THE ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA REVIEW OF BOOKS

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Paget Henry

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

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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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Edited
by

Jane Gordon, Lewis Gordon
Aaron Kamugisha and Neil Roberts

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Yes, Dear Readers, this is already the 10th anniversary issue of our *Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*! It is indeed difficult to believe that a decade has gone by since Edgar Lake's inspiring talk, "Nascent Aspects of An Antiguan Literary Heritage", which was the spark that gave birth to our *Review*. So a very special 10th anniversary welcome to all of our readers, old and new!

In our ninth issue, we focused on the Antiguan and Barbudan economy, celebrated the artwork of Mali Olatunji and the historical scholarship of Prof. Natasha Lightfoot. This issue of our *Review*, through the love and conspiracies of some of my best friends, focuses on my work. In particular, the searchlight is on a collection of my essays that these dear friends produced to mark my 70th birthday. So, here in this note, I must say a very special "thank you" to the editors of this wonderful collection, Lewis Gordon, Jane Gordon, Aaron Kamugisha, and Neil Roberts. It was they who gave the volume its very weighty title: *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader*. It is indeed a great collection that really celebrates and makes clear the intellectual trajectory of my years on planet earth and in the academy.

Not only did these wonderful friends of mine put out this lovely volume, they also organized a one-day conference in New York to coincide with the volume's publication and also with my 70th birthday. It was a great event, full of good thoughts, good wishes, and wonderful surprises. So thanks must also go to all of the presenters for their contributions to that gathering in New York. In addition to the presenters, there were many unexpected arrivals. The biggest of these surprises came when my very good friend, Dr. Vincent Richards just walked in with his family. An unforgettable moment in an unforgettable day! Here, I must also mention that a few months later, after the August meeting of our Association, Dorbrene and Ingrid O'Marde organized a wonderful feast at their home. So yes, my 70th was a year of celebrating!

But that is not where this story ends. It continued with my dear friends collecting many of the papers from the conference and co-editing this 10th anniversary issue of our *Review*. For those readers who were not able to attend the conference, you will certainly get here a very good taste of what actually transpired. For those of you who did attend, not only will you be able to revisit each other's presentations, but I have extended my responses to each of you. So many thanks to both editors and presenters for giving birth to this rich and wonderful intellectual happening.

In addition to the papers from the conference, this issue of our review also features poetry by Edgar Lake, Elaine Olaoye, Alvette Jeffers and Lenin Jeffers. We also have two featured essays, the first by Edgar Lake, who continues his exploration of Henry Redhead Yorke, the 18th-century Barbudan political theorist. In the second essay, I explore the challenges confronting contemporary Caribbean philosophy, as the philosophies of neoliberalism and post-structuralism continue to recede. In our book review section we have reviews of works by Joanne Hillhouse and Valerie Knowles-Combie, and a discussion of *Journeys in Caribbean Thought*.

Having said these word of thanks and also of introduction, let me retreat and make room for two of our guest editors: Jane and Lewis Gordon. But, not before acknowledging the continued support of the Heimark Fund, the department of Africana Studies at Brown University, and the work of my very able editorial assistant and artist, Janet Lofgren.

DEDICATION

Although our guest editors of this issue of our Review, Lewis and Jane Gordon, have as their focus the celebrating of the work of Paget Henry, the editorial collective was confident that they would share the sentiment of dedicating their handy work to the lives and passing of Derek Walcott and Roland Prince. Both of these Caribbean giants departed this life within the past year.

Derek Walcott, a poet and playwright from St. Lucia, needs no introduction. His creative works are known the world over, and garnered him the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1992. My most lasting memory of Walcott was the uncompromising and unapologetic case he made for the primacy of Caribbean poeticism over Caribbean historicism before some of the staunchest Caribbean historicists. We were gathered at Wellesley College in 1992 for a conference celebrating the work of CLR James. Along with Walcott, the main speakers were Sylvia Wynter, Michael Foot, Robin Blackburn, and Manning Marable. At his most provocative, Walcott insisted that even if there was no history, the poet would still be there, creating and witnessing. His poem, "The Sea is History", communicates this view powerfully, while being genuinely rooted in the sands, waters and history of the Caribbean. It is my favorite poem by Walcott, and it just found its way into my writing of *Caliban's Reason*.

Roland Prince needs no introduction to our Antiguan and Barbudan readers, but I am sure to many outside of that circle will. Roland was our leading jazz artist, the prince of jazz in Antigua and Barbuda. He was a master at both the guitar and the keyboards and became completely committed to jazz after being introduced to the music of Thelonius Monk by his friend, Stachel Edwards. Roland and I were boyhood friends, we were in classes together at the Antigua Grammar School, and took piano lessons with the same music teacher, Mr. Rock. We certainly won't talk about my piano lessons here. As a jazz guitarist, Roland recorded three albums with the Vanguard label: "Summit Meeting", "Free Spirit", and "Color Visions". He played with many of the jazz greats including Art Blakey, Elvin Jones and Johnny Hartman. He also once performed the music for a New York production of one of Derek Walcott's best known plays, *Ti Jean and his Brothers*. Roland would often drop by the meetings of our Association, never staying very long, but before leaving would always express his delight at what we were doing. I will certainly miss that gesture.

Now it is time for me to step aside and make room for another friend of mind, Brother Edgar Lake, a poet with the right words to close this dedication:

Paget Henry

Eyes Averred to Roland

Eclipse to seasonal sun
The suffered mourning:
No longer the frisson end note
The parted lips display
We are the Fretted staircase
on which he ascended

Pebble mark the trail of exile
The feathered vault of notes
he stored; chords spat of loss
Of sepulchral riches misunderstood
The shattered pick - each fingered
Stride of ivories, calmly reclaimed
Phrased ebullience - in pause

Each pilgrim renders tithe to shrine
Least in giving - more, the freight of pledge
If Comforts fell, embrace the Lyre
Mastery in solitude was choral Vow
Cacophony was prelude to applauds
Tinkling brass, rehearsal to Encore

The passersby hear failed recall
We grasp for shadows, unabashed
We claim the fence, ever straddling
The miracle of bruited suffering
Brought to widow's sheen
He would gesture - opened mouthed
Fingertips, atrophied in gift

We no longer stand, but passing
See ourselves in tears of Note

Edgar Lake

Walcott Reads to Brodsky's God-Mother

Over on Fifty-Third Street, across from The Modern
an airy building named Donnell, a city-library branch
and friendly sanitarium of plate-glass window inmates
Old city-dreamers, ignored by Monet-watchers,
snooze in safety, avenged from a silver-badge guard
who sits on a stool by a lectern, guarding an elevator-door
You'd need a pass to go upstairs and read the "Foreigns"
"You never quite leave the Soviet Union," an old man mutters
Besides, the City must protect the very young, the guard says
The toddlers' reading room – a giant padded cell – is also there
Melted snow, lost pratfalls on the sidewalk claimed by Spring
Pigeons mimic pedestrians' hurried walk: strut and canter
Street-peddlers selling poster art from Gauguin's Martinique
perch their wares on subway grids that send up ticker-tape
Walcott arrives surreptitiously, his tweed Welsh coalminer's hat
pulled down over his Ben Franklins, the signature moustache
A library-aide hurries him to the auditorium, expecting an audience
Instead, the room's empty; blue wall-paper traces a single person
Walcott shows no surprise, traveling from Brooklyn
He reaches for his poems, curled in a coat-pocket – and begins to read
The lady shifts her weight, and clamps her feet about her bags
Walcott's caught his breath and leapfrogs to another page
He's accustomed to this silence, pigeons caught in eaves
Some Simile, once winged, and now fretting for the rhyme
Walcott, litany-voiced, free-verses about sea-grapes
The subway rattles beneath the stage; he stands, looks down
and pauses, and in this rail-screeching minute his audience
grows: two aspiring souls – younger, with more earnest baggage
He's on to something troubling, something about "half a Nigger"

The bag lady fidgets, just as Saint Patrick's bell-tower tolls
Remembering it is time for evening prayers, fishes for her rosary
She falls asleep again, between Walcott's chanting of Another Life
Dreaming with her head bowed on her chest, her opening palm
accepts the wafer of his poem about his Brooklyn Aunt
When he finishes, there is no applause; no questions from the seats
The library-aide whispers something kindly, grips his arm, hurrying
past the library's shrinking liability insurance
Across the street, a distant roar escapes: Ivan the Terrible has fallen
The "RR" local pulls The Modern's soundtrack into Walcott's room
Brodsky's God-mother stirs, a smile wafts over her thawing lips
Walcott's line trails off: An Inner Life, her Autumn in Norenskaia

Edgar Lake

INTRODUCTION

Lewis R. Gordon and Jane Anna Gordon

On April 2nd, 2016, a beautiful spring day in Brooklyn, New York, a group of activists, scholars, and artists gathered in celebration of one of the great children of Antigua and Barbuda, Paget Henry, Professor of Africana Studies and Sociology at Brown University. The event was organized by the then President of the Caribbean Philosophical Association, Jane Anna Gordon, one of the former presidents, Lewis R. Gordon, the newly elected President, Neil Roberts along with Programme Coordinator and Senior Lecturer in Cultural Studies at University of West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados, Aaron Kamugisha. It took place at The Brooklyn Commons under the auspices of our co-sponsor, The Marxist Education Project. We here formally thank Michael Lardner and his colleagues for being such wonderful hosts whose concern for detail included a wonderful array of classic Caribbean *yaaad* food.

The occasion was prompted by two landmarks for Professor Henry. The first was his seventieth birthday, which came later that month. The second was the publication in London, UK of *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader*, by Rowman & Littlefield International Publishers just days before.

Paget Henry, as everyone there knew, is no ordinary man. Genuinely humble, he is well known for persistently and consistently asking for one sort of aid: assistance for others. So used to soliciting resources for anyone but himself, the honoree continued to make sure those who were celebrating him received more attention. Still, despite his efforts, the participants managed to pay tribute to Henry in a day full of poetry, humor, learning, and gratitude for the gift of such a kind soul among us.

This issue of *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books* offers a glimpse of that event through bringing to print a selection of presentations. We begin with Donna Edmonds Mitchell's and Elaine Olaoye's poetic reflections. A member of the Wampanoag people in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, Mitchell worked with Henry as a sister in spirit through most of his years at Brown University. Oloaye, his biological sister, offers her words also as a child of Antigua and Barbuda. This issue then turns to the astonishing array of disciplines and fields to which Henry has made scholarly contributions. They include art criticism, anthropology, history, philosophy, political economy, politics, religion, sociology, and, in regional terms, work on Africa, North America, the Caribbean, and

West Asia, particularly India. And within each, he is a major contributor to developments ranging from Afro-Caribbean and Africana philosophy to critical theory, dependency theory, with a rich array of formulations such as his notions of poeticism, historicism, and potentiated double consciousness. Each essay offers not only a portrait of Henry but also, through him, a sense of how large the impact a geographically small place can have on the world.

The issue concludes with three essays on the reader published in honor of Henry's seventieth year. As the text is a collection of some his most influential essays, this last section is also a portrait of this great Caribbean thinker's thought.

At the conclusion of the conference, which is available on the streaming site of the Marxist Education Project, Lewis Gordon, Henry's longtime friend and collaborator on many projects, brought up the fact that in much of southern Africa one says hello by stating, "I see you." He added the importance of people from the Global South learning not only to value each other but also to value being valued by each other. Professor Paget Henry is a model of that ethos. We were honored through being able to gather together to acknowledge how we value being valued by him. In this special issue we demonstrate, Paget Henry, that "We see you," which is another way of saying the important words: "Thank you."

REFLECTIONS ON PAGET HENRY AT 70

Illustration by Janet Lofgren

THE TIDES OF HENRY©
(REFLECTION OF PAGET HENRY)

Donna Edmonds Mitchell

Traversing across the oceans deep
Currents swirl, arising what dwells beneath
Surface seems smooth as glass
Welcoming a new day's light…..diamonds glistening…
endless horizons exciting souls on journeys into the unknown

Gentle waves ebb
Evoking feelings dormant in one's heart
Transcending
Transforming
Awakening
the seekers with profound thought
Gently guiding words cause vibrations of the inner-ears
Slowly opening one's third eye,
Revealing ancient wisdoms' joy in the revelations of self

Grains of sand
Singular and in multitude, pouring from one's hand
Connects with an ebbing wave taking it back home again

A never-ending journey of shear delight will come to you when you welcome the Tides of Henry into your Life.

UNVEILING THE VISIBLE, AN AFRO-CARIBBEAN, A FRANCOPHONE-CARIBBEAN, A HISPANOPHONE-CARIBBEAN, AN ANGLOPHONE-CARIBBEAN, A LUSOPHONE-CARIBBEAN AND A DUTCH CARIBBEAN MANDATE!

A Festschrift in Honour of Dr. Paget Henry

Welcome!
Welcome to an unveiling
Of concepts,
Of traditions,
Of ancestral thinking,
Of disciplines…
Of persons
Once visible but made invisible by
The deadening weight of slavery and colonialism;
The visible made invisible
By the denigrating effects of miseducation.
The visible made invisible
By the stifling economies leading inexorably to the underdevelopment
Characteristic of the exploitation of post-colonial rule…

Welcome to the courage, the caring, the character
That has cultivated the determination, the intentionality,
And the power nurtured, shaped
In academic institutions
In scientific and philosophical dialogues
In ethical debates
In collegial conflicts
That started over 60 years ago
At the Antigua Grammar school
Followed by being active, while a student, in establishing
The Black Studies Department at City College of City University of New York;
Followed by distinguished graduate work at Cornell University, work that signaled
That set the compass, that would face Southward
And begin a fierce focus on studying islands and lands in the Caribbean…
Then on to SUNY Stony Brook to begin the work
Then to UVA to continue the work
Then finally the appointment to Brown!
The opportunity to really develop the work!!

Yes! This all resulted in the power
To rend the veil,
To tear off the cover
And reveal the latent endeavors of half-forgotten ancestral rites and rituals
That have lead to now visible behaviors that re- emerged because of long,
Diligently developed, time-tested spiritual, cognitive and philosophical praxis
Laying bare the no longer invisible structures
Created by indigenous cultural and social systems that
In current times, have begun to engage the struggle with
Peripheral capitalism and marginal economies.

Welcome to the colleagues, the students, the poets,
The scholars, the researchers, the listeners, the seekers, the speakers…
Members of a worldwide diaspora invited, arrived, gathered,
Who have come together, having read, written, published, networked,
And committed to the unveiling, the recognition, the celebration of
an Afro-Caribbean, a Francophone-Caribbean, a Hispanophone-Caribbean, an Anglophone-Caribbean, a Lusophone-Caribbean and a Dutch Caribbean heritage
By reawakening, heralding the works of Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, C.L.R. James, Ottobah Cugoano, Mary Prince, George Padmore, René Ménil, Walter Rodney, Nicholás Guillén,
W. Arthur Lewis, Tim Hector, Norman Girvan, Sri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore

Welcome to those who have taken on the mantles
Or who plan to take on the mantles of the Afro-Caribbean, a Francophone-Caribbean, a Hispanophone-Caribbean, an Anglophone-Caribbean, a Lusophone-Caribbean and a Dutch Caribbean mandate!
Those who unveiled by
Caliban's Reason have joined in,
Have been reframed, redirected…
Released from invisibility, they now
Rewrite the narratives,
Revise the scripts,
Develop the philosophies
That have gradually changed the conversations,
The constructs, that inhabit academic halls and spill out into the world and Have begun to re-educate, re-vive, the minds and brains of Caliban's children.
Lewis Gordon, Sylvia Wynter, George Lamming, Wilson Harris, Edgar

Lake, Kamau Brathwaite, Clive Thomas, Charles Mills, Brian Meeks, Drucilla Cornell, Jane Gordon, Rowan Ricardo Phillips and Linda Martín Alcoff.

Welcome to this Festschrift!
Welcome to the grandeur of cooperation,
Welcome to the splendor of celebration
The triumph of dedication!
Here with great sincerity, joy and gratitude
We not only reflect on but can feast
On the fruits of Caliban's labour,
Dr. Paget Henry's intellectual and substantive contributions
To the academic and political worlds of Sociology, and Africana studies,
And to co-founding with Lewis Gordon,
(The once hotly argued as having no existence)
The now complex and nuanced discipline of
Afro-Caribbean, Francophone-Caribbean, Hispanophone-Caribbean,
Anglophone-Caribbean, Lusophone-Caribbean and Dutch Caribbean
philosophy.

Olaoye
April 2, 2016

PAGET HENRY: RENAISSANCE MAN

Linda Martín Alcoff

The concept of the "Renaissance" has a checkered meaning in decolonial theory, as we know, represented as the uncaused cause or spontaneous eruption of European modernity, self-consciousness, reason, and Enlightenment. In reality the European renaissance had a constitutive relationship to the colonial conquest, in which Europe began to see itself as a coherent, unified place, a culture about which one could attribute characteristics. It was only because of its relationality to the "new world" that Europe became Europe, that Europe came to a new understanding of itself. But it is in this sense that I think of Paget Henry.

Paget is a renaissance man in at least four distinct senses of the term: 1) as a man himself of the Caribbean renaissance, the flowering of twentieth and twenty-first century decolonial theory and practice; 2) as a thinker who, in the common parlance of what it means to be a "Renaissance man," has achieved expertise in diverse dimensions, spanning multiple disciplines and methodologies; 3) as someone whose work has been sparked by his recognition of the importance of place, location, and context, despite all of the complexity this requires truly to understand any singularity, and we should acknowledge that this is also an important way in which even the European renaissance is now understood, not as transcendence but as an achievement of the awareness of place and time, or effective historical consciousness; and 4) also as a theorist patiently but doggedly engaged in enlightening the rest of us.

Caliban's Reason was an incredibly important resource and interpretive analysis of contemporary Caribbean philosophy. As Paget said in an interview I conducted with him for the journal *Nepantla* in 2001, what sparked the writing of that book was that he was asked by his fellow Antiguan Tim Hector, "where is *our* philosophy?" Paget was trained at CUNY and Cornell in so-called western social theory, particularly Marxism and critical theory, but like Hector he had come to believe that there was a distinctive and different Caribbean thought, a distinct *critical thought* coming from the place and collective experience of Caribbean peoples.

We also have the rise of neo-liberalism to thank for this book, oddly enough, since Paget's policy work in on-the-ground development had to be set aside after neo-liberalism dried up the material resources for the sort of progressive social transformation projects in which he was

engaged. So by the 1990s, Paget's service as an advisor to governments was no longer in high demand. He became, he said, "a sociologist of development without a praxis" (2003, 149). This motivated him to find other projects but also to reflect on why the project of development had become, as he said, "all of a sudden non-viable, suspended."

Of course, the effect of a forced exit on one's intellectual flowering represents a common narrative in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as for radical theorists elsewhere including in Europe. So many find themselves in exile of one sort or another, and from that uncomfortable perch find a new perspective on one's previous life experiences and work, whether they have been in prison or in another country or in another profession.

Paget has never lost his interest in political economy, and continues to think and write about developmental economics, global capital, and related matters. I heard him in Mexico at the 2015 meeting of the Caribbean Philosophical Association lay out a comprehensive analysis of Chinese trade with the U.S. and the political implications of China's increasing leverage on the stage of global capital.

But for me and for the world of philosophy and social theory, I find myself quite grateful to neo-liberalism for creating the occasion of Paget's more substantive turn to philosophy. From inside philosophy I was working along with other scholars to bring Anglo-European philosophy out of itself, to think about its own trajectory sociologically and politically, and to think about traditional philosophical topics like knowledge, meaning, freedom, and ethics with an effective sociological consciousness. As a sociologist Paget was way ahead of the game, clear that sociology and philosophy exist, in truth, in a tight symbiosis and that their relationship should be made more perspicuous for the betterment of each field. In fact he has argued that it's an illusion to hold these disciplines as truly autonomous from one another, methodologically or substantively.

In my view, this makes Paget a non-ideal theorist *avant la lettre*. Before we began using the term "non-ideal theory" to contrast it with "ideal theory," Paget was arguing that norms develop out of oppression, that we could find a guideline for effective development out of forcible underdevelopment, an analysis of the potentiality of universal reason from precisely the denial of universal rational capacity throughout the colonial world. And this is the precise difference, and advantage, of Caribbean thought from European thought: Caribbean thought has

from the beginning had to reflect upon the real world, particular, and decidedly non-ideal conditions of its own intellectual developments. Caribbean thought has been a "highly politicized formation" meaning that it has been created out of necessity against systems of colonialism and capitalism (Henry 2000, 7). In this respect I read both Caribbean philosophy and Latin American philosophy as tied at the hip, as essentially sharing a cultural reflexivity about their own situatedness, interested in thinking through the question of how to understand a form of thought as linked to a specific and particular time and place. Neither the Latin American nor Caribbean tradition could take its right to do philosophy for granted but had to assert how it was possible to do philosophy from Cuzco or Mexico City or Kingston rather than Konigsberg or Paris or Edinburgh. When you juxtapose these city names it sounds obvious but of course only the European cities are taken to be sites of the universal, or, in other words, the species vanguard rather than the rearguard. Whether Paget was interpreting the work of poets such as Wilson Harris or economic historians such as Walter Rodney or philosophers such as C.L.R. James or Frantz Fanon, he was moving nimbly from the rich local scene of their analyses to the expansive implications for a non-aligned socialism with a global reach.

And to do this work of unearthing for us an emergent canon of Caribbean thought Paget had to operate beyond the bounds of conventional authority structures. He recognized the fact that the thinkers of the Caribbean were and are "ministers, doctors, lawyers, historians, economists, political activists, creative writers, and philosophers all working together" (Henry 2000, 7). This meant pushing toward a more democratic epistemology (Sylvia Wynter would approve!) about how and where thought emerges. This reminds me of a point that Enrique Dussel makes about the role of teachers in indigenous communities: Teachers were not separated off as professionals who exclusively impart knowledge, like they are trained to be today—carefully neutral and "objective", but rather, in indigenous communities teachers, or *tlamatines* in Náhuatl (a word that simply means "one who knows"), were also understood to be, necessarily, doctors, lawyers, psychiatrists, artists and priests (Dussel, forthcoming). They were not separated off from the varied needs of their communities or their students, but able to engage and intervene at many levels. So I think of Paget Henry, a multi-talented and multi-occupied "one who knows": our lawyer developing the case for the validity of our rationality, our doctor diagnosing our theoretical ills, and, indeed, our priest, offering the glimpse of a path forward. And he has an expansive church.

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PAGET HENRY, AS THE SPIRIT MOVES

James Manigault-Bryant

An Invitation to Spirit

I am a student of Paget Henry.

By identifying as his "student" on this occasion to celebrate his extraordinary life and work, I am alluding to something immeasurably more than his willing fulfillment of the duties of an "advisor" in the Academy—meeting with me often to discuss my research, guiding me through the dissertation process, and signing the document authorizing the awarding of my graduate degrees. I mean something much more special, spiritual even, by calling myself his student. Just over twenty years ago, in the spring of 1996, Paget invited me into his world of thought with an extraordinary theoretical narrative about the forms of "fragmentation" detailed in the works of Karl Marx, Max Weber, and others, and their effects on meaning systems in peripheral cultures. That thirteen week course in Brown University's Department of Sociology, "Sociology 209: Culture and Social Structure," astonishes me even now. My faded scribbled accounts of our fourteen three-hour meetings, from January until May of that year, portray a complicated rendering of the social forces that hold us together and pull us apart. Until recently—actually, not until I began preparing this essay in recent months—my recollection of those precious initial weeks of study with Paget had become splintered, much like the social processes he so carefully laid out for my classmates and me. In returning to those notes, however, I now see that my memory had not dimmed, but that his thoughts had become mine.

In our first session on January 30, 1996, Paget outlined for us the sociology of culture, which he defined as "the study of the impacts of rationalization and commodification on meaning systems throughout the globe." These twin forces are instrumental to the circulation of capitalist production. Rationalization, or the increased systematization of modes of life, prepares every aspect of our existence for acquiring the form of the commodity, or enmeshment in exchange value for circulation within an expanding economic market. Rationalization and commodification radically alter the shape of life, displacing objects, actions, and human beings from other possible relationships with the world. The three traditions of the sociology of culture—Marxist, Functionalist, and Interpretive—all offer distinct prisms into the causes and effects of rationalization and commodification, yet sociologists tend to evade careful theoretical and

methodological applications of these ideas to non-Western cultures, which are most often studied under the gaze of "Development Theory," or how peripheral cultures lag behind those in the West.

The following week, on February 6, 1996, Paget began laying the groundwork for broadening how we might properly consider sociology's questions with respect to "peripheral" cultures, a move that ultimately decentered the West as a model of temporal and geopolitical comparison. He launched into a discussion of "spirituality," or the search for the relationship between the "human ego" and the "ground" on which it depends. Because the self can never feel fully secure in its existence, the ego's power of self-creation is limited, always agonizing over its inability to ground itself in definitive answers to its being. The persistent theme running throughout human societies is the search for this ground, and the ways its quest lends to anxieties and its capacities for denial. A society's particular way of articulating this search is "culture," which Paget defined at the time as "a set of institutions in which society produces its basic meanings." His portrait of culture suggested that relations of power throughout the globe might be understood as harmonies or disharmonies between collective quests for meanings.

In his remaining lectures for the month of February, Paget applied this interpretation of culture as a symbolic system of communal spiritual quests to offer unique readings of the early writings of Weber and Marx. Although I had read Weber's 1905 essay, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," as an undergraduate, and again in my first semester of graduate study in a "Sociology of Religion" course, I did not recognize the argument as Paget guided us through it. My understanding of the essay had been that the secularization of work, which originally assuaged an extreme "inner loneliness,"[1] led to unbridled capitalism. But, by grounding us in a discussion of spirituality, Paget effectively placed the idea of the "Protestant Ethic" within a broader scope of time. *This* Weber dramatized Calvinists as struggling, like all human beings across space and time, to find an existential ground; for them, it was under a doctrine of predestination where one's fate was sealed and determined by God. The threat of a negative destiny sparked anxiety about eternal damnation that was allayed by the mechanical practice of work: if financial success in "this world" was rendered from regimented labor, then one was secure in a calling that would lead to salvation in the next, while failure in business signaled damnation. As regulated practices of labor became devoted to sanctioning consumption, not only was work distanced from its original theological meaning, its regimentation ascended to the pervasive process

of rationalization.

Paget then pivoted from Weber's religious genealogy of labor to Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. Through Paget's careful exegesis we discovered that work had ontological significance because it allowed one to discover oneself; the mechanistic character of work in modern societies made it amenable to acquiring a market value that leads to worker self-alienation. Paget showed us how the threads of rationalization and commodification were present in the works of Jürgen Habermas and Jean-Francois Lyotard as he guided us, in the month of March, through critical theory. Whereas Habermas located within the cultural system the possibilities for resisting commodification through a "communicative rationality" that can formulate a politics of "dialogue verbally mediated by consensus," Lyotard identified the disillusionment of postmodernity, a condition wherein the increased commodification of society has led to apocalyptic sensibilities, a disintegration of meaning systems, including science, that, too, has become absorbed into what Weber called a "shell as hard as steel."[2]

Our final month, April of 1996, was devoted to exploring the questions: "Are the processes of rationalization and commodification the same in peripheral cultures?" "Have those dual forces created the same sense of disillusionment as they have in the West?" "Does the link between science and the commodity exist and does this dynamic secularize society?" "Are philosophy and myth displaced?"—or, taken together, they form the question, "How do peripheral cultures respond to development?" Paget positioned these questions against the backdrop of fashionable theories of development—like Modernization Theory and Dependency Theory—both of which he has moved between, and beyond, throughout his entire scholarly career, and both of which fail to take us to concerns about rationalization and commodification Paget had so artfully set up during the previous two months. We then considered how Japan, India, China, Africa, the Caribbean, and African-America have responded to rationalization and commodification. Each case we examined revealed the ambiguous effects of modernity on what Enrique Dussel calls its "underside," the ways its processes liberate cultures and subjectivities into perceived expansions of freedom, on the one hand, and on the other, fetishes or sacrifices of capitalism's mechanistic power. Paget's ability to illuminate this ambiguity by grounding my classmates and me in a definition of spirituality that broadened the realm of time makes him distinct among his generation of sociologists. Jeffrey Alexander, perhaps the most renowned sociologist of culture of his and Paget's generation,

possesses a similar sensibility, but his focus is limited to decoding America's mythological foundations for realizing a democratic ideal. He evades the fullness of the American empire's "primordium," how its origins are inextricably tied to racial and ethnic collectivities both within and beyond the nation-state.[3]

Paget's project, which becomes stunningly clear in the "Epilogue" to *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader*,[4] is about conceptualizing Black political economy in the postcolonial period. In 1996, I had no idea about the ways his first book, *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua*,[5] had influenced his lectures in "Culture and Social Structure," nor how his lectures were guiding his recuperation of Afro-Caribbean Philosophy in *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy*,[6] a text that would be published four years later. The initial pages of the book hold revisions of the definitions of "culture" and "spirit" he outlined for us in our seminar. While culture transitioned from "a set of institutions in which society produces its basic meanings" to "the expression of a distinct consciousness of existence articulated in a variety of discourses," spirit evolved from the relationship between the ego and its ground to supernatural powers and transcendent beings that cohere into a language for human subjects to articulate a "totality" of the cosmos.[7] His fluid movement from the institutional to the existential in defining culture and spirit is emblematic of a theme running throughout the book, and a mapping of a particular trajectory of the larger question that Paget had been outlining throughout his entire career, and for us, in 1996—"How do peripheral cultures respond to development—economically, politically, culturally, philosophically, spiritually?" Paget's description of capitalist fragmentation in his lectures was a historical backdrop to the ways the thematic reproduces itself over time, creating new spaces of intervention. He was, in effect, inviting us into an inquiry that has confronted human cultures across time and space, ordaining us, his students, as pilgrims in the same journey to trace the powers of violent fragmentation, the first step of which was cleansing ourselves from our prior interpretative frames of sociological thought itself. In this sense, his graduate seminar functioned as its own "suspension" of our disciplinary orientation to that point, in the phenomenological sense that he would later describe in his 2005 essay, "Africana Phenomenology: Its Philosophical Implications": "By phenomenology, I mean the discursive practice through which self-reflective descriptions of the constituting activities of consciousness are produced after the 'natural attitude' of everyday life has been bracketed by some ego-displacing technique."[8]

Even though Paget had shaken my entire approach to sociology, I still could not see then, in 1996, the ways his initial conception of spirit—as the relationship between the ego its ground—was beckoning me to questions about my own spirituality. His rendering of rationalization and commodification as twin features of the West's spirit sparked within me a question about African American ministry that became the subject of my graduate and postgraduate work: To what extent does professionalization instituted by denominational bureaucracy, or expected by increasingly bourgeois churchgoers, usurp the need for a calling to ministry, by which I mean those lived moments that acquire divine power as signs to some meaningful, yet indefinite, future? The question, a distinct iteration of the concerns with rationalization and commodification Paget had proposed in "Sociology 209," was as much sociological as it was personal, since it opened me to a question I had wondered about since childhood, "Was I being called to the ministry?" Throughout my ethnographic work, and particularly in my interviews with ministers about their formal training, my mind would move back to an experience I had as a young boy in church that made me consider ministry as my vocation.

Narratives of calling across time raised other concerns for me, too. Take, for example, accounts of calling published in the volume, *God Struck Me Dead*,[9] or even Nat Turner's "Confessions," when ecstatic conversions to enter ministry followed, or were precipitated by, heightened forms of violence on the plantation, or separation from family and community through trade. In my mind, such vulnerabilities were symbolic reproductions of the Middle Passage, the original moment of Africans' violent separation from the continent, and entrance into a new assemblage of social (or anti-social) relations. While Paget had theorized these conversions as part of a historical trajectory of African and African-derived "technologies of the self,"[10] I began to see them as reenacting a separation that elicited a search for a new ground beyond the physical world that carried a critique of the Protestantism Weber identified in his genealogy of capitalism. The call to ministry, as well as other forms of conversion, is not only a culturally different affirmation of the relationship between the human being and divinity, but it is also a potentially insurrectionary response to that which becomes encaged by capital through consumption.

My concern with professionalization, then, was not only born from the Weberian tradition, but was also related to what Sylvia Wynter describes as a secularized version of Christian mythology. Instead of the spiritual redemption sought in early Christianity, in modernity, Wynter notes,

"the new telos or goal of 'economic growth' and 'development' and its metaphysics of productivity thereby coming to orient the behaviours of subjects socialized to experience freedom as freedom from enslavement to *material* rather than as earlier, *spiritual* want" (orig. emphasis).[11] Through this peculiar transmutation of Christianity, "Man," a "bourgeois conception of being human" that articulates itself through the discourses of biology and economics, is sustained by its binary opposite, the "Other," who are the poor, the jobless, those who do not possess the genetic capacity for participation in humanity's movement toward its economic telos. Black ministry carries the capacity to reimagine the original sin of blackness as the embodiment of Christ's ethical intervention into the social order. Pastors, and even writers, like W. E. B. Du Bois, Countee Cullen, James Cone, and Toni Morrison, who have addressed this phenomenon, form a discursive tradition, even as their different literary commitments reflect how the office of African American ministry has been continuously secularized into new, fragmented pastoral forms, like political leadership, entertainment, and, of course, the intelligentsia. Such fragmentations carried a dynamic akin to what Paget described in *Caliban's Reason* as reflective of an inability to "create classic totalizations based on a spiritual analogy," lending to a dual discursive space of poetics and historicism. What I have come to see is that Paget's distinctive questions about cultural fragmentation led me, and continue to lead me, to encounters with the meaning of *spirit*.

Southern Shadows

During the summer after my third year of graduate school, I needed summer funding, and I approached Paget about assisting him on a research project that would be supported by a modest fellowship from Brown University. He suggested that I do archival research on American plantations, specifically how the planter class regenerated their wealth in the postslavery period. I gladly accepted his invitation, although I did not know the source of his interest in this concern. The summer unfolded quickly, and I do not recall getting very far on the project, but sometime afterward, Paget shared with me what was then an unpublished essay, "The Caribbean Plantation: Its Contemporary Significance." The language of political economy that dominated the text, while somewhat familiar to me from my reading of sections of his book, *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua*, did not captivate me in the same way as some of the other ideas Paget had presented to my classmates and me in "Sociology 209." I recently rediscovered "The Caribbean Plantation," in published form,[12] while searching for some of Paget's essays. Upon

reading it, I was immediately reminded that I did not delve more deeply into that project on American plantations from many summers ago because of my preoccupation with African American ministry, but after moving past that initial feeling, I discovered that I had, somehow, already begun intellectually immersing myself in the plantation space.

In the essay, Paget explains that the plantation, "a large unit of agricultural production that employs a large number of relatively unskilled laborers in the production of a variety of staples for sale," is a spatiotemporal organization that is a distinct facet of Europe's economic expansion into a global system.[13] Unlike plantations in Africa and India, which had established kingdoms that were assimilated into the plantation form, those in the Caribbean violently destroyed indigenous ways of life, while integrating African bodies and labor into a system of exchange. Although the plantation form declined in the twentieth century, its "shadow continues to darken the lives of many who live in postplantation societies."[14] Those legacies—"planter hegemony," the controlling economic class of the plantation system; "planter racism," the legacy of antiblack behaviors and discourses; and "crisis-ridden growth," economic expansion that diminishes the value of commodities—continue to haunt the Caribbean. Paget lays out a history of each of these three facets of the plantation, but devotes more space to their contemporary relevance.

In writing "The Caribbean Plantation," Paget was certainly influenced by Charles Johnson's classic study, *Shadow of the Plantation*[15] (henceforth *Shadow*), if only by the trope of the "shadow" that runs throughout Johnson's study. *Shadow* is classic sociological examination of the legacy of the plantation's socio-economic form on Macon County, Alabama, a rural quarter of about 600 families that included Tuskegee, home of the Tuskegee Institute. In using the language of shadow to describe Macon County, Johnson argued that the town had "its own social heritage which, in relatively complete isolation, has had little chance for modification without or within. Patterns of life, social codes, as well as social attitudes, were set in the economy of slavery."[16] Johnson began *Shadow* by unpacking the romantic image of the plantation in the popular imagination as represented in minstrelsy, and in scholarship, like Ulrich Phillips's book, *Life and Labor in the Old South*. It was not only "cotton fields stretching far and white into the distance" and "sleek, contented slaves, laughing and singing as they work," it was also a disciplining machine of captive labor, the demands of which destroyed the "cultural heritage" of the enslaved.[17] Yet, the postslavery period did not yield the promises of freedom, as the structural legacy and "etiquette"

of the planation continued to intrude on the formerly enslaved, defining their relationships to the white world. Freedom brought other paradoxes as well. Only skilled in agricultural labor, Blacks found themselves mostly prepared for an outmoded system of production that yielded fewer economic benefits than before, leaving many to remember the plantation fondly as a space of security and reward. As Johnson explained, "The shell of the past hangs on in the agricultural economy of the community under study. It is present in the high proportion of Negro tenantry (sic), the almost exclusive concentration upon cotton, the crude unskilled labor in need of land and skilled supervision, the credit system and advances, the tradition of dependence upon planters on the part of Negro tenants, and the tradition of dependence upon capital on the part of the planters."[18]

Shadow was written from interviews with the last generation of the enslaved in the United States recorded by Johnson's team of researchers at Fisk University's Social Science Institute (SSI). With research assistants, sociologist Ophelia Settle Egypt and anthropologist Andrew Polk Watson, Johnson collected data primarily centered on the inequalities stemming from the plantation system, but the members of SSI also recorded interviews with the freedom generation about their religious practices and encounters with spirit. Interviews from SSI, of which *Shadow* was a part, also comprised the narratives of *God Struck Me Dead* (henceforth *Dead*), a primary source of call stories for my project on Black ministers that Paget's seminar helped me to design. And while religion was not the focus of *Shadow*, Johnson devoted his tenth chapter, "Religion and the Church," to detailing the social function of churches, and to shepherding the reader, through sharp ethnographic observations, inside of church services. "The dominant attitude" among church practitioners, Johnson noted, "was one of unquestioning belief in and reliance upon God as a protection against everything that was feared, and an answer to everything that could not be understood."[19] Yet, the "shadow" intrudes upon divinity. Black-controlled Christian institutions were the social centers of Macon County. They provided spaces for recreation and the transmission of information, but they were not spared the power of white "codes" of behavior that dictated the parameters of Black life. The church imposed restrictions on behaviors believed immoral, particularly sexual activity outside of marriage. It also addressed community health needs, like the dissemination of information about venereal diseases, although sexual behaviors were not addressed from fear of the conversation violating proper etiquette. The shadow, in effect, imposed itself on communal relations by diverting authentic conversations about Black

life. This had the effect of creating a divide between an older generation of churchgoers, and a younger one that found little meaning in tradition. A church elder said in one of the services Johnson attended, "They used to have midweek [prayer] meetings and Saturday-night meetings, and men and women was converted by prayer meetings. We don't take the time now to have meetings like they used to have twenty-five or thirty years ago."[20] In dissociating the performance of spiritual meaning from social reality, the church diminished in significance.

Black ministers also reflected the encroachment of the plantation shadow. Though charged with introducing their congregations to another way of life by "hold(ing) out a light"[21] toward spiritual conversion, Johnson seemed suspicious of what the minister was converting the congregation to. The minister enlisted the congregation's trust through his honesty, sobriety, and monogamy, but his desire for material items to demonstrate his power, authorized by his congregation and his Christian God, drew Johnson's suspicion, as one minister implored his members to grow his coffers so that he could represent them properly to other churches in their denomination: "Now next month when the convention meets in Birmingham, I wants you sisters and brothers ter git around and git your pastor a seersucker suit, some socks, and some shirts. And I need shoes too. I gotta go down there and represent you, and I wanta do hit right."[22] Johnson's observations resonated with some findings in my own work of the call's somewhat waning access to spiritual renewal as the shroud of capital expands and absorbs faith practitioners into its spell. Yet, what Johnson's account also revealed is the disjuncture between spiritual emotionalism and social action: the church dictates the terms of social intervention, while spiritual emotionalism becomes performance emptied of its ritual power to resist the enslaving forces of capital.

Johnson's reading of Black religion—particularly the ways the church's ceremonies were incompatible with the congregation's "basic religious sentiments" and general social conduct—elides the fragmentation of its ritual power. Like the Fisk anthropologist Paul Radin, who also contributed to SSI, Johnson dismissed dreams, visions and spiritual "seeking" as unconscious, "primitive," psychological responses: "It seems just as true of the religious experiences of this group as of other similarly naïve Negro groups of which it has been observed that they were not converted to God, but converted God to themselves."[23] Johnson missed the potentially insurrectionary possibility of conversions, like the call, which carry a capacity to disrupt the capitalist hold on Christianity underlying our being. His ethnography, then, becomes part of the

shadow that haunts the community fabric as the nation's economy expands its capacities to absorb Black life and expression. The disjuncture between spiritual expression and social reality, ministers' obsessions with material prosperity, the diminishing value of supernatural revelations, and scholarship's evasion of the transformational power Afro-Atlantic spiritual traditions all reflect what Paget conceptualized for me in Sociology 209 as "fragmentation," and what he would describe as "implosions" of the "totalizations" of African and African-derived worlds in *Caliban's Reason*. But in addition to the fragmentation of spirit brought to mind by thinking about Johnson's and Paget's work together is that the religious institutional dimensions of the plantation are less emphasized in Paget's work, even as Methodism, and its likely accompanying shadow, influenced him as a youth.[24]

Returning to the Source

Paget's invocation of shadow from Johnson's work on plantations in the American South gestures to a longer, historical connection between the two regions. While I was enthralled by the beautiful theoretical accounts of Paget's seminar, and witnessing the birth of what would become, along with Lewis Gordon's steady pen, an Afro-Caribbean philosophy, a new field was emerging, "New Southern Studies," an expansion of the entire cultural imaginary of the Southern United States to the Caribbean in the way that Zora Neale Hurston had proposed in *Tell My Horse*, and other works.[25] Thadious Davis, the literary scholar, has been at the forefront of this discursive movement by publishing a series of works, particularly her book, *Southscapes: Geographies of Race, Region, and Literature*.[26] The introductory essay, "A Map of the Territory," a title she properly attributes to Alfred Korzybski's 1933 work, *Science and Sanity*, also aligns with Sylvia Wynter's essay, "On How We Mistook the Map for the Territory, and Re-Imprisoned Ourselves in Our Unbearable Wrongness of Being, of Désêtre: Black Studies Toward the Human Project," published in Lewis and Jane Gordon's volume, *Not Only the Master's Tools: African-American Studies in Theory and Practice*.[27] There is a thematic kinship between the two works, beyond their sharing in Korzybski's poetics, that is beyond the scope of what I wish to explore here, but both turn our focus to the relation between the self and the imaginaries of space in the Global South: where Wynter sees the map as the institutionalization of Black Studies that removes us from its original aims as defined by intellectual communities like Atlanta's Institute of the Black World (IBW), and thus distracts us from the territory of Man, Davis's map is the complicated history and present of the American South, with its violence, death, and

destruction, that is forcefully marked by the territory of race. Davis uses writers, like Ernest Gaines and Alice Walker, for example, to recreate history by representing Black peoples' strivings and relationships in the everyday, and in doing this she creates a "new spatial geography" of the South, all of which emerge from plantation relations.[28]

My recent work on Tallevast, Florida, draws me to this tradition. An area of about five miles wide and ten miles long, and inhabited by just fewer than 300 families, Tallevast is located between Sarasota and Bradenton on the state's Gulf Coast. It was founded in the early twentieth century—in 1902, to be exact—around a turpentine still, a site where Black laborers extracted sap from trees, which they then distilled into turpentine, a material used for painting as well as for building and repairing naval ships. Though reminiscent of the plantation form, the need for labor in this nascent military industry inspired a migration of Black Americans—many of whom were of mixed European, Native American, and African heritages—to move from northern Florida to its southern regions in search of work. While this population's movement south was of a different pattern from the better-known "Great Migration," it was part of a larger, statewide movement of laborers, financial investors, and real estate speculators alike who sought to build Florida into a site of commercial industry. Over time, this population of Black Americans became property owners and established a community that sustained itself even after the still collapsed in 1920. Tallevast became home to two churches, a grocery store, and a post-office. And on the land where the turpentine still once stood, residents formed the "Tallevast Community Center," a meeting place for family reunions, award receptions, and community organizing.

In 1948, the military industry in Tallevast transformed into something even more powerful than a turpentine still, yet it strangely remained a secret to the residents. Erected right in the center of Tallevast was an engineering plant, which in 1960 began producing beryllium components for the defense industry and space program under the name, "The American Beryllium Company" (or ABC). Because of its lightness and strength, its capability to remain stable at high temperatures, and its capacity to conduct electricity, beryllium was a prized commodity, as it was used for missiles and rocket engine components. In this sense, Tallevast became part of a larger movement Ann Markusen calls, "the rise of the gunbelt," or the emergence of industrial firms that produced military defense materials.[29] While Markusen's work focuses on how these industrial plants created wastelands in cities by drawing jobs away

from urban industries to suburban ones, my interest has been in how they created environmental sacrifice zones in small, Black places like Tallevast. When Lockheed Martin—one of, if not *the*, largest defense contractors in the world—authorized an environmental audit during their buy-out of ABC in 2000, examiners discovered toxic chemicals in Tallevast's soil, groundwater, and private water wells—a "plume" stretching across over 200 acres of land. Since then, a cancer cluster has emerged among the residents, and although the community reached an undisclosed monetary settlement with Lockheed in 2010, it was not enough to compensate many residents for their physical suffering, nor the severe reduction of their property values caused by the contamination. Tallevast has become an unconsenting sacrifice of the American empire's military industrial complex.[30]

Since 2010, I have been working with a collaborator on a historical ethnography of the Tallevast community. We have interviewed three generations of the Tallevast residents, some who worked at ABC without knowledge of the dangers of handling beryllium components or its by-products. I have also written an essay with my wife, LeRhonda Manigault-Bryant, that features two activists in Tallevast, and the spiritual dimensions of their work.[31] But more than that, Tallevast was the community in which I first began thinking about African American ministry, the space where I first encountered spirit like that narrated in *Dead*. Paget's seminar led me into an isolated dimension of the plantation, but my rediscovery of his "The Caribbean Plantation" essay returned me again to that space, in a similar way that his lectures did long ago. His delineation of the plantation shadow's socio-economic form has raised questions for me about planter hegemony, planter racism, and crisis-ridden growth. While the concepts cannot be directly applied, given that Tallevast is not a sovereign municipality, and relies on a layer of governing structures, thematic resonances do sound through: Lockheed Martin's economic and environmental domination of the community, the ways the American Dream of wealth accumulation minimizes working class consciousness in the community, and the mobilization of racist discourses to diminish Lockheed's dirty deeds.

But the most significant insight from Paget's essay is what he suggests about how the tourist industry compensates for crisis-ridden growth. As Jamaica Kincaid artfully describes in *A Small Place*,[32] a beautiful analysis of her and Paget's native Antigua, the tourist gaze of the country's beautiful landscape—its stunning sunsets, blue water and blue skies, white sands, and clear weather; its delicious seafood and produce—

hide the aftermath of European colonialism and enslavement, creating perverse pleasures from consuming an illusion. Tallevast sits less than ten miles from some of the Gulf of Mexico's most beautiful beaches. Adjacent to The Sarasota-Bradenton Airport, Tallevast is becoming absorbed into a fantasy corridor of shopping, sports entertainment, and amusement that will erase the community's actual history, including its critical relationship to America's military industrial complex. In this sense, the tourist industry unites the U.S. South with the Caribbean in the ways it reproduces the plantation scheme, while erasing its traces.[33]

I see returning to the plantation—like Johnson in his immersion into the shadow of the plantation; like Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk*, and throughout his oeuvre with his constant reclaiming of the sorrow songs his Aunt Violet, a formerly enslaved woman, sang to him; as in the work of the historian of religions, Charles Long, who also claims that Du Bois's return to the "African forest" at a Baptist revival in Tennessee led him to a sense of the "primordium" of the African encounter with the New World; and like Paget has done throughout his entire scholarly career in his commitment to imagining a new political economy for the Caribbean—as returning to the site that arouses a critique of our modernity.[34] I am even more astonished now than I was as a first-year graduate student in the spring of 1996 by Paget's capacity to awaken within me, through his love of his Antigua and the Caribbean world, a search for that which is beyond our ordinary orbit of thought, his capacity to stir up a quest for knowing that endures beyond the boundaries of the here and now. A "heroic professor"[35] par excellence, a storyteller in the purist sense of the term, Paget's brilliant insights into the fragmentation surrounding past and present worlds around me guided me back to the spirit world in which I was born. The plantation, a geographic projection of Jesus's "blackness," is an empire's primordial sin of sacrifice for production. It carries with it potential for insurrectionary resurrection, not only through envisioning political economy, as Paget has artfully done, but to reimagine modernity's obscure, imprisoning Christian mythology outlined by Weber and others.

This new stage of American empire, the unabashed, explicitly deceitful consolidation of capital, military, and media into authoritarian power is pushing me to spirit, or a sensibility that captures a series of movements: accumulated collective activity that sustains worlds of antiblackness through racial shadows of capital that fragment, implode, and dissociate; and encounters with a Christian mythological machine that engenders physical and intellectual returns to something far beyond physical being, to something eternal. I have always found in Paget a willing guide to spirit as he has always given me his time. By this, I don't simply mean in the most general sense of a mentor bestowing advice to a student, I also mean "time" in a more special sense of his ability to be present with me and to listen to me with patience and attention as I formulated my own discursive orientation to the postplantation world of my youth that lies within the walls of the empire in which we live and work. All of these temporal streams—a more expansive sense of sociology's time; modernity's fragmentation of our worlds; our efforts of recuperative resistance, both in the classroom and in other spheres of life; his willingness to listen to younger, aspiring scholars—flow together, remarkably, into one embodiment of an incomparable spirit that is Paget Henry, and I am forever grateful for him.

ENDNOTES

1 The edition of "The Protestant and the Spirit of Capitalism" we used in Sociology 209 was translated by Talcott Parsons (New York: Routledge, 1992), who described this feeling as an "unprecedented inner loneliness," 104. Later translations, like that by Peter Baehr and Gordon C. Wells (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) translated the phrase as a "tremendous inner loneliness," 73.

2 This is Baehr and Wells's translation (2002) of the famous phrase, "the iron cage."

3 My meaning here is taken from Charles Long's appropriation of the term. See his *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (Aurora, Colorado: The Davies Group Publishers, 2004).

4 Paget Henry (with Jane Gordon), "Epilogue," in *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader*, ed. Jane Gordon, Lewis Gordon, Aaron Kamugisha, and Neil Roberts (London: Rowman and Littlefield International, 2016), 311-330.

5 Paget Henry, *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1985).

6 Paget Henry, *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Caribbean Philosophy* (New York: Routledge Press, 2000).

7 Ibid., 4, 16.

8 Paget Henry, "Africana Phenomenology: Its Philosophical Implications," *The CLR James Journal* 11, no. 1 (2005): 79-112.

9 Clifton H. Johnson, *God Struck Me Dead: Voices of Ex-Slaves* (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1968).

10 Paget Henry, "Self-formation and the Call: An Africana Perspective," *Listening: A Journal of Religion and Culture* (Winter 2001): 27-45.

11 Sylvia Wynter, "Africa, the West and the Analogy of Culture: The Cinematic Text after Man" in *Symbolic Narratives/African Cinema: Audiences, Theory and the Moving Image*, ed. June Givanni (London: British Film Institute, 2000), 37.

12 Paget Henry, "The Caribbean Plantation: Its Contemporary Significance," in *Sugar, Slavery, and Society: Perspectives on the Caribbean, India, the Mascarenes, and the United States*, ed. Bernard Moitt (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 157-185.

13 Henry (2004), 157.

14 Henry (2004), 157.

15 Charles S. Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934).

16 Ibid., 16.

17 Ibid., 1

18 Ibid., 103-104.

19 Ibid., 178.

20 Ibid., 171.

21 Ibid., 156.

22 Ibid., 161.

23 Ibid., 179.

24 Henry (2016), 311.

25 In addition to Hurston's works, like *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2009), other writings have also imagined cultural connections between the South and the Caribbean. See, for example, Edouard Glissant's essay, "Creolization in the Making of the Americas," in *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas—A New World View*, ed. Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 268-275, and his book, *Faulkner, Mississippi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

26 Thadious Davis, *Southscapes: Geographies of Race, Religion, & Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

27 Sylvia Wynter, "On How We Mistook the Map for the Territory, and Re-Imprisoned Ourselves in Our Unbearable Wrongness of Being, of Désêtre: Black Studies Toward the Human Project," in *Not Only the Master's Tools: African-American Studies in Theory and Practice*, ed. Lewis and Jane Gordon (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2006).

28 For a brilliant account of the ways that the IBW influenced Wynter, see Derrick White's "Black Metamorphosis: A Prelude to Sylvia Wynter's Theory of the Human," *CLR James Journal* 16, no. 1 (2010): 127-148. I should add here, too, Sylvia Wynter's invocation of the plantation, through her language of the "archipelago," of course, but also in early essays, like "Novel and History, Plot and Plantation," *Savacou* 5 (1971): 95-102. Her ideas are carried forward in Katherine McKittrick's "Plantation Futures," *Small Axe* 17, no. 3 (2013): 1-15.

29 Ann Markusen et. al., *Rise of the Gunbelt: The Military Remapping of Industrial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

30 See the series of essays edited by Michael Hardt, "Struggles against US Military Bases," in *South Atlantic Quarterly* 111, no. 4 (2012): 827-876.

31 James A. Manigault-Bryant and LeRhonda S. Manigault-Bryant, "Conjuring Pasts and Ethnographic Presents in Zora Neale Hurston's Modernity," *Journal of Africana Religions* 4, no. 2 (2016): 225-235.

32 In *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2000), Jamaica Kincaid lures the reader into the tourist fantasy of Antigua and the ways it is anchored to colonial degradation. She states near the end of the text: "It is as if, then, the beauty—the beauty of the sea, the land, the air, the trees, the market, the people, the sounds they make—were a prison, and as if everything and everybody inside it were locked in and everything and everybody that is not inside it were locked out," 79.

33 See, for example, John Lowe's essay, "'Calypso Magnolia': The Caribbean Side of the South," *South Central Review* 22, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 54-80.

34 I am thinking here of Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* ed. David W. Blight and Robert Gooding-Williams (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1997) as well as *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (1940; repr. Piscataway: Transaction Publishers, 1983), and Charles Long's essay, "The Oppressive Elements in Religion and the Religions of the Oppressed in *Significations* (2004).

35 See Jon Michael Spencer, "Heroic Professor: A Pedagogy of Creativity," in *How Long This Road: Race, Religion, and the Legacy of C. Eric Lincoln*, ed. Alton Pollard, Love Henry Whelchel, Dwight Hopkins, and Linda E. Thomas (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 63-75.

PAGET HENRY: PAVER OF PATHWAYS FOR SCHOLARSHIP ON ANTIGUA

Susan Lowes

In November 1979 I was a graduate student in Anthropology who had decided to research a dissertation on class formation in the West Indies, with Antigua as the focal point. At that time there were only three or four people who had written on Antigua and I got in touch with all of them, including Paget Henry. He was then at Stony Brook University and in the process of turning his dissertation into a book. I asked him for help contacting people in Antigua who might be willing to guide me to archival material. Although we had never met and didn't even have academic connections—my being an anthropologist and his being a sociologist—he generously gave me the names of people I could talk to. This is how I got started and this is the first way in which Paget has been a paver of pathways for scholarship in, and on, Antigua—by being a mentor, entry point, and guide for young (and younger) scholars.

Once I had received funding, Paget again came to my aid by recommending that I see if his Aunt Ivy might be able to put me up. I arrived in Antigua in June 1980 and went directly to Aunt Ivy's house. Although I then moved to a small house she owned nearby, her home became my base—I could drop in at any time, enter through the kitchen door (not the more formal front door), listen to gossip, go with the family to various events, and generally learn about Antigua.

And this is where I first met Paget face-to-face that summer. Here are my notes:

> Paget Henry arrived in the afternoon, friendly, cheerful. He has lots of articles to write, on elections in particular, including for *Contact* (on party politics in Antigua) and *Outlet* (on US foreign policy in the Caribbean). Saw him next day talking to Lukey, who was actually smiling.

In the end my research involved not only archival work but extensive interviewing, and over the next year I interviewed as many Antiguans as possible. Paget, although he may not have known it, was one of them. He was great to talk to because he had so many opinions, primarily about politics (Antiguan and North American) but also about social life in Antigua. This was just prior to Antigua's independence in 1981 and after one government had been rudely replaced by another. There

was much talk of colonization and decolonization, authoritarianism and democracy, socialism and capitalism. I was at that time Director of Monthly Review Press, which had published many of the seminal works on underdevelopment, peripheral capitalism, monopoly capitalism, and so on, including works by Caribbean historians and economists, so I was very familiar with, and sympathetic to, Paget's approach to Antigua's history. However, his views of social life were a bit more traditional. At one point that summer, I remember going to a dance with Ivy and her family and listening to Paget on the degeneration of middle class culture. Apparently the fact that people were not ballroom dancing and were taking off their jackets (it was summer and was hot and there was no air-conditioning) was a rejection of past formalities and a sure indication of cultural decline. For instance, he told me, in the past if you had taken off your tie, someone would have tapped you on the shoulder and told you to put it on again. Not any longer. He seemed to miss that past.

At that point in the 1980s there was very little academic writing in the social sciences on Antigua. In fact, I think Paget's might be only the second dissertation that was not on archaeology or botany or geology that focused on Antigua alone. What was interesting, though, in terms of the work on Antigua in general was that Paget was formally a sociologist yet he was doing economics and history and that this interdisciplinary approach has continued to be a hallmark of Antiguan scholarship to this day. The fact that the first two dissertations to be published (both in 1985) were by a sociologist doing economics and history (Paget), and a historian doing anthropology (Barry Gaspar), was path-breaking at a time when being interdisciplinary was neither common nor looked upon with great favor in academic departments. Yet this has continued to be the tradition in Antiguan social science scholarship. For example, both Mindie Lazarus-Black and I worked in Antigua in the 1980s and both of us are anthropologists who do history, while I would maintain that Natasha Lightfoot is a historian who looks at history with an anthropological lens.

The dissertation and book launched Paget into the role he has subsequently played in Antigua as both a political and academic activist and a master organizer of academics and cultural and political activists. In 1990, a band of like-minded Antiguans living abroad and he formed the Antigua Political Culture Society, which published its first working paper in 1992. This first (and I think last) working paper was entitled "Towards the Light: A Proposal for Political Reform in Antigua." What is remarkable—and distressing—in reviewing it today is that it could have

been written yesterday. This is from the introduction: "Our political environment has gotten so dark, that it is now difficult to see the way ahead." The paper called the then-government a "corrupt parliamentary dictatorship" and talked about "excessive political accumulations of power," the "steep and comprehensive decline in the democratic quality" of the political culture, "clientalism, corruption, and ritualized elections," the "perverting and abuse of public offices" for private gain, and on and on. All this is true today—although with higher stakes and greater gain—but what is particularly striking about the difference between then and now is that the type of critique and the language of the discourse that were common at that time have disappeared. This is partly due to the fact that there is no longer an outspoken opposition newspaper in Antigua and groups outside the country who met regularly to discuss home politics, make proposals, and in general promote a counter-narrative have aged and have not been replaced by a new generation.

By the mid-2000s, the focus of Paget's activity had moved from working with groups living abroad to working at home and to his most ambitious endeavor inside Antigua, the Antigua and Barbuda Studies Association. Paget founded this group in 2006 with the explicit goal of creating a field of Antiguan Studies within the larger area of Caribbean Studies. As I remember, it grew out of the University of West Indies (UWI) country conferences, one of which was held in Antigua. The association and its accompanying annual talks, conferences, and publications have had a profound impact in terms of creating and maintaining an intellectual and academic community composed of Antiguans and Barbudans living in Antigua and overseas, along with a few associated foreign academics. One of its most distinctive features comes directly from Paget's vision of what is important to a vibrant intellectual life, and that is the pairing of traditional academic disciplines with the arts, including literature, poetry, painting, and music. This is in part because of Paget's long association with Mali Olatunji and Edgar Lake, as well as his brother George. In fact, the first conference Paget organized was on "The Artistic and Political Culture of Antigua and Barbuda," and the papers were published in volume 1, number 1, of the *Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*, which has been published annually ever since. In each year, the publication has been announced at a public event with a keynote speaker who challenges the audience the think about Antiguan/Barbudan culture, politics, or history in a different way.

The conference and *Review* production have been an enormous task, but Paget has always been ready to help with any intellectual/educational/academic activity that comes his way. He has supported many scholars, young and not so young, with ideas and feedback. Recently, I have been working to establish the Friends of the Archives in Antigua, and Paget has been in those discussions from the start—and I mean the beginning. There were no archives in Antigua when I first arrived—all the potential archival material had been in buildings that had suffered terrible damage in the 1974 earthquake and been abandoned or dumped into storage rooms and forgotten. It was only on re-reading my notes from 1980 that I was reminded how Paget had been there at the beginning of the process of sorting out all this material in the old administration building in St. John's—although my notes report that he was doing more supervising than getting dirty—and then up at what was then the Magistrate's court on High Street.

That was 1980. Now it is 2016—that is almost 40 years of supporting Antigua scholarship! No other Antiguan can hold a candle to that record, and we all owe Paget an enormous thanks for his vision, his perseverance, and his hard work.

EGO-TRANSCENDENCE AND MY THREE ENCOUNTERS WITH PAGET HENRY

Ashmita Khasnabish

The moment I think of Caribbean scholar, Paget Henry, what comes to my mind are the following lines from the East Indian poet and Nobel Laureate, Rabindranath Tagore, in *Gitanjali*: "*kata ajanare janaile tumi, kata ghre dile thani; durke karile nikat bandhu, parke karile bhai*" (O, Lord, you have made the distant lands known to me and made strangers my friend). There is a history behind *Gitanjali*, which led to Tagore's recognition by the Swedish Academy. Tagore had given the book to his Irish friend W.B. Yeats requesting him to make his work known to the West. My first monograph *Jouissance as Ananda: Indian Philosophy, Feminist Theory and Literature* made its debut to the Western world under the auspices of Paget Henry. The moment during which the book was published in 2003, I was at Brown, and it was a benchmark in my life.

Now let us talk about "ego-transcendence," the term I often quote and use in my daily conversations, classrooms and monographs. In the Western world, every intellectual knows Freud's landmark contribution "The Ego and the Id." But if you have not conversed with Paget on this notion of "ego" and "ego-transcendence" you perhaps have not known the full implication and underpinning of the notion of "ego-transcendence." So, our conversation began in 1997. I was affiliated with the Pembroke Center at Brown and we attended its seminar "Gender and Sexual Difference." I presented a paper on *juissance* called "Radha's Jouissance." In delivering the paper, I noticed that what was most appealing to Paget was my reference to the Indian philosopher Sri Aurobindo and his philosophical theory of "supramental consciousness." The realm of "supramental consciousness" starts with the descent of supramental light. In order to understand that, we need to start our journey with Freud, who in his "The Ego and the Id" argued that the ego is the supreme end, and although he gives us terms like "super-ego" and "id"—none of them possess possibilities of sublimation. So, that is where Sri Aurobindo and his philosophy of "supramental consciousness" entered the picture. According to Aurobindo "ego" is not the ultimate end of human being's destiny but the dissolution of ego and a journey into the supramental plane of consciousness is possible through ascent of the mind. This is where I connected with Paget. He was very impressed with my knowledge as I explained it in "Radha's Jouissance," alluding to Aurobindo's theory that it is possible to achieve "jouissance". The latter I

interpret as "bliss" through the dissolution of ego and making the journey possible from mind to supermind via the "higher mind," "illumined mind" and "overmind." Paget liked it so much that I started talking to him more freely, because until my presentation at the Pembroke Center our conversation was limited to saying "hello" to each other and the occasional intellectual exchanges in the seminar.

Then began my journey writing the book *Jouissance as Ananda*. I brought the manuscript to one of the meetings in the following year and asked quite a few folks if they would like to read it. Paget came and took the manuscript from my hand and gave it a benign look assuring me that it was in good hands. He called me after one week and said that he read it and he thought that it is an excellent manuscript and deserved the honor of becoming a book. Thus began our conversations on Ego-transcendence as we started our discourse on Lacan. At this point, I will also acknowledge the Director of the Pembroke Center, Elizabeth Weed, as all our conversation on the French psychoanalyst started there. I would also like to mention in relation to Lacan that my doctoral dissertation entitled "Jouissance and Divinity: Reading Lawrence and Lispector through Irigaray" was on the French feminist philosopher Luce Irigaray's theory of jouissance and as such I was already well versed with the concept of "lack" in Lacanian theory. But as a graduate student I was only familiar with Lacan's theories of the "imaginary order" and the "symbolic order" but now my book project led me in a more philosophical direction. I discovered in my discussions over a few months a deeper understanding of "lack" in Lacan as I formulated my argument. The argument unfolded in terms of the sublime: I offered the argument in my first chapter "Jouissance as Ananda: Bliss" where I also drew a comparison with Freudian theory. I suggested that Freud was in outright denial of any sublime dimension of human mind and according to him we cannot go beyond ego. But I offer a compliment to Lacan saying that Lacan extends to us the notion of the sublime but does not believe that human beings could achieve that sublime dimension. So, this kind of philosophical discourse would not have emerged without Paget's intervention to shape my thinking and transforming it from mere feminist theory to feminist philosophy. But that is not all; Paget encouraged me to go full length and dive into Indian philosophy. So I got the confidence to deconstruct Luce Irigaray's theory by offering my interpretation that the theory of jouissance offered by Irigaray only alluded to corporeal and spiritual jouissance but did not necessarily address what Paget taught me, the term "ego-transcendence." That ego-transcendence, which I rendered

through Indian philosophy as "Ananda" or "bliss," could be achieved only through meditative practices that weaken the grip of the ego, and the book unfolded in terms of a cross-cultural dialogue between the East and the West.

Jouissance as Ananda attracted scholars in Europe and I was invited by Luce Irigaray to speak at the conference called "Female Divine" at the University of Liverpool, where the book made its first appearance on European soil. However, it had a different impact in America when I presented the notion of ego-transcendence to scholars of Women's Studies at MIT. Without mentioning the names of any scholars I would like to share my experience with you: They did not like the idea of ego-transcendence, which implied for them losing one's ego, and they were on the verge of shock to think one can survive without one's ego. But my European tour with this book was successful and a book review was published in Italian in the journal called *Agalma* at the University of Rome. The reviewer deconstructed Lacan and offered the Western paradigm of "neuter sexuality," which has no connection with ego-transcendence.

Let me come back to my reverie of ego-transcendence through my second important encounter with Paget. After the seminars at the Pembroke Center, we used to go for lunch as a group and it was an informal extension of our intellectual encounter. During one of those luncheons, I told Paget how much I like Jamaica Kincaid's writings. I told him how Kincaid's *At the Bottom of the River* was full of nuances that we encounter in Indian philosophy. By Indian philosophy I am alluding to the 4,000-year-old tradition of Upanishadic philosophy where *Brahman* is all pervasive. *Brahman* is also known as the concept of the Absolute and it is believed in Hindu philosophy that the ultimate goal of human life is to achieve *Brahman*. Now the question is how do people achieve this *Brahman* or the concept of the Absolute? The truth is one achieves the experience of union with *Brahman* or the Absolute through ego-transcendence. Both ancient Indian Upanishadic philosophy and modern Indian philosophy, including Sri Aurobindo's *The Life Divine*, point to and reiterate this notion of ego-transcendence, to achieve Brahman through the dissolution of the ego, which is a difficult concept for Western minds. But amazingly, I encountered that form of spirituality pervading Kincaid's *At the Bottom of the River*. Let me offer here a quote from my book chapter titled the "Postcolonial Feminine Sublime":

> *At the Bottom of the River* explores the triumph of the feminine. It is a journey into the world of spirit executed through the dynamic power of the feminine, as expressed in all the stories of the book. The valorization and the adoration of the feminine can be illuminated by an engagement with Indian philosophy. The struggle between the male and female power in Kincaid's text could be explicated through the Indian philosophical concepts of the *Purusha* and *Prakriti*. (26)

What I found amazing is the way in which the connections between Kincaid and Indian philosophy unfolded. Looking back I am elated and surprised to see how I crossed a boundary and brought Kincaid's writings so close to my heart and Indian philosophy. How did that transplantation occur, which is so universal? I often questioned myself whether I am a little biased toward Indian philosophy. But that I am not biased was proved in my class discussion on the story "Blackness" recently at Lasell College in a course called "American Multiethnic Literature". By reading the passage on "erasure" and "silence" and "annihilation" we established the fact that the story "Blackness" from the book *At the Bottom of the River* has a very close connection with the Indian philosophical concept of *Brahman*, which lifts one up into such sublime planes of consciousness that you can perhaps overcome your pain of colonization and oppression. This article was published in *The C.L.R. James Journal*, and I remember that auspicious evening when Paget arranged a lecture on the eve of the publication of my book *Jouissance as Ananda*, while he launched my first publication on Caribbean literature and philosophy.The intimate connection with Indian philosophy grew stronger as I entered the two most important stories in *At the Bottom of the River*: "My Mother" and "At the Bottom of the River." The connection between Kincaid and Indian philosophy grew stronger as I explored one more underpinning between Kincaid's story "The Mother" and the modern Indian philosopher Sri Aurobindo's "The World Mother" in his hyper-epic *Savitri.* Allow me once gain to offer here a quote from the "Postcolonial Feminine Sublime":

In order to understand more deeply the philosophical dimensions of Kincaid's concept of the mother, one can look to Sri Aurobindo's work *Savitri*—into his depiction of the role of the World Mother. …In Kincaid's story "My Mother", [the mother] is both an ordinary mother and a subliminal mother. She is an ordinary mother because she performs ordinary rituals with her daughter. At the same the time the Mother leads her to a subliminal world. The Mother is the gateway to the world of

joy and transcendence of ego. *Savitri* is Sri Aurobindo's hyper-epic in which the feminine energy is worshipped; it is a valorization of the same feminine adored in ancient Indian Sankhya philosophy. However, let us look at Savitri more deeply. The epic is about the transcendence of ego and the valorization of the same feminine divine…. Savitri, the heroine of the hyper-epic, plays both the role of the daughter and that of world mother. Her role ascends as the role unfolds. In Book 1, Canto 1, her divine role is already established, although she is born in human form. Savitri is born on earth to help human beings to conquer the ego and the sufferings of the world. She is born human but she is connected to the Divine Mother, whom we call the *Prakriti*…In Kincaid's *At the Bottom of the River*, the heroine of the stories is battling with the world in the similar manner. (34–35)

Thus, what I learned from Paget or what I received from Paget was this faith in feminine agency, almost the way Kincaid empowers her women and Aurobindo does in his philosophical works as well as in his hyper-epic *Savitri.* In this context it is also necessary to recollect my discussion with Paget on Aurobindo. It always surprised me that Paget adored Indian philosophy and especially Aurobindo so profoundly. Our initial discussion on Aurobindo and ego-transcendence started in the Pembroke Center. I wrote my book *Jouissance as Ananda* but it appeared again as a theme in my second monograph *Humanitarian identity and the Political Sublime: Intervention of a Postcolonial Feminist*. The publication of the article in *The C.L.R. James Journal* gave me confidence to write on Caribbean literature and philosophy, and because I do philosophy, it was very spontaneous the way the second book emerged out of this article on Kincaid. I was supposed to meet Kincaid but the appointment got cancelled, and she left me a long message in my mail box which I received on returning from India. I wanted to meet her badly and finally that opportunity came when Paget informed me that Kincaid was coming to Brown University to launch her book *Among Flowers*. I went there and found the acknowledgment from her that I do good mystic religious interpretations of her writing. With that confirmation and Paget's inspiration, I continued my venture in Caribbean literature via Kincaid. I read the book *The Autobiography of My Mother* and was so deeply moved by it that I wanted to write an article on it. I wrote it and sent it again to *The C.L.R. James Journal.* By that time, I had also fallen in love with Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* and was obsessed with his notion of the abandonment neurotic. Let me quote here a few lines from my book *Humanitarian Identity and the Political Sublime:*

Intervention of a Postcolonial Feminist: "Affective self-rejection invariably brings the abandonment to an extremely painful and excessive feeling of exclusion, of having no place anywhere, of being superfluous everywhere in an affective sense…"(76). Xuela of *The Autobiography of My Mother* represented this abandoned neurotic.

I must make it clear that we discussed not just the notion of "ego-transcendence" and the ascent from pain or dissolution of ego but we discussed the problem of colonization and oppression for long hours. Here I will take you back to Aurobindo again who was a freedom fighter against the British. He was imprisoned by the British for making bombs and he was called a terrorist. In his words from *Tales of Prison Life*, "Before that in course of my long battle with thirst I had achieved a thirst-free state. In this blazing room two prison blankets served for my bed…. When the heat became unbearable I would roll on the ground and enjoy it. Then did I know the cool touch of mother earth" (19). There are more burning examples in his book *Sri Aurobindo on Himself*, where he writes about how he had to flee to Pondicherry, the French colony, to escape from the British. Paget and I devoted a lot of time on the oppression of colonization and how also the early Aurobindo was a Marxist. Paget also shared with me his political and cultural affinity with Aurobindo, saying that while he read Sri Aurobindo, he became completely transformed and fell in love with Aurobindo's yoga or what we call "supramental consciousness." If I may say, he admitted that he was a staunch believer of Marx but after he read Aurobindo, he changed. Thus Aurobindo was always at the center of our discussions.In this relation, I got an opportunity to connect Aurobindo and Fanon: I found the lines in the last chapter of *Black Skin, White Masks*, "Was my freedom not given to me then in order to build the world of the You?/ At the conclusion of this study, I want the world to recognize, with me, the open door of every consciousness./ My final prayer:/ O my body, make of me always a man who questions" (232). "Fanon masterfully argues in the same way," I stated in *Humanitarian Identity and the Political Sublime*, "that the freedom is given to human beings to make peace with "you" and not just to be self-centered or ego-centric" (xvii). I am connecting Fanon with Aurobindo and also Amartya Sen, the pragmatic Indian philosopher who advocates the notion of "pluralistic identity." Fanon is talking about sublimation of pain via liberation through consciousness, and it has a close connection with Aurobindo's theory of the "religion of humanity" articulated in *The Ideal of Human Unity*: the theory that one must follow the principle of ego-transcendence and pursue a kind of spirituality which

is beyond any religious dogma. Let us see Sri Aurobindo's observation in *The Ideal of Human Unity*: "A religion of humanity means the growing realization that there is a secret Spirit, a Divine Reality, in which we are all one, that humanity is its highest present vehicle on earth, that the human race and human being are the means by which it will progressively reveal itself here…. There must be the realization by the individual that only in the life of his fellow men is his own life complete." (554) It resonates with what Paget writes at the concluding chapter of *Caliban's Reason*: "'To set afoot a new man' will require of us new mythic compromises and a deeper understanding of the ego's role in the establishing of these balances of power. We will have to be more conscious of our Yuruguan revolts, our liminal tendencies and our states of ontic closure." (280)

What Henry alludes to here as "ego's role in the establishing of these balances of power" or as "ontic closure" refer to the problem of ego, problem of the lack of consciousness. The problem of ego he has articulated as "ontic closure" where one disavows the access to the plane of consciousness or "ontology" which has to do with one's being. Fanon was bent on this term "ontology" and so is Henry. And both Henry and Fanon in their ontological take intersect with Aurobindo; I feel as if I worked as an intellectual or cultural ambassador in bringing my knowledge of Indian philosophy as an Indian scholar to America and it became a universal meeting ground. In that universal meeting ground I came to profess my theory of the "political sublime" in *Humanitarian Identity and the Political Sublime: Intervention of a Postcolonial Feminist.*

Let me recall here how my book *Humanitarian Identity and the Political Sublime: Intervention of a Postcolonial Feminist* came into being. The book was possible because of the inspiration and encouragement I received from Paget regarding my interpretation of Kincaid's writings through Indian philosophy. And not only did we discuss ego-transcendence but colonial oppression and the "master-slave dialectic", and I also brought in another feminist philosopher Teresa Brennan and her theory of "transmission of affect." Although we did not agree on Brennan's theory that one finds solace or one can retrieve one's state of innocence if one goes back symbolically to one's mother's womb and connect with it, it gave me opportunity to cover many theoretical grounds and become universal and claim my identity as a universal human being and a feminist philosopher. We also talked about the title of the book and in discussions with him I came up with the first part of the title of the book "Humanitarian Identity" and that is what I was trying to configure in my chapters on Kincaid which were initially published

in *The C.L.R. James Journal.* However, the theory of "political sublime" was my invention and was appreciated at Trinity College, Dublin, as the School of English invited me to speak there on the concept. The title of my talk was "Political Sublime: Postcolonial Feminist Intervention" and Paget insisted that I must go and I did. The faculty members there were so pleased that one of the faculty members wrote a review, and the review was submitted to an issue of *The C.L.R. James Journal* of which Tracy Nicholas was the guest Editor. I must also mention with pride that Paget reviewed the book in *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books.* He wrote: "*Humanitarian Identity and the Political Sublime* is a very fascinating and rewarding book to read as it addresses some of the perennial problems of humankind in both novel and feminist ways. Also, it provides us with new readings of the works of Jamaica Kincaid that interpret them in very spiritual ways."

My third encounter with Paget occurred through my third monograph *Negotiating Capability and Diaspora: A Philosophical Politics.* As the title suggests I was still on my journey to my new theory, which I call "philosophical politics." My journey in my first book *Jouissance as Ananda* was in ego-transcendence and so was my journey in my second monograph; it was geared more toward overcoming political and colonial oppression. But my third monograph was to bring the immanence and transcendence together—or to bring spirit into the matter. I synthesized the views of two Indian philosophers: Amartya Sen and Sri Aurobindo. Sen's theory of "capability" was extremely appealing to me because it gives a tool of empowerment to the immigrants who are considered minorities. Now in the context of the new Donald Trump government in America the trajectory changes further and Sen's theory acquires more importance. His theory arose in a critical dialogue with the American philosopher John Rawls's theory of "primary goods," which indicates that everyone in society should have equal access to all opportunities, but understanding that goal was possible through what he calls the "veil of ignorance." Rawls's theory of the "veil of ignorance" suggests that one should bypass all the differences in community and enter into relationships with strangers for the sake of "political justice." So, one is bound by community connections but fosters them by overriding differences. It sounded like a noble theory and I gave it a touch of ego-transcendence by comparing it with the *mantra* from the Upanishad. I refer to the following *sloka*: "*Hiranmayen patren satyasa aphiitam mukham/ tat tan apabrinu satya dharmaye dristaye*" (the face of truth is covered

by a golden lid: O Sun God *Pushana*, please, uncover it, so that we can see truth). So, as in the community one should overlook the differences for the sake of political justice, it can also happen if one practices the philosophy of ego-transcendence. But Sen is skeptical and mentions that in the name of community or focal group we may alienate immigrants, underdogs, and women. So, we need to come up with a theory or tool, which he defines as the theory of "capability." He observes, "In contrast with the utility based or resource based line of thinking, individual advantage is judged in the capability approach by a person's capability to do things he or she has reason to value" (*The Idea of Justice* 231-232).

But I was not satisfied just delineating Sen's theory and introduced Sri Aurobindo's one more time to coin my theory of "philosophical politics." Let me quote from the book:

> However, for the sake of philosophical politics, I need both components: I need this idea of psychological unity from Sri Aurobindo and that of pragmatism, or the faculty of capability from Sen. Capability is an attribute that can make one triumph, because one strives through willpower, but just achieving an individual goal is not adequate; in order to achieve both individual and collective unity or freedom one must inculcate a belief in psychological unity…
>
> I close this section with the adage of the Upanishad: "*nayam atma balhinen labhya*" (One has to have the strength of the soul, or belief in psychological unity, and the strength of the mind and body). Then only the world-union could take place and a global humanity will be born on the earth. (150)

I think my audience could encounter the invisible influence here of my guru Paget Henry. Now I end this Henry journey with my recently published review of Paget's book on his friend Mali Olatunji. What is also unique in this memoir kind of book is the author's intervention into the painterly photographer's life as an artist, and its various manifested angles as embodied in his art works. What is most interesting to see in this book is to encounter the history of migration as Paget pronounces that like African Americans from the South, Caribbean migrants ended up from plantation to the ghetto. It is pungently appealing to me for the validity and truth underneath this statement as I have experienced this kind of discriminatory treatment of the immigrants in general in America,

and addressed it in my recent monograph *Negotiating Capability and Diaspora: a Philosophical Politics.* I must mention here briefly that this theory of "capability" has been offered by our Indian economist cum philosopher Amartya Sen in his book *Development as Freedom* and it highlights the truth that immigrants, minorities and underdogs have lived in the USA by adapting to the status of second class citizens. Thus, it corroborates Olatnji's grief, sadness, and critique created through his painterly photography. Olatunji's migrated to New York despite his critical concerns about racist America, because of the opportunities it offered him as an artist. Paget offers his own staunch critique as well by dwelling on Cecil Foster's two phases of life: whereas in the earlier work *A Place Called Heaven*, he describes the discrimination and dehumanized behavior he suffered in Canada, his later work *Where Race Does Not Matter*, is about accepting his identity as a black Canadian. His change in attitude is triggered by the fact that there is no ghettoization in Canada because of its vibrant social welfare state policies. However, the "double-consciousness" was very much the atmosphere in which Olatunji grew up in Antigua and this is fully embodied in his painterly photographs.

The painterly photographs of the city of New York take our breath away in their painstaking details as well as the grandeur and finesse of the artist/critic. The Manhattan-based collection of "woodist Jumbie" painterly photographs opens with a photograph of the "City Hall" (Image 56)—the political center. Paget points out the stoniness of this image to indicate the stoniness of the city life and also signifies the harshness that immigrants encounter in the city. In the Central Park Series, the second picture is called, "Petrification at Harlem" (Image 58); it is a black and white photograph about a lake that borders on the black community of Harlem. Many pages in that chapter reminds us of postcolonial identity as I also discuss in my latest monograph *Negotiating Capability and Diaspora: a Philosophical Politics* which alludes to Sen's theory of "capability" that immigrants, underdogs and minorities have to adapt to the status of the second class citizen. I am not overgeneralizing but it is an existential problem, which Fanon strove to solve in *Black Skin, White Masks* by referring to ontology and calling for humanism.I would also like to comment on the ending of Fanon's book and its spiritual implications. Both Indian and Caribbean philosophies believe in otherworldly visions and the presence of an ethereal existence or spirit. Fanon's ruminations remind me of the torture that freedom fighters went through during British Colonial times; it is especially interesting to notice Aurobindo's critique of imperialism in *Savitri* in an allegorical manner, as well as his

faith in visionary power, his vision of Swami Vivekananda (who already had died while Aurobindo had his vision) and of Lord Krishna (the Hindu God) in an Alipore jail cell. Also, it is worthwhile to mention here that Aurobindo listened a voice to leave British India and go to Pondicherry. As he wrote in his book *Sri Aurobindo on Himself*, he would have been put into jail by the British again. So, the spiritual vision saved him from the persecution, torture, and misery he was being subjected to in his jail cell. *The Art of Mali Olatunji* in similar vein narrates that "Many of these colonized and oppressed people looked to their local visionaries for psychological relief" (132). This moment reminds me of the Hope Series that Henry narrates in the previous chapter talking about the current status of Antigua and Barbuda. This painterly photograph is called "Praying for the Nation" in which the artist himself is praying for Antigua and Barbuda. Olatunji had insisted that Henry end the book with this image, which is highly spiritual in nature and reminds us of the prayer of Tagore for India and the hymn of the Goddess Durga by Aurobindo, that India becomes one of the leading nations of the world. Aurobindo prays in "Hymn to Durga" that all evil energy against India could be destroyed by the sons of Bengal and that they possess immense spiritual energy so that India could rise again. Although, the Hymn was written during the British colonial time to encourage young Indians, it is still valid today in its time-transcending appeal.

I end the journey with the *sloka* from the *Upanishad*: "*Anandadheva khalmimani bbhtani jayente*" (the entire universe originates from Bliss.)

PAGET HENRY: THE CLASSIC AFRO-CARIBBEAN SAVANT

Rekha Menon

Paget the classic Savant
A man of calm demeanor
Elegant, Kind, Polite,
Such scholarly class

I remember the first time I met Paget in May of 2004; it was in Barbados, for the first conference of the Caribbean Philosophical Association, held in the University of the West Indies (Barbados) May 19–22, 2004.

It was the evening of pre-conference socializing, the flow of grand cocktails, beautiful music and glorious, sumptuous food. And there I was introduced to a classic philosophical man with thick hair, a colorful, bold printed shirt, and intriguing eyes trying to study ME…. I asked, "Would you like a drink?" as I was itching for one, but he said he doesn't drink. I remember telling him, "Philosopher and no drinks?" and I thought: Was this the great Paget Henry, the scholar from the ivy league Brown University that I have read? What happened to the suit and shiny shoes and the airs—I thought ivy league professors would be suited and booted up. But contrary to all that was this humble, simple, elegant, passionate scholar, so comfortable to talk with and share ideas, so I felt free to say: "One has to dance to this glorious music, shake the booties," as I love to dance and forced him to join us. That was the beginning of a beautiful friendship of sharing and philosophizing….

It is a great honor and pleasure to be part of this grand celebration of Paget Henry.The True Paget Henry is his love, passion for the Indo-Caribbean and Afro-Caribbean discourses, African philosophy, and his special eye for aesthetics. This paper will touch on his special eye for aesthetics and his love for the Indo-Caribbean. Taking the example of his book *The Art of Mali Olatunji: Painterly Photography from Antigua and Barbuda*, I would like to show Paget's passion for his Caribbeanness. The paper will also discuss Paget's philosophical dialogues with the Indo-Caribbeanness, which sheds light on the *Brahamanic* Spirituality and cosmic essence.

The way Paget discusses the painterly photographs of Olatunji—his flowing words portray the beauty and poetics of the artworks that one can viscerally visualize without even looking at the photographs, that is the passion of Paget's writing—I call his writing, painterly writing.

He calls Olatunji's work "painting with a camera" because of how he entwines the painterly woodist photographs. Olatunji the artist expresses his work as "woodism," which he says is "the creation of this woodist aesthetic where painting and photograph intersect and has deep roots in spiritual and folkloric discourse of Antigua and Barbuda."[1] Paget's writing interprets and describes the images, at the same time weaving them together with themes of anti-colonialism and post-colonialism in Antigua and Barbuda. What is interesting and intriguing is the way the narration flows from the woodist effects, as the aesthetic appropriation of the lines and textures of the wood is transformed into a mode of seeing the world. Olatunji's camera provides a lens on the world with the effect of a brush and palette knife, and Paget's words enhance that vision. Paget states that the New York images are "carriers and representatives of themes of urban alienation and of finding places of solace in the concrete jungle."[2] The book is engaging, and in reading it, we travel into Paget's passion for Antigua, his country, and the impulses of anti-imperialism that have deep roots in colonial Antigua and Barbuda trying to find its way in today's globalized world.

Olatunji states that he doesn't take pictures; instead he *makes* them. Paget, similarly, is not just writing about the pictures but also making the pictures come alive with passion. As the painterly photography envelops a sensuous medium and gives an artistic *tour de force* of Antigua and Barbuda, Paget's writing brings out the history of the Caribbean region, the history of "negrifying," enslaving and colonizing of the African people. Spaces between the lines, paragraphs, and pages give the reader a chance to contemplate the painterly vocabulary, which represents the strong anti-colonial social realism that permeates aesthetically. The cry of enslavement and the struggles to survive resonate in the echo of the words, which lay out the bitter truth of colonialism. As the painter grasps the history through the lines of wood and bark, Paget reveals his auteurism in describing the painterly photography embracing the colonial landscape of Antigua and Barbuda.

The painterly photographs are well positioned and articulated in order to display the philosophical and ideological positions of the artist; he visually explores an existential intensity on the terrain of his land. The images portray the experience of lived conflict. With regard to the distinct

1 Paget Henry, *The Art of Mali Olatunji: Painterly Photography from Antigua & Barbuda* (London, UK: Hansib Publications Limited, 2015) 33–38.
2 Ibid, 33–38.

feature of the artist's style that Olatunji calls the "woodist/jumbie", Paget states: "woodism for the artist is a way of looking at life and jumbie is your soul or the spiritual part of you that survives the death of the body, and jumbies are believed to make their post-body home in trees and in particular silk cotton trees."[3] In the artist's wooded vision of the jumbie, especially in the works like *Entombed*, *Big Church in Decay*, *Earthquake and Flood*, Paget's words express not only the artist's experiential conflict, but his own lived colonial angst and cry for humanity, through the dynamics of the jumbie vision.

Paget's words drift dancing through the wooded lines of the artist's work, voicing the political developments, the future of Antiguans and Barbudans, and this especially can be noted when he describes the artist's photograph of *V. C. Bird International Airport*. As he observes, it portrays the anti-colonial struggles and is also a symbol of post-colonialism; "a voice of leaving behind the poverty of sugar plantation world and looking forward to the future."[4] A future, though marked today with ambivalence over white Western ownership, casts dark shadows over the national development. The artist's work embraces this vulnerable shift, showing the decline of the formidable airport and Paget with his utterance brings out the deeper reality of the post-colonial present. The reading envelops the reader with an imagery of today's Antigua and Barbuda. The painterly photographs of the artist is transformed beautifully into a language of words overflowing with passion showing the endless love Paget has for his land and the future of this post-colonial land.

This enduring love and passion can also be noted in Paget's philosophical dialogues with Indo-Caribbeanness, which shed light on the *Brahamanic* spirituality, and the cosmic essence. By contrasting Aurobindo's innovative supramental phenomenology with Naipaul's characterization of the whole tradition as quietist, Paget brings out a dynamic view of Indian philosophy. The dialogues contrast, compare and show that Indian philosophy and art are deeply rooted in the cosmic blend of transcendence. To experience Paget's writing of the *Brahamanic* spirituality, I would like to delineate the roots of it, through some concepts that are embodied in the significant passages of the ancient Sanskrit texts.

Aitareya Brahmana attributes the creation of the cosmos to rhythm, *chandas*. In this metaphysical belief, the universe is pervaded by an

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid, 57.

eternal stream of life, *sat* or consciousness (*cit*, *cetana),* of which different forms and appearances in the external world appear, reappear and disappear, in ever recurring pulsating rhythms of destruction and harmony. The universe is the revelation of Being in the phenomenal world of becoming. Art embodies the expressiveness of cosmic rhythms that portray manifestation, *sat* and nonmanifestation, *asat*. Rhythm governs the order in *Rupa lokha*, the world of form, in Indian art and thought. The interplay of primordial rhythm is portrayed through light and darkness, creation and destruction, change and stability. Man's profound joys are stirred by these rhythms when his soul overcomes all kinds of contrasts of lack and fullness, opposition and achievement, concreteness and universality.

India's greatest philosopher, Shankara, speaks of the universe as a picture, *citra* as born of the eternal artist's wisdom, "On the vast canvas of the Self the picture of the manifold worlds is painted by the Self itself and that Supreme Self takes delight in contemplating it."[5] The universe is in *citra,* picture, and the *citra* is in the universe, just as the water is in the well and the well in the water.[6] According to the *Vedanta,* the material world is impregnated with consciousness, *cinmaya*.[7] The all-pervasive, transcending, *cit* constitutes the background and the fundamental essence of the world. By "transcendence," we do not mean "beyond" the world, rather, "transcendence" is beyond things, although worldly.

The primordial upsurge of life is presented in an irrepressible manifold of forms stemming from the transcendence of being and becoming of life in a sensuous *lila,* play. It crystallizes the cosmic Oneness of life in different dimensions and ramifications, revealing the sensuous forms, flowing lines, and sinuous curves. Indian philosophy and art, in their aim of realization and transcendence, express the Supreme spirit through the arousal of the transcendent consciousness, *prajna,* in aesthetic silence or ecstasy, *ananda*. It touches the realms of sensuousness, meaningfulness and the transcendent. Indian thought, in contrast with the theories and ideals of the West, holds tenaciously to the belief in the all-encompassing transcendent Reality or Being *atman-Brahman,* in which are fused into unity the values of Goodness, *sivam*, Beauty, *sundaram*, Infinitude, *anantam*, silence, *santam* and Beatitude, *anandam*.[8]

5 Radhakamal Mukherjee, ***The Cosmic Art of India*** (Bombay, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1965), 91.
6 Ibid, 91.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid, 2.

The cosmic energies in Indian traditional art were delineated into form, *rupa* by artists keeping in mind the six canons, *sadanga,* which are mentioned in the text on painting, the *Citrasutra,* and by Yasodhara in his commentary on Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra*, to bring forth the transcendental rhythms into being.[9] The *sadanga*, the six limbs of Indian art or canons are 1) *Rupa Bheda,* distinction of forms and ideal rhythms, 2) *Pramanani*, abstract or mathematical proportions, 3) *Bhava*, expression of *Rasa*, sentiments, 4) *Lavanya yojanam*, embodiment of grace, 5) *Sadrsya*, vision with reference to gesture and posture, *sthanam*, 6) *Varnika Bhanga*, technical qualities and color scheme.[10] All these have to come together to portray the *Rasa,* literally, flavor, relish, sentiment, emotion, in art in order to give exuberant expression to the cosmic energies. These *rasas* are embodied, not only in painting and sculpture but also in all art forms, such as dance, drama, and the flows of *rasa* are mentioned in detail in Bharata's *Natyasastra*, an ancient text on dance and drama. These *rasas* transcend persons, times, and places. Artistic presentation overcomes the restlessness of passion, *rajas,* and the inertia of ignorance or darkness, *tamas,* and introduces the silence and beatitude of the pure mind, *sattva.* Aesthetic experience, according to Bhatta Nayaka, "is the experience of the universalized aesthetic object by the universalized subject in the state of perfect bliss, *ananda,* due to the predominance of *sattva*."[11] That is why aesthetic enjoyment and presentation is considered akin to the supreme bliss of *Brahman* apprehension. Indian traditional aesthetics/ transcendence traverses from *Kama lokha,* the world of desire, to *Rupa lokha*, world of forms, to *Arupa lokha*, the world of formlessness. One has to be passionately immersed in the aesthetics in order to become formless, *arupa*, such that the Self becomes selfless, transcendent. The form, *rupa* is the phenomenal manifestation of the transcendent cosmic essence:

> *Dve vava brahmano rupe murtam camurtam ca,*
> *atha yan murtam tad asatyam yad amurtam tat satyam,*
> *tad brahma yad brahma taj jyotih.*[12]

There are, assuredly two forms of *Brahman*: the formed and formless. Now, that which is formed is unreal, *asatyam*, while that which is formless is real, *satyam*, is *Brahman*, is light.[13]

9 Ibid, 81.
10 Ibid,.
11 Ibid,106.
12 Maitri Upanishad (6. 3.), 166–167.
13 Heinrich Zimmer, ***Philosophies of India***, ed. Joseph Campbell (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 361.

Indian philosophy, arts and myths manifest correlative and mutually supportive ways of capturing the sense of the cosmos, and not just representations of beings, divinities and events. In this sense, conceptions as *kamic*, erotic passions, culturally accepted styles of depicting figures, yogic practices that appear in formations of ritualized gestures in art, dance and myth, *lila,* play, or *maya*, are the styles with which traditional India captured the cosmos. These formations allow the human to transcend the limitations of the enclosed body as individual, self, *atman,* toward pervasive sensuous passions, powers, rhythms that appear across all events. This is in contrast to the Western tradition, in which the transcendent is beyond any kind of worldly participation, such as Platonic perfect ideas or the Aristotelian prime mover. The numerous divinities in Indian artistic traditions and myths transcend all things and events, and yet, they, too, are cosmic and, like all things and human beings, are subject to the cosmic passions, rhythms, powers and play. They, too, are impassioned with each other and their actions allude to the cosmos, allowing for serenity that is not detached, but full of passion and reverence, acceptance, joy, vitality, and yet, impersonal. This recognition of impersonality is designed to say that, in face of the cosmos, one is granted serenity. As I reflect in the writings, the cosmic means that all beings and events are connected with one another, not by causes, but by impersonal play, *lila,* energies, *shakti*, *kama*, eros, passions, *kali,* time, from which the individual, *atman,* cannot escape. In addition, the Indian aesthetic purports to capture the impersonal cosmic aspects that appear in direct sensuous perceptions. In this tradition, the sensuous perception of these aspects is not reducible to the body subject and its psychological, physiological or mental states; to the contrary, the art works, the philosophy acquire characteristics by intimating the cosmic aspects. The arts of India DO NOT REPRESENT THE COSMIC; rather, they are the how of the giveness of the cosmos, and in this sense are themselves cosmic.

"In the embrace of his beloved a man forgets his singular self and immerses in the winds of the whole world." After all, one prays without clothing so that the cosmic wind may caress him without barriers: "In the very same way, he who embraces the self knows neither within nor without."[14] In Indian art and thought, the idea of total bliss is portrayed symbolically as the act of love which is chosen to suggest the way of being such that the individual and the universal are no longer separate. Total bliss suggests, more directly, the moment when the self, *atman*, becomes

14 Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad.

merged through Release with the impersonal cosmic play. The "One," the supreme Cosmic Being, *Brahman*, had, according to legend, split himself into the "many," through desire. And the "many" sought to become "one" through the same desire. The importance of this point is in the notion that desire is one cosmic condition that is required both for the One and the Many, and in such a way that they reveal the basic connection of all to all: desire of desire. Events, of whatever stature, are disconnected and cannot produce anything from themselves. As can be seen in painting, sculpture, dance and myth, they already assume cosmic connections as *kamic*, playful, dynamic, and elusive.

The *Atharva Veda*, narrating the myth of Kama**,** shows the cosmic presence of *Kama*, the Divine image of Love. In the indistinguishable darkness of the primeval flood, the "life potential" came to be by its own effort, *tapas*. In it, desire, *kama* arose, the first seed of mind. The *Atharva Veda* extols *kama,* desire, who was born first, Kama, greater than the other divine images. Later tradition knows Kamadeva, Kama, to be self-existent, or born from the heart of Brahma. Kama was born an archer; his bow is made of sugarcane; with his five arrows he hits all senses. Kama is exceedingly handsome; the look of his flirtatious eyes intoxicates. His wife is *Rati,* lust and daughter *Trsna,* thirst; Brahma created Kama for the seduction of Shiva, so that the ascetic god should succumb to Parvati. Shiva was absorbed in meditation when Kama, with his arrows, drew near him. The fire of Shiva's asceticism shot forth from the great God's third eye and burned Kama to ashes. Later Shiva relented; he let the now bodiless god dwell in the heart of all beings. Thus Kama, as *arupa*, formless, dwells in every being, carrying waves of erotic torrent, torment fluttering, desirously ensuing cosmic rays of excesses.

While this may seem to be "personalized," Kama is a way of speaking to how all events are connected by the cosmic desire. Everything and everyone are forever attracted to each other by this "invisible," but inevitably felt, force. Thus the very figure of Kama is equally caught in the excessive cosmic play that involves all. In this sense, any figure is *kamically* laden, drawn by transcendence to connect and be connected, but a transcendence that is none other than the cosmos wherein all participate, including the Highest Being and all divinities and demonic figures.

In the phenomenality of *Maya* we are the citizens of the two opposites, the two spheres. On one hand, earth-bound, limited in life-strength, in virtues and consciousness, but on the other hand, a manifestation of the divine essence, which is unlimited, immortal, virtually omniscient

and all-powerful. We are mortal individuals bearing within ourselves an immortal, supra-individual nucleus. Shrouded by the limiting, individualizing stratifications of the tangible gross frame of our physical nature, and by the subtle sheaths of our animating psyche, is the self, *atman* fundamentally unaffected by the processes and activities of the conditioning layers, isolated and steeped in beatitude.[15] Without knowing it, we are immaterial, divine, exalted though also changing, subject to experiences, joys, grief, decay and rebirth. Yet this very substance appears only on the cosmic condition of *Maya*. The latter makes manifest both the one and its duality, and hence creates the ways that both can be an enigma: one and yet two, two and yet one. Indeed, this, too, is a play of *Maya*. If we were to speak in Western terms, we could say that *Maya*, as cosmic, is the transcendental condition for all appearances.

The notion of *Maya,* in its uniqueness, requires the dispelling of substantive preconceptions; it demands a cosmic awareness. It is my contention that *Maya,* in its uniqueness, reveals the aesthetic culture as a way of interpreting a civilization that can only be understood from the "cosmic side." In this sense, the Hindu civilizational understanding resists any interpretation of the cosmos as "created" by some entitative being. Indeed, all such beings are cosmic players. What I am suggesting is that if *Maya*, as a cosmic phenomenon, is regarded as an illusion hiding some ultimate and permanent reality, then my arguments imply that this very ultimate reality is another *Maya*, another way of being a depiction of the cosmos. In this sense, it becomes understandable, the interplay of the various "divinities," such that they seem to be in constant shift for "supremacy," and yet neither can attain the "ultimate" position. As ways of understanding the Indian cosmos, they too are in transition, temporal. We are attached to them and thus maintain their presence by our desire and their desire to be desired. It is neither one, nor many divinities, and yet one and many. Yet, all in all, there is a striving to achieve the highest "form" known as the *Brahman*, the Ineffable, or the Universal Soul. But what is this "soul," as if it were something to be grasped? It is immanent, within and about us, and also transcendent of the confines of momentary substantive and limited existences that assume, confines in Time and Space. He is *Nirguna*, *Arupa*, or without shape and form, and without beginning or end. In other words, it is the universe, the *Maya*, the realm of *Maya*, an impassioned *Maya*, playful, revealing and hiding its powers.

15 Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols of Indian Art and Civilization,* ed., Joseph Campbell (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946), 35–49.

To explain the pervasiveness of this concept of *Maya*, the universe in the form of a divinity, and to explain the *Brahman* there is an illuminating story in the *Chandogya Upanishad*. The story of Svetaketu's discussions on the *Brahman* with his father, Uddalaka Aruni, where the *Brahman* is also a *Maya*. When his son wanted to know where there was proof that the ineffable who is not visible has being, the father asked his son to get a fruit from the great *nyagrodha* tree (banyan tree) and to break it open. Taking one of the tiny seeds inside the fruit, he asked him to split it further. Svetaketu did not find anything inside the seed. Yet, the father explained that inside the seed, not visible to the eye, is something out of which grows the mighty Banyan tree. That same power pervades the entire universe. It may not be seen but it is present. He further asked his son to mix salt in water. After the salt dissolved he asked him to separate the salt from water. He found all parts of the water salty and could not separate water from salt; thus the father explains that just as the salt pervades every drop of water in the cup, the universal *Brahman,* breath, pervades all life. And just as the salt cannot be separated from the water, so, finally, all beings merge with the *Brahman*; they lose their individual limitations and forms, as the separate waters of rivers lose their different forms when they flow into the ocean. Individuals may dissolve into the cosmic presence, but the latter sways across and through all events and, to speak metaphorically, life itself therefore does not die. The *Maya* of the *Brahman*, the *atman,* self, merging, dissolving with the *Brahman,* the ultimate, infinite, is a spectacle and the permanence of the animating principle could be experienced as one, as the transcendent *Maya* manifesting in the phenomenal becoming of the world.

The Upanishads therefore teach us that the whole universe is a manifestation of the *Brahman* and the latter is none other than the all-pervasive *shakti,* powers, the *Maya* that are cosmic. Life, in all its forms, constitutes numerous transformations of this cosmic energy. Whatever names are assigned to it, the Universal Spirit, all pervasive life that animates all things or the ineffable, they all trace one specific mode of understanding: all limitations are constantly "delimited" by their participation in the cosmic forces, energies, and play, the *lila* of the *Maya.* Since it is *Nirguna*, or formless, the *Brahman* is not considered either male or female and is referred to by the impersonal pronoun *TAT,* meaning "That." The *Brahman* is also described as the *Satchitananda*. *Sat* is that which is always present, Being, *Chit* is pure intelligence, Consciousness, and *Ananda* is pure Bliss.[16] All meditations begin with

16 Zimmer, ***Philosophies of India,*** 372.

the words, "*OM TAT SAT,*" to remind us of the only Ultimate presence, the *Brahman*, which is the highest intelligence and supreme bliss. The reminder tells us how to release ourselves of our own limitations. We must point out that these terms of bliss, intelligence, etc., do not suggest an entity possessing "awareness of" something as epistemically given, but a recognition of the possibility of being unhinged from the substantive and fixed prejudgments into which each thing, and even ourselves, become enclosed. This unhinging releases us from our limited concerns of *Maya* and comprises bliss, which is also bliss of *Maya*.

The story of the *Brahman* mentioned previously, in which Svetaketu's discussion on the *Brahman* with his father illuminates the pervasiveness of the universe, encapsulates the concept of *Brahman-atman* and portrays the Hindu thought and belief that individuals may dissolve into the cosmic presence, but the latter sways across and through all events and, to speak metaphorically, life itself, therefore does not die. As mentioned previously, the Upanishads teach us that the whole universe is a manifestation of the *Brahman* and the latter is none other than the all-pervasive *shakti* powers that are cosmic. Life, in all its forms, constitutes numerous transformation of this cosmic energy. The *Brahman* as described before as the "*Satchitananda*" (*sat,* is Being, which is always present, *chit,* being pure intelligence, consciousness, and *Ananda* being pure Bliss). Like the butter hidden in milk is pure consciousness, *vijnanam*: the state of *atman* as *Brahman*, sheer bliss, resides in every being, it is to be constantly churned, with the mind serving as the churning rod.[17]

Sketching these texts, and like the story of the *Brahman* and the phenomenal becoming, one can experience Paget's writing of the *Brahamanic* spirit in the way he contrasts Aurobindo and Naipaul. Reading deeper into the layers of his writings, whether it is on Olatunji's artworks, Naipaul's dilemma of "dark forces," or the "area of darkness" of Naipaul's India, or Aurobindo's search of self, his exploration of the nature of the *Brahman* leads to an awareness of how the colonizer used the difference of the Other as a tool of oppression within and among nations? Are you born black or brown? Isn't it interesting that one can be accused of being too much of a particular race or too little? That one person can become the very embodiment of an entire race of people? We live in an age where the identity of the Other is to be celebrated and difference is intolerable. Despite the attempts to define and redefine the

17 Amrtabindu Upanishad, 20.

Other, and the call to eliminate differences as a social category, to be, in other words, color blind, fails, and alienation still continues to have value and purpose in our lives. The difference/Other identity operates within a very complicated web of social definitions, personal meanings, and political realities. So much of the world functions within this dynamic that the conceptualization of a free world may be neither possible nor useful, though the conceptualization of a difference as free existence is both appealing and constantly fought for. Still, bad faith lurks; there is always the question: Can I choose not to choose as I face the options? And to make sense of it all, I find myself constantly facing questions, "Who am I? What am I?" The fallacy here exists, exists even for me, me being a colonial body. Through his writings, Paget opens the door for the understanding of the root of this query, especially in the modern world. By discussing Naipaul's lens of Indian quietism, he makes us explore Naipaul's approach to Indian philosophy, bringing to light Indo-Caribbeaness, the social and political aspects of the internalized self, the devalued self.

Paget deepens our perspective of *Atman* merging with the *Brahman*, through Aurobindo's supramental phenomenology. Paget examines Aurobindo's expansive view of consciousness, his dimension of the *Brahman*, and his embrace of the *Brahmanic* unity with a hope to transform the world just as Aurobindo hoped to focus on the supramental plane to create *Satchitananda* (Sat—exists, Being, Chit—pure intelligence, consciousness, Ananda—pure bliss). By elucidating Aurobindo's contributions, Paget opens and elevates the post-colonial Indian philosophy transporting the *Brahmanic* heritage to the present, amplifying the spiritual transformation of the self.

Paget's vision, his dialogues, and discussion uncover the veils of *Maya* of the subjugated Indo- and Afro-Caribbean traditions. He opens the imprisoned world of *Maya* of the Caribbean traditions, which is entrapped in webs of "coolietization" and "niggerization." Paget brings to light in his discourse the rich world of Indo-Caribbean and Afro-Caribbean thought opening the door for us to unveil the mask of *Maya mayas*, this door is a cosmic resonance for thoughts and ideas.

Thank you Paget
For sharing your richness in the Caribbeaness, Indianness
For the flowing love of scholarly discourse
That touched and inspired all
The doors you opened with
Your lavish passion for philosophizing
For your warm coloring presence
Your gentle spirit
For Being Paget Henry
Thank you

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SANSKRIT TEXTS:

Amrtabindu Upanishad

Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad

Maitri Upanishad

RETHINKING CRITICAL THEORY THROUGH PAGET HENRY:
AFRICANA PHILOSOPHY AND THE RETURN OF SPIRIT

Drucilla Cornell

Critical theory has been in a crisis for a long while now, frequently framed as a series of oppositions; post-structuralism versus Marxism, Marxism versus normative political philosophy, critical race theory versus post-structuralism, etc. Today, in celebration of the work of Paget Henry, I want to suggest that Henry's work in Africana philosophy, and particularly his insistence on the return of Spirit as fundamental to the contribution of Africana philosophy provides a new and enriched framework for critical theory. At the heart of Henry's framework are three crucial concepts: intrasubjectivity, intersubjectivity, and creative realism. I will define each of these three, and then show how they play a crucial role in the new framework for critical theory which would also include political spirituality in the context of normative political theory.

I want to begin with Henry's understanding of the intrasubjective as primarily developed through an interpretation of the archetypical philosophy of Wilson Harris, who Henry rightfully notes is one of the most important thinkers in the Caribbean poeticist tradition. To quote Henry's own definition of the intrasubjective; "by intrasubjectivity I refer to the lateral relations of conflict and cooperation that often emerge between these multiple incarnations or personas (210)".

The intrasubjective is intimately connected to the highest aspirations of human beings to unlock the personas of ego formation so as to free ourselves to glimpse and participate in the "factory of the gods", to use Wilson Harris' beautiful expression. These multiple existential possibilities, and our identification with them as competing personas, is what underlies every human being's coming into existence as a unique individuated person. It is the work of the Okra, or soul, and it is one that is with us, not only for our entire lifetime, but will follow us into our death as we continue in the "factory of the gods" as ancestors and ancestresses. But this spiritual journey that travels with us into death is one of violence and contest because of what Harris notes as the struggle of a finite being to define its own ego boundaries and therefore to manifest his or her own uniqueness, paradoxically by identifying the self with what is actually other to it, a social role, for example, or an institution. This contest begins shortly after birth. Our earliest identifications as a walker, someone who can throw a fist, someone who can stand and shout, are our earliest personas and these personas become inscribed in

who we take ourselves to be as we develop through competing existential possibilities. We identify ourselves as singers, as athletes, as artists, as rational philosophers, as mothers, and each one of these personas gives meaning to our lives. Again paradoxically, these personas fight to exclude the others and become what Harris tells us is an ego-ideal that freezes into what he calls an ontic tautology in which we seek to make any particular identification an absolute self grounding of our very being. But, of course, we all begin in the "factory of the gods", which is what imbues us with the soul, or Okra, and which is the source of our creative striving. Yet the deep paradox is that it is precisely this creative striving which locks us into particular personas as ego-ideals which much foreclose their competitors. We then, of course, project these ideals onto institutions—a singer produces records in a recording company and identifies with her label—take Motown, for example. And these institutional structures further lock us into a limited notion of who we are and promote the forgetting of the way in which the persona singer arose from our striving to be in the world and make a place for ourselves.

But what happens in this inevitable creative striving is that we lose ourselves in what is often a violent battle between personas, and therefore forget the process of what Harris describes as a quantum transition from the creative sources from which each one of us ultimately springs. To reconnect with those creative sources, which are of course inseparable from our own striving, allows us to engage in the work of the soul that can soothe the competing personas by reminding us that each one of us is nothing more or nothing less than the multiple incarnations which are inevitable for a human subject or self that is both transported and immersed in the "factory of the gods." In Wilson Harris' later work as Henry points out, Harris emphasizes the significance of phenomenological reflection as crucial to the bracketing of the day to day so that we can create the space not only to rationally examine but to "see through" the work of contesting personas so as to develop our "imaginative literacy," again to use Harris' phrase. And thus, we can be returned to an imaginative reconnection with our originary quantum transition, to use again Harris' own language. This work of the soul is what Henry has originally called a spiritual sadhana. Henry is using a Hindu word in part because he is writing for a Caribbean audience with a large Hindu population. A spiritual sadhana is an undertaking never to be completed as we return to the spirit of the "factory of the gods." A spiritual sadhana allows for a profound and deep reconciliation through imaginative literacy of our quantum transitions and gives us

a chance at reconciling our competing personas. Phenomenological reflection becomes particularly important in the later Harris as we in neoliberal capitalism and imperialism become increasingly caught up in the archetype Faust, redone through Harris' Caribbean reinterpretation of this archetype in his novel *The Infinite Rehearsal*.

It is important to make two points here. We are all called to a spiritual sadhana no matter what our upbringing or our intersubjective relations. We can have the best parents in the world, a sterling career, a profound commitment to revolutionary struggle, and we will still find ourselves locked in and caught up in the struggle between contending personas. It is how we as self-conscious beings arise in the work of the "factory of the gods." In his writing on C.L.R. James for example, Henry shows us that James himself actually wrote about the way his own personas, between the earlier poetic writer and the later socialist Trotskyite seemed to be incompatible with one another. It was only by returning to Hegel, and reworking Hegel, that James finds his way to creative realism and a return to his own poeticist beginning that allows for a much more profound reconciliation of his contending personas.

The phrase spiritual sadhana is Henry's own and it is a rich and original interpretation of what is at stake in the poeticist contribution to critical theory broadly construed. I would argue here, and I am convinced that Henry would agree with me, that the spiritual sadhana could also be, depending on one's spiritual guides, a spiritual Sharia or a spiritual engagement of the Orishas of the Yoruba religion. What is crucial is that one engage in the intrasubjective realm and recognize the inevitable conflict that comes about through the development of competing personas. The spiritual sadhana is the first way in which Henry returns spirit to critical theory and is crucial to his entire argument about the importance of Africana philosophy in helping us to not only rethink but to come up with creative new solutions to the political crises of our time.

Key to Henry's work is the distinction between the intrasubjective and intersubjective. I will emphasize that there are two aspects of the intersubjective. The first, through Henry, offers us a very broad definition of critical theory. The second is what I am going to call an ethical/ontological theory of transindividuality, which in South Africa, at least, is known as uBuntu. Henry's recent emphasis on the spiritual sadhana as the highest stage of ethical development in no way undermines his commitment to critical theory, the rethinking of socialism, and what it might mean to reorganize the economy. For Henry following the early

Habermas, critical theory, when it moves at the level of the intersubjective, analyzes the blockages to self-formation that the early Marx referred to as alienation. The early Habermas defined critical theory very broadly as institutional and intersubjective relations that blocked the transparency of the process of self and collective making of our shared world. It is this Habermas, not the later Habermas of communicative rationality, that has influenced Henry's thinking of critical theory. Under this broad definition, Marxism, psychoanalysis, critical race theory, decolonizing theory, and feminist theory, would all be part of a rich and comprehensive critical theory because all add to an understanding of the blockages of self and collective making under the conditions of advanced capitalism with its inevitable connection to imperialism.

In his writing on political economy, however, Henry never denies the contribution of the later Marx in Capital, but he clearly rejects the idea that Marxism should ever become the science of dialectical materialism as it did in the Third International. Dialectical materialism claimed that it was truth once and for all, a proclamation by its own definition that would go against Wilson Harris' poeticist notion of human existence as an "infinite rehearsal," and thus would actually move Marxism away from its embrace of a much more expansive vision of critical theory. These variegated, and yet necessary, analyses of self and collective blockage are not in competition with one another. For Henry, what we think of as trauma, including the trauma of colonialism itself, should be understood as an intersubjective, rather than an intrasubjective, blockage. Addiction to alcohol, to drugs, and to other forms of self destructive behavior are part of the intersubjective, not the intrasubjective. Even living under James' socialist society of workers' control, all of us would be called to a spiritual sadhana.

I now want to turn to another aspect of the intersubjective which I am referring to as an ethical/ontological notion of transindivuality. The idea is that we are all part of an affective field of relationality, in and through which we come to individuate ourselves. In the Xhosa language the expression is "umuntu gmuntu gbanta." This expression is often translated as "I am because you are." But in the Xhosa language the expression is active and would be better translated as "I am only because we are together and supporting one another," and therefore provides us with ontological understanding of why it is only in solidarity that we can ensure our mutual flourishing. UBuntu is ethical in that solidarity implies obligation so that we ensure each other's flourishing and therefore it is not surprising that in South Africa today the phrase has

been connected with the word revolution. UBuntu is also the basis for what Stephen Seeley and I have referred to as political spirituality. The word spirit now plays out in two senses. The first is that self reflection on our transindividuality opens us to how we are inevitably pulled out of ourselves to be part of a broader ethical world. In this way it is a principal of transcendence, and one that allows us to see through the false illusion of certain notions of an ontologically rooted individual. The spiritual sadhana, uBuntu and other Africana philosophical conceptions of transindividuality should not be collapsed into one another as Henry tells us even as they are crucial to the rich and expansive notion of critical theory that Henry has been developing throughout a lifetime of work.

I now want to connect political spirituality as the subjective component of what Henry calls creative realism. To quote Henry on creative realism: "Its point of departure is the affirming of the spontaneous self-organizing creativity by which the human self projects its identity and the worlds that are correlated with it. While possessed of inner dynamics, this creativity is also one that moves in response to modern aporias and zones of nonbeing that threaten its desire for integrity and wholeness. Ontologically speaking, creative realism assumes the primacy of this type of self-formative creativity. However, this does not imply any final or absolute claims for the products of such creativity. Thus, it is a decentered metaphysics in which different perspectives are temporarily allowed to occupy the position of "center". In this sense, the improvisational orders established by creative realism are not the hierarchical ones of spiritual metaphysics. These improvisational responses to the hermeneutic challenges of modernity have been best expressed in the African American music genre of jazz (52)."

I have written that political spirituality is the subjective aspect of creative realism. But creative realism also, following Henry's reinterpretation of James' work on Hegel and ontology, is not just how we humans self reflexively come to understand that our own conceptions of truth, our ego-ideals, our fetishized concepts of institutions, are part and parcel of our own creative struggle to make a place for ourselves in the world. Creative realism can be understood as an ontology. As ontology, creative realism engages all that is, as motion relation and a process of becoming. James' own understanding of what Henry has named creative realism grew out of his reading of Hegel's *Science of Logic*. Creative realism, broadly understood to have both a subjective and objective component is what allows for political spirituality to thrive, and this then is the second way in which spirit is returned to metaphysics and ontology.

Normative political philosophy, as is well known, is often not only distinguished from critique defined through bad interpretation of Foucault, but also is used to reject the idea of any affirmative, normative political philosophy. In Henry, however, creative realism is crucial to rethinking what normative political philosophy might mean in postcolonial Africa and, more broadly, what it might mean to live beyond the tragic legacy of colonization. Henry, with typical originality, rethinks the crisis in the post-colony. As he shows us in his work on Africana political philosophy, African chiefdoms and nations prior to colonization created a convergence between the ideals of the self, the "I", and the "We" of the chiefdom or state. In other words, the subjective aspect of the "I" and the "We" not only needs to converge, this convergence needs to be manifested in the institutions of the state so that the core values of the first person "I" and the first person "We" of the nation state are affirmed in their complementarity. There are a number of ways in which African chiefdoms and nation states according to Henry were able to achieve this convergence. One profound way was that the roots of the organized institutional structure could be found in what Henry called spiritocratic forms of organization. As he explains, kings or monarchs did not rule simply through an assertion of their power, they did so as conduits of the gods and goddesses and it was this shared recognition of the spirituality of the leaders that allowed the "We" and the "I" to be coordinated so as to achieve political stability.

Capitalism and colonization, of course, rip apart the spiritocratic basis of African chiefdoms and nations through the racialization of the people who belonged to these great kingdoms. Under colonialism there are no longer African peoples identified with their chiefdoms or nations, instead they are reduced to the black other. In his analysis of Fanon, Henry then argues that the black man or woman of colonialism who "wears the white mask" has been alienated from the very Africana philosophy and metaphysics that could be used to rethink the spirit in political philosophy beyond the destruction of colonialism. This is one reason why, for Henry, philosophy has never been more important in trying to move beyond the political crisis of the postcolony.

As we have seen, for Henry, Africana philosophy has developed both historicist and poeticist dimensions, and both are crucial to the rethinking of revolution and the possibility of constituting a revolutionary government. For Henry, of course, the historicists have long shown us that capitalism and colonization inherently block creative self-formation and therefore we need to try to grapple with what socialism would look

like as an organization of the economy. But given what Henry has told us about the importance of spirit in Africana philosophy, and with spirit the self reflective capabilities of this philosophy, we can engage philosophically with the challenges of the postcolony. In other words, Africana philosophy has never been more politically important.

For Henry then, the project of normative political philosophy is the creation of subjective universals that allow all of us to grasp that the multiplication of identities is part of the deeper process of self formation integral to both the intrasubjective and intersubjective, as well as what I have called the transindivuality of uBuntu and other Africana conceptions that are similar to it. This grasp then of what Henry calls new subjective universals would also be achieved through comprehending how we are always already ethically and ontologically in this together. Secondly, for Henry, we need to grasp politics itself as a humanistic endeavor. Political action so understood is one form of collective creativity, which at the same time enhances all the participants in their own process of self-formation. Revolutionary politics must embrace both philosophically and practically what Henry has called creative realism. Through creative realism we come to both understand and participate in making this world together and it is through this creative participation that we find yet new practices of being human together. Even the best theorist, at least one who undertakes the spiritual sadhana to which Henry calls us, will know that his or her theory is incomplete and that there are always new ways of being together that those of us born under capitalist exploitation can only dream about. Henry then, has given us an entirely new framework for critical theory and it is one that includes spiritual sadhana, the distinction between the intersubjective and intrasubjective, the rethinking of the relationship between critical analysis and creative transindividuality, and a new way of conceiving normative political theory through the resources of Africana philosophy, both to help us analyze the crisis of the postcolony and point us to a new way of examining why and how we can begin to rethink and re-articulate subjective universals. As Henry has profoundly argued, the crisis of the postcolony in Africa demands that we rethink the general will so as to allow for a new convergence of the "We" and the "I" in institutions that would be worthy of a revolutionary government. Critical theory cannot be the same after the work of Paget Henry, and that is all to the good. By bringing Africana philosophy to the burning issues of our time, and particularly through Henry's defense of spirit as crucial to Africana philosophy, he has created a completely new framework for critical theory. We are in his debt.

WORDS OF THANKS: RESPONSES TO 70TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRANTS PAGET HENRY

Donna Mitchell

Donna, Donna Edmonds Mitchell, it is just right that you should open these celebrations! How in prose can I say, "thank you", for this poetic and ever so spiritual reading of me. Philosophical reason feels heavy and clumsy at this moment—unable to ascend the ethereal heights or reach the poetic depths from which this poem comes into our world. Thank you for the joy and light that it brings. It truly was great having you at my 70th birthday celebrations and hearing you read this poem. I was particularly moved, and still am, by the image of "souls on journeys into the unknown". That movement towards the infinite, the boundless, transcending, without rejecting, the needed ego structures that make us Native American, Caribbean or African—that is what spirituality is all about. This boundless spirituality pervades your poem, which comes from a place inside you, where such intimations of the infinite live. Thanks for your many years in our Africana Studies department, for your contributions to *The CLR James Journal*, and may the tides of those intimations of the boundless stay with you.

Elaine Henry-Olaoye

Thanks for this evocative marking of the wonderful gathering of scholars, who came together to celebrate my 70th. Thanks for honoring this event and me with your poetic voice. In doing so, you have certainly captured the philosophical journey on which I have been traveling. At the center of this journey has indeed been the work, *Caliban's Reason*. And you have rightly made it the center of this expansive poem about my intellectual endeavors. Thanks for joining in this "feast on the fruits of *Caliban's Reason*, and all that it has unveiled.

In celebrating this unveiling in such a distinctly poetic mode, and also through the many other poems that you have contributed to *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*, you have certainly helped the growth and maturing of what in 2007, Edgar Lake called the "nascent aspects of an Antiguan literary heritage". Like Caribbean philosophy, this heritage had also been made invisible by colonialism and racism, and thus in need of its own unveiling. As you know, it was Edgar's declaration regarding this heritage that prompted me to launch our *Review*. So thanks for your contributions to this Antiguan unveiling, which must be seen as an integral part of the larger Afro-Caribbean unveiling.

Speaking of this larger Afro-Caribbean unveiling, this and your many other poems have certainly helped to make more visible the school of philosophy that I have called Caribbean poeticism/historicism. As your poems clearly demonstrate, Caribbean poeticism is deeply inscribed in the compositional codes of its twin—Caribbean historicism. They were joined at the hip by the experiences of slavery, colonialism, and racism. Your poem, "On Becoming an African American", from *Passions of My Soul*, and also your poem in this volume, "Reflections on Margo Davis' *Antigua Photographs 1967–73*", reflect this central theme of *Caliban's Reason*.

However, there is a theme in your poeticism that makes it quite unique. That theme is the tension between poeticism and scientism. The exploration of this theme in Caribbean poeticism is indeed quite rare compared to the tension with its twin, Caribbean historicism. However, as a practicing psychologist, you have had to engage and explore this particular tension. In doing so, you have made a rare contribution to the very unveiling that is the guiding theme of your poem. In this rather rare effort of exploring the relations between Caribbean poeticism and scientism, the other work that comes to mind is, *The Natures of Science* by the Jamaican physicist, Neville McMorris. So my sister, thanks for joining these two important unveilings—that of the smaller Antiguan literary heritage and the larger Afro-Caribbean philosophical one.

Linda Martin Alcoff

Linda, how good it has been sharing and exchanging philosophical ideas with you over the years! But this one is special. It is such a delicate sketch, done with light strokes that say so much—both about me and also about you. Thanks for this portrait that captures so well the contrapuntal play between sociology and philosophy in my intellectual development. I really did see them as working together, and still do. Particularly since the financial crisis of 2008, my interest in the political economy of development has been rising. As you so rightly point out, I tend to respond to such demands coming from particular places and times. My goal in this area has been to bring together a sociological and a philosophical critique of the discursive foundations of market economics, particularly as they operate in regions like Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. But I have not achieved that yet. You can get a clearer sense of where I want to go with this from the second half of my paper in this volume.

However, when I look at the growing field of "institutional economics" as developed by Douglass North, Joseph Stiglitz and others, I can see quite clearly the sociological side of this critique. I also see a striking convergence between their proposals for reform and those of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) that came out of the work of Raul Prebisch and other structuralist/dependency theorists. We need to add to these sociological analyses, existential and ethical analyses of the entrepreneurial subject, along with transcendental critiques of the discourses of market economics that often legitimate their practices. So there is still another contrapuntal move between sociology and philosophy that I must complete.

I must confess that in spite of working in several disciplines, I never thought of myself as a renaissance man. I was just trying to, like CLR James and Tim Hector, who were my role models. They made it look so easy and also the right thing to do. But coming from you, I will certainly take this portrait of me as a renaissance man. I will take it, as you know well the blind leap into new terrain when I started writing philosophy. In addition to finding myself a developmental sociologist without a practice, there was also that business of not being able to convince the philosophy department at Brown to join me in hiring Lewis Gordon, when I was chair of Africana Studies. So you will have to add that to your "thank you" list along with neoliberalism.

I certainly remember the interview with you for Neplanta. For me it was a very special acceptance into the field of philosophy. So thanks for that, for your early appreciation of *Caliban's Reason*, for your strong support of the Caribbean Philosophical Association and *The CLR James Journal*. You have been a great fellow traveller, and a delightful member of my "church".

James Manigault-Bryant

Reflections, reflections, wonderful reflections! Reflections within reflections, reflections within life-journeys, and life-journeys that are embedded within life-journeys. James, this is a complex but absolutely delightful paper, which moves through sociology, philosophy, religion and spirituality with graceful ease. With equal grace and ease, your paper also moves through your life-journey and mine, interweaving them in profound, interesting and revealing ways. Thanks for that amazing return and walk through my 1996 graduate seminar on the sociology of culture and development. Wow, over twenty years ago! No wonder I am 70. It was a real pleasure.

As you outlined the path of your own intellectual and professional development, I was particularly intrigued by the section, "Southern Shadows". It highlighted a phase in your development that I was not fully acquainted with. The section not only showed some of the clear parallels between the Caribbean and the American South as post-plantation regions, but also made more explicit some of the newer turns in your own work. Yes, in my essay, "The Caribbean Plantation", I really should have footnoted Charles Johnson. Indeed, it was there in an earlier version of the paper. I am now quite disturbed that it got edited out.

Your work on the Tellevast community in Florida is a fine contribution to the study of post-plantation societies and communities. The parallels between Antigua and Tellevast that you point out are indeed quite striking. Most notable are the patterns of rise and fall as the interests and fortunes of private companies wax and wane. The disruption and devastation that accompany these capitalist waves and the legacies of racism they leave behind are indeed major social and developmental issues yet to be adequately addressed.

On subjects like this, I think that you will find very interesting the work of a recent graduate from your old department, Dr. Karida Brown. She is now an assistant professor of sociology at UCLA, and has done both extensive and intensive fieldwork in the black mining town of Lynch in the Appalachian region of Eastern Kentucky.

But even more important for you is the impact of all this modern commodification and rationalization on the religious and spiritual lives of Black communities like Tellevast. Even more specifically, the experiences of being called in the lives and careers of Black ministers. Particularly in the case of Tellevast, this must have an even more personal significance for you. The good news here is that in spite of the commodification of just about everything else, there are no signs yet of the commodification or rationalization of spirit. Its infinite and boundless nature continues to overflow and make obsolete all of the categories with which we try to capture and contain it. Your engagement with spirit has indeed been an engaging journey, out of which have come the wonderful reflections you incorporated into this paper. Thanks for including me.

Susan Lowes

Memories, field notes, and more memories! Susan, there can be no doubt now about your ethnographic commitments and capabilities. This little and very charming essay constitutes the definitive proof!

Speaking of unobtrusive methods of social science research, I never suspected that I was in your field notes. At the time, I was probably too caught up in being a sociologist to think that you would be including me in your field notes. I was busy gathering statistics, some which I had to tally myself. It was also very good that the head of the department of statistics at the time was my physics teacher at the Antigua Grammar School, Ms. Cicely Lyn. She trusted me completely and I shared some of my results with her. My work on the Court House records, well, that really took me back. I had not thought of them or that particular research adventure in decades!

Thanks for this generous chronicling of my efforts at organizing intellectual and political communities in Antigua and Barbuda, and also in the diaspora. But even more, thanks for your strong and steady support of the Antigua and Barbuda Studies Association, and also of our journal, *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*. It has been great having you along as a fellow traveller. And yes, you can keep including me in your field notes.

Ashmita Khasnabish

Ashmita or Aurobindo in the present! Thank you for being a part of this wonderful celebration and this joyous gathering. What a delightful birthday gift! This is such a clear and elegant account of the growth and development of your thought with a very generous description of my place in it. That description I certainly consider an honor.

I certainly remember our many conversations about Aurobindo, Freud, Lacan and Kincaid in relation to the nature of ego transcendence. Those were a lot of fun and also very enlightening. However, I don't think I fully realized the extent to which they were shaping the development of your thought and your writing. It was evident that you knew the Aurobindo and the Brahmanic tradition much better than me, so I was more aware of what I was learning. But whatever the contributions I was making in the course of these conversations, you have certainly made them clearer in this essay of yours. Reading it, I often thought of James Bryant's essay. Like you, he wrote very elegantly of his intellectual journey, and included my place in it. Both of you have been so very generous. And although I may not have been fully aware of all that was taking place in our conversations, it has been wonderful being a part of your journey and the great books that have come out of it.

I must say special thanks for contributing to my efforts to bring the Indian and Caribbean philosophical traditions closer together. You probably have not fully realized the significance of your contributions to this project that has been so close to both my mind and heart. So it is important that I say it right here. Thanks for your support of *The CLR James Journal* and *The Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*, and also for reviewing my book on the art of Mali Olatunji. Your Brahmanic reading of Kincaid has been very important in this regard. Linking specifically Antigua and India in this very philosophical way has really helped to concretize these relations even more, and thus motivated me to continue with this project of bringing these two traditions closer together. With this project, both you and Rekha have been very helpful.

Rekha Menon

Rekha, the dancing philosopher! Thanks so much for you appreciation and support of my efforts at bringing Afro-Caribbean and Indo-Caribbean philosophy into living and ongoing conversations. Yes, I too remember meeting you at that very first coming together of the Caribbean Philosophical Association in Barbados. What a gathering! It had so much promise and excitement that something good had to come out of it. And now all these years later we are still having wonderful exchanges of aesthetic and philosophical ideas as we continue to attend each other's conferences. It really was a pleasure to be able to welcome someone from India at that first meeting of the Association, and I am glad that it was you!

Your gift for my 70th is another one of our delightful exchanges. It is a wonderful elaboration of key concepts within the Brahmanic tradition from an aesthetic perspective. I am sure you knew I would love it. Your aesthetic elaboration not only resonated with my more ontological approach to this tradition, but really helped to confirm and deepen my understanding of this important heritage. Particularly helpful for me were your treatments of the concepts of desire, love and *maya*, which have been largely absent from my accounts. These I will now have to pay closer attention to.

Also important and very engaging for me was your elaboration of the concept of Rasa as the animating energy and proximate ground out of which art is created, and its place in the larger field of Indian aesthetics. This concept links art indirectly to originary cosmic forces and rhythms, and also to the dynamic patterns in the lifecycles of these foundational

forces. Being rooted in these cosmic forces is the condition that brings the values of goodness, beauty, infinitude, silence and beatitude into the realm of art as frames, themes, ideals or norms. Your account of Rasa and its many connections really made the concept come alive and, thus for me, clearer and more memorable than Coomaraswamy's in his, *The Dance of Siva*. Also, the movement of Rasa through the *gunas* of *tamas*, *rajas* and *sattwa* was very important for me, as these are concepts that I use extensively in my accounts of the Brahmanic conception of the human self. However, I never really linked them to aesthetics, or saw the depth of their connection to concrete artistic production, until your highly illuminating account. Such a nice insight to get! What more could I ask for on my 70th birthday?

Before I conclude this response, I must also thank you for the vote of confidence that you gave to my first foray into your field of the visual arts. It truly was another of my leaps into unknown territory that could have dropped me in the river between sociology and visual art, rather than making it across. As I indicated in the book, *The Art of Mali Olatunji*, I just loved the photographs and trusted my instincts that my good friend, Mali, was onto something here. Knowing your aesthetic eye, your appreciation means a lot. Finally, I must say a very special thank you, for attending the meeting of the Caribbean Philosophical Association in Trinidad and doing those classic Indian dances along with presenting. We will keep the conversations going!

Drucilla Cornell

Drucilla, Drucilla! What a pleasure it has been sharing and exchanging philosophical and political ideas with you over the years! Whether it has been about some theme in *Caliban's Reason*, Wilson Harris, the concept of the vertical drama of ego consciousness, or that of the critical sadhana, your contributions have always been truly substantive. As Cornel West has noted, you are one of the few philosophers who continue to write and think in the classic mode. Further, you have been deeply involved in African philosophy and also have been such a strong supporter of the Caribbean Philosophical Association. You have incorporated themes from my work into your books, such as *Symbolic Forms for a New Humanity*, *Law and Revolution in South Africa*, and *The Spirit of Revolution*. Over the years, I have commented on these books, which have made such substantive contributions to the renewing of critical theory. I have learned so much from these engagements, which have given me new appreciations of thinkers I had inadequately understood.

Your treatment of Ernst Cassirer in *Symbolic Forms*, and of Martin Heidegger in *Law and Revolution* come immediately to mind. These were for me eye-opening and mind-expanding works. So thanks for all of these wonderful exchanges.

With these carefully crafted reflections on the occasion of my 70th, you have taken our engagements to a whole new level. You have succeeded in pushing me to complete a set of philosophical arguments that I have been promising to undertake for some time. These are the arguments related to my efforts at preserving the legacy of African spirituality in the modern period, and bringing it into a mutual engagement with contemporary critical theory. So I hope you were pleased with my lecture on the critical aspects of spiritual sadhanas that I did for your lecture series with Souleyman Bachir Diagne on "Burning Issues in African Philosophy" at Columbia University. My focus there was less on the spirituality of sadhanas, and more on the precise manner in which we can put them in conversation with the various forms of contemporary critical theory. So thanks for that push. I think I took those arguments one step further.

With regard to the nature of spiritual sadhanas and what is distinctive about them, your extremely insightful essay has captured with great precision and conceptual clarity the particular set of ideas that I have been trying to develop. In particular, you and I are now on the same page in regard to the connections between intra-subjective conflicts and the spirituality of sadhanas. Further we are also on the same page regarding the reflections of these connections in the work of Wilson Harris. Further still, after my Columbia talk. I hope that we are on the same page with the reflections of these vital connections between intra-subjectivity and spirituality in the Adinkra theory of the human self.

This time around, I really got your point regarding Ubuntu and its connections with the spiritual work of sadhanas. If I understood you correctly, Ubuntu represents the ethical/ontological journey of the trans-individual "We", which must accompany the corresponding journey of the individual "I". As the latter is subject to interruptions that must be unblocked through self-reflection, the same is true of the former. In other words, the two processes of self-transformation belong within the categorical framework of a spiritual sadhana. This collective dimension then leads to your concept of political spirituality, and from there to the possibilities of normative political theory.

Last but by no means least, in creating this spiritual geneology of normative political theory, I think that you have definitely expanded the concept of creative realism – stretching it in interesting and very useful political directions. As you suggested, "political spirituality is the subjective aspect of creative realism". The latter is not just how we humans self-reflexively come to understand that our own conceptions of truth, our ego ideals, our fetishized conceptions of institutions are part and parcel of our own creative struggle to make a place for ourselves in the world. These are collective and institutional extensions of the more poeticist framing of the notion of creative realism for which I must say a heartfelt "thank you".

POETRY

REFLECTIONS ON MARGO DAVIS' *ANTIGUA PHOTOGRAPHS 1967-1973*

The sufficient and commanding majesties,
The brooding beauty and haunting images
Of the captured blacks, grays and varied whites…
The economical, the effective use of shadows and shapes of light…
The comprehensible complexity of the tones and shades…
Some details of the fullness of human presence portrayed on a generous size of page.
Such are the chosen and compelling photographic techniques applied, not only
To Antiguan landscapes, beaches, seas and skies
But to longings, joys, sadness, satisfactions, struggles etched on faces
Caught in expressions of people, confident in their ability to work,
To cope, with the changing challenges
That come from working with colonial politics and the earth
From planting, growing and harvesting potatoes, peanuts, mangoes, cutting sugar cane…
To bringing up children, as well as their budding hopes and dreams,
Helping them make the most of their limbs, their eyes, their attitudes, their smiles…
And not always being overcome by the material limitations that characterize their lives.

Some need more, some survive on less,
Some seem to have lost the concept, the experience, of enough
Some insist that greed is a necessary, a most important need,
Others observe how misguided many can be indeed…

Turning the generous and perfectly framed pages of Davis' magnificent opus,
One comes face to face with the resolute determination
In the eyes of the "Young Man from Liberta Village, 1970"
Or the "Cane Worker at Rest, 1970" the trajectory of their eyes
Speak to youth that are ready to respond to challenges that life have thrown them
Confident that their strength and ambitions will not forsake them.

The poised akimbo postures, the easy grace of the five
"Carrying Home Mangoes 1970", in late afternoon,
Display a joy, and levels of satisfaction and fulfillment, that
Embody poses and postures which, if runaway models adopted them,
Their careers, their presence could grow and thrive.

The two page spread of barefoot gatherings on
"Bolans Steps,1967" and "Selling Potatoes on Bolans Steps 1967",
Speak to a variety of expressed emotions that reveal a patience,
A presence of longings, hope, joy, and curiosity immortalized on these faces…
Expressions that may not, would not be outmatched by expressions in the grand paintings
Of wealthy plantation owners reigning over their ill gotten possessions in their lavish mansions.

The captured honesty and strength of expressions
On the Bolans steps, pay tribute to a level of confidence
That bears still more testimony to the human ability to wrestle and triumph,
Despite material deprivation and the economic disdain expressed by widespread financial maleficence.

Davis's images are embraceable in their honesty, in their humanity
In their strength, in the unique manner in which they demonstrate the defiance
Of the dark intentionality of colonial malevolence.
The images speak to the many manifestations of an indomitable power of the human spirit…
But the images also speak to the burdens of excess
The failure, the foolhardiness of the relentless modern marketing, of more
And more and more in an attempt to sustain a vain pursuit of consumer based happiness.

Relaxing, lounging with the barefoot folk on the Bolan steps
One can experience a response to relative poverty,
The value of a form of a type of humility…
One can soak in a naked beauty of life
Take in the depth, the sanctity the completeness
Of a hard but well earned place of rest.

But one can turn from that moment and experience a visioning
In the eyes of the "Young Antiguan Beauty in the White Scarf, 1970"
Or fall gently into the pathos and feel the deep, deep sadness of the "Bendall's Girl with Bucket, 1970"

But do not depart without looking into the eyes and breathing in the spirit,
The grace, the wisdom of one of Antigua's greatest sages the "Rev. George A. Weston 1970".
A gentleman, a patriarch, an educator, in all of the best senses and ways, of each word.

Silence is the ground, the vast ocean of all that cannot and is not said.
Here in lies a great deal of the power, the impact of this medium, the photograph.
The calm but sharp eye, that meets one's gaze as it beholds George A. Weston's finely lit features,
The pursed lips, exercising with deliberate care, the elegant bearded features,
As they offer a gentle challenge but also the possibility of a smile,
Captures much of the unstated dreams, the silence of Antiguans during this time.
To those receptive to this Antiguan moment,
The confidence and the possibilities of a future come from the silence.
The road ahead, barely visible, is not without great struggle
But not without strength.

Words can be an event, sometimes they make changes, sometimes they shed great light,
They can redefine…

The frank forms of human presence addressed in Davis's opus speak multitudes…
They embody an articulate silence, a complexity yet a simplicity of vision
That convey a receivable knowledge that speaks over time.

So set aside my words
And engage each presence, each pair of eyes
And receive from the silence
What in that moment
Is yours to see, to feel and receive.

Elaine Henry Olaoye
April 1-2, 2017

AN EVOLUTION OF REVOLUTION

Lenin Jeffers

Who brought me here? I did not ask to be born
they have famines of love and harvests of scorn
a land filled with superfluous woes caused by foolish foes
a feast for the grim reaper and his cacophonous crows
I need some answers, an antidote, an abracadabra, but nobody knows
a tree starts as a seed in the darkness of soil maybe that's how I'm sown
Who brought me here to live under their laws?
First class, second class, third class, no class citizen laws
laws to capital punish
stoned a woman in Saudi Arabia yet no one seems to be astonished
governments drop bombs on third class scum that kill women and children with no place to run
casualties of war, an innocent mom, her little girl, and her son, but that's ok they were poor, a.k.a. no class scum
Who brought me here, and tried to cover my eyes with wool?
It takes my breath away when I see sheep keep voting for wolves
born into this sickness, I've contracted their virus
eyes wide open, enlightened, I can see clearly now the infection was in my iris
Who brought me here swaddled in black Caribbean male? A third world, third class citizen
did you think I would defeat the odds, rise up and change the world like some ancient prophecy that was written?
I kiss my teeth, I swear, I said I want to know who set me up to fail?
They give me an ancient book edited by a King named James instead of nurturing my potential with a little wind in my sails
I never liked that book never believed all its hype and rave
later on in life I learned that same King James bought slaves.
Who brought me here? You lied, I'm not a color, therefore I cannot be black
how they have the audacity of associating me with any color, especially one considered to be whack
take color off applications, have a grown up conversation, instead of all this frivolous chit and chat
you see me and you instantly yoke my lineage to a slave, like I am from Kunta Kinte's scrotum sack
well let me inform you, I am much greater than that, I'm organic, biohologra phic, purer than what comes from between a cow's gluteus crack

wonder why I metaphored that? Once upon a time and even now some humans are considered to be worth less than crap
look at us right now, the one per centers and their senators are still cracking the whip across our skinless, scabbed up, sorry backs
Who brought me here? Where despots thrive and breed despair
too much to bear, I'm having Native American necromantic nightmares
pilgrimed to America, and drowned in the curse of their blood, sweat, and tears
Happy Thanksgiving, sorry I meant to say thanks for giving while they stood at the end of musket barrels in fear
you think it's not your problem, and you may be of a different ethnic, so you do not care
colonialism knows no border, has no boundaries, so it's in your atmosphere
now raise your hand if you too have been looked down upon, downtrodden, oppressed, wronged and given no right
they see you as a savage too, not human so they keep you in the night to keep you from your light
when I say they I mean the real savages, anyone who exploit the meek
physically, mentally, and completely they obliterate the weak
too scared to speak their silence testified
if systems are rigged we must rise up, to win what's right the world must be unified
You don't believe me? We have been complacently watching the Syrian six year genocide
wipe away your tears and bellow a thunderous war cry
this earth is our paradise there is no other place beyond the sky
forget black and white or who's Gentile or Jew
it does not matter, people think I'm a Christian, but I have an atheistic view
Who brought me here into this hypocrisy? For rich to exist there has to be poor
yet governments declare wars on poverty then get caught with destitute's whores raping her bounties on foreign lands for golden scores
they claim we are just helping our fellow man, it's not what it seems, don't believe them and their political witch hunt campaign scam
the only scam is for us to believe them that there is no other way, no better plan
these leaders need a wake-up call with a massive battering ram
here's a simple plan, no more politicians and their policies, no more currencies, no more barter, just compassion and looking out for each other man to man

Who brought me here without my permission?
You gave me no guidance, no weapons of peace, and not even a mission
I need some help, please ring the alarm
I'm not a citizen of injustice and war, just peace and some calm
Who brought me here? My curiosity increase
this world needs a remedy before they unleash the final beast
autonomous cars and we are visiting stars
yet poverty's fall is still too far
we cannot compete with the power of greed, the power of want, and the power of need
we can solve all needs without charging fees
we have enough resources for compassionate deeds
globalization is the wrong equation it's just a reincarnation of colonization
violent frustrations still plagues every nation because the poor remains in stagnation
we are the teachers, physicians, and farmers, we have the power, we are the solution
something must give, a new resolution, a Utopic conclusion, an evolution of revolution

A POEM:
(For those who thought 1979 the year of Antigua's Revolution)

I thought then the revolution
was near.
Soon to force through
the thick of teargas
or still rise,
after bloodied
by the police's baton.

When the students struck their fist
towards the sky as if to break rain clouds
and the actors played out all its
parts on stage
while the poets captured in words its rage,
the revolution seemed nearer
than the long anticipated coming of Jah.

I had no reason to doubt
the revolution's nearness
for in earnest,
the workers and teachers
appeared eager to master the rising, political tide
like surfers,
mastering a high, folding wave
fixed in their assuredness
that the turbulent sea
would not their grave be.

Nearby, in the Isle of Spice
The young adorned a positive flair;
To all, the sweet scent of revolution
was always present in the morning air.
And far way
in distant places,
people sensed something new was in the offering
in the instant the stranger
became a Communard, a Brother or Sister.

The revolution never came.
Between rage and fear Antiguans remained
like our ancestors
trapped in the unsettling condition
of being neither in slavery nor freedom
even though the condition of freedom
always contain the option to choose.

Alvette (Ellorton) Jeffers

A SERMON ON DEATH

Death is omnipresent.
It mingles with Royalty
hobnobs with the Bourgeoisie
ingratiates itself with the Peasantry
and entices the desperate Coal Miner.
Death marvels at the Grave Digger,
whose act affirms his own mortality.
Death is amused by our boast.
It pities our self- indulgence,
while mocking our perpetual aggrandizing.
Our appetite for this
transient life it derides.
Death is omnipotent.
It's is embedded in a cyclone.
Infused in a nuclear missile.
It cloaks itself in the fury of a hurricane.
Becomes a host in the mind of a Suicide Bomber
or the Government's Drone Operator.
Death is opportunistic
and, sometimes, wears a camouflage.
It is the person in the military uniform.
The Cop on the block.
The Doctor in a hospital
dispensing palliative care.
Your Husband/Wife,
whose voice is the last you hear at night.
The lover you romanced
on a perfumed, scented silk sheet.
The stranger you befriended on

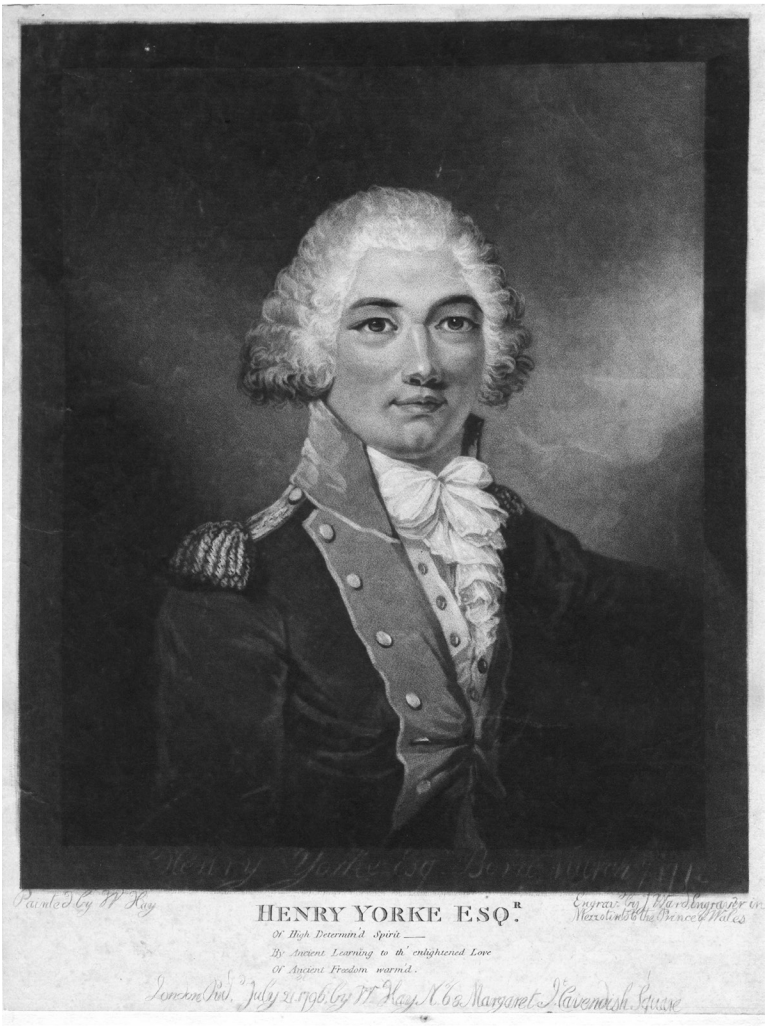
a neon lit street.
Death bemuses.
It ridicules our grave side theatrics
as a bad act. Even superfluous.
Our agony?
It treats it as mere self-pity
masking selfishness, a loss of meaning
foreshadowing our personal quandary.
Death precedes transfiguration
and reconfiguration.
It is life's conduit.
Death allows that which is decayed to
sustain other life forms

on which, in the end, death feeds.

Death was, is and will be.

Alvette (Ellorton) Jeffers

FEATURE ESSAYS



HENRY REDHEAD YORKE

With Permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

BARBUDA, HENRY REDHEAD YORKE, AND THE FIELD OF ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA STUDIES

Edgar O. Lake

Henry Redhead* was born on Barbuda in 1772, the son of an enslaved African mother—Sarah Bullock. He was, then, the younger of two (illegitimate) sons she bore for a prominent plantation-owner, Samuel Redhead, Esq.[1]

Later, as Henry Redhead (Yorke), he would cut a striking London figure and, became one of the most noted political thinkers of 18th century England.

His contributions are woven into many of the political ideas that survived into the 21st century;[2] his trial—about which I will say more—was a political sensation;[3] even the provenance of his portrait(s), and the event of his death, itself, was prematurely foretold.[4]

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

By excerpting the works published by Henry Redhead Esq., and later Henry (Redhead) Yorke, the primacy of his ideas, political associations and literary interests are best established.[5] As Yorke's political ideas were deployed across the full political spectrum, the value of his19th century political thought is instructive—and liberating. For, by extension, his life as a Man of Letters affirms a deeply democratic tradition of Liberty nourished within the African population of 18th century Barbuda—and, later, firmly inscribed in the halls of public debate in France and England.

What, then, was the patrimony of Henry Redhead's place of origin?[6] How was it impacted by absentee landlordism, mismanagement, and keenly disgruntled enslaved African populations?

Barbuda is a small flat island of limestone, barely 62 square miles, located north of Antigua. The island was colonized by British settlers in 1628 after being 'granted' a charter, merely one year earlier by Charles I, to the Earl of Carlisle. The earl then 'granted' Barbuda to Thomas Littlejohn who attempted an early settlement. Then, the English Crown granted a lease to the Codrington family, in 1685, which was renewed until the late 1800s.[7] The island was first perceived as a pastureland for stock animals, close to Betty's Hope, and other Codrington-owned sugar estates; "near Parham Harbour which lies due south of Barbuda."[8]

The history of Barbuda has, sadly, long been embedded in the myth of slave-breeding literature.[9] Even more so, that it has been repeated in colonial and Caribbean institutional accounts[10] beclouds its more heroic heritage—enduring since Henry Redhead's time; and yet, intractable racist propaganda[11] circulated in West Indian Planters' correspondence influenced even Henry Redhead's early anti-Abolitionist writings![12] Indeed, the 'slave-breeding' myth is further perpetuated by present-day Barbudans[13]—this, despite the unrivaled documentation of a sustained healthy Barbudan population, to the contrary.[14]

By 1681, retaliating for English action against them, indigenous natives (so-called 'Caribs') attacked twenty English settlers on Barbuda, using the island as a pastureland for stock animals to be sent to Nevis. Reputedly, while 'stocks of rum' distracted the 'Caribs', some of the settlers managed an escape. Meanwhile, the Codringtons were already buying out the lessees, or their heirs. By 1684, the Codringtons had secured the lease for Barbuda outright, and "one of the brothers, John, went to Barbuda and built a castle on the east bank of the lagoon, living there until his death in 1688."[15]

This castle would cast a long shadow across Redhead's ancestral and personal landscape.

Yet, Barbuda inherited other significant over-arching mythologies: some of paradisiacal exchange ('one grain of 'Indian Corn'); or 'humanitarian' monastic patronage (Codrington III's owned plantations were willed to The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on Barbados). This fanciful medieval fantasy also touched a portion of his Barbuda estate.[16] Material bid for compensation by the Society was, instructively, and fiercely

represented on both sides.[17] Yet, Afro-Barbudans' deep living forms—strategies of Resistance—were vigilantly maintained in Codrington-owned estates (to include Barbuda), just below the colonial enunciations.[18]

Christopher Codrington II, recruited young whites from England, while increasingly after the 1680s, blacks from Africa were sought.[19] Lowenthal rightfully shows that "by the late eighteenth-century the Codrington agent or manager and his family, with perhaps one or two overseers, were the only whites on the island. All the rest were slaves [sic]." Fishing, particularly caching green turtles, were a prized food for the Royal Navy; salvaging wrecks and crop-raising were seasonal but profitable pursuits for the Codringtons—far removed from the cruelties of the sugar plantations labors. Yet, Sir William Codrington's ambition, expressed in 1721, "… that Barbuda will raise Yams Cassada & Peases etc., for breadkind enough to serve all my white servants in Antigua and Corn yams & Pease enough to serve all my Guinny men," would not materialize.[20]

But this was no halcyon period by which to frame Barbuda's past, or to overlook the harsh conditions under which the native Afro-Barbudans would have to implement a bewildering survival of their families and an equally fragile heritage.

Political and economic controversies had already been looming in the late seventeenth century "that ended the monopoly of the Royal African Company over the African trade."[21] Just as the paradox would later surface in Parliament for 'free trade' especially "by those particularly wanting to expand a commerce in unfree people;"[22] so to, "the balance between freedom and restriction in overseas trade, including imperial trade,…[was] central to judging the utility of mercantilism."[23]

Pettigrew, showing "the statutory ending of the Royal African Company's monopoly and its failure in 1712,"[24] brings Barbuda—and all other slave-labouring sugar colonies into sharp focus; a necessary backdrop to the much-vaunted 'emancipation'—with its planters' compensation (to include the Codringtons' submittals). Pettigrew shows how 'separate traders' "challenged the [Royal African] Company as an effective interest group, using petitioning and pamphleteering."[25]

[And, deep irony: it was this vocation (pamphleteering) that would sustain the young Henry Redhead [Yorke], beginning with his first Whig Party pro-slavery pamphlet in 1792; and continue to the last productive years of his political career.]

Traders promoted arguments for deregulation, while the (Royal African) Company argued against it, but "it had effectively given up the monopoly in 1689."[26] Nine years later, according to K.G. Davies's The Royal African Company (1957), "the 1698 Act ended free-riding, by requiring separate traders to contribute to the costs of 'its' forts in Africa."[27] Davies discovered that the Company was "effectively bankrupt in the few years before 1712."[28]

The economy of Barbuda developed into the full spectrum of an unrivalled model—seldom duplicated since then. Black Barbudans drained ponds, raised sheep and goats, 'broke' wild horses and domesticated others, bred mules and cattle. They were employed in the clearing forest-lands, and plots of agriculture; turtles were harvested; as were firewood and small crops; others did fishing-net weaving, crafts; some did salvaging from wrecked ships. Aside from providing expert tradesmen, Barbudans described as 'undesirable slaves' were pressed as 'gang workmen' to the Antiguan sugar estates—all towards profitably maintained industry—supported by the local population.

About the 'salvage' industry on Barbuda, one scholar gleaned the records, showing there were four periods when these activities lent outstanding money contributions to the Codrington profits: (yrs: 1746–1755) £4,944. 18s. 6d; (yrs: 1785–1798) £4,092. 15s. 2½ d; (yrs: 1806–1814) £19,464. 7s. 1¼d; (yrs: 1825–1834) £26,610. 4s. 8¾ d.[29] Additionally, according to the Governor of the Leeward Islands in 1848 was that 'The Salvage on Wrecks is Supposed to have formerly constituted the chief source of profit. There were three exceptional years in the other periods (1749–50, 1809, and 1813 when the amount made from wrecks exceeded that from stock but usually it was well below…."[30]

In 1740, Benjamin King, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Codrington's local agent, "recommended that the island be used for food-growing and horses and turtling, but noted that this would require more labor than was available there."[31] As a disciplinarian, and a man who ignored the practical forces like drought, and the unsuitability of Barbuda's soil, Codrington remained dissatisfied with the prospects of transforming the island's economy.

Very significantly, black Barbudans indulged in "petit maronage" in 1741. Historians note, "the next year provisions were so short that most of the Negroes had 'run away' to subsist on wild cattle in the woods."[32]

Then, in 1748, a most serious revolt took place, again deeply inscribing the Castle site; not since the 1745 revolt of the slaves and murder of a manager, had such a seismic event occurred. The Castle had been a source of painful separation since 1698 when "just before the death of Christopher Codrington, a French force attacked Barbuda. They destroyed the Castle and other buildings and carried off most of the inhabitants and their slaves."[33]

On Barbuda, August 9, 1755, Samuel Redhead's Letter to Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Codrington (1719–1792) requests "the written power to manumit slaves." Redhead further writes to Codrington: "I think we have great reason to expect a War…"[34] Amidst the threat of smallpox in 1756, war followed between France and England in 1758.

By 1762, a very young black Barbudan woman, named Sarah, would have witnessed seven black Barbudan males re-sold into war-campaigns against France and Spain, for needed tax fees.[35] These black Barbudans, purchased in May, were part of the Anglo-Spanish War (1761–1763), in time for military action that lasted from March to August of 1762. Their names are a part of the 17,000 sailors assigned among the 23 ships 'of the line', which sailed into Cuba, the English naval invasion in the famous 1762 Capture of Havana. Lord Albemarle was commander-in-chief of the invasion and occupation.[36]

Another vivid loss of African males, whispered about by older Barbudans underscored a deep maritime tradition[37] of sloops sailing between the two islands. In the early 1700s, homeland mobilization showed a level of readiness taken seriously when armed blacks were sent to sea to confront alien invaders.[38] The black Barbudan Marine tradition was further documented in1762, when "the local planters supplied [Antiguan] negroes [sic] to serve in the [naval] force being assembled for the invasion of Martinique."[39]

The continued mobilization and formation of black Barbudan 'Marines' (merely 10 years before young Henry Redhead's birth in 1772) is profoundly significant in Afro-Barbudan maritime history.[40] It must have been a careful calculation for Sarah Bullock, accompanied by her general unpopularity, even while parenting her first child, a boy—now subject to powerful forces of war—were Samuel Redhead to die; or travel back to England with him.[41]

Given the preponderance of Barbudan Marines history, even Henry Redhead [Yorke]) would, in the last days of his political life, after placing his talents at the disposal of the Liberal Party, find Yorke encouraged to complete an important work on English Naval History.[42]

These early events in 1762, in the eyes of Sarah Bullock, may have been exceeded only by oral knowledge of one earlier event: some 16 years before that naval mobilization. [In 1746, two other incidents showed gathering storms on Barbuda: "Sir William [Codrington's] brother, Christopher Bethell, had been stirring up trouble among the negro [sic] slaves in Barbuda for the alleged purpose of becoming Governor."[43] After the trial—in the shadow of which a man had been murdered, two executed and a fourth [man] hanging himself, "the culprits were sentenced to death… by burning them alive before the Castle Gate."[44] The other impending incident, was as significant: "A series of depositions in 1741 against a former manager of Barbuda, Thomas Beech, show that the slaves had not been fed properly and several individuals had been treated with barbaric severity, apparently without cause. Then in 1746, a serious revolt took place at the Castle Gate which led to the murder of another manager (Mr. McNish) on 22 December…"[45] It was in the same turbulent year that Sir William Codrington leased Barbuda "for fifteen years to Samuel Martin and William Byam…There was, in fact, an increase in value of the slaves and livestock of over 18,000 Pounds between 1746–1761."[46]

Six years after Samuel Redhead began as manager of Codrington's Barbuda estates, Sarah's first son, Joseph Redhead, would be born in 1767.[47]

Something more should be noted about the presence of the Barbuda site (and existential locus) of Castle Gate in the heritage of Henry Redhead's life. For while his father may have been the first white manager not to have occupied the structure during his tenure (1761–1779), he did build a house 'on the Eastwd Bay', at Castle Hill, "for storing wreck goods"[48]

The intersection of the Castle's enduring presence, despite Samuel Redhead's absence in its occupation, and its lingering foreboding in Henry Redhead Yorke's life is syncretized in the figure of the horse.[49] For this figure both represents a metaphor of failure of both Sir William Codrington's prospecting[50] during Samuel Redhead's administrative failure for profit sharing,[51] as well as a Faustian presence in various features of Henry Redhead Yorke's turbulent political career—about which more will be said.

But, his father's clash with Codrington's administrative convictions—to which the profit of horse-rearing was also central—proved a main unhinging in their professional relationship.

And, too, there were the whirlwind forces galloping toward this promising youth, personified by war, and later by revolutionary winds and the change of his political directions; this last, exemplified by circumstances forcing his own name-change.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Also, my Thanks to Margaret T. Tweedy, for her thesis, "A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons, 1738–1833," M. Litt., Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Birmingham, 1981.

Without Tweedy's document, I could not have supplement Robson Lowe's book, *The Codrington Correspondence, 1743–1851*, (London, 1951).

Lastly, to Robert Glen, professor of history, University of New Haven, Conn., without whom I would not have learned of Goodrich's paper on Henry Redhead Yorke. It was Glen who encouraged to write about Henry Redhead Yorke's childhood Barbuda.

ENDNOTES

1 Richard B. Sheridan, "The Rise of a Colonial Gentry: A Case Study of Antigua, 1730–1775," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, V. 13: 3, 1961, p. 356.

Also: Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society*, 1650–1838, Indiana University Press: Bloomington, Indianapolis, 1990. Bush writes: "In contrast [to the French and Spanish laws related to miscegenation…to prevent the growth of a large mulatto population], with respect to the protection of slave women from sexual abuse, the limitation of miscegenation and the acknowledgment of the right of the slave family (which were all closely interrelated), earlier British slave law is patchy and inadequate. For example, Antigua was the only British colony to legislate against miscegenation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries…" p. 28.

N.B.: Lake offers a caveat on what may have accounted for Samuel Redhead's complex behavior: one, gilded in his efforts to legally purchase Sara Bullock from Sir Wm. Codrington; but one that should not to be mistaken to atone for Sarah Bullock's illegitimate offspring, sired with impunity. Redhead (a member of the Antigua Assembly) did so, knowing the miscegenation laws of Antigua. His behavior in Barbuda fell under special law, since Barbuda was an island ceded to Sir Wm. Codrington, for whom he worked.

See further : Stephen Sedley's article, ("I have no books to consult"), *London Review of Books*, January 22, 2015: "Although in later years Mansfield, and others, sought to limit the decision to prevent the export of slaves from England, its logic was far wider. The proposition that ownership of another human being was not a form of property known to English law – it had already been help to be outwith [sic] Scotts law – dovetailed with Mansfield's judgment in Campbell v. Hall distinguishing between ceded colonies [Barbuda], which were subject to direct rule and therefore open to a common-law ban on slavery, -- and settled colonies [Antigua], whose legislatures were autonomous unless the imperial parliament overrode them." p. 22.

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

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

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

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

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

Henry Redhead Yorke. *On the Means of Saving Our Country* (1797); *A Letter to the Reformers* (1798); *Elements of Civil Knowledge* (1800); *Letters from France in 1802* (1804); *Prospectus of Illustrations of the history and constitution of England, including inquiries into the Constitution of the Principal States of Ancient and Modern Europe* (1810); *France in Eighteen Hundred and Two.*, ed.: J.A.C. Sykes, Introduction by Richard Davey. William Heinemann: (London, 1906)

N.B.: Goodrich, "The only available printed version of one of Yorke's speeches is an edited version of a speech given at Castle Hill, Sheffield." p. 26. See further: Proceedings of the Public Meeting, held at Sheffield in the Open Air, on 7th April 1794, TNA, T.S. 24/3/88, 7. At his trial Yorke denied having written this speech." p. 626

6 Margaret T. Tweedy. *A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons 1738–1833*, University of Birmingham, UK (1981) Tweedy: The island was first called 'Dulcina' by the earliest settlers. p. 9

7 Christina K. Schaeffer, *Genealogical Encyclopedia of the Colonial Americas*, Genealogical Publishing Co.: Balto, Md., 1998. Schaeffer gives this contrast in dates: "By contrast to Barbuda which was colonized in 1629, Antigua was settled by the British in 1631, but colonized in 1632 by English settlers from St. Kitts." p. 129

Also: Lowenthal, David & Clarke, Colin G., "Slave-Breeding in Barbuda: The Past of a Negro Myth," in *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies*, (Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences), 1977. These scholars offer this chronology: The original lease of Barbuda (Gov. William Willoughby to James Winthorpe and others, Oct 1, 1668) stipulated the annual payment of 'one eare of Indian Corne [sic]. When the Codringtons took over the lease in 1684, they were granted the island for 32 years in return for annual delivery, in Nevis, of 'one sufficient Able horse,' (Gov. William Stapleton to Christopher and John Codrington, Jan. 9, 1684. Whether corn horse, or sheep were ever demanded of delivered is not recorded, but an early nineteenth-century visitor asserted that the sheep was "generally commuted for a turtle or a buck." p. 531

8 Margaret T. Tweedy. *A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons 1738–1833*, University of Birmingham, UK (1981) p. 7

9 Lowenthal, David & Clarke, Colin G., "Slave Breeding in Barbuda: The Past of a Negro Myth", in *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies* (Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences), 1977, vol. 292; pps. 510–535.

Also: in Robson Lowe's *The Codrington Correspondence 1743–1851*, (1951), in *Letters from Dennis Reynolds*, [DR100], dated March 1, 1786, Lowe offers this synopsis of the letter's contents: " A very detailed report dealing with all sorts of factors concerning life on this island, including the effect of hidden venereal disease affecting the breeding powers of the negroes." p. 31

10 Ibid. Lowenthal, and Clarke, emphatically refute this cruel myth, pointing to earlier accounts: (Mary Slater, *The Caribbean Islands* (London: Batsford, 1968), p.162; also: Robert C. West, and John P. Augelli, *Middle America: In Lands and Peoples* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 194. in *Myth of Slave-Breeding in Barbuda: The Past of a Negro Myth*, p.531. Lowenthal and Clarke lay a severe charge at our most prominent Caribbean institution: "A later date and a lengthier explanation for the inception of slave-breeding appear in an authoritative school history written by staff members of the University College of the West Indies. "On the Codrington Estates, in the middle of the eighteenth century," they assert, "a deliberate experiment in slave-breeding was conducted as a possible economy in ensuring healthy workers; the island of Barbuda was used for that purpose." pps. 510–511. [For the UWI

source: F. Augier, S.C. Gordon, D.G. Hall, and M. Reckord, *The R. Making of the West Indies* (London: Longmans, 1960)], p. 161.

Also: In 1972, however, David Lowenthal, too, allowed for this myth of Barbuda in a prestigious anthology of 1970s scholarly writings: "So widespread is the impressions of slave-breeding in Barbuda that one of us, in a general study of the West Indies, unhesitatingly repeated it as a fact." p. 511. See further: David Lowenthal, *West Indian Societies* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 76. N.B.: Richard B. Sheridan's *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies 1623–1775* (Barbados: Caribbean Universities Press, 1974, p. 185), which states that 'Barbuda was developed as a stud farm to supply livestock and slaves to the planters of Antigua and to stock the Codrington family's extensive sugar estates.' The source given for this assertion is a secondary school text: John Macpherson, *Caribbean Lands: A Geography of the West Indies* (London: Longmans, 1963, p. 104); but no such reference to Barbuda in fact appears either in the Macpherson volume, either on the cited page or elsewhere." p. 531

N.B.: Lowenthal's more recent book, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998, 338 pgs., further documents the irony of the Barbuda myth: "Only in one Caribbean locale is slave-breeding legendary. This was Barbuda…Thanks to the varied local diet and to freedom from onerous plantation regimen, Barbuda was less lethal for slaves than most West Indian locales. From this arose the myth that Barbuda slaves were bred to work Codrington sugar and cotton plantations in other islands. Barbuda's slave breeding role is affirmed in many West Indian histories, including my own. (sic.)..But the evidence proved more elusive. Sources petered out; eyewitnesses evaporated. Barbuda's history remained an enigma until in 1977 when Colin G. Clarke and David Lowenthal found a cache of Codrington letters. Vividly depicting colonial Barbuda, these papers proved conclusively that slave-breeding was a myth…Struck by the health of the Barbudan slaves, Barbuda's lessee Bethell Codrington hoped in 1790 that young Africans might be 'seasoned' there: 'I would buy them at the age of 10 or 12 and send them to Barbuda.' He never did. But in 1834, when the slaves were freed, Codrington claimed 'especial compensation' owing to Barbuda's 'extreme fitness for a nursery of Negroes making it a source of much profit to your memorialist and his Ancestors.' In pretending Barbuda had supplied other plantations, Codrington hyped his 1790 hope into a settled habit." p.133

11 Robson Lowe, *The Codrington Correspondence 1743–1851*, London, 1951.

An April 4, 1786 Letter from Dennis Reynolds to the William Codrington [DR100], luridly provides "a very detailed report dealing with all sorts of factors concerning life on the island [Barbuda], including the effect of hidden venereal disease affecting the breeding powers [sic] of the negroes." p. 31.

However, an October 22, 1771 Letter from Samuel Redhead to W. Codrington [SR 37], refutes this 18th century mythic term ['breeding powers'] referencing fictional enslaved African reproduction on Barbuda plantations. Samuel Redhead's letter shows that he clearly "proposes that Sir William shall buy a vessel to purchase his own slaves in Africa…" p. 22

12 Henry Redhead, Esq., *Letter to Bache Heathcote, Esq., on the Fatal Consequences of Abolishing the Slave Trade Both in England, and her American Colonies*. London 1792, p. 7. Other citations from *A Letter to Bache Heathcote Esq.*, will follow in subsequent articles on Yorke.

13 Lowenthal and Clarke. The authors cite the following: "Though no evidence of such selection can in fact be seen in their physique today, Barbudans themselves share

this belief in their slave-breeding ancestry. Indeed the practice is referred to with some pride by the Barbudan Brotherhood Social Club of New York. 'Barbuda was used as the experimental breeding ground for slaves,' the Brotherhood assert, 'thus producing some of the strongest people in the West Indies.'" p. 531. See further: "The Barbuda Brotherhood Social Club," ***Barbuda Voice*** (New York), No, 33, July 1972, p.11. See also: Rev. Jerome John, "Barbuda, Goodbye?" and "Guest Editorial," ***Barbuda Voice***, No. 13, Oct. 1970, p. 8 and No. 32, June 1972, p.8, respectively. [Lowenthal & Clarke], p. 531

14 Ibid. The authors write: "Indeed, the surviving manuscript sources for Barbuda during the period, in proportion to its population, may be more voluminous than any other West Indian territory. " p. 512

15 Tweedy. pps. 13–14

16 Frank J. Klingberg, ed., ***Codrington Chronicle: An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation 1710–1834***, Berkeley and Los Angeles (1949). Moreover, read: Tweedy, ***A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons 1738–1833***, (1981). She writes: "…but in 1707 [Christopher Codrington, III] returned to Barbados where he lived the life of a scholar until his death in 1710. In his will, he left his library and ten thousand Pounds to All Souls' College, Oxford; and his two plantations in Barbados and part of Barbuda to the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Religion in Foreign Parts, for the establishment of a college to train medical missionaries, whom he wanted to be monks." p. 13. See further: Vincent Harlow, ***Christopher Codrington 1668–1710***, Oxford, 1928. pps. 215–16; Also: ***Handbook of Codrington College***, p. 216; and, Burns. ***History of the British West Indies***. p. 726.

17 Tweedy. The protracted struggle between William Codrington and the SPG is instructive: "…The other problem, that of sorting out how much of Barbuda he owned, and subsequently of establishing himself as the sole owner of the island, was not easily solved. He was successful in buying the shares which belonged to Vavasom Cage, colonel Lambert, and William Hartman, but the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was less easy to persuade." p. 15. [GRO, D1610 T9 Barbuda Abstract of Title, E15 Indenture Between Heirs of V. Cage and William Codrington, 6 February, 1716. L2 Case about Barbuda]. p. 23. Also: "However, although the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel might have felt that they were entitled to compensation for their share of Barbuda, William [Codrington] behaved as though he were the owner of the entire island." p. 23. Further: "It is clear that the SPG did not know how much of Barbuda they owned, 'may be 3/8, 3/16, or 3/22 or none'" (USPG records at 15 Tufton Street, London, Box1. Letter from Dudley Woodbridge to SPG, 15 March 1711/12). Woodbridge suggested that the SPG might sell their portion to William Codrington when they knew the extent of their share (ibid). An arrangement was made in 1712 that William Codrington should grant the SPG 'Four full equal and undivided 16th Parts' of the island and all that was on it, and the SPG would petition the Queen for a further grant of the island to William Codrington, but the grant was not made. In 1720 a proposal was made to the SPG by Codrington's attorneys either to buy out the Society's share but no further action seems to have been taken about it. The difficulties over the Barbados estates went on until 1742 and nothing further was done about the Society's share of Barbuda. In 1746 the Society noted 'The present Sr. William Codrington Bart…..and his Family are, and have been in possion [sic] of the Whole of the sd Isld [sic].'" p. 29. GRO, D1610 L2 Case about Barbuda.

18 Lowenthal and Clarke. These historians state the following: "Even on the Barbados plantation of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Foreign Parts, where, from 1710 on, humanitarian motives commingled with economic ones, births were inadequate

to sustain the slave supply until the very end of the eighteenth—century." p. 510. See further: J. Harry Bennett, Jr., ***Bondsmen and Bishops: Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710–1838***, (University of California Publications in History, Vol. 62 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958).

19 Ibid. p. 512

20 Lowenthal and Clarke. p. 513–19. Read further their Table: ***Barbuda: Age and Sex (Gender) Structure of the Slave Populations***, p. 520. Quote about Barbuda feeding 'my Guinny (Guinea) men' is from The First Memorandum Book of William Codrington, Dec. 5, 1721. (hereafter WC), Cod. Mss. C2. Footnote: [Lowenthal & Clarke] p. 531

21 Julian Hoppit. "A Label and a Pie," Times Literary Supplement, August 8, 2014. p. 23. Also, further Hoppit reviews: ***Mercantilism Reimagined (Political economy in early modern Britain and its empire)***, Stern, Philip J., & Wennerlind, Carl; eds., Oxford U. Press, p. 2014, p. 404; and, ***Freedom's Debt (The Royal African Company and the politics of the Atlantic slave trade)***, Pettigrew, William A., University of North Carolina Press, 2014, p. 262

22 Hoppit, TLS, 2014. p. 23

23 Ibid. p. 23

24 Ibid. p. 23

25 Ibid. p. 23

26 Ibid. p. 23

27 Ibid. p. 23

28 Ibid. p. 23

29 Tweedy. p. 150. The character "L" supplements the English Pound Sterling symbol, otherwise traditionally posted.

30 Ibid. p. 160 Further sources: PRO, CO 7/89 Higginson to Grey, JN. 1848.

31 Ibid. p. 513 See further: Benjamin King to Lady Elizabeth Codrington, Dec. 27, 1740. Cod. Mss. C 5. Footnote: [Lowenthal & Clarke] p. 531

32 Ibid. Copy of the 6 Depositions of Sundry Servants against Thos. Beech, late Gov't [of Barbuda, for mismangement and mistreatment of Negroes], 1741, Cod. Mss. 1, 9.

33 Tweedy. p. 14. Further source: Burns, Sir Alan., ***History of the British West Indies***, London 1954; revised edition 1965, [p. 425]

34 Lowe, ***The Codrington Correspondence***. [SR11] p. 19.

Also: Lowenthal and Clarke cite this 'deep' and well documented tradition: "…The women are nearly three to two men, the latter as soon as they arrive at the stage of Maturity nearly all get Married, the Women being in great Measure prevented from prostituting themselves and injuring their Constitutions by bad practices, bring forth strong healthy athletic children, which are taken every care of…We do not lose one infant in twenty births." p. 518 See further: John Winter to CBC, Apr. 10, 1833, Cod. Mss. C 30.

35 Ibid. Samuel Redhead's letter [SR19] as summarized by Lowe's notes: "Also selling seven negroes for services in the expedition under Lord Albemarle (George Keppel, 3rd Earle of Albemarle), payment being General Moncton's bill, 440 Pounds…" This was an expedition against Martinique, French West Indies. p. 20

36 One account reported English losses were substantial, since 2,764 were killed or wounded, captured or died from sickness from three ships lost; another account reports

that 3,800 were killed or reported as dead from sickness, with 2,00 wounded or sick; another 5,000 captured from 13 ships of the line, with 3 ships scuttled.

37 Margaret T. Tweedy. *A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons 1738–1833*, (1981). Tweedy writes: "The sailors' usual work consisted of frequent journeys between Barbuda and Antigua but they must also have been involved with the rescue of passengers, crew, and cargoes from ships wrecked off the Barbudan coasts. They were also used in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth [centuries] for transporting sugar from the Codrington estates to the ocean shipping." p. 261. For further sources: Appendix II: footnote 19: Gloucestershire Records Office (GRO), Worcester Street, Gloucester; GRO, D1610 C16 Athill to C.B.C., 7 June 1799; D1610 C24 James to C.B.C., April 1809. Also, Tweedy documents the undisputed value of some six Barbudan seamen: "In 1796, on a journey from Barbuda to Antigua in the *Kennet*, Humanity mistook a schooner privateer for the ship of an English naval officer who was due to visit Barbuda for health reasons. He realized his mistake too late. The *Kennet* was captured and her crew might have been taken to the French island of Guadeloupe. Fortunately, however, the privateer was intercepted by an English ship, the *H.M.S. L'Aimable*, and Humanity and five other slaves [sic] were removed and taken on board. A record of 28 September, 1796, shows the amount – 800 Pounds Sterling – paid for the salvage of Humanity, Will, Primus, Jacob, Othello, and Simon." p. 261. GR, D1610 C16, Athill to C.B.C., 20 Sept. 1796; GRO, D1610 A6/11, 28 Sept. 1796. Note: By February, 1808, with a crew of six to eight slaves [sic], Hannity was the captain of the *Barbuda*. [p. 260]

38 Ibid. p. 35. Tweedy writes: "In 1743 a Spanish privateer landed some men on the Sand Bank, probably to get some provisions, but they retreated to their ship when the manager sent thirty armed servants and slaves after them." p. 37

39 Lowe. [Document SR21]. p. 20. Also: Tweedy, in her 1981 thesis, *A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons 1738–1833*, shows an earlier Christopher Codrington II's obsession with military expeditions against the French: "In 1691 he attempted to conquer Guadeloupe and in 1693, Martinique." p. 12. Tweedy writes: "When war broke out again in 1702, Christopher Codrington III led an expedition which succeeded in driving the French once more from St. Christopher, but he was less effective against them in Guadeloupe." p. 12.

40 Margaret T. Tweedy. *A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons 1738–1833*, (1981). Her words of an incident in September, 1779: "An incident in the late eighteenth century suggested that there was little change in attitude towards defence. In 1779, Richard Clarke, Codrington's attorney was captured by the captain of a Spanish privateer when he was bound for Antigua on the Barbuda schooner. The Spaniards commandeered the schooner and returned to Barbuda to take the sloop, which had been sailing to Antigua with the schooner, though some distance away. They anchored off Barbuda and some lengthy negotiations followed, interrupted by the arrival of the manager of Barbuda with a party of armed slaves and the brass four-pounder with which he proceeded to fire on the privateer. The Spanish fortunately decided to leave, taking the schooner with them, but Clarke was allowed to remain behind.." GRO, D1610 C10 R. Clarke to W.C., 1 Oct. 1779 An Incident Also: Tweedy extends the remarkable account about the legendary Barbudan sailor, named Humanity: "The slave concerned was called Humanity and, from the date when he was first mentioned, in 1782, to the time of his death in 1818 he seems to have been one of the regular sailors on the island, usually captain of the principal sloop. He is first noted in 1782 as the captain of the *Forager*.…There seems to have been two sloops used for communication [correspondence] with Antigua, with a total of up to fifteen sailors. Humanity was the fort in the list and had a crew of six to

eight slaves. When the sloops were working, all the sailors were paid a regular weekly allowance of 4s. 11/2d., and Humanity and the captain of the other vessel were paid 8s. 3d. In addition they were paid if they worked on a Sunday or at night. Medical care was provided and so was some sort of uniform. The accounts show purchases at some what irregular intervals but they seem to have been provided with shirts, blue jackets an trousers, and at times these were made on the island." pps. 257–259. N.B.: Tweedy writes in her Appendix II footnote 7, further: "See accounts, generally. In the early nineteenth century the provision of uniform seems to have been more regular for a time – between 1807 and 1814 they received at least new jackets each year; see: Appendix II, GRO, D1610 A56/4. In 1807 and 1812 thread was purchased for making sailors' jackets; A56/4. [p. 263].

41 Tweedy. She writes about Redhead's correspondence to Sir William Codrington: "He explained that he did not wish to remove her from Barbuda because she was so useful there but he was anxious to secure her peace of mind. She was afraid that if he died the other slaves would turn against her 'by having constantly discovered the abuses committed by the people of that Island, which has caused an enmity to her.'" p. 41. Further Tweedy sources: GRO, MF375, Redhead to W.C., 30 July 1771.

42 Henry Redhead Yorke. See: Richard Davey's Introduction, in Yorke's *France in eighteen hundred and two, described in a series of contemporary letters*, ed., J.A.P. Sykes, London: William Heinemann, 1906. Davey writes: "…and although he had been induced by Richard Valpy to undertake the continuation of John Campbell's 'Lives of British Admirals,' he was too ill to finish that work, and died at Chelsea, after a brief illness, on January 28, 1813." p. 3

43 Lowe. p. 18

44 Ibid. Lowe encapsulates a 29 March, 1746, Letter by Benjamin King to Sir William Codrington, otherwise summarized in Chapter Four: - "Sir William's brother, Christopher Bethell, had been stirring up trouble among the negro slaves in Barbuda for the alleged purpose of becoming Governor—in consequence 'a man murder'd, two executed and a fourth….hang'd himself, most monstrous!' After the trial, the culprits were sentenced to death and 'Mr. Cooper Returned with a Letter to Execute them by burning them alive before the Castle gate…'" p. 18. (BK2). N.B.: The place-name, Castle Gate, will figure prominently again, in the rise and fall of Henry Redhead Yorke. Also: Tweedy, *A History of Barbuda Under the Codringtons 1738–1833*, (1981), writes in Section Five ("Slavery on Barbuda"), in the first paragraph of General Social Background - a preamble in Chapter 6 (The Slave Society on Barbuda): "Codrington Village, the only settlement of any size on Barbuda, is situated near the lagoon, on its eastern shore. The principal building was the castle which was erected by John Codrington before 1688 and rebuilt by Sir William Codrington II, after the French attacks in the early eighteenth century." p. 189. Further sources: Harlow, *Christopher Codrington*, p. 15, 190. GRO, D1610 L2 Case about Barbuda. N.B.: Tweedy also notes: Samuel Redhead was one of the first managers who did NOT live in the castle., but "built himself a house elsewhere." GRO, D1610 c13 H. de Pontheau to W.C., 1780–(1783).

45 Tweedy. She writes:" It is not clear what the grievances against McNish really were. Colonel King, who supported him, described him as a 'Noisey Rattling fellow in his Business, but still humain' [sic]. Nevertheless he had apparently ordered the mutilation of two slaves [sic] for sheep and cattle stealing and his conduct towards the slaves seems to have been overbearing. Colonel King believed Sir William's brother was to blame. This young man had been on Barbuda from 5 September to 21 December and, King maintained, by showing sympathy with the slaves and antipathy towards the manager had encouraged them to revolt. The rebellion took place the day after

Codrington left the island, though, it was said, with his connivance. With the manager murdered, the slaves occupying the castle and in possession of all the arms and ammunition, King feared he might not regain control. There was the additional danger that the slaves might seek the support of the French, with whom the British were then at war. A show of force by troops from Antigua, however, was sufficient to restore order, and the ringleaders were subsequently burned alive in front of the castle gate." pps. 190–191. See further: Tweedy sources: GRO, D1610 L9 Depositions against Thomas Beech—governor or Manager of Barbuda—taken before John Conyers, J.P. of Antigua, 25 September, 1741; Tweedy also footnotes: "'The information about this incident is contained in two letters on MF375. They are dated 29 Mar. 1746 and 19 Sept. 1746; both are from B. King to W.C. [p. 204]. A subsequent incident in 1779, when trespassers were caught poaching 30 sheep, left Attorney R. Clarke to write, when they were caught they 'all behaved very riotous and daringly insolent.'" p. 193. [GRO, D1610 C10 Clarke to W.C., Dec. 1779]. This corroborates later incidents, to include a 1787 incident involving "one of the drivers of the great gang, Dickson, a mulatto in whom Reynolds had placed a good deal of confidence"; as well as: two allowances, "in 1794, to Tom Beazor and Jno Beazor who were paid six Pounds, three shillings, nine pence for detecting those who were killing sheep." p. 193. Further Tweedy sources: GRO, D1610 A6/7 4th quarter. "While these accounts actually cover the years 1791–2, they also include notes at the end about expenses incurred in other years."; GRO, D1610 C17 Reynolds to W.C. 1779.

46 Tweedy. p. 38

47 Lake. Personal correspondence. Gregory Frohnsdorf suggests his full name may be Joseph James Thomas Redhead (1767–1847)

48 Tweedy. p. 202

49 Ibid. In 1684, for fifty years of rent awarded by the Crown, a grant was given for to Christopher and John Codrington for the rent of 'one sufficient able horse' to be delivered at Nevis at Christmas. p. 10

50 Tweedy. After Samuel Redhead's departure from Barbuda, Manger Reynolds's contentious 'horse-trading (and slave-trading) banter with Codrington's ambition to cross-breed European and local horses for profit, places the Castle center-stage: "This [keeping stallions apart without benefit of enclosures] was not an easy task, however, as there were not enough slaves to make strong enclosures that would be necessary to keep the stallions inside, and covering in hand was difficult when there was in- sufficient fodder for them. Reynolds expressed his feelings on the matter strongly in 1783: 'but good sir, if you were only one week in Barbuda you would immediately see how impossible it would be to carry this work into Execution.' Unable to carry out the practice Sir William wanted, Reynolds tried a compromise policy of allowing the stallions to run wild for a week. Sir William conceded that this was better than the previous policy, but not what was really needed. In these ways Reynolds did try to comply with Sir William's instructions. What is more, he did eventually achieve the construction of enclosures for the better stock and for crops. HE made them in an area east of the castle roughly midway between the castle and the Highlands…He described them in 1786 as being 'in culture and pasture' and already partly enclosed with a stone wall which he hoped to complete within three years. Here he intended keeping thirty to forty of the best brood mares to be covered in hand…" p. 94

51 Tweedy. The first of Redhead's managerial years in Barbuda (1761 showed fine prospects for the horse: "Between 1761 and 1786 the number must have gone up because sales were so good. ..The value of horses to the economy of Barbuda seems only to have been high during the American War of Independence (1776–83), when

the usual source became expensive…This meant that locally reared horses, even though a poorer quality, would be an attractive proposition…In June 1762, Samuel Redhead commented that he thought horses were too costly to rear in large numbers and prejudiced the raising of mules which he felt were one of the 'best Articles' on the island." p. 89–91. 91–2,

INTO THE OPENING: CARIBBEAN PHILOSOPHY AFTER NEOLIBERALISM AND POST-STRUCTURALISM*

Paget Henry

The call to interrogate Caribbean philosophical and intellectual traditions by this 12th meeting of CHiPS is indeed a very timely one. It is timely because it catches an important shift in the existential/discursive situation out of which Caribbean scholars and philosophers have been theorizing. This shift is the result of the decline of two discourses that came to dominate regional thinking: neoliberalism and post-structuralism. Existential and discursive shifts of this nature often include new possibilities for intellectual innovation as well as the closing of old ones. Thus I want to suggest that the importance of interrogating Caribbean philosophical and intellectual traditions at this moment is the possibility of re-inhabiting and re-examining some distinctly Caribbean and third world discursive spaces, which have been regaining visibility as the influence of neoliberalism and post-structuralism continues to decline. In particular, I have in mind re-examinations of the discourses of the New International Economic Order (NIEO), and of the "transversal" aspects Caribbean discourses of creolization.

To examine the significance of these new possibilities for Caribbean philosophizing is also to reflect on the future of Caribbean philosophy as it continues its process of late decolonization and re-organization as an academic discipline. As we will see, this focus on the future of Caribbean philosophy cannot be separated from its long established, but poorly recognized, intertextual relations with other disciplines and its involvement in the ongoing attempts at postcolonial transformations in our region. Since the late 1970s, these attempts at further democratization, economic development, racial and gender equality have been in a difficult period, which Guyanese economist, Clive Thomas, has called a state of "permanent crisis".

An interrogation of the future of the Caribbean philosophical tradition must include its responses to this period of extended crisis and to the new possibilities for thinking and action, which have come with the discursive opening that the decline of post-structuralism and neoliberalism has

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created. Therefore it is the primary thesis of this paper that the rising field of Caribbean philosophy has valuable resources to offer, which can help to fill the some of the vacant spaces created by the decline of these two Western discourses. More specifically, I will argue that the transversal capabilities of Caribbean philosophy are particularly valuable resources for responding to the challenges of the opening.

Philosophy and the Caribbean Division of Intellectual Labor

In the division of intellectual labor between the disciplines, the particular domain of reality explored by philosophy is that of self-consciousness and its action or behavior shaping powers. In other words, it is not through the lens of the economy, the state or the body that philosophy discloses and examines the world, but through that of self-consciousness. At the heart of self-consciousness is the experience of the "I" of the individual subject or the "We" of the collective subject and the epistemic/cultural worlds in which both are embedded. Philosophy explores both the knowledge-producing and self-producing capabilities of this "I"- or "We"-based self-consciousness. The sense of "I" or "We" that we affirm is largely a result of the degree of awareness and existential comfort or discomfort we experience with the self and world we have created.

Although philosophy explores the domain of self-consciousness, it does not exclusively own this region of existence. On the contrary, it shares it with the other humanities such as literature, music, drama, and, according to CLR James, sports. To its exploration of self-consciousness, philosophy brings some very distinct skills and resources. Most important, it brings a reason-centered and self-reflecting epistemic subject that produces conceptually based knowledge through ontological, metaphysical, transcendental, ethical and other discourses, which have proven their abilities to raise levels of self-consciousness, widen our visions of existence, and thus improve the quality of our actions. This reason-centered knowing subject is in contrast to the imagination-centered knowing subjects of literature or music, which create primarily with images and sounds.

In spite of the outward appearances of disciplinary autonomy and separateness produced by divisions of intellectual labor, disciplines like philosophy, sociology, literature and economics are profoundly intertextually embedded at deeper levels of their epistemic formation. Indeed these convenient disciplinary divisions are quite artificial as we find philosophical issues arising in economics and literature as well

as economic and literary issues arising in philosophy. Philosophical issues arise in other disciplines, because anchoring each of them, is a particular construction of the knowing or epistemic subject, which is a distinct modification of the larger field of human self-consciousness. Because the knowledge producing world of philosophy is anchored in a reason-centered, self-reflecting epistemic subject, it is uniquely open to examining the *a priori* categories and assumptions with which it produces its ethical, ontological and other discourses, and also to aid in examining the *a priori* categories and assumptions of other disciplines like economics or literature. This examination of its own founding categories is what Lewis Gordon has called "the metacritique of reason". Thus, what Caribbean philosophy can offer to economics, sociology or literature in this period of the opening are conceptual accounts of the subterranean grammars that link the *a priori* categories, images, oppositions, the knowing subjects that anchor them, and other epistemic formations presupposed by productive activities in their fields. In short, it is knowledge of these epistemic depths that operate below the more formal levels of supply and demand, diminishing returns or of image and metaphor that Caribbean philosophy can bring to the new possibilities of this current opening.

Caribbean Philosophy and the History of Regional Self-consciousness

Given this special relationship between philosophy and self-consciousness, it should be clear that any discussion of the nature of Caribbean philosophy must be rooted in its organic relationships with the history of regional self-consciousness and the possibilities and challenges for change inherent in its formation. The inescapable events in the history of Caribbean self-consciousness have been the forced coming together of Ameridians, Europeans, Africans and Indians within European dominated colonial orders of the late fifteenth century. Within the frameworks of these colonial orders, the self-consciousness of all four groups were up rooted from their spiritual and religious moorings in Taino, Yoruba, Akan, Christian, Hindu and Muslim traditions, and profoundly transformed.

The primary subjective changes in these four groups came with their transformation into imperial subjects (Europeans) and colonial subjects. Closely related to this transformation was the racialization of the identities of all four groups. From Calinagos and Arawaks, Amerindian groups were racialized as Red men and women; Europeans as white men and women; Africans as Blacks or Negroes, and Indians as Browns or Coolies.

In the cases of Africans, Amerindians and Indians, this racial inscribing of identities brought with it profound levels dehumanization, and the devaluing of their cultures and personal capabilities. Reinforcing these processes of racial dehumanization were the class positions that these three groups were forced to occupy in these emerging colonial orders. Amerindians and Africans were incorporated as slaves, while Indians were incorporated as indentured servants in the 1840s, after the end of African slavery. Together, these processes of dehumanizing domination resulted in the image of these groups as Caliban. In the case of Europeans, the impact of racial inscription was the opposite. It inflated the human value of Europeans, as well as their culture and their personal capabilities, which became the basis for the image of Prospero. To understand the distinct nature of Caribbean philosophy, we must grasp clearly how it has been shaped by these processes of Prosperization and Calibanization, and by its attempts to liberate Caribbean self-consciousness from their oppressive and de-humanizing grips.

One way in which we can further thematize the effects of the above processes on the self-consciousness of Afro- and Indo-Caribbean men and women is by making use of WEB Du Bois' theory of double consciousness. According to this theory, the above subordinating processes of racialization produced deep divisions within the psyche and self-consciousness of Africans and Indians – a doubling of their consciousness of themselves. This doubling of self-consciousness resulted from the new ways of seeing and evaluating themselves that the negrification and coolietization of identities introduced. Du Bois called these new ways of seeing themselves "second sight". It was the newly acquired ability to see oneself through the eyes of an "other" – in this case, one's colonizer. Second sight developed in tension with first sight, or the ability to see oneself through one's own eyes (1969:16). This was the phenomenon of double consciousness, the two souls, the two warring ideals within the racialized body about which Du Bois wrote so eloquently. Fanon extended this theory with a more systematic examination of the emotions of the racialized subject, and his/her related traumas. In his essay, "The Souls of White Folk" (1999), Du Bois examined with equal skill the inner life of Prospero. More recently, his examination has been extended in the works of Lewis Gordon (1995) and Charles Ephraim (2003).

Focusing more on the proletarianization or class subordination to which Africans and Indians were also subjected, Sylvia Wynter and Kamau Brathwaite have suggested the concept of a plantation consciousness as a way of theorizing the subjective impact of colonization. This plantation

consciousness was an inner plantation, a subjective formation that was correlated with the outer plantations on which Indo- and Afro-Caribbeans were indentured and enslaved. As the outer plantations arose in opposition to the local or "residentiary" economy, inner plantations represented penetrated areas worker self-consciousness that were in opposition to their earlier African and Indian views of themselves. In short, the theory of a plantation self-consciousness suggested another line of fracturing or doubling in the identities of colonized Caribbean men and women.

Particularly since the start of the late colonial period and reductions in levels of state violence supporting processes of racialization and proletarianization, there has been a very sharp break between the theorizing of the subjective impact of Calibanization on Caribbean men and women. The differences that gender brought to experiences of colonial domination had to be explicitly thematized, as Caribbean women and men were speaking and creating in different, and sometimes diametrically opposed, voices. The figure of Caliban could no longer stand for the experiences of both genders. Paraphrasing James, we can say: to establish her own identity, Calherban, after many centuries, must herself pioneer into regions Caliban never knew (2005:Preface). One of the ways in which Caribbean philosophy has attempted to theorize these differences in the self-consciousness of Caribbean men and women has been to stretch the Du Boisian theory of double consciousness.

In his essay, "The Damnation of Women", Du Bois outlined a gendered form of double consciousness that has added yet another form of doubling to the already doubly divided self-consciousness of Indo- and Afro-Caribbean women. This distinctly gendered form of double consciousness Du Bois attributed to the fact that women "existed not for themselves but for men; they were named after the men to whom they were related and not after the fashion of their own souls" (1999:95). In other words, like race- and class-based double consciousness, gendered double consciousness produced its own form of second sight, which forced women to see themselves through the eyes of men. Seeing themselves through the eyes of men rather than through their own eyes, Caribbean women saw themselves not only as "negroes" and workers but also as what Simone de Beauvoir called "the second sex". Thus the distinct form of oppression that male dominance produced was that of female secondarization. It is this refusal of the role of the second sex that now separates Calherban from Caliban.

From the foregoing, it should be clear that the onto-existential journey of Caribbean self-consciousness through the period of its colonization has been that of an uprooting from firm places in the pre-colonial spirituality of being to more tenuous replantings in the colonial sociality of being human. The reconstructing and unearthing of some of the more hidden aspects of this journey, as well as the recovering of first sight are among the major tasks of Caribbean philosophy. In order to make an effective contribution to these tasks, Caribbean philosophy must be able to articulate and share with other disciplines exactly how its self-consciousness has been affected by these various doublings, devaluations and their related interruptions of growth, discussed above.

Calibanization and the Self-consciousness of Caribbean Philosophy

To give an adequate account of its own self-consciousness, Caribbean philosophy cannot look at itself exclusively through the lens of its capacity for self-determination. On the contrary, it must also look at itself through the lens of its determination by external social forces. In other words, it must also look at itself in the light of Marx's well-known claim that "it is the not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary their social being that determines their consciousness" (1955:362). From this perspective of the sociality of being, what made the self-consciousness of Afro- and Indo-Caribbean philosophers distinct was the intensity of the denials by European colonizers of their claims to be reason-centered and self-reflecting epistemic subjects. It was the absolute manner in which the claims to reason by these subjects were rejected and negated that gave the self-consciousness of Caribbean philosophy its peculiar marks of social determination. In spite of knowing itself as being alive, the subjects of these discourses had to live the colonial experience of being socially dead.

The extreme negation of its "I" and "We" condemned Caribbean philosophy to long period of social invisibility and academic death. This invisibility grew out of what Rex Nettleford has called "battles for space" between the discourses of the colonizer and the colonized (1993). He noted that there were battles for discursive and institutional space between European religions and African religions, European literature and African literature, European music and Indian music. Here I want to emphasize the extreme nature of the battle between European philosophy on the one hand and Indo- and Afro-Caribbean philosophy on the other.

It was in the context of this situation extreme negation and denial that Afro- and Indo-Caribbean philosophy began to lose ground and thus to yield the discursive terrains upon which European liberalism, empiricism, positivism and other philosophical plantations would be created. It is one of the major claims of this paper that the shadows of invisibility cast by these inner philosophical plantations constituted the darkest and most distorting set of discursive formations of the entire colonial period. Indeed, it was the growth of these philosophical plantations that institutionalized the colonial geography of reason in which the Caribbean, Africa and India became regions where reason did not grow and hence were non-philosophical.

The extremely dark nature of the shadow cast by the Prosperian claims of European philosophy resulted from the identitarian and semiotic binaries that inscribed the relationships between the concepts of white and black, reason and non-reason, civilized and primitive. In this semiotic economy, reason along with whiteness became primary signifiers of Prospero's identity. Reason was the faculty of enlightenment and also of the criterion determining whether or not a people would be deemed self-governing or enslavable. Further, within this semiotic economy, the polar opposite of the European's whiteness was the African's blackness. In the European self-consciousness, Caliban was everything that Prospero was not. Thus at the level of European self-formation, if Prospero was reason, whiteness, and civilization then Caliban had to be unreason, blackness and the ultimate site of the primitive. Here unreason was semiotically associated with physicality, emotion and an inability to rise above the domain of nature and into the realm of self-consciousness. Because of this primary place of reason in the European identity, the negation of African and Indian philosophical capabilities was more intense than European denials of Black and Brown capabilities in fields such as dance, literature or music. Perhaps the clearest philosophical statement of this Prosperian position on the rational self-consciousness of Indians and Africans is to be found in Hegel's *Philosophy of History*.

This extreme negation of Caliban's reason is further evidenced by the fact that of all of the major disciplines in our current epistemic order, philosophy was the last to recover from its colonial erasure. The University of the West Indies was founded without a philosophy department, a failing for which CLR James criticized this institution. Literature, drama, history, sociology, economics, and political science were all well-established disciplines of our postcolonial academic order by the 1960s. It was not until the late 1980s that Caribbean philosophy

gained full academic acceptance into our postcolonial order of knowledge production. This late recovery and its explanation must be a part of the Calibanization of its self-consciousness that Caribbean philosophy must share with other disciplines as the struggle for epistemic decolonization and the recovery of first sight continues. Should Caribbean philosophy present itself as the South Africa of our colonial epistemic order, as the discipline that was subjected to the most extreme forms of epistemic apartheid? Or should it search for some subterranean order governing the postcolonial return to full functioning of the *a priori* categories of the various disciplines, which required philosophy to be last?

The Rebirth of Caribbean Philosophy

Assuming that this late recovery of Caribbean philosophy was at least in part due to the racial apartheid it experienced in the house of European reason, then it should it should not be surprising that its rebirth came as a part of a global or Pan African resurgence of both Black thought and politics. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine the rebirth of Caribbean philosophy in the late 1980s without the earlier resurgences in African and African American philosophy. The support of African philosophers such as Kwame Gyekye, Anthony Appiah, and Kwasi Wiredu, and also of African American philosophers such as Cornel West, Leonard Harris and Lucius Outlaw was vital to this rebirth. Further, the support provided by departments of Africana Studies in the U.S., departments that had been created by the African American Civil Rights Movement, was also a big factor in this rebirth. Hence we get the phenomenon of Caribbean diasporic philosophers such as Lewis Gordon, Bernard Boxhill, Charles Mills, Clevis Headley and Patrick Gooding being the major pioneers of this rebirth.

Given this late academic recognition, many models have been proposed for the reconstruction and academic reorganization of Caribbean philosophy. Scholars like Sophie McCall feared that Caribbean philosophy would lose its distinctive intertextual features – particularly its dialogues with literature – as it transitioned from implicit and minor discourse to a more explicit and major discourse with disciplinary concerns of its own (2004). The Ethiopian ethicist, Teodros Kiros suggested that Caribbean philosophy needed to be even closer to its African heritage that it already is (2004). In Lewis Gordon's, *Her Majesty's Other Children* we can see a reconstructing of the field around the issue of race that keeps it very close to the African American philosophical tradition (1997). Although quite different, Bernard Boxhill (1992) and Charles Mills (1998) have worked

with a similar centering of race, and a strong orientation towards the African American tradition. Tim Hector raised the issue of the absence of the subfield of metaphysics from many reconstructions of Caribbean philosophy, and made a strong call for its inclusion (2015). In addition to ethics, Nelson Maldonado-Torres has raised the issue of ethnic and linguistic differences within the body of Caribbean philosophy (2008). Threatening to displace or de-center crucial concerns such as these has been the external pressure during periods of graduate training to approach Caribbean philosophy through its similarities with major schools of Western philosophy, and to professionalize the field along lines similar to those in the European and American academies.

My own contributions to these debates has been a model of reconstruction that emphasizes the historical emergence of the major schools of Caribbean philosophy while at the same examining very carefully the patterns of epistemic dependence that have persisted from the discipline's period colonization and racial apartheid. In *Caliban's Reason* (2000), I reconstructed the emergence of the major schools of Afro-Caribbean philosophy by dividing them into four broad phases, with a strong focus on their ontologies. The first phase (1502–1750) was the African heritage, which has given Afro-Caribbean philosophy its basic ideas and discourses about the spirituality of being. In particular, close attention was paid to the Akan and Yoruba discourses dealing with the spiritual conditions for human subject formation. Given what we know about the originary role of Africa in the formation of the human species, this African heritage could very well be the oldest of human philosophical traditions. The second phase (1750–1860) saw the birth of the Afro-Christian School of thought. This school legitimated the Christianizing, historicizing and racializing of the spiritual discourses inherited from Africa. Outstanding members of this group of thinkers and activists were Ottobah Cugoano, Mary Prince and Edward Blyden. The third phase (1860–1980) saw the emergence of a twinned philosophy that I labeled Caribbean historicism/poeticism. This was a complex two-winged secular philosophical formation that de-centered the earlier African and Afro-Christian discourses on the spirituality of being and replaced them with historicist and poeticist discourses on the sociality, and particularly, the coloniality of being. The major figures in this school included Claude McKay, Hubert Harrison, Alejo Carpentier, Nicolás Guillén, CLR James, Wilson Harris, Frantz Fanon, Sylvia Wynter and George Lamming. Fourth and finally we have the period 1980 to the present, which has seen the emergence of schools of Black existentialism, political logicism,

Caribbean post-structuralism, and Caribbean Feminism. Here the major figures include Stuart Hall, Lewis Gordon, Charles Mills, David Scott, Jacqui Alexander, Carole Boyce Davies, and Rhoda Reddock.

In "The Place of Indo-Caribbean Philosophy in the Caribbean Academy", a paper I presented at an earlier CHiPS meeting, I suggested a corresponding division of Indo-Caribbean philosophy into four phases: 1) the Indian heritage (1842–1868); 2) the Indo-Christian phase (1868–1890); 3) the historicist/poeticist phase (1890–1980); and 4) a period of Indo-Caribbean feminism and post-structuralism (1980–present). Here the major figures are Patricia Mohammed, Ramabai Espinet, Indrani Rampersad, and Brinda Mehta.

As in the case of our African heritage, the Brahmanic inheritances of Indo-Caribbean philosophy are among the oldest in human history. The Vedic origins of this Brahmanic tradition go back to at least 2000 BCE. Between 700 and 1800, we had the rise to dominance of the Vedanta period out of its struggles with Buddhism, Jainism, and secular schools of philosophy such as the Carvaka and Nyaya. The more immediate roots of Indo-Caribbean philosophy are to be found in this Vedanta tradition. More specifically, Indrani Rampersad has suggested that within the Vedanta tradition, Indo-Caribbean thought is rooted in the philosophy of Tulsidas (1532–1623). She further suggests that the most influential works of Vedanta in the Indo-Caribbean tradition have been the ancient *Srimad Bhagavatam*, and the *Ramcharitmanas* of Tulsidas.

Much more work needs to be done on the Islamic heritage of Indo-Caribbean philosophy, which remains largely eclipsed. In addition to ending this eclipse of the Islamic heritage, Caribbean philosophy will have to improve significantly the dialogues between these African and Indian heritages. Deeper conversations between the two could contribute to processes of de-coolietization and de-negrification, and thus to the healing of race/ethnic differences in our societies.

In terms of publications and impact, this rebirth of Caribbean philosophy has been growing quite steadily. Since 2000, there have been active undergraduate programs or courses dealing with Caribbean/Africana philosophy at the University of Puerto Rico, and at the University of the West Indies (UWI) both at Mona and Cave Hill. At Mona the program has been led by the Nigerian philosopher, Tunde Bewaji, and at Cave Hill, by the Kenyan philosopher, Frederick O'Chieng Odhiambo. We are still working on getting programs started at St. Augustine and the

University of Guyana. The Caribbean Philosophical Association (CPA) was launched in 2002 at UWI, Mona. The occasion was a conference, organized by The Center for Caribbean Thought, celebrating the thought of Sylvia Wynter. With its mission of "shifting the geography of reason", the CPA has been meeting every year at various locations in the Caribbean, Canada and the U.S. *The CLR James Journal* became the official publication of the association in 2005 and has done special issues on Wilson Harris, Lewis Gordon, Bell Hooks, the creolizing of Rousseau, Black Canadian Thought, and has forthcoming issues on Sylvia Wynter and René Ménil. The association awards two major prizes: The Frantz Fanon and the Nicolás Guillén Prizes. In addition to the *CLR James Journal*, papers in Caribbean philosophy are also being published in the *Caribbean Journal of Philosophy, Philosophia Africana, Small Axe*, and a number of edited volumes. In 2016, UWI (Mona) produced its first PhD in Philosophy, Dr. Sandra McCalla. These activities and achievements have helped to organize the discipline and establish it as a new area of academic endeavor.

This period of growth and self-organizing, by bringing Caribbean philosophy more into the open, has made it possible to see more clearly some of its distinctive features. Most existing outlines and portraits of the field show that during the colonial period, Caribbean philosophy existed primarily in the margins, footnotes, prefaces, subtexts and other peripheral areas of discourses such as religion, literature, history and economics that had made earlier postcolonial recoveries. Hence we get the distinctly intertextual nature of Caribbean philosophy with its high volume of trading across inter-disciplinary borders. Thus, as a reason-centered and self-reflecting discourse, Caribbean philosophy has been busy securing the transcendental grounds, tending to the categoric roots, strengthening or pruning the arguments and claims of other discourses in our epistemic order. In this intertextual mode, Caribbean philosophy has been like a vine that stays close to the epistemic ground, but is also capable of rising above it in response to creative demands. This vine-like nature of Caribbean philosophy can be contrasted with Western philosophy, where the image has been more of tall stately tree that dominates the surrounding environment. This image is suggested by the overarching nature of the major systems of Western philosophy and their existential drive to absolutize reason. This is what Habermas has referred to as the tradition of "great philosophy". Caribbean philosophy has never been practiced in this "great" way. Rather, given its existential and intertextual coordinates, Caribbean philosophy has been and still is

being practiced in what we can call a minor way. However, as the work of Wilson Harris makes clear, this is not to say that Caribbean philosophy is without vertical capabilities of its own. (Henry, 2000: 90–102).

In spite of the above period of steady growth and increasing recognition, the academic reorganization of Caribbean philosophy still has along way to go. The necessary levels of de-coolietization, de-negrification, de-proletarianization, and de-secondarization of its self-consciousness have by no means been achieved. Although definitely begun, these are still very much ongoing processes. Further, as in the postcolonial phases of other disciplines, Caribbean philosophy faces problems of disciplinary dependence on several levels. First there is epistemic dependence that is rooted at the level of *a priori* categories and assumptions. Second, here is institutional dependence that is rooted in the fact that most of our PhDs are still produced in Western universities. Third, there is economic dependence that is rooted in the limited abilities of Caribbean universities to fund the research endeavors of their philosophers. Caribbean disciplines like literature, sociology, history and economics have dealt with these issue of postcolonial dependence, and so too will Caribbean philosophy, particularly if it is to make a significant contribution to the possibilities and challenges of the current opening.

Neoliberalism and Disciplinary Dependence

Although formally absent at the time of the hegemonic rise of neoliberalism and post-structuralism, and in spite of the early stages of its academic reorganization, the current opening created by the decline of these two Western discourses is an important call for Caribbean philosophy to join with other disciplines to break old or existing patterns and so give new content to the period after the opening. It is a major claim of this paper that the contributions of a better organized philosophy will enable our region to better resist hegemonic takeovers such as those made by post-structuralism and neoliberalism.

Neoliberal globalization represented both a theoretical and strategic shift on the part of Western economic elites in response to the stagflation crisis of the 1970s, and to rising economic competition from Japan. Not only was this crisis unresponsive to doses of Keynesian stimulation, the very existence of stagflation was a significant challenge to this then dominant economic paradigm. The basic response of Western economic elites to this crisis was threefold: 1) replace the Keynesian paradigm with a more market-based, supply side approach to economic theory

and practice; 2) de-industrialize the American and British economies by re-locating industrial production to places (China) with cheaper labor to address Japanese competition; 3) to compensate for this industrial loss there was the promoting of the U.S. and U.K. financial sectors through de-regulation, along with the liberalization and globalization of financial markets.

At the same time that the Western economies were experiencing and responding to their crises of capital accumulation, developing countries in the Caribbean, Africa and Latin America were also experiencing major crises of their own and attempting to address them with new economic thinking. The crisis of the 1970s in these countries were driven by issues of debt, declining terms of trade, worsening balance of payments, foreign exchange shortages, and rising levels of unemployment and corruption. The response of economic and political elites in these countries (the Group of 77) was a package of reforms that also went beyond the orthodoxies of the Keynesian paradigm. However, in contrast to Western neoliberal moves beyond the Keynesian paradigm, those proposed by the third world were more in a state-led rather than a market-led direction. This package of reforms was best summed up in the call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). It was nurtured in UNCTAD under the leadership of Raul Prebisch, and adopted by the UN General Assembly Special Session of 1974. One of the primary leaders of this reform movement was the then Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley.

The ideas and policy positions contained in the NIEO were informed by new but long neglected structuralist economic thinking, which was based on the work of third world economists such as Raul Prebisch, Celso Furtado, Carlos Diaz-Alejandro, Samir Amin, Lloyd Best, George Beckford Norman Girvan and Clive Thomas. In addition to the new structuralist approach, this group of third world economists shared the claim that it was the peripheral mode of insertion of third world economies into the system of global capitalism that was the major source of their difficulties with declining terms of trade, foreign exchange shortages, etc. As a result, the major policy recommendation of the NIEO was a careful process of peripheral de-linking from the capitalist system, relinking with it, and with the then socialist system on more equitable and developmentally friendly terms. This strategy of peripheral de-linking and a more postcolonial relinking were spelled out in a series of national economic reforms, which were to be accompanied by and coordinated with reforms of the global economy.

Thus along with strategies for industrializing and diversifying individual economies, the NIEO proposed "the right of sovereign nations to control and, if appropriate, to nationalize foreign-owned property in accordance with national laws; the restructuring of the global trade and monetary system; the stabilization of commodity prices through some form of negotiation; the need for codes of conduct to govern the activities of trans-national corporations; and the transfer of technology from developed to developing countries"(Manley: 1987:99). This was the culminating vision of the Group of 77.

The similarities and differences between this package of reforms and the neoliberal one that was being implemented in the West are both instructive. The two groups of countries were confronting crises that required changes in the global economy – its monetary, trading and crisis resolution processes – to accompany the changes being made at home. But the nature of the proposed changes in the global economy were diametrically opposed, as they were responses to very different imperatives coming from these two sets of economies. This clash placed squarely on the agenda, the issue of global economic governance and if it could be made more democratic. Would the global economy continue to be governed by the Western dominated institutions of the IMF, World Bank and GATT, or would its governance shift to the more democratic UN system of economic governance? The particular lucidity brought by this crucial moment was that economic development was very directly tied to a country's ability to influence changes and reforms in the global economy in the direction of the needs of its economy.

The resolution of this dramatic moment in North-South relations was not the result of a democratic debate in the UN at which the better arguments carried the day. Rather resolution was the result of whose economic crises were maturing more rapidly and thus would have to seek help and make concessions first. It was the debt crisis of developing countries that exploded in 1982, which led to the global hegemony of neoliberalism, and to the IMF, the World Bank and GATT retaining their control over the governance of the global economy. By the late 1980s, debt and other crises in developing countries were such that 70 of them were seeking assistance from the IMF and the World Bank. It was in these vulnerable economic positions that most of these countries had neoliberal reforms imposed on them as conditions for the loans they received. Thus in addition to exploitation via cheap labor, declining terms of trade, and other surplus extracting mechanisms, developing countries were being further exploited via their indebtedness and relinked to the global

capitalist system on even more dependent and unequal terms. In other words, once again third world conditions of capital accumulation were made subordinate to those in West – the very essence of the structuralist theory of dependence.

As this more subordinate mode of relinking took hold, the transformation in our economic thinking was equally dramatic. After a short period of resistance, the abandoning of our vibrant and rich economic tradition of thought slowly set in. Many stopped teaching the works of Lewis, Best, Thomas and other founders of our structuralist economic tradition, shifting exclusively to the neoliberal market-oriented approach. It was and still is a moment in the life of Caribbean economics of which other disciplines like Caribbean philosophy and literature must take note.

Post-structuralism and Disciplinary Dependence

As in the case of neoliberalism, the rise of post-structuralism is a well known story. At its core, it was a semio-linguistic break with the classical reason-centered or "logocentric" cogito of the "great way" of Western philosophy. This break included Marxism, a European discourse on which many Caribbean thinkers leaned in their anti-colonial and labor struggles. Central to this break were the texts of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. In *Of Grammatology*, Derrida argued that at the core of logocentric thinking was the hierarchical arrangement of a particular set of binary oppositions, which included sameness over difference, universals over particulars, and most important the privileging of speech over writing. As a result, the liberating of the writerly sign became a vital strategy in post-structuralism's attempts to overthrow logocentric thinking. Instead of seeking universals, which were seen as authoritarian discursive formations, the ideal theoretical activity became the releasing of the polysemic and multiple meanings of writerly and other signs, which had to be suppressed in order to generate the universals of Western enlightenment philosophy. In short, resisting this discursive authoritarianism and uprooting it from its semio-linguistic foundations became the primary concern of post-structuralism.

Because semiotic binaries are employed in the construction of human identities, in establishing the foundations of disciplinary and other discourses, the broad appeal of post-structuralism is quite clear. For Caribbean and other traditions of thought engaged in textual interpretation, issues of subject formation, or the study of languages

there was certainly a lot to be learned from this new semiotically oriented theory. Thus the exchange between Caribbean traditions thought working in these areas and post-structuralism had the potential to be either cooperative or competitive. Well developed traditions of Caribbean thought in these domains covered by post-structuralism included those of anti-colonialism, Pan Africanism, Black nationalism, Black Marxism, Caribbean poeticism, and discourses of creolization. In particular, we can point to George Lamming's Caliban discourse, Kamau Brathwaite's nation language, Wilson Harris's cross-cultural approach to creole identity formation, the Black Marxism of James and Fanon and the poeticism of Aimé Césaire, Derek Walcott and Jamaica Kincaid. To grasp fully the regional impact of post-structuralism we must take note of the extent to which many of these local theories were either displaced by or recast into the language and categories of post-structuralism – a discourse that was founded on the critique of this type of universalism.

Among the first things that a more active Caribbean philosophy would have done was the sounding of a note of caution against turning to foreign sources for the meeting of these basic needs in relation to subject formation, textual interpretation and language analysis at these early stages in our postcolonial reconstruction. Such moves would have gone against its nationalist and intertextual grains. Second, it would have reminded regional scholars in the above areas that ours was not a problem of an excessively universalistic reason. On the contrary, it was more of the opposite given the minor mode of Calherban's reason. Third, a more present Caribbean philosophy would have placed post-structuralism's re-ordering of the founding binaries of Western enlightenment thought in the context of the history of transcendental thinking in our region. This would have involved the weighing of this new set of oppositions against those that were grounding our intellectual traditions at the time. The key oppositions of our traditions of thought were between black /white signs, national/imperial, female/male, labor/capital, home/diaspora, development/underdevelopment, and creole/pure signs. Out of the history of Africana transcendental thought would have come the question: what exactly is benefit of reordering the *a priori* semiotics of our traditions to accommodate the new suggested relation between spoken and writerly signs?

In addition to these notes of caution an active Caribbean philosophy would have put more squarely on the table some of the unresolved problems with post-structuralism as philosophy. Most obvious was the manner in which post-structuralism was developing as another

universalistic Western discourse and the extent to which this escaped many of its Caribbean users. Second, the cardinal sin against which post-structuralism warns is essentialism. Many of our race, nationalist and plantation discourses have been rejected on essentialist grounds by Caribbean scholars such as David Scott, Paul Gilroy, and Michaeline Crichlow. Yet a primary *a priori* condition for the very existence of post-structuralism is the essentializing of the semio-linguistic sign. Finally, one of the primary features of post-structuralism has been its rejection of all "grand narratives" such as the liberation of the proletariat. Yet at its foundation has been the liberation of the writerly sign.

In short, I have made these imagined critical points to suggest the difference that an active Caribbean philosophy would have made to the regional reception of post-structuralism. At a minimum, it would have made for a more vigorous and critical exchange. But in this case, given the very early stage in its rebirth, we had even less of a genuine philosophical exchange with post-structuralism than in the case with neoliberalism. Post-structuralism's hegemonic capture of thinking in the region was primarily the result of the cultural capital it had inherited as a Western discourse, and the dependent fact that most of our PhD's of that time were trained in Western graduate schools. So here too, because of continuing patterns of postcolonial dependence, the conditions under which Caribbean discourses accumulate cultural capital were made subordinate to those of discourses in the West.

The Opening

Since 2008, our current conjuncture has been marked by three sets of major collapses. First, the collapse of socialist and other Left experiments in the Caribbean and Africa, followed by the even more dramatic collapse of state socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Regionally, these collapses brought with them significant losses of faith in the Caribbean Left, retreats from ideas of central planning, returning to markets, a loss of faith in the Caribbean postcolonial state and a turn to Caribbean diasporas in major Western cities like New York, London and Toronto. The second set of conjuncture defining collapses was financial in nature. They included the 1996 financial collapse in Jamaica; the 1997–99 Asian collapse that engulfed Thailand, South Korea, Indonesia and beyond; and the 2008 collapse in the U.S. that engulfed Europe, the Caribbean and Africa, giving rise to what has come to be known as "the Great Recession". Regionally, these collapses produced a further loss of faith in neoliberalism and also in the postcolonial Caribbean state and

an even stronger turning to the diaspora. Third and finally, our current conjuncture is marked by significant declines in the influence of post-structuralism following the passing of both Foucault and Derrida. The works of Alain Badiou, Bernard Henri Levy, Etienne Balibar and others have not been able to fill the spaces left by their departures.

In short, what we have in the West are major philosophical and economic ebbs, which are still in need of interpretation as both have profoundly affected life in our region. Is this ebb also a philosophical recession, the further transitioning of Western philosophy from the "great" to the minor mode, or an increase in the resistance of Western society to philosophic theorizing? Whichever it turns out to be, it is this ebb in hegemonic economic and philosophical activity that I am calling the opening with which we are confronted. Further, I am suggesting that we look at it as an opportune time to re-examine local traditions abandoned during the period of hegemonic capture, reclaim the leadership in thinking about our economic challenges, our philosophical goals, as well as our experiences with subject formation, language and textual interpretation.

Caribbean Philosophy and the Opening

The primary response of Caribbean philosophy to the present opening must be to strengthen itself both discursively and institutionally so that it can be an even more effective contributor to knowledge production than in my imagined responses to post-structuralism. As a broad framework for this further growth, the discipline can continue under the banner of the CPA's organizing theme of "shifting the geography of reason". That is, Caribbean philosophers must continue to make clear the contributions of this philosophy that has lived here like a vine and has thrived in the world of mango, coconut and sugar apple trees, of de-negrification and de-coolietization, de-secondarization and de-proletarianization, the recovering of first sight, and through such recoveries has been reconnecting with our African and Indian heritages. We should not be apologetic about re-territorializing reason and affirming the Caribbean identity of our philosophy for fear of being accused of essentialism. Given the vine-like nature of Caribbean philosophy and its long period of colonial negation, essentialism should not be a primary concern of ours in the period of this opening.

Local Philosophical Demand

Within this broad framework, Caribbean philosophy needs to pursue a two- part strategy of growth in order to meet the challenges of the opening. First, to ensure the deepening of its Caribbean identity, our discipline needs to direct its practices of knowledge production towards meeting the philosophical demands generated within the region, and not get too caught up in addressing philosophical demands arising in countries where we get our graduate training. Second, given the existing distance between it and Caribbean economics, our emerging discipline will have to pay special attention to breaking down walls and opening pathways on its borders with economics. To achieve these two goals, we must have a clearer sense of the nature and sources of philosophical demand arising in our region. I suggest three crucial sites of local philosophical demand that we need to make high priorities.

First would be the philosophical demands generated by knowledge production in other disciplines of our epistemic order. This strategy is suggested by the fact that the most explicit demands for transcendental philosophizing in our region have come from the work of Lloyd Best and Sylvia Wynter in their fields of economics and literary criticism. There can be no distinctly Caribbean approach to transcendental philosophizing without reference to the works of these two non-philosophers. The second site of local philosophical demand to which we need to pay close attention is the set of symbolic and discursive needs by which Caribbean subjectivities have been formed and legitimated. Individual or collective identities are projected structures built on the positing or claiming of sameness or equality between goals of subject formation and ideals in the social world. However, like all positing and claiming, these too are subject to being legitimated or de-legitimated by arguments. The existential, ethical or political nature of these arguments makes the process of Caribbean human subject formation a major source of philosophical demand. Third and finally, as in the case of human identities, the nature and ideological identity of political and economic systems have also been major sources of philosophical demand. These systems are in need of subjective identities, founding principles, future visions, and ongoing supplies of legitimating or de-legitimating arguments as they are linked to concepts of the good society and traditions of social philosophy. In linking its productive output to meeting these important demands of Caribbean political and economic systems, Caribbean philosophy can deepen its identity, re-territorialize reason, and be organically involved in the postcolonial intellectual, economic and political life of our region.

Opening Transcendental Spaces Between Philosophy and Economics

As noted earlier, the second element in the growth strategy of responding to local philosophical demand must be a careful phenomenological uncovering of the hidden dimensions of Caribbean philosophy's codes of knowledge production and those of economics, as well as other social science disciplines such as sociology and political science. Compared to the corresponding epistemic relations with political science, sociology or literature, the relations between Caribbean philosophy and economics are much more opaque and mutually obscured. In the case of political science, there is the bridge of ideology and, in the case of sociology its methodological self-reflections have been a strong link to philosophy. Yet, in terms of this project of increasing the response to local philosophical demands, better and more mutually transparent relations with these disciplines will be crucial. So let us take a quick look at the direction in which I think relations between Caribbean philosophy and economics should be going.

As with other forms of thought, the being of economic thinking is the spontaneous transcendental creativity of the human self, its inherent abilities to create categories, concepts and images in response to various aspects of the world, and to its own development. The economic aspect of our social world is the creative work of subjects who are involved in the production, exchange and consumption of material goods and services needed for our survival. These economic subjects are motivated by what Arthur Lewis has called "the will to economize", which also gives an economic system its specific subjective identity. Indeed, it is the actions of these productive subjects, exercising their will to economize, that bring into being economic systems, provide them with subjective identities, and also the categories and concepts with which economic activity will be understood. For the philosophical perspective on economic life, it is vital that these subjects with their intentional creativity, be kept at the center of the picture. As noted earlier, philosophy explores the self- and knowledge- producing capabilities of the human "I"/"We". Thus it is at these founding sites of subjective creativity that philosophy and economics have some of their deepest meetings.

The fact that the projected categories, concepts and other symbolic creations can misrepresent the identities and instrumental processes of economic systems, make it clear that these epistemic formations are finite, prone to error, and quite often are surpassed by the infinitudes of economic life. Hence we get the need to check and refine them in response

to resistant feedback from economic subjects and systems. This refining of categories and concepts often leads to their further objectification, which in highly reified forms can cut philosophers and other scholars off from their roots in the transcendental creativity of economic subjects. Indeed, under these reified conditions, even the latter can lose sight of these transcendental wellsprings of their own creativity and come to see the economic system as independent of their labors.

However, from the philosophical standpoint, we must always insist on the phenomenological possibility of reconstructing the various phases of such processes of objectification, formalization, quantification, institutionalization and reification, which have given economic discourses their definite forms and relative permanence. Such reconstructions should enable us identify the forks in the epistemic road and the paths not taken, which have made possible different conceptions and approaches to economies. In short, these de-objectifying phenomenological reconstructions should make visible once again the obscured transcendental creativity that philosophy needs in order to make its distinctive contributions. Without access to these subjective aspects of economies, the incommensurability between the codes and categories of highly objectified economic discourses and those of philosophy would be too wide to bridge effectively and constructively.

With these subjective aspects of economic life visible again and philosophically accessible, Caribbean philosophy can begin to ask a number of question, which are normally excluded by the categoric infrastructure of economics. Given the colonial history of our region, one of the first questions that a Caribbean phenomenological philosopher would ask is: what is the dominant subjective identity of Caribbean economies? Closely related to this one would be others such as: what social group has supplied this dominant identity by projecting its transcendental and existential interests onto the order of Caribbean economic life? Is this identity still a Prosperian one? How has the institutionalization of this dominant subjective identity affected the economic identities, practices and thinking projected by other social groups in Caribbean societies? What has been happening with Calherban's "will to economize" in the postcolonial period? What have been the new categories and practices produced by Caliban as postcolonial economic subject? Is his entrepreneurial self-consciousness still that of a businessman and not a captain of industry? What is the relationship between Calherban/Caliban's reason and their economic categories and practices? These are some of the vital questions that have emerged on the border between

Caribbean philosophy and economics that are still in need of answers.

Answers to these often unasked questions about the subjective aspects Caribbean and other economies are important because they significantly affect how economic life is experienced, and thus the surpluses or deficits of legitimacy on which they must operate. Thus, in addition to exploitative practices, authoritarian discipline, inequities in the distribution of incomes and other more material problems, the legitimacy of economic systems is also affected by felt practices of exclusion at the levels of individual and collective identities. Thus the negrification of African identities and their systematic exclusion from the face and performance capabilities of Caribbean economic life was a significant factor in the de-legitimating Caribbean plantation economies.

Also extremely important is the extent to which particular dominant economic identities and their related categories and practices require the suppressing of other important or highly desired identities, such as religious, artistic, or intellectual ones. If these exclusionary and suppressive dynamics of dominant economic identities are experienced as excessive or too intrusive, they can produce feeling of disenchantment and disaffection from the economic system, further increasing its legitimacy deficits. Marx's analysis of the capitalist sources of feelings of "alienation" (1994:78-87) is a classic example of these types of subjective problems, which have been the basis for many people turning to socialism.

By opening new paths such as these on borders with economics, political science and literature, Caribbean philosophy will be able to respond more effectively to important philosophical demands coming from vital areas of knowledge production in the region. Responding to these demands will not only spur the growth of the field but will also deepen its Caribbean identity. At the same time it must also continue to work on its own internal self-organization.

Transversal Philosophizing

By pursuing the above growth strategy in this period of the opening, Caribbean philosophy will not only deepen its already strong intertextual orientation and better position itself to contribute to the making of the post-neoliberal period, it will also prepare it to help in filling the vacuum left by the decline of post-structuralism. Organizing and making possible the above intertextual relations has been a poorly recognized type of thinking. The time has come for us to make it more explicit, bring it more

into the open, as it is a wonderful candidate for doing the work for which we imported post-structuralism. The type of philosophical thinking that I am referring to we can call transversal thinking – taking a suggestion from Edouard Glissant.

First and foremost, transversal philosophizing is transcendental in nature and orientation. It operates at the level of its own *a priori* categories, which ground the formation of its epistemic subjects and the operations of its conceptual infrastructures, and uses these self-reflective capabilities to engage other disciplines at their a priori levels. Further, Caribbean transversal philosophizing has focused its attention on the nature of both intra-disciplinary and interdisciplinary breaks in epistemic fields, which give rise to experiences of borders that have to be bridged and crossed. It does not see disciplinary fields as unified and closed formations, but as fractured ones that are always in need of internal and external bridges. Because it does not see fields like economics as closed, Caribbean transversal philosophizing explores the limits of universally oriented thinking and the epistemic strategies by which it enacts closure. Having identified these limits and strategies of closure, it then attempts to establish bridges that do not negate completely the identity or specificity of these universally oriented disciplines. In short Caribbean transversal thinking aims to be as much at home in these epistemic fissures, as it is within the more established spaces of disciplines. This type of thinking is a particular strength of Caribbean philosophy, which has enabled it to meet the philosophical needs coming from its disciplinary neighbors, and to fill the void left by post-structuralism.

Although largely unrecognized, transversal thinking has been with us for a long time. I have been employing it throughout much of this paper, and its active presence can be seen in works of earlier African philosophers. For example, two classic moments in the formation of Caribbean transversal thinking are what we can call the Du Boisian hesitation, and the Jamesian stop. Let us look briefly at them. In his 1905 essay, "Sociology Hesitant" (2015), Du Bois took up the question of the use of qualitative and quantitative methods in sociology. In spite of the tendency in the discipline to assert one over the other, Du Bois insisted that the two persist because there were aspects of human behavior that were calculable, and thus could grasp in the law-like manner of the natural sciences, and aspects that are incalculable, and thus could not be grasped in this manner. These incalculable aspects had to do with human freedom and its impact on the calculable aspects. A good sociologist should be able to combine effectively these two methods, as Du Bois did

in his classic work, *The Philadelphia Negro*. How are we to account for the comfortable and convincing manner in which Du Bois combined these two often- opposed methods of doing sociological research? First, he accepted the paradox at the heart of sociology: the hypothesis of law and the assumption of incalculability introduced by human freedom. Next, he carefully familiarized himself with the *a priori* limits of both, and thus with the fact that there is an epistemic break between these two distinct methodologies. Third Du Bois hesitated on the borders between these two methodologies and in that liminal moment of crossing changed the set of *a priori* categories that ground the knowing subject and the procedural strategies of the quantitative sociologist to those of the qualitative sociologist. This hesitation is like a form of code switching, or going from one language to another. In short, the key overcoming this intra-disciplinary divide is the ability to appreciate the limits of both, know when you have come up against them, and the nature of the underlying discourse-constitutive codes that must be exchanged. This is the Du Boisian hesitation.

If we examine the Jamesian stop, we can see the operating of a similar process of changing *a priori* categories and assumptions as a key strategy for crossing interdisciplinary borders. Throughout his life, James was constantly changing the *a priori* infrastructure that grounded his thinking and shaped the nature of his knowing subject. The early James was a literary/ludic person playing cricket, writing about the game, and also about literature. In *Beyond a Boundary*, James tells us that around age thirty "fiction-writing drained out of me and was replaced by politics. I became a Marxist, a Trotskyist" (2005: 197). In *Notes on Dialectics*, James indirectly describes the processes of the draining out of the *a priori* infrastructure of his Trotskyist period and the rise of the new infrastructure that grounded the knowing subject and categories of knowledge production of his period as an independent Marxist. Particularly in this latter case, James describes the complex process of stopping at the limits of Trotskyism, undoing the discourse-constitutive codes that held its infrastructure in place, and the instituting of the new foundations that would support the epistemic subject and the practices of his independent Marxism.

The similarities with the transversal thinking of Du Bois should now be quite clear. In both cases there is a definite recognition of the limits of all discourses and how these are to handled without completely rejecting them. Other important moments in the formation of Caribbean transversal thinking would be Wynter's liminal category, Harris' view

of the human self as marked by internal splits that are similar to those within disciplinary fields like economics, and the many bridges that have been established between Caribbean poeticism and historicism in the works of writers such as Aimé Césaire, George Lamming, Derek Walcott, Kamau Brathwaite, Jamaica Kincaid and many others. What links all of these important moments in the formation of Caribbean transversal thinking is the shared ontology of creative realism (Henry, 2009:181). This ontology was one of our secular responses to the imploding of the spiritual foundations of our African and Indian heritages by their negrification, coolietization, proletarianization – in short, Calibanization. In this dispersed epistemic context, creative realism took as its point of departure, not spirit, but the spontaneous self-organizing creativity with which the human subject posits its identity and projects the world of meaning with which it is correlated. In our earlier discussion of economic subjectivity, we called this creativity "the will to economize". However, in spite of making these self- and world-constituting activities of the human subject its point of departure, creative realism did not extend any final or absolute claims to the discursive products of this creativity. They were always seen as partial or provisional – in the Harris' word, "rehearsals".

In the spirit of this ontology of creative realism, we see the dissolution of universals without them being completely rejected, long before the rise of post-structuralism, and at the same time the systematic attempts at getting beyond the limits of established disciplines through forging complementary links with other discourses. It is this moving between and across these established disciplinary terrains at the transcendental level that is the distinctive mark of transversal thinking. Many more examples of this type of thinking could be extracted from the works of Wilson Harris, Sylvia Wynter and Lloyd Best. My location on the border between sociology and philosophy has made me very interested in these and other instances of Caribbean transversal thinking. It contains constructive responses to the problems of logocentric universals, to the split between Caliban and Calherban, and to issues of de-negrification, and de-proletarianization. Transversal thinking is an important aspect of Caribbean philosophy that has remained under-recognized. Given the demands that Caribbean philosophy will be facing in this period of the opening, developing this aspect of itself will position it to make new and distinct contributions to the discussions regarding life after the opening that have already begun. In short, developing this tradition of transversal thinking while at the same time responding to regional sites of philosophical demand is the two-part growth strategy that I am suggesting for our philosophy.

CONCLUSION

In the course of this paper, we have given an account of the nature and development of Caribbean philosophy, some of the challenges confronting its disciplinary organization, and a growth strategy for addressing these challenges. Further, we argued that the discursive opening created by the post-2008 conjuncture has made the suggested new directions for Caribbean philosophy both necessary and more feasible. In the spaces of the opening left by the declining discourses of neoliberalism and post-structuralism, we have suggested the strategy of re-examining at least two regional discourses that got eclipsed by the hegemonic rise of these two Western discourses. These two are our structuralist/dependency tradition in economics and our creole tradition in identity and textual analysis. I have framed this paper in the language of Caribbean transversal thinking and of our dependency tradition to demonstrate their persisting explanatory and interpretive powers. However, these suggested returns would not be uncritical and triumphalist ones over the crises of neoliberalism and post-structuralism. But rather re-examinations that are committed to better understandings of the epistemic limits of varying approaches to the study of economies, identities and texts, rather than rejecting an approach for the features of being bounded, incomplete or non-hegemonic. In the place of such defensive responses, we have suggested a transversal exploration of the clashing discourse-constitutive border codes separating these competing approaches, and the bridges that might lead to supplementary collaborations.

However, at the same time that Caribbean philosophy attempts to address these growing voids of the opening, it must also maintain its commitments to other sites of local philosophical such as the need to deepen the ties with its Indian, African and African American heritages. As we have seen, these have been and still are vital to the present resurgence of Caribbean philosophy. Thus maintaining and deepening ongoing conversations with African, African American, and Indian philosophers must remain high on our agenda.

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WALCOTT'S EVOCATIVE GAZE: A HARBORING LANDSCAPE

Edgar O. Lake

Re-publishing the poem, "Missing the Sea", in the 1971 pan-Antillean anthology, (*From the Green Antilles*), Derek Walcott writes presciently of the immortal sea: "…Freights cupboards with silence, folds sour laundry/Like the clothes of the dead left exactly/as the dead behaved by the beloved/Incredulous, expecting occupancy…"

Forty-eight years later, in his 2017 Foreword for *Bearden's Anthology*, co-edited by Kwame Dawes and Matthew Shenoda, Walcott offers a deeply contoured passage. It is after selecting a detail from Bearden's 1965–70 collage (*The Sea Nymph*) for a book cover: "In his work he was interested in going beneath the surface—a submarine figure…" Walcott saw a storytelling dynamic in Bearden's collage technique "as paths to narrative, as a kind of prose narrative." Then, he cautions: "I have to be careful about saying this, but the narratives he created were not constructed in the poetic sense but in the prose sense, as a deliberate act of painting in the way that William Carlos Williams engaged prose in his poetry—an American thing."

Williams?—What sea-faring landscape had evoked that poet's name, above all others? William Carlos Williams's Paris-schooled mother was a Puerto Rican who met his English-born father in St. Thomas. Born in Rutherford, New Jersey, on September 17, 1883, Williams entered the University of Pennsylvania to study medicine; meeting for the first time another colleague—the poet, Ezra Pound.

Perhaps Walcott had been struck by Williams's corresponding elegiac poem, "Smell!", ("and now it is the souring flowers of the bedraggled/ poplars: a festering pulp on the wet earth/beneath them. With what deep thirst/ we quicken our desires/ to that rank odor of a passing springtime!/")—so evocative of his own poem, *Missing the Sea*.

Yet Walcott's Foreword for *Bearden's Odyssey*—arguably one of his last tributes—marks 16 years since Walcott published the St. Thomas-based epic; musing with Pissarro in *Tiepolo's Hound* (2000). There, the poet writes of the famed St. Thomas harbor in Book VIII (p. 47): ("... The Tuileries/blossomed with children, black iron sills/and balconies and fierce cobalt skies,/the cries of gulls and nurses, their white cries/ recalled those Sundays of Charlotte Amalie's/and the bays of his childhood's paradise./In a straw chair, by the Seine's blue tablecloth,/

its sails like peaked napkins, the white-walled Aegean,/he is pierced by the lances of Charlotte Amalie's wharf/gulls' handkerchiefs fluttering against the green."

This historical-poetic documentation of Caribbean harbors in Walcott's poems may be glimpsed in "Statio Haud Malefida Carinis", SAVACOU, Special Issues:3–4, 1970–71: ("Boy! Name the great harbours of the world!"/"Sydney! Sir."/"San Francisco"/"Naples, sah!" "And what about Castries?"/"Sah, Castries ees a coaling station and/der twenty-seventh best harbor in der worl'!").

In Lee Johnson's 2013 article, "Derek Walcott: Poet of the Exiles", he offers two passages from Walcott's "As John To Patmos"; and "A Sea Chantey". From the former poem: "This island is heaven—away from the dustblown blood of cities;/See the curve of the bay, watch the straggling flower, pretty is/The wing'd sound of trees, the sparse-powdered sky...". And, emphasizing the allure of emerald destinations, Johnson cites another passage from the latter poem: "Anguilla, Adina/ Antigua, Cannelles,/Andreuile, all the l's/Voyelles, of the liquid Antilles,/ The names tremble like needles/Of anchored frigates,/Yachts tranquil as lilies,/In ports of calm coral/". (*The Arts Journal*, 9:1 & 2, 2013)

There is Arthurian chivalry, the equipage of exile and courtship—a kind of 'harboring' for an inexpressible love and its consequential sojourn bathed in Walcott's dowry of the Sea. More so, is his averred gaze wary of the 'dustblown blood' (his phrase), inflicted by the symbolic lances of cityscapes. Even as he beckons us to embrace, afresh, the allure of the 'curved bay' and the triumphal 'straggling flower'—it is the winged steed of our trees and the economy of our once un-polluted sky that he begs us preserve,—as gift for the soulful Betrothed. If there is in Walcott's phrase—'the curved bay'—a fabled rescue to reclaim, Walcott exhorts us, gently, consider none but our selves.

This poetic Walcott 'occupancy'—is the essential harboring expanded in the many l's which he explicitly articulates. To weave such armor ("the names tremble like needles"), Walcott invites us in the *engage!* of ephemeral harboring—'of anchored frigates'; and of winged soaring spaces. That he records these *bound-for* names is hardly incidental. Each unclaimed acquisition incrementally erases our Marine vocabularies, and the adventurous love for harbors, cays—and bays.

Finally, to dispel any errant notions of *our* harboring, I return to finer gems of voyaging comradeship nestling in the archipelagic registry of Walcott's Caribbean Sea.

One such emerald was revealed by Walcott's friend, the Russian émigré poet, the late Joseph Brodsky.

Four years before Brodsky won the Nobel Prize for Literature, he wrote of Walcott's astonishing vocal power as being "in direct proportion to both the realm in whose name he speaks and the oceanic space that surrounds it."

Brodsky wove his words slowly, spinning the proverbial cloth of an unsuspected elegy to Walcott. It was a display of colors run up the mast—signaling a new berthing into Walcott's original articulation of our harboring:—("incredulous, expecting occupancy")—as first described in his 1971 poem, "Missing the Sea".

Brodsky wrote fore-tellingly. His praise of Walcott full-mast and bearing down; slaying dragons of a different harboring directed at his friend. It seems so fitting now—(Even mirroring Walcott's similar assertions of Romare Bearden's ignored stature, in the defiantly woven Foreword of *Bearden's Odyssey*!).

But, heady waters, notwithstanding, Brodsky finished, thus:

> For the thirty years that Walcott has been at it, at this loving the sea, critics on both its sides kept calling him 'a West Indian poet' or 'a black poet from the Caribbean'. These definitions are as myopic and misleading as it would be to call the Saviour a Galilean. The comparison may seem extreme but is appropriate if only because each reductive impulse stems from the terror of the infinite; and when it comes to an appetite for the infinite, poetry often dwarfs creeds. The mental as well as spiritual cowardice, obvious in the attempts to render this man a regional writer, can be further explained by the unwillingness of the critical profession to admit that the great poet of the English language is a black man. It can also be attributed to degenerated helixes, or, as the Italians say, to retinas lined with ham. Still, its most benevolent explanation, surely, is a poor knowledge of geography.
>
> —(NYRB November 10, 1983)

REVIEWS

DR. VALERIE KNOWLES COMBIE'S *MEMORIES / RECUERDOS* (TRANS. DR. CHRISTOPHER C. COMBIE) AB ASPECT BOOKS, PP. 1-74, 2016.

Clement A. White

Dr. Valerie Knowles Combie's powerful poetic exploration is achieved through a kind of "*homenaje*," the Spanish word that we can interpret to mean, "tribute"—it is a salute to people, nature, places, to identity, her roots, "*raíces*." The collection, a literary journey imbued with realism, highlights important connections of self and place, and nature. In fact, I cannot help but think of my own sense of connection with three geographical spaces that I embrace, very similar to those of Professor Knowles Combie—for me, Nevis, St. Croix, and St. Thomas. There is in this compact compilation of verses a kind of *magic realism*, so emblematic of our hyperbolic West Indies. And in this case, Antigua evokes poignant memories, and still occupies a special place in her heart, in her subconscious. Nature, (*La naturaleza*) is not represented as some incidental slice of reality, but as a kind of natural muse that inspired and motivated her while in one of her cherished homelands—Antigua. In point of fact, the writer herself refers to this as her "Antiguan period," during which, in her own words, "I encountered nature at its best and the creatures of nature that inspired me" (Preface). Indeed, nature in picturesque, idyllic Antigua—and by extension the island itself—continues to inspire, and the inference is undeniable—that it will do so incessantly.

To be sure, Antigua, beloved and honored by the poet, does not in any way tell the complete story of who she is, a product of West Indian spaces that converge at some points, and at others diverge. That other special space is St. Croix in the United States Virgin Islands. She cannot escape this reality, but more importantly she does not attempt to do so. It is worth noting that the writer does not make reference to being "a native" nor being "born" on any particular island, neither in the primary collection, nor in her biographical entry. One can easily deduce that the fact that both spaces are considered "home," far supersedes the idea of birthplace or "birth space." Structurally, the work is divided in two parts, with no primacy given to any particular one of these "places that we call home" (Preface). Each "home" has left its own indelible imprint, each reinforcing the other in the writer's life experiences.

Memories / Recuerdos opens with the most logical of recognition, that of a beloved teacher Mr. Joseph Hampson of Antigua, who is portrayed not only as the poet's former teacher, but as a transformational figure, a "giant" in the community, whose dedication to his people serves as a kind

of metonym for the numerous contributors to the personal, academic, and professional grooming of the young people in Antigua, in the Virgin Islands, in our Caribbean. Once again, I cannot resist adding here that this was another eye opener for me as I myself in a particular collection several years ago paid similar reverence to a high school teacher who impacted my life in similar ways. What makes this poem especially forceful is that Professor Knowles does NOT de-personalize her subject; in fact, quite the contrary, as she engages in a conversation with her beloved teacher with a grateful and gracious poetic exposé, using the subject pronoun, "you", or the appropriate possessive "your." She invites her reader to be observer and witness to the conversation that accentuates the importance of this educator, brought alive poetically, reborn in the poet's subconscious:

Your influence knew no bounds
Your presence was all around
:
:
Teacher Hampson, you earned the right
To be our mentor, our friend, our guide
We salute you; we memorialize you
We thank you (8-9).

This honored, honorable, and respected man is not an abstraction but a real catalytic figure whose impact is immeasurable; one whom the writer immortalizes in her verses, a well-deserved act of recognition. We are all aware that the "Mr. Hampsons" of the world cannot ever be compensated; indeed their impact is too widespread, too overarching. In spite of our recognition of the impossibility of "repaying" public servants such as Mr. Hampson, there is an undeniable feeling in the poem that repayment perhaps can take a different form, maybe embedded in the verses. Professor Knowles intuits as much: "Cedar Grove Village has not been the same/ Because you came" (8). Clearly, many beneficiaries (such as Dr. Knowles) of the teachings, guidance, influence, and "training" from this monumental figure, are carrying forth his message, and educating others, in a series of endless permutations that undoubtedly would have made this icon proud. Perhaps, the continuation of Mr. Hampson's nation building labor is the ultimate repayment, one that undoubtedly this educational hero himself would have encouraged and endorsed.

I can only imagine, given the poetic profile presented of this memorable educator, that there can be no better, no more appropriate "repayment," or "compensation." It is unmistakable, through the construction of the

character of this intellectually and morally sound man, that he sought no fortune, since his only concern was "educating [the student] through and through" (8). Yet, this poem of unbounded appreciation, is itself a kind of repayment, in its canonization of one who clearly delighted in spreading the gospel of education and doing so while "restoring dignity and love in God's name"(8). Like the many great St. Croix (among them, Alfredo Andrews; Eulalie Rivera) and Virgin Islands educators, committed to their students' academic and spiritual growth and stability, Mr. Hampson, is portrayed as a uniquely talented, humble, and committed man. What a sincere and earnest *homenaje!* Demonstrating her versatility, Dr. Knowles employs the rhyme scheme *aabb* in this particular construction; even though in later verses she opts for free verses. No matter which choice she makes, the verses flow smoothly with strong underlying messages—of service, of caring, of sacrifice, of identification with one's community.

Part I, continues with a series of recognition and praise of nature, with poems such as "Pre-Dawn," "Dawn," and "Sunrise" among several others embracing nature, embracing that home that evokes important memories—Antigua. Nature is never presented as oppressive, overwhelming, or domineering, but its vividness—so much a part of Antigua's reality—can neither be overstated. The majestic Antiguan sunrise is captured in the poem by the same name, in a carefully crafted cadence that not only makes this a kind of graphically transcribed poem, but also showcases the poet's successful manipulation of vivid imagery:

Liquid blue gray clouds enfold the sky
A golden horizontal strip
Pierces the blanket of blue gray
Spreading light around (20)

Then later in the poem we are made aware of [t]he wintry breeze /tosses the branches of the trees / And they sway back and forth / Echoing the strains of the north /Welcoming the coolness" (21). When the poet thinks of Antigua, it is inevitable that she contemplates the beautiful landscape, its awesomeness. It is a throwback to yesteryear when nature was regularly protagonized in lyrical verses. I think of the works of such writers as the 19th century poet (and essayist), Andrés Bello, who put "la naturaleza" at center stage, to be admired and never to be taken for granted.

"Sunrise" epitomizes the sentiments, the sense of belonging, and the love for language so prevalent in this collection. But it is also important to

note that the writer pays attention to the smaller things, the little details that may escape us from time to time, but are equally a substantial part of the island's makeup, those small markers indelibly etched in our minds:

The combined raindrops
Thunder of the roof one hears
In a rhythmic cacophony (24)

Those of us who currently live or have resided at some point in the West Indies can reminisce on that kind of onomatopoeic representation of the rain in contact with our roofs covered by galvanize, or as it was popularly referenced in many places, "tin nin" roofs. It was prominently a part of our "cultural architecture," and residents often anxiously looked forward to that "rhythmic cacophony." With this portrayal of Antigua's physical ambience, its sights, its sounds, the poet accentuates a singular reality: she will always be a part of Antigua, and her island home will always be a part of who she is—that in essence is what identity is. The writer, however, purposely does not construct reality vacuously; quite the contrary, her identity results from the fusion of two "homes," solidly constructing her as Antiguan—Crucian, Crucian-Antiguan.

The Crucian component of the poet's construction of "self" is no less pronounced in Part II of the collection. The poems, written in St. Croix present a cross section of the island, with a clear sense of belonging and connection exuding throughout the works. Very much as her "Antigua Period" these poems unabashedly boast her "crucian-ness" in a manner that does not impinge on the construction of her Antiguan identity. In fact, it is clear in the collection that Knowles Combie does not interpret herself in "parts", but rather through the far-reaching tentacles of her individual experiences on each of these beautiful islands. The sentiment is perhaps best epitomized by the earnest, heart-felt verses:

I love Frederiksted
Its wide mostly vacant streets
Its decaying infrastructure
Its open waterfront (71)

This impression of the town is constructed poetically through the aid of an anaphora; undoubtedly no place is perfect, and the writer makes this clear as she imagines another period in time, more idyllic, more idealized, more romanticized. "Yes, I do love Frederiksted,"(71), the poet exclaims, reaffirming her connection to this homeland.

Clearly, the poet recognizes a new reality, distressing as it may be, because it seems a far cry from another epoch, a different era when the populace felt more secure; however, in spite of this twist of fate, this recasting of a lovely town, still, "They all attract me, soothe me, lure me / calling me back again and again" (71). It is very much akin to the attraction felt from nature's magnetic force in Antigua. But these verses highlight a particular important feature of Dr. Knowles Combie's work that must not be understated: its critical bent. Although the poem and this collection abound in description, it would be a mistake to characterize this poetry as merely "observational," or "descriptive." That would be a false characterization of this work; for in fact, in both Part I and Part II, we are witnesses to a hard-hitting social and political commentary that pulls no punches:

> *No more can I wander*
> *Those Moonlit shores yonder*
> *Or walk streets spacious and free*
> *From the madding throng* (71).

The poet does not reject her homeland; on the contrary, she adores this geographical space, but she must also be true to herself; she must and does speak truth! The transformation in our islands is happening right before our eyes, and our reaction too often is to will it all away by closing our eyes and imagining that the constant and rapid metamorphosis is not true. The ironic tone of the poem is precisely that which gives it potency. The "lines from high school poetry" (71) recreate the myth of paradise and Eden, a stark reality awaits! Nonetheless, the abiding love harbored for the author's St. Croix will never be dulled by the new 21st century reality, the omnipresence of the "madding throng."

Be not deceived, however, Part I with its portrayal of a vibrant nature with its "beauty and function" (31) and its calming tone, is not at all devoid of the writer's dagger. The critic's voice is not suffocated in this section in which she slams LIAT for its complacency, unprofessionalism, and sense of privilege and entitlement: "LIAT's service record / or lack of service is notorious" (42). In subsequent verses, she refers to the company as having "inferior service" (43) that continues "[H]olding us hostage" (43), and then there is the company's inefficiency: "I thought over fifty years would demonstrate maturity / And LIAT would have proved efficient"(43). In a larger sense, though, the poems in *Memories / Recuerdos* exude a constant note of hope, within the framework of disappointments and societal failure. But if it is "home"; the one action that cannot happen is that of surrender; for, this would be a concession to failure.

The sense of feeling Crucian or Antiguan is not weakened by the problems in these West Indian societies. In this context, for example, Christiansted is characterized as undergoing serious economic changes. Inferentially, the residents suffer as a result of the upheavals, inconsistencies, and frightening uncertainties in the island's economy that lead to the economic instability that the poet recognizes. Whether it is HOVENSA closing down its refineries, or the traditional downtown mainstays packing up and leaving town, the economic restructuring is real and impactful. But it is precisely at this nexus that the poet maintains a steadfast, unwavering optimism,—in the rich legacy of her island's history:

> *We'll survive*
> *We'll thrive*
> *Because we are Queen Mary's daughters*
> *:*
> *This economic crisis will soon will past*
> *And we'll stand unbroken and unbent to the las*t (66)

The writer is confident that "St. Croix will rebound" (66) because of the inner strength that is an indispensable component of the Crucian's spirit, the Virgin Islands' demonstrated strength, emanating from that rich historical lineage. "Christiansted, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" is a forceful poem both in tone and message, with glimpses of both the past and contemporary St. Croix "that [has] overcome the greatest slaughter of our men, our women, and our children" (66). Here the poet most poignantly affirms her Crucian identity, while simultaneously recognizing and honoring St. Croix's history of resistance that is also part of the broader Virgin Islands historical reality. It is the ultimate "*homenaje*" of the geographic space.

It is the story of survival ["We are survivors" (66)] taught by historical figures such as Queens Mary, Agnes, Mathilda, Bottom Belly. St. Croix will summon the spirit of the ancestors, and there is no doubt that the island "se recuperará,"(70) [will recover], and "vamos a sobrevivir"(70). In this delightful poetic collection, the lessons granted through generations are not at all disconnected from those taught by committed teachers. In this poem, the reader gets the sense that a revival in Christiansted and St. Croix is imminent because, like Mr. Hampson, historical figures such as Queen Mary have "equipped us for life's trials and strife" (8). Only an unbreakable embracement of the Crucian identity can produce this type of self-assurance and unwavering hope and optimism. It is the voice of the poet acclaiming her home, that other abode that reflects who she is.

Knowles Combie's poem "Hemp Festival" shows off her skill as a satirist, entering as it were in the fervent debate over the question of hemp usage, identifying local sentiments with respect to the use of this plant that has generated a variety of reactions. She rejects the notion of the plant's exaggerated positive impact on the island's economy as some have suggested, or even its proclaimed great value for our physical well-being. The idea that hemp will have the effect of "increasing wealth and treasure / In this depleted economy" (63) is an unmitigated misnomer. The truth surfaces through the satirical and sarcastic tone as it becomes very clear where the writer stands: "No more hemp festival / Let's stick with our carnival" (62). The Virgin Islander knows what carnival is, having participated in the festivities as part of his/her cultural and traditional mores. Though carnival in any of the territories has its moments of unpredictability, it is certainly not an unknown entity. The contrast that the writer makes with hemp could not be more definitive. Any Virgin Islander knows that carnival will create that festive mood, will leave the reveler in a state of bliss, of relaxation. On the other hand, the plant could be the source of "blowing our brains" (61) and "creating meaningless lives"(66). This is one festival that she does not want in her home, St. Croix, Virgin Islands. Knowles Combie is a fearless commentator whose promise "I'll be seeing you/At the Hemp Festival"(66) is characterized by an ironic twist in a poem that serves as a conduit for the articulation of the writer's social stance on a very contemporary issue.

In her collection, the poet also extols her philosophical views of the world, as is noted in the poem titled "Wasted Time," in which time, the protagonist in life's meandering roads, waits for no one. It is a poem that forces us to reflect on what we do with the moments available to us. The writer makes it unquestionably clear that we miss crucial opportunities as we stand idly by, as time marches on. Above all, allowing this to happen, especially when it is suggested that it is completely within our power to alter life's course, is simply "foolish"(36). It is the point where each of us experiences that level of equality because "Time is a commodity/ Equally bestowed on all" (36).

It is not at all surprising that the poem discussed in the paragraph above appears within Part I. This section of the collection depicts nature, and the Antiguan landscape inspires the poet to meditate, reflect, and ponder the implications of a transient, fleeting existence. A poem, such as this one, ultimately is not circumscribed to any particular section. Whether in St. Croix, or in Antigua, the writer must confront the same reality—that of fleeting time. The representation of "time" personified

adds a sense of urgency to all human beings, and the consequences of our cavalier attitude—"regrets," "losses," "pain," "emptiness." Indeed, each segment of time, when not appropriately utilized can create such a scenario. There is a sense in this poem that it is especially "foolish" to waste precious time, when we are privileged to be witnesses of nature's kaleidoscopes. Why sit idly by in picturesque Antigua, watching the clock tick slowly, but inevitably. How foolish!

Memories / Recuerdos is the result of a collaborative effort between the poet and her son, Dr. Christopher C. Combie who has made every effort to be faithful to the primary text, trying to avoid as much as possible the trap of too literal a translation, relying (rightfully so) on interpretation of the texts. It is commendable the earnestness that is evident in this project, and it speaks to the awesome responsibility that a translator/interpreter has once accepting such a task. Translation is always a daunting and arduous task, and I commend the translator for successfully negotiating and mediating this tricky world of words, and for solving many of the structural challenges, from English to Spanish, both morphological and syntactic. But although the translation is primarily loyal to the original text, there are a few instances where I would challenge the English to Spanish translation particularly in the poems "Federiksted" and "Christiansted Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" ("Christiansted ayer, hoy y mañana"). This is a very good collection, and it is important that the areas of doubt be identified. I specifically refer to the following translations from the poem "Frederiksted": "Con mi sombra me anterior…/Sin escrúpulos por el"(72), "…imaginación está plagad**o**"(72). These translated verses are not clear.

In addition, the poem "Christiansted ayer…" carries the following lines that are somewhat confusing: "le sobreviven / Haremos prosperar"(69), "Que ajustarnos los cinturones" (69). In addition, the following verses are unclear: "la obtención de mejores"(70), "Que vamos a sobrevivir y exposición que brillan"(70), "le ayudaremos y sobrevivir", and "Hasta que nos morimos, vamos a permanecer vivo (70). Also, "Christiansted en reposo" (from "Christiansted at Rest"), another very forceful poem, contains some verses that are confusing: "De un pueblo, todas las personas /Cumplir sueño del Dr. King"(53), "una ola está formado", and "Se ha hecho historia y repetida" (53), "La Tierra que amamos a Dios"(53). It could well be that there are words that are inadvertently missing in the transcription of the original text, or typographical errors; whatever the cause, they veer somewhat from the primary text. Finally in those cases where the translator employs the form of verb "capturar,"

I would opt for "Captar," as in capturing the essence of something. My recommendation would be that in a second edition of this work poems referenced immediately above would be revisited. I believe that would make this already very good collection, an excellent bilingual edition.

Undeniably, Knowles Combie's collection is not only enjoyable reading, but also thought provoking. It is a work that praises, observes, and condemns when necessary. Above all, it is a text that does not camouflage the truth but brings it to center stage with the aid of carefully crafted verses that capture pronounced images of her two homes—Antigua and St. Croix. It is a work that I have thoroughly enjoyed reading, and any resident of these two beautiful island spaces would readily identify with the scenes so well created. Fortunately for those not familiar with our islands, this writer has created vivid poetic images that help the imagination to wander, and "see" the majestic islands so loved and appreciated by this poet of the sun, the daughter of Antigua and St. Croix.

RITE OF PASSAGE ENHANCED THROUGH COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Joanne C. Hillhouse. *Musical Youth.* Basseterre, St. Kitts: CaribbeanReads Publishing. 2013.

Valerie Knowles Combie

Joanne C. Hillhouse's *Musical Youth* is an excellent portrayal of two young people's coming-of-age in their native Antigua and Barbuda. Narrated through the author's brilliance as an observer of youth and as a prose stylist, the book describes the collective involvement of cultural pride with commitment and leadership to produce a meaningful life for an island community. Most of the action of this book is centered around a summer project with a summer assignment thrown in for a group of youth. The story encompasses the human condition, thus exposing humanity and its foibles as well as its dominant forces. This coming-of-age story is grounded and set in the author's native Antigua and Barbuda, with its idiosyncrasies and cultural activities, which are at the novel's core. The natural conversations and texting of the youth contribute to the credibility of the story, while simultaneously offering specific landmarks along the way to help the youth navigate their course through life. Hillhouse accomplishes these overwhelming tasks by using provocative language, which adds authenticity to her work. She also merges various components from which several themes emerge, such as the following:

1. Family relationships
2. Youth empowerment
3. Trust
4. Self-identification and self-love
5. Community involvement
6. Loss and grief, healing and restoration.

Family Relationships

Even though the families of the characters are not featured at the beginning of the book, the author introduces "Zahara like the Sahara" (1), who is an orphan cared for by her grandmother, Granny Linda. Her counterpart, Shaka, lives with his mother and his grandfather, Pappy, who plays an integral role in his life, providing the essential paternal image for the young boy. These are typical Caribbean parents whose reluctance in showing love creates a bridge between grandmother and granddaughter, mother and son, and grandfather and grandson

respectively. The differences between grandparents raising children and younger parenting styles are seen with Nicola whose mother assumes a laissez-faire attitude in her parenting. It is significant to note that in these three families, the father is noticeably absent.

Later, when Kong's mother—the prayer warrior—contributes to the summer project by praying for the group's success, his friends observe his embarrassment, a typical reaction of a youth among his peers. It is not surprising that another mother is featured, though in a different role. Through the interactions of the teens and their peers, the author exposes latent and demonstrated talents, which are developed through informal mentoring as in the case of the priest, Father Ellie (7, 8), Mr. Patrick (10), and Mr. Perry. The fact that Hillhouse's characters seem to exude musical talents may appear contrived, but further reading discloses inherited traits as in Zahara's fascination with music. Her father is a skilled and gifted guitarist—"A hell of a guitar player, yes!" Granny Linda claims (192).

He is an absent figure, but as Granny Linda opens up to her granddaughter, Zahara learns of her rich musical heritage. She learns also of her mother and the clandestine relationship between her and Shaka's father, which provokes the possibility of kinship between them.

The author skillfully transcends the silent censorious attitude of Granny Linda's generation to forge a companionable, though respectful, bond between children and parents. That new-found relationship enables Granny Linda and Pappy to express their pride in their grandchildren's performance, but it is made possible only through the involvement of other people under the guidance of the mentors.

The peer group also becomes a family as in Shaka's case with his friends (11). They are the "brothers he didn't have" (17). Unlike Zahara, Shaka feels "safe, loved," which he attributes to his grandfather's presence in his life (39).

These relationships are vital to the development of the youth and for the adults as well. They create an environment that both need to succeed in life (39).

Youth Empowerment

Hillhouse's book is a must read for all youth, as it embraces their millennial worldview with its accompanying accoutrements of technology, contemporary music, and general interests of youth. The author's focus on the island's cultural activities such as carnival is an integral part of the book. It heightens the youth's involvement in an important activity while grooming them for the future. That carnival has morphed into a new creature, associated with other activities geared primarily to youth speaks of the nation's vision and foresight. The author exposes the youth to situations where the reader may question such wisdom, but these youth are focused. Though they are deprived of "the talk," they receive insinuations that provoke concern. The late night meetings in the Botanical Gardens, their trysts in Shaka's room, are dangerous grounds, which make the reader question the wisdom of their choices, but these youth are focused on their music. They provide the support each other's needs, and in their disorganized manner, they empower each other.

The mentors and Mr. Perry are the most visible forces, but the youth benefit from each other's insight. It is not incidental that Kong's mother is thrown in as the prayer warrior. The Caribbean society is steeped in religion and possesses a strong tradition of reliance on God. Hillhouse's inclusion validates that fact and reminds us that through its evolutionary growth, some facets of the community remain constant. It's that constancy that energizes the parents and moves them into action when Mr. Perry appeals to them for help. Their altruism inspires the youth to excel because they are motivated to make their families and community proud.

Trust

Granny Linda's past experiences have forced her to tighten the leash on her grand-daughter. Like most Antiguan (Dare I say Caribbean?) mothers, she has trust issues. She has suffered through Sheena's death, and she wants to protect Zahara from a similar fate, but her silence and harshness are impediments. It takes another character from her generation, Pappy, to disclose the story, which provides an incentive for Zahara to confront her grandmother.

Parental trust in the Caribbean region, especially in Antigua and Barbuda, is an unspoken request. Parents want their children to honor that trust, but it remains silent, unverbalized. The hints and apparently

random-selected proverbs may be the only means by which children learn of their parents' expectations. Zahara is alert to these nuanced expectations. She wants her grandmother to trust her, but she also understands that trust is earned. Granny Linda's delayed responses to grant Zahara permission to attend the annual Hope School fete is unexpected, but it generates a sense of trust in Zahara.

Trust is also demonstrated between Shaka and Zahara. His gentlemanly behavior makes her trust him because "when they walked through the gate of the Gardens, he didn't try to pull her off into some over grown corner. No, they sat right there on the roots of the huge ficus, private but not hidden" (27). That incident later allows her to trust him further "to sneak her" into his home where they are alone. Then they progress to his bedroom (66). Pappy's question: "What you doin' lock up in your room with girl?" (68) is significant. His reference to Shaka's mother's reaction: "You lucky is me and not your mother. Lord, looka muddy!" (68) gives a peek into male/female interpretations of such situations.

Of course, the nightly meetings in the Botanical Gardens (84-86) draw them closer, but Shaka's request to "[t]rust me" (90) takes Zahara's music to a newer dimension. It also enables her to engage in introspection that leads to clearer self-knowledge and self-confidence.

Self-Identification/Self-Love

Zahara's initial description claims that "[e]verything about her was like an echo of her mother . . . . There was her butternut-coloured skin and her thick, bushy, Brillo Pad-textured hair (1, 9). Zahara interprets her grandmother's penetrating looks at her to mean "disappointment." She believes that her grandmother would rather have "the real thing, [which] was always better" (2). Zahara's complexion and her hair texture assume a new dimension later in the book when it surfaces.

The fact that her complexion stands in great contrast to Shaka's "Africa black" complexion (11) raises questions. When his friends discover his interest in her, expressions such as "socie girl," "butter skin," "brown," and "ah beautiful Nubian sistren" (12) are uttered. Very early, Shaka learns that "Skin colour didn't make anyone of them better than the other" (13). He has transcended the pain of ridicule about his skin (11, 13). Pappy's esteem-building speech enables Shaka to retain his high self-esteem. "His head had snapped upwards as if pulled by a string" (15). It is not surprising that Pappy uses Miriam Makeba's "Mbube" to enhance

Shaka's pride. "The name began to feel like something he should be happy to claim, if for no other reason than his grandfather thought so" (17).

When the Social Sciences teacher assigns a report on "Colourism or Shadeism in the Caribbean," generated by the viewing of *Dark Girls (*48), the issue of race assumes a new dimension. The contribution of musicians such as Buju's "Love Me Browning" and "Love Black Women" prompts Zahara to text Shaka, asking a very important question: "Did u liik me becuz I'm liit?" (49). His admission that it does "likkle bit" (51) surprises her.

Later, Zahara quizzes Nicola about Shaka whom Nicola admires, but seems inhibited by his dark complexion. ". . . . He's blacker than an APUA blackout . . . during a quarter moon . . . at midnight" (95) is Nicola's unflattering description. This leads to Zahara's question about Nicola's sense of self-identity.

The youth learn a lesson in self-love as they watch *Brown Girl in the Ring* (107-108). The topic generates deep thoughts as they examine practices such as bleaching, which introduces the concept of "social advantage" to those of a lighter complexion (110). As an expert on the topic, Ms. George sows the seeds of self-love:

> "The bottom line," she said, "is self-love no matter what colour, shape, or size you are. If you don't love yourself, who goin' love you?" she asked. "No other race of people has to work so hard to know their worth because no other race of people had it so beaten out of them, so beaten we can't even see what we doing to ourselves.
>
> "Love yourself," she said. "Dig deep for the things that reflect you, and if it not there, you make it. You're part of this too." (116)

The message is reinforced when later, Zahara shows up in Nicola's borrowed clothes and Shaka tells her " . . . it's not you that's all" (152). He then introduces his rap "My Name is Melanin" (154).

Community Involvement

Even though Father Ellie has been transferred to Jamaica, he remains a member of the community, thanks to the infusion of technology into the youth's lives. Zahara skypes him with her very important news: "I met a boy" (28). Another Caribbean tradition surfaces, a reminder of the essential role of members of the community in the lives of the youth. Zahara must share her very important news with an adult, but that person cannot be her grandmother. She has forged a closer relationship with Father Ellie, which allows her to confide in him.

Shaka's quasi-internship at the community radio station is a deterrent from mischief, but that also contributes to his development as a musician under Diva's tutelage. He feels more comfortable in introducing Zahara to Diva before he introduces her to his mother.

The summer program by the youth theater, sponsored by the Culture Department, involves youth of varying talents in *The Dancing Granny*. Mr. Perry's appeal to parents bridges the gap (169-174).

The pride demonstrated by the members of the community is a direct result of their involvement and investment in their youth.

Loss and Grief, Healing and Restoration

The sense of loss and grief is an accepted emotion, which is not verbalized or dwelled upon. That Zahara's mother and Shaka's father were killed in a car crash is granted only a brief mention. That Granny Linda is grieving her lost daughter, and Shaka's mother is grieving her lost husband do not seem to be issues. This is a typical Caribbean behavior because the family is supposed to support each other and heal their collective illnesses. These women, as others, suffer silently, and that deprives the children of an outlet for their grief. It is only after the topic surfaces, through Pappy, that Zahara develops the courage to confront her grand-mother about her parents.

Absent parents and other loved ones who may have simply changed their addresses do contribute to loss and grief, but they, too, must be forgotten while the business of living continues. Healing and restoration will materialize only when these losses are acknowledged and individuals go through the stages of grieving, though silently. Pappy expresses his views on Granny Linda's condition:

> "… Seemed like she'd retreated from the world, you know … Is why I hadn't seen her in so long, she didn't go no-where, like she been in mourning all this time. But, come a time in life, a little light peep through and you have to punch your way out of the grave you build for yourself or get buried alive. I was there once, after your tanty died. Maybe more recent than that. But the Lin I saw the night of you-all show, bwoy she was a woman coming back to life." (238)

The author seems to imply that individual grief may require community aid for restoration to be made. Pappy becomes the instrument through which healing and restoration arrive in the novel. He helps Granny Linda focus on the present and the gifts of the present, so that she accepts her grand-daughter, not as a replacement for her daughter, but as another individual, another member of the family. Zahara helps in the healing process by reminding Granny Linda of the potential for the future. She gives Granny Linda a reason to live and enjoy life.

The grand finale of the summer activity brings the community together and enables Shaka's mother to claim that "the past is the past" (260). Full healing comes when she informs Shaka: "You not your father," and continues by saying: "Zahara not her mother. I not goin' judge her based on what her mother did. May her soul rest in peace" (264).

CONCLUSION

The book *Musical Youth* should appeal to all youth, but Hillhouse's wide-encompassing stroke with multiple themes expands that appeal to adults as well. It introduces, follows, and develops a cast of high school students who are uncharacteristically focused on their passion. The novel's pleasure comes from its simple message, which is a triumph of family relationships through community involvement. The book revives the reader's belief in traditional values of friendship and young love. It embraces the meaning and the role of the village as the community becomes involved in the youth's lives. It reinforces our trust in youth who learn the importance of prioritizing and remaining focused on fulfilling their dreams while accommodating romantic notions of love and relationship. The inclusion of the Antiguan dialect speaks of the importance of code switching among all, especially Caribbean youth.

It is significant to note that the book lacks the "normal" behavior or pranks of teenagers with their accompanying confusions, heartbreaks, and poor choices. Instead, it presents a group of youth who are typical in their behaviors. They are music lovers with a passion for the art.

Music lovers will identify and enjoy the genuine references to different types of music and musicians, while non-musicians will accept the youth's passion for their music, and champion their cause for an audience in pursuit of their dreams. These are the things that lead the novel to a predictable ending. The unforgettable themes, setting, language, and actions make this coming-of-age story a must read.

BOOK DISCUSSION

CARIBBEAN POTENTIATED SECOND-SIGHT: A REVIEW ESSAY ENGAGING *JOURNEYS IN CARIBBEAN THOUGHT*

Desiree Melonas

What *is* Caribbean thought? How do we understand the distinctness of a region in a world that is so thoroughly interwoven? Can we shift an imperially-weighted geography of reason to one that not merely recovers what was lost through colonial and peripheralizing practices but also allows the Caribbean to (re)emerge and (re)*appear* as a zone of being, rich in its capacity to examine the effects of Euromodernity? The editors of *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader* have thoughtfully pieced together some of Caribbean thought's seminal works as a response to the above and other questions that occupy a critical place in the region's journey to reimagine itself in philosophical, spiritual, epistemic, and economic terms.

Though constituting only a small portion of Paget Henry's rich intellectual history, the works in this collection give us a window into the breadth of Caribbean thought—its turns, intersections (both in life and thought), and the distinct set of possibilities and knowledges that emerge from the periphery. The book also intimates just how complex this journey is, calling our attention to Caribbean thought as a multilayered, multidimensional perspective onto the world. Caribbean philosophy is not a monolith but rather a comprehensive, historical, *living* and *lived* system of thought that necessarily intersects with other domains and expressions of ideas. The most compelling feature of this book is that one is able to read in this account of Caribbean development Henry's intense yearning to situate Caribbean thought as a philosophy in its own right and for the Caribbean, with all its challenges, to take its place in the world as a region bearing indispensable sets of knowledges from which humanity would indeed benefit. As conveyed in the title of this book, Caribbean thought is indeed a journey: a journey from periphery to center and from history to the present (and back again); a journey to redefine Caribbean subjectivity, consciousness, cultural and political life; a journey to reimagine the conditions of Caribbean possibility.

Henry's approach to Caribbean philosophy is phenomenological. That is, he's concerned with the fundamentally relational character of Caribbean life and, by extension, Caribbean thought. That is not to say that he formally submits all threads of his inquiry to a phenomenological treatment. Instead, present throughout this collection of essays is the statement of the Caribbean as a coherent *here* in relationship to other

there's. In other words, if we are seriously to confront the challenges that face both Caribbean transformation and projects of liberation, attention must be paid to the ways in which other projects, histories, and discourses have shaped and continue to condition the Caribbean will to act. The will to act, or as Lewis R. Gordon, building on Frantz Fanon, puts it, to be *actional*, requires a reflective knowing of what there is to be done.[1] Though, as Henry reminds us time and time again, for the Caribbean subject, a knowing of this sort demands, at the same time, a consciousness of the other things with which the Caribbean must negotiate in order to realize their efforts as *actional* subjects. This brings us back to the phenomenological character of Henry's work: a knowledge of what there is to be done is the continued product of reflexive practices where one takes account of the historical conditions of one's *location* in order that one might critically imagine new terrains of possibility.

Henry does this, for instance, in his discussion of Caribbean political economy and its very complicated history with socialism and the subsequent global tending toward neoliberal systems of capitalism. With the collapse of socialist economies across the globe in the late twentieth century, the Caribbean experienced shifts in economic practices and logic that not only situated economic independence as a distant possibility, but importantly, had effects on the formation of the Caribbean entrepreneurial subject and its "will to economize," which Henry and others posit as critical for the purposes of dislodging both imperial economies and systems of thought (Henry 2016: 193). The nuance of Henry's assessment lies in the nexus he locates between the economy, consciousness, and agency. Capitalist economies, especially those under Western influence and control, prescribed limits of collective self-understanding where instead of imagining oneself as capable of creative, autonomous modes of production, the Caribbean subject comes to conceive of himself in relative, economic terms—that is to say, as a mere object both of and for surplus extraction. Henry thus emphasizes the role of the economy in engendering a reflective, collective self-consciousness. The Caribbean subject must be able to locate, in her work and broader economic practices, the possibility to transform her material conditions, which might at the same time unfetter the transcendental ego. Through his analysis, Henry challenges us to see that the end of the economy is to set the conditions for individuals to act, work, and live as human beings in the phenomenological sense where to be human is to bridge the gulf between intentionality and action. A redefinition of the

Caribbean subject's economic identity is critical, then, because it is at the same time—and indispensably—an assertion of that subject's humanity.

Henry centers the question of humanity, situating it as fundamental to the introduction of Euromodernity that precipitated the formation of the Caribbean as a modern concept. As Henry acknowledges, colonization, conquest, and slavery set the grammar for Euromodernity and the Caribbean living in its wake, negotiating the socioeconomic effects of such a history while having to make sense of and respond to a reconfigured philosophical anthropology. Thus, crucial to the philosophic and political projects of Caribbean philosophy and, in particular, Afro-Caribbean philosophy, are efforts to respond to questions that have emerged out of that particular historical moment. This is true even of the more creolized regions of thought and life. African diasporic relations altered the very way Caribbeans sought to relate to themselves, and consequently, differently enabled them to answer the questions: *What can be done?* And, *What ought be done?* These questions are mired in the Caribbean's relationship to the historical diaspora and processes of racialization especially in the ways that white supremacy has complicated the ideological systems of other non-black Caribbeans.

The specificity of Indo-Caribbean thought, for instance, lies in its relationship to East Indian philosophy as well as to questions that emerged out of a Caribbean colonial history resulting in, for the East Indian, what might be termed its "niggerization" in the Caribbean context. Referencing the shift from East Indian to *brown*, Henry writes (addressing the relationship between Afro- and Indo-Caribbean intellectual traditions):

> The tendencies to close ideological and political ranks around these race/ethnic identities and interests have produced a lot of racial tensions and have given rise to distinct traditions of black and brown racial writing. Consequently, although the racial discourses of Afro-Caribbeans and Indo-Caribbeans share critiques of white supremacy, they have also clashed in their efforts to explain each other's racist practices. This attempt to theorize the racism of both Euro- and Afro-Caribbeans has been one very important intellectual response of Indo-Caribbeans… As such a response, it has been a very important site for the production of Indo-Caribbean philosophy (64).

The project of Indo-Caribbean philosophy is not only that it *appears* as a rigorous philosophical intellectual tradition replete with its own sets of knowledges, interests, and trajectories. It must also assume the task of revealing various aspects of its creolized reality that will only come through a continued dialogue with the Afro-Caribbean tradition (86). We might take from Henry, then, that a true Caribbean philosophy is a dialogical one and that must tend to the questions that arose from processes of dehumanization.

In a fashion similar to his call for Afro- and Indo-Caribbean thought to acknowledge their incompleteness in their efforts to realize themselves as rigorous intellectual traditions, Henry also acknowledges the limits of certain methodological approaches to revealing various aspects of Caribbean reality. Specifically, according to Henry, the historicist and poeticist schools dominate Caribbean philosophy, each one of them offering their own distinct set of concerns and prescriptions for how Caribbeans ought to negotiate the vestiges of their history. The former school advances historical frameworks for understanding the limitations and possibilities of human development, while the latter, perhaps best exemplified through the work of Sylvia Wynter, emphasizes individual subjectivities. Poeticism, Henry details, "…approaches the transformation of self-consciousness more directly and not indirectly through the transformation of social structures. Its direct focus is on the internal dynamics of our self-formative processes, the conflicts and blockages to which they are subject, and their implications for the order of its society and its transformation" (261). While many proponents of these approaches regard themselves and their work as in conflict with the other, Henry not only resists the impulse to situate them in opposition, but quite beautifully lays out how they function as complimentary to the task of capturing the dimensions of a Du Boisian double-consciousness in a form unique to the Caribbean (267).

Poeticism, because of its emphasis on the internal life of the individual subject, is especially well-suited to the task of exploring the workings of second-sight, in its first moment. Historicism, on the other hand, moves us closer to an understanding of what Henry refers to as "potentiated second-sight": the doubling of one's ordinary sight in ways that bring the image of the "negro" into better focus. Both an understanding of second-sight and its more redemptive other half, potentiated second-sight, are necessary to apprehend better the crises present in the Caribbean as well as to chart possible avenues of liberation from the yoke

of dehumanization. Here, Henry intimates that the methods we employ both to engage and produce Caribbean thought must take on a creolizing character, reflecting the complexities of the Caribbean life and its varied intellectual threads.

If moved over too quickly, we might miss the significance of potentiated second-sight and its implications with respect to Caribbean philosophy more generally. In the Du Boisian sense, potentiated second-sight is a seeing that emerges from the knowledge that one is a "negro". What distinguishes potentiated-sight from second-sight, importantly, is that, for the former, the "truth" attached to one's status as "negro" weakens as the black subject distances herself from the European projections animating that categorization. The redemptive character of potentiated second-sight lies in the ability for those subject to dehumanizing projects—having gained special insight from that position—to gain what Henry calls an "intestinal view" of their motivating logics (39). What potentiated sight has to offer, then, is not only the intellectual necessary to upend dehumanizing projects, but also a way to move us toward the self-reflective practices necessary to reimagine one's place in the world by *seeing* that which could not previously be seen. This is a central objective of Caribbean philosophy as laid out by Henry. Rather than mold itself in the image of the European, Caribbean philosophy gains its specificity from boldly laying claim to the periphery. In so doing, it reformulates crises besetting the region as problems to be faced rather than symptoms endemic to problematic peoples. It is out of this fresh perspective that the possibility for positive Caribbean transformation can occur. Thus, part of the crucial task of Caribbean philosophy will be to establish frameworks to move Caribbean sight from latency to possibility. Paget Henry, as evidenced through these essays, has indeed led the way in this undertaking.

ENDNOTES

1 Lewis R. Gordon, *An Introduction to Africana Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 84.

TOWARD A CARIBBEAN PHENOMENOLOGY? A REVIEW OF *JOURNEYS IN CARIBBEAN THOUGHT*

Thomas Meagher

The term "journey" denotes travel from one place to another. Typically, it connotes something further: a journey involves extraordinary sights, encounters, trials, or travails that, taken together, suggest that one has arrived at a destination somehow different than what one set out for. In a journey, the voyager has discovered something unusual about the path or the voyager her/himself, something that tests the limits of human endurance or persistence, or that tests the limits of the beautiful and the sublime, or that reaffirms the unpredictability and incompleteness of human ventures. A quotidian walk to the place where I work would not itself strike me as a journey, but the encroachment of the extraordinary onto my path may bring about the circumstances wherein my simple trip will *become* a journey. Of course, there are also contexts where, as is true in many Caribbean societies, a simple walk to work *cannot help* but to be a journey, as the cast of characters and/or challenges one meets and greets render this simple achievement a complex one. Caribbean life, it may be said, has its ways of inflecting the ordinary with the extraordinary.

This notion of a journey has meaningful parallels in the phenomenological conception of consciousness. An act of consciousness, like a journey, is understood in terms of its intentionality or directedness: a *here* directs its attention toward a *there*. But to refer to consciousness suggests elements of the unusual, for banal consciousness tends not to reflect on itself as consciousness: consciousness often comes to light through the extraordinary. Moreover, *acts* of consciousness have peculiar ways of coming together such that each act is also part of a larger act, just as many journeys may, upon reflection, be understood to have together composed a larger journey.

These reflections are occasioned by the aptly titled *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader*.[1] This volume collects twelve essays from a span of just over three decades, capped by a fascinating new interview with Henry that situates the concerns raised in these essays within the framework of Henry's seven decades of life, as well as the epochal challenges that have shaped the Caribbean and the world over those seven decades and beyond. Each of these chapters stands as a journey in Caribbean thought in its own right, and each features journeys within the journey. But do these journeys indicate a larger journey, both in terms of this volume and in terms of Paget Henry's intellectual life? And, further, is

Henry's journey part of a larger journey, not merely a journey *in* but also *of* Caribbean thought? In this essay, I will suggest an affirmative answer to each of these questions, and I will suggest a provisional thematization of these as demonstrating a journey toward Caribbean phenomenology.

The volume is divided into three sections of four chapters each, bookended by a brief biographical sketch by the editors at the front and the interview, which serves as a vehicle for Henry's longer autobiographical reflections and thoughts on the future of the Caribbean, at the end. What emerges as a central theme throughout each of these is the relationship between what Henry terms the poeticist and historicist wings of Caribbean philosophy. This distinction is evident in the division of the sections, though in a perhaps unexpected way. Part I is explicitly concerned with philosophical matters, featuring essays on Africana phenomenology, Indo-Caribbean philosophy (by way V.S. Naipaul), and Sylvia Wynter, matters that are in the main the traditional province of the poeticist wing; Part II is concerned with politics and political economy, matters typically addressed by the historicist wing. Part III, in turn, focuses on figures and issues in Antigua and Barbuda, with essays on V.C. Bird, Joanne Hillhouse, and Tim Hector as well as a provocative essay on philosophy and Antigua/Barbudan political culture.

What one finds here, though, is not a grouping of poeticist essays followed by a grouping of historicist ones. Rather, each of the essays in Part I present critiques of poeticist thought that are equally rigorous in their poeticist and historicist approaches to the material, and what one finds throughout Part II is a critique of historicist thought that brings poeticist concerns to bear on debates within Caribbean historicism, the outcome of which is a more rigorous historicist analysis. Finally, evident throughout Part III is what Henry terms his "historicism/poeticism" (321), a synthetic approach that draws upon the breadth of resources available in Caribbean philosophy.

Henry's formulation of historicism and poeticism is given in the first chapter, excerpted from his study on Afro-Caribbean philosophy, *Caliban's Reason*. This excerpt advances Henry's thesis that Caribbean philosophy is an intertextually embedded discursive practice – rather than, as widely believed in European circles, a transcendental activity set apart from everyday life and other modes of discursive production. That thesis is borne out by nearly all of the chapters that follow, which find Henry exploring philosophy through the novels of Naipaul, Hillhouse, Jamaica Kinkaid, and Edgar Lake, the political writings, orations, and

actions of V.C. Bird, and much more. The second chapter, "Africana Phenomenology: Its Philosophical Implications," has already achieved classic status in the fields of Africana philosophy and phenomenology (at least for those who do not regard the latter through a rigid Eurocentricity). That status is well-deserved, and this volume provides an excellent context in which it is to be read, as this essay's focus on W.E.B. Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, and Lewis Gordon is complemented by the elements of Africana phenomenology drawn out through Henry's treatments of Wynter, C.L.R. James, Walter Rodney, and Hector.

The third chapter, "Between Naipaul and Aurobindo: Where is Indo-Caribbean Philosophy?" suggests that Indo-Caribbean philosophy has been deprived of the resources of Indian philosophy, in similar fashion to Afro-Caribbean philosophy's deprivations vis-à-vis African philosophy that Henry explored in *Caliban's Reason*. The crux of the essay is its evaluation of Naipaul's claim that Indian philosophy is hopelessly irrelevant to modern thought. Henry explores Sri Aurobindo's philosophy to refute these claims, persuasively demonstrating that Indian philosophy is replete with resources rife for creolization in the Caribbean context. The critique of Naipaul is compelling and the exploration of Aurobindo fascinating, though the essay's subtitle raises issues it does not fully address. For instance, even if Naipaul is foolish in taking up the mantle of European intellectual chauvinism, the reader is left to wonder if the voluminous list of figures associated with Indian poeticism (65-6) similarly suffer the consequences of decreolizing projects or if they have been able to overcome them. The essay also suggests Wilson Harris as representative of Indo-Caribbean philosophy, a thought worthy of expansion. Harris is referenced throughout this volume, and the inclusion of one of Henry's essays on his thought would have been welcome; but perhaps we are merely overdue for a volume dedicated to Henry's many engagements with Harris's thought? The fourth chapter covers Wynter, and stands as an exemplary contribution to Wynter scholarship as well as an incisive philosophical examination of the crucial issues raised by poeticism about historicism and vice versa. In particular, the discussion of the relation between Wynter and phenomenology (97-100) is outstanding, and the provocative discussion of Wynter and Caribbean Marxism that follows raises questions that much recent scholarship on Wynter has been inclined to evade.

The fifth and sixth chapters feature the book's oldest essays, both predating the period that Henry identifies as leading to his "historicist/poeticist" turn. Yet these essays make evident that this tendency was present in Henry's work prior to its explicit formulation. The first of these takes transformation in the periphery as its theme, employing Grenada as a case study, and the second explores what Henry terms "political accumulation" through the case of Antigua. In each, what one finds is an attenuation to the ways in which the political and economic transformations that historicism advances as driven by historical change in modes of production and relations of exploitation – as argued, for instance, by Marxists and world-systems analysts – face the problem of agency in cultural formations and its tendency to overwhelm what economically reductionist models would presume. The problem, these essays indicate, is clearly acute where colonialism and neo-colonialism bring pivotal influence to bear. The analyses seem to support the poeticist position, the basic thrust of which, Henry writes elsewhere, "is that only a new or changed self-consciousness will produce a new society" (261). But in doing so, they also indicate ways in which historicist thought contributes to a more rigorous poeticism: a central way in which human beings develop their auto-poetic self-consciousness, for instance, is through labor and political work; political and economic revolutions in the Caribbean change the terms upon which the poetic revolutions may be carried out, and they create contexts in which healthy forms of self-consciousness can be discussed, studied, debated, and lived.

Poeticist resources are brought to bear on contemporary historicist currents in chapters 7 and 8, which work out crises incurred by what Henry calls "informatic capitalism" and the obstacles to Caribbean socialism it erects. The former of these two essays contends that elements of the dependency school's central theses remain tragically sound, working through shifts in the global economy over the last half century that have moved the global economic center but that have not brought the Caribbean out of the periphery. Henry surmises that the present crisis demands the fashioning of entrepreneurial self-identities, and this call seems of a piece with the position of the latter of these two essays, which, by way of an analysis of James and Rodney, advances an argument that Caribbean socialism can and should be reconstructed. Central to such reconstruction, for Henry, is the question of politico-economic identity, and, in particular, the expansion of an already existing state-centered politico-economic identity.

In Part III, where Antigua and Barbuda take center stage, the methodological fusion of poeticism/historicism is rather explicit. The essay on V.C. Bird (excerpted from Henry's monograph on Bird, *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda*) develops the idea of political accumulation put forth in chapter six and fleshes out the relationships between crisis and politic-economic identity suggested in chapter eight. The tenth chapter is a major highlight of the book, working through the role of philosophy in Antigua/Barbudan political culture. Here Henry employs Du Bois's examination of double consciousness to make sense of the blockages affecting the marriage between historicist and poeticist philosophies and how such blockages curtail more radical transformation. Chapter 11, a review of Joanne Hillhouses's *Oh Gad!*, leans the furthest of these essays toward the poeticist wing, finding in the novel an important philosophical statement on the classical Antigua/Barbudan notion of ethical bad-mindedness. In doing so, though, Henry points toward crucial historical underpinnings of bad-mindedness and, ultimately, raises the issue of whether radical historical change would uproot the persistence of bad-mindedness as a leitmotif in Antigua/Barbudan life. The final essay, on the socialist legacy of Tim Hector, veers back toward the historicist direction in calling attention to Hector's analyses of the economic crises facing the Caribbean.

So, would it not be apt, then, to conclude that the journey one finds in this text is toward the synthesis of poeticism and historicism, both within Henry's own work and within Caribbean thought at large? I think this is close to the case, but I'd like to suggest a deeper understanding of the destination that emerges in considering Henry in relation to Edmund Husserl. Husserl figures as an important reference and point of discussion throughout the essays in Part I, and although the gripping intellectual autobiography included in the concluding interview does not indicate how Henry's interest in Husserl began, it points to a myriad of possible entrance-points. Of central concern here is Husserl's classic position in "Philosophy as Rigorous Science." There, he identified naturalism and historicism as two movements that had sought to ground philosophy on a rigorous scientific footing. Neither, he demonstrated, could succeed, as each taken to its extremes became self-refuting. For Husserl, "The revolutions decisive for the progress of philosophy are those in which the claims of the former philosophies to be scientific are discredited by a critique of their pretended scientific procedure."[2] This revolutionary work, he proposed, could be carried forth by "the phenomenological grasp of essences," a project that required the suspension of the presuppositions and results of naturalist and historicist inquiries.

It is crucial to note that, though Henry refers to his poeticism/historicism as a synthesis, he does not explicitly claim it to be a synthesis of poeticism and historicism. Synthesis of these two wings on the model of Hegelian dialectics as popularized by Alexandre Kojeve would require that they would have antithetical appearances that could be rectified through resolution of their mutual contradictions. Husserl showed such an approach could not succeed in confronting historicism and naturalism because a push to dialectical resolution would nullify the foundations of each. But the epistemological historicism that concerned Husserl is quite different from the Caribbean historicism that concerns Henry. Caribbean historicism, for Henry, "is a philosophic approach to the 'I' of self-consciousness that makes the undertaking of an historical project the primary medium for its formation and development" (258). It is a position on the possibilities for human change and action. Yet how different is the *thesis* of historicism from the thesis of poeticism? Both positions call for radical transformation in self-consciousness, and it is not as if Caribbean poeticism generally eschews radical historical change. The issues of contention lie more primarily in the question of priority, with historicism putting the onus on participation in communal historical projects to change individual self-consciousness, whereas poeticism examines the ways that blockages in an individual's self-consciousness forestall the actions that would initiate and/or accomplish historical projects. In terms of the vocabulary of decolonial studies, the issue is that the coloniality of power sustains the coloniality of being, but the coloniality of being sustains the coloniality of power – and to simply call for a fight on both fronts does not itself mitigate the success of the coloniality of being or of power in militating against such a fight. Historicism and poeticism in Caribbean thought are both radical positions on what is *necessary* for change, but the crucial error that besets many is to regard either as positing what is *sufficient* for radical change. Historicism/poeticism, both as a strand in Caribbean thought identified by Henry and as a description of Henry's work itself, maintains that key elements of the historicist and poeticst propositions are *jointly* necessary, and hence insufficient on their own.

Given this, it is fitting to regard the journey found in and represented by this text as one toward Caribbean phenomenology. As *isms*, the relationship between Caribbean historicism and poeticism is in crucial respects analogous to the relationship between Euro-modern historicism and naturalism. Each, taken at its word and in isolation, functions in some sense as a "blockage" for the intellectual and political projects of

the other. Husserl's transcendental phenomenology was a project toward scientific rigor by way of radical reflection that could put to the side the presuppositions of naturalism and historicism. As Henry suggests in his essay on Africana phenomenology, though, phenomenology is realized through projects whose trajectories have different beginnings, and Caribbean phenomenology would have its impetus not in anxiety over the foundations of the sciences but in a concrete pursuit of liberatory change. But whereas Husserlian phenomenology called for a bracketing or suspension of naturalist and historicist foundations, it does not follow that Caribbean phenomenology is a repudiation of the historicist and poeticist wings of Caribbean thought, since, as the essays in this volume beautifully attest, such thought is replete with liberatory ideas. Rather, Caribbean phenomenology is a radical investigation of the constituting activities of the consciousness of Caribbean peoples that suspends the peculiar presuppositions that, among other things, erect artificial or unnecessary barriers to the relation between poeticist and historicist thought.

One source of such presuppositions, it bears noting, emerges as a major theme throughout Henry's work: the predominance of European metaphysics and ontology in Caribbean thought. The response of many to such a problem is what could be termed *naïve anti-colonialism*: rejection of thought on the grounds of its having been "tainted" by European dominance. Caribbean phenomenology, though, would not view such influence as grounds to reject thought, especially because Caribbean thought has been such a fount of original anti-colonial ideas. Rather, it would pursue intellectual decolonization by way of elucidating how European dominance influences patterns of thought and imagining how alternative metaphysical and ontological conceptions – especially those derived from African, Asian, and indigenous American traditions – would suggest problems and improvements. In this sense, it would pave the way for the incomplete project of the creolization of Caribbean philosophy.

Given Henry's articulation of Africana phenomenology, it is fair to ask whether Caribbean phenomenology is but a subspecies or redundancy. There is extensive overlap. By my formulation, much work in Caribbean phenomenology is also work in Africana phenomenology, and vice versa. Yet differences are worth noting, and, in particular, it does not seem to me that the significance of historicism and poeticism for Caribbean thought is as fully and easily generalizable to Africana thought as it may seem. For instance, many foundational works in Africana phenomenology take as their point of departure contexts wherein illegitimate appearance in a white world is a quotidian and foundational element of Africana

experience. National liberation in such contexts is either somewhat beside the point – for historical transformation would not imply *black* liberation – or would, on the model of black nationalism, require arduous projects of nationalization. In the Caribbean, however, one more frequently finds a dynamic in which black nations are a reality but face the issue of blackness at the level of an illegitimate *national* appearance from the vantage of international politics and transnational economies. The classic example is the aftermath of the Haitian revolution, in which the illegitimacy of a black nation from the perspective of the European powers precipitated centuries of political and economic subordination, and the dynamic remains an important one in understanding the external limitations faced by projects toward socialism and Caribbean federation. The centrality of these issues suggests that Caribbean phenomenology as a distinctive project strengthens Africana phenomenology, as well as the other way around.

These conclusions about Caribbean phenomenology are, of course, my own, and it is up to the reader to evaluate whether it is a successful thematization of Henry's work. Right or wrong, though, I hope that the reader takes my discussion as evidence that *Journeys in Caribbean Thought* is an excellent volume that, whether one has read none, some, or all of the collected essays before, promises a "tidalectical" combination of ideas that are bound to stimulate new intellectual journeys.

ENDNOTES

1 *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader*, edited by Jane Anna Gordon, Lewis R. Gordon, Aaron Kamugisha, and Neil Roberts (New York: Rowman and Littlefield International). All parenthetical references are to this text.

2 Edmund Husserl, "Philosophy as Rigorous Science," in *Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy*, translated with notes and an introduction by Quentin Lauer (New York: Harper Torchbooks), p. 76.

WHY PAGET HENRY MATTERS
A REVIEW OF *JOURNEYS IN CARIBBEAN THOUGHT: THE PAGET HENRY READER*

Marilyn Nissim-Sabat

The editors of *Journeys in Caribbean Thought: the Paget Henry Reader* state that, "Paget Henry is a great and…underappreciated thinker" whose work "is of global significance" (5). I concur with this view. As a contribution to rectification, the collection was designed to display the key themes of Henry's work, the influences upon him, and the ways in which he incorporated, resituated, critiqued and creatively transformed those influences into new visions for Caribbean, individual, institutional, community, and world development. A vital component of Henry's vision is his insistence on repairing the exclusion of the thought and spirituality of pre-colonial indigenous peoples from many of the disciplines of the social sciences and humanities, including philosophy. Most importantly, undoing this exclusion is not solely a matter of righting a wrong, which is in itself a profoundly important task. Additionally, Henry's call for inclusion of the cultural creativity of pre-colonial Caribbean, African, Indian and other peoples reflects his acute awareness of the invaluable contribution that such inclusion can, and indeed, must make in order to advance the project of Caribbean and human emancipation. Recognition of Henry's vision and its praxeological and axiological implications is, it seems to me in these fearful times, both necessary and urgent.

I assume that the editors of this volume asked me to review *Journeys* for the present volume because they know that I am deeply familiar with Henry's work and that he and I have significant areas of common interest and concern, among which are Marxism, Husserlian phenomenology, Caribbean thought, critical race theory, and feminism. Also, a survey of our writings shows that both Henry and I have been deeply influenced by Lewis R. Gordon's existential phenomenology. However, Henry's deep personal and intellectual knowledge and experience of the history, culture, creativity, and needs of the Caribbean nations, including his native Antigua/Barbuda, far exceed my limited knowledge of the same. The editors selected me to review *Journeys* despite this lacuna, because I believe, in virtue of my own studies and interests I can address the philosophical dimension and implications of his work and relate these to his overall vision. In short, one way to promote rectification of the underappreciation of Henry's work is to bring out, as I will attempt to do here, the unique and transformative way in which phenomenology,

Husserlian and Africana, is constitutive for his vision. Moreover, Henry's vision is, it seems to me, essential for the vitally important project of rectifying the underappreciation of Husserlian phenomenology itself, in general, and particularly as aligned with struggles for human emancipation.

Journeys organizes twelve of Henry's most important writings into three Parts: I: The Distinctive Character of Africana Philosophy; II: Caribbean Political Economy and Cultural Development; and III: A Homeward Turn: Antigua and Barbuda. The volume also contains a very helpful selected, chronological bibliography of Henry's numerous writings, circa 1973-2015, as well as a list of the citations made in the volume and an index. Though in this review my focus will be on Part I, this does not diminish the significance of the papers in Parts II and III; in fact, quite the contrary, as can be seen from the following discussion.

The four papers in Part II of *Journeys* display Henry's extraordinary mastery of capitalist and Marxist economics, including capitalism's contemporary phase of "informatic capitalism," that is, the use of information technology to replace Fordist with "Toyotist" production, including "high-volume flexible production and just-in-time production" (185). What is at stake for Henry in these papers is the struggle—(given 1, the crises of capitalism and its unquenchable urge to reduce labor costs, and 2, the legacy of total economic domination and impoverishment of the Caribbean peoples)—to develop a model of an entrepreneurial economy which will jumpstart overall indigenous economic and financial development and thus reduce or eliminate chronic dependency.

Henry's paper in Part II, "Caribbean Dependency in the Phase of Informatic Capitalism" (171-97), illustrates clearly both the specific focus of Part II, and the integrality of Henry's vision, including his emphasis on pre- and post-colonial factors in the development of the Caribbean and the ego structures that were formed and displaced in that development. Two section headings within Chapter 7 are: "Entrepreneurial Ability and the Colonial Subject" (190-191), and "Entrepreneurial Self-Consciousness among Afro-Caribbeans" (191-93). In these pages, Henry brilliantly develops a limpid historical description and analysis of the contemporary colonial subject's entrepreneurial self. He points out that "The roots of the Afro-Caribbean 'I' and hence its will to economize are of pre-colonial West African origin. ….economic production was embedded in social norms of reciprocity and redistribution in … the interest of reducing inequality…" (191). After surveying the historical assault on these pre-colonial norms, Henry concludes that "the economic and political self-

organization of workers and peasants…did not sufficiently break down the structural barriers of the outer plantations or the inhibitions of the inner plantations. These have continued to lock workers and peasants into subordinate wage roles in ways that make it particularly difficult for them to move into more entrepreneurial and economically independent roles" (193). While it makes no explicit reference to phenomenology, Henry's Part III essay, originally published in 2007, "Philosophy and Antiguan/Barbudan Political Culture" (253-276) recapitulates some of the major themes of his *magnum opus*, *Caliban's Reason* (2000), in particular the project of synthesizing and transcending the duality of historicist (socioeconomic, institutional history) and poeticist (pre-colonial, ego-creative, spiritual) modes of Caribbean thought. Most importantly, however, Henry begins this paper with a definition of philosophy that resonates harmonically with the philosophical self-understanding that is constitutive for both Husserlian and Africana phenomenology as characterized by Henry in *Caliban's Reason*. In the essay, Henry writes that "As a distinct discipline, philosophy's area of special interest is…the consciousness, and in particular the self-consciousness of the people" (255-6) in any given society. Thus, writing that "the roots of the Afro-Caribbean 'I' and hence of Afro-Caribbean philosophy are of pre-colonial, West African origin" (256), Henry links phenomenological philosophy with the ego-formations of the pre-colonial self. (This remarkable feature of Henry's creative thought will be elaborated below. Henry then provides a thorough description of these roots of the Afro-Caribbean "I" and its transformations owing to which it has been 1) Christianized, 2) negrified, 3) re-historicized, and 4) re-poeticized. The latter two transformations are extensively discussed by Henry through analyses and appreciations of five Antiguan/Barbudan writers, i.e., three historicist writers—Novelle Richards, Keithlyn Smith, and Tim Hector, and two poeticist writers—Jamaica Kincaid and Edgar Lake. This is followed by an extensive, illuminating discussion of Du Boisian "double vision" (266). The concluding section of this paper is titled "Philosophy and the Crisis of Black Laborism."

Above, I noted that the organizing theme of this review of *Journeys* is twofold: first, to advance the project announced by the editors of *Journeys* to rectify the underappreciation of Henry's work, and second, through this, to advance Henry's contribution to the project of rectifying the underappreciation of Husserlian phenomenology itself, in general, and particularly as aligned with struggles for human emancipation. The first project is fulfilled through this review itself. The second project

is fulfilled through Henry's work and made most thoroughly explicit in the essays of Part I of *Journeys*. Since it was published in 2005, five years after the publication of *Caliban's Reason*, Henry's most extensive previous work on Africana philosophy and phenomenology, his Part I paper, *Africana Phenomenology* (27-57), is extremely important for insight into his views on phenomenology. In this paper, Henry compares and contrasts the work of DuBois, Fanon, and Gordon as modalities of Africana phenomenology, the first two influenced most heavily by Hegel and the latter by Sartre and Husserl, though I would add that Fanon was also influenced by Husserlian phenomenology through his study of Merleau-Ponty. Henry points out that all three of these phenomenologists eschewed what Henry takes to be the central focus of Husserl on Europeanization as the locus of authentic reason and rationality, and instead cast their phenomenological sights on "the governing telos of Africana phenomenology" which is "racial liberation and the problems of racial domination" (30). Henry concludes this fascinating and powerful rendition of African phenomenology by characterizing it as "improvisational" and as "creative realism." However, it is, it seems to me, in chapter 4, "Wynter and the Transcendental Spaces of Caribbean Thought" (87-111) that a deeply harmonic chord of relation to Husserlian phenomenology is struck, although not identified by Henry as such.

The dimension of Husserlian phenomenology that is in play here is Husserl's notion of the transcendental ego, which he held to be an infinite a priori of being and becoming human. This a priori is manifest in human existence in the form of a priori laws of compossibility, for example, that in our experience 'shape' is the only characteristic of things that always accompanies color, though the converse does not hold: it is not the case that shape is always accompanied by color, as the blind experience shape without color. These are laws of compossibility and non-compossibility that are a priori in the strict sense: that is, they are priori to all experience, though not existing in another world; rather, they are a priori in the sense that they provide the structural a priori for all experience, and only in this sense are they 'laws." Such laws of both inner and outer experience, all encompassed within the all-embracing form of internal time, render possible our entire development and experience of the world. This a priori does not negate our freedom; rather, it only provides the structural-functional frame for its enactment as we constitute ourselves and our world. The process of self and world constitution is referred to by Sylvia Wynter, Henry explains, as "auto-poeisis"; it is "the process by

which human self-organization has been able to establish and maintain internally coded social orders while at the same time adapting to changes in the surrounding environment. At its core, autopoesis is a set *of* encoded creative possibilities that can be discursively mobilized and deployed in the service of human self-formation" (89). Thus, I suggest, Wynter's notion of auto-poeisis is at the very least entirely homologous with Husserl's notion of the transcendental ego, that, when instantiated as a human being. As Henry points out, Wynter's emphasis is on discourse; Husserl's emphasis is, however, broader—it is on consciousness' constitution of the lifeworld in its entirety. Nevertheless, for Husserl, the phenomenological domain of investigation is of the world as intentional object. This means that the phenomenological domain of investigation is the world as meant, as a self-enclosed domain of meaning that, of course, encompasses all discourse.

The primary autopoetic elements Wynter refers to as "epistemes." Henry discusses at length the hidden character of these formative elements of human existence and their relation to discourse. He maintains that for Wynter, the epistemes are only recoverable through a practice of "silencing" discourse, i.e., through the practice of suspending everyday practices. Regarding this element of her transcendentalism, Henry writes that Wynter's notion of silencing discourse in order to attend to the a priori epistemes is analogous to Husserl's notion of the phenomenological reduction. However, Henry seems to have a conception of Husserl as "logicist," which, if correct, would militate strongly against any homology between Wynter and Husserl. The charge of logicism, a form of unwarranted logical reductionism, was made against Husserl early in his reception in the Anglo-American philosophical domain when his most well known work was his very early *Logical Investigations*. Henry is certainly familiar with Husserl's last great work, *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology* in which Husserl viewed human existence as constitutive of the *lebenswelt*, the cultural, social, and historical lifeworld in which we always already find ourselves; so, it is difficult to understand why he persists in characterizing Husserlian phenomenology as both logicist and scientistic.

However, my main point here is in regard to one significant dimension of Henry's overall vision, a vision which is a really magnificently constituted synthesis of deep knowledge of many cultures with an abiding sense of the importance of the phenomenological perspective in philosophy that he finds developed in unique ways in Africana philosophers and writers. The dimension to which I am referring is the

one stated above when I wrote this: "Thus, writing that 'the roots of the Afro-Caribbean 'I' and hence of Afro-Caribbean philosophy are of pre-colonial, West African origin' (256)", Henry links phenomenological philosophy with the ego-formations of the pre-colonial self."

Husserlian phenomenology manifests a continuous interest in and attempt to elucidate the primordial moments of human being-in-becoming. Phenomenological explication of any meant phenomenon is a matter of tracing back to the primal instantiation of that meaning in one's lived experience. Such explication of the primal roots of lived experience finds that every meant inner or outer object is a variant, at times an absolutely unique variant constituted the primal freedom, the "I can." (Husserl) of human existence, of the infinite a priori possibilities of human being in becoming, the coming into being of which is mediated by the a priori laws of compossibility, for freedom cannot be manifest and effective without structure. Henry's positing of the pre-colonial subject as ego-generative in and through originary elements that subsist in a timeless domain can and should be the basis for a phenomenological anthropology that would phenomenologically investigate the telos, primordially given, of our humanness.

Journeys in Caribbean Thought: The Paget Henry Reader is a truly magnificent collection of the writings of a magnificently syncretic philosopher who creolizes philosophy without in any way diminishing its centrality for the social sciences and humanities. In fact, quite the contrary: Henry shows that philosophy inheres in all of these humanistic disciplines. Henry's contribution is extraordinary—brilliant and creative in the most honorific sense. Under-appreciation of his work is detrimental to all disciplines and to the project of human liberation.

ASSESSING *JOURNEYS*: RESPONSES TO CRITICS

Paget Henry

I must begin by saying that reading through these very thoughtful reviews of *Journeys in Caribbean Thought*, by Tom Meagher, Desiree Melonas, and Marilyn Nissim-Sabat was an absolute pleasure. They were all very careful and generous readings that revealed a deep understanding of my work, which I greatly appreciated. From the start of my reading, I could not help recalling a similar set of reviews of *Caliban's Reason* (2000) and responding to them in a special issue of the *CLR James Journal* (2004). As a result, my responses here will incorporate reflective comparisons with issues raised in that earlier set of reviews regarding my project of reconstructing Afro-Caribbean philosophy, and what these more recent reviews of *Journeys* reveal about where my project is at the moment.

In that 2004 issue of the *CLR James Journal*, the issues raised were quite different and I hope that indicates a measure of the progress that I have made with my work on Caribbean philosophy. For example Augustin Lao-Montes and Claudia Milian-Arias raised the issue of how well my reconstructed model of Afro-Caribbean philosophy worked for the Hispanic Caribbean. Debates over this question certainly led to deeper relations with Hispanic Caribbean philosophers and to changes in my position. Sophie McCall raised the issue of how would my reconstruction of the academic identity of Caribbean philosophy affect the deeply intertextual orientation it had during its long period of academic death to which colonialism condemned it. McCall was concerned that with its organization as separate academic discipline with more clearly defined boundaries, Caribbean philosophy would lose its interdisciplinary and dialogical orientation, particularly its relations with Caribbean literature. I think that all of us in the Caribbean Philosophical Association have been working hard at maintaining these intertextual features of Caribbean philosophy, and also at avoiding what Lewis Gordon has called "disciplinary decadence".

I will give two other examples of issues raised in the 2004 set of reviews. The first of these two concerns was raised by Nelson Maldonado-Torres, who wanted to know whether or not Caribbean philosophy was going to be a "transmodern" discourse that transcended the disciplines, including philosophy, to be come a pure "critical thought" (2004:118). This concern is related to McCall's question, as it has to do with what

an academically organized Caribbean philosophy will look like. This is a question that is asked quite often, and is clearly one that will have to be worked out as the project of reconstruction progresses. Finally, there was the question raised by Hilbourne Watson. He wanted to know just how adequate was my neo-Jamesian approach to the manner in which I suggested that Caribbean philosophers should respond to the challenges of postcolonial development in the neoliberal era. Watson offered a Mandelian critique of my Jamesian approach to the system of global capitalism. As a result of exchanges like these, I have continued to develop this Jamesian approach to issues of Caribbean economic development in the context of global capitalism.

From this brief overview of the 2004 exchanges, the major differences with the set of questions raised here should be quite clear. First and foremost among the questions raised here is that of phenomenology and its place in my approach to philosophy and Caribbean philosophy in particular. In *Caliban's Reason*, I did make a major call for a joint effort to further Lewis Gordon's project of creating an Africana phenomenology that he had begun in *Bad Faith and Anti-Black Racism*. Joining this effort has certainly been an important concern of mine in the intervening years. I see your questions about it as an indication of how much I have done to develop this aspect of Caribbean philosophy, and also of my own.

Thomas Meagher

Tom, I must begin my response to your review of *Journeys* by saying that it is a very close and careful reading of the work. Your review is both insightful and accurate, while at the same time asking very important and probing questions. Indeed the telos of the philosophical works in the volume has been the explicit thematizing of an Africana phenomenology. Like much of Caribbean philosophy during the period of its colonial invisibility, I felt this phenomenological dimension as an implicit presence that needed to be made explicit. Further, I saw it as a transcendental complement to the work that Lewis Gordon was doing in organizing and making explicit the field of Africana existential phenomenology. Even before I started this project, I realized that roots of this phenomenology were African, and the figure of WEB Du Bois loomed so large in the Caribbean that I knew the work had to be done under the broad umbrella of an Africana phenomenology.

It was clear to me very early that, like people everywhere, the processes of self-formation and knowledge production among people of African descent rested on self-creative and knowledge-constitutive activities that remained for the most part below the level of everyday self-consciousness. By these creative and epistemic activities, I have in mind formations such as basic assumptions, horizons, categoric frameworks and visions of existence. Particularly in the case of colonial Caribbean societies, we very often formed selves and produced knowledge without bringing the foundational aspects of these vital processes into the clear light of day. Bringing these self- and knowledge-constitutive formations to consciousness was vital to the creation of a Caribbean philosophy, and a phenomenological one in particular. These I saw as the specific contents that would make this philosophy Caribbean. Further, I saw the explicit thematizing of these foundational issues as a vital part of the project of liberating Caribbean philosophy from the coloniality of power. In *Caliban's Reason*, I was focused more on reconstructing African and Afro-Caribbean ontologies. In contributing to my call for an Africana phenomenology, my focus in the intervening years has been much more on the transcendental aspects and capabilities of Caribbean philosophy.

In this regard, I was really glad that you highlighted my view of Caribbean philosophy as an intertextually embedded discipline. Because of these interdisciplinary connections, I have often, as in my paper in this issue of the *Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*, used the image of a vine to represent Caribbean philosophy. This vine-like image is linked to the fact that in the absence of definite academic organization, it did not have to deal with issues of professional boundaries and disciplinary identities. Thus many have been quite engaged by the question of what will Caribbean philosophy be like now that it is acquiring a measure of academic organization, disciplinary form, and a professional identity. This was the theme raised by Maldonado-Torres, and McCall in their 2004 reviews of *Caliban's Reason*. As I have been developing more systematically the transcendental aspects of Caribbean philosophy, the strong horizontal and vine-like orientation of this philosophy has become even clearer. The concept of reason embedded in Caribbean philosophy is one with very strong horizontal and cross-disciplinary capabilities along with vertical and more disciplinary ones. Thus I see Caribbean phenomenology as sharing these special features of the larger field. The vertical capabilities that would lead to closed comprehensive systems as in the case of European philosophy have been largely absent here, as they have been checked by the complexity of the intertextual relations.

Since the post-structuralist critiques of the very vertical and universalist systems of European philosophy, the issue of the academic identity of Western philosophy has also become a more contested issue. Thus many refer to it as post-metaphysical. However, as I continue working on Caribbean philosophy, I don't think of it as post-metaphysical. On the contrary, I think that metaphysical issues have only increased now that the category of Spirit is no longer perceived as the obvious founding center of thought. In other words, I think metaphysical issues have changed as our societies have changed, but they are still with us. Thus rather than post-metaphysical, from a Caribbean standpoint Western philosophy is now well into its post-imperial phase. This has brought major changes in the construction of reason informing philosophical knowledge production, conceptions of disciplinary boundaries and professional identities. In short, for very different but interconnected reasons, both Western and Caribbean philosophy are currently wrestling with the form and overall identity of the field as an academic discipline.

When I think of systematic philosophizing in the Caribbean context, it is definitely not with the aim of creating the vertical and epistemically imperial systems of European philosophy. This was McCall's primary concern. Rather systematic philosophizing for me is using phenomenology in order to cross disciplinary divides, without expecting to break down the walls sustaining these divides to the point where a fully integrated system would be possible. This is the bridge-building manner in which the further systematizing of a Caribbean phenomenology has affected my intertextual view of Caribbean philosophy. In other words, epistemic bridges are established both within and between distinct disciplinary areas with the aid of phenomenology, without these bridges becoming permanent structures that could lead to a closed synthesis between these specific areas. You caught this in your discussion of the relationship between Caribbean phenomenology and the school of Caribbean historicism/poeticism. This distinctive horizontal capability of Caribbean philosophy I have called transversal thinking, and is developed somewhat in my paper in this issue of the *Review*.

With regard to the distinction between Caribbean and Africana phenomenology, you are again quite right. As I noted earlier, some figures in the Africana canon are from the Caribbean like Fanon and James, others like Cabral and Senghor are from Africa, and some like Frederick Douglass and Du Bois are from Afro-America. Further, the roots of both African American and Afro-Caribbean phenomenology are African. Add to these the many Afro-Caribbean philosophers who have migrated to African

American communities, work in Africana Studies departments, and the interconnections become just impossible to avoid. Thus as the larger field of Afro-Caribbean philosophy developed within the larger framework of an Africana philosophy, the same has also been true for the subfield of Caribbean phenomenology. The latter is definitely "a subspecies" of the larger field of Africana phenomenology. However, there will be areas in which the African, African American and Afro-Caribbean components will diverge, as the national contexts in which these phenomenological discourses are located do influence them. Thus Afro-Caribbean phenomenology must have a deep and abiding relationship with Indo-Caribbean phenomenology, which would be less of an immediate concern for African or African American phenomenology. Differences like these will also affect the ethical/practical projects embraced by these various discourses that make up the broader field of Africana phenomenology.

On my relationship with Husserl, I will be very brief as Marilyn also asked that question and I answered her in detail. It all began as an undergraduate at City College in the methods class of my German sociology professor, Marlis Krueger. Taking us through the phenomenological method in sociology, we began with Hegel, then Husserl, and after Husserl to Alfred Schutz, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. Husserl really introduced me to the transcendental level of intellectual activity and I was really blown away by his ability to stay at that level for so long. I can still remember, with eyes widened, remarking to Prof. Krueger, "he is just at home there as he is in the everyday world". As a nineteen-year old, I found it quite difficult staying at that level for long periods of time. I think that is my earliest impression of Husserl, but it was also my first real sustained engagement with the transcendental life of *a priori* categories and concepts. For more you will have to read my response to Marilyn.

Desiree Melonas

Desiree, thanks for these fresh and very sensitive reflections on *Journeys in Caribbean Thought*. You have really engaged its complexities, its twists and turns, as well as its trans-disciplinary crossings. For all of these reasons, your reflections constitute a fascinating mirror in which I have gotten novel glimpses of what I have been doing since the writing of *Caliban's Reason*. You have captured well the projects of developing further the phenomenological aspects of Caribbean philosophy, of bridging the divide between Afro- and Indo- Caribbean philosophy, and of making more explicit the links between this reconstructed Caribbean philosophy and the economic problems that the region must confront.

Your review illuminated most clearly for me the links that I am trying to establish between the economic and the phenomenological aspects of Caribbean philosophy. The fact that you have been able to see this so clearly indicates that I have made some progress with the thematizing of these linkages. But there is still a lot of work to be done here. Since the essays included in *Journeys*, I have written two essays that further address this theme. These are "Whiteness and Africana Political Economy" (2015), and "Epistemic Dependence and the Transformation of Caribbean Philosophy" (2016). But even these two essays, because of the occasions for which they were written, did not address directly the gaps and the walls between economics and philosophy, which have been created by the different discourse-constitutive codes employed in the production of knowledge in these two fields. As a result, the movement from one to the other is still a jarring one; this movement must be much smoother if it is going to be effectively used by scholars in Caribbean philosophy and the social sciences. So much more transcendental work needs to be done here in order to make the epistemic codes and grammars of knowledge production in phenomenology and economics more commensurate with each other, and also more accessible to larger numbers of scholars and lay individuals. That actional nexus that you described between the economy, consciousness and agency is what needs to be more carefully and explicitly developed by Caribbean philosophy. This I think is one of the needed and distinct contributions that this new discipline could make to the economic and political challenges confronting the region. But at the moment, the gap between the *a priori* codes of knowledge production in economics and phenomenology is still too wide. As result, little or no exchanges of ideas are taking place across their discursive borders.

In addition to this need to bridge and make more commensurate existing epistemic codes and grammars, we also need much clearer statements on the areas, points and goals on which the projects of economics and phenomenology converge and overlap. At the moment, the awareness of such common concerns and goals is very poorly recognized. In her essay in this issue of the *Review*, Drucilla Cornell makes the suggestion of further thematizing the relationship between creative realism and political spirituality, which really bring out what I have in mind about linking these two fields more explicitly. It is really an excellent place to start. More specifically she suggested that creative realism also includes fetishized conceptions of institutions right alongside the fetishized conceptions of identities and disciplinary practices that we self-reflectively examine in phenomenological discourses. Fetishized institutions here would include

Caribbean and other national political economies. This inclusion would entail focusing more directly on the formation of economic subjectivities, their objectification and fetishization in institutions, and how such premature forms of self-completion can be disrupted and decentered. This is especially important here as the discourse-constitutive codes by which intentional meanings are formalized, quantified, marketized and institutionalized as *a priori* conditions for knowledge production in economics makes the incommensurability gap with phenomenology particularly wide. I touched on some of these issues in my paper in this issue of the *Review*, particularly the section entitled,"Opening Transcendental Spaces between Philosophy and Economics".

In his, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, Marx certainly addressed some of these issues, making good use of Hegel's phenomenology. The analysis of how use values become commodities in volume one of *Capital*, continues this phenomenological analysis of the *a priori* categories with which economists and economic actors organize and restructure the everyday world. However, in updating Marx's phenomenological discourse, I think we would have to make it more dialogical. That is, in bridging this gap between phenomenology and economics we can only do it in dialogue with economists who are willing to reflect on themselves as knowing subjects, the correlated *a priori* or transcendental foundations of their disciplines, and to use the phenomenological contributions of philosophy as useful mirrors in which to see themselves and their epistemic practices. From these joint self-reflections on the difficult discursive terrain separating these two fields, there should also be a lot that both philosophy and phenomenology will learn. But from my standpoint, it cannot be a unilateral or monological imposing of the codes of philosophy's phenomenological self-reflections on the subjectivity and epistemic practices of economists. Given existing conditions, this is indeed a big task, but I think that it needs to be undertaken.

Marilyn Nissim-Sabat

Yes, Marilyn, indeed we have had many exchanges over the years and share several areas of common interest and concern. Thanks for this wonderful review of *Journeys in Caribbean Thought*. It is as thorough and probing as your review of *Caliban's Reason*. Here, you have certainly captured the broad and changing framework of my thinking, its movements between political economy and philosophy, its specific concerns with the Caribbean, and its sharper phenomenological turn since the writing of *Caliban's Reason*. Although you may not be familiar

with the details of political and intellectual life in Antigua and Barbuda, your reading of the essay, "Philosophy and Antigua/Barbudan Political Culture", was very much on point. You caught very clearly how the focus of this essay on the political culture of one island connected with the larger project of reconstructing Afro-Caribbean philosophy.

As I expected, it would be the phenomenological turn in my work that would most engage you. Your review focused its bright lights on these phenomenological developments in my philosophical thinking. No one could have illuminated these aspects of my work in the way that you did. As you know well, you and Kenneth Knies have been my great interlocutors in the area of transcendental phenomenology, so I read your comments with great care. At the heart of your review, and also of Tom's, are calls for me to make clearer my relationship with Husserl so that my phenomenological turn can be better understood. So let me sketch that out briefly in response to both of you.

In *Caliban's Reason*, I made a major call for a joint effort in furthering Lewis Gordon's project of creating an Africana phenomenology. I saw the need for it much more clearly after finishing *Caliban's Reason*, and recognized that Afro-Caribbean philosophy had to be a major contributor to this project. Like the implicit ontologies of African and Afro-Caribbean thought that I made explicit in *Caliban's Reason*, I had a similar sense of the implicit and thus poorly recognized transcendental foundations of Afro-Caribbean thought. So it has been in the spirit of this Lewis Gordon project that I have been writing papers like, "Africana Phenomenology: Its Philosophical Implications", "Gender and Africana Phenomenology"(2011), "Wynter and the Transcendental Spaces of Caribbean Thought", and most recently "CLR James, Africana Transcendental Philosophy and the Creolization of Hegel" (2017). As your review makes clear, these essays have been influenced by the transcendental phenomenology of Edmund Husserl.

My relationship to the work of Husserl can be reconstructed in four basic phases. In the first phase, it all began as a young student at City College in the methods class of my sociology professor, Marlis Krueger, who was from Germany. She of course was the teacher who was convinced that I thought like Habermas, insisted that I read him and made me a gift of his *Towards a Rational Society*. In the methods class, we began with Hegel and then moved to Husserl. After many weeks on these two, we turned to Alfred Schutz, Peter Berger, and Thomas Luckmann. The work by Husserl that we read was the *Crisis of European Sciences and*

Transcendental Phenomenology, which was accompanied by essays from the volume *Phenomenology* edited by Joseph Kockelmans – a book I still have with its price of $1.95 on it.

As a nineteen-year old reading these works, I was deeply intrigued by the discovery of the transcendental level of intellectual activity. Although I had already done some secondary reading on Kant, this was my real introduction to the transcendental domain of human thought. It was new to me and very exciting, although I found it quite difficult at first to stay on that level for significant periods of time. I was always slipping back into the "natural attitude". Thus I was just blown away by Husserl's ability to stay on that transcendental level for so long. I can remember, with eyes widened, remarking to Prof. Krueger, "he is just at home there as he is in the everyday world". She replied, "You will get there". That was the first of my lasting impressions of Husserl. I was excited by the discovery of *a priori* categories, notions of intentionality, of transcendental subjectivity as world-constituting activity, and of conceptions of personal life as a "becoming through a constant intentionality of development" (1999:338). Further, I liked the richness and depth of the exploration of the expansive possibilities of consciousness that Husserl's phenomenology announced. When Husserl wrote that the philosophical interrogating of actual subjectivity "is nothing other than the carrying out of the phenomenological reduction and putting transcendental phenomenology into action" (1999:337), I was definitely on board. These were some of major aspects of Husserl's thought that engaged me as a young undergraduate and have stayed with me since.

However, at the same time there were aspects of this philosophical project that I could not embrace as easily. First, as a self-reflecting subject, who was still rooted in a very pleasant and non-technocratic, science-mediated naturalism, which I had brought with me from Antigua, I just could not share the urgency of Husserl's concern and critique of scientism and naturalism. The milder impact of science and technology on Antiguan society was such that I still experienced them as humanistic conversations with nature, which were integral parts of that "becoming through a constant intentionality of development". I was able to grasp cognitively the threat of a "positivistic reduction of the idea of science" and the threat that it posed to a deep sense of meaning in life. But it was not for me lived experience and therefore did not surface in my short-lived transcendental self-reflections.

Second, Husserl's view of phenomenological philosophy, as an all-encompassing science – one grounded ultimately in phenomenological essences – of which all other sciences would branches, stems or leaves, was a project that I instinctively resisted at the time. At nineteen, it surely must have seemed much too big for my little brains. But even with that feeling, my understanding of physics and chemistry just did not allow me to see how philosophy could effectively play this regulatory, if not imperial, role. The project just seemed too big to be realizable. I did not feel comfortable saying, "I am a phenomenological philosopher" if that was the project that had to be realized. Or, when Husserl wrote that "the ultimate self-understanding has no other form than self-understanding according to *a priori* principles as self understanding in the form of philosophy", I just could not follow him there. As much as I loved philosophy, I experienced these claims as being excessive and too difficult to realize. Indeed they reminded me of the "hidden objectivistic presuppositions" which Husserl saw as the source of the failure of idealist philosophy. Rather, my natural tendency was to see philosophy, with the aid of its exceptional phenomenological capabilities, working dialogically with practitioners of self-reflection in other disciplines to fulfill the humanistic possibilities inherent in philosophical reason.

Thus by the end of this class, I was very excited about the world of *a priori* categories, assumptions and other epistemic formations, but had difficulty applying it to the problems of Western science, and also of embracing the absolute and all encompassing proportions Husserl attributed to the phenomenological project.

The second phase in the development of my phenomenological discourse, began in the period after this methods class with Prof. Krueger. My actual use of phenomenology continued with my self-reflections on the methods that I was using in sociology. It was a time of intense debates over the competing validity claims of positivist, critical, phenomenological and verstehen or interpretive methods in sociology. I found phenomenology very helpful in understanding the limits of these different methods, and also in the many heated exchanges in which I became engaged. In these methodological endeavors, I did not see myself as a philosopher, but more as a self-reflecting sociologist who found very helpful the self-reflecting practices of phenomenological philosophy. I continued to use phenomenology in this way all through graduate school at Cornell University, where the methodological debates only intensified. Out of these came my first published paper, "A Sociology of the Sociology of Modernization and Development"(1976).

In addition to these methodological debates, both my later undergraduate and graduate years were taken up with generating sociological knowledge about anti-colonial struggles and processes of postcolonial development. Thus there was a strong turn to political economy in these years, in particular to the dependency theories of Caribbean, Latin American and African economists such as Lloyd Best, Norman Girvan, Fernando Enrique Cardosa, and Samir Amin. At the same time that I was engaged in this work, I was also explaining why I saw dependency as a form of critical theory in the Habermasian sense, and why this neo-Marxian approach to Caribbean development answered my questions better than the more "objective" and empirical approaches that I was also being offered.

I saw dependency theory as a form of critical theory because it contained that narrative element of an inter-subjectively interrupted self-formative process that Habermas insisted was one of the crucial marks of critical theories as compared to positivist conceptions of general theories. In the context of these exchanges, we can change the language slightly to narratives of inter-subjectively interrupted life-journeys. These interrupted life-journeys of dependency theory centered on the repressive blocks imposed by Western imperialism on processes national, class, and racial subject formation in colonized regions like the Caribbean. Thus, here too I made extensive use of the phenomenology I had learned in Prof. Krueger's class. However, by this time I had added Habermas' notion of knowledge constitutive interests to my reconfiguration of the transcendental domain.

The third important phase in the development of my phenomenological discourse grew out of some conversations I had with Lloyd Best in the mid 1980s, and who, not long after, started referring to me as "the Antiguan philosopher". In several of these conversations, Best raised the issue of postcolonial epistemic dependence as a major problem in Caribbean economic thinking. This led us into extensive conversations about *a priori* categories – although he did not like the term – and in this context discussed the transcendental aspects of the works of Wilson Harris, CLR James, Husserl and Heidegger. Influenced by James, Best's grasp of these issues came primarily through James and Heidegger. It was these self-reflections of a brilliant economist on the crisis that was overtaking his discipline that alerted me to the need to re-acquaint myself with those phenomenological texts I had not looked at since graduate school. I re-read *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology* and was struck by the difference in the nature of the crisis that was the occasion for Best's transcendental turn, but also by the similarities in the patterns of self-reflection.

Not long after I started these discussions with Best, came the exciting discovery of the work of Sylvia Wynter, and soon thereafter entering into regular exchanges with her. From these exchanges, I soon learned that Wynter was working through problems of postcolonial epistemic dependence in literature and literary criticism, which were quite similar to those being raised by Best in economics. These exchanges deepened with my decision to include her essay on James in a volume I was editing with Paul Buhle, *CLR James' Caribbean*. Wynter had a much more explicit transcendental understanding of the condition of epistemic dependence than Best. Her self-reflections on the practices of literary production, and why they distorted the image of people of African descent in such extreme ways, were much more systematically developed. She was very comfortable with the notion of *a priori* concepts, and her ability stay for long periods on her own transcendental terrain so often reminded me of Husserl. Indeed the references to Kant, Husserl, James, and Fanon were explicit, well developed and often repeated. This strong transcendental turn in Wynter's thinking was reinforced by her engagements with post-structuralism, which she saw primarily as a semiotic reading of the transcendental domain. Her engagements with post-structuralism, in turn, helped to reinforce my own explorations of this French philosophy. At the same time these highly self-reflective exchanges with Wynter and Best became the basis for the dialogical model of phenomenology that was taking shape in my mind. Your observation of a deep connection between Wynter's notion of auto-poeisis and Husserl's phenomenological reduction, I thought, was very much on point.

The fourth major phase in my phenomenological development was of course meeting Lewis, and through him you, Kenneth Knies, and the other members of the Phenomenology Round Table. To keep up with all of you, but especially Ken who was in one of my classes, I really had to get back into Husserl. Because he was always around, in his now legendary green hat, I was constantly inviting him to have lunch with me so I could check my understanding of Husserl against his. Ken's ability, even as an undergraduate, to stay on the transcendental level was very impressive. That was exactly what I could not do when I was in Prof. Krueger's class. I learned an awful lot from these conversations as I was re-reading Husserl's, *Ideas,* at the time, and revisiting the earlier notions of essences. This was the background that enabled me to begin contributing to my own call for an Africana Phenomenology, which I had made in *Caliban's Reason,* by writing the essay, "Africana Phenomenology: Its Philosophical Implications".

By this time, I had come to appreciate the power of Husserl's concern with the crisis of Western science and his critique of scientism and rationalism. However, at the same time I was even more intensely aware that those were not the issues that came to the surface in my self-reflections. The issues that did were much closer to those of Best and Wynter - in short, the crisis of Caribbean historicism/poeticism stemming from its postcolonial dependence on imperial discourses. As a self-reflecting Caribbean subject, it was the interruptions of the life journeys of the epistemic subjects of this twinned discourse, and it's *a priori* categories, that were fleshing out my phenomenological project. This was the narrative element, the story of a Caribbean epistemic life history, which had to be different from the narrative element of a technocratic interruption in the life-journey of the philosophical subject of Husserl's phenomenology. This difference in narrative elements raises the question of the relationship of phenomenology and critical theory. But that is an issue for another occasion.

Towards a Closing

I hope it is clear now that these reviews of *Journeys in Caribbean Thought* have constituted a wonderful occasion for me to reflect on where some of my major philosophical projects are at the moment. Tom and Marilyn, I sincerely hope that I have made clear my relationship to Husserl and his phenomenological project. Writing about it was both fun and useful. As my responses have indicated, much remains to be done in getting Caribbean philosophy to where it should or needs to be. Bridging the gap between Afro- and Indo-Caribbean philosophy, the gap between Caribbean philosophy and economics, and making more explicit the transcendental features and capabilities of Caribbean philosophy are important goals still to be achieved. I plan to push beyond the connections established in the more recent paper, "Into the Opening: Caribbean Philosophy After Neoliberalism and Post-structuralism", which is included in this volume. In particular, I plan to develop what, in that paper, I called transversal thinking. In this more developed form, it will be part of a more comprehensive statement on Africana/Caribbean phenomenology.

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Valerie Knowles Combie is a professor of English at the University of the Virgin Islands. She is the author of three books: *Lots of Laughter*, *The Hovensa Chronicles* and *Memories / Recuerdos*.

Drucilla Cornell is a professor of Political Science, Women's Studies, and Comparative Literature at Rutgers University. She is a playwright and also launched The uBuntu Project in South Africa in 2003. From her early work in Critical Legal Studies and Feminist Theory to her more recent work on South Africa, transitional justice, and the jurisprudence of Ronald Dworkin, Cornell continues to think through new and evolving issues in philosophy and politics of global significance. Her latest title, coauthored with Stephen Seely, is called *The Spirit of Revolution: Beyond the Dead Ends of Man*.

Paget Henry is professor of Sociology and Africana Studies at Brown University. He is the author of *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua*, *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy*, then, *Shouldering Antigua and Barbuda: The Life of V.C. Bird*, and most recently, *The Art of Mali Olatunji*. He has been a strong contributor to the discussions on Antigua and Barbuda's development.

Alvette (Ellorton) Jeffers is a specialist in labor relations and a political activist. He was a former Vice-chairman of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM) and a former editor of its paper, *Outlet*.

Lenin Amilcar Jeffers was born in Antigua. He grew up in the Villa area of St. Johns and attended the Grace Christian Academy before going on to the Princess Margaret School. Jeffers relocated to the Bronx, New York before completing his education at home. In New York, he attended Dewitt Clinton High School, and from there Penn State University. He loves creative fantasy, and practices Buddhism, veganism and Humanism.

Ashmita Khasnabish held Visiting Scholar and Visiting Research Associate positions at Brown University, Brandeis University and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She is the author of *Jouissance as Ananda: Indian Philosophy, Feminist Theory and Literature* (2006, 2003), *Humanitarian Identity and the Political Sublime: Intervention of a Postcolonial Sublime* (2009), and *Negotiating Capability and Diaspora: A Philosophical Politics*. Author of many journal articles, Khasnabish currently teaches at Lasell College. She launched a TV program in her town of Lexington called the "Author to Author" series.

Edgar Lake is a distinguished novelist, playwright and poet. He is also an archivist and a past president of the Virgin Islands Historical Society. He is the author of *The Devil's Bridge* and of the forthcoming work, *The Wake of the Empress*. He is also a founding member of the *Antigua and Barbuda Review of Books*.

Susan Lowes is Director of Research and Evaluation at the Institute for Learning Technologies and Adjunct Professor of Learning Technologies and Design at Teachers College, Columbia University. She received her Ph.D. in Anthropology from Columbia University in 1994 for a dissertation entitled *The Peculiar Class: The Formation, Collapse, and Reformation of the Middle Class in Antigua, 1834-1940*. She continues to research on Antigua and serves on the boards of the Antigua and Barbuda Museum and the Friends of the Antigua Archives.

James Manigault-Bryant is Associate Professor and Chair of Africana Studies at Williams College where he teaches courses on the secularization of African American religious life; the intellectual histories of Black Studies and Sociology; and the environmental degradation of Black inhabited spaces. He has published essays in the *CLR James Journal*, *Listening: A Journal of Religion and Culture*, *Critical Sociology*, *Soundings*, *Race and Yoga*, and the *Journal of Africana Religions*.

Linda Martín Alcoff is Professor of Philosophy at Hunter College and the Graduate School, C.U.N.Y. She is a past President of the American Philosophical Association, Eastern Division. Her recent books include *Visible Identities: Race, Gender and the Self* (Oxford 2006), and *The Future of Whiteness* (Polity 2015). Her website is www.alcoff.com.

Thomas Meagher is a doctoral candidate in Philosophy at the University of Connecticut. His work centers on issues in Africana philosophy, phenomenology, existentialism, and political thought. He is currently working on completing his dissertation, a philosophical study of maturity in a human world.

Desiree Melonas is an Assistant Professor of Political Theory at Birmingham-Southern College. Her scholarship engages questions at the intersection of place/space, Africana political thought, and philosophy. Her current book project, entitled *A Political Theory of Place*, is aimed at gaining a better view of how the political self emerges and takes shape through an engagement with place.

Rekha Menon is a Professor of Art History at Berklee College of Music. She is the author of *Seductive Aesthetics of Post Colonialism* and *Cosmic Passion for the Aesthetic.* Her forthcoming books are *Treading on the Insatiable Post-Colonial Road* and *Ashamed of Our Nakedness, Is There Ever a Naked Body? Ambivalence in Contemporary Indian Expressive Aesthetics*. She is a practicing artist and a classical dancer and is a recipient of the Steelgrass Residency Berklee Faculty Fellowship Award, the Fulbright Fellowship in Art History, the Drescher Award, and the Ross Fellowship.

From the indigenous peoples of Southeastern New England, **Donna Edmonds Mitchell**, whose Wampanoag name is Minoweh Ikidowin (Cloud in the Wind), has dedicated her life to keep the voices of her ancestors' history, culture, and tradition alive through oral presentations, original poetry, storytelling, and ceremony. Her poetic reflection of Paget Henry reveals the power of the spirit-to-spirit connection when one listens not only with one's ears but also with one's heart.

Marilyn Nissim-Sabat is Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at Lewis University. She is the author of *Neither Victim nor Survivor* (Lexington Books, 2009) and has written many book chapters and articles for such journals as *The C.L.R. James Journal, Philosophy, Psychiatry, and Psychology (PPP)*, *The American Journal of Psychotherapy, Human Studies, Husserl Studies, Listening,* and *The Psychoanalytic Review*. She is a licensed and practicing psychotherapist.

Elaine Olaoye is a professor of Psychology at Brookdale Community College, and also a well-known poet. Her area of specialty is stress management that incorporates the use of poetry. She is the author of the book of poetry, *Passions of My Soul.*

Clement White is a professor of Spanish and Latin American Literature and the Director of the graduate program in Hispanic Studies at the University of Rhode Island. He is the author of *Decoding the Word: Nicolás Guillén as Maker and Debunker of Myth*, and also two books of poetry *Network of Spheres* and *Wey Butty?*.