owned nine of the island's most productive estates, "also held five others under lease, while being consignee in Britain of 32 others." [58]He lived in Antigua between 1830 and 1841, consolidating profits that later made him an absentee-proprietor, West India Merchant and Ship-owner in Liverpool.

By contrast, according to Hall, Sir William Codrington, was "never in Antigua." He was the son of the older Sir William, who, in the "pre-emancipation days, had netted about 20,000 English Pounds a year, from his estates on Antigua and Barbuda. In 1843, the younger Codrington inherited his father's wealth. But, in 1848, when asked of his ties to the Antiguan fortune, spoke with disappointment.[59] The visibility of rich planters such as these would certainly help to generate interest in a book on Antigua.

Third, in the United States of America, 19th century ethnic colonization[60] and emancipation directly enveloped the West Indian sphere; the end of slavery was tied to the removal of its blacks – some to Haiti, specifically, while others were dispersed throughout the West Indies.[61] In the books of the peri-

od, from Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia,* to Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, emigration from the United States bore an intractable refrain. According to notable US historian, Eric Foner, the West Indian Islands, were central – though opposite to the prevailing advocacy – to reconciling a negotiated space for emancipated blacks.[62]

A Fourth possible reason motivating Lenaghan to publish *Antigua and the Antiguans* is related to the 19th century West Indian Planters' post-Emancipation concerns. Particularly in the clamor of mercantile reparations, there were sinister commercial applications lurking in the backwaters of the Caribbean, potentially unimagined fortunes in the genetic patents market. True, it had originated in a regional colony but now that prospect had been lost by France. England's arch-rival had boasted of its gem of Saint Domingue, now the 1804 Republic of Haiti, had strung up the promoters, Bory and Hilliard d'Auberteuil, on the horns of the Radical Enlightenment. Undoubtedly, legal and scientific institutions in London knew that beyond the 18th century parochial preoccupations of the West India Planters sector, far more crucial prospects were looming. In short, the post-emancipation commercial prospects of the Caribbean as a whole could have been another factor motivating Lenaghan to publish *Antigua and the Antiguans.*

Fifth and finally, familial affiliations and family tragedies could also have been factors motivating Patrick Lenaghan. Such tragedies were starkly instructive, however sinister were their repercussions, as the case of Samuel Martin makes clear.

Samuel Martin, II, born at Green Castle, and sent to Ireland at seven years after his father's notorious death in 1701, returned after marrying Frances Yeaman. Yet he did not settle there until 1750 after raising his children in England. Remarried after Frances's death he returned a widower, after raising a second family with his second new wife, Sarah Wyke, who also died. Investing in fifty new slaves at Green Castle – mostly in their teens and evenly balanced between males and females – Martin proceeded to recoup from what he had earlier met: "a dismal prospect; his gang of Negroes reduced in numbers." He bought them not only for their labour power but for their reproductive potential, in the dubious art of "proprietary management" – for which he wrote to his son Samuel III, "tho my Estate by ye blessings of Providence upon my industry, will in a few years be restored to its former fertility and produce, yet when I am gone to another world it may probably fall back again to ruin, by ye mismanage-

ment of people who have no conscience nor any other but their own interest in view; but if one of my family, interested in ye good of the whole, is ye superintendent, you may expect a good produce…"[63]

Now, a hundred years later, vast commercial fortunes with sober beginnings in Antigua re-surfaced; lost, if not wanton, opportunities were there to be commercially hatched. Having originated under 18th Caribbean's racial hubris, Lenaghan's own social category – the hatching of such fortunes were now realistic possibilities as subsequent inheritance practices were at risk. [64] Certainly, a vision and the commerciality of "creating classes of homogeneously colored people seems to have gone beyond the practice of external marketing and identification practiced in early modern Europe or the Americas." [65] Maxwell reminds us, painfully, that: "There is no single moment or place from which a modern 'scientific' idea of race arose, but it appears that the period from the 1750s to the 1780s in France and the French Atlantic colonies was crucial in bringing about significant conceptual transformation. The Buffonian revolution raised questions about human variation and 'race' that were both exciting and troubling, particularly for people who lived in the Atlantic world or had an administrative or scientific interest there…"[66]

Factors such as these together with the already mentioned 19th century landscape of opportunity and ambition, just might have been the key factors motivation the younger Lenaghan to publish this work on Antigua. Against this backdrop, *Antigua and the Antiguans*, offers a glimpse of the maelstrom of events, official characterizations, - indeed, the taxonomy of colonial language - as authentic heritage. Poised on a Progressive era, its flaws ask that we look more fully at our human accomplishments. How else, to better understand the place, Antigua; and, a pluralism absent from the 19th century term, *Antiguan*? [67]

References

[1] *Cave of the Jagua: The Mythological World of the Taino*, Antonio M. Stevens-Arroyo, University of Scranton: Pennsylvania, 2006. In this second edition definitive study, including ritual features of warfare in Taino life (chapter 12), Stevens-Arroyo describes their ritual warfare, and mystical identification with the numinous, thusly: "The ritual of Taino warfare merits some elaboration here. In another work ["Warfare Among the Tainos From the Defeat of Cronabó to the Victory of Enriquillo" 1st Conference in the Dominican Republic, Rutgers University (Newark), April 11, 1986], I have analyzed the historical references to Taino

warfare by comparison with other ethnological materials. I concluded on the basis of this evidence that Taino warfare had a ritualized dimension, making it quite apart from European battle. For the Taino, armed conflict was generally meant to demonstrate superior skills to those of the opponent; killing was not the principal object of the contest…I believe that the that the religious system of the Tainos also affected their encounter with the Spaniards… Rather that departure from their usual mode of warfare, the Taino encounter with the Spaniards represented their preferred behavior in the face of conflict. It was behavior borrowed heavily from ideal of heroism of the centroverted or introverted personage of Taino myths. It was not an erroneous belief in the immortality of the Spaniards that prevented direct confrontation, but a religious disposition to trust in guile and the numinous power. " p. 238.

[2] Antigua and the Antiguans. p. 135

[3] Robert Glen, *Narrative Voices in 'Peregrine Pickle….A Negro'* (1821), v. 13:1, Spring 2007, pps. 99-107. Glen provides an invaluable piece of pioneer early 19th century Antiguan (Methodist) scholarship, which he found in Anne Hart Gilbert's account of conversion attempts with a Muslim enslaved African. He worked in the Naval Yard, in English Harbor, Antigua. Gilbert's account of Peregrine's reasoning, biographical account, recitative and elliptical narratives, and syntheses of beliefs he mastered, is compelling. Other scholarship (Frohnsdorff, Cassin, etc.) persuasively documents the high literacy of Antigua, and summarily refutes this mischaracterization.

[4] Antiguan and the Antiguans, The author writes, "This monument is pointed out to strangers on account of the peculiarity of its form, with the assertion that the person who built the church is buried there, and that the coffin is obliged to stand in a perpendicular position. This, however, is not correct; the monument certainly stands there, but the place where the body is entombed is 23 feet further to the west; and instead o f being raised to the memory of the architect of the church, that individual erected it to perpetuate the memory of his brother of his memory." p.233

[5] Mention of this misplaced tombstone may be part of an elaborate spatial affinity or by which the author hopes to extend an oppositional legacy. In London, for instance, Daniel Defoe, John Bunyan and William Blake (1757-1827 were all interred in Bunhill Fields. Their accommodation as Nonconformists were part of the Dissenters' burial ground. Blake's tombstone relates, as one author describes it, "that Blake's remains are not very precisely situated. Though he was interred near his parents, and joined by his widow, Catherine, the exact location of his last resting place was lost." Times Literary Supplement, February 25, 2011.

[6] Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *A Guide to the Study of British Caribbean History, 1763-1834, Including the Abolition & Emancipation Movements*; Washington D.C., 1932. From the Annual Report of the American Historical Association,1920, vol. 3, p. 224

[7] The Author, *Antigua and the Antiguans*, v. i., p. 336. In chapter XXVIII, the author writes: "It may perhaps be proper to remark, that although this work has been entitled, 'Antigua and the Antiguans,' still, as I have commenced its history from the period of its first discovery…"

[8] Visit the countless websites, for instance, some marketing Antigua; and/or various reprint editions of *Antigua and the Antiguans*.

[9] j. Michael Dash, *The World and the Word: French Caribbean Writing in the Twentieth Century,* Callaloo, 11:1, Winter 1988, p. 112-131

[10] Paul Gilroy's *Darker than Blue: on the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture*," The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA, 2010

[11] Phillipa Levine, "Past history and present politics," in *The Amateur and the Professional (Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886*, Press Syndicate, Cambridge University Press: London, 1986. Levine elucidates: "Textual authority became the fundamental tenet of Victorian historical writing. The abundant schemes, both private and public, for publishing editions of manuscripts, early books, catalogues of records and collections attests to this new dominant faith in the text. Archival research, had by the turn of the century, become the sine qua non of the professional." p. 87. Levine writes bluntly, "The overtly diplomatic and political content of much orthodox historical writing reinforced the contrast between history proper and the popular historical fiction of the day."

[12] *Antigua and the Antiguans* does not appear in Elsa V. Goveia's *A Study on the Historiography of the British West Indies (to the end of the Nineteenth Century)*, Howard University Press: Washington, D.C., 1980; B.W. Higman, in *Writing West Indian Histories* (Macmillan Education Ltd., 1999), does not mention the book, but gives a chronological account of Antiguan archival neglect of papers, beginning in 1909. Of contemporary interest, Higman mentions the Oxford historian Richard Pares (1902-58), investigating the archives in Antigua in 1928-29, following the Carnegie Institute of Washington's survey; both surveying regional archival materials. Also: Richard Pares, '*Public Records in the British Wet Indian Islands*' (1930), Public Record Office, p. 446; Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 7 (1930), pp. 149-57.. The Carnegie Institute's published survey, Guide to British West Indian Archive Materials in London and in the Islands for the History of the United States (1926).

[13] B.W. Higman, Ed., *General History of the Caribbean* (*Methodology and Historiography of the Caribbean*), vol. VI, UNESCO Publishing, 1999, pps. 533, 778. In chapter 17 ('Historiography of the Leeward Islands and the Virgin Islands'), from a section 'The seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,' Margaret D. Rouse-Jones, writes: "However, for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries little was written on these particular groups of islands. Thomas Coke's three-volume *History of the West Indies* (1808-11) devotes a chapter to each of the islands, with the common thread being the establishment of Christian missions. The inclusion of substantial quotations from contemporary witnesses enhances the usefulness of thee volumes for researchers. For Antigua in particular, historical/descriptive accounts by J. Johnson and Mrs. Flanagan are of limited significance." [533]. The author is listed in the UNESCO compilation as 'Flanagan, Mrs' [778].

[14] R.S. Heagan, *A Review of the Work Lately Published Entitled, 'Antigua and the Antiguans'*, The Herald Newspaper Office: Antigua, 1844. Heagan writes: "The style seems to be an imitation of Mrs. Trollop's 'Domestic Manner of the Americans'; and 'Six Months Residence in the West Indies', by Coleridge; but as imitations are generally bad resemblances, it falls far short of the prototype in the vivid and humorous descriptions with which they abound." p. 6.

[15] Danielle Coriale, '*Sketches by Boz*: ("So Frail a Machine")', in *Victorian Hybridities*, U.C. Knoepflmacher, and Logan D. Browning, eds., The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2010, p. 56.

[16] Ibid. Coriale conjectures that Dickens may have been inspired by Washington Irving's work, *Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon* (1820), but Dickens's work did preempt the first publication of *The Pickwick Papers* (1836-37). She writes, instructively, and applicable to our work under review, "The formal hybridity of *The Sketches* prevented any evolution into the densely interwoven narrative form that Dickens came to privilege over the course of his career. The original sources and intended audiences of each isolated sketch were so varied that the work as a whole would remain an uneasy amalgam of short tales steeped in pathos, and more disjointed, plotless sketches that use journalistic conventions to describe [London's] prisons, secondhand-clothing stores, private theatres, courthouses, gin shops, street corners, pawnshops, fairgrounds, pleasure gardens, and hackney-coach stands." …The miscellany defied any movement towards a linear, narrative progression despite Dickens's efforts to impose a narrative design." p. 57-8

[17] Ibid. p. 63-4. Coriale writes that in the "Scenes" section of later editions: "…a new kind of realism emerged. Resisting linear narrative, these sketches produced a mode of realism in the clash in between image and text, and from the opposition between the working –class brawls of Seven Dials and the leisure activities of middle-class pleasure seekers at Vauxhall Gardens. This new mode placed unrelated events and images alongside one another to reveal what was ordinarily invisible to the human eye." p. 64-65

[18] U.C. Knoepflmacher and Logan D. Browning, eds., *Victorian Hybridities (Culturel Anxiety and Formal Innovation)*, The John Hopkins Press: Baltimore, 2010, p185

[19] *Antigua and the Antiguans*. Preface, p. v

[20] The Author, *Antigua and the Antiguans*, London, 1844. The 'Author' lists numerous 'friends,' obviously English families perceived as an ethnically endangered species, already disenfranchised by the 1834 Emancipation. The 'Author' conspicuously lists them at the end of her Preface: "Edward S. Byam, Esq., the Rev. and Hon. Burgh Byam, Col. Byam, Dr. Furguson, Nathaniel Humphreys, Esq., Deputy Colonial

Secretary in Antigua, John Furlong, Esq., ___ Edmead, Esq. [sic], Captain George B. Mathew, of the Guards, and the Rev. D.F. Warner, and others." p. viii. For hints of observations of bias attribued to "Mrs. Flannigan," characterized as "often impolite remarks against Scotts," in her writing of Antigua and the Antiguans, read Natalie A . Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776,* Cambridge University Press, 2010.

[21] *Antigua and the Antiguans*, p. viii

[22] James G. Basker, ed., *Amazing Grace: An Anthology of Poems about Slavery 1660-1810,* Yale University Press, 2002., p. 583-84. Consider this other poetic model against the selection of Goldsmith line: first, that from 1793 to 1801, Haitian forces led by Toussaint defeated other factions, repulsed a British invasion, while gaining control of Haiti. In 1792, Wilberforce's bill was defeated, but the Abolitionist movement had shaped public opinion. In 1802, William Wordsworth wrote a protest poem, *To Toussaint L'Overture*, marking his defeat by French forces. Its style explicitly broke with the Pastoral, and instead seized industrial tropes; turning Expansionist virtues on its proverbial head.

[23] Brewer, E. Cobham, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, 1898;* also: Tobias George Smollett: *A Complete History of England, 1757 - 1765,* v. 12, p. 39; The Gentleman's magazine, Volume 58, Part 2, 1788, p. 602; John Wilson Croker, "The Life of Samuel Johnson," Vol. 1, 1832, p. 226

[24] Robert Chambers, William Chambers, in *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts*. 1851. Compiled by Rev. Mr. Granger, *Republion Hungarica* was, (according to James Boswell Esq., biographer of *The Life of Samuel Johnson)*, one of the Latin compendia of history and geography published by the Elzevira.

[25] One biographer, Sir James Prior, in his *Life of Goldsmith (1837)* wrote that if "the change was made to avoid the appearance if an irreverent sneer at George III, it is on par with his proposed correction of the text. But, the punishment to George of the 1514 Hungarian rebellion aside, both William and Robert Chambers, attribute to Boswell succinctly: "the same severity of torture was exercised on the Earl of Athol, one of the murderers of King James I, of Scotland."

[26] An auspicious photojournalistic newspaper, The Illustrated London News of October 19, 1844 (No. 129, Vol. V, features an article in its supplement, "Cast Iron Lighthouse for the West Indies." Dr. Zacek, the author, noted that earth plows were already quite popular on Antigua.

[27] The Author, *Antigua and the Antiguans*, (Preface), 1844. pps. 1- 8

[28] Ibid. p. viii

[29] Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833: A Study in Social and Economic History* (1928: reprint New York Octagon Books, 1971). Ragatz lists: Evangeline and Charles Andrews, ed., *Journal of a Lady of Equality [Janet Schaw]; Being a Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1770,* (1921), is one of the most charming West Indian travel accounts in existence…Mrs. A.C. Carmichael, author of *Domestic Manners and Social Conditions of the White, Coloured, and Negro Population of the West Indies* (2 vols., 1833), was the wife of a planter and resided in St. Vincent and Trinidad for five and a half years. Her rather sprightly book is extremely pro-colonial and whitewashes the islanders of all charges against them on the negro question…*Maria, Lady Nugent's A Journal of a Voyage to and Residence in the Island of Jamaica from 1801 to 1805* (2 vols.,1839). Also issued *as Lady Nugent's Journal. Jamaica One Hundred Years Ago* under the editorship of Frank C. Cundall in 1907)." p. 484-6.

[30] My initial Thanks to Robert Glen, whose initial correspondence beginning in May and June of 2010, generously shared a preview of his Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books review of Vere Langford Oliver text ("Antigua Triple Decker: Oliver's History of Antigua," 3:1, Summer 2010). It was Glen who offered me the first tantalizing clued in looking the possible corruptions of the "Flanagan/Lanaghan" enigma, encouraging me to search Antigua's 19th century newspapers for a Notice, or a Review, of the work. But, his even more specific clue: - that Robert Lenagan was a frequent mention in Oliver's History of Antigua, and may have warranted a second probe - was immeasurable. Also, Gregry Frohnsdorff reminded me that Susan Lowes's listing of several authors' citations of An*tigua and the Antiguans*, was online: http://antiguahistory.net/Documents/Lowes_part01.pdf). Lowes is cautious to write "It is not clear who she was, although it is interesting that Robert Lenaghan was one of the merchants who signed a petition in 1848 (CO7/89 Feb 28 1848); it seems possible that he was her husband." *Personal*

Correspondence, (with Gregory Frohnsdorff) He pointed to The Annual Report of the Library Company of Philadelphia for the Year 1993 (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1994): "…R. S. Heagan's A Review of the Work Lately Published, Entitled "Antigua and the Antiguans" (Antigua, 1844). It is a review essay of a two-volume work, *Antigua and the Antiguans* (London, 1844), usually attributed to one Mrs. Flannigan but actually, according to Heagan, by one Mrs. Lenaghan, 'an English lady who married a coloured Creole of this Island a few years since.'…His pamphlet is dedicated to the members of the Antigua Polytechnic Association, which Heagan describes as a group of blacks and whites organized to promote the study of science and literature." p. 32-33. [Lake's Note: according to *Personal Correspondence (Frohnsdorff):* Heagan, as listed above, is "Robert Sproule Heagan, 'an Irish adventurer' who had become publisher of the Weekly Publisher"; Howard S. Pactor, comp., *Colonial British Newspapers: A Bibliography and Dictionary, Bibliographies and Indexes in World Histories,* no. 19 [New York: Greenwood Press, 1990 (1) -4.], footnote 19.19, in Frohnsdorff's article ("Before the Public: Some Early Libraries of Antigua*"), Libraries & Culture*, 38:1, 2009, p. 16. Personal Correspondence with The Library Company, describes their 1993 Annual Report acquisition of the Heagan document, thus: "a unique addition is the only known copy of R.S. Heagan's "A Review of the Work Lately Published, Entitled *Antigua and the Antiguans," {*Antigua, 1844). Here, Heagan's review essay is further described as: "a two volume work, *Antigua and the Antiguans* (London, 1844), usually attributed to one Mrs. Flannigan but actually, according to Heagan, by one Mrs. Lenaghan, 'an English lady who married a coloured Creole of this island a few years since.' It notes that Heagan's pamphlet is dedicated to members of the Antigua Polytechnic Association…a society of blacks and whites organized to promote the study of science and literature." Additionally, in later *Correspondence with Robert Glen*, March 2, 2011, he independently points out: "Heagan's 'Review of the Work Lately Published' (1844) is listed in WorldCat with the note that it is not in the Library Company in Philadelphia. It's odd to indicate were a book is not located, but it suggests to me that it was once in the Library Company but is not there any longer (because it's been lost or stolen, etc.). You can see the reference to the London copy in Copac." Previously, however, in Correspondence (Feb. 18, 2011, with Cornelia S. King, of the Library Company of Philadelphia, I was sent the following from their catalog listing: Heagan, R.S. , A Review of the work lately published, entitled, "Antigua and the Antiguans," by R.S. Heagan.. – Antigua.: Published at the Herald Office., 1844..[1], 51 p.; 17 cm.

[31] Lake, *Personal Correspondence* (June 8, 2010), British Library: "You may have seen the following note in a few library catalogues regarding the authorship of the book incidentally it appears as though the British Library catalogue record is incorrect): Halkett and Laing, following a passing reference to this work in *Notes and Queries,* March 12, 1852, p. 259, ascribe the authorship to "Mrs. Flannigan". These are followed by Cushing. Vere L. Oliver, however, in his H*istory of the Island of Antigua,* London, 1894-99, v. 1. p. iv, attributes the work to "Mrs. Lanaghan;" but preceded by Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine*, March 1844, pp. 197 ff." One sample of critical content, read further *The Critic of Literature, Art, Science, and the Drama*, 1:6 (1844: April): "These volumes are the production of a lady who appears to have enjoyed the peculiar advantages for such an introduction to the domestic life of the Antiguans as only can enable the visitor to stranger shores to paint an accurate picture of the people." p. 129; *The Anti-Slavery Reporter,* February 21, 1844, reviews the book under "Literary Notice." Here too, the designation if as follows: "The author, indeed, is neither a magistrate, nor a planter, nor by position personally acquainted with agricultural of public affairs. She was, - for, in truth, this work is the production of a lady – however, resident in the island both before and after emancipation, and she can, consequently, say much from her own observations…" p. 29; Also: John Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies, Being a Review of the Character and Results of Missionary Efforts in the British and Other Colonies in the Charibbean Sea*, 1856. Horsford writes: "The only avowed history of Antigua that has yet appeared has emanated from the pen of an European lady, once a resident of that Island. In her volume, entitled '*Antigua and the Antiguans,*' she has, unintentionally no doubt, exhibited to disadvantage the lower classes of society. Her representations of their attempts to ape their superiors may be veritable, yet we think the colouring of the phraseology which they are said to employ is rather too strong, and may tend to depreciate them in public estimation. The amiable writer never contemplated such a design; but writings and words may be unfavourably construed, where the tone is somewhat hypercritical. Apart from this, there is much that is pleasing in this history of the Island and of its people; and as a literary production, the work is not without merit." p. 94; Lowell Joseph Ragatz, comp., *A Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History,1763-1834, Including the Abolition and Emancipation Movements,* vol. 3, p. 224, states: "An entertaining work. The writer was an English lady for many years resident in the colony both before and after emancipation…" In his earlier and equally exhaustive work, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the*

British Caribbean, 1763-1833: A Study in Social and Economic History, (1928: reprint, New York. Octagon Books, 1971), Ragatz writes: "*Antigua and the Antiguans* (2 vols., 1844) by 'Mrs. Flannigan,' an English lady for many years in the colony, is an invaluable mirror of contemporary island society." p. 485. Then, elaborating in an almost prescient manner, Ragatz writes in *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833: A Study in Social and Economic History* (1928: reprint New York Octagon Books, 1971): "The number of works portraying British Caribbean society as it existed in the three quarters of a century after the Peace of Paris is considerable, due to interest in the subject having been aroused by the agitation for abolition and emancipation. These range from sketchy impressions gained through a few months' stay to two or three volume treatise based upon many years' residence and came chiefly from the pens of estate owners, military men, and feminine relatives of colonial officials."

[32] While 19th century book-trade reviewers alternate between "Mrs Flanagan, or Mrs. Lanaghan, - 20th century bibliographers (to include Ragatz) offer "Flannigan" as the author's name. Dr. Natalie A. Zacek, credits *Antigua and the Antiguans,* to Amelia Flannigan. Both in Zacek's essay, *Guide to the microfilm of The Papers of Samuel Martin, 1696/5-1776, relating to Antigua,* Microform Academic Publishers, (p. 4); and in her own book, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*, Zacek cites the author as: "Mrs. Amelia Flannigan, an Irishwoman who married an Antiguan planter and composed the only nineteenth-century work on the history of Antigua…", Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 99. Meanwhile, Gregory Frohnsdorff, in his article, "Before the Public: Some Early Libraries of Antigua," *Libraries & Culture*, Vol. 38:1, Winter 2003, as "Frances Lanaghan, a temporary resident of the island who spent much of the decade observing all facets of Antigua society." P. 9; however, he attributes the book's author in his footnotes (p. 20.49), to: "[Frances T. Lanaghan] *Antigua and the Antiguans: A Full Account of the Colony…."* Frohnsdorff is meticulous in further noting, "There is some confusion about her name. See Riva Berleant-Schiller, Susan Lowes, and Milton Benjamin, comps., *Antigua and Barbuda: World Bibliographical Series, vol. 182* (Oxford: Clio Press, 1995), 72; and Lowell Joseph Ragatz, comp., *A Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History, 1763-1834, Including the Abolition and Emancipation Movements,* Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1930, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), 224." While Ragatz cites the author as "Mrs Flannigan", tracings

of various other citations persist. *Lake, Personal Correspondence,* February, 2011. Frohnsdorff attributed his citation of "Frances T. Lanaghan" to "…the 1995 Antigua bibliography (Riva Berleant-Schiller, Susan Lowes, and Milton Benjamin, comps., *Antigua and Barbuda, World Bibliographical Series, vol. 182*. Oxford: Clio Press, 1995, p. 72), especially since it supported the Lanaghan attribution in Vere Langford Oliver's *History of the island of Antigua...*" Also, Frohnsdorff, a Catalog Librarian, meticulously provided: Moira Ferguson, *Colonial and Gender Relations from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jamaica Kincaid: East Caribbean Connections*. New York: Columbia University Press, c1993): "The Antiguan historian, Frances Lanaghan, speaks explicitly and at some length about prejudice on the island …. I thank Desmond Nicholson for supplying me with Frances Lanaghan's correct name. (The title page has no name, but the book is generally attributed to a Mrs. Lanaghan. Desmond Nicholson discovered her full name by writing to her relatives.)" p. 150. Frohnsdorff wrote to me: "I think Nicholson may have written an introduction to a recent edition of *Antigua and the Antiguans* (1991) (?), but I have not seen it. "] Meanwhile, *The Hart Sisters*, edited by Ferguson, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, c1993, also cites "Frances Lanaghan." Further correspondence with Frohnsdorff, provided this: "The Library of Congress bases its choice of the name Mrs. Lanaghan as the standard one in its authority file on a 1991 edition: "Her Antigua and the Antiguans, 1991: jkt. (Mrs. Lanaghan; earlier thought to have been Mrs. Flannighan; b. Cork, Irland [sic]; Englishwoman who married an Antiguan)."Also: "... I find that the question of authorship for this work has been resolved, and that the author is Amelia Flannigan." (See http://blog.gmane.org/gmane.culture.literature.e-books.gutenberg.volunteers/month=20101101).

[33] The Annual Report of the Library Company of Philadelphia for the Year 1993 (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1994), pps. 32-33.

[34] There are multiple mentions (but this is the most likely reference) of Patrick Lenaghan in Oliver's work, *The History of Antigua*, v. 1, p. 246, that begins a curious trace: "indenture of 7th may, 1806," between Patrick Lenaghan and Samuel and Grace Martin of land that Grace had inherited from an earlier legal process in 1797.

[35] Correspondence with Robert Glen, The University of Connecticut. 2011. Glen points out the following traces of a Patrick Lenaghan/Lenagahn in Antiguan newspapers and Enrollment Books: 1.

Enrolment Book of the Register's Office, 162 (1804), 37-1, Valuation of Drew's Hill Estate (17 Aug. 1804): ["the estate's 59 slaves included 13 slaves recently (c. 1802) purchased from Messrs. Lenaghan."] 2. Deed Book (1809-10), 10: a firm of Dublin merchants gives power of attorney (POA) to Patrick and William Lenaghan, Antigua, merchants (16 March 1807 [sic]). 3. Enrolment Book, 165 (1806-9), 57: [Glen writes: 'exactly the same as above but dated 14 April 1808. Perhaps a renewal of the1807 POA ?]. 4. Antigua Free Press (16 Jan. 1829), 3d: [Glenn writes: 'Patrick Lenagahn is selling a house in Popeshead Street and will soon be leaving the island"). 5. Enrolment Book, 167 (1831-36), 136-7: deed of 1 Aug. 1835 in which Patrick Lenaghan gives POA to George Cranstoun. [Glen writes: "Is PL planning to visit or move to England?"). Perhaps the main message here is that the Lenaghans were already well-established in Antigua during the first decade of the nineteenth century, which suggests that they may have arrived during the 1790s. None of this solves the problem of Mrs. Lenaghan's identity, of course, but since William seems to disappear along the way, one possibility is that she was his widow and had both money and time on her hands. (This is, obviously, just more speculation on my part.)

[36] Patrick Lenaghan, *A Treatise on the Legacy Duty, as Attaching on the Property of Persons Dying Abroad or in Great Britain* (London, 1850). Further, *Correspondence with Robert Glenn*, May 2, 2011: "I do have a few pieces of additional information. The Morning Post (2 July 1846), 5a, indicates that Patrick Lenaghan won a prize in law at University College, London. Then, both Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper (8 Nov. 1846), 12c, and Morning Post (9 Nov. 1846), 5f, indicate that one Patrick Lenaghan was called to the bar in the Middle Temple. Glen write, further: "I may have mentioned before that the Treatise of 1850 identifies him as a barrister in the Middle Temple….[I]f he were completing his legal training in 1846, he probably would have been born in the early 1820s. If he were the son of Patrick Lenaghan of Antigua, the latter presumably would have been married by about 1820. If his wife were the Mrs. Lenaghan from England who wrote the book, she probably sailed to Antigua after Waterloo (i.e., between 1815 and 1820)…but we really have little hard evidence." Here, Glen confirms my earliest suspicion about an omnipotent but summarily elusive "Mrs. Lanaghan/Flanagan," when he later writes: "Just a passing thought: Patrick Lenaghan the law student was in London in 1844. Is it possible that he was the elusive "Mrs. Lenaghan"? Heagan in Antigua may have once known the real Mrs. Lenaghan, but how could he really

be sure who wrote and published the book in London? Still, if I had to bet money, I would bet on Heagan. But I could imagine PL—an Antigua native far from home, a university student for many years, and a future author—compiling bits and pieces of Antigua and the Antiguans in his spare time. (Is it possible to speculate too much??)."

[37] *Correspondence with Robert Glen*, February 24, 2011. Decisively, it has been Glen's independent correspondence that has initially helped to corroborate Frohnsdorff's earlier posted citation of Heagan's substantial claim: that the book's author was the spouse of a 'coloured Creole,' Patrick Lenaghan (sic). Later, I was able to inspect a conference copy of the Heagan review for this article.

[38] Charles Baxter, *The Glory and His Curse*, The New York Review of Books, September 30, 2010, p.14. The author's review of Freedom, by Jonathan Franzen, states: "The author's foray into the social world were invariably less successful than his treatment of personal and private matters. The mover toward the social 'becomes merely aesthetic, a metaphorical gesturing.'" Baxter elaborates further:

[39] Robert Hermann Schomburgk travelled to the West Indies in 1830, exploring the Guiana territory for which he was knighted in 1844. He published *A Descriptive Account of British Guiana* (1840). Wilson Harris refers to him as Richard Schomburgk, in "The Schizophrenic Sea," in the *Selected Essays of Wilson Harris: The Unfinished Genesis of the Imagination*, Andrew Bundy, ed., Routledge Press: London, 1999. Harris declares: "[Michael] Swan quotes Richard Schomburgk's *Travels* of the nineteenth century…" p. 106

[40] James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies, or the Bow of Ulysses*. (London: Longman's, Green, and Co. 1888). Nicholas Darnell Davis, *Timehri,* 1888. Herein, Davis published an extended critique of Froude's work. Also, read Davis's booklet, Mr. Froude's *Negrophobia, or Don Quixote as a Cook's Tourist,* 1888.

[41] Phillipa Levine, "Past history and present politics," in *The Amateur and the Professional (Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886*, p. 84. For identifying the changeover from an organic continuity with the English past wherein conditions could claim to be not just the only logical – but the best outcome of a revered and celebrated past, see Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge*

(London, 1872). Foucault writes of the establishment of a new central historical concept, that of discontinuity; that the 'new' history had as its corollary a break with the past.

[42] R.S. Heagan, "A Review of the Work Lately Published 'Antigua and the Antiguans,' Herald Newspaper Office: Antigua, 1844 Heagan writes: "This work is said to be the production of a Mrs. Lenaghan, an English lady who married a coloured creole of this Island a few years since, during a visit which he made to England." p. 6. Robert Sproule Heagan is the name provided by Frohnsdorff.

[43] *Antigua and the Antiguans*. pp. vi - vii

[44] See the Oxford English Dictionary for the etymology of these words, Foreword and Preface. Also, Elaine Treharne, and Greg Walker, Eds., The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English, The Oxford University Press, 2010. 787 pp. The Handbook offers the interrelationship between the Old and Middle English literatures, challenging the artificiality of period boundaries; undervalued pre-Conquest manuscript culture hints at the diversity of pre-modern literary culture in linguistic, regional, generic, and thematic terms.

[45] Phillip Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional (Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England)1838-1886*, Press Syndicate, Cambridge University Press,: London, 1986. Levine documents English printing clubs of the 1830s and 1840s, in which 17 successful clubs existed before Antigua and the Antiguan, was published. See: Appendix II, p. 179-80. Four other clubs proved to be unsuccessful during the same period, but at least two are relevant to Antigua and the Antiguans: Essex Morant Society, 1841, Regional publications. This society was named after Essex historian, Morant; Leland Society, 1840. Founded for the promotion of British topography, genealogy and biography; Society for the Publication of Collections from the Public Records, 1840; and Wiltshire Topographical Society, 1839. Regional publications. Additionally, there were 47 county and local societies up to 1886, with six established before 1844 (Appendix IV).

[46] Ibid. p. 78. Also: T.W. Mason, '*Nineteenth Century Cromwell*', *Past and Present* 40 (1968) 187-91; C.H. George, '*Puritanism as History and Historiography*', *Past and Present* 41 (1968) 77-104; J.W. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historian and the English Past* (Cambridge, 1981)

[47] Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Road to Modernity (The British, French and American Enlightenment),* Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 2004. pps. 14,16.

[48] Ibid. In a chapter, *Methodism: A Social Religion*, Himmelfarb writes: "The economic crisis of 1739, [Elie] Halévy pointed out, coinciding with the religious revival stated that year by the brothers John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, reanimating a religious spirit that was no longer satisfied by either the Dissenting sects or the Church of England." p. 117.

[49] Moira Ferguson, ed., The Hart Sisters, University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln and London, 1993. Ferguson writes: "At an important historical gathering in 1813, Elizabeth Hart Thwaites and her husband met with teachers and five hundred children from neighboring plantations on the estate belonging the Lyon family and instituted a plan to teach the children to read. Halfway between English Harbour, where the Thwaiteses lived, and the Lyons' estate, slae volunteers built a schoolhouse within six weeks to house this project." p. 14

[50] The shocking death off Samuel Martin, returning from England a widower for the second time, in 1776, had no doubt reverberated among the planters, and their profiteering cause. His treatise, "An Essay upon Plantership," appearing in six editions in Antigua, Jamaica, and London between 1750 and 1802, no doubt was a useful and propagandist's beacon to pre-Emancipation hopes. Read further: *The Papers of Samuel Martin, 1694/5-1776, relating to Antigua.*

[51] See: Julius S. Scott's article, "Crisscrossing Empires: Ships, Sailors, and Resistance in the Lesser Antilles in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*, Paquette, Robert L., & Engerman, Stanley L., eds. University Press of Florida: Gainesville/Orlando/ Miami/Jacksonville; 1996.

[52] See Gaspar, David Barry, in: "Ameliorating Slavery: The Leeward Islands Slave Act of 1798," in *"The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*," eds. Paquette, Robert L., & Engerman, Stanley L., Univ. Press of Florida, 1996. Gaspar writes: "During the early 1820s, Britain pressed the legislatures of its Caribbean colonies to take steps for ameliorating slavery. In general, representatives of the British Leeward Islands of Antigua, [et al]…said that much of what they had been asked to

implement had been anticipated twenty-five years earlier by the Leeward Islands Amelioration Act of 1798. Historians of Caribbean slavery have shown more interest in the processes of amelioration in the 1820s, which were connected immediately with slavery itself and issues under discussions centered primarily on the slave trade and abolition and secondarily on slavery…Many well-known historians of slavery have shown that by the 1780s the abolitionist attack on the slave trade was gathering strength in Britain. Caribbean planters realized that the discussions about regulating and then abolishing the slave trade itself, so they and their supporters in Britain seized the initiative by agreeing to improve the conditions of slavery to reduce their reliance on the slave trade for new supplies of slaves. According to David Brion Davies ("*The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823,"* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988]): "they envisioned compromise as a succession of steps that would strengthen the slave system while eliminating the worst abuses."

[53] Ibid. p. 241

[54] [Lanaghan] Antigua 2: 289. Read of the 1843 earthquake's affects in Frohnsdorff's article, in Libraries & Culture, 18: 1, 2003, p. 10.

[55] Nohel Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, Chapman & Hall: London, 1949Deerr produces sugar tonnage tables for Antigua from 1698 to 1946, p. 195-96.

[56] Seymour Drescher, "The Decline Thesis of British Slavery since Econocide," in *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy*, Beckles, Hillary & Shepperd, Verene, eds., The New Press: New York, 1991. Drescher outlines, thus: "The failure of the British West Indies to recover its rates of profitability after the American war combined with the growth of alternative staple sources set the stage for the rise of abolitionism in the 1780s." Drescher, further suggests that "The St. Domingue revolution momentarily stemmed the tide, but colonial overproduction of food stales induced abolition of the slave trade in 1806-07, and emancipation in 1833." p. 136

[57] Barnaby Rogerson, "Fighters for the Family," in *The Times Literary Supplement,* 2011. Rogerson: "In a similar way, Alexandria benefited from the fall of such ancient trading partners as Algeria (seized by the French in 1830) and Aden (seized by the British in 1839(.There was a trickle of Arab intellectual taking refuge in Muslim Egypt. But it was the boom in

cotton, fostered by the authoritarian regime of Muhammad Ali, that was responsible for transforming the sleepy fishing village of Aleandria, with a population of of just 6,000 in 1805, to a city of 1000,000 by 1848." p. 7; also: Philip Mansel, *Levant (Splendour and catastrophe on the Mediterranean),* Yale University Press: New Haven. 2011.

[58] Douglass Hall, "Absenttee-Proprietorship in the British West Indies, to About 1850," Slaves, Free Men, Citizens (West Indian Perspectives), Lambros Comitas and David Lowenthall, eds., Anchor Press/Doubleday: New York, 1973. p. 111

[59] Ibid. Hall writes: "The younger Sir William, never in Antigua, had inherited in 1843, and in 1848 when he was asked "You are a Proprietor in Antigua?" replied, 'I am sorry to say I am one of those unfortunate individuals.' He had reason for his gloom. Than annual income was down to 2,000 English Pounds. [Select Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting, 1848. Evidence f Mr. Shand and Sir William Codrington]. p.111

[60] Eric Foner, ed., *Our Lincoln (New Perspectives on Lincoln and his World),* W.W. Norton and Company: New York, & London, 2008. Foner lists the long history of U.S. plans to remove emancipated enslaved Africans, including this note: "Taking the nineteenth century as a whole, colonization needs to be viewed in the context of other plans to determine the racial makeup of American society, including [North American] Indian removal and, later, Chinese exclusion. As late as 1862 the House Committee on Emancipation and Colonization called for the removal of blacks so that 'the whole country' could be occupied by whites alone." p. 128. Foner further reminds us that the American Colonization Society (ACS), founded in 1816, had by 1860 "transported to Africa, around11,000 people, mostly slaves manumitted by their owners for the express purpose of removal to Liberia. But between fifteen and twenty thousand escaped slaves evacuated with the British at the end of the War of independence. They ended up in Nova Scotia, Sierra Leone, the West Indies an even the German state of Hesse (Home of the notorious Hessians)."

[61] Ibid. Foner elaborates: "During the 1820s several thousand black Americans emigrated to Haiti, whose government promised newcomers political rights and economic opportunity in the world's only independent black republic. The movement waned by the end of the decade, but the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 created a crisis

that led to the relocation of thousand of African Americans to Canada and rekindled interest in emigration to Africa." P. 141-41. See Foner's recommendation for further reading: Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville, Fla., 2005) 165; Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves, and the American Revolution* (London, 2005); Brenda G. Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Movement* (Athens, Ga.,1992), 27-31.

[62] Ibid. Foner crafts a careful and contrasting West Indies demarcation to a global movement about disposition of enslaved blacks: "The notion of settling groups of New World blacks in Africa was a truly Atlantic idea, with advocates in the United States, the West Indies, Great Britain, and Africa itself. But as Harpers Weekly pointed out in 1862, nowhere in the Western Hemisphere was it proposed 'to extirpate the slaves after emancipation.' Indeed postemancipation societies like zjamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana desperately strove to keep the freed people from leaving the plantations. They supplemented their labor with immigrants, free and indentured, from Europe or Asia but never considered shipping the emancipated slaves en masse elsewhere." p. 137

[63] (S[amuel] M[artin] to S[amuel] M[artin] Jr., 25 June, 1751, M[artin] P[apers] [vol.] 1, 22). See further Natalie Zacek, (Introduction), The Papers of Samuel Martin, 1694/5-1776, Relating to Antigua, British Library, British records relating to America in microform, Microform Academic Publishers, 2010, p. 5.Dr. Zack gives special acknowledgment to Oxford University Press, to reproduce in full the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) article by Dr. John Martin, Reader I Agrarian History, De Montfort University, Leicester.

[64] William Max Nelson, *Making Men: Enlightenment Ideas of Racial Engineering*, (part of an AHR forum offering "New Perspectives on the Enlightenment") The American Historical Review, 115, No. 5, 2010, pps. 1364-1394:"Nelson brings to light two proposals [by Gabriel de Bory and a lawyer, Michel-René Hilliard d'Auberteuil] for racial engineering through such mixed couplings that were brought forward in the 1770s by men with connections to the administration of the French colony of Santo Domingue [Haiti]. While the plans differed both men were interested in the potential use of selective breeding to create male 'mulatto' soldiers who could provide the island external security from imperial aggression and internal stability. Nelson argues that these dramatic and little-known examples of the extremes to which ideas on race and the reconstruction of

populations had developed in the Enlightenment complicate the new defenses and reclamations of the Enlightenment and its legacy and highlight the central paradox that the same movement that produced such new and powerful ideas of political and social inclusion and equality also transformed ideas and practices of exclusion and inequality. " [Lakes note: Bory's essay was, *Essai sur la population des colonies à sucre* (1776) and d'Auberteuil's essay, was, Considerations sur l'état present de la colonie française de Saint-Domingue (1776-1777)] "The mulattoes of Saint-Domingue, and those to be created in the future, were presented as human instruments of empire who could be used to strengthen the valuable French colony. Eugenics projects to transform the racial composition of populations are primarily associated with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but it appears that they had intellectual and scientific precedents in the colonial endeavors of the French Enlightenment. [p. 1370]…There is no single moment or place from which a modern "scientific" idea of race arose, but it appears that the period from the 1750s to the 1780s in France and the French Atlantic colonies was crucial in bringing about significance conceptual transformation…perhaps more than any other set of ideas, race was Atlantic." [p. 1389] Even as modern ideas were coming into being, both sides of the dialectic of race were already present. There was already a fundamental tension between those who wanted to increase human variation and 'improve' the races through mixing and those who wanted to erect new boundaries of reproductive segregation and create new categories of differentiation. People of mixed descent – mestizo, mulatto, *métis,* and 'hybrid' – were the clearest embodiment of this tension, and their very existence repeatedly confounded attempts to create a science of race in the nineteenth century." [pps. 1389-90]. See footnote: "See Blanckaert, *"Of Monstrous Métis?",* Martin S. Staum, *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire 1815-1848* (Montreal, 2003), 122-157; William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific, Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-59* (Chicago, 1960), 66-68, 76-77, 189-191; George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago, 1982), 42-68; and Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (London:, 1982). "The management, if not the production or elimination, of people who seemed to fall between racial categories was, of course, a major force in the development of European colonial policies, ideas of race, and the eugenics movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." For further reading: See, Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 79-111; Emmanuelle Saada, *Les enfants de la colonie: Les métis de l'empire français entre sujétion et citoyenneté*

(Paris, 2007); Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire* (Cambridge, 2006); Staum, *Labeling People*, 85-190; Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: 1995),Owen White, *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa, 1895-1960* (Oxford, 1999); and Patricia M.E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Race Colonial Algeria* (New York, 1995).

[65] William Max Nelson, The American Historical Review, 115:5, December 2010, The University of Chicago Press, p.1389. Nelson adds, in his footnote: "See Groebner, Who are Your?, 95-116. Ben Vinson mentions that when free colored militiamen in eighteenth-century New Spain were dressed as civilians, they were required to wear special clothing or accessories such as red ribbons to indicate their rank and color; Ben Vinson II, "Free Colored Voices: Issues of Representation and Racial Identity in the Colonial Mexican Militia," Journal of Negro History 80, no. 4 (Autumn 1995): 172

[66] Ibid, p. 1389.

[67] One early 18th century English term for white settlers on 'Antego', was 'Antegoans.' As English terms changed, mid-18th century, 'Antiguans' gained prevalent actuarial usage. However, the term[s] 'Antigua/Antiguans,' used in the nineteenth century literature did not exclusively mean a white ethnic Settler class; the Free Coloured citizens had societies and other civic platforms that also utilized it. But, it occupied a secular function, part of the implicit imperial policy of food exports – still reserved to support the metropolitan population. Formal Reparation efforts proselytized in the Caribbean region may well redress these excesses. For an early 20th century reference, consider the agricultural prize, the Antiguan medal, in W. Ralph Hallcaine, *The Cruise of the Port Kingston*, Collier & Co., London, 1908. p. 19. In 21st century 'Antiguan' discourse, consider Jamaica Kincaid's 2005 homecoming remarks ("Why do Antiguans consider themselves 'a nation'?"); a remark received with noticeable introspection at the opening ceremony of the 2nd Artistic and Political Cultures of Antigua and Barbuda conference, which Robert Glen and I attended, travelling from just outside the Bolans Village. It was held in the colonial St. John's Courthouse, the earliest structure on the island, and was filled with black Antiguan women welcoming her, and later, physically embracing her. Descendants of white settler Antiguan families were noticeably absent from this public event.

How He Kick She

Dr. Radcliffe Robins

I am sure that you remember this calypso:

> *I wasn't there; it's Bummer and Cipher who say they see Shorty beating a girl the other day … I was made to understand, he put a severe licking on the woman. They say he could have done it privately and don't let people see. But in front of everybody, I hear Shorty lick she. Oh God, he lick she, Oh Jesus, he lick she!*

This well known calypso by the Mighty Baron has been a popular hit for many years. I do not recall that there was ever any charge of gender violence or strident calls to ban it, in spite of the clearly stated fact that Shorty did indeed *"put a severe licking on the woman."*

The Road March victor at our recently concluded CARNIVAL 2012 did not fare so well. Charges were made that the calypso "KICK EEN SHE BACK DOOR" by the Burning Flames encouraged violence against women. There were even calls by the Women Against Rape, for it to be banned. It is interesting and important to note that the ban would have been on the basis of violence, not vulgarity.

On the other hand its music is beautiful! The *"melody, the harmony and the rhythm"* are so catchy and compelling that it is almost impossible not to be captivated by the magic of its sound. But if you are like me, lyrics matter, and the lyrical content of this calypso disturbs my core. It prevents me from embracing the song that has truly entrancing musical content. Each time I try to embrace it the lyrics cause me to relax my hug with doubts and difficulty. I need to find out whether my doubts and reservations are well founded and why.

The first verse of "KICK EEN SHE BACK DOOR" lays down the preconditions for subsequent action. It says:

> *If she front door lock and you can't get een, and she bathroom window lock and you can't get een, and she bedroom window lock and you can't get een, and she kitchen window lock and you can't get een. Wha fo do?*

What should you do when all areas of legitimate entry to the woman's house, her private haven are barred to you? The question is not rhetorical and the answer is immediately provided:

Kick een she back door! Kick een she back door!
Bruck um een! Bruck um een!

At this point the songster introduces his personal decision and conviction on the course of action *"to get inside,"* that he would take under circumstances of denied entry:

I don't really know bout you,
But I know just what to do,
When a woman batten down she house,
Mek up she mind to keep you out...

…So the solution to get inside,
Cause she lock down she house so tight …
The only way to win the fight …

is to kick in she back door.

One caller to a popular radio programmme made it clear that meaning is in the mind of the listener. The lyrics mean he said, what you want them to mean. According to him, the song is actually describing a robbery, not a rape. At that point, this jarring conclusion did not make any sense to me since both outcomes are brutal violations. The presenter then made the observation that such an interpretation could be due to the artist's use of the "double entendre." Ah Ha! I thought that maybe, if I understand how the double entendre works in this song it would dissipate my disquiet.

A double entendre (ORN-TON-DRAW said with a French accent) is a figure of speech in which a word, phrase or passage has two possible and deliberate meanings. The first meaning is usually obvious and straight forward while the second meaning is often less obvious, ironic, religiously insightful, politically veiled or sexually suggestive. The double entendre is often used to convey "an indelicate meaning" or to express an offensive or sexual message without being explicit. It may also be used to mask meaning between child and adult listeners, or the political authority and the population.

The double entendre has always been a powerful tool in the musical culture of Caribbean folksongs, benna and calypso. You are very familiar with many songs referring to big bamboo, sweet sugar cane, hard iron or wood, juicy cherry or tomato and even the olfactory, tactile or gustatory delights of saltfish. The double entendre should not be confused with puns or innuendos, although it may actually utilize these and other figures of speech to reinforce its meaning. Sometimes the double entendre is so well contrived that the hidden meaning is "seen" only with insider knowledge or explanation. The power of the double entendre resides more in the strength and "independence" of the separate meanings, than in just the play of words.

When I was very young, the Mighty Sparrow released a calypso about a man from Sande Grande who went to visit a girl called Mildred. The man sent message to Mildred via her brother, that he needed to see her because he had *"something here for she."* Just in case Mildred was a bit doubtful or forgetful the little boy was to remind his sister that the stranger was a Mr. Benwood Dick whom she should know very well. At that age I had a reasonably clear idea of what the suitor had "*for she.*" But for more than forty years I never realized that the Mighty Sparrow had hidden from me - in plain view - the meaning of the name of the suitor. His name was the personification of prick, phallus in the flesh, the cock incarnate. The deviant Sagga Boy was himself the ben(t) wood, the dick!

Delayed for decades, my insight when it arrived was delicious, delightful and screeching. I had missed this second level of meaning because Dick was a legitimate boy's name in many children's books of my colonial primary education: Run, Dick run. See Dick run. Similarly, Benwood was the name of a man I knew and it was also the brand of a heavy duty truck popular at that time. So at the obvious level the name worked perfectly. The meaning – the visual imagery - was hidden from this child.

It would have made no difference to me if Sparrow had called him John Public. But he was Mr. Benwood Dick! And now the name recognition introduced another level of depth and meaning to the calypso. *"She know me well!"* was instantly a majestic thesis that surpassed the delicate biblical rendering of "knowing" as "carnal knowledge." "Social intercourse" now made sense!

Another characteristic of the double entendre is that the second or double meaning when it becomes clear always provides some relief: comic relief, intellectual relief, an insight or conspiratorial wink, which confirms that you "get it." The "Ah Ha" moment of insight, integrates the two meanings. Independence becomes co- interdependence. Two levels of appreciation are achieved.

This brings me back to Baron. In his 1971 hit SEVERE LICKING, the apparent gender violence seems to be the clear and obvious narrative. But is it the only narrative? As you examine the calypso you may find that sex play is disguised as a brawl in a public place. The sparring couple is fully and equally committed to its struggle. After he lick she, she squeeze he. When a Constable intervenes, the young woman, annoyed at the interruption, possessively and tactfully declares*: Look Constable have a care, this in my man licking me here, and if he feel to lick me, he could lick me – Damn it - don't interfere!* It is a profound and beautiful line. The brawl is a disguise for bedplay where the "licking" might actually be Shorty's more than fanatical attention to a very particular type of amorous caress.

You may also be very familiar with Calypso Rose's song FIRE IN A SHE WIRE. The obvious narrative is that the house of an older woman, who lives alone, is on fire as a result of an electrical accident. She runs out in desperation calling to her neighbour Ramsey: *Fire, Fire in a me wire, wire... Ven aca Papito - Come here Jack!* Ramsey comes running, thinking it was a joke because he *"didn't see no smoke."* Instead he is instructed to *"unreel the hose and let go the water to out Rose fire."* Rose continues to urge, *"Da me mucho agua, - Gimme plenty water – heat for so!"* The listener is drawn into an awareness of the woman's personal need that requires another kind of "water" to quench. By the way, the name "RAM-sey" is not an idle selection.

King Short Shirt's Road March calypso PUSH applies two different makeovers to the double entendre. The first makeover is that the obvious narrative is the sexual message. This is highly unusual and is hardly ever done. PUSH tells the story of the artist hearing a sound outside his bedroom window, very late one night. A young woman was saying: *Push, are you feeling alright? We don't have all night. Push it, push it for me. Harder my Darling, Its almost morning… Let me feel you power, Just a little harder. Is now you working; Do something. Push, Push, Push, Push!*

The second makeover is that the artist himself explains what is going on. Meaning is not determined by the interpretation of the listener in this example. King Short Shirt explains that his curiosity led him outside and to his surprise he saw: *A guy was pushing a young girl car, which had not gone very far…When she saw me she said, 'Give him a hand Shorty.' Push.*

Once we recognize the double entendre, we also observe that the writer/poet can approach it technically in a variety of ways. Let me give a final example. A few months ago I had a conversation with a good female friend of mine, about a poem by Sylvanus Barnes. Sylvanus is one of our poets who writes mainly humourous poems in the vernacular. I particularly like his poem BEAT SWEET PAN not only for its cultural message, but also because at first reading it confounds the reader. The pan, a musical instrument, is personified as a beautiful woman, possibly a lover. You beat sweet pan. You also love sweet pan. At first reading the poet disturbs the reader in the presentation of his message, because to beat in normal discourse means to abuse.

The reader must think about what the poet is trying to say. When the pannist "beats" pan, in this very specific sense he is "playing" pan, not abusing it. To play pan is to beat pan. This is a valid and accepted use of the word **in this case**. Metaphorically, you can also love pan, and play pan in the same way you would, a woman. The poet confronts us with this apparent contradiction, this conundrum caused by the use of language, but resolves it with logic, application of poetic license and tasteful literary skill. He demonstrates the creative use of meaning and concept in an integrated way. You cannot play pan lovingly without beating it lovingly. To play pan is to beat pan; to beat pan is to love pan.

The tacit question of the reader is can you beat what you love? The poet makes no attempt to answer the hidden question. Instead the poem forces the reader to think about intention and message, and in this process, the "Ah Ha" moment though delayed and difficult, is real. I am making the point that violence against women is not being condoned here, as my friend thinks.

So is there an "AH Ha" moment in "KICK EEN SHE BACK DOOR" where two meanings integrate?

Let us find out. The first and obvious meaning is that a burglary or house breaking event is indeed taking place. Clearly this is a violation and an unwelcome, criminal intrusion. We are aware of the woman's terror. Not so long ago we had over 40 unsolved rape cases in one year. Nearly all were the result of forcible entry, by person or persons unknown.

The other parallel meaning is definitely sexual, but not the kind of sex that you wink at and let slip by. This is no BANG BANG LULU. The woman is fighting for her life and screaming, *"Murder! Murder!"* While she is screaming murder, you know just what to do: *"Kick um een!"* She fights back: *"You nar come in yah!"* And your instruction is to *"Bruck um een."* She bawls out to her neighbours: *"Call the police!* To the violator: *Me go tell!"* And instead of receiving help, nails are driven into her coffin with sadistic and metronomic precision: *"Kick um een! Kick um een! Kick um een! Bruck um een! Bruck um een! Bruck um een!"* This is not consensual, and goes way beyond rough sex.

In spite of the above, is there an "Ah Ha" moment where both meanings integrate at different levels of clarity and appreciation? Well, I do think that there is an "AH Ha" moment. But in this calypso the "Ah Ha" moment differs from the expectation, the norm. This new parallel awareness of KICK UM EEN brings no relief, no reprieve. With realization you exhale "Ahhh Haaa" and shake your head slowly as you "get it." You do not smile at the skillful use of phrase or word. Instead you realize that one alternative is not any better than the other – she is being robbed and raped - full stop and stop! You recognize that neither property nor panty is safe, since either can be taken by force. The violation is thorough and inescapable. The criminal perpetrator wins in spite of all the woman's proactive and preventive efforts to protect herself! You also realize that the artist does not posit to his fans any resolution of this conflict. The artist's choices or non choices are deliberate. You exhale your "Ahhh Haaa" in horror at the futility of escape and absence of resolution.

Which brings me to my final point.

I believe it was LaTumba who sang that he would (as all art should) *"mirror society"* with his conscious lyrics. The artist of whatever genre holds a mirror to the society. What do we see as we peer into the reflection of the Antigua & Barbuda 2012 Road March? Is it a reflection of our true selves, is it what we should be, or whom we have become?

As the Burning Flames holds this mirror to our back door, I see a reflection of heartlessness and an absence of compassion. This heartlessness, devoid of any form of penance, purgatory or peace, is brilliantly disguised by the music. The music is the velvet glove to the iron fist. The fist looks better, but the glove never softens the destruction of the blow. The music is the net which traps the unwary into the emptiness of its words, while enforcing acceptance of its dialogue.

During Carnival 2012 and especially at Last Lap, thousands jammed to the hypnotic beat of "KICK EEN SHE BACK DOOR." Ironically the women jammed just as hard in some cases even harder than the men: dropping their hands to the ground and A-framing their legs to better present their pudenda to the pelvic thrusts of their partner male or female. The survival of the back door or front door, personal or social, was never a thought.

My disquiet remains, but now my discomfiture is a little better understood. I peer into the glass darkly hoping that the stark vision of intrusion and assault is all Mas – a twisted fantasy - a warning. I hope that this heartlessness and lack of compassion, this violent rape of the social household and person is not a statement of the present, nor is it a prediction of the future.

Poetry with,

John Hewlett

Rowan Ricardo Phillips

Edgar Lake

Marcus Jeffers

Slave Ship

Water Prison
Oh White Hell
Come for me and my brethren
Come to seize and to sell
Come to clobber cage and capture
Come to mangle maim and murder
Civilised white savages in love with the whip
Prized black packages in the belly of the ship
Some stranded strangled stolen
Some burnt beaten broken
Wanting to die yet living in Hell
Spirit dead leaving only a shell
Anger shock hopeless disbelief
Hunger pain and endless grief
Lying chained crying
Body and spirit dying
Parading parodying
Performing acts so shocking
Dancing chanting
To that dreadful mocking
Suddenly jumping laughing
Finally dying
And returning.

John A. Hewlett

African-Antiguan-West Indian

Yesterday
We shouted African!
No more Christianity
Long live Islam!
Kill the goat, build the drum
Back to Africa
Where we all come from.
So we sailed again
In the white belly of history,
Blackward on waves of pride, of self pity;
Chained again in the need for a proud culture,
For black ancestry;
Sold again into racist supremacy,
And mental slavery;
Stood again on the auction block and shouted:
"Allah! Black power! Rastafari!
Repatriation a must for I and I!"
And though the Black Starliner did not come
Though Paul Bogle, Malcolm X, and Marcus Garvey are gone,
That was our rebirth, our repatriation,
A new dawn.
Tomorrow
We will shout West Indian!
Christianity, Hindu, Islam,
One religion!
Reggae, calypso, classical, the drum,
None despised, for all will be one.
Caricom and gone but must return again,
The question is when!
Tomorrow we steer the new ship
Of acceptance of our destiny:
African? European? Neither? Both?
Wholly Caibbean!
The voyage: Unity in diversity,
Our port of call: compromise,humility, equality;
And true independence in acceptance of dependency.

But Today is our day!
Today we shout **Antiguan!**
African, Arawak, Carib, European,
This pepperpot and fungi,
This is **Antiguan!**
The second step has been taken,
Though small it may be;
Wadadli struggles onward
From dream to reality.
The drum and the classic
Merge in the pan;
Benna, kaiso, carnival,
This is **Antiguan!**
108 under-developed square miles
With over 70 thousand faces
Wreathed in over-developed smiles.
365 beaches offered to those who seek the sun
Yet an inner light brightens the dispossessed;
This is **Antiguan!**
"Tourism vital, we can't deny,
But that can't mean more than I and I."
So yesterday we returned,
Were reborn, had to learn,
Yesterday we were African!
Tomorrow we will arrive,
Will have grown, have survived,
Tomorrow we'll be West Indian!
But today we journey,
We grow, fighting to be free;
We laugh, we weep,
United in one love for Wadadli.
For when all is said and done
Whether the battle be lost or won,
Whether we suffer, as many do, or prosper,
Remember this my people,
WE are **Antigua.**

John A. Hewlett

Roots

Tread softly here Afro-Saxon
Though the fruit of each tree has a different flavor
And the seeds are individual whilst seemingly alike
Yet the roots join hands in the earth of our soul
Tread softly…
We seek footprints on once fertile soil
Now dried up with time and forgotten
Like the scars on human backs and souls
Lost in the false tears of the sun- seekers
And in your scorn and forgetfulness, Uncle…
Weed carefully here, Uncle Tom
Clear not the historic herbs
From your idolized garden of Eden
While you plant your trees of mimicry,materialism and money
Trees whose rotten branches fall to the ground
Like the blood of the pusher on the lap of the whore, his mother
Weed carefully…
We seek new land in a new time
And a new resting space for the placement of the Ark
An ark shaped and moulded by the Master Prospero's tongue…
Sail cautiously here, white Caliban
Wreck not the ark upon the shores of Babylon
Free the black dove of slave-engendered tradition
That it may return with the roots of the new Afro-Caribbean
Sail cautiously…
We seek haven, home,
Final flight of the imagination;
Build thoughtfully here, and leave a space…
Leave a space in the yard of your mansion
For the thatched hut of your ancestor…
Leave a space in the ship of your sophistication
For the old traditional canoes of communication…
Leave a space in the rhythms of your musical acculturation
For the heart-beat of the drum, the pulsating pull of the pan…
Build thoughtfully… sail cautiously…weed carefully…tread softly!

For when we dance with the dawn at the yawn of the new day
Only your care will bring rescue from the dark dreamless night of limbo…
Afro-Saxon, Uncle Tom, White Caliban, Black Brother,
The fruit of each tree has a different flavor
The seeds are individual though seemingly alike
But neglect not… forget not… reject not
Your
ROOTS
For they form one black body
In the earth of our soul.

John A. Hewlett

Mother

"Love"
The beginning:
Holding, sheltering, nurturing;
Till finally, a new gateway opening,
In welcomed pain and agony,
For purifying and strengthening;
Hiding, in this much taken for granted happening,
The divinely bestowed gift
Of producing life…
"Love"
Continuing:
Protecting, teaching, giving,
Through willing labour and suffering,
Creating, sacrificing, constantly providing;
And if not heartless and completely unheeding
The result is success, and there is fulfillment and rejoicing
In the rarely seen work
Of a virtuous wife…
"Mother"
Priced far above rubies,
Success is yours,
Honour and praise are yours,
For the work of your hands now praise you.
Bound in love to one
You created a bond of love
And we who arise therein
Must call you "blessed".
Strengthened by that bond,
You have never fallen,
And though many be virtuous,
"Thou excellest them all".

"Love"

The ending:
Rejoicing, thanking, accepting
The little given in return;
Not grumbling, but humbly receiving,
Sacrificing the honour and the glory to HIM,
Who, missing nothing, has watched you trying
To follow an example of selfless giving;
Aiding and fortifying, He has seen your struggling,
Your sincere striving;
And now, having triumphed,
There is no more sorrow,
Only a rejoicing, and a glorious welcoming
Into His eternal Light.

John A. Hewlett

It Is Easy

It is easy Idren
To see the withered flower
Forget scientific aims
And blame the rains
Which should but did not come…
It is easy Idren
To see the lonely mother
Forget her needs dreams and pain
And lay the blame
On the old thirst for fun…
It is easy Idren
To criticise the other
To cover your stains
By exposing their shame
But when all is said and done
The time of judgement for each one will come
You and only you will stand
With all your secrets in your hand
By the fruit one will judge the tree
So I will know you
And you will know me…
Words will be like rotten leaves
Scandals lies blown away in the wind
"Heroes" hiding in verbal sties
Will confess like the prodigal
"I too have sinned"…
Idealism stumbles when the truth is shown
And there is no safety in numbers
For all are on their own…
It is easy to laugh now
To scorn judge condemn
With that mote of self-righteousness in your eye
But all are sinners in the eyes of JAH
Leave that mote too late
And its not so easy to die.

John A. Hewlett

Cool Out

Right now ya see, na wan nobody wit' me,
Wish me had wan lock and key
Fe jus lock way me body;
Jus wan fe go a me back yard,
Siddung pon wan ole board ,
An cool out, jus cool out!
Must find some kind a good time
Somewhere in de back a me mind;
But still, jus wan fe lime
Neath sme cool cool trees,
Nyam some mango, crack some guinip seeds,
An' cool out, jus' cool out!
Na tell me 'bout no work, an' na tell me 'bout no woman,
An' right now me really na wan' fe hear de word "ambition"…
Me know me should a go, but me na wan' fe go a school,
Na ha' no money nor education, an' me tired hear dat me a wan fool…
Na wan' fu see nobody, na even fu hear,
An' me na wan' fu move from ya fu go anywhere…
Maybe by de sea, cause de sea, t'ank God, can't talk,
But right now me really na in a no mood fu walk…
Still, time a go come, de time a peace,
When all dis nonsense here goin' cease;
Working mornin' noon an' night,
Can't see whay you a head for,
An' to boot you nah eat right;
A wan funny feeling, a wha YOU call it?
FRUSTRATION?
When you feel like yu head a split?
But you deaf man?
You ha' diarrhea in a yu mout'?
Jus' gi' peace a chance nuh, An' leh me
COOL OUT!

John A. Hewlett

Rowan Ricardo Phillips

Shadows in the Name

I

Around midnight: the windows of Harlem
Hospital filmed the documentary
Of the Earth on its axis, starring night.
What an actor! Even the jaded trees
Couldn't tell if those were real tears or water.

Born I recited my first poem: a scream
In my original tongue; the exiled
Language of that dark world I shared with her.
Cast out from the cloudbank of her body
New air forced its way in, like love through hurt.

Soft, black; what besides that fidgeting poem
Made sense? It said I that lived, she mattered,
She made me. I was there, yes. I will die.
Between there and will, will will be there.

II

(History? Of course I can't tell you the truth.)
The Namesmith peered over mommy's shoulder
(My life is already a storm-pattern
of ghost stories that refuse to die down.)
Diminished and limp he still sought out work,

Citing cities, saints, Biblical kings, bards:
Richmond, Jerome, Solomon, Tennyson,
Langston, David, Francis, Santiago.
He wouldn't shut up. So tapped, nudged, whispered
In her ear, *first born, new world, make good time*

With an Adam. Come, anchor that old wound
As you had a multitude of stolen
Africans with your own truncated name
Of Smith. Mommy would sleep on it, she said.

III

Adam Phillips, born 18 November
1974 to Maxine James
And Rowan Anderson Phillip. Sex: male.
Race: Black. Hair: Black. Eyes: Brown. The Smith seemed pleased
And thought to sing the story of Adam
Again, starting with Azrael's plummet
From heaven into the perpetual ink.

Old and bent his legs trellised with green veins
That coursed his sagged body like a soul's map,
He sang. Everywhere at once, with all named
At once, he sang - sudden and minor
For all named. His muscles warped like damaged
Harp strings in a squall, warbling from misuse.
He sang for Terrance, for Carmen, for Xhi.

IV

My father's name is Rowan, from the Norse
But more immediately from Kanhai
And Henry: the batsman and the lawyer,
The Guyanese Indian, the Antiguan.

One swung down the British, improvising
Strokes as though the ball sat stuck in its bounce,
Thick in the dirt lane like a dog doing
A trick for its master. It sits until
The master's imagination says jump. Cricket
happens there: in the dirt. Faithful Orb, terse
globe, he had the world at his feet

And rejected it; trick-arched it out where
The linen emperors had to run to get
It back. But once retrieved the score had changed.

V

Heroism is at times that simple.
It may be the elegance of a thing
In the hand - an oar, a sword, a pen.
Or dumbstruck luck might win out: pure bad luck.

So it was to be for Rowan Henry
Who ran past his toppled candelabrum,
Chased by grizzled sunlight from his yardman's
Machete; his sun-stroked wife already

Cut down as if caught by sudden cancer.
What blood that debutanted down the stairs
Kissed his gardener's crazed face like Death full-grown,
Ready, finally, to set out on its own.

Was it random madness or politics?
On what landmass is there a difference?

VI

My given name is Rowan Ricardo.
I shadow after three men and a tree.
The Spanish is a just coincidence,
Another Antillean mannerism
Like the long hymns that measure our churches.

The dead receive It is *well with my soul.*

This is how it was in a Moravian Church
off the East River in Manhattan Where
the African in me would blow; Would
wonder if, had I remained a song

In the wooden lungs of an apparition …

(not again ... must remain in balance;
Or at least imagine it possible.)

What then? What comes? All things, nothing, and Is.

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The Difficult Archangel: On the Poetry of Wilson Harris

By Rowan Ricardo Phillips

I

The change engendered by Wilson Harris from poet to novelist
Is complete. Another loss fro the former craft: its needy
Cragged lines, its impatience with dogma and tired self-congratulation.

We take this transformation as lightly as chrysalis: just biography;
When, for the most part, a change in vehicle drives
The tenor of an argument elsewhere. Or at least colors

Things differently. Simple enough. Until we reverse tracks to search
For the poetics lost, an examination of style extant aside
From the necessary yet sparse narratives built on sides of roads.

Exegesis has become prose-heavy, and unapologetically so. Which is not
A problem in and of itself, but becomes a problem
With verse's evaporation into the atmospheric-limits of discipline: a small

Part of the comfortable and modern *bildungsroman* of the puerile
Writer who first turns to verse, not unlike a child
Putting everything into its small mouth until it learns better.

II

We must give the poet a chance, this difficult archangel.
For one must heed the simple tenant that a tradition,
To exist at all, must allow its principalities a voice.

Consequently, the fate of *Eternity* to Season belies mere taste.
The poetry of Harris, unlike that of Joyce or Faulkner,
Has not been taken behind the woodshed. Instead it waits,

Trimmed up in 1978, like a butcher taking meat off bone.
And was it not Harris who reminded his audience of
The bone flute forged from the enemy's body as metaphor

For tradition between the allegorical Dante and the aboriginal instrument?
So I must disagree with C.L.R. James and Paget Henry
Who both in their own distinctive registers argue that intent

In Harris' readership is as much a matter of philosophy
As it is art. For to deal with Wilson Harris,
One has to deal with some serious questions of style.

III

Paget and I spoke late one night of Wilson Harris.
There was a familiarity to Paget's insight that telephone fiber-optics
Couldn't dissolve. It is the common thing for Caribbean writers

To work in and out of any number of genres
And not be concerned. That would be an American
Thing: that concern. Yet genre cannot be dissolved into being.

The word "literature" is already rapidly close to meaning prose,
As "poetics" is to signifying the manner through which anything
Behaves like poetry, except usually for poetry. For Caribbean literature

This may not bode well, as the supply of publishing-houses
Continue to mis-interpret sales for style and prosopoeia for prosody.
Poetry as archangel of imaginary subjects, too skeletal for modernity.

Here lies Harris' great intervention. For like critic Walter Benjamin
He asserts that *Every living being is also a fossil.*
It is thus that *Eternity to Season* begins: the final

Epigraph, by Jacques Monod, added to the revisions of 1978.

IV

Not the obvious paradox of life and death here, no.
The pattern of *Eternity to Season* is life-in-death,
Though far removed from Coleridge's pattern of paralytic,
Penance-ridden despair.

Harris' poems move in allegorical time: they are so aware
Of the effects of time that they seek a space
Outside of time.

This the controversial tree of time.

As n allegorical poet, so evident in his articulated influences,
- Homer, Dante, Goethe, certainly Eliot - Harris uses verse
To mediate the complexities of human life, with no casualties.

This is the vast and utter difference between the poet
And the novelist. The latter absolutely needing death for creative
Fulfillment. He needs his Virgilian guide. The poet

Can use the medium in lyric space, an allegorical cave
Not plagued by ghosts or narrative time. Just voiced shadows.
For time is no fixed beat or inevitable doom

but is the motion of men and matter in space, subtly
flowing and binding into the universal action, into construction,
into related texture and interaction, into function and formation.

V

To say no casualties without qualification was hope not earned.
What is meant is a matter of personification. That allegory
In the creation of narrative articulations, of characters, also yearns

For those characters to both be and to become excess.
Hence, Spenser's Fear is afraid, but not fear-provoking; as Danger
Is dangerous but is not *in* danger; or, as Odysseus
Becomes Nobody to escape the blinded, man-eating Polyphemus.

"Nobody, friends' - Polyphemus bellowed back from his cave -
Nobody's killing me now by fraud and not by force!'

"If you're alone,' his friends boomed back at once,
'and nobody's trying to over-power you now - look,
it must be a plague sent here by mighty Zeus

and there's no escape from that.
You'd better pray to your father, Lord Poseidon.'
Odysseus, as transient, can afford this excess. Inhabitants can not.

Hence the epic patterning of the Aegean over the Caribbean
(Revisited by Walcott initially in "The Schooner Flight" and again
Masterfully with *Omeros).* Together, weaved,
We have two quilted archipelagos

One over the other, creating a duality and some sense
Of balance, as typified in Harris' poem "Heracles (the slave)"
With its two stanzas tendering heaven and hell as counterpoint.

He feats in heaven with a queen to love
at his side; but here in this dark village
his banquet is a wraith, love dark
and gloomy in a menial self or soul he dons far beneath him
in culture and rank that feed on strength which ebbs but is real,
on nobility which is the arm of the unreal
or unflagging greatness.

Hell is the ultimate satellite of slavery's scholarship,
hound of fire
that eats the substance of the upper air,
balance of terror, technology of terror,
within mortal immortal ground
or spoil
or column of faintness in the heights and the depths

falsehood of body or falsehood of soul
to be unraveled by heroic endeavour.

One knows of the prior Heracles' trails and heroic endeavors
But not of the outcome of this Heracles of Cumberland,
Not of what his heroic comportment portends. Like Robert Hayden's

Elegant portraitures and thematic pre-figuring of mythic or historical action,

Harris' poems begin and leave allegorical palimpsests *in medias res:*
Excess, and ego-deletion, of allegorization is moderated by lyric form
Which is reticence; the dark, sustaining silence of a well.

VI

The ruins of Doric pillars are no more the wells
Of the literate than are the salt-waters surrounding their
Landmasses. But regardless, their symmetry, their relationship to space, was reason;

And was thought evidence enough to pardon those of African

Descent from this epic poem that is lived aesthetic experience.
Revision comes largely from an encounter at this formative level.

The re-writing of patterns, the additions of squares to quilts.
Harris' conception of poetic revision is thematic rather than formal.
He revels in trails, paths and straits: all participatory structures.

The trail lasts down the falls
and vanishes in smoke a seas of mist, the ocean
of time. And so the timeless feet follow from the mountains
to seek what was once substance and is now apparition.

So the irony that this writer so noted for geographical
Sensitivity has written poems that are relatively sparse of imagery.
What seems image is actually description: a philosophy of seeing.

The unreal forest more real that the real forest hiding the dry
quality
of faded leaves
seems absolute in each detail
is reflection of the sky shaded and darkened
to somber steel profoundly beautiful, the cruelty of sensation
drowned in a dark mirror.

Take "utopia" and situate it in its often understated etymology
- "no place" - and you have the allegorical setting.
A useful "no place", as Ellison's nameless protagonist also found.

And "no place" is no hinderance in its poetic deployment
Since, again, lyric is the encapsulation of moments in process.
Poetry is heraldic, no Adamic; the world sung, not named.

Perhaps poetry echoes, theoretically, what Paget Henry cites as spirit.
That which undertakes a "self-sacrifice" as to make "creative
Space for the ego." Perhaps the ego, theoretically, is prose.

That would be another allegory, for another time. Not here.
Poetry has time still to remember names of its drowned.

* * *

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Edgar Lake

To Gary

In the field of battle, a fine warrior has fallen
What was his station you might ask?
It was the guard house – none other –
Fielding every noise and whisper
Halting every clever, cloaked disguise

In the edifice of human cause, an acolyte gone
Pray tell, was he lead Crucifix-bearer?
No, just the candle-bearer; navigating the wind,
long after the procession had begun
'Twas he, who coupled his caring hands

What stake plunge we, this cruel hour
The earth's soil, our pulsing heart can ne'er contain
What will we whisper as he passes?
What was his searing loss; our precious gain?
Stand but in fealty; now in awe, or pain

(January 31, 2005)
--Edgar Othniel Lake

FOOTPRINT OF PASTURES
(For Dr. Charles William Ephraim)

We are bound by pastures: this mourning
Sojourning between shores,
The heartburn of hustings give way
Replacing memorials with grounding
Yet, this candling seems not enough
Parched as the land, ambition spoils

Still, we have suckled on exile
Many too timid to look back; to return
Our jousting lent salve, world-weary
encounters in chapel bay-windows;
Birches laughed, the steeple tower
mocked the factory whistle, beckoning

We, too engulfed, cannot embrace
this sage of our own musing
Too darkly, the legacy: faring, breached;
Acceptance - hardly of the Maji's gifts
We are still crossing; still walking thru'
the shadow of – our self-acceptance

We look for him; Adieu! - the devil-grass
No salute, nor Hosanna, - for his gifts
Just the footprints of pastures

Marcus Jeffers

ISLAND BOY

Hey
Yo
Island boy
Riding your donkey in hot July's sun
Sucking on sugarcane and ripe mangoes
Dreaming of wild horses in a distant land
Those wild horses yu're dreaming of boy
They don't run wild
And the bush they run in
Grows pretty thick
And the man here in Babylon's land
Won't let you carry no cutlas boy
Not even to clear your own path
So
Tend your land well boy
Tend your land well

GO JAMES

Go
Tell it on the mountains James
Tell it to those who listen
We can still hear black voices cry
Let my people go
Tell them James
Tell of the indignities we must endure by those who
Refuse to release us from the shadows of slavery
Tell them James
Tell of how our native lands
Were raped of strong men
Of how our women proved fertile
As they toiled bound upon the seven seas
Let it be known James
Let it be known we know what trumpet sounds on yonder hills
Tell them James
Go
Tell it on the mountains James
Go

LIVIN' AINT EASY WHEN YU'RE BLACK AND BREEZY

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Livin ' aint easy when yu're black and breezy
Folks look at you like yu're kind 'o crazy
All because your moves arnt lazy
We look like Joe and act like Sam
I know I'm telling you man
We just ride the wind without a fuss
While you watch us pass and start to cuss
I 've seen your face
I've seen your friends too
And I know
Yu'all don't know what to do
We look like Joe
And act like Sam
I know I'm telling you man
Living aint easy when yu're black and breezy
Folks look at you like yu're kind 'o cracy
All because your moves arnt lazy
We look like Joe and act like Sam and sure nuff act like we don't give a damn
But I know who I am
And I'm not Sam
But if you take the time
I'll lend a hand
BUT
Living aint easy when yu're black and breezy

Ambushsed

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Lost to forgotten dreams
Ambushed between worlds of what is and what is not to be
Nowhere to go
No one to turn to
We sit
On a sea of verbal confusion
No wind
No rain
As a tender bridge afloat upon waters of the past tied down by hope
Cries
Like distant voices in the womb of the night
Go unanswered
A herded flock left unattended
Guarded by ravens under a deserts sun

CITY LIGHTS

Seeing city lights through blood-shot eyes
As night comes as an aresting officer
To take your mind and keep your soul from resting
As wounded spirits roam the streets searching for lost mothers and fathers
The wind howl as a serpent's breath
As babies sleep
Mothers cry for help
Help from forgetten men
Men lost to yesterdays sorrows
And tomorrows dreams
As day breaks and night ends
And
Life begins
Again

EDDIE IS ON IT

Come on baby
You know you want to say ooh-wee when you hear the man blow
So go on baby say it
Say ooh-wee
Eddie sings the bluse
Just before instant death with breakfast at tiffany
Sham-time made you stop look and listen
So come on baby
Sat it
Say oo-wee
Boogie woogie bossanova
Made you snap your fingers roll your toes
So come on baby you know how it goes
Now yu're feelin fine
Let me blow your mind and take you on a trip to the tender storm
A nightengale sings in Berkley square
So
Listen here
You got turned around by silver cycles
Funkie-doos electric ballard
Renovated rhythm
Made you realize summer is on its way
At last
So come on baby say it
Say ooh-wee
Coming time soon to get down
With freedom jazz dance baby
Its all right now
That's it
Bumping
Yea
Its all right now
Express yourself
Keep stepin'
Ooh-wee
Willow weeps for me
Jah bless the child
Now yu're runing loose
Like a loose caboose

Little girl blue
Come dance with me
Say it baby
Say it
Say ooh-wee

BROTHER ROLAND

Whats giong on brother Roland
Whats going on
Tru nuf aint no sunhsine in blacknuss
The old rugged-cross
Just don't seem to help anymore
To get across the crisss-crossed
Cross-up
Double-cross crossing
Brother Roland
Brother Roland
I know you got- across
That I know
Ask him to forrgive them
For they know what they do
But that aint no new news to you brother Roland
Brother Roland
We keep going on
Carying the cross on our shoulders
Brother Roland
Some are crossed-up
Because of the cross
Some are lost at the cross
Because of the cross
Brother Roland
Whats going on
Whats going on

BRAVO

The battle was to be over soon
His vision of life pain and gloom
To prolong his predicament
He thought of what he could do
Nothing but fight on he concluded
His enemy was presistant
His vision fast becoming blured
His knees
Weak
His corpulant body no longer held its form
The battle lines were clearly drawn
The pain from his enemies sword
Was a constant reminder
That his days as a bravado
Would soon be over
He feared being trodden underfoot
So life and death deserve a second look
Gallentry lept to his eyes
As he raised his head to the skies
Before his comrades could desipher his plan
He erupted into action with steletto in hand
He charged at himself
And with a viehement thrust
He ended his life as he knew he must
His comrades enthrawled by it all
Simply cried
Bravo

The Shorter Reviews

The First Guitar: Review of The Ground by Rowan Ricardo Phillips

Amir Jaima

I plugged my poem into a manhole cover
That flamed into the first guitar,
Jarred the asphalt and tar to ash,
And made from where there once was
Ground a sound instead to stand on.
-Rowan Ricardo Phillips, "Terra Incognita"-

The Ground by Rowan Ricardo Phillips is not only an elegant collection of poems, but also, as many of the titles suggest, a place. Sometimes that place is a physical one, a place between many places that, like Phillips' name, "straddles the seas in the sails of unseen / Ships"("Proper Names in the Lyrics of Troubadours"). We glance, with Phillips, at the Caribbean Sea toward Antigua, West Indies, and across the Atlantic Ocean toward northern Spain and southern Italy. But the place where Phillips lingers the most is New York City, which, as we might glean, is more his home than any other place. Like all great portrayals of places, Phillips' voice renders this city both familiar and foreign; we see the Bronx under snow, both the Hudson and East rivers at sunset, TriBeCa in the spring, and Ground Zero in the season of homesickness.

Yet to read *The Ground* as simply *about* places is too simple; as a place itself, "the Ground" is also something abstract: a metaphorical ground, a philosophical beginning, an occasion to feel and reflect, "a sound instead to stand on."("Terra Incognita") Philosophers make much of beginnings—the beginnings of thought and reason, of knowledge and truth, of (in)justice and (un)ethical action—but frequently these projects are woefully abstract; when the surface is scratched, they prove to be un-grounded, presuming to be beyond time and place, beyond both history and home. This philosophical presumption, however, is naïve, since philosophy and reflection are always events, emerging somewhere at sometime.

The poems of *The Ground* are a compelling mediation on this double sense of place, a refreshing convergence of the geographical and the reflective. It is this aspect of *The Ground* that I wish to underline. My goal is simply to read a few of these poems "aloud" with you, the reader. As we will see below, the musicality of *The Ground* demands that it be read aloud. In this regard, the proverbial elephantine memory of the Internet serves us well. In January of 2011, Philips read selections from the The Ground—though

not yet compiled as such—for an audience at *Poets Out Loud.* His set is available on youtube. Nonetheless, in this brief review I hope to convey the ways in which *The Ground* functions as a geographical and philosophical place, a beginning here and now, a 'sound for us to stand on,' an occasion to feel and reflect.

The beautiful opening poem, "Tonight," reads fittingly: "In the beginning was this surface. A wall. A beginning." Here we are offered three beginnings to *The Ground.* First, we begin with the "surface", which, having alluded to Genesis, conspicuously is suggested to precede the Word; at least *this* surface, the page, literally precedes the words of this poem. Or alternately, this beginning establishes Phillips as the 'god' of this ground. Second, we begin with Phillips' birth, which is an actual place, within "the tattooed skin of the building I was born in", viz. the "wall" of Harlem Hospital. And third, we begin, reflexively, with "a beginning"—a word, a sound, a moment (tonight?), an occasion.

We should note, however, that these beginnings, given on the same line, are to be taken together as, rather, three parts of one beginning. The coincidental convergence of Phillips' birth in New York City with a poetic proclivity is the occasion to "[coax] music from a Harlem cloudbank", and to imagine a "starlit lake in the midst of Lenox Avenue". These beginnings are the rich conditions out of which "Tonight" in particular, and *The Ground* in general, emerges.

Having invoked music, the second poem is, appropriately, "Song of Fulton and Gold". Phillips opens his set of *Poets Out Loud* with this piece. And so on the second read, I follow along as his voice animates the page. He reads: "The eye seeking/ home has to lower / lower / lower / lower. The eye seeking / home has to / lower." Even if the title did not allude to it, the musicality is palpable. The stressed words—"eye", "home", "LO-wer"—are almost evenly spaced, slowing down through the 'LO-wer's. It is like a bright reggae beat fading into a dark Dub. The stanza then repeats three times, a perfect refrain, before abruptly breaking time with the arrhythmic denouement: "There are no / towers."

At first blush, I am struck by how so few words can evoke such melancholy. From where does that feeling come? Is it born in the space between the unmusical last line and the melodic euphoria that preceded it? Is it in the history to which the paired title and last line seemingly refer? As a New York resident, I know that Fulton Street and Gold Street intersect in the

financial district in downtown Manhattan, and that prior to 9/11 one could easily see the World Trade Center from there. As a reminder, I 'stand' on this corner using GoogleMaps/StreetView, facing Ground Zero west down Fulton; there is a large patch of unfamiliar blue sky. Is the "home" that the eyes seek the skyline that included the Twin Towers? The suggestion is, perhaps, that home is not simply a place, but a feeling of familiarity, a feeling that disappeared on this corner with the Twin Towers.

In "Grief and the Imaginary Grave" Phillips takes us to the Bronx. Again, I follow along on the page as he reads the opening lines: "November snowfall drowns out views / Of Grand, Summit, and Story Avenues. // Gone gone gonegonegone I choked / On the thought of ending this song. // Three Bronx streets go down under snow / That grays in the air like aging hair." Unlike, Fulton St. and Gold St., these Bronx avenues do not intersect, and thus speak of a different aspect of home. In *Poets Out Loud,* Phillips tells us that he lived on each of these Bronx streets. Yet, as noted above, these poems are not simply *about* places. As the next line suggests, the places that we live, particularly past places, are "Understoried. Dead and buried." These places that at one time were familiar and vibrant become little more nostalgic narratives entombed in our emotional memory.

The poem, however, does not merely tell us this insight; the poem is an occasion to feel this sense of entombment as well. The clean opening couplet throws into relief the moment when the rhyme scheme changes in the third stanza. The lovely internal rhyme—'That grays in the air like aging hair'—preserves the musicality of the first two stanzas, but palpably suspends the rhyme that would complement "snow". For four stanzas that follow, we lie 'under the snow,' musically unresolved like a dominant seventh chord, during which we learn that the rhyme has been deliberately 'buried'—brilliant. When the rhyme is resolved in the last line, I read the new couplet together to glean a new double meaning: "Three Bronx streets go down under snow / [...] Among the other things that grow." Phillips' poem has allowed these streets to live again in a new way.

After three poems, I am willing to follow Phillips all over the city in order to see it through his eyes. In TriBeCa, a "crumpled paper"("As the Heart of the Sun Descends on TriBeCa") salvaged at sunset is an occasion to reflect on the ironic loneliness one can feel in this busy place. In the West Village, the view east down Morton Street from "the long hips of the Hudson"("Two Twilights") conjures thoughts of mortality and finitude. And over in the East River, "Over the shorter shoulder of Manhattan"(Hell

Gate, East River, New York"), we read another story of death and burying. Each of these occasions to reflect is, as Philips says of nature in "Mappa Mundi", "a lapse in city life".

Not all of the poems in *The Ground* are born in New York City, so to speak. Included is a beautiful series on the ancient myth of Orpheus and Eurydice. And, "Two Preludes", one of my favorites, is perhaps the most philosophically compelling, a meditation on the difference between "nothing" and "little". Whereas there is a quality of the infinite in "nothing", there is a pragmatism in "little"; "little" can be measure, but "nothing" cannot.

With each poem, it becomes more apparent that *The Ground* is a very personal collection for Phillips, as I suppose first collections are wont to be. Nonetheless, The Ground is a fantastic beginning, a flaming "first guitar," and I look forward to following him as he continues to write.

Caliban's Reason and African Traditional Reasoning

Patricia Agupusi

Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy is a much-needed philosophical work that introduces us not only to Caribbean philosophy, but to the wider field of Africana philosophy. In his attempt to explore the influence of traditional African philosophy on the Afro-Caribbean thinking, Paget Henry has been able to strap-up Afro-Caribbean, Afro-American and African philosophy and shed significantly more light on the influence of African traditional philosophy on the thinking of African Diasporas. In *Caliban's Reason,* Paget Henry took on the enormous task of bringing Afro-Caribbean philosophy to the academic arena and to the public square by exploring and merging various Caribbean philosophers' struggles for identity, and their attempts to lessen the influences from the European/Euro-Caribbean tradition. He unlocks the shackles of European influences while bringing the African influences out from the shadows and making them visible in the texts of Afro-Caribbean philosophy. In this undertaking, he uses Caliban as a concept to refer to the European view of its colonial subjects:

> "to imperial Prospero, native Caliban (the Carib) was identical with nature – a cannibal, a Child, a monster without language and hence a potential slave to be subdued and domesticated along with nature and history… in return, Prospero would give Caliban language and endow his purposes with words that made them known…with arrival of slaves from Africa, Caliban became African" [1].

Henry has performed a great work in introducing Afro-Caribbean philosophy to the academic community. In doing this, he presented the crucial features and problems of great Afro-Caribbean thinkers such as C.L.R James, Lewis Gordon and Frantz Fanon through a comparative analysis of the schools of poeticism and historicism. He exposes the gap in dialogue between Caribbean historicism and poeticism. Further, he sees Afro-Caribbean philosophy as still emerging from under the colonial shadow of European philosophy and views it from three general angles – the political angle, which is embedded in the social political struggles of Caribbean societies, its racial features, which evokes specific ideological tendencies, and its production by non-professional philosophers such as historians and writers. For all of these reasons, he notes from the outset that Afro-Caribbean philosophy cannot be

described as a logicist, analytical or positivist tradition but rather as a discourse that is very much entrenched in its historical challenges. Consequently, in his quest to make the African heritage of Afro-Caribbean philosophy visible, he focuses on African traditional philosophy.

Caliban's Reason is divided into three parts starting with the opening section, 'Sampling the Founding Texts'. Here Henry explores the African heritage of Afro-Caribbean philosophy through the works of major Afro-Caribbean thinkers such as C.L.R. James, Frantz Fanon and Wilson Harris. He also engages the works of African thinkers including Kwame Gyeke, Henry Oruka, Paulin Hountondji, and Marcien Towa in exploring the impact of African philosophical thought. In these explorations, Henry places great emphasis on the religious visions of traditional African philosophy as a foundation for answering the basic questions about the origin, nature and purpose of being. He develops his account of the African philosophical heritage with concrete examples drawn mostly from West African metaphysics, and also by looking at the traditional African concepts of ontology, egoism, existentialism, ethics and epistemology.

Traditional African Philosophy

Henry explains that pre-colonial African ontologies are embedded in African traditional religions, which claims that both the origin and persistence of created being is a manifestation of the spiritual power of the deities that binds created individuals within this ontological framework. Existence is explained as the primary creative work of the deities and ancestors. This view can be seen in the notion of the creator among various ethnicities and societies of Africa such as the Akans, Igbos and the Yorubas. This ontological view is understood and explained through spatial and spiritual arguments. By implication, the general concepts of the nature of society were based upon cosmogonic analogies that made African social philosophies extensions of their cosmocentric discourses. The most striking aspect of Henry's exposition of ontology is his introduction of the 'ego' (self) concept in the traditional African philosophy. He argues that despite a clear distinction between matter and spirit, ontology in traditional African thought could be described as idealistic.

In his analysis of African existentialism, Henry develops further the concept of the ego. He propounded that the ego is our organ of everyday consciousness that mediates our achievement of self-consciousness, ontic unity, and personal autonomy. Thus, in order to understand African existentialism, one has to adopt the perspective of the lived experiences of

Africans. Henry further explains the complexity and paradoxical nature of the ego as being over-determined; that is, the ego is simultaneously spiritually determined, pre-consciously self-determined and consciously determined. Thus the struggle for superiority between these different levels of self-formation influences the lived experiences of the ego's successes and failures. In traditional African existentialism, the ignorance of the ego results in the misrecognition of its deities and ancestors, and in misguided attempts to usurp their higher creative authority. There is also the challenge of conflicts between the ego and its own spiritual center, which the Akan call the Okra and the Yoruba refer to as the Ori. Subjective life as the conflict of the will to do good or evil is a crucial aspect of African existential discourses. Henry also took the time to explain the rhythms and patterns of the spiritual negations and affirmations that visit the ego in the various states of its suboptimal existing (p.33). Closely related to these arguments is Henry's point that African existentialism constitutes an important factor in understanding an important attitude towards living because these systems of thought are able to preserve a sense of an ordered cosmos that is life affirming rather than life negating or rejecting. He concludes that the affirmation of the existence of ego is thus a primary contribution of African existentialism to philosophical anthropology.

In ethics, Henry explained that the African framing of this discourse is both cosmogonic and communitarian. The cosmogonic aspect is derived from behaviour regulating powers that often are grounded in the higher authority of the deities, and in the analogy between the binaries cosmos/chaos and nomos/wilderness. With examples of different societies in Africa, Henry pointed to the substantive role of the deities and ancestors in regulating the moral life of each society and suggested that this role can be easily missed. Although Henry, mentioned the communitarian framing of ethics in traditional African thought, his over-emphasis on the higher power and the cosmogonic analogy, creates a problem. It led him to neglect the aspect of ethics that is regulated by the community and consequently he failed to fully recognise this other regulatory system of ethics. For instance, the intuitionist and personhood approaches to ethics in African traditional thought analysed ethical issues in Africa from the angle of the relationship between individual and the community[2]

Like his analysis of the concepts of ontology, existentialism and ethics, Henry's reflections on African epistemology are embedded in religion. He is of the view that epistemologies are most accessible in the cognitive claims made by the dominant religious, mythic, genealogical and empirical dis-

courses. Although he explains further that African knowledge is derived from two interconnected sources – sensible and super-sensible – his focus of analysis is the super-sensible mystical method of obtaining knowledge. He observed that the bifurcated spiritual-material nature of traditional African epistemology is a feature shared with other religiously informed philosophical positions (p.43).

Afro-Caribbean Philosophy

Henry uses the above ontological, existential, ethical and epistemological systems of thought to make a comprehensive outline of African tradition philosophy. In the process he also links traditional African philosophy to modern philosophy through the works of Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Jamaica Kincaid, Kwame Gyekye, and Wole Soyinka. After filling in this broad outline of traditional African philosophy through these different discursive angles (ontology, existentialism, ethics and epistemology), Henry turns his attention to a critical review of the major Afro-Caribbean philosophers, such as Frantz Fanon, C.L.R James, Sylvia Wynter, and Wilson Harris. He develops further the already mentioned divide between Caribbean poeticism and historicism, the influence of African philosophy on the writings and contributions of these two schools of thought to Afro-Caribbean philosophy.

Getting deeper into his analysis, Henry notes that Frantz Fanon's philosophy contributes greatly to the existential and racial theories of Afro-Caribbean philosophy; but despite Fanon's contribution to Afro-Caribbean philosophy, and his awareness of African traditional philosophy, his work remains quite disconnected from African philosophy. Henry sees a difference in the work of Wilson Harris, who draws images and themes more directly from the African heritage. However, as in the case of his treatment of Fanon, Henry ascribes the originality of Harris' work to his ability to explore the world of consciousness that lies beyond his ego, and to his ability to create of a unique poeticist discourse. This unique poeticist discourse that Harris has created for reporting and fictionalising the result of his explorations, Henry examines in great detail. In his comparisons of the historicist orientations of James and Fanon with Harris' poeticism, Henry argues for complementarity rather than polarization between these two schools of thought. He also advances the thesis of establishing synergies between the thought of continental Africa and Africans in the Diasporas – a synthesis of systems of thinking that he refers to as the Africana project.

Part two 'Unity, Rationality and Africana Thought' begins with a discussion of post-structural and post-colonial thought, and the tensions between the two, through the work of Sylvia Wynter. Henry ascribes the tensions between these two schools of thought to their different approaches to history. He explaines that post-structuralism as a type of cogito-critical philosophy is different from an ego-critical one. Given that Henry is trying to neutralise the some of the divides in Afro-Caribbean philosophical discourse, such as his use of Harris' attempts to link the historicist and poeticist schools, he uses the work of Wynter to explore the possibility of bridging the divide between the post-structuralism and post-colonialism. According to Henry, Wynter's approach exposes both the strength and weaknesses of post-structuralism in the Caribbean context. However, he suggests that post-structuralism can be useful in the analysis of categorical issues but has limited value in the relation to issues of institution and identity formation confronting the region.

African American Philosophy

Henry did not leave out of his account the Afro-American philosophical influences; rather he explored their contributions to his Africana project from a Caribbean perspective. He identified two major schools of thought in Afro-American philosophy through the works of Cornel West and Johnny Washington on the one hand, and Lewis Gordon and Lucius Outlaw on the other. As in the Afro-Caribbean case, African American philosophy is a distinct combination of European, American and African philosophical thought.

Of the two distinct positions of Afro-American philosophy the first sees this tradition of thought as a variation of American philosophy. This position is has been best represented by Cornel West who argues that Afro-American philosophy is an expression of a particular variation of European modernity that Afro-America helped to shape, and hence is primarily an American philosophy. In contrast to West and Washington, Lucius Outlaw and Lewis Gordon are of the view that Afro-American philosophy should be linked to the African traditional philosophy and they are major exponents of an Africana reading of Afro-American philosophy. Henry argued that Outlaw, in making his case for this Africana reading of African American philosophy, stressed the importance of shared or unifying contents, professional norm and other discursive factors that would justify his claims for this new field of Africana philosophy. However, Henry added that Outlaw pushed the discursive factors too far – his

'extreme discursive solution to the problem of commonality does not allow Outlaw to resolve the very important problem of Africans becoming Americans..." (p. 148).

In his analysis of the challenges confronting the Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean philosophical heritages, Henry introduces his version of the Africana project, arguing that the inclusion of African identities and discourses would not necessarily exclude Afro-American engagements with their European and Euro-American heritages. He pointed to the existential implications of the European devaluing of African identities, and made a three-point argument regarding the need to retain the African features of Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean philosophical discourses. First, the devalued status of African ego-genetic symbols has had the effect of reproducing black existences as illegitimate, and hence an intellectually honest revalorizing of these symbols is an urgent task. Second he argued that a comparative phenomenology would reveal the continuing existence of patterns and symbols of identity formation from the traditional world of African myth and religion that are very different from European pattern of identity formation. Thus the revalorizing of these persisting African patterns of self-formation would help to strengthen the important and distinctive perspectives of African American philosophical discourses. Third and finally, there are significant and unique philosophical lessons and insights that are indigenous to the African path of self-development that might throw new light on the crisis threatening the global project.

Henry's main argument for the Africana project is to strengthen and make more visible the African features of African diaspora philosophical discourse, especially Afro-American philosophy given that they have more legitimacy and space. Henry is of the view that it is important for Afro-American philosophy to express not only its ties to Euro-American modernity as Cornel West suggested, but also its ties to African modernity. It is in this spirit of revalorizing the spiritual heritage of African thought that Henry concludes this discussion by demonstrating the important contributions that Caliban's thought can make to the problem of rationality in Western He challenges the blind and excessive growth of technocratic rationality in Western society and its inability to renew certain types of spiritual meanings that are affirmed in African philosophy. Henry's position here is a part of his reply to Habernas' response to the problems of Western rationality, and concludes with the suggestion that even the institutional power of technocratic reason would not enable it to resist these spiritual challenges.

The Cleavages of Afro-Caribbean Philosophy

In part three, "Reconstructing Caribbean Historicism", Henry discusses two major cleavages: first, the chasm between African heritage and philosophical thought in the African diaspora; and second, another look at the opposition between the poeticism and historicism schools of Afro-Caribbean thought. This is the context in which Henry introduces the more practical aspects of Afro-Caribbean philosophy and its direct impact to race, class and development in the region. These practical concerns lead him to another divide in Afro-Caribbean philosophy and how it has helped to shape the Caribbean region. The first side of this divide is the Pan African direction with foci on racial liberation and the cultivating of strong ties with Africa and Afro-America. The second strand is the Marxist school of thought that emphasised class liberation, solidarity with proletarians and other class dominated groups. However, Henry noted at the time of writing, the diminishing influences of these two political tendencies especially with the rise of a neo-liberal global economic order, and the new American corporate state as a model. He argues that neo-liberalism in the Caribbean brought an end to a period of state-led development and ushered in a new phase of growth dominated by central capitalism – ending what Henry called a 'state- local class alliance'. As a result Caribbean historicists find themselves in a paradoxical position and a return back to ground zero. Henry concludes by calling for a reformed Afro-Caribbean philosophy that takes on the responsibility of refereeing its oppositional tendencies such as those between myth and science, historicism and poeticism, or Pan Africanism and Marxism.

Toward A Short Critique

As I have indicated, Henry uses a number of key Afro-Caribbean philosophers to explain the field's various approaches to philosophy, and also the African and European influences on it. Henry likes to point out differences such as C.L.R James' tendencies to treat traditional African philosophy abstractly, while Frantz Fanon treated it in more concrete terms. I think this is because the influences on these two philosophers had a great deal to do with their residential environments. While James lived in the USA, Caribbean and the UK, Fanon lived in France, the Caribbean and the various African countries. Although Henry addressed very carefully the problem of the invisibility of African philosophy in the Caribbean, he failed to recognise the environmental influences on the ideas of various Caribbean philosophers, and more importantly, that these philosophers were trained in the Western tradition of thinking and will therefore see and read the Africana world in very similar ways. Further, although Henry has

some valid criticism of James' abstract approach to the traditional African philosophy, he does not engage in a logical analysis of James philosophy. While James focused on modern African political economy, Henry criticised James on traditional African philosophy. Besides, one can ask if it is even possible to explore African philosophy away from the prism and standards of European philosophy.

It is understandable that in his attempt to highlight the African heritage and its influence on Afro-Caribbean philosophical thought that Henry would focus on traditional African systems of thought. As an African, I think Paget Henry did a great job of invoking traditional African philosophical beliefs and religious systems of thought. However, he seemed to have reduced African philosophical thought and discourse to religion. By implication he presented traditional African philosophy as a narrow mystical thought system. Obviously, traditional African philosophy is based on oral transmission due to lack of written records, but the life and the general culture of Africans also indicate that life and philosophy are not wholly robed or embedded in religion. As Henry noted, there is a distinction between spirit and matter; so there is also a definite role for religion in traditional African thought as well as for empirical and rational thought systems.

As I pointed out, Henry cited several West African traditional beliefs and cultural practices to explain traditional African philosophy. However, although his arguments indicated that African philosophy is not homogenous, he failed to recognise sufficiently this important aspect of diversity in traditional African philosophy. For example in his review of C.L.R James, he committed the same mistake that some Western scholars have committed by using one African society's philosophical thought to analysis the rest. He uses Wole Soyinka's view to indicate the Yoruba concept of time, whereby everything is in the present and past. He also uses Mbiti's conception of time as evidence to argue that the concept of time in traditional African philosophy did not include the notion of the 'future', mainly because they claimed it could not be found in their language. Despite this not being the case, for example in Yorubaland, this claim seems to have become the general notion of the African concept of time, mainly promoted by Mbiti and Wole Soyinka who propounded the four basic stages of existence. The question is: how did Soyinka arrive at this conclusion if it was not based on his beliefs rather than language and empirical knowledge obtainable in Yorubaland, which he is representing. It is also about how we define time and the future. It might be more balanced to highlight other works that examine the concept of Time and Space in Africa[3].

Language is an integral part of philosophy, and more importantly critical in understanding African traditional philosophy, due to its lack of written records. This is because language is used to interpret society's views and ways of reasoning. In the Caribbean, the presence and influence of African language has been noted, and it is a major way of interpreting and understanding the influence of traditional African philosophers. For example, in Barbados, Jamaica, Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago, the traces of African languages are important indicators of African influences that have permeated Caribbean societies. This linguistic factor is an important part of philosophy and a crucial road to understanding the African heritage of Afro-Caribbean philosophy. In my view, it was not adequately presented in Henry's analysis of traditional African philosophy and its influence on the Afro-Caribbean philosophical discourse.

However, Paget Henry cleverly made a complex work look simple and easy in the studious work of his *Caliban's Reason.* Given that this is the first work of its kind, it is a bold attempt to explicate the African heritage of African diaspora philosophy, and to create a space for Afro-Caribbean philosophy. It is a great achievement and good start in the right direction. Although I have highlighted some gaps, this book should not be expected to tackle every philosophical issue. However, given the importance of the issues that Paget Henry introduced in this book, and particularly the understanding of traditional African philosophy within the wider discourse of his Africana project, maybe it is time he writes a follow-up that fills in some of these gaps.

Reference:

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[1] Caliban's Reason p.5

[2] See Menkiti (1984) and Ruzicki, (2011)

[3] See Ernest Beyayraza (2000) on African concept of time

Kincaid's and Danticat's Stages of Loss and Grief

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> "Death is not the greatest loss in life. The greatest loss is what dies inside us while we live."
>
> Norman Cousins, American Essayist and Editor

Grief is a normal reaction to death of a family member. Psychologists claim there are five stages to grief and though they define these stages as denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance; these psychologists are quick to say that these stages may not happen in this order or in any definite time pattern. The psychologists do agree on two things: first, people seem to experience grief in their own way and, second, it is painful.

Edwidge Danticat in her book, *Brother, I'm Dying* (2008) and Jamaica Kincaid in her book, *My Brother* (1997) deal with the process of loss and grief in similar ways. They both use writing to work through the grieving process of having lost an uncle, in Dandicat's book, and a brother, in Kincaid's. They both scream out against systems that allow the illness and resulting death to happen. And they both use what they have always sought for sanctuary in an unfair world: books.

Use of writing to work through stages

In her book, Dandicat describes the importance the written word had been for her even as a child. She received letters in Haiti from her father to reassure her that the family was still connected. "I was no writer," he later told me. "What I wanted to tell you and your brother was too big for any piece of paper and small envelope." (p. 22) Later when she and her brother were brought to New York to be with the family, the father brought out a gift: a Smith-Corona Corsair portable manual typewriter. And in receiving that gift it was obvious to her that she could write her uncle, who had raised her in Haiti. "'This will help you measure your words,' my father said, tapping the keys with his fingers for emphasis, to line them up neatly.' He meant this literally. He and I both had slightly crooked cursive handwriting. Unlike him, however, I would often line up my pens against a ruler to keep a straight line. Still they feel like such prescient gifts now, this typewriter and his desire, very early on, to see me properly assemble my words." (p. 119)

Kincaid, however, clearly states in her book why she sought writing. "I became a writer out of desperation, so when I first heard my brother was dying I was familiar with the act of saving myself; I would write about him. I would write about his dying. When I was young, younger than I am now, I started to write about my own life and I came to see that this act saved my life. When I heard about my brother's illness and his dying, I knew, instinctively, that to understand it, or to make an attempt at understanding his dying, and not to die with him, I would write about it." (pp. 195-196)

Screaming out against failed systems

Both writers were overwhelmed by how uncaring the "systems" were towards the sick and dying and how hard both writers had to work to just understand what was happening to their uncle/brother. Dandicat had not heard from her uncle arriving in Miami from Haiti for a visit and escape from a mob scene at his church in Port-au-Prince. At 1:30 in the morning Dandicat gets a call, one she missed, from the U.S. Customs and Border Protection officer that her uncle was with them. The number had not registered on Dandicat's phone nor did the caller leave a number in the message. This was the beginning of a long tale of incompetence on the part of U.S. officials and the regulations and restrictions that eventually caused an elderly, kind man to die. Through her research, Dandicat uncovers the transcripts of conversations had with her uncle held at the Krome Detention Center. She reports all the details within the timeline of their occurrence. She reports who asked what questions, what was said, how translations were botched, and how no one listened to any of the uncle's health problems. She records this with great detail. When her uncle is accused of faking being sick, Dandicat writes from the transcript. "'You can't fake vomit,' Pratt shot back. 'This man is very sick and his medication shouldn't have been taken away from him.' The medications were indeed taken away, replied the medic, in accordance with the facility's regulations, and others were substituted for them." (p. 234)

Dandicat continues the reporting. "At 7:00 p.m., after more than twenty hours of no food and sugarless IV fluids, my uncle was sweating profusely and complained of weakness…..At 7:55 p.m., his heart rate rose again, this time to 110 beats per minute. An electrocardiogram (EKG) was performed at 8:16 p.m. The next note on the chart shows that he was found pulseless and unresponsive by an immigration guard at 8:30 p.m. There is no detailed account of 'the code' or the sixteen minutes between the time he was found unresponsive and the time he was pronounced dead,

at 8:46 p.m. Only a quick scribble that cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR) and advanced cardiac life support (ACLS) "continued for 11 min." (p. 239) Hearing through a roundabout way, that Joseph was dead, Dandicat calls Ward D to ask if indeed it was true that a Haitian man names Joseph Dantic had just died there. "The man who answered curtly told me, 'Call Krome.'" (p. 241)

On the other hand, Kincaid begins her screaming against the system by describing the incongruities between her mother and her and where the relationship seemed to have taken a wrong turn, but ultimately that had been good for her. "Had my life stayed on the path where my mother had set it, the path of no university education, my brother would have been dead by now. I would not have been in a position to save his life, I would not have had access to a medicine to prolong his life, I would not have had access to money to buy the medicine that would prolong his life, however temporarily." (p. 74)

Kincaid verifies how the system was flawed. "The reason my brother was dying of AIDS at the time I saw him is that in Antigua if you are diagnosed with the HIV virus you are considered to be dying; the drugs used for slowing the progress of the virus are not available there; public concern, obsession with the treatment and care of members of the AIDS-suffering community by groups in the larger non-AIDS suffering community, does not exist. There are only the people suffering from AIDS, and then the people who are not suffering from AIDS. It is felt in general, so I am told, that since there is no cure for AIDS it is useless to spend money on a medicine that will only slow the progress of the disease; the afflicted will die no matter what' there are limited resources to be spent on health care and these should be spent where they will do some good, not where it is known that the outcome is death." (p.31)

The debate for both writers ends in that neither the U.S. nor Antigua "system" is prepared to help someone die with dignity if the person dying cannot be understood. Understood takes on the meaning of either language or lifestyle.

Sanctuaries: Books

Both writers choose books as their retreat, their sanctuaries from any loss or grief. In her retreat, Dandicat writes about her uncle purchasing a copy of the book about Madeleine, a book which the uncle had purchased for her previously but that copy had been lost in moves from one house to

another. "Now as we walked the short distance home, I couldn't wait to climb into bed and have another visit with my old friend Madeleine, who, like me, now lived in an old house with other children. And though there were not twelve of us, there could have been, breaking our bread and brushing our teeth and going to bed smiling at the good and frowning at the bad and sometimes being very sad." (pp. 67-68)

Kincaid relates to books early and writes about how she would ignore chores and her caretaking of younger siblings in order to read. Then in a fanatical act, her mother burns all of her books. Time forward, Kincaid writes about how she is reading *The Education of a Gardener* by Russell Page and had been thinking about his writing in a negative way, then after hearing about her brother dying, "I now love *The Education of a Gardener* and look forward to reading it again. And so when the phone rang I put this book down and answered it and I was told about my brother. The next time I opened this book I was sitting on the lawn in front of the Gweneth O'Reilly ward and my brother was sitting in a chair next to me. It was many days later." (p. 10) "And when I picked up that book again, *The Education of a Gardener,* I looked at my brother, for he was a gardener also, and I wondered, if his life had taken a certain turn, if he had caused his life to take a different turn, might he have written a book with such a title?" (p. 11)

At the End of the Day

To feel the loss and conclude the stages of grief, Dandicat ends her book with two pages of acknowledgements to organizations like the Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center, the Harvard Law Student Advocates for Human Rights, and the New York-based National Coalition for Haitian Rights, and to many, many people who as lawyers, activists, political representatives, friends and caring souls did what they could to help her reconstruct what really caused her uncle to die. Her book was her way of telling the world that she lost her uncle/father and the pain was such that she had to write about it just to put it down and make it clear why her uncle died and why she was in pain over her loss.

Kincaid's pain is loud and clear. She writes, "I did not want to be with any of these people again in another world. I had had enough of them in this one; they mean everything to me and they mean nothing, and even so, I do not really know what I mean when I say this." (p. 194) She concludes by describing how she wrote for William Shawn and the importance she had placed on Mr. Shawn reading her work. She remembers that as a young

girl her mother had burned all her books. Then Kincaid writes: "[I]t would not be so strange if I spent the rest of my life trying to bring those books back to my life by writing them again and again until they were perfect, unscathed by fire of any kind. For a very long time I had the perfect reader for what I would write and place in the unscathed books; the source of the books has not died, it only comes alive again and again in different forms and other segments. The perfect reader has died, but I cannot see any reason not to write for him anyway, for I can sooner get used to never hearing from him—the perfect reader—than to not being able to write for him at all." (pp.197-198)

Both writers describe how the stages of loss and grief affected them. They leave the reader, though, with the idea that the greatest loss is what dies inside us while we live. What died within them was trust in a system that was supposed to take care of the sick and dying. What saved them was being able to write about it.

A writer becomes a philosopher when writing about death. As a philosopher, the writer is often removed and becomes the narrator or author as defined by Foucault in his essay "What is an Author." Foucault argues that the author is not a source of infinite meaning but part of a larger system of beliefs that serve to limit and restrict meaning. Therefore when writers write about death, there is a larger belief system to which they ascribe. By writing about death, the writer acknowledges that death might be avoided for now but is most likely to be painful. Death may be avoided as Scheherazade postponed death by telling the One Thousand and One Nights stories. Postponing death allows the reader to feel the pain of the death but not to experience that death…yet. Death is most likely to be painful and writers write about death to get rid of pain. And with that death comes grief, which is personal and hurts. Grief can fill a body with sadness and anger; however, at the end of the day, when the casket has been lowered and covered with flowers, there still are people holes left in everyday lives. A writer can walk the reader through the grieving process, and the mere act of writing about grief and loss takes both the writer and the reader to a more hopeful place, this process turns the writer into the author. Though the writer may be writing about her loss, as Dandicat did with her uncle and Kincaid did with her brother; but by reading the words, the author gives hope. Both the author and reader are still alive—breathing, living, eating, drinking, walking through the gardens, and reading a book. Though grief is personal and painful; the experience makes one acknowledge life and that is why writers write about death.

Henry's Bird: Political Philosophy, Political Economy, and Late Modern Leadership

Neil Roberts

Let me begin with the transparent. Paget Henry belongs to a distinguished group of Antigua and Barbuda's foremost thinkers. Henry is the author of the groundbreaking books *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua* (1985), *C.L.R. James's Caribbean* (1992, co-edited with Paul Buhle), and *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy* (2000) as well as numerous book chapters and essays including "Political Accumulation and Authoritarianism in the Caribbean" (1991), "Sociology: After the Linguistic and Multicultural Turns" (1995), "Fanon, African, and Afro-Caribbean Philosophy" (1996), "Rastafarianism and the Reality of Dread" (1997), "Wynter and the Transcendental Spaces of Caribbean Thought" (2006), "Africana Phenomenology: Its Philosophical Implications" (2005), "Africana Political Philosophy and the Crisis of the Postcolony" (2007), and "Gender and Africana Phenomenology" (2011). *Caliban's Reason* alone is the primary impetus for the proliferation of works in Caribbean philosophy over the last decade and the founding of the Caribbean Philosophical Association (CPA) in 2002. Additionally, Henry is executive editor of *The C.L.R. James Journal* and the inaugural editor of the present journal, *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*. His most recent book, *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: The Life of V.C. Bird* (2010), is perhaps his crowning achievement with regards to the political history of his homeland and a gift to the people of the dual-island nation to which much of Henry's scholarship and activism is the object of devotion.

No biography is completely objective, irrespective of the avowed statements of the composer. Biographers recount facts, but the structure that their biographical texts take is an imprint forged ultimately through the agency of the writer. Nevertheless, Henry does a righteous job of echoing Prime Minister Baldwin Spencer's invitation to compose a narrative of Bird that inhabitants of all political persuasions can embrace. Although trained as an empirical sociologist and known in latter years as a leading philosopher, Henry is quite at home as a historian of politics. This much we know.

Less transparent, however, are the stakes of the first detailed account of the life and times of Vere Cornwall Bird, Sr. (1910-99), Antigua and Barbuda's inaugural Prime Minister, longtime head of the Antigua Labour Party (ALP), and foundational figure in late modern Caribbean leadership, controversies notwithstanding. Hitherto, the central recognized texts in

Caribbean politics and history either do not mention Bird altogether or devote embarrassingly little space to Bird's career.[1] Henry aims, in part, to shatter this oversight. *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda* is a work of *philosophical historicism,* by which I mean that it traces the historical background of Bird and the evolution of Bird as a politician through categories of contemporary discourse in political philosophy. Henry is masterful in telling the tale of Bird and making a convincing case that discussions of the Caribbean's seminal twentieth-century leaders can no longer occur without close attention to Bird's contributions. The infinite rehearsing of the names Norman Washington Manley, Alexander Bustamante, Captain Cipriani, Fidel Castro, Cheddi Jagan, Forbes Burnham, Robert Bradshaw, Aimé Césaire, Maurice Bishop, Eric Williams, Grantley Adams, and Errol Barrow is simply insufficient.

What we do not acquire explicitly as readers is a sense of the full implications of V.C. Bird's life, activism, and policies for our late modern present in the region outside of Antigua and Barbuda. Henry, of course, had the difficult challenge of assembling and providing an archaeology of rare documents pertaining to Bird. This is *ipso facto* a tall task. In what follows, I focus primarily on *Shouldering* chapter three ("V.C. Bird's Political Philosophy") and the long seventh chapter ("Closing Reflections") in order to elucidate Henry's philosophical historicism, competing models of political economy, and the legacy of Bird for late modern Caribbean political leadership. The philosophy and policies of Jamaica's Michael Manley serve as a point of comparison to Henry's Bird, allowing for extrapolation of the regional stakes of *Shouldering* beyond the deductions Henry offers.

Philosophical Historicism

Henry asserts that the lives of human beings with agency and will move along two axes: vertical and horizontal (22-23).[2] The vertical axis refers to our evolving private capabilities within human subjectivity, and biographical accounts grounded on this axis emphasize a figure's birth, maturation into adulthood, friends, family, progeny, and, where relevant, death. The horizontal axis is the public realm whereby our subjective capabilities actualize into individual and collective projects of an economic, religious, educational, and/or political nature that have the ability to restructure the very fabric of the lives, institutions, and social structures of a community and its people. These axes are not mutually exclusive, and they are in fact modes of existence occurring simultaneously in one's lifeworld. Henry

chooses to present Bird through the horizontal axis a result of Bird's public stature.

Bird was not a Rhodes Scholar like Norman Manley, did not receive a Ph.D. from Oxford as Eric Williams, seldom travelled to multiple continents as Césaire, and did not produce books and political treatises in the manner of Castro. Bird did, though, have presence; a large presence, both as a consequence of his notable imposing height and the grandeur of Bird's aspirations. Bird had what Anton Allahar calls *Caribbean charisma,* and he wielded this power of legitimacy skillfully to amass devoted followers via the oral tradition.[3] Bird grew up working class, embraced Salvation Army theology, criticized white capital and processes of anti-black racialisation in the local neo-plantation economy, gained inspiration from Marcus Garvey's Pan Africanism, learned from the wider black radical tradition, engaged in trade unionism, aspired to unite factions in Antigua and Barbuda into a single nation, and remained a staunch anti-colonialist.

It is the postcolonial period that marks the most critical transformations in Bird's vision of politics. If, as Henry suggests (133), Bird's political career in power comprised two phases—the first from 1945-71; and the second 1976-94—, then comprehension of Bird's shifting thought over this period is essential. Henry likens the challenges encountered by Bird to the protagonist in George Lamming's *A Season of Adventure,* a novel foreshadowing the dilemmas of governance in the postcolony (106, 201). Bird's reality, however, was more nuanced than the don of San Cristobal.

Whereas *Caliban's Reason* foregrounds ontology (the study of being) and to a lesser extent metaphysics (questions of God and existence beyond the physical world) in charting the Afro-Caribbean philosophical and political tradition, *Shouldering* privileges political philosophy (the organizing principles and concepts underlying notions of the political) in framing the architecture of Bird's public politics. Specifically, Henry argues that narrower inquiry into the dialectics of freedom and order reveal, in a surprisingly robust fashion, how "Bird's political philosophy was a complex discursive formation that went through four critical phases: 1) ethical bad mindedness; 2) black democratic socialism; 3) black labourism; and 4) partyism or ALPism" (92).

Ethical bad mindedness is the negative polarity in the division between good and evil (81). The colonial period is a moment of rigid distinctions between the planter class and the masses of enslaved workers. It is also a

time of racialisation, bad faith, and anti-black racism as Lewis R. Gordon and Jamaica Kincaid note. An agent's "blackness is visible and yet it is invisible,"[4] and humans such as planters in bad faith evade reality when upholding the belief that "BLACKNESS is trouble. Blackness is Absence. Blackness is a hole. Blackness is *that which has gone wrong.*"[5] Ethical bad mindedness is the evil intentions and actions of a human in relation to another. Kincaid captures this pithily when classifying English colonizers as "bad-minded people who used to rule over" Antigua.[6]

Prevalent throughout colonialism, ethical bad mindedness persists into the postcolonial period in the dynamics of patriarchal right, clientelism, political corruption, and other evils. As Kincaid asks, "is the Antigua I see before me, self-ruled, a worse place than what it was when it was dominated by the bad-minded English and all the bad-minded things they brought with them?" (cited in 81). Kincaid's query has strong import, but Henry argues that we must return initially to Bird's early political worldview for it is at this formative juncture that Bird questions the logics of coloniality and rejects white planters' power over black bodies, institutions, and capacities for action.

Phase one in Bird's political philosophy is a negative dialectic, a mode of criticism grounded in critique without a coherent vision of an alternative future. Bird fuses politics and economics to point to a way forward, with phases two and three containing, to different degrees, progressive visions. Phase four signifies a regressive conservative state capitalist turn. Political economy is vital to interpreting these subsequent stages of Bird's political philosophy.

Models of Political Economy

Political economy etymologically refers to the law of the household. But as Jean-Jacques Rousseau reminds us, the modern age differentiates the private economy of the family from the public economy of trade and governance.[7] Political economy belongs to the public sphere and its dynamics are essential to politics, education, statecraft, and leadership. Nevertheless, it is an area of study that remains marginal to contemporary political philosophy and Caribbean discourse. This is notable regarding the latter in the years between the theorizing of St. Lucian Nobel Laureate W. Arthur Lewis and the rise of Caribbean political economy and the ensuing demise of radical Caribbean political economy, signaled initially by the implosion of the journal *New World Quarterly* and the scholars, activists, and politicians associated with the NWQ collective.[8]

Lewis's version of Fabian socialism identified the causes of early twentieth-century labour unrest in the Anglophone Caribbean, leading to the creation of several longstanding political parties and the onset Caribbean nationalism. Lewis also proposed a theory of economic growth applicable to late colonial states with an eye towards regional independence movements and polity sustainability. Lewis asserted that the creation of a competitive, sizable middle class must occur by actively encouraging foreign capitalists to come to the region, become citizens of Caribbean polities, and help to build local economies. Radical Caribbean political economists would question Lewis's principles, its Fabianism, its short sightedness on the intentions of a relocated foreign bourgeoisie, and its de-linking of race and class. Albeit not enshrined in book form, Bird's conception of political economy arguably confronted both poles of this outlook.

Michael Dawson recently contended that political economy means the demystification of the "free" market myth and the recognition of the role political institutions have in molding the economy and the economic well-being of a range of actors, especially the marginalized. Black political economy, by extension, involves attention to political movements, problems, policies, and economic solutions to the challenges facing black actors and black politics in a polity.[9] Henry shares Dawson's desire to revitalize black political economy, choosing Bird as a case study to underscore its relevance to philosophical historicism and the Caribbean.

The second phase in Bird's evolving political philosophy, black democratic socialism, is "peculiar mix of Pan Africanism and Fabian socialism" (131). It is clear also that Henry admires this conception of the political most in spite of Henry's careful degree of narrative objectivism. From the 1940s into the 1950s, Bird has an increased preoccupation with empowering black workers exploited by white capital and property holders. He rethinks, in turn, the hegemonic ordering of the liberal state, proposing instead another model of political economy to facilitate the achievement of freedom.

One observes this in Bird's minority report to the Soulbury Commission and his involvement in the drafting of memos and a manifesto questioning individual access to land (92). On the one hand, Bird espouses black political solidarity without adopting the Garveyite embrace of capitalism and gross economic accumulation in the service of black folk. On the other hand, Bird's race consciousness and itemized demands balancing extremes of desires by peasants and planters situate him outside classical British Fabianism. Among the recommendations that Bird voic-

es are the call on government to curtail the extent of land ownership by individuals and corporate bodies and a series of measures suggesting the increase in the Lands Authority power for the larger purpose of using the Lands Authority medium to make peasant land settlements more equitable. Last, but not least, Bird advocates for redefining property rights and nationalising two sugar factories (97).

Bird tempers the radicalism of his visions for an alternative future from the mid-1950s until his first and only electoral defeat. This is the period that Henry defines as Bird's black labourism. It is not always obvious, however, what the distinction between black democratic socialism and black labourism is. The closest demarcation characteristic offered on the philosophical level is that black labourism, unlike black democratic socialism, molds elements of Fabianism, race consciousness, and workers rights, stopping short of imagining the full nationalisation of property (100). As I will discuss later, Michael Manley's democratic socialist experiment in Jamaica during the 1970s contains proposals with several principles similar to the pre-1971 Bird that do not call for the complete nationalisation of property. These are still socialist policies, albeit not communist.

State Capitalism

Whether or not the socialism/labourism distinction holds, Henry makes a provocative and compelling argument on Bird's decisive conservative shift in political philosophy following his return to power and into retirement: namely, entrenchment into party politics and the refashioning of the late colonial and post-Independent Antiguan and Barbudan state on state capitalist grounds. The intra-state conservatism of Bird is reified with the emergence of Reaganism in the United States, Thatcherism in the United Kingdom, and the replacement of Keynesianism and more radical modes of political economy such as those emanating from the black radical tradition with ideas derived from Milton Friedman, F.A. Hayek, and advocates of "free" market fundamentalism (185).

The deregulated state, patronage, Antigua Labour Party broadened privileges, state power, and political leader authoritarianism reigned supreme. If open disagreement is fundamental to the rationalisation of politics as Jacques Rancière contends, then the late Bird employed corruption and censorship to stifle political processes.[10] Racial solidarity and notions of linked fate amidst an atmosphere of healthy public debate evaporated.

Henry and Kincaid learned this firsthand, from the Bird administration's banning of a book by the latter to the former's prevention from appearance on ABS-Radio and Television (188). Henry is right in *Shouldering* that "[n]o one saw this historical possibility of a state capitalist era more clearly than CLR James [in *State Capitalism and World Revolution*]" (212). I would add that, while James's prescription in the earlier *Notes on Dialectics* to abandon political parties altogether was premature, James's prescience included predicting the debilitating effects of party politics on late modern leadership and socio-structural transformations of a polity.[11]

A state capitalist political economy centers decision-making power with the state via the agency of the executive branch. Neither the separation of powers in a federalist system nor the self-activity of workers within a polity dictates the actions that a state takes. With the collaboration of Raya Dunayevskaya and Grace Lee, James brilliantly predicts the core problematic that will lead to the fall of the Soviet Union. For James, the U.S.S.R. does not represent a socialist society, but rather a state capitalist one. Stalinism and the Kremlin are the bodies orchestrating operations of the Soviet state. Rather than a model of socialism, the U.S.S.R. is the archetype of a deformed workers state run by an elite cadre of capitalists masking themselves as heirs to the socialist legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Workers have little agency in such a state capitalist system. The oligarchs ruling the federation are the usurpers of the work of the labour force. The state utilizes a centralized philosophy of rationalism, a "philosophy of the elite, the bureaucracy, the organizers, the leaders, clothed in Marxist terminology. It is the extreme, the historical limit of the rationalism of the bourgeoisie, carefully organized to look like a new revolutionary doctrine."[12] "Philosophy," James implores, "must become more proletarian" prior to reversing the effects of a state capitalist order.[13]

That the January 21, 2012 edition of *The Economist* features a special report on varieties of state capitalism today under the heading "The Visible Hand" is a sign of James's previous prognostications coming to pass.[14] Some polities are able to balance state capitalist political economy with the needs of the masses of people. Most cannot. Even the rapid contemporary accumulation of economic power by the People's Republic of China under Hu Jintao is not evidence of state capitalism attaining a transcendental status.

V.C. Bird, in Henry's estimation, fails to balances the needs of the state, the executive branch, and the people by the end of his shouldering of Antigua and Barbuda. By the conclusion of Bird's final term as Prime Minister, state capitalism is the systemic reality of the polity. How to manage the system becomes the biggest difficulty. Henry suggests that Bird forecloses the possibility of a merger of the newer state capitalist order with older disavowed principles of democratic socialism. An unnamed, unrealized fifth phase, in effect, is waiting to be realized. As Henry observes, "[O]ur proletarian history and political philosophy of the past eight decades tells us that the future of Antiguan and Barbudan—and indeed Caribbean—state capitalism should be a variant of a black democratic socialism." (216).

But is this so?

Democratic Socialism Revisited

The racial politics of state capitalist projects in the Caribbean have geopolitical particularities that distinguish them from other states with ostensibly analogous political economy principles. Henry acknowledges that "one of the deep sources of dissatisfaction and disappointment with V.C. Bird's state capitalism was its need to re-introduce white economic power after such a vigorous black fight against the planters. This racially ambivalent feature of his state capitalism was indeed the negative experience driving the rise of black power groups in his new black proletarian order" (208).

Anterior to the racialisation of state capitalism, however, are the racial politics of democratic socialism in the region. Perhaps outside the space limits of *Shouldering,* it would have been beneficial to have a more solid contextual framework on the trails and tribulations of another regional politician who began as a democratic socialist and experienced a conservative turn after a period out of power: Michael Manley.

Manley and Bird could not be further apart in terms of upbringing. Manley was upper middle-class, the son of a Jamaican National Hero and an accomplished sculptor, a politician educated at university in England, light brown-skinned, and a reminder of the competing brown creole nationalist and black nationalist political traditions that forged alternative visions of the Jamaican anti-colonial and independence movements.

But on closer introspection, Manley, like Bird, was a trade unionist, an advocate for years of the poor and dispossessed, and in many ways, similar to Castro, a rhetorical race traitor. Manley took over leadership of the People's National Party (PNP) and assumed the Prime Ministership of Jamaica in 1972. From 1972-80, Manley embraced messianic symbolism, gained support from Rastafari adherents, and cultivated the language of black nationalism as a bulwark to develop democratic socialist principles. However, Manley's democratic socialism was *not* a political philosophy of racial solidarity; it was an political philosophy grounded in a political economy that appealed to black masses, but did not contain intrinsic precepts, duties, or responsibilities to the souls of Jamaican black folk. What commentators have framed routinely as Manley abandoning previously promised ideals to black Jamaican labourers in his return to power in 1989 in fact was not a volte-face.

Henry likewise has faulted Bird for a disappointing turn against black workers in favor of white foreign investors. Yet ample evidence shows that Bird at most stages of his political career was to the right of the Pan Africanist and socialist Jamesian Afro-Caribbean Movement (ACM), later renamed the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM) under the stewardship of Tim Hector. The ALPism of Bird did not share the same level of commitments and solidarity that the ACLM members fought for and that Hector reiterated in passionate "Fan the Flame" columns in the *Outlet* periodical. Bird's conservative shift was a tragedy vis-à-vis his public policies toward workers as a whole, not due to targeting specifically the *black* working class who comprised a majority of labourers on the islands.

Now let us return to Manley. More than any other document including the *Principles and Objectives of the People's National Party, The Politics of Change* (1974/1990) distills the intersections of political philosophy and political economy in the thought of Manley. Moreover, the two editions of Manley's text—the first written as a blueprint for the first term as Prime Minister and the second a retrospective and prospective vision upon return to office—crystallize the nuances of the commitment of Manley to the three pillars of equality, self-reliance, and social justice. Note, though, that Manley highlights in writing *social justice* more than *socialism.*

Politics has epigraphs from Norman Manley and Marcus Garvey, each emphasising the importance of freedom. The text divides into two sections, Part I "A Philosophy of Change" and Part II "The Strategy of Change." The book meticulously foreshadows several of Manley's most

important accomplishments as a leader such as maternity leave with pay for women, family court, land leasing, the bauxite levy, nationalisation of Barclays into National Commercial Bank, the lowering of the voting age to 18, and the JAMAL literacy program.[15]

Striking is the front cover of the second edition of *Politics.* In edition one, Manley writes that "[i]f you live, for example, in a tropical country, that has acquired the jacket and tie as a style of dress for that country, you have made a number of unconscious concessions." "This," Manley asserts, "is the first act of psychological surrender."[16] In the revised edition, Manley is on the front with a business suit and tie, slight smile, visibly grayer, with a muted look of contentment. Manley would have to travel subsequently to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Washington, DC to make crippling concessions in his neoliberal turn that still impact the Jamaican state today. Footage in the documentary *Life and Debt* captures this all too accurately.

What is relevant here is not a debate on suits and the psychodynamics of postcoloniality, for, as the front cover of and pictures within Henry's *Shouldering* showcase, Bird wore suits for decades and that did not signal an abdication of ideals. Rather, the point is the that Manley represents a political leader with multiple contradictions, a charismatic figure who could ignite the most apathetic listener to action on admirable policies while also manipulating listeners for personal benefit through the arts of rhetoric and aesthetics. Think of the Rod of Correction, the "Joshua" nickname, the spectacle of the marriage to Afro-wearing Beverly Anderson, and the press surrounding the One Love Peace Concert. As Brian Meeks underscores, Manley "was for the people, but never quite 'of' the people."[17]

In the "Epilogue" to *Politics* added in the second edition, Manley laments inattention in the original text to discourse on imperialism, socialism, capitalism, and tribalism. Manley does not address racism, black nationalism, black democratic socialism, and racial politics writ large. When discussing socialism, Manley recalls a remark from his first term that he has long "distrusted 'labels'."[18] In Manley's estimation, democratic socialism is a means to social justice, not an end in itself. One wonders if Manley remembers being elected Vice President of the Socialist International. The ramifications of this, of course, are that the introduction of classical economics in neoliberal mold across Jamaican domestic and foreign policies is deemed acceptable so long as social justice, infused with equality, is the goal of the state.

Bad health prompted Manley's retirement in 1992. But the slippery slope of Manley's last term was one that Bird would face in Antigua and Barbuda. Attention to this or another related example would have strengthened Henry's overall account. Henry's closing charge is apropos, as "whatever form we continue to wrestle with this legacy" of Bird is a charge we must all grapple with between past and future (230).

Bird's Late Modern Legacy

There are three key implications of Paget Henry's magisterial rendering of V.C. Bird. First, the philosophical historicism of Henry marks a form of biographical writing ably suited to bridge the false divide between the realms of empirical fact collection and the normative theorizing of concepts. Second, Henry's introduction of political economy into the examination of Bird recovers an area of thought often neglected in political philosophy and contemporary Caribbean thought. Finally, Henry offers the world for the first time a sustained treatment of a major late modern leader. The theses underlying Henry's Bird will spark a series of debates and responses for years to come.

In crafting the document to serve as the philosophical justification of Jamaica naming its first five National Heroes, Sylvia Wynter asserts that the "trajectory of Jamaican history can be defined as the struggle of the majority of our people to transform ourselves from being the object of the history of other nations, into the agent and creative subject of our own." Jamaica's national heroes "made the choice to dedicate themselves to this transformation."[19] We can attribute a similar statement to V.C. Bird.

Bird's love of Antigua and Barbuda is undeniable and he is a national hero in his own land as a result of self-consciously *choosing* a life of transformation. Bird navigated what Wilson Harris calls the "Art of Limbo," the liminal space between despair and hope wherein, ironically, a revolutionary upheaval has the potential to be born.[20] Furthermore, in the language of Wynter, Bird ushers in an Antiguan and Barbudan movement to solidify the materialization of the *Human* after Man.[21] The struggles for agency, subjectivity, and humanism continue into our late modern present, and Bird—with strengths that outweighed notable weaknesses— paved the way for achievement of these ongoing dreams of a people. We are, therefore, forever indebted to Paget Henry in challenging us to never forget this.

Notes

[1] Notable works exhibiting this oversight include Gordon K. Lewis, *The Growth of the Modern West Indies* (New York: Monthly Review, 1968); Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: A History of the Caribbean* (New York: Vintage, 1970); Denis Benn, *The Caribbean: An Intellectual History* (Kingston: Ian Randle: 2004); Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in Its Ideological Aspects, 1492-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); and Silvio Torres-Saillant, *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). In the edited volume *Women in Caribbean Politics* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2011), Cynthia Barrow-Giles also documents the neglect of sufficient study into women in Caribbean politics. Henry's project in *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: The Life of V.C. Bird* (London: Hansib, 2010), along with the forthcoming *Calherban's Reason: The Tidalectics of Afro-Caribbean Philosophy*, address both the recovery of V.C. Bird and the contributions of women to Caribbean politics and thought.

[2] I cite *Shouldering* in the text throughout by page numbers within parentheses.

[3] Anton Allahar, ed., *Caribbean Charisma: Reflections on Leadership, Legitimacy, and Populist Politics* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2001).

[4] Jamaica Kincaid, *At the Bottom of the River* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983), 46.

[5] Lewis R. Gordon, *Bad Faith and Antiblack Racism* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities, 1995), 146.

[6] Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988), 24.

[7] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Discourse on Political Economy," in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3-9.

[8] W. Arthur Lewis, *Labour in the West Indies: The Birth of a Worker's Movement* (London: Fabian Society, 1939); Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (London: Allen and Unwin 1955); Brian Meeks, ed., *The Thought of the New World: The Quest for Decolonisation* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2010).

[9] Michael C. Dawson, *Not in Our Lifetimes: The Future of Black Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 125-126.

[10] Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Philosophy and Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 43-60.

[11] C.L.R. James argues: "Now if the party is the knowing of the proletariat, then the coming of age of the proletariat means the abolition of the party. That is our new universal." See *Notes on Dialectics: Hegel, Marx, Lenin* (London: Allison and Busby, 1980), 175.

[12] James, *State Capitalism and World Revolution* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1986), 121.

[13] James, *State Capitalism and World Revolution*, 130.

[14] *The Economist*, "Special Report: State Capitalism," January 21, 2012, 1-18.

[15] Michael Manley, *The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1990), 246-247.

[16] Manley, *The Politics of Change*, 66.

[17] Meeks, *Narratives of Resistance: Jamaica, Trinidad, The Caribbean* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1997), 120.

[18] Manley, *The Politics of Change*, 233, 235.

[19] Sylvia Wynter, *Jamaica's National Heroes* (Kingston: Litho Press Ltd., 1971), 1, original emphasis.

[20] Wilson Harris, *The Ghost of Memory* (London: Faber and Faber, 2006), 11.

[21] Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3 (3): 2003, 257-337.

Paget Henry, *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: the Life of V.C. Bird*, Hansib Publications, Hertford, 2010, 231 pp.
Jessica Byron

Paget Henry's book on V.C. Bird goes beyond the scope of many biographies. In addition to chronicling the life and times of the subject, Henry makes forays into Afro-Caribbean philosophy and gives his views on the political economy of development and possible futures for Antigua and Barbuda. At times, the conversational style sounds like a personal dialogue between a story-teller/teacher and the small island society of Antigua and Barbuda.

The book is organized in seven chapters. The first presents a profile of Vere Bird – his physical appearance, family and formative details, the various phases of his career in which he morphed from Salvation Army officer to small businessman to labour leader and finally to political leader and Prime Minister. The author draws on documentary sources, parallel historical accounts of the times, perceptions and recollections of both close associates and political rivals and detractors of V.C. Bird. This gives an enigmatic range of contrasting images of Bird which are explored in the following chapters.

Chapter Two gives a backdrop of the international and national developments, structures and actors of the 1930s and 1940s describing an imperial order in flux, the impact on the planter/merchant class in colonial peripheries like Antigua and the profound effects of the economic depression. Social unrest would eventually lead to constitutional changes and a political changing of the guard. Henry examines all aspects of the social conflicts, in particular the divergent interests of the planters, the Colonial Office, militant black workers and an emerging black middle class. He also explores alternative conceptions of social order by examining all peasant and worker uprisings in Antigua between 1736 and the 1940s. He argues that V.C. Bird's social vision was partly rooted in a historical vision of a peasant social order but diverged from this to incorporate ideological elements of modern industrial society. In the next chapter, he develops his interpretation of this social vision and political philosophy.

Chapter Three argues that Caribbean philosophy deserves greater academic attention as it provides key insights into the actions of V.C. Bird and other political leaders. It suggests that there were four phases of Bird's political philosophy. The first, probably rooted in his Christian upbringing, is idiosyncratically dubbed "ethical badmindedness". This translates as the belief that good will triumph over evil. Paget Henry believes that this evolved into another phase in which Bird was influenced by Panafricanist diasporic

thinkers like Garvey, Padmore and Hubert Harrison and also by the international labour movement, particularly the Fabian Socialists of the British Labour Party. It all coalesces as a black democratic Socialist philosophy. The author substantiates this claim by citing three seminal documents, the 1947 memorandum of the Political Action Committee of the Antigua Trades and Labour Union (ATLU), V.C. Bird's minority report to the Soulbury Commission of 1949 and the 1956 Manifesto of the Antigua Labour Party (ALP). They advocated a stronger role for the state in economic management, racial equity for senior public service appointments, nationalization of the sugar industry and the redistribution of land to peasants. In the next phase of Bird's political thought, Henry argues that his Socialist agenda was toned down by the stark realities of operating in a capitalist society. It was modified into "black labourism" which sought to advance the welfare of Antiguan workers while promoting state capitalism. The final phase, "partyism", developed between 1971 and 1976 when Bird had tasted electoral defeat. Promoting the supremacy of the ALP became the most important goal, and in the process, "the party became the centre, the starting point of all political thinking and of all conceptions of political order" (p. 103).

Chapter Four is of considerable historical interest for students of political development in the Eastern Caribbean and the Leeward Islands in particular. It recounts V.C. Bird's career as a militant and strategically astute trade unionist during the 1940s, a decade of labour unrest and confrontations with both the planters and the colonial administration. Henry does a detailed examination of the many strikes and the impact of each one on the shifting political power distribution in Antigua. Ultimately, Bird and the workers gained substantial ground at the expense of the planter class in terms of official recognition for the ATLU, an expanded support base and some degree of land redistribution in 1951. The latter part of the chapter chronicles the dramatic and rapid constitutional changes for Antigua and the rest of the Commonwealth Caribbean in the 1950s and 1960s. Henry signals the 1951 constitution as the start of an era of constitutional decolonization. It brought universal adult suffrage, a larger elected legislature and the committee system of government. 1956 brought full ministerial government with V.C. Bird as Chief Minister. By 1961 the post of British Governor was discontinued. Thereafter, Antigua had an Administrator until 1967 when it became an internally self-governing Associated State. Henry notes in passing that 1956 also marked the inauguration of the unsuccessful West Indies Federation which lasted only until 1962. The narrative makes clear that domestic political struggles rather than regional developments were significant for the rising political fortunes of V.C. Bird. The Federation's impact lay largely in its collapse and

the British Government's subsequent resort in 1967 to the formula of Associated Statehood for the Leeward and Windward Islands. All these events catapulted to power V.C. Bird and the labour leaders of Antigua and Barbuda.

Arguably, Bird's fortunes and image begin to change with the attainment of full political power. Chapter Five surveys this "new phase in Bird's season of adventure" (p.131) mainly focusing on the record of the 1945 – 1971 period. Henry explores the reasons for Bird's departure from his earlier ideological stance to embrace a state capitalist system and growing alliances with local economic elites and foreign investors. He notes the lack of external support for a democratic socialist programme, examines the mixed record and mainly poor performance of state-owned industrial enterprises and Bird's gradual shift from a focus on peasant development and agro-industry to services, principally tourism. He also turns the spotlight on Bird's autocratic leadership style, periodic purges of political dissidents within the ALP, rising secessionist tendencies in Barbuda from the late 1960s onwards and the emergence of new black power opposition groups. Most explosive of all was the major split in the ATLU between Bird and General Secretary George Walter which would ultimately result in fragmentation into two trade unions in 1967 and the formation of a rival political party, the Progressive Labour Movement (PLM) in 1968. Henry comments that "the drama of the hero and the crowd had a new cast of characters and a new target of opposition…no longer the planters and their post-slavery social order but Bird and his state capitalist order, particularly its state-union relations" (p. 154). The chapter concludes with the vastly changed political landscape and new patterns of polarization which would set the stage for Bird's political defeat in 1971 and extreme political conservativism thereafter…."the adventure had taken a dangerous and tragic turn" (p. 166).

Chapter Six chronicles the most conservative period of V.C. Bird's political career which includes Antigua's transition to full independence in 1981.The author portrays an aging political leader very dependent on foreign capital and now bent on stifling opposition from labour groups or the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement. He documents the Bird government's widening trail of international corruption scandals, the nepotism which afflicted the administration and the bitter rivalry between Bird's sons over the leadership succession. The regime is likened to the dynasty of a traditional monarch and, somewhat charitably, Prime Minister Bird's succession dilemma is compared to the pathos of King Lear. While the author unflinchingly lists the corruption scandals that engulfed Antigua from the 1970s onwards, he remains relatively mild in his critique of these

extreme examples of bad governance. Regrettably, this section of the book is not documented as thoroughly as earlier sections, contains far fewer primary sources and is long on narrative, short on analysis.

V.C. Bird finally demitted office in 1994, dying five years later at the age of 89. Henry quotes a *Jamaica Observer* editorial which stated "Vere Cornwall Bird's death…marks a completion of the transition from colonial dominance to political independence and demands…a serious accounting from ourselves of just how well we have managed the affairs of these islands" (p. 203). In the concluding chapter, Henry gives his own assessment of Bird's very mixed political legacy. While emphasizing his contributions, he identifies the ideological and economic compromises, political repression and corruption as major contradictions. The chapter ends with a lengthy reflection on state capitalism and explores some rather unrealistic alternatives to Antigua's service economy and external dependence. Since the book has presented numerous examples of political polarization and divergent class interests in Antigua, the possibility of forging an alliance of forces and a united economic front in the interest of national development seems unlikely. Likewise, the discussion focuses exclusively on the political economy of development. Little attention is paid to the remedying of institutional deficiencies. Even though Henry's study has cited numerous examples of media and civil society activism in exposing corruption and criminal practices in Antigua, he does not explore how the society and the state could be better organized to guard against corrupt governance, administrative malpractice and nepotism. Yet these would seem to be crucial ingredients for sound development and democracy in the future.

Paget Henry's portrait of V.C. Bird is a major contribution to the political scholarship on Antigua and the Leeward Islands which is really quite sparse. The first four chapters, in particular, contain a rich analysis of the social, political and economic history of Antigua and Barbuda in the 20th century. The documentary references and the photographic illustrations are very valuable and the book provides fascinating insights into the colonial and constitutional history of Antigua and the rest of the Leewards. It will appeal to a wide cross-section of readers interested in Caribbean social history, political culture and development issues. Above all, it successfully captures the society's ambivalent relationship with V.C. Bird, the affection and hero worship he commanded even while autocratic behavior and corruption were acknowledged. Henry's study suggests that Bird, as a pioneer, a monolithic leader for several decades, became the model and point of reference for political behavior. Opponents striving for binary opposition

often ended up replicating his style of politics. Similar patterns have been observed in other Caribbean polities.

Notwithstanding the book's merits, one ventures to add some elements of critique. The first concerns the democratic socialism thesis. It can be argued that this did not represent Bird's dominant ideology. The text itself portrays the most substantial period of his political leadership as the pragmatic building of political and economic alliances and the neutralization of opposition. Likewise, one would have welcomed a greater attention to institutional analysis examining the structures and processes of the ALP, the central government and local government in Barbuda. While Henry focuses on the eventually problematic link between the trade union and the party, he does not explore the weaknesses of other institutional structures and their impact on democracy and governance.

A stronger regional comparative dimension may have strengthened, or at least added new twists to some aspects of the analysis. V.C. Bird's political career developed in parallel with developments in other territories, many of which were facing similar circumstances. For instance, how did V.C. Bird's perspectives on economic development differ from those of Robert Bradshaw in St. Kitts and why was sugar industry nationalization pursued in the latter state but not in Antigua? Why did Antigua and Barbuda remain a unitary state despite secessionist tensions whereas St. Kitts and Nevis ended up with a federal constitution? In the discussion of state capitalism, China and the United States are examined, but not Trinidad and Tobago or Barbados. Scant attention is paid to Bird's relationship with regional governance. The West Indies Federation is given passing mention in Chapter Four, and CARICOM and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) which have had a much greater impact on the institutions, forms of governance and development of Antigua are mentioned only once (p. 184).

Finally, one notes that the rigorous documentation in the first four chapters of the book lapses somewhat in the more contemporary chapters. The book would also have benefited greatly from an index, particularly given its historical detail and value as an academic text.

All these observations underline the fact that Paget Henry's biography of V.C. Bird has provided much food for reflection on a generation of Caribbean political leadership and leaves the reader with many questions. I conclude with the hope that the book will stimulate the author himself and other researchers to further examine these issues.

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