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## Anguilla and the art of resistance

Jane Dillon McKinney

*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

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ANGUILLA AND THE ART OF RESISTANCE

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A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the American Studies Program

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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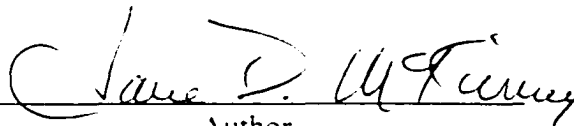
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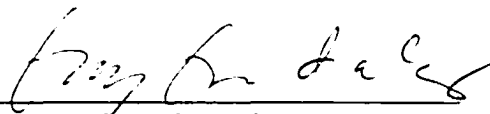
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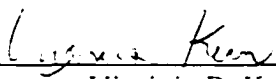
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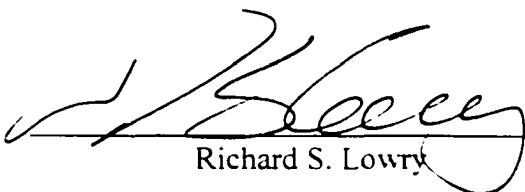
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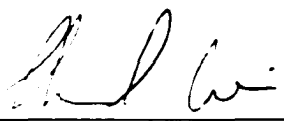
  
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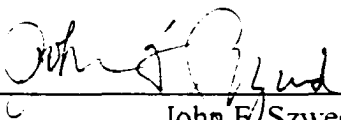
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES .....	v
LIST OF MAPS .....	vi
ABSTRACT .....	vii
INTRODUCTION: "THE REBELLIOUS DWELL IN A PARCHED LAND" .....	2
CHAPTER I. " <i>MARE AMERICANUM</i> " .....	24
CHAPTER II. "SALT, OUR ONLY STAPLE" .....	115
CHAPTER III. "CHARLOTTE, THE COMPLAINING SLAVE" .....	207
CHAPTER IV. "THE OPPROBRIUM OF OUR COLONIES" .....	263
CHAPTER V. ANGUILLA AND THE ART OF RESISTANCE .....	369
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	392
VITA .....	413

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## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.1	The front cover of <i>Anguilla Life</i> . (4(1)1991).	73
2.1	Salt harvest in Road Bay Pond, Anguilla, 1983. (Photograph: Lloyd Gumbs.)	120
2.2	View of heaps of salt and the industrial complex at Sandy Ground, Anguilla during the last period of production. Background: Road Bay Salt Pond. (Photograph: Colville Petty.)	122
2.3	The pump house (above) and the salt grinding mill (below). (Photograph: Linda Lake.)	125
2.4	Linda Lake holding a piece of picked salt. The mother is still attached to the bottom. (Photograph: Linda Lake.)	135
3.1	Wallblake House, Anguilla. The open door on the ground floor is the entrance to a cellar very like the one in which Charlotte was incarcerated. (Photograph: author.)	240

## LIST OF MAPS

Table		Page
1.1	The Caribbean. (Carty 1985:12).	43
1.2	Anguilla. (Carty 1985:13).	55

## ABSTRACT

This study begins with two premises. The first is that American Studies needs to move beyond the borders of the United States to examine the ideological, cultural and economic effects our country has had on others. The United States has historically been deeply involved in Anguilla's economy, revolution and ideology. The second is that history is a commodity that is selectively deployed in the creation of personal and national cultural values in Anguilla. I use Sherry Ortner's concept of serious games and James Scott's theory of the arts of resistance to analyze how Anguilla's contemporary culture is a product of its history, environment, and a particular industry. Colonial institutional failure created a vacuum in which Anguillians were permitted, even encouraged, to conceptualize themselves as independent. The harsh environment prevented the formation of a plantocracy based on sugar production. The means and modes of the production of salt, Anguilla's only staple, resulted in a social structure that contrasts with those of the sugar islands in the Antilles. Today, independence remains Anguilla's serious game and sole art of resistance on a personal, cultural and national level.

The definition of self and nation as independent is based upon a radical excision of history that is articulated in an invention of tradition. Plato's idea of *mythos* and *logos* serve as methodological tools for unpacking how history has been strategically utilized and suppressed to support cultural concepts. But, because history is a commodity that has use value and exchange value in Anguilla's serious game, the corollary questions that are addressed are two: which history and *cui bono*? The hypothesis of this dissertation is that, if history repeats, Anguilla is trapped in the box of dominant discourse. Anguillians' history does repeat: their version of history fails to benefit them because it elides their basic dependency.

The conclusion is that, in positioning independence as the contrariety of colonialism, Anguilla has created a false dichotomy that is symptomatic of an underlying social malaise. On a personal level, independence is the antithesis of community and nationalism. On a political level, independence works against regionalism. Dependence, the hidden narrative of the Anguillian public discourse of independence, undermines the *mythos*. Independence is usually not supported by the *logos*, except in works by Anguillian historians. Only by deconstructing the contraries of independence and colonialism into subcontraries, can Anguilla address its cultural dissonances and position itself in a global world.

## ANGUILLA AND THE ART OF RESISTANCE



## INTRODUCTION

“THE REBELLIOUS DWELL IN A PARCHED LAND” (Psalms 68.6)

As I write this study in the fall of 2001, it has become suspect to examine the role that the United States has played in global events. Such denial echoes the boundedness that borders on solipsism in the field of American Studies. Yet America's successful revolt against its colonizer, its Declaration of Independence, and its political concept of a republic, widely glossed as a democracy, have been its most compelling ideological exports. Most Americans are proud of this heritage: independence is part of our national self-image. Framed in this manner, the impact of American political philosophy has been inspirational in the international struggle against colonial powers. To ignore this facet of American intellectual history is literally to throw the baby out with the bathwater. But, our growing isolationism, which preceded our current war on terrorism, deliberately precludes discussion of the bathwater, the ramifications, both good and bad, and the often unintended consequences of America's historical, economic and cultural domination. Our influence has not been limited to the spread of a benevolent political philosophy. Economically, the expenditures of multinational corporations and our battalions of tourists often contribute a significant, even the major portion, of some smaller states' gross national product. Mass media brings American culture into the homes of people in most countries.

This thesis examines how a small island, Anguilla, could historically choose independence as their philosophy and the consequences of such self-identification. What does independence mean to other parts of the world? To what extent is independence an empty signifier that, contextual, changeable and unstable, is filled with contrarities of local productions of history and performances of culture, including literature?

This study begins with two premises. The first is that American Studies has traditionally focused on its own history, literature and culture. I believe that the field needs to move beyond the borders of the United States, beyond the boundedness of an incipient intellectual isolationism in the global, multinational world of the twenty-first century. For this, it is necessary to study the external effects of the infusion of American political ideology, the materialist impact of our hemispheric economic hegemony, and the extent of what has been called American cultural imperialism.

If a mission of American Studies is to destabilize disciplines, then an analysis of Anguilla that reveals how the United States has come to dominate the Caribbean destabilizes American Studies' self-absorption. As Anguilla is situated within the *mare Americanum*, so, too, is America imbedded in regional and hemispheric relationships. The United States shares a heritage with Anguilla that includes British colonization, slavery, racism, social forms prevalent throughout the African American diaspora, and revolutions for independence. Anguilla is not a synecdoche for the Antilles, however; it is an individual island with its own history and culture. This study will begin by exploring

the American role in Caribbean, specifically Anguillian, affairs to position Anguilla within this sea.

The second premise is that history is a universal commodity. The major portion of this paper examines how history is selectively deployed in the creation of personal and national cultural values in Anguilla. To paraphrase Jane Austin, it is a truth universally acknowledged by Western scholars that a proper people must be in possession of a history. In this rewording, a nation's pride rests on the cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984:12-13) derived from having a history and international prejudice forms in its absence. It initially suggests that pride in history is as false as the prejudice that is its opposite. Although postmodernists would insist that there is no single site from which to judge truth, there is discursive power in prejudice. The question is, then, not who needs history or why, but which history? Cui bono? Why is one story selected rather than another of a people's history? The supposed lack of African history eased European colonial consciences about slavery. Melville Herskovits (1941) was correct in his rightful restoration of retentions of culture and history to formerly enslaved people. But retentions are neither uniform nor universal among the descendents of the slaves and history is created and recreated daily.

History itself is a commodity. It has both of the Aristotelian values of use and exchange. It has a form, it circulates, it can be fetishized. The use value of history is particular to the society and its members. If history is a commodity then it is part of the material culture of a country as well as of its ideology. Material culture is interpreted

symbolically as a crystallization of a society's thoughts, sentiments, beliefs, and experience. Regional contests feature historical costumes, music and dance. By owning these objects, island communities gain symbolic power over one another, a power derived from the fetish quality of the material object, e.g. a *madwas* dress from Dominica. As Anne Yentsch (1994) has observed, material culture is most effective symbolically when it is repeated in different objects and in sets of objects. The dress, a distinctively tied headwrap, the *kwéyòl* speech and songs, folklore production, *wob dwayet* dolls: all construct tradition, a self-reinforcing pattern of a coherent culture for this former English colony. History, in this regard, becomes an agent of social control because it informs cultural identity. Cui bono? A cohesive presentation of a deeply imbedded, historical national self-image is compelling in regional negotiations and contests.

Yet, even in the manufacture of cultural expressions, colonialism and the neocolonialism of globalism mean that there is an increasing reliance upon consumption of goods produced by others, albeit that the reliance is scorned as interference. This is, in part, the point of Chapter I, *Mare Americanum*. Like the Haya (Weiss 1996), Anguillians live on the margins of a global society: they make and remake their world not only in response to global events, but in concurrence with their created national image. Anguilla's culture explains why homosexuality is currently the particular focus of Anguillian resistance rather than other aspects of modernization.

The economic portion of this study focuses on cultural and environmental limitations on historical processes of change in Anguilla in the context of the

globalization of capital, where capitalistic and cultural neocolonialism have replaced military might. Neomarxist analyses such as those of Marshall Sahlins (1976) and Nancy Munn (1986) can be applied to the process of transition from pre-capitalism to the simultaneous presence of pre-capitalistic and capitalistic structures. But they fail to describe the advent of the service industry in the twenty-first century where capitalism is disorganized and deterritorialized. Service itself has become the predominant commodity, especially in countries that have undergone modernization without development. A lack of indigenous businesses and the failure to foster mixed economies is common throughout the Caribbean. According to Carole Counihan (1997), a romanticizer of pre-industrial societies, such quasi-development undermines the solidarity of the organic peasant society. "Finally, there can be no doubt that in adopting 'development socialism' the region [would] risk the displeasure and hostility of the United States" (Mandle 1989:256).

Because culture is the organization of the present in terms of the past, history is integral to an understanding of contemporary cultures. How history is strategically used in the creation of personal and national psychological and symbolic imagery is a determining factor in their standpoints and structures. What Sidney Mintz has characterized as old research questions in Caribbean studies articulate with some threads of current research in American Studies: "the reinvention of tradition, the classification of forms of resistance, the definition of the self and the individual, and the use of history" (1989:xvi).

I believe that these four questions have rarely been examined in a holistic manner and that their focus has been directed toward the past, rather than integrated with the present and future. The purpose of this study is to remedy these deficiencies in interdisciplinary studies by an examination of all four of these overlapping questions as they apply to Anguilla, a small island in the British West Indies. An analysis of the nexus of culture, ideology and agency in Anguilla, at the microlevel of a mini-state, is not a model. Rather, it will serve to explode the traditional barriers of American Studies for a hermeneutic analysis of the external effects of the American project.

A holistic study of Anguilla's history, current culture, and literature leads to the conclusion that if a people have a recurrent history, their resistance is trapped inside the box of dominant discourse. Their agency is impotent and their actions merely predictable reactions. They are playing serious games within someone else's rules. But games always have winners and the winners write the rules.

A secondary question this study addresses is, if history is a commodity, then who benefits: Cui bono? The benefits are both material and symbolic. Using Plato's distinction between mythos and logos as my methodological tool (see Chapter II), I have applied Sherry Ortner's concept of serious games and James Scott's theory of the arts of resistance to my examination of Anguilla past and present. Mythos and logos are protean: each changes into the other as people weave the past into a purposeful pattern. To seek the sources and then identify the cultural changes leads to an understanding why

particular selections of history have been chosen and for the benefit of whom. In this sense, I have tried to become the guerrilla in the myth.

### Primary Sources and Framework

Research principles from several disciplines inform the methodology of this study. In 1998, while in Anguilla on a Minor Research Grant from the College of William and Mary, I was able to meet many islanders who were eager to help me with my research. Among those individuals and the institutions that they represented was the Anguilla National Trust. They gave me permission to conduct ethnographic research in their country and, with their assistance, I received permission to pursue historical research in the Mitchell Collection in the Anguilla National Library. This consists of thousands of rare and modern books and maps concerning the West Indies as well as boxes filled with photocopies of the original Colonial Office documents, held in the Public Records Office in London, that concern Anguilla. In return, I have promised to give the Anguilla National Library a copy of my transcription of these handwritten reports and a copy of my dissertation.

My primary documentary sources were Mitchell's photocopies of the original Colonial Office papers. One of the wonders of the ancient world, the library at Alexandria contained commercial records. So did the libraries of Babylon and Phoenicia. In much the same manner, the early history of the British colonists in Anguilla is preserved in the records of the Board of Trade (e.g. Public Record Office, Colonial Papers, hereafter CO. 152/99, 152/1). The Board of Trade not only recorded history, it was instrumental in

deciding what events could occur. Obviously, many forms of social organization among the slaves and their descendents were unknown to the colonial officials or went unremarked. Although these are biased British records, they were not intended for public consumption and so become “witnesses in spite of themselves...about the society that produced them.” as Karen Olwig, building on Marc Bloch, wrote (1985:8).

My other major source of material came from anthropological fieldwork in Anguilla in June 1998 and September 1999 through May 2000. The latter portion of my time in Anguilla was funded by a grant from the American Studies Program at the College of William and Mary that enabled me to obtain room and board in Anguilla for the academic year 1999-2000. I promised confidentiality to the Anguillians with whom I spoke, if they wished it, in return for using their words. Most of the people with whom I spoke desired anonymity. Therefore, the various speakers are only identified in general terms, e.g. a former salt worker. To distinguish these contemporary Anguillian voices from written sources, I have placed their words in italics.

The three tools that I use to unpack the enigma of independence, as manifested in Anguilla, are ethnography, historical analysis, and literary criticism. Anthropology, with its double consciousness of here and there, bridges cross-cultural investigations. History, with its awareness of how documents were produced by the dominant and how the past is reconstructed by the present, spans the then and now. Literary studies maintain the spread between the written and the wrought, the ideal and the action. Triangulating between these approaches promotes a deeper and broader hermeneutic effect than the use of any of the three alone.



Anguilla's definition of self and nation as independent appears to be based upon a radical excision of history that is articulated in an invention of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Plato's idea of mythos and logos serve as concepts to help understand how history has been strategically utilized and suppressed to support cultural concepts. But, because history is a commodity that has use value and exchange value in Anguilla's identity, there are both materialist and psychological ramifications to the aforementioned two corollary questions: which history and cui bono? The answers to both questions are not straightforward. Sherry Ortner's serious games and James Scott's art of resistance prove useful in unraveling the multiple answers to these questions.

For Sherry Ortner, practice theory is a site to theorize human agency that lies between and thus avoids both "total constructionism and total voluntarism, between the Foucauldian discursively constructed (and subjected) subject, or the free agent of Western fantasy" (1996: 11). She proposed "a model of practice that embodies agency but does not begin with, or pivot upon, the agent, actor or individual" (ibid:12). Pierre Bourdieu, an early proponent of practice theory, had actors locked in *habitus*. Because they had internalized external limits, their strategies were formed in terms of the dominant discourse, much as Michel Foucault argued. Ortner's model is the "serious game."

The idea of the "game" is meant to capture simultaneously the following dimensions: that social life is culturally organized and constructed, in terms of defining categories of actors, rules and goals of the games, and so forth; that social life is precisely social, consisting of webs of relationship and interaction between multiple, shiftingly interrelated subject positions, none of which be extracted as autonomous "agents"; and yet at the same time there is "agency," that is, actors play with skill, intention, wit, knowledge, intelligence. The idea that the game is "serious" is meant to add into the equation the idea that power and inequality pervade the games of life in multiple ways, and that, while there may be playfulness and pleasure in the process, the stakes of these games are often very

high. It follows in turn that the games of life must be played with intensity and sometimes deadly earnestness. As a final note there is an assumption that there is never only one game...(ibid:12-13).

Ortner's methodology of taking practice as her "serious game," rather than an agent-based orientation, allowed a view of the interdependency between agent and structure. Her transformation consisted of agents stretching the game, which, as Marshall Sahlins (1987) proposed, inflects the historical process and in turn transforms the actor hermeneutically. That structure is incompletely hegemonic, Ortner would agree with Gramsci.

Although Ortner used serious games as her analytic category, she warned that "we can never lose sight of the mutual determination(s) of agents and structures: of the fact that players are 'agents,' skilled and intense strategizers who constantly stretch the game even as they enact it, and the simultaneous fact that players are defined and constructed (though never wholly contained) by the game" (ibid:1996: 20-21).

This paper disputes this latter expansionist point of view. Anguilla conforms more to William Butler Yeats's integrationist Unity of Being: "How can we know the dancer from the dance?" (1963:214). The agents are contained wholly within the primary game of dominant discourse, that is, in Anguilla's case, colonialism. Anguilla's own serious game is independence, both personal and national. My hypothesis is that if Anguilla's history repeats, the islanders are trapped in the box of dominant discourse. As long as the discourse defining colonialism and independent as binary oppositions is accepted, the options for agency are restricted by the rules of the game. Resistance is

contained within the space allotted to it: there is no transformation, no stretching of the terms.

I would suggest that Anguilla's serious game of independence is gendered female. Under mercantilism and capitalism, Anguilla was unpaid, unappreciated and, worse than unloved, despised. Anguilla proved a barren wife to the British Empire, barely worthy of protection. As a barren wife for centuries, Anguilla finally became infantilized: "poor" and "little" are everyone's favorite adjectives. England can't divorce Anguilla; it would be frowned upon globally, albeit understood. To abandon the infantilized colony would bear the same moral stigma that the Victorians applied to those Anguillians who abandoned their young, aged and infirm to work off-island during the droughts in the 1830s and 1840s.

James Scott's concept of resistance, as found in hidden transcripts, also comes into play in this study. Scott's concept of resistance was two-pronged. Peasants and slaves resisted material appropriation of their labor by methods ranging from sloth to suicide. They also resisted on an ideological level that was expressed anonymously in transcripts hidden in commonplace communications. The two forms together constituted *infrapolitics*: "a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant" (Scott 1990:xii).

By "assessing the discrepancy *between* the hidden transcript and the public transcript, we may begin to judge the impact of domination on public discourse" (Scott 1990:5). I propose looking at public narratives and regarding them all as meaningful.

whether factual or fictitious. Using myths to manipulate traps the mythmakers in their own tales. For the elite and the workers, their public transcripts can “subvert their own apparent meaning” (Jackson Lears building on Bakhtin: 1985:591). The self-subversion of dominant tales and the selective tactical deployment of subordinate public transcripts reveal the hidden transcripts and the dynamics of how hegemony really works. It demonstrates how dominant and subordinate groups alike sabotage their own political communications.

The permutations of power are endless in Anguilla’s history. Both the elite and the workers resisted colonial powers. Negotiations continue to this day with mythos used as a bargaining chip that changes to suit needs. If power, in Foucault’s view is acephalous, pervasive, and subtle (1978), so is the art of resistance, infrapolitics. Both the elites’ and the workers’ hidden narratives explain the selective deployment of public narratives. It is doublethink at its deliberate best: the power of the dominant utilized by subordinates on their colonized frontstage (see Chapter III).

Anguilla’s resistance was more material than ideological. The lack of indigenous ideology is probably due to the grinding poverty and isolation that Anguilla endured: there was no leisure for a theory class. This is undoubtedly why the proletariat had to be enlisted to their own destruction in Marx and Gramsci to raise the consciousness of the plebeians. Equality, as an Anguillian ideal, is consumed by historical pride in personal independence. Independence, in turn, conflicts with the ideal of cooperation on village, island, regional and global scales. Independence is both Anguilla’s serious game and its logos/myths. There are three degrees of resistance: 1) Personal total resistance or suicide.

relatively common among early slaves (cf. Schuler 1980) 2) group rebellion where there is a distinct possibility of bodily injury or death and of victory such as Morant Bay (cf. Barrett 1997) 3) or, the most frequent, a quotidian measure common to us all: calculated noncompliance, where the hierarchical limits are tested but in such a manner that the players will live and be able to return to act again. Scott's interpretation supports these definitions: "short of actual rebellion, powerless groups have, I argue, a self-interest in conspiring to reinforce hegemonic appearances" (1990: xii). All three are, in varying degrees, serious games. And bending before a superior force is not a sign of weakness. Many choices, as an Anguillian woman stated, lie between the lesser of two evils. But to bend is to acknowledge confinement inside the box of dominant discourse.

Mary Weismantel argued that Scott's concept of hegemony "suggests a greater deal of ideological control on the part of the dominant class than he (or I) find to be true of peasant societies" (1988:36). Her study of Zumbaque, a marginal, multicultural, primarily peasant society not unlike Anguilla before tourism, focused on the dynamic tension between hegemony and resistance. But, without a change in economic formation, tension is the sum total of resistance. Resistance both requires and defines a hierarchy. But if that hierarchy is distant, acephalous and ingrained in a shared discourse that is accepted as universal, as common sense, at all levels of society, there can be no material or ideological transformation. Although resistance may make a difference to the individual, psychological transformation changes nothing on a communal level.

Resistance is both planned and unintentional. It is based on a desire to be similar while preserving difference. Multifaceted and multivocal and hydra-headed, it is

simultaneously collective and individual. It is an art, always changing, adapting to environment and technology, status and class, and global permutations. Unlike rebellion and revolution, it does not require the sacrifice of life: homicide or suicide. It requires only the willingness to gamble within the rules, to maneuver and manipulate them for personal or collective advantage, which is conceptualized as just. Often it is reduced to a conflict between materialistic egalitarianism and personal desire. The circumstances that breed resistance contribute to its simultaneously calculating and naïve character. It plays the options within the box and does not think outside of the box. It is art of the domestic level, often ascribed as women's sphere; but resistance requires that private wants are played out in public.

Anguilla is, in many respects, the antithesis of the most of the other anglophone Caribbean islands. The majority of academic theses have been written about the large sugar islands. This study will examine Anguilla in relation to all four of the principle topics in Caribbean studies, often through the lens of the means and mode of production of its singular commodity, salt, and the resultant site-specific social organization. The recursive movements between history and culture and the recurring history point to the limitations of serious games to expand or transform intractable economic formations. Anguillian history is recurring, not cyclical. Arthur Schlesinger's hypothesis of American history as cyclical, alternating between radicalism and conservatism, is certainly not applicable to Anguilla. What appeared radical, the Anguilla Revolution, was, in fact, deeply conservative and embedded in history. A study of Anguilla brings into focus the questions of whether social inequality is inevitable and whether, in a global economy,

action, especially on the part of smaller states, is always reaction. Is agency possible for a mini-state? "How strange now, looks the life he [God] makes us lead: /So free we seem, how fettered fast we are" (Browning 1962:839).

### Earlier Caribbean Scholarship

The Caribbean has been theorized as a geographical, historical and cultural region by generations of scholars. An examination of Anguilla's history and culture has the potential to shed new light on four of the major areas of research in the West Indies. These lenses are characterized by emphasizing either content or form and the dissonance between them. In roughly chronological order, the four topics may be summarized as Americans' search for Africanisms, including religious retentions and syncretism, e.g. Melville Herskovitz (1941); English social anthropologists' investigation of matrilocality, e.g. R.T. Smith (1988); life histories of the plantocracy and slaves or the peon labor involved in sugar production, e.g. Sidney Mintz (1967,1989); and, most recently, studies of the effects of globalization and modernization, e.g. Daniel Miller (1996)

The shape of these studies might be described as resembling a goblet: a wide mouth to receive all perceived African aspects, an ever-narrowing focus on what to Western eyes appeared to be the pathological matrifocal structure of Caribbean society: a tiny, tight stem where analysts found the pathologies were either African-derived or created by the conditions of slavery and therefore historic and amenable to change by legislative and educational efforts. The base of the goblet consists of praise for the

efficacy of the matrifocal network in the Caribbean diaspora of the present. Most recently, though, Caribbean women have themselves questioned the functioning of their support structures (e.g. Bolles 1996 and Harrison 1997). One reason why indigenous women sociologists and anthropologists have questioned the Caribbean canon has to do with the nature of academic inquiry. As Karen Olwig observed: "contrary to established anthropological methodology, much of the research on Afro-American social structure in the Caribbean has not been holistic in character" (1985:xi). I suggest that the earlier research questions have been framed so as to focus very narrowly upon problems that were perceived as being in need of resolution: the creation of a usable past for the descendants of African slaves in the Americas; absolution of white guilt over participation in the slavery; the resolution of segregation and legislative, educational and economic inequality either by pronouncing the black culture African and therefore not pathological or by passing acts of amnesty such as the Marriage Act in Jamaica in 1948, which met with a tepid reception at best. Studies of smaller communities often attributed personal failure to succeed in Western terms to group psychology such as crab antics (Wilson 1973) or reframed failure as successful resistance to industrial society (e.g. Littlewood 1993). Especially in light of the bias in current research to valorize retroactively quotidian, individual acts as resistance, stripped of their history, I believe it is necessary for scholars to examine every Caribbean society separately and in its entirety: the specifics of each one's history, present political reality, and of their cultural ramifications. Conversely, how have the prevailing ideologies of each island created current conditions? History is an antidote to the self-reflexive postmodern tendencies in



many fields to ignore events, economics and politics. Resistance is based on a Western supposition: the work ethic. It is, in Calvinistic and capitalistic eyes, slacking off. Slaves, secretaries, students, all those low in the hierarchy are slackers some of the time, even often. Service industries, bureaucracies, a rising standard of living, and virtually full employment encourage it. If the concept of resistance creates a usable past, fine. But it must be understood that it is a creation, a etic interpretation only, and, as such, lies within the Western cultural discourse. The question remains: is a valorization of resistance enabling or does it create a culture of victimization?

The picture of Anguilla I present is an island-specific interpretation by a non-belonger. Because Anguillians are self described nomads, their ties to their own island are stronger than their regional ties. For them it is simple: Anguilla is where their navel cords are buried.

Globalization and balkanization coexist in today's world. The construction of national identity seems increasingly important in the balkanization that is creating ever more mini-states. It is both resistance and reaction to increasing globalization and interdependence. Released from colonial rulers ranging from Britain to Russia, these mini-states revert to roots as *raison d'être*. I matter, they mutter, as they believe the behemoth of globalization slouches toward them. But it is already there. They think they are separate, different. But they have been infiltrated, co-opted. While singing their song of self, they were amalgamated. In these circumstances, while a history may be enabling psychologically, is it really a usable history? If so, for what strategy? Realpolitik and increasing interdependency renders national identity fodder for tourists at best, at worst.

for war. Does encouraging nationalism exacerbate historical hatreds and feed into an identity of invincibility and inevitable righteousness, such as informed Nanny, a legendary figure in the First Maroon War (1722-1739) in Jamaica? Although Nanny was killed by a slave in 1733, such events nourished the mythos of independence as various islands ceased to be colonies of European states. The 1960s in the Caribbean was a time of innocence among nationalistic intellectuals, who espoused independence, the binary opposite of colonialism, as fiercely as India had when Gandhi led the strike against salt taxes. But India is large, capable of self-sufficiency, capable of being a global player.

Historiography is not an innocent academic exercise, although it is much easier to deconstruct the past, almost formulaic by now, than it is to interpret the messiness of the present. Do the two really relate? Or is their alleged interaction an unexamined Western given? Was Bob Marley merely parroting his British-educated professors when he praised the virtues of historical knowledge? Do people learn from the past? Is there any real hypothesis or prognosis that can be made about the future from the past and/or present? What is the value of history? Political solutions to social problems are virtually universal. Social problems arise from cultural dissonance. Any attempt to disconnect politics and culture is artificial. In this sense, history is a commodity. It is precious to those whose standpoint it supports.

### Overview

In this study, the movement is from present dancers to past dancers to the colonial choreography. I am searching for the circumstances and contradictions that enabled

Anguillians to construe themselves and their island as independent. The first chapter, "*Mare Americanum*," establishes the concept of the American sea and positions Anguilla economically and ideologically within this sea. It begins by exploring the American role in Caribbean, specifically Anguillian, affairs. Whether the United States was the market for Anguilla's salt and phosphate, or later the main source of its tourists, the two have been and are inextricably entwined economically. They also cooperate on a global level in drug interception and investigating money laundering schemes. Only the dollars England directs toward the maintenance of the island's infrastructure are more important than the cash cow of tourism and the import duties on American commodities, including food and, ironically, salt. Americans were deeply involved in Anguilla's revolution, the ultimate form of resistance. Great as America's physical and economic presence has been, it is overshadowed by its legal and symbolic influence upon the island's affairs.

Today there is pronounced ambivalence about the United States. It remains a role model of independence, yet its cultural imperialism is embraced by the youth and despised by their elders. But the United States is the dominant Caribbean power. The names of Grenada, Cuba, Haiti, and Elián González are invoked as examples of the United States' ability to crush Caribbean countries and citizens. Within the American sea is Anguilla. Dubbed The Rock by Anguillians, it is both infertile and stable: their land, their anchor in the sea of slavery and sugar. The second part of Chapter I specifically describes Anguilla and explores many indigenous concepts and social structures, such as matrifocality.

The second chapter, "Salt, our only Staple," consists of two interrelated parts: ethnographic descriptions of the mode of production of salt and the history of salt-making in Anguilla as extrapolated from Colonial Office records. To examine Anguilla's recursive culture and history, I will focus on the social organization of work in the salt industry of Anguilla. By using a, or rather the, commodity as a key, I hope to unlock the reasons for Anguilla's specific sociocultural structure and for its continuing serious game of independence. While salt may appear as both peripheral to the culture and current economics of this island of 10,000 people, I expect this commodity-centered approach to an analysis of Anguilla will allow an assessment of three of the four areas of concentration of existing studies: Africanisms, sugar and slavery, and modernization and/or globalization. There is a brief comparison of salt folklore from European, Amerindian and African sources, which, according to theories of cultural transmission, should have influenced Anguilla's own lore. Its absence is what is interesting and underscores Anguilla's isolation.

The third chapter, "Charlotte, the Complaining Slave," dwells in depth on two trials that occurred in 1832 and had unique hierarchical resonance. Charlotte, at the urging of Stipendiary Magistrate Pickwood from St. Kitts, pressed two charges of abuse against her master, an associate justice in Anguilla. The trials were featured in the St. Kitts' newspaper and occupy literally hundreds of pages in the colonial records. An analysis of these trials forms my primary case study of the independence mythos and its contradictions. In various aspects, Charlotte's trials form an important metonym for Anguilla. It is in her trials that Scott's hidden narratives surface: both elite and workers

were forced to reveal their backstage in the public record. These narratives question some of Anguilla's major myths.

The fourth chapter, "The Opprobrium of our Colonies," analyzes colonial institutional failure and its impact upon Anguilla's social structure and ideology. Anguilla was settled as a waste country in 1650. From then until the French devastated the island in 1795, it was the home of a relatively unsupervised, small, discontented plantocracy. For the next half-century, Anguilla had virtually no official legislative, judicial, or religious institutions. During that time, the lack of an official superstructure should have led to some freedom within the box. Instead, without the centralizing influence of institutions and towns, it created a space for independence: lawless hegemony. This chapter focuses on the latter period. The space created by the colonial vacuum allowed Anguilla's concept of itself as independent to flourish among both the elite and workers. This history is the basis for much of Anguillian mythos.

The concluding chapter, "Anguilla and the Art of Resistance," integrates Mintz's four research questions. It summarizes how this individualistic, independent salt island differs from the highly stratified sugar islands in the four lenses scholars have trained on the Caribbean. In light of the evidence of the preceding chapters, I question the nature of resistance itself in accordance with my hypothesis. Anguillians' version of history fails to benefit them because it elides their basic dependency. By positioning independence as the contrariety of colonialism, Anguilla has created a false dichotomy that is symptomatic of their underlying social malaise. In true post-modern style, there is no tight resolution to this study's montage of colonial and contemporary voices. Until Anguillians can

deconstruct the contrarities of independence and colonialism into subcontrarities and realign them in relation to local subsistence and external powers. they will remain within the box of colonialism. My conclusion is intended to be heuristic: the dancers are inseparable from the dance as long as they are trapped in the structure formed by dominant discourse.

CHAPTER I  
*MARE AMERICANUM*

Anguilla is a Caribbean affair ... granted that the Caribbean is recognized as a *mare Americanum*, any ripple in this sea cannot but help affect the area since even tiny ripples do have an odd way of spreading themselves over larger areas in concentric circles. ... even if Anguilla is legally Britain's problem, the Caribbean states must be actively involved in any future settlement of the problem (Ince 1970:48).

Not a single one of [the other Caribbean nations] ever came out on the side of Anguilla until the post-invasion discovery of the propaganda value of ridiculing the British aroused their "moral" concern (Kohr 1969:712).

The *mare Americanum* has been a *mare liberum* for centuries, but over the last three hundred years, it has increasingly become, for the United States, a *mare nostrum*, as the Mediterranean was for the Romans. The United States and the Caribbean were and are stitched together by sugar, slavery - and salt. Tourism, drugs, emigration, remittance economies, and the ideology of independence continue to bind the two areas. The United States' interest in the Caribbean has always been primarily economic, although this has been camouflaged by the bugbear of communism.

Anguilla's weekly independent newspaper, *The Anguillian*, carries a quote from John F. Kennedy on its front page: "The Price of Freedom is Eternal Vigilance." The newspaper failed to trace the genealogy of the quote from Thomas Jefferson to John Curran to Demosthenes, where "vigilance" is glossed as "distrust," a very Anguillian concept. The self-proclaimed, predominant characteristic of Anguillians, their modal

personality in Ruth Benedict's term (1959), is independence: the correlative is distrust of all but family members and sometimes even of them. (A sister ran a close race against her brother in the March 2000 election.) These traits find and have found expression in a crankiness that can border on a recklessness based, in part, on having little to lose and, in part, in the certitude of "divine guidance" (Naipaul 1969:9). The history of Anguilla is the objective correlative of these emotions: it is a self-fulfilling chain of events which both objectify the emotions and produce them. Anguillians believed that the exodus to the United States, Canada and England had the sanction of God, as did their revolution. Anguilla's history is not dialectical nor is it cyclical. Anguilla remains what it always has been: simultaneously distrustful, independent and reckless.

With the exception of Puerto Rico and the United States Virgin Islands, Anguilla has had closer economic ties than any other Caribbean island to America. The United States historically looked south to the Caribbean for salt. During the American Revolution, Bermudian sloops broke the British blockade and provided George Washington's army with salt to preserve its meat. A Bermudian, St. George D. Tucker, captained a sloop with a cargo of salt from Grand Turk to Yorktown and went on to Williamsburg to dance at the defeat of the Hessian mercenaries in Princeton. Salt was a crucial part of the triangle trade: it was shipped from the Caribbean to New England and Newfoundland to preserve pork, beef and cod that was then sent to West Indian plantations to feed the slaves, as well as to Africa, where it was one of the trade goods exchanged for slaves. Salt was also shipped directly to the sugar islands to sustain the mules and other animals. As part of the British colonies, Anguilla sometimes received North American administrators; in 1706, Colonel Daniel Parke, formerly of



Williamsburg, Virginia, became the Governor of the Leeward Islands. Unfortunately, in 1710, he was tortured to death by rebels in Antigua.

The major tie between the northern colonies and Anguilla was minerals: first salt, then phosphate, then salt again. A memo from the Colonial Office in 1774 stated that they “manufacture annually at Anguilla about 500 small Hogsheads of Sugar, 100 Hogsheads of Rum, 500 Bails of Cotton, and gather about 50,000 Bushells of Salt. Most Part of the Sugar, Rum, and Cotton is sent to, and ship'd at St Christopher, and the remaining Portion of these Commodities together with the Salt, go to various Parts of America, for months they are supplied with Provisions” (CO 152/54).

Compared to the Bahamas, which until 1848 included the Turks and Caicos Islands, with their prolific salt production (see Gregory 1972; McKinney 1998), Anguillians were discriminated against, or, more likely, overlooked by Parliament. The American Intercourse Act of 1822 granted the Bahamas Free Port status for the exportation of salt but failed to include Anguilla. That island could only be made a Free Port by an Order in Council, as it was finally on 15 April 1832. On 28 October 1823, two letters were sent the Colonial Office begging that Anguilla might export its salt to the Americas. The first was a petition from Anguilla that simply stated: “We have therefore no means of disposing of this salt but to the United States of America with whom it is in great request” (CO 234/11).

The second was a covering letter from Anguilla Custom Officer Hay to Henry Brandneth. It linked salt, institutional failure and resistance: “if not conveyed in American Vessels the Salt will not be conveyed at all as it will not be worth the making -- adverse

times will increase the insubordination arising from there being no political civil & judicial Establishments as in His Majesty's other Dependancies" (ibid).

A Colonial Office memorandum on 30 March 1824 concluded that Anguilla "is of no value to Great Britain in a commercial point of view and is solely useful to the United States of America, Antigua, and during peace, St Bartholomew" (ibid). In April of that same year, Anguillians wrote that they had been "overlooked at the period when an Act of Parliament was passed for Opening the Ports generally in these Islands" (CO 239/12).

Crying "Salt, our only Staple," the Anguillians rued that Americans bought salt at "the low rate of about eight pence sterling per barrel" (ibid). October 1825 brought no relief for the Anguillians: they were "compelled to be idle by law" because they could not sell their salt to America, where they hoped it "would become more generally known ... and their prosperity be laid on a sure basis" (ibid). December 1827 found Anguilla still begging for an extension of the privilege of exporting salt to the United States that the Bahamas enjoyed (CO 407/2).

Although Anguillians have a reputation as smugglers, they are not regarded as wreckers. However, one of many incidences of shipwrecks off Anguilla occurred six years later. This one involved the American schooner *Caroline* and the Anguillians were accused of murdering the crew. The St. Kitts Grand Jury felt "a happy consciousness in their breasts, that the charge is unfounded as many other nefarious charges" (CO 239/28) that had been brought against the Anguillians. By this time, regular trade had been established with the United States, but, in 1841, Anguilla's Vestry complained to the President of St. Kitts that "the exorbitant price of American produce, is severely felt by all the classes" (CO 239/65).

During World War II, United States troops cleared an emergency landing field that became Anguilla's airport. Since 1987, American tourists and others have flown into Wallblake airport on American Eagle flights or local airlines to stay at two world-class, American-owned resorts. Tourism is the main source of revenue for Anguilla now and more than 60 percent of overnight tourists in 1998 were American. The United States dollar is even more valued than the Eastern Caribbean dollar, which is not a recognized currency and, hence, cannot be exchanged. In 1998, tourist expenditures in Anguilla amounted to 48 million dollars.

Between the breaking of ground for the airport and for the hotels, Anguillians' fortunes were still linked closely to the United States. Americans played a strategic role in Anguilla's revolution. The Texaco oil refinery in Trinidad became the major market for Anguilla's salt. Wages from Texaco and remittances from New Jersey, St. Thomas, Canada, and England kept Anguilla afloat, along with grants for capital expenditures from the United Kingdom that, pre-revolution, were filtered through St. Kitts to the smaller island. However, the United States remains Anguilla's major trading partner.

Obediah (as sung by Mayoumba)

Obediah come home from Merica  
If you see nice clothes O.B. bring

If yuh see nice pants Obediah bring  
If yuh see nice shirt Obediah bring  
If yuh see nice suits Obediah bring  
If yuh see nice boots Obediah bring

(2)

Obediah come home from Merica  
If yuh see money O.B. bring

If yuh see bank note Obediah bring  
If yuh see bank draft Obediah bring  
If yuh see green back Obediah Bring  
If yuh see de cash Obediah bring

CHORUS

He posing, he posing, he posing but  
Ah hope dat e style ain't cut

The Revolution

The revolution occurred when Anguillians protested the creation of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla on 27 February 1967. In the aftermath of the Anguilla Revolution, analysts such as Basil Ince, then a professor at the University of Puerto Rico and a former member of Trinidad and Tobago's diplomatic services, focused on the failure of the Caribbean governments to act. With the Carifta Resolution of 6 February 1969, the Caribbean Commonwealth countries washed their hands of Anguilla and turned the problem of what to do about an independent Anguilla back to Great Britain, who promptly invaded the small island. While Jamaica and Trinidad, signatories to the Carifta Resolution, labeled the agreement ambiguous and, like the Mock Turtle, objected to the British invasion, Barbados and Guyana endorsed it. But Ince (1970) and other analysts were emulating Jamaica and Trinidad in categorizing the post-colonial mini-state dilemma that Anguilla presented as a Caribbean problem. Trinidad, no doubt aware of how closely the Trinidad/Tobago association resembled the St. Kitts/Anguilla relationship (cf. Pyde 1995), looked to its former colonizer for a solution to associate states unilaterally declaring independence. And Ince and his fellow intellectuals (cf. Kohr 1969; Clarke 1971) looked regionally as well as globally to the United Nations Special Committee on Colonialism and to an American, Roger Fisher, Professor of International Law at Harvard, who had become deeply involved in drawing up the Anguillian Constitution. Fisher's model "would permit sensible decolonialization by no longer forcing mini-territories into an imprudent rush towards independence" (Ince 1970:56). This intermediate position was formally adopted by Anguilla and Great Britain in the Anguilla Act of 1971, which gave Anguilla some autonomy with the framework of the

Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. But the solution they chose suggested that events in the *mare Americanum* could not be solely the affairs of its island states: they are under global and, specifically, American purview.

Basil Ince and Colin Clarke were looking south for Caribbean solidarity, where the West Indies Federation had already proved a failure: Anguilla was looking north. While this appeared to be a regressive retreat to colonialism, it was probably a brilliant, avant-garde move on Anguilla's part. Kern William Craig's 1995 dissertation, "Empirical Tests of Dependency Theory in the Commonwealth Caribbean," used a systems approach to perform a qualitative analysis of that theory. Dependency theory posits that political and economic dependence are inversely and significantly related to economic prosperity: the more dependent, the less prosperous. Using slightly dated information, Craig found that in eighteen islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean, including Anguilla, the relative prosperity of dependent states reversed dependency theory, making diffusion, or trickle down theory, more tenable. "If the goal of public policy is economic prosperity, then the means may involve increased political and economic dependence" (Craig 1995:273). Nationalist strategies "did not yield any real or lasting relief to the poor and powerless" (ibid:10). "The flow of capital and technology in one direction and the flow of people in another tend to characterize current relations between the United States and the Commonwealth Caribbean" (ibid:11). Currently, Anguilla has reversed the flow of people, if not the stream of capital. In this sense, what might be termed Anguilla's colonial strategy is actually the acme of adaptation in a global economy.

After British paratroopers invaded Anguilla, “almost universal opprobrium was heaped upon Britain’s head” (Ince 1970:51). The use of the pejorative “opprobrium,” once applied by Great Britain to Anguilla (see Chapter IV) and then by the world to Britain, proved to be a postcolonial reversal not only of adjective but of fortune for the once and future British colony. Anguillians, after the lack of British action when white Rhodesians also had declared unilateral independence, were portrayed by themselves and others as victims: they were, in Jeremiah Gumbs’ words to the United Nations, “poor little black people.” Anguilla had won international sympathy as the mouse that roared, the target of a bigoted, bullying Britain.

But it was Robert Bradshaw, Premier of St. Kitts, and St. Kitts itself, that were the prime factors in Anguilla’s rebellion for recolonialization. Since the British had joined Anguilla, St. Kitts, Nevis and the British Virgin Islands together as an administrative area in 1825, there had been bad blood based on cultural conflict and Anguilla’s economic dependence. St. Kitts was a rich sugar island, highly stratified with a proletariat dominated by a plantocracy. Labor movements in the 1930s had produced political leaders and parties that challenged the plantocracies in all the sugar islands. Bradshaw dominated the St. Kitts Labor Party during the 1960s and 1970s. Anguillians were poor but independent land owners. For more than a century, St. Kitts administrators had treated Anguilla with benign neglect at best; at worst, they had withheld monies and misused appropriations, that, in fairness to Kittians, were rarely earmarked for Anguilla by Britain. “Anguilla’s charge against the St. Kitts Government [that it had not given Anguilla its proportional allocation of a British grant of five and a half million dollars in 1955] was not totally justified because the British Government often issued guidelines for the

disbursement of funds and was therefore not without blame for any unfair distributions which may have occurred” (Petty 1990:298; see also Browne 1992). With such indirect rule, it was easier for Anguillians to blame their more visible neighbor, St. Kitts, than England. Yet, St. Kitts, seventy miles distant, was regarded as other by Anguillians. Tortola and the rest of the British Virgin Islands have traditionally been regarded as culturally similar to Anguilla, but they are even farther away. When Britain proposed granting Associated Statehood to the united St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla, Anguilla revolted against this “double colonial yoke” (Petty 1990: 360) in which Anguilla would be a subcolony. Thus, Bradshaw was only partially to blame, but Anguilla’s actions particularly embarrassed him as a proponent of the West Indies Federation. Bradshaw added to the heritage of hostility by declaring that he would “put bones in their rice and pepper in their soup,” an obeah-like inversion of the usual uses of salt, and that “he would turn the island into a desert, and make Anguillians suck salt” (Clarke 1971:20). With Anguilla, it always seems to come back to salt.

The Revolution had both an ideological and a materialist base. The materialist base was the prime mover and it was more akin to Madonna than Marx. Ronald Webster, the leader of the Anguillian Revolution, recalled:

*Well, it depends on the way you term revolution. Revolution is change. We needed a change. Revolution also means the overthrow of an established Government and it was not our intention to deal with it in the latter or to overthrow, but we intended asking for change, serious change and the only means of that change was fighting for it... When I was growing up in the early days Anguilla had nothing. Absolutely nothing. They said it was nothing and no one to remember any other. The conditions in Anguilla were so adverse. Anguilla had no electricity, no paved roads, no telephone, no television, schools were a shambles, the hospital was just a large house but with no windows or sanitary and we were bound then to take action to bring about a change on the island....*

*The conditions of Anguilla in comparison to those of St. Martin or neighboring islands and other places.... In those days we had no refrigerators. We had a couple of um kerosene fridges. But only a few people could afford them, refrigerators. The food...to preserve your food you had to use salt, you corn your fish, you corn your meat.... We have not reached our goals where we wanted to. We set out to get our Island, creating what you call an economic place for this Island, an economic function. But at least we did not get enough opportunity to do so. However, we are pleased to know that we are a thousand percent, not a hundred, better than how we were. Where at least the Anguillians have several, everything that the world has. Anguilla is thriving. The people are very ambitious.*

### The United States' Role in the Anguilla Revolution

Too many people had wanted to help, finding in Anguilla an easy cause, a little black comedy. The Anguillians, never seeing the joke, always listened and then grew frightened and self-willed (Naipaul 1969:12).

During the Anguillian Revolution, the United States was regarded by the islanders as an alternative partner if the island were rejected by Britain. While England had placed Parliamentary restrictions on coloured immigration in 1962, the United States had eased their immigration laws in 1965, which drew many West Indians to the United States Virgin Islands and to the mainland. People from British colonies looked to the United States for work. When the revolution occurred, Colville Petty concluded that this politicized discontent held the potential for violence. Bradshaw, an integrationist who had favored the failed West Indian Federation, was determined to keep his own colony intact. On 8 March 1967, Anguillians burned Landsome House, the former plantation that was the residence of the Warden and symbolized non-belonger domination. Three months after St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla became an Associated State of England with all internal affairs controlled by the Bradshaw Government, Anguilla expelled all thirteen



Kittian policeman on 30 May 1967, now Anguilla Day. Next, they carried out an abortive raid on St. Kitts on 10 June 1967, assisted by three American mercenaries with arms and ammunition acquired in St. Thomas, United States Virgin Islands. On 11 July 1967, now Independence Day, Anguilla held a plebiscite, which voted 1813 to 5 to secede from St. Kitts, which, *de jure*, meant separating from England, too. Anguilla begged the United Kingdom to discuss future arrangements with them.

Americans remained involved in the Anguillian Revolution. Jeremiah Gumbs, an Anguillian who had become a United States citizen, and Roger Fisher of Harvard University pled Anguilla's case in front of the United Nations. Anguillians in the United States sent \$42,495.00 to aid the revolution between 1 June and 30 November 1967.

On 18 June 1967, the *Washington Post* reported that the United States had no intention of "island-nibbling" and had rebuffed the efforts of Peter Adams, "the self-styled spokesman" (echoes of the seventeenth and eighteenth century) for Anguilla "to make that island an American dependency" (Carty 1985:92). As in the past, no country would deal directly with Anguillians. The chain of communication led from Anguilla to St. Kitts; that hostile island was their intermediary with Britain. The United States would only discuss Anguilla's fate if Britain, who had retained foreign policy rights over the three-island territory, were to request the United States to act.

In July 1967, Roger Fisher prepared a constitution for Anguilla that was similar to the American one. The *London Times* reported on 15 August 1967 that Anguilla was attempting to raise money by inviting Americans to become honorary citizens in exchange for a \$100 donation to a trust fund. St. Kitts had frozen \$250,000 according to

one report: another said that St. Kitts had withheld Anguilla's annual British grant of \$652,800.

The "Anguilla White Paper," a full-page advertisement in the 14 August 1967 *New York Times*, averred that Anguilla had rejected one million dollars from a company that wanted to operate a gambling concession on Anguilla. The ad was financed by Americans: "a surgeon, an advertising executive and a newspaper editor in California [Scott Newhall, editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*], on the suggestion of an economist at the University of Puerto Rico," Leopold Kohr, who was still promoting his concept of the small, self-sufficient city-state (ibid:94). The men who placed the seemingly artless advertisement were known as the San Francisco group and their civil rights agenda was obvious. The ad introduced the still-quoted slogan that Anguillians refused to be turned "into a nation of bus boys, waiters and servants" (ibid), working in hotel plantations. It continued:

There is nothing wrong with service or hard physical work, you understand, but a whole nation of servants is unthinkable. In five years - or perhaps less - Anguillians would become as sullen, malcontent and rootless as the rest of the Caribbean, or Harlem, as far as that goes. Though we haven't mentioned it before, we are a nation of what you call "Negroes." To us, we are simply Anguillians, because nobody has ever brought the subject up, and that's the way we intend to keep it. But you do see what we mean, don't you? Even one fine hotel and we could become natives. We would not think it good or polite that so many visitors should be on the island at once that they couldn't at least have lunch with the President.

[Dealing with the background to the dispute, the advertisement states:] Anguilla does not, even geographically, have much in common with the other two islands. St Kitts and Nevis are right next door to one another and share a common one-crop, sugar cane economy dominated by huge, foreign land holdings. Anguilla's island is owned by the islanders themselves: each family has its own little plot and lives off it.

Why, then, did Britain lump us in with the other two islands? Because we were their last odd-parcel of real estate in the Caribbean: it's probably that

simple.... We have gone it alone economically, socially and politically for centuries. The British have neither bothered us nor bothered about us. ...The last time we were threatened was 250 years ago when the French attempted an invasion, with 600 men. They were thrown back by 60 of us men whose names nearly all Anguillians still bear in direct descent (ibid).

On 18 August, *The New York Times* featured an interview with the Reverend Ronald Webster, "who describes himself as the President" of Anguilla (ibid:96). He denied that he had written the advertisement that had his name affixed, a ploy used by Dr. Benjamin Gumbs Hodge in the 1832 Anguilla petition (see Chapter III). Calling the idea of selling citizenship "cheap," he said that Anguilla would welcome hotels, but that he had refused Aristotle Onassis' offer of one million dollars to use the Anguillian flag on his fleet and had rejected Onassis' scheme for a hotel with a casino. It would seem that Onassis envisioned Anguilla as Monaco in the Caribbean and was positioning himself to play the same role of developer there. Anguilla was in the midst of a ten-month drought that produced the best salt crop in history, but reinforced the realization that tourism was the only alternative to a remittance economy.

Roger Fisher, as legal adviser to the provisional Anguillian government, addressed a subcommittee of the United Nations Special Committee on Colonialism on 24 August 1967. He warned against using force against Anguilla and testified that Robert Bradshaw had imported machine guns from the United States. Indeed, a group in Fort Lauderdale was running guns and grenades to St. Kitts via Antigua (Westlake 1993:86). Fisher used the mythos that he had been told: "there has not been a killing there [in Anguilla] in 300 years" (Carty 1985:97). The *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a picture of Ronald Webster sitting with the San Francisco group, although Newhall was discreetly

absent: they were sorting through stacks of mail containing contributions to the Anguilla Trust Fund.

While Great Britain continued to send mail for Anguilla to St. Kitts, where it was promptly confiscated, the United States began to route mail for the island through St. Thomas. Philanthropist and Broadway producer, Herbert B. Lutz, donated a mobile operating unit to Anguilla and paid salaries for teachers and administrators (Westlake 1993: 140). The typewriter and offset for the weekly Anguilla *Beacon* were donated by an American company. With the help of Jeremiah Gumbs' wife, an American firm designed and manufactured the Anguillian flag incorporating a symbol of continuity that is ahistorical, without beginning or end. It "shows three orange dolphins in a circle on a white field above a stripe of sea blue. The dolphins seem to be chasing each other around and around" (Updike 1968:76). An American veterinarian arranged for guns to be supplied to Anguilla (Westlake 1993: 144). The hostility between St. Kitts and Anguilla was good business for American arms dealers.

For the next two years, all interim agreements between England and Anguilla failed. The last British official left Anguilla on 9 January 1969, and one month later, Anguillians voted for a Unilateral Declaration of Independence by 1739 to 4. These two referendums are often referred to as the only times Anguillians have acted in unison, rather than individually. An American, Jack Holcomb, drafted Anguilla's new constitution. The expulsion of William Whitlock, the Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth affairs, when he arrived in Anguilla in March, led to an invasion by 400 British Red Devil paratroopers eight days later. After the British invasion, Lowenthal commented that the "British occupied Anguilla ostensibly to protect

local citizens from "mafia-type" American adventurers" (1972:234). On 19 December 1980, London officially separated Anguilla from St. Kitts and the island reverted to Crown Colony status.

### Colonial Legacies

Today it is the colonized peoples who assume to the full the ethical and political condition described by Marx as being that of the proletariat (Barthes 1957:148).

After emancipation, the increasingly black peasantry of Anguilla continued the feud with St. Kitts.

[I]solation, homogeneity of conditions, and mutual dependence among subordinates favor the development of a distinctive subculture -- often one with a strong "us versus them" social imagery ... The mere fact that [the hidden transcript] is in constant dialogue - more accurately, in argument - with dominant values ensures that the hidden and public transcripts remain mutually intelligible (Scott 1990:135).

A cohesive dissident discourse is thus anticipated under isolated conditions, just as a degree of cultural retention would be.

The free black Anguillian peasants' acceptance of the elites' hereditary antagonist reinforced hegemonic appearances of social control. When Robert Bradshaw came to power in St. Kitts and continued to mistreat Anguillians, e.g. building the British-funded Anguilla dock at the point on St. Kitts farthest from Anguilla, the islanders resisted. Bradshaw framed their defiance as a threat to the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and thus to the Empire. Britain reacted predictably. In essence, the Anguilla Revolution and the British invasion accomplished what Bradshaw both desired and allowed to happen: Anguilla, which had ideologically contested St. Kitts' domination for

centuries, was occupied by British troops. But the intended humiliation of Anguilla backfired as the army engineers remained and created a modern infrastructure for Anguilla. The country's current prosperity was Bradshaw's unintended consequence, but that same material prosperity had been the goal of their revolution.

Hidden transcripts, like romances, are often forms of wish fulfillment. A revolution is a direct, undisguised form of resistance, a narrative made public by the peasants. But is there a hidden transcript in this public narrative? For that, it is necessary to consider who composed the narrative and for what audience. *Cui bono?* The answer is Americans. They devised a democratic American argument to present to the United States and the United Nations. They were opportunists who were as misled by Bradshaw as the British were, but the American auxiliary blamed Britain. Bradshaw neatly managed to deflect and diffuse the actual quarrel between St. Kitts and Anguilla. England and the United States were coopted in his struggle with Anguilla and then transformed into antagonists. Being experienced diplomats, the two powers refused the gambit, a situation the bellicose Kittian labor leader could not have foreseen.

What the revolutionaries interpreted as agency on their part was what the dominant powers in St. Kitts, England and the United States, to varying degrees, permitted. As a result, Anguillans achieved their goal of independence from St. Kitts and the corollary, direct dependence on England. But Anguilla can achieve independence. In its *soi-disant* partnership (the latest cosmetic redefinition) with England, Anguilla is aware that written into the Anguilla Act of 1980 is the procedure for achieving independence. Baroness Scotland of Asthal, a native of Trinidad, Minister responsible for the Overseas Territories, reminded them none too gently of this in a letter published in

*The Anguillian* (21 January 2000 2(6)1). The threat of independence is Britain's, now, to wield in this serious game. A free, self-supporting Anguilla would be welcomed by the British, who at the time of the Anguilla Revolution, were desperately divesting themselves of their small colonies that had been money pits for at least a century. Anguilla and Britain are trapped in a marriage of convenience while they wait for the children to grow up. Britain has already been exposed as a wife-beater: Red Devil paratroopers swarmed over the island of poor little black people. Anguillians now gratefully accept the bacon Britain brings home in the knowledge that, given the chance, Britain would desert them. The permutations of power are endless with independence a bargaining chip that changes to suit needs: a serious game. Hidden narratives explain the selective deployment of public narratives. It is doublethink at its deliberate best: the power of the dominant to dictate the discourse of independence utilized by subordinates on their own frontstage.

Still, a political faction is promoting policies that would enable the island to be independent. Among them, the mythos lives. Recently, a group of young people formed the Anguilla Independence Movement (AIM). It has questioned why Anguilla revolted against rule by an island 70 miles distant in favor of domination by an island 3000 miles away. Claiming that England and the European Union have done little but "create hostility and animosity amongst the politicians and stifle our economic and social growth and hinder democracy," AIM is calling for full internal self rule (*The Anguillian* 3(17)18 20 April 2001). That "includes the power to negotiate, accept, decline any offshore investment, full jurisdiction over the Police Force, the civil service, the financial services industry, immigration, social services, infrastructure and tourism" (ibid). Taxation

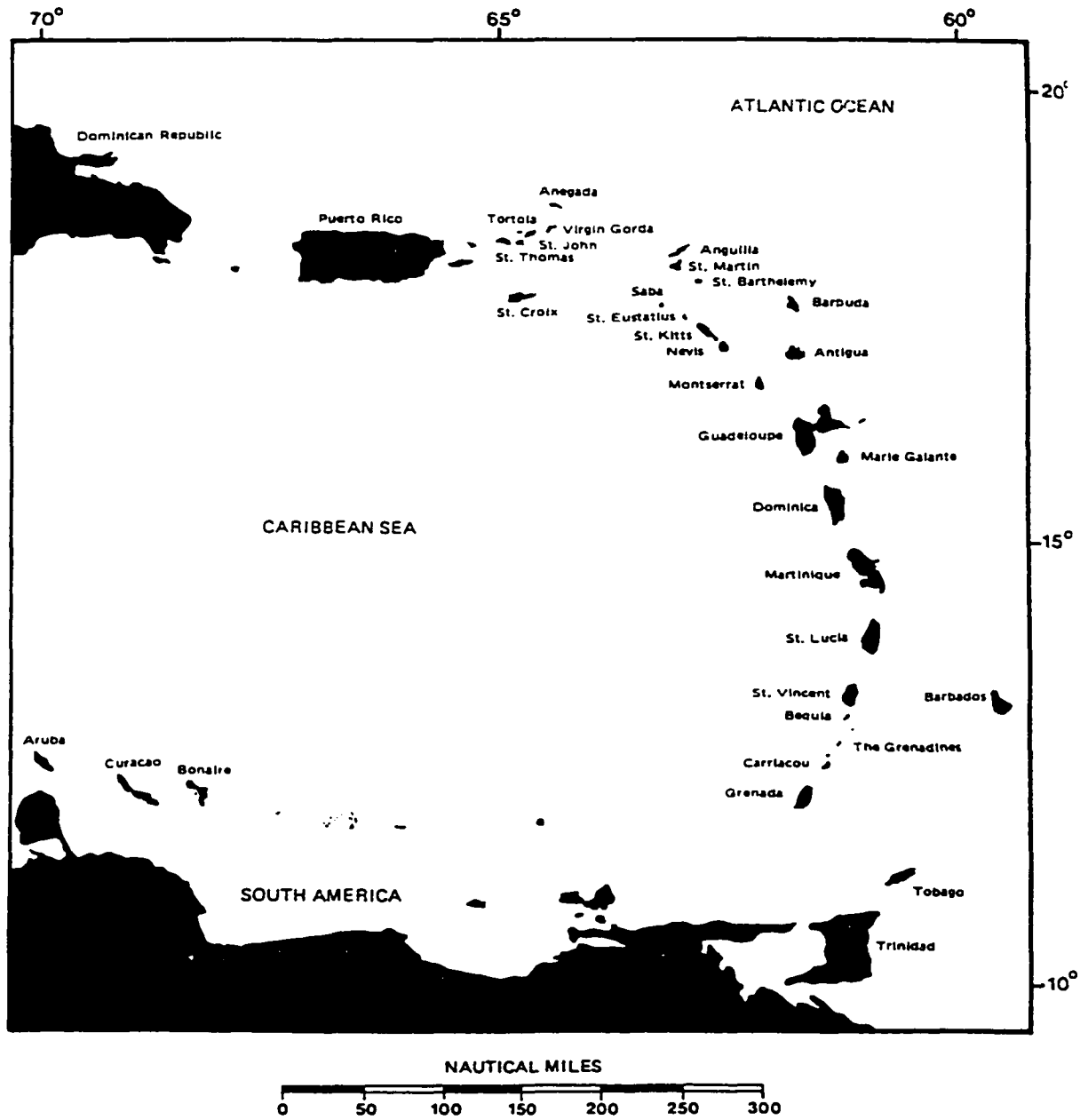
enables Anguilla's leaders "to fleece the flock" (ibid). Detractors note that the economic policy items that AIM wishes to place under Anguillian control are the main two sources of Anguillian revenue: financial services and tourism. And those two are the most dependent upon the political and economic stability that comes only under England's aegis. Investors and tourists demand a guarantee of security. For Anguillians, the dilemma at the heart of their mythos is that independent does not necessarily equate with independence.

Even though the art of resistance seems to change as the workers' world does, the dance between dominant and subordinate is the same. The face-to-face pavane of feudalism has become the partnerless rave of anonymous workers and government bureaucrats in most places, but not apparently in small societies such as Anguilla. That is a misleading concept. The government may have a known face and the workers, too, but their orders come from their global allegiances: England, religions, regional alliances, and international companies, usually American. In the end, Barthes was right about the colonized becoming the proletariat. But Anguilla reflects the American exceptionalism to Marxism. Times are flush and their tourists are high-end elites. Anguillians have not mastered the rhetoric of the downtrodden laborer, conspired against by capitalists and the government alike. It would be hard for them to internalize because it does not yet match their experience. As opposed to their unsuccessful ventures in the sugar, cotton and salt industries, contrived by capitalists and governments and global forces beyond their ken and control, they have not encountered failure in the tourist industry. Instead, theirs is a Cinderella story: Prince Andrew, the Queen's son, as he is known in Anguillian relational nomenclature, recently visited.



But a more distanced, analytical view of the revolution reveals the fundamental sabotage. The entire drama was played within the box of dominant discourse where keywords were manipulated symbolically for material gain. These keywords merely update those of the earlier centuries. For Mafia casinos, read pirates, barbarians and outlaws; for independence, read amelioration, emancipation, and guidance towards self-rule; for gun-running and confiscation of mail, read laundering slaves in St. Thomas and smuggling. On this stage, the actors are forced to frame themselves and their discourse in pre-existing parts. The dancer is indistinct from the dance.

Several Miami television stations are widely received in the Caribbean. The news content of one station in particular seems deliberately designed to discourage Antillians from emigrating to the United States. The message that this Miami disaster channel conveys is that the United States is a very violent place. Although the content varies, about half to three-quarters of the nightly broadcast consists of clips of crime scenes involving Hispanics and/or West Indians. The Elián González ordeal, for it was regarded as such, was interpreted as American imperialism. Out of a seemingly irrational hatred for Cuba, the West Indies' neighbor to the north was forcibly keeping father and son apart and bribing the child with material goodies. A calypso went around Anguilla that Anguilla would be a metropolis before Elián reached home. Then, when common sense prevailed, the United States inexplicably used force majeure to wrest the boy from his kin. The picture of the screaming child recoiling from an enormous submachine gun played and replayed on television and was discussed in the local newspaper as another



1.1 The Caribbean. (Carty 1985:12).

example of American violence in particular and its incomprehension and disdain of the Caribbean in general.

*I don't think you need a revolution to gain independence from Britain. Unless these little pretend revolutions are really important to your national identity. I'm sure that the Brits would be happy to stop sending you handouts. I'm surprised that they haven't just mailed you your independence. You cost them money. They make nothing from you. I would imagine that Anguilla would be a protectorate of the USA within three years of its new status. Three dolphins. One hungry eagle.*

### Anguilla

Within the *mare Americanum* lies Anguilla (see Map 1.1). It is adamantly idiosyncratic, as is every Caribbean island. But, to paraphrase John Donne, no island is an island. While it is true that the history, environment and culture of each island is unique, it is also true that they have more in common with each other, both specifically and in the broadest sense, than they do with any other region of the world. Nations, as people do, attempt to define themselves by their differences. How Anguilla perceives itself as different and how others have regarded it historically is critical to the formation of its particular art of resistance.

### Mythos/Logos On the ideology of history

Plato's use of the concept of myth was functional and structural. His philosophy emerged through the telling of myths and he advocated that his imaginary republic be endowed with an origin myth: "a story that is known to be false but that even its inventors must convince themselves is true. The story is to consist of a metaphorical version of the principles on which the society is indeed founded, since the stability of a society rests on its principles being accepted even by those who cannot grasp the reason for them. ... The

implication is clearly that the founding myths of extant societies perform the same function and were originally devised to that end. Some later literary theorists argue that the entire literature of a nation serves the same purpose" (Groden and Kreiswirth: 577). Myths are durable: they do not disappear even when they are proved empirically false.

There is a parallel with Gramscian marxism: for those who cannot comprehend theoretical analyses, a religious-like belief will suffice. The origin myth Plato's Socrates proposed for his republic recast peoples' experience, nurture and education as a dream and replaced it with the reality of myth. Doublethink is obvious in mythmaking. The origin myth was that the members of the republic were formed in and emerged from the womb of their mother, earth. It was their duty to defend their mother in whom they had dwelled and to regard their fellow citizens as brothers, born of the same earth: the fiction of chauvinism. But the fable went further. It offered an explanation for the unequal distribution of abilities. These disparate talents were the basis for a class structure that was not necessarily hereditary. A nation possessed a geometrical equality, structured on what people could contribute to society:

We shall tell our people in this fable that all of you in this land are brothers: but the god who fashioned you mixed gold in the composition of those among you who are fit to rule, so that they are of the most precious quality; and he put silver in the Auxiliaries, and iron and brass in the farmers and craftsmen. Now, since you are all of one stock, although your children will generally be like their parents, sometimes a golden parent may have a silver child or a silver parent a golden one, and so on with all the other combinations. So the first and chief injunction laid by heaven upon the Rulers is that, among all the things of which they must show themselves good guardians, there is none that needs to be so carefully watched as the mixture of metals in the souls of the children. If a child of their own is born with an alloy of iron or brass, they must, without the smallest pity, assign him the station proper to his nature and thrust him out among the craftsmen or the farmers. If, on the contrary, these classes produce a child with gold or silver in his composition, they will promote him, according to his value, to be a Guardian or an Auxiliary. They will appeal to a prophecy that ruin will come upon the state

when it passes into the keeping of a man of iron or brass. Such is the story; can you think of any device to make them believe it? Not in the first generation; but their sons and descendants might believe it, and finally the rest of mankind (Cornford 1961: 106-7, III 414 - III 415).

Such deliberate duplicity might seem to justify even propaganda. But Plato, in his doctrine of ideas, denied that possibility. Forms or ideas existed outside the mind and were unchanging truths that we, through linguistic limitations, were unable to name. Material manifestations, appearances, of these forms or ideas were comprehensible only to philosophers, who could mediate between these imperfectly revealed truths and the world of opinion or *doxa*.

From this premise stemmed Plato's distinction between mythos and logos and their ultimate similarity: they were powerful in so far as they lead to the truth. The truth lay in the value of the tale rather than its historicity. Socrates lectured: "Pay attention, then, as they say. It's an excellent explanation [logos]. I expect you'll think that what I'm about to tell you is just a story [mythos], but to my mind it does explain things, since it is, as far as I'm concerned, the truth [logos]" (Waterfield 1994: 129, 523a).

Logos is Greek for both the spoken and the written word; it can also be translated as account, argument, definition and rational explanation (ibid:7). Mythos also refers to the spoken word, but it is distinct from logos in that it refers to a story. It was the object of philosophers to discern between them and to deploy whichever was more powerful. Mythos was not without flaws due to its triple power as a given and an ideal and a belief. But, because it was not based in fact, it was adaptable, unlike an account, which purported to be the truth.

History, then could be propaganda, a rhetorical device that Plato/Socrates dismissed in *Gorgias* as designed to flatter the writers or their superiors, rather than an instrument to lead people toward the truth. The function of propaganda was to give pleasure, rather than what philosophers would have regarded as a genuine benefit. History was also able to approach a truth that was beyond appearances. It was necessary to deconstruct accounts to see what their intentions were. Even then it would require a philosopher to make more than a subjective judgment whether a logos or a mythos is good or evil. Instead of adhering to the philosophical concept that opposition was the best tool for thinking, it was more important to listen for the good in the opposition's ideas than to win the debate. Dichotomy is at the core of what came to be called Aristotelian logic and of the Westminster model of government. It is destructive in small societies.

Anguilla's prevailing myths about itself as a people are: a stubborn, resilient people who refused to leave the Rock, independent land-owners, strong women, nomadic sailors and smugglers. These are their personal principles. Like Greece in Plato's time, like many nations since the advent of television, the Caribbean is an oral society where the spoken word is more important than the written. It is obvious that Anguilla was an oral society where skills and techniques, if not history, were transmitted by visual and verbal instruction. Instruction was physical: above a certain elementary literacy, book knowledge was irrelevant in the hardscrabble, face-to-face society. When older people explain anything, they use the phrase "just so," as if they had finished giving a physical demonstration.

In Anguilla, the mythos have become logos and, in two cases, have become written accounts. The mythos have become logos because they benefit. According to Plato, the function of myths is to instill virtues. In Anguilla, the mythos of independence and land ownership function to veil the slave past. An almost necessary corollary is that, if Anguillians are the descendants of slaves, slavery must have been somehow different, or "better," as it is popularly described, in Anguilla. This leads to a psychic dissonance in which Anguillians are not interested in Africa. Anguillian history, as many have remarked, jumps from Amerindian artifacts to 1967, the year of the revolution. (Not until May 2001 were the criteria for the National Awards broadened for 2002 to recognize individuals who had not contributed to the revolution.) That Anguillians have, as a society, leapt in scarcely more than a generation from being erratically trained by their colonial schoolmasters to being post-literate watchers of global television aids in the obliteration of history.

The following poem encapsulates most of Anguilla's major myths:

#### THE ROCK - ANGUILLA

Our fathers chose to starve	Independence, pride,
Than give up this rock	struggle to keep alive,
for the moist promise of Demerara	scrimp and save
and the sweat of sugar.	Wife and children left behind.
	build a home
And when things were rough	to rest the aging frame.
We ate the dust	
Held on to our boats,	Panama, Cuba
our land.....	U.S.A., Canada
Left God to work his plan.	St. Thomas, Puerto Rico
	St. Maarten, St. Kitts
We did not need "Mother Country"	Slough in England
to teach us to sail	Talk of the salty Caribbean seas

the salt seas to survive:  
 Macoris southward to Port-of-Spain.  
 Bridgetown leeward to Willemsted  
 With everything in our heads.

eternally freshening breeze  
 on a quiet evening.

Talk of returning home  
 of returning soon  
 Talk of ANGUILLA - our island home.  
 (Fahie 1985:100)

### Anguilla's Environment

David Lowenthal surmised, "West Indians who do not think their particular territory specially blessed are apt to find it specially cursed" (1972:9). For "poor, little" Anguilla, its curse is its environment. One of the most telling aspects in the literature about the Anguillian environment is the failure, even during the revolution, for any two writers to agree about its statistics and physical dimensions. Such a lack of measuring demonstrates how far Anguilla lay outside the Empire's purview (see Anderson 1995). *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire* described Anguilla as part of a southern arc of limestone of the Upper Cretaceous period that is outside of the volcanic islands. The southern arc ran through Jamaica and placed Anguilla in a natural geological group that included Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, St. Croix, St. Bartholomew, Antigua, the eastern half of Guadeloupe and a part of Barbados. The editors noted that in "Anguilla there are practically no rivers worthy the name" (Herbertson and Howarth 1914:369). In fact, there are none. "Fourteen more or less saline springs and 25 wells scattered over the island" and cisterns provide water for Anguillians (Mitchell n.d.:107).

By 1965, when Stanley Sebastian and Ivan Buchanan were devising an experimental waste disposal program involving concrete sewage privies for Anguilla, the geological age of Anguilla had been radically updated to the Miocene era and the island



was described as limestone resting on volcanic rock with small deposits of clay. "The soil is most difficult to penetrate manually ... This contributed to the poor sanitation ... The populace was resigned to this calamitous condition. The 'clump of bushes' offered the necessary privacy ..." (Sebastian and Buchanan 1965: 1115). By the end of 1965, when 375 privies had been installed, "The skepticism and misuse noticed at the initial stage have been overcome. Initially some householders used the concrete cylinders to store potable water and continued to defecate in the 'clump of bushes'" (ibid:1117). Perhaps the Anguillians acted wisely, given the permeability of limestone aquifers and the absolute lack of rivers and streams. The few wells yielded brackish, mossy water that had often been contaminated by animal dung (Petty 1993:11).

Infant mortality due to gastroenteritis had been high in the three islands. In 1928, the problem of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla infant mortality rate of 259 per 1000 live births was taken up by Parliament. How much of that rate may be attributed to Anguilla, which is invariably described in historical documents as an exceptionally healthy place with a scattered population, is questionable. The dispersed, sparse population, the opposite of the crowded cities and villages of the sugar islands, was probably the major factor in the islanders' good health. In 1936, the Anguillian infant mortality rate was 124 per thousand; in 1944, Anguilla received its first public health inspector and the infant mortality rate declined to 96.6 per 1000, reaching 66.6 per thousand in 1954 (Sebastian and Buchanan 1965:1113).

Whether this was due to the actions of the public health officer, the Colonial Office, and the United Nations agencies is dubious. "A latrine census in 1956 showed that

of a house population of 1.700 only 263 had a latrine of any type, including buckets or pails" (ibid:1115). Other problems now include grey ground and government water.

I live in the bush without a cistern or a government water pipe. In addition, the land around my house is called "grey ground," meaning that in the past it was used for pounding rocks to sell. Consequently the top soil had been removed or eroded away, and I am left to deal with a rock-covered ground which requires a stone-burster to dig a hole. .... If you have government pipe water, remember it is salty and should not be applied more than once between waterings with rain which will flush the salt from the soil. Otherwise a salt build-up in the soil will retard your plant's growth. A good rule to follow is to only water with pipe water to save a plant from dying of drought; in other words, as a last resort (Warner 1991:4(1)16).

At its high point on Crocus Hill, Anguilla rises 213 feet. The Valley area, where the two main plantations, Wallblake and Landsome, were lies at the foot of Crocus Hill. "The Valley is in one of the enclosed depressions where relatively deep soil has accumulated in a broad solution hollow in the limestone. Over much of the island there is no soil or only a thin layer of stony clay, infertile and difficult to cultivate. As a result of the overexploitation and hurricane damage there are almost no mature trees but there are extensive thickets of drought-resistant evergreen shrubs and small trees ..." (Harris 1969:643). Harris noted that the outer limestone islands are "much lower, less rugged and drier than the inner volcanic islands" (ibid). Subsistence farming was based on shifting cultivation and open range raising of cattle, goats and pigs. Other occupations were off-island employment, seasonal salt-picking, legal and illegal trade, charcoal burning, fishing and boat building.

V. S. Naipaul observed that the Anguillians, "charcoal-burners and boat builders are the natural enemy of anything green that looks like growing big" (1969:9). While many of Naipaul's remarks about Anguilla show more than a little of the endemic big-

island-bias, a snobbery based on size that is the enemy of regionalism (cf. Warner 1999:96), he missed the main point of his statement. While Anguillians, on the whole, agree with the myth that Anguilla has always been dry and barren, Colonial Office records and early twentieth-century photographs reveal a story similar to that of the more northerly, but equally ignored, Pacific island: Rapa Nui. In 1787, Anguilla exported mahogany. Sixty years later, smugglers taking a quarter cord of wood and twenty small boat timbers from Anguilla to St. Barths were intercepted. Even though in the twentieth-century Anguillians imported lumber for shipmaking, the native white cedar was still prized for boat building. Today its flower is the national flower. In order to establish a reputation as boat builders and charcoal burners, and many coal keels still remain, as does the trade of boat building, it is probable that Anguilla was, at one time, forested. As land was cleared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to grow sugar and tobacco and as wood was consumed for domestic and industrial purposes, the scanty topsoil eroded into the Valley. Trees failed to take root in the limestone and the plant cover became "the evergreen bushland formation and is defined as a low woodland ten to thirty feet in height with gnarled little trees and bushes with hard evergreen leaves ... scattered dominants and a lower story of shrubs. Even the dominants seldom reach a thickness of six inches in their main trunk" (Walker 1997: 10(2)18). Sheep, pigs, cattle and especially goats that for centuries have roamed free have left whole sections of the island denuded. Deforestation is blamed by Anguillians for their lack of rain. In actuality, Anguilla is covered by green scrub: it is the lack of elevation that is responsible for Anguilla's relatively low annual rainfall (Crock and Peterson 1999:26).

Rainfall has always been a problem. While Anguilla receives an average of forty inches of rain annually, it comes sporadically so that there are no distinct wet and dry seasons. There have been many recorded droughts and famines, yet a hurricane such as Lenny in 1999 can drop twenty-six inches of rain in thirty hours and flood areas up to twelve feet deep. The rain drains into the fertile Valley and brings it more soil as if it were being inundated by the Nile, while elsewhere precipitation is quickly absorbed, especially in areas of bare, highly porous limestone coral. When officials, both British and Anguillian, chose the Valley as the site of their concrete government offices, farmers warned them about the flooding. It occurs regularly, and official records have, in consequence, been lost.

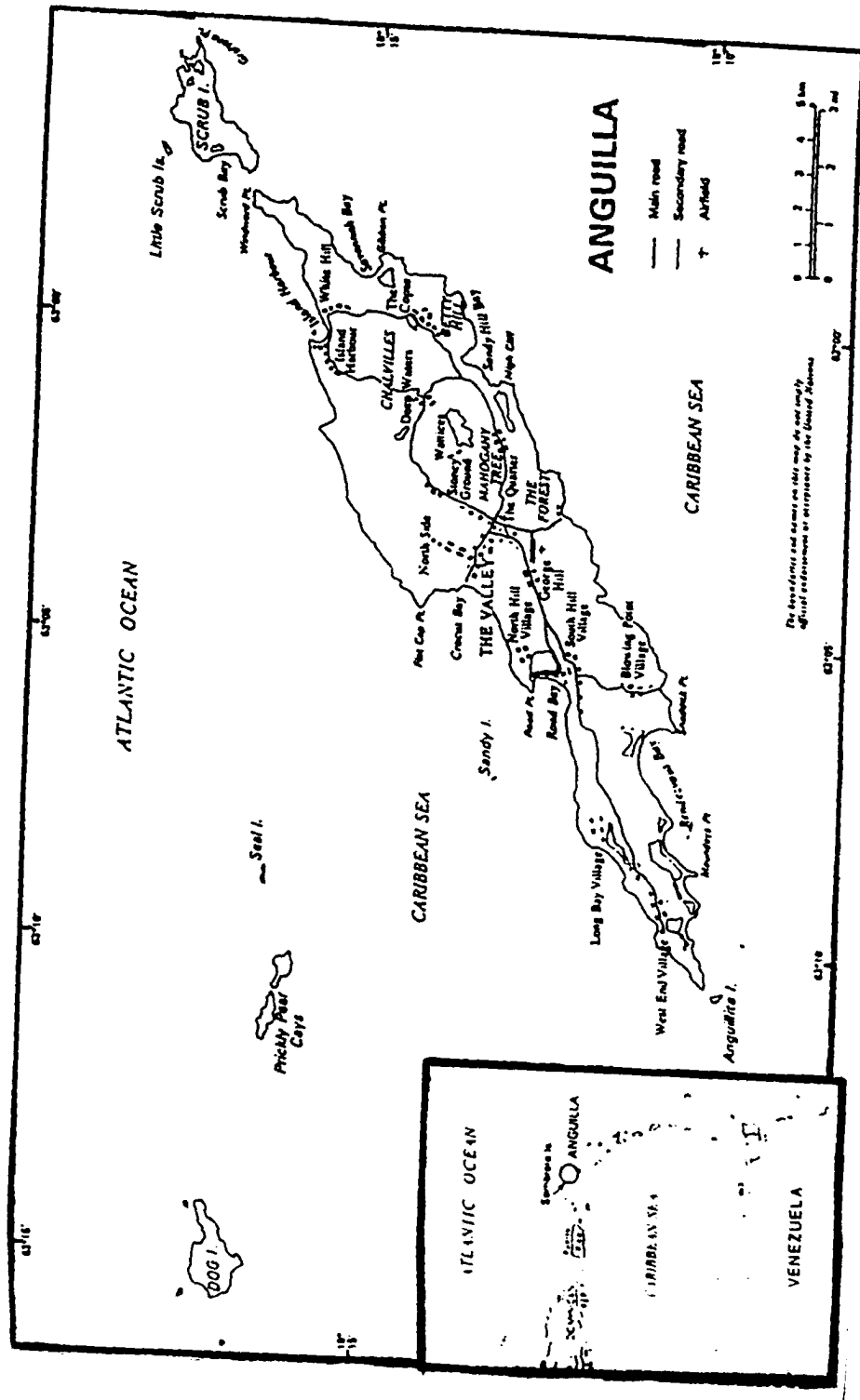
Forty inches of rain is only five inches less than St. Kitts, a fertile sugar island, receives and only five inches less than the mean annual rainfall for Anguilla's latitude. But Anguilla swings between extremes, resulting in many months "where rainfall is less than 4 inches a months, [so that] evaporation exceeds precipitation and droughty conditions prevail" (Walker 1997:10(2)18). This imbalance is reflected in many areas of Anguilla's life and history: it is a leitmotif. According to Mary Walker (ibid), the total arable land available in Anguilla amounts to only 7% or 3,000 acres. However, Anguilla is unusual in the anglophone West Indies: 95% of its land is private. Only the Road Bay Salt Pond and a small park belong to the Crown. It is widely believed that picking salt causes rain to fall due to some sort of evaporation. Records kept by the manager of the Anguilla Road Pond Salt Company refute this, but some mojo is at work. The two times I picked salt, the heavens gently opened and a misting rain fell. The Anguilla National Library owns a tape of the 1994 re-enactment of salt-picking at the Cultural Festival. On

it, as the men and women began to pick, a soft rain started and they all burst spontaneously into song. It was a very moving moment that obviously affected not only the elderly participants but the bystanders as well. The mythos that picking brings rain is most likely due to the fact that picking begins at the end of what passes for the dry season. This ties into the mythos that the ponds start to smell funky just before it rains.

### Spatial Orientation

Why is the approach to the highest point on Anguilla, Crocus Hill, called the Lower Valley? To answer this it was necessary to ascertain how Anguillians positioned themselves both physically, in regard to the rest of the Antilles, and psychologically. Located only eight miles north of St. Martin, Anguilla faces south and its primary orientation is to the cardinal points, as becomes a nomadic nation of seafarers (see Map 1.2). Left and right are not used for directions. East (and north) is above and up; west (and south) is below or down; but north and south are often referred to as across, that is to say, across the narrow girth of the island. East is where the settlers fled from the French; during the revolution, leaders hid in the bush there. While the orientation appears to be towards St. Martin, in that the western end of Anguilla is the more southerly and therefore closer to St. Martin, the actual lodestar for Anguillians is their own island.

It is believed that Anguilla was named for its eel shape by early explorers. The spelling is Italian; the pronunciation is Anglicized to rhyme with Priscilla. Visitors from the States sometimes flaunt their knowledge of Spanish (*anguila*) and French (*anguille*); they are quickly corrected. But Anguilla is shaped more like a tadpole than an eel. It is now the tail that wags the tadpole. The head of the tadpole historically contained



1.2 Anguilla. (Carty 1985:13).

agricultural land and the tail, the salt, the boondocks, the shoeless. At the juncture of body and tail lies the Valley, the most fertile bottom on the island and the former site of the last two plantations in Anguilla, Wallblake and Landsome. Wallblake House is currently being restored. Estimated costs are US \$500,000. There are two contacts for donations in the United States listed in the brochure and one in Anguilla. On its grounds stands a modern Catholic church.

Originally constructed in 1787, Wallblake was burned by the French in 1796 after they killed a cripple name Hodge in its cellar. Anguillians took revenge by shooting all the French prisoners of war through the bars of the Crocus Hill Jail. Carter Rey, who rented Wallblake House from Miss Marie Lake in the twentieth century, was born at Landsome House. He controlled the cotton gin and the Road Bay salt pond, employed workers in the cotton fields of Wallblake and Landsome plantations, and ran the only general store. He was reputedly very generous to the poor during the 1937 famine. In 1943, he died and, against the superstitions of Anguilla sailors about transporting the dead, left orders that his body be taken to St. Martin for burial. His brother, Charles Frank Rey, managed the Road Salt Company and "apparently did very well for himself, by pocketing a substantial share of the profits" (Carty 1985a:63-64). Frank Rey, an atheist and womanizer, was buried at sea, again against Anguillian sensibilities. "Anguillians would not eat fish for months afterward" (ibid). Marie Lake, then in Antigua, converted to Roman Catholicism. At her death in 1976, she left Wallblake to the Catholic Church for a parish house, but there was no resident priest and not a sufficient congregation to justify the expense. During the years of institutional neglect, Cromwell's exiles, the "wild band of Irishmen," who, in legend, settled Anguilla, must

have lost the Catholic faith that constituted, in part, Cromwell's reason for banishing them. Today, only three percent of Anguillians are Catholic. Wallblake's fertile farmland is now the site of the airport, where the new monocrop of tourists lands. Landsome House, formerly the home of St. Kitts Warden for Anguilla, was replaced by an auditorium, called the Landsome Bowl and Cultural Centre. It hosts queen shows and carnivals, a reversal that would please M. M. Bahktin (1981).

That Anguilla is its own lodestar is evident not only in its arrangement of the cardinal points to fit itself, but in the oft-repeated and geographically true assertion that it is the "head" (the Highness, the most northerly) of the island chain, from whence follows the logical assumption, or pathetic fallacy, that it should be supreme in any putative Antillian union. Although it is only an associate member of OECS, CARICOM, and CARIFTA, there is no doubt that any confining federation would be rejected by the independent Anguillians. Many, especially Anguillians who have worked within the civil service, shake their heads over this ruefully and mutter, as the English have for centuries, "poor little Anguilla." When Anguillians use the term, it is a valorization of intractability, the way mothers shake their heads over the obstinacy of an infant. This has been characterized as a "negative superiority" and "nationalistic to the point of negativity." Anguilla's contrarianism dismisses the de facto if not de jure integration of the Caribbean. Some regard participation in regional organizations as training exercises for independence, just as labor unions were schools for future political leaders in the sugar islands.

### Anguillian Language



But why is the upper approach to Crocus Hill called the Lower Valley? Because the direction is west, where the sun sets, goes below the horizon, as opposed to east, where the sun rises, comes up. North too can be above and south below. South is "across to St. Martin" and carries the connotation of foreign. Above in a one story house signifies to the east. Since the other areas named hills are less than 213 feet, it is not always obvious that the small increase in altitude constitutes a hill. Furthermore, since they all lie south of Crocus Hill traveling to them from the Lower Valley is always referred to as going down, for example, to George Hill. All Anguillian references fold back on themselves.

Yet people are rooted to their own particular area of Anguilla. They don't identify themselves as Anguillians except as an abstraction. On a daily basis, their identities are fused with their specific locations: a person is from North Hill or the Quarter. This type of identification is usual on larger islands where urban centers exist. Two factors contribute to Anguillian identity: pride of land ownership and centuries of using the same small group of surnames. Space rather than name defines the person. East Enders have always felt the Valley to be distant. It is dung long, dung along or far away (Christian 1993:13). Yet even those who live in neighboring South Hill, less than an hour's walk from the Valley, regard it as distant. Several women who had worked on various islands, spoke in awed voices of how far the Valley was. They had gone to the Factory, a quarter of a mile closer, to buy their goods, which they carried home.

*And I used to bring a sack of flour from the Factory. Down here, South Hill. Sack of flour. 98 pounds. One sack of flour you know. I would rest when I get here by the tamarind tree. I bring South Hill a sack of flour.*

Numerous people who live in the West End have not been to the East End and vice versa. There has always been a rivalry between the two areas that creates new friction now that the primary schools feed into the single comprehensive school that was established in 1953.

Linguistically, Anguilla is part of the anglophone Caribbean calaloo. African words such as cuffy dung (an old dance), obeah, fungee, jumbie, are still in use, as are obvious French derivatives such as disabils for old, shabby clothing, passeallin for walking about, the national fruit pommeselette, and labarass, used to refer to someone whose name is not to be spoken and possibly related to voodoo's LeBaron. The vernacular grammar is African in structure (cf. Dillard 1972). British slang remains: Darby and Joan means lovers; a long time is donkey years. Spanish seeps in from Santo Domingo, in particular: qwaliers, or troublemakers, refers to difficulties with the Guardia (Christian 1993:17). Caracasbaai, a grocery and store, has obvious roots. And, it is easy to imagine that the characterization by Kittians of Anguillians as stupid or backward Bobo Johnnies derives from the Spanish "bobo," fool or simpleton. As they have transmuted the connotation of the diminutive "little" into a term of affection and admiration, Anguillians have transmogrified the term Bobo Johnnie into the name of a legendary smuggler. There is a 38-stanza poem by Vance Lake in which Bobo John, like Bru Anancy, tricked the English coast guard on the sea and the corporals and magistrate on shore, then toasted his friendship with the captain and the corporal "in a flask of smuggled gin" (in Carty 1997: 109-113).

The *Dictionary of Anguillian Language* reflects a preoccupation, as does much slang, with vernacular terms for sex and for sexual organs and insults, or phrases regarded

as rude. The language also reflects major social problems: *trouble* as a verb often denotes sexual assault, particularly incest, an underlying, unspoken but acknowledged, problem for flexible families. *Interference* and *use* are the more common terms for sexual abuse. Poverty is part of the language. *Suck salt* is “literally to appease the pangs of hunger borne of poverty by sucking on a piece of rock salt. Figuratively, it means to bear hard times stoically” (Christian 1993:27), as it does in the United States Virgin Islands, where it also carries the connotation of being deprived of material goods. Three terms, *runt*, *dun growth* and *paychi* (a young turkey), all refer to people with stunted growth. Retarded physical development is often due to malnutrition: the number of terms for it may reflect Anguilla’s history of starvation. There seems to be no connection between *paychi* and the French term *apache*. *Han to mouth* means poor, “having to spend money on food as soon as it comes to hand” (ibid:17). *Cut’n contrive* means make do.

The fear of starvation is paramount. There is a large sign on the grounds of the Department of Agriculture that bears the admonition: FARM TODAY OR STARVE TOMORROW. A plaque in front of the Albena Lake Hodge Comprehensive School warns: WE MUST TRAIN EVERY TALENT WE POSSESS, OR CONDEMN OURSELVES TO POVERTY. For Anguillians, unlike the Haya (Weiss 1996:146) or the Gawa (Munn 1986:85), hunger was not figurative.

Down is not only a direction, it is a pejorative as it is in English. *Downcarish* equals the physical and behavioral carelessness that is regarded as a symptom of insanity: *downstrive* is to contradict: “dress down” is to move over to make space for someone else to sit or stand (ibid:13). Extra-familial hand-me-downs are frowned upon. Anguillians caution against lending things, or rather, as they say, they borrow things and don’t return

them. Competition, such as price wars between grocery stores, is viewed with suspicion. The earlier lack of competition emphasized, post-secession, the diseconomies of scale associated with Anguilla's size (Clarke 1971:25).

Anguilla is the Rock and the Valley is Rainbow City. The rock is emblematic of the stubborn, hardscrabble independence of the islanders, while Rainbow City, a wry sobriquet, could reflect the spectrum of skin tones found in Anguilla, although its one street of commercial and government buildings would not qualify it as a city anywhere else in the world. All the other villages are merely thickenings of houses. Current British officials believe that this settlement pattern is due to strip development along the post-1970 British built roads, but it is, in fact, the result of divisions of family land. The rough road traversing the center of the island was often a boundary marker. If Bill Maurer (1997) thought that Tortola had complications in settling family land disputes, Anguilla has worse: it was only officially surveyed after 1972.

The flexible family results in the often-asked question, "who you fuh?" Much as among the Navaho, it means "who are you, who are your people". It is also a natural extension of the common definition of pregnancy as "making a baby for" a man, an active description of a process that is both dictated biologically and voluntary. The phrase emphasizes the woman's contributions to the development of the fetus and in labor, rather than the passive English terms, being pregnant, having a baby, being in labor. Some Anguillians have suggested that the phrase making a baby for might stem from West African cultures where the children belong to the fathers, whereas in Anguilla they belong to the mothers. These Anguillians believe that the difference lies in the role of

the father: in African polygynous societies, the father remained the focus of power (cf. Craton 1978).

Biases find a place in Anguillian speech as in all languages. Deeply religious, Anguillians have an avowed, Biblically-based horror of homosexuals, especially male: the word "feminist" connotes lesbian. Popular terms for gays are "anti-man" and "tan-tan", which normally is a term of endearment for an older woman, an auntie. Although homophobia is rampant on the surface, underneath, on an individual basis, there seems to be a level of tolerance and acceptance. Anguilla's public stance is best summarized by the 1999 Chief Minister who, in a radio broadcast in the middle of Hurricane Lenny, blamed the hurricane on a boatload of homosexuals that had been in St. Martin. "Anguilla today is losing God - we are worshiping materialism. Anguilla needs prayer. A ship in St. Martin loaded with homosexuals. We are bringing a lot of this on ourselves." Lenny, like AIDS, was a manifestation of God's wrath. And, irrationally, Anguilla was going to be blown away for a floating Sodom and Gomorrah that had docked in St. Martin. I wondered if Anguilla, facing St. Martin, would turn into a pillar of salt.

On the global front, such an attitude, fiercely held, is causing conflict between the local mores and the civil rights legislation Britain is forcing on Anguilla as an Overseas Territory. (Anguillians were quick to perceive that the change in their designation from Dependent Territory to Overseas Territory was merely cosmetic). As a member of the European Union, Britain is committed to an anti-discrimination policy and, in turn, is attempting to persuade Anguilla to pass matching legislation against its will. Not only does the legislation offend Anguillians, it reminds them of one of the reasons for the

revolution: St. Kitts passed laws for them. Britain's philosophy remains the realpolitik it was at the time of the Revolution: dependency means some loss of autonomy. This is the essence of Anguillian cultural dissonance, where the mythos of independence meets the logos of dependence and becomes a contrariety. The dancer is the dance. Most Anguillians believe actual independence to be "a fifty year process" at best.

### Class and Color

In 1972, David Lowenthal categorized Anguilla as a society "differentiated by colour but not by class. Hierarchy is of little moment in several small islands where white and black, or coloured and black, coexist without much commingling. ... groups differentiated by colour tend to dwell apart though their occupations, fortunes and aspirations hardly differ. Color divisions vary: thus in Bequia and Anguilla, coloured are distinct from black" (77).

Forced by earlier research in the Caribbean and by dominate discourse in academia to ask questions concerning class and race, I was often told that those questions were American, not Anguillian, concerns. There seemed to be a united front to tell me that Anguilla was a seamless, not stratified, society. Even if there were some differences in income and color, they were so minuscule that they caused no cultural dissonance. Cui bono? I use the term united front deliberately because that is the new name for the current majority party. It was formed during the 2000 elections when two parties, one of which was widely regarded as the white, middle class party, joined together and won the election.

There was never a plantocracy on Anguilla comparable to that on the sugar islands. During the eighteenth century, Anguilla had ‘some eleven sugar and tobacco estates, five of which had cattle driven mills’ (Carty 1997:4). The mythos is that the planters left Anguilla early. In fact, the first wave of resistance in Anguilla arose from the elite (see Chapter IV). The small plantocracy of the eighteenth century had resisted their own council. Apparently, slaves were virtually all they owned. If there were judgments against them, they would put themselves in contempt of court by keeping ‘their Negroes out in the woods, that the Marshall can no ways come at anything, therefore it is ordered as above said that all such persons’ Negroes or effects shall be sold’ (28 July 1756 Miscellaneous Decisions of the Anguilla Council).

James Hay, the Customs Officer at Anguilla wrote to Henry Brandneth, an aide to the Governor of the Leeward Islands, in 1823, that white inhabitants had emigrated to St. Barths with their slaves and property. Most of Anguilla’s currency had been taken to the Free Port of St. Barths where ‘the necessaries of life were cheap.’ As a result of smuggling, ‘by so much as the Industry of the Natives decreased, and from being formerly, as I am told, an industrious race I may with truth assert that there is not now a more idle, indolent set of people in all His Majesty’s domain’ (CO 234/11).

The end of Anguilla’s class structure had been attributed, in 1823, to the devastation the French wrought in 1796. Because Anguilla had not been remunerated as other colonies had, all public establishments remained ‘demolished & the Island laid waste, leveling all distinctions as to personal Property in indiscriminate ruin ... their Descendants in the next generation have been reduced to Indigence as the price of the Loyalty of their Forefathers’ (CO 234/11). James Colquhoun, Anguilla’s London Agent,

wrote Lord Bathurst on 12 January 1824 reiterating that there was no protection for any class of society on Anguilla. Indigence was forseen again in 1825. with the added Hegelian note that the "condition of the slave population must become daily worse and worse. according to that of their Master's" (CO 239/12).

Racial tensions increased when fugitive slaves began to escape to Anguilla in the 1820s. Magistrate Pickwood wrote Governor Maxwell about "the unworthy jealousies which a shade of complexion can excite" (CO 239/20). He observed that "the free people of colour are too often designated as public enemies: and it was considered or alleged that the public safety was exposed to danger by a union of principle and design between them and the foreign fugitives" (ibid).

By 1828. Anguilla's inability to defend itself against the depredations of fugitive slaves from St. Martin and St. Barth was attributed to the equalizing effects of poverty: "every Master of a Family with a very few exceptions. is obliged to labour for the daily support of the same" (CO 239/18). This precluded training for the militia. Affirmation of the lack of a social hierarchy came in a letter from Maxwell to Murray on 18 April 1829: the "inhabitants of Anguilla with the exception of two or three individuals are in an abject state of poverty" (ibid). dependant on yams. ground provisions and exporting a few cattle and sheep: only salt was subject to duty. Anguillians owned only three small boats. each about eight tons. In 1829 forty-seven Creole and African Apprentice fugitives were given certificates of Freedom under the charge of the Principal Officer of Customs.

Scholars use different standards to measure natural increase in population. Hilary



Beckles (1990) asserted that there was positive natural growth in Barbadian slaves by the beginning of the nineteenth century. An increasing slave population was both a hedge against the abolishment of the slave trade in 1807 and the best argument against abolitionists. Beckles regarded this increase as another aspect of Barbadian exceptionalism. He emphasized that both amelioration acts and direct payments to slave women for bearing children encouraged natural population growth. What he failed to articulate was that this constituted an ideal of capitalism that even Karl Marx, half-a-century later, would not dare conceive. Barbadian planters not only controlled the means and modes of production, but of reproduction. Barry Higman wrote that "only the Bahamas and Barbados managed to maintain a positive natural increase throughout the period 1814-31" (1991:222), which he quantified as more than 10 per 1000 people. Anguilla lacks early birth records, but it is known that fugitive slaves from other island added to the black population. It is safe to say that these fugitives were not sufficient to account for Anguilla's rapidly rising slave population (see Chapter III). It grew from 879 negroes in 1720 to 2388 slaves and 237 free coloreds in 1819 and reflected positive natural growth.

James Colquhoun wrote to the Colonial Office to recommend offering melioration to free coloreds on Anguilla, "at the same time pointing out the evident policy of attaching this class of persons to the Whites" (CO 239/23). He quoted a letter from Mr. Carty, the Foreman of the Anguilla Jury, in which Carty claimed that giving free-colored and free black men privileges would cause a white exodus. Carty invoked St. Domingo. Militant Rastafari now have their own answer to this Babel of blood.

In May 1831, Justice Robert Pickwood, in his published address to the Grand Jury, exposed the color and class schism on Anguilla. He castigated two "aristocratic" families for failing to give, in one case, the black widow her portion of her husband's estate, and, in the other, for depriving a man's housekeeper of the property he had left her.

Pickwood later wrote a letter to Governor Maxwell stating that when he had proposed to the Rev. John Steward several laws to improve the civil rights of free blacks, e.g. admitting evidence of free blacks and requiring free colored people who are qualified to serve on jury to do so, Steward had wished the measures postponed. These concepts were more progressive than those allegedly in force under Anguillian law. Pickwood, in that August 1831 letter, added that there had been one case of an assault on a slave, but that the circumstances had not been "grave or atrocious" (ibid). William Carty presented the May 1831 Grand Jury statement. He cited rumors of fugitives armed "for the purpose of committing atrocities against the inhabitants" (ibid). Pickwood replied that British Law required Anguilla "to receive foreign slaves upon the same footing as any other foreign subjects" (ibid). The law "extends protection to these people," but they were subject to British laws (ibid).

Racial tensions persisted. Thomas Richardson, a free colored man murdered Joseph Fleming, a slave, after accusing Fleming of having "grossly abused his wife" and injuring his stock (CO 239/24). Fleming's wife testified at the November 1831 trial that Fleming, who owned a sword, had said "I hope to cool some of these Mulatto fellows as I have at Nevis" (ibid).

That whites were law-abiding was emphasized in an August 1833 letter from Governor MacGregor to Secretary Stanley about a ship wrecked on Anguilla: "indeed on

taking into consideration the very small number of White Inhabitants we cannot but think that great exertions were used for the preservation of the Cargo of the Wreck" (CO 239 34). Arthur Bryan was "the First White person" who appeared, but, on "the First Night there was a Guard fixed which constituted of Slaves, principally, as there were only a few whites to be had on account of the Courts" (ibid). "The next day, some whites appeared which took charge of the place day and night" (ibid).

In a masterly piece of doublethink, both the lazy Quashee and the ferocious Coromantee stereotypes of Africans were evoked by Lt. Governor Colebrooke in his 27 November 1839 letter to the Governor of the Leeward Islands:

Much perhaps may be attributed to the Constitutional indolence of the Creole race which almost amounts to a malady, where there are no stirring objects of interest or profit, to call out their energies. It has moreover been hinted to me that dark scenes of cruelty and oppression were but too common in Anguilla, during the days of Slavery. We cannot but suspect (said the Commissioners) that the absence of all restraint affords both opportunity and instances of great tyranny and of practices which would not for a moment be endured under the influence of law, and under the pain of punishment for the violation of it.

The Prison leads me to mention the state of morals among the town classes. I believe that crimes of a great magnitude have not been prevalent of late. However a Case of cold blooded Murder occurred a few years ago, in which five Individuals were convicted and executed for having burnt another man piece-meal to death, which would seem to indicate a spirit of savage recklessness, which is very uncommon among the Negroes in other Islands (No. 119).

Holding court or establishing a prison in a private residence, common in seventeenth century Virginia (cf. McKinney 1996), was hindered by the lack of plantations in Anguilla. "As from the excessive smallness of these houses, and from their being built from wood, the ladies and children of the families were often exposed to hear the most disgusting details and most abusive language" (ibid).

Lord Russell sent a dispatch in the fall of 1840 to Governor Colebrooke insisting that the follies of the whites in Anguilla be pointed out to them: "the inevitable consequence of perseverance in their present course, that the laboring population will all emigrate, & will be right in so doing" (CO 407/6). Lt. Governor Cunningham delivered Russell's message to the Anguilla Vestry on 25 February 1841:

I called the Vestry together, and brought under their consideration the prostrate condition of their Island. I then laid before them Lord John Russell's dispatch: and represented to them the absolute necessity which existed for a change of conduct on the part of the upper Classes, for shaking off Sloth and apathy and employing their Capital and their energies in developing the resources of the Island. ... parts of the banks of the Salt-Ponds, which are dry enough for stacking salt, have been long claimed as private property by different proprietors, who accordingly make the labourers pay half the salt which they gather, as a ground rent for the salt stack. ... worded as the grant is, it would appear to be almost impossible to put aside the long established claim of the Proprietors. ... I have rather gone into this point, as the readiness with which the Vestry, most of whom are the Proprietors in question, at once consented to waive all private claim to toll for stacking the salt, certainly evinces an improved state of feeling on the part of the Upper Classes. ... the tax on ground in cultivation as appearing to bear most equally upon all classes. ...expressed perfect readiness to pay taxes, - strong desire to remain in their native land and willingness to work on Estates for a very moderate amount of wages. Proprietors are willing to lay on taxes of an equitable nature and evince a desire to act with more energy in the future - that the labouring classes are ready to pay their share of taxation (ibid).

But Anguilla suffered another drought and petitioned the Government again in 1841. Stipendiary Magistrate Egar, a "victim of intemperance in Anguilla," as allegedly have been some twentieth century governors, was replaced by Major L. Graeme in 1842. Any pretense of a plantocracy had disappeared. Governor Fitzroy wrote Lord Stanley:

The few proprietors and other persons resident on the Island, above the condition of the peasantry, are extremely poor and scarcely better educated than the Negroes, and at the time that Major Graeme held the appointment were generally of very intemperate habits. Major Graeme, therefore (who seems to have gone to Anguilla without much previous forethought or

knowledge of local circumstances) a gentleman of good family and refined habits, who had lived in good Society, not unnaturally considered himself placed in a situation beneath his deserts, and being disappointed and discontented with it, very little improvement took place during his residence within the Island. ... Mr. Challenger, on the contrary, who is a man of homely ideas and very humble-minded, but with a strong common sense of unblemished character, and educated in St. Christopher's, and of the until recently proscribed, colored race, accepted the appointment as one which met his ultimate hopes and wishes, and immediately upon entering on his duties set to work in earnest to reclaim and improve the morals and condition of the people. By going among them freely, reasoning with them and showing them a good example, he had already, by the time I landed there, effected many improvements both in their conditions and habits ... had succeeded in establishing an Agricultural, and a Temperance Society; by the former of which he has given a fillup to industry, and by the later has caused intemperance to become extremely rare ... [he] stated with great glee, he had then very recently administered the temperance pledge to the most drunken and disorderly character on the Island (CO 239/68).

Had Challenger been allowed to remain on Anguilla by the Colonial Office, a colored magistrate and a colored Wesleyan minister might have eased Anguilla out of the discourse of the colonial yoke. But it was not to be. The Colonial Office despaired of local talent in an island whose white population was disappearing rapidly. "When the present race of Public servants has passed away, unless some change for the better taken place [sic], it will be impossible for the public services to be carried on" (CO 243/10).

Katherine Burdon wrote, in 1920, "strangers are so rarely seen that the last one who visited Anguilla, in 1917, was taken for a German spy" (238). In 1953, Alec Waugh was mistaken for a Jehovah's Witness, because "the arrival of a white man is so unusual.....The only white people there today are transients - priests, ministers, a doctor, government officials" (1991:216). By 1960 the category "European" in the census registered 26 people, who were mostly expatriates involved in the island's administration and church. The hierarchical structure in Anguilla had, literally, a single man at the top.

who was sent out from England to be the warden, an office that combined the duties of physician, judge, magistrate, and postmaster for the fortnightly (in 1920) mail to St. Kitts. Obviously, one man could not expect to be a skilled professional in all these bureaucratic branches: it is easy to suppose that Anguilla, regarded as a hardship post, would attract some of the least qualified candidates, then, as in the twentieth century when they suffered under governors who were unpopular due to their flouting of Anguillian mores. England made the mistake of stationing self-proclaimed atheists on this deeply religious island, where the second question asked of strangers is what church are they. One governor allegedly raced his bicycle through the Palm Sunday procession.

The warden filled an ambivalent position: he was honored as a medical healer and loathed as a law enforcer (Carty 1997:26). Perhaps the title, warden, referred as much to the custodial part of the job definition as to the superintendency aspect. Certainly, given the British appraisal that the community was too scattered for establishing educational facilities, the warden was in no sense the head of an institution such as the Warden of Merton College. The social equal of the warden would have been the Anglican minister, in the rare instances when one was posted to Anguilla, and, in the rarer instances, when he was actually in residence. Next in line would have come the big landowners, who invested in trading schooners. Anguilla's economy was based on agriculture, fishing and trade. Without the schooners, the fish could never have become a source of export income. In more recent years, whoever headed the Department of Agriculture "*virtually held the reins of the island.*"

But the big landowners did not hold much land by sugar island standards.

Katherine Burdon, in her 1920 *Handbook of St. Kitts-Nevis*, listed only fifteen Anguillian

estates of more than seventy-five acres, or one third of the estimated 3,000 arable acres. The largest, Cove and Rendezvous, consisted of a thousand acres owned by the government of St. Kitts-Nevis and held in tenantry by Carter Rey. Three other estates amounting to almost three hundred acres are also listed as held in tenantry, but the tenants are not identified. Carter Rey was the largest private landowner: his estate, the Forest, covered 418 acres. Susan Rey owned the 160-acre adjacent estate, Lansomes. Together the two estates encompassed the fertile Valley bottom. The second largest landowner after Carter Rey, Henrietta T. Lake, owned two offshore dependencies, Scrub Island (400 acres) and Dog Island (224 acres). Nine estates each held between 75-100 acres. All land, except that in tenantry, was owned by island residents, as opposed to the absentee ownership common in the sugar islands.

Burdon noted that Anguillians "value education, hence the average annual attendance is greater than that of either St. Kitts or Nevis" (1920:234). Thirty years later, Alec Waugh (1958) found that the Anguilla library had 500 members. Leopold Kohr (1969) had recommended offering scholarships to the education-loving Anguillians. Today there are close ties between Anguilla and several American universities. Not only were the Anguillians educated, they were healthy.

It is probably unique in being able to claim comparative immunity from any of the ordinary tropical diseases. Malaria, Filaria, Leprosy, Yaws, Ankylostomiasis and Pellegra are practically unknown except for an occasional imported case. The people of Anguilla, differing from the usual habits of the West Indian negro, build their houses some distance apart. This characteristic, combined with porous sandy soil, absence of surface water and lack of forest, probably contributes largely to this healthy condition (Burdon 1920:230).



1.1 The front cover of *Anguilla Life*. (4(1)1991).



The only exception she found to the general good health was fish poisoning: “There is plenty of fish to be caught in the waters around Anguilla, but it is so liable to be poisonous that great care has to be exercised in cooking” (ibid). Either she was in Anguilla during a *ciguatera* episode or perhaps fishing only flourished after it became an export industry (like Nestlé’s infant formula).

The picture in Figure 1.1 was on the front cover of the 1991 issue of *Anguilla Life* 4(1). The publisher is an American woman, but virtually all of the articles are written by Anguillians. The cover photograph had been taken by the white wife of a St. Martin doctor, who used to practice holistic medicine in Anguilla. I was wary by the time I first saw the cover, so I asked, “Is this racist or is it just me?” Pretty much just me I was told, and if I wanted to read something into it, that was my problem, although some Anguillians had also felt it was “*disturbing*.” “*It depends on how you look at it. It’s just a bunch of kids playing.*” But there are determined efforts by parents to try to teach their children to prefer black dolls over white ones. Bru Anancy tales over what Mighty Sparrow called “Dan is the man in the van” English schoolbooks. That there is a struggle over self-image, an internalization of white values, proves that Anguilla is not the race-blind society that the Civil Rights activists had wished. Racism, like slavery and Africa, is not something that Anguillians openly discuss.

In 1991, Jonah Claudius described Anguilla as having a “mixed social grouping” (11) with no economic stratification. The middle and upper class constituted approximately 70% of the population, due to the rapidly expanding tourism business. The Anguilla Ministry of Finance, also writing in 1991, stated that “by the mid 1980’s

tourism had become the leading section of the economy accounting for about 20% of the GDP" (3.12.1). Income from tourism has brought general prosperity. It came first to the fishermen of Island Harbour, who had sold their catch to older, established tourist destinations.

In many respects, Island Harbour is the "other" of Anguilla. *"The songs I heard in Island Harbour are different because those are different people and the way they have of understanding different experiences in a way so they relate to different things."*

According to legend, the village was settled by wild Irishmen, who were shipwrecked there and the descendants of the poor white planters, who "developed into a community of mostly fisherman" (Petty 1993:12). "In 1688 a party of wild Irishmen landed and treated the inhabitants even more cruelly than any of the French pirates who had attacked them before. In consequence of these repeated setbacks several of the planters moved to Barbados and in 1689, Captain Thorne removed the remainder of the inhabitants to Antigua" (Burdon 1920:224). Mulattoes were concentrated in northeast Anguilla, especially around Island Harbor. Although Island Harbour children attended the East End school until a school opened in their village in 1991, there was rivalry between the East End and Island Harbour. Fights occurred when an East End child would call one from Island Harbour an "Island Harbour fishy gut thief" (Petty 1993:32). Historically, the East and West Ends were divided between the Anglicans and the Methodists, who were associated respectively with white and black populations. The East End credits itself with having produced the leaders of the Anguilla revolution, while the West End was regarded as *"the most backward part of the island."* There is a story of a prophet, probably Judge

Gumbs, Brother George Gumbs, who, during the 1960s, stunned Anguillians by proclaiming that Anguilla's fortunes would come from the West End. And, indeed, the West End is now home to the major hotels.

For centuries, Island Harbour kept itself to itself, as the phrase goes. Endogamy was customary, including intermarriage between first cousins. It is supposed by other Anguillians that this was done to preserve and propagate "*what we Anguillians call white*," to prevent "*that dirty little stain from creeping in*." The stain crept in anyhow and the inbreeding has often had visible results that are remarked upon by Anguillians. Several Anguillian "whites" are pleased with the recent decline in pressure to marry lighter. One has returned to his childhood love: "*it was, of course, impossible back then*."

Despite the lighter complexions of some Anguillians, Anguillian is synonymous with black. Saying people are not Anguillian, rather than identifying them as, for instance, Jamaican, signifies Caucasian as well as a non-belonger or expatriate status, because Anguillians of every shade can find in their family tree a black relative. There is an awareness of this, an acceptance that tends to level the playing field in terms of color/class consciousness. Still, it is impossible not to conclude that underneath the public ridicule of racism lies a hidden narrative of actual racism that blends invisibly into class consciousness. R.T. Smith (1988) found that color was an ideological cover for class. In Anguilla, the reverse seems to be true.

Lowenthal offered a solution to his class/color rankings: "social and cultural inequities are officially ascribed to class differences rather than to racial prejudices. Yet to act on this assumption, whatever its initial validity, is to help create a climate

conducive to change: for class distinctions are more malleable than those of race” (1972:25). An elite non-belonger, John Updike, wrote about Anguilla during the height of the American Civil Rights movement: “But just such a backwater may none the less ‘offer a chance of skipping several nightmare chapters of race relations’” (Updike 1968:78).

In spite of the former conscious efforts of “white Anguillians” to preserve a color differential on the personal level, all deny Lowenthal’s hypothesis that Anguilla differentiates by color but not by class. Anguillians, expats, belongers and non-belongers told me, a white non-belonger, that people were not categorized by the shade of their skin. Class, not colour, is seen as the basis of the Anguillian hierarchy. Class comes in three forms: wealth, usually manifested in land and household goods or household help; Peter Wilson’s (1973) respectability, most often associated with church going, cleanliness and community involvement; and secondary or tertiary education, whether achieved by oneself or by a close relative. Color, as a divider, has historically been destabilized. Unlike most slave societies, early wills and deed polls in Anguilla, such as that of Governor William Richardson in 1821, specifically named both the testator’s legitimate children and those he had fathered with slave women. Even today, in the morning obituary announcements on the radio, all children of the deceased are named: the sons, as well as the daughters, often have different last names from their parent and from each other.

### Matrifocality

Memories of Anguilla, 1960

The night Rebecca's-  
 she lived beneath us-  
 sailor lover returned from sea  
 and beat her for hours.  
 it was as hard to sleep as the time  
 she tied a rooster  
 inside an oil drum....

The sad potatoes a muttering man  
 hoed from the ashen earth:  
 the difficulty of agriculture.  
 The absence of men:  
 they went to Curaçao for work.  
 The woman across the road,  
 pregnant by an annual visit,  
 cursed insanely, tossing rocks  
 at her weeping children.  
 The radio on her windowsill  
 played hymns all day from Antigua.  
 (Updike 1967:21).

In 1968, Mintz had cautioned that there were no anthropological comparisons for the Caribbean; it did not fit the models developed for western societies, non-Western societies or kinship-based primitive societies. Raymond T. Smith (1988) refuted the argument that Caribbean family structure is that of the culture of poverty. He found that color masked class and crab antics. Peter Wilson's dichotomy of reputation and respectability has been countered by many scholars. Simply stated, Wilson's 1973 theory posited that the Caribbean concept of respectability originated in the secular role of the Christian church and utilized Western hierarchical standards. Caribbean women and older men adhered to these community-oriented principles, while younger men gained individual reputations and status by defying these mores. For Roger Abrahams and John Szwed (1983), Karen Olwig (1993), and Daniel Miller (1997), respectability signified anti-colonialism. Olwig (1993) pointed out that both reputation and respectability were English values: the former belonged to the sociability of seventeenth-century English small farmers and the latter to nineteenth-century institutions. Not only were blacks and whites in the Caribbean cut off from their native cultures, but they exploited both respectability and reputation. Respectability often incorporated Africanisms or parodied

itself. Janet Momsen (1993) found reputation and respectability to be life stages, a dialectic rather than a dichotomy. Kevin Yelvington (1995) diagnosed it as an idiom through which men controlled women. Reputation, real or imagined, seems to be a true deterrent in Anguilla to aspiring female politicians. Recent works dwell on the family as a network (Olwig 1993), flexible (Banks 1985), genealogical universes (R.T. Smith 1988), and dense networks (Steady 1981). The household is neither deviant nor dysfunctional. The family history follows that of the focal woman. Virginia Kerns (1997) found women to be central to Garífuna society because of their kinship and ritual roles, not because they were heirs to an emasculated slave society of marginal males nor because the men often emigrated. In the ultimate case of matrifocality, the Mother Earth religion in Trinidad, Littlewood (1993) argued that, in a reversal of the female-gendered respectability, the Rastafarian male has become inverted to become Mother Earth: it is a patriarchal myth that allows the mother of creation to dominate subordinates without creating political opposition. Faye Harrison (1997) followed the same theoretical thread. These movements are in line with Gramsci's concept of hegemony by consensus because matrifocality is consciously subordinated within the masculine hierarchy.

A Marriage Register allegedly began in Anguilla in October 1825, but it has not been found. St. Kitts passed child support laws during the Apprenticeship period. If the reputed father of a child under 21 failed to provide for the child, a magistrate could order him to work; if the father refused, he could be sentenced to hard labor with his wages subject to garnishment until enough had accrued to pay support for one month in advance. The authorities were less interested in encouraging nuclear families than in preventing

claims under the Poor Laws. If the father were not alive, the legislation applied to the mother. This onus on the mother remained in Anguilla until the revolution. In practice, because women of child bearing age emigrated for work or education, grandparents were the primary caregivers for children.

Linda Banks, in her 1986 dissertation, specifically addressed the topic of matrifocality in her birthplace, Anguilla. She analyzed "the effects of the Anguillian family structure on child development in Anguilla. The "factors of illegitimacy, consensual unions, and paternal absenteeism were explored with particular reference to psychosocial development, self-concept, delinquency and achievement in school" (Banks 1986:iii). Using independent variables of birth status, the number of parents in the home, sex, and income, she studied 89 nine to fifteen year olds and compared their self evaluations with the perceptions of their teachers and parents. Girls from one-parent homes believed they were less attractive; illegitimate boys scored higher in antisocial behavior, although teachers denied this and found boys from two-parent homes more immature; mothers thought illegitimate children did worse academically but, again, this judgment was not endorsed by teachers. Teachers, more than parents, labeled children from single-parent homes. Their expectations kept the children's behavior fixed. "There were no income related differences" (ibid:iv) and "no relation between educational levels and income levels" (ibid:131). The latter should act to destabilize the place of education in Anguilla's structure.

Banks surmised that land ownership, the second most important Anguillian mythos, had a leveling effect. "The fact that Anguillians own their own homes and land probably insulates them from the full effects different income levels can have on

lifestyles” (ibid:174): “land ownership is viewed as a source of pride and independence. It has also been the source of most of the civil court cases on the island” (ibid:69; cf. Maurer 1997). Her conclusion was that “there is an empirical basis for the normative nature of both legal and non-legal unions in the Caribbean” (ibid:27). Her statistics supported the no-effects framework as a response to social attitudes. She believed that in so far as Caribbean family structures were analogous to those of AfroAmericans, they were historically rooted and therefore homologous due to both cultural continuity and change. Among her examples, she cited Melville Herskovits’ hypothesis that matrifocality was a retention of African tradition, and R. T. Smith, who believed it to be a result of the plantation system.

If, however, as Banks posited, family structures are analogous to each other in all Western slave societies, her thesis invalidates the importance of environment, history, social structure, and economic organization as variables to explain social forms. By examining the differences and similarities between sugar and salt islands, my paper argues against conflating analogous social forms with generalizations about homologous origins.

Banks concluded that, rather than dysfunctional and deviant, Anguillian reproductive strategies, in a Christian society where more than fifty percent of births are illegitimate, but not stigmatized, were seen as functional. All children were regarded as blessings: parenthood was an aspect of each parent; flexible family structures were the norm, with role variability within the unions and the involvement of the grandparents and psychological fathers. In 1999, the Anguillian government acknowledged illegitimacy, thus institutionalizing community mores. Lowenthal characterized the typically late age



of Caribbean marriage in an elegant phrase, as marking "a culmination rather than the commencement of relationship" (1972:105), a fact borne out by Banks' 1984 research, which found that Anguillians tended to marry after age 45. Divorce is rare.

Banks quoted Bronislaw Malinowski's biologically based concept of social structure: "no child should be brought into the world without a man -- and one man at that -- assuming the role of sociological father" (1986:11). Western religions and sociological theories assume that the non-nuclear family does not allow for proper socialization of the child. The child is the subject of academic concern: parental problems are seen as moot at best, self-inflicted at worst. Such assumptions nullify any scholarly examination of the functional value of matrifocality.

When Banks was asked how matrifocality in Anguilla had changed since her 1986 dissertation, she identified the decline of the extended family, which used to serve as a buffer, and the increasing stress on the single mother. Both factors are related to the rapid growth of job opportunities in the tourism business and contributed to a radical change in family structure. Grandmothers, as well as mothers, are working in the tourism sector that caters to many Americans. Tiredness and tension often lead to neglect even when the parent is at home. In Bank's view, latch-key children are not the problem; trouble starts when they go out with gangs after school. Similarly, television does not lead to violence, but rather to children's sexual relationships with deviant adults. Single mothers' anger at their children's fathers for lack of child support is an additional source of stress.

Neighbors proved an additional buffer for the single parent child. Now, "*there is a general feeling that children are quote rude, unquote, and that if I see a child out on the street and I say something to him, he would talk back to me.*" Occasionally, nurturing and

protecting children are misconstrued by parents to mean taking their children's sides against the teachers. This had its beginnings during the Anguillian revolution when parents encouraged their children's contempt for "Bradshaw" teachers, who supported union with St. Kitts. The children refused to learn the Statehood Anthem. *Great Trinity of Islands*. These children are today's parents. A less generalizing view would be that the situation in the 1960s and 1970s is not comparable with present circumstances. National rebellion has been conflated with the normal rebelliousness of teenagers, and the latter naturalized by the former. Before, teachers had been responsible for inculcating morals, manners and discipline in their pupils, but the parents had always reinforced the teachers. *"If a teacher gave you a strap, then your parents would, too. And if your parents did, then the school would, too."*

#### IN OLDEN DAYS

In olden days when we were kids  
 We could do nothing wrong  
 For any older folk on the road  
 Could chastise you very strong

'Twas needless going home to parents  
 To seek for any justice  
 Your parents questioned you real hard  
 What you were doing amiss

And if that older folk came along  
 And said what you were doing  
 Your parents chastised you again  
 So that was double crying  
 (Richardson 1997:19).

Banks also believed that when the comprehensive school began accepting all children, rather than forcing primary school students to compete for a limited number of places, teachers no longer pushed their students to compete. This led to a lack of uniform

education requirements, which destabilized the school structure. Children who had not achieved appropriate levels of learning become frustrated at their inability to perform at the secondary school level. Teachers used to enjoy high status in the community. Again tourism enters the equation. Both teachers and pupils are aware that there are higher paying jobs in the tourist industry. This led to a decline in respect for teachers and a disinclination to view education as the route to success. As a result, men have left teaching to the women by default. Also, in the first decades after the revolution, most Anguillian politicians, the national heroes, were not well educated. In a sense, the recent economic development has been overwhelming. Representatives and those whom they represent are caught up in achieving popular, visible and quantifiable goals, such as improving roads and the airport, rather than making unpopular decisions about the softer social parts of the infrastructure like education, mental health and the environment.

In the fifteen years since Banks wrote her dissertation, single parent households have risen from 50% to 60%. One of Banks' buffers, the psychological father, is decreasing, as are male teachers in the primary schools and headmasters. Rumors abound of a high incidence of male teachers in the secondary school propositioning their female students and there is a susurrantion of suspected incest. In her dissertation, Banks discovered that girls from single mother homes placed more emphasis on physical attraction. She deduced that they had learned from their mothers that their looks were critical for attracting men. Many of the twenty-year -old men are unemployed; they troll past the comprehensive school at noon and at the end of the school day, bantering with the teenage girls above the blast of blown mufflers. These youths have found their role models in figures from the American entertainment world.

The consecutive relationships between single women and their children's fathers lead not to a co-wife situation, but to a rivalry based on precedence and producing a child as a bargaining chip. The thought is that if a woman has a child by a man, he will pay more attention to her. In reality, though, there seem to be two different categories: the biological and the parenting or psychological father. Men have difficulty supporting all their children and their sense of responsibility has reportedly decreased. When Hurricane Lenny flooded government office buildings, some men were very happy, until they found that the natal records were unscathed.

Lynn Bolles (1996) researched women's roles in Caribbean labor unions and found that the extended family network, widely believed to be a safety net, in fact did not operate well. Even with the network, women were unable to find enough time for union work to achieve higher levels of power. In addition, within the union, women assumed their traditional role as nurturers, supporting the male hierarchy by performing all the unseen tasks that kept the men in power. Women's internalization of their supporting role handicapped them at both the family level and the organizational level. Women also feel trapped by the hierarchy of the church. Just as Anguilla was a subcolony of England, the church places women in a double yoke of patrimony. Women serve to "*fill up the pews; on the other hand it generally works.*"

But, according to Anguillians, matrifocality in Anguilla no longer functions because the supports are not there: "*the extended family might not have worked now because things have changed so drastically.*" As Banks found, matrifocality is still accepted by the society, it is a norm, it is a no-effects framework, and it is flexible, even though it doesn't conform to Western and Christian relationship categories. It is believed

by teachers that the cause of antisocial behavior, rudeness, among current schoolchildren is lack of parenting skills. There is a desire among educators that the government mandate, on a national level, parenting seminars to teach men and women how to develop productive childrearing strategies. They also believe that teachers need support as well as instruction in the psychodynamics of their relationships with their pupils. A dissident group of parents feel that the government is making "scapegoats" of the parents for the failure of the schools. Now, only the rare women with material resources and cooperation from their children's fathers can be said to make the single parent household work. The ability of matrifocal households to nurture children and transmit Anguillian values depends on the economic and educational class of the parents, especially the mother. Cui bono?

The question is, was matrifocality really ever a successful strategy? Did it benefit mothers, children, and the community? Or was its seeming success due to Western social scientists' wish to naturalize this problematic social structure, especially as matrifocality, as a social pattern, spread from the Caribbean to America and Europe? Both Mintz and Constance Sutton and Susan Makiesky-Barrow emphasized that black male worth is not embedded in the western male concept of economic domination of females. Cui bono? There is dominance in encouraging woman to make babies for man and then forcing them by default to raise and support the children alone: matrifocality. An appalling exemplar of its flaws was given in the courageous narrative of one woman, Lottis Hodge.

She was born in Anguilla in 1947. Her mother died when she was two and she was raised by her father's mother. They went briefly to live in St. Kitts with her aunt. While there, Lottis was prevented from meeting her mother's mother, who was blamed

for the death of Lottis' younger brother, but she did meet her father. When she was nine, her paternal grandmother returned to St. Kitts and she went to live with her maternal grandmother. She ran away to her father for a week when she was eleven, but he, on the verge of remarriage to a woman who did not like Lottis, sent her back to her grandmother. She did not see him again until she contracted polio, which left her with a limp and the inability to use her right hand. At fourteen, she became pregnant by a man her grandmother had picked for her. He left her while she was still pregnant.

Three years later I picked up another child as a result of rape. I was seventeen years and I had to keep all this hurt inside of me. This time, the father of the one I was making wrote me a letter saying that he wouldn't make a child by a thing like me. You know how I felt? Like a bum. When I was nineteen years I found myself with child again for the same man who said he wouldn't make a child by a thing like me. Right then I thought no one wanted a handicapped girl. I was always loving but there was no love in return for me.

By this time I was living with Eli, my children's father. One day he had a talk with his fishermen. He came home and I asked him why was vexed. He gave me a slap and then he tried to sink my eyes in my head with his fingers. That was the first of many brutal beatings. I would be crying out so loud he would ask me to shut up or he would hold my throat until my tongue would hang out. Every time I would ask myself, why me (Hodge n.d.:11).

Eli was an older man and a hard drinker. He continued to beat her with fishpot rope doubled twice, sometimes when she was asleep, as often as three times a day. She was hospitalized but it was not until when she was 23 and had five children that Eli served three months in jail after "he made love to me and then he stabbed me four times with a scissors" (ibid:13). Although he was ordered to pay Lottis \$1.50 support for their children, he never paid it, so, deeply ashamed, she had to go on welfare. Lottis gave up one of her children, then her "grandmother died and life became more difficult as she used to help me with the children" (ibid:14). However, grandmother was the same

woman who had kept sending Lottis back to Eli, saying, "You ain't getting no more than my sister Victoria. She got fourteen stabs and stay with her husband" (ibid:12). Then, for a year, a white woman from her church offered to provide food and clothes for Lottis' children, which she did weekly. Lottis, like other single mothers of the 1960s, also pounded stones to sell.

Then I heard that they were buying stones that were pounded. We went down to live in that area where we could get up early and gather stones. The children would leave me with the stones to pound. I carried stones until my head was naked. The crown of my head had no hair. Every time I combed my hair it would feel like I would go crazy. I thought it was unfair for me to be losing my very hair. I would cry and say, "When I was making my children it was two of us. Now it is me one" (ibid:16).

She had her sixth child for her cousin who came to protect her from Eli. After five years he left her for a job in St. Martin where he found another woman. Two years later, Hodge took their daughter to St. Martin. He said to me, "I know how you must feel. What bring you out here. You want money?"

"I didn't come for that," I replied. "I come to talk to you a while. I cannot bring up my child alone. She needs both of us love. Please don't let our daughter go astray for the want of affection. Believe me she will be gone. You are responsible for that child."

Shortly afterwards he stopped supporting their daughter. Hodge gave up another child, a son, to a couple from Canada.

I never gave up pounding stones for it was giving me bread and stopping me from asking anybody for anything and from letting men take advantage of me. I was afraid of men because three had destroyed my being. It was hard for me. Many people came to see me digging and pounding stones. Sometimes people would take my picture. I would dig up stones with a crowbar and a pick until I was weary. I would pull the pick under my right arm and hold it with my left hand. Then I would wait until my children came home from school to help me bring them out because I had strained a stomach muscle from lifting stones. I would take a butter bucket to sit on.

Then I would get a large hard rock to put the stones on to pound. I would hold the stone with my left foot, the hammer in my left hand and hit the stone that I was trying to break. However it moved, I would hold it with my foot and would not stop until it was crushed. In the night my fingertips and my entire hand would hurt so bad I would wake up one of the children to get me some hot water to soak them. While they were soaking my hands I offered my prayers and tears to God.

I also started washing for people. I would wash with my left hand and wring the clothes with my mouth. I would work my ground holding the hoe the same way as I did the pick (ibid:19).

After a brief involvement with a man who hadn't told her that he was married, she received Christ at age 34. Twice her house burned down: there was no water to put out the fire. Now, she lives with a female cousin and has, as many Anguillians of her generation say, "neighbors who care," and a job in a gift shop. Her goal for her children was framed in the terms of Wilson's respectability: "to learn their lessons and to have manners" (ibid:18).

The full impact of the tourist industry has yet to occur in Anguilla. Tourists do not even have to land on Anguilla to have an adverse effect. Boatloads of snorkelers and scuba divers come from St. Martin to explore Anguilla's reefs. This is tourism at its most environmentally exploitive: swimmers have harmed the reefs yet have never spent a penny in Anguilla. The adverse consequences of tourism on the environment is well-known, but its interference with family organization has not been as well studied. Lottis Hodge's life history demonstrated many aspects of how tourism affects the individual. Because of tourists, she now has a job in a gift store, but she also has a son in Canada, and images of herself owned by strangers who photographed her as she struggled to pound stones and wash laundry.



R.T. Smith (1988) surmised that matrifocality is behavior rooted in social history that will change only when class, hierarchy, and gender roles are redefined. There is an implication that they will change in the direction of Western norms, but these are under assault, also. Unless one accepts Schlesinger's cyclical view of history, which is always inherently retrograde, it is unlikely that current colonialism and matrifocality will transform themselves into independence and nuclear families. They are more apt to become something else altogether, a new form for which the Caribbean has always been a harbinger.

### Strong Women

The history of studies of female labor in the Caribbean is shaped like a goblet. For Durkheim, sexual division of labor was a modern concept: labor was undifferentiated in organic societies in primitive times and, many believe, is becoming so again in the post-industrial era. During slavery, according to Keith Hart (1989), sexual division of labor was weakly institutionalized: the women slaves were treated as the equal of their men. Angela Davis has described this as a deformed equality. Hart portrayed the Caribbean as having skipped the peasant stage; instead, it was the first industrial area and the only one where females were as valuable as men. However, a global economy no longer needs sexual division of labor to produce commodities and reproduce itself.

In so far as female labor has specifically been analyzed in the West Indies, it, too, is goblet-shaped. Herskovits (1937), Zora Neale Hurston (1990), Wilson (1973), and Mintz (1989) looked at women's work on a society-wide scale. The focus narrowed when R.T. Smith (1956), M.G. Smith (1962), and Orlando Patterson (1969) examined

household level work. Their analyses centered on sexual division of labor and opinions varied. Herskovits, observing (incorrectly) that white women didn't have economic positions comparable to those of black women, warned against a strict gendering of West Indian labor. Wilson saw complete separation between the sexes in work, home and social life. Patterson believed that the lack of sexual division of labor led to irresponsible parenting. It seems as if once scholars had taken the hard work of the black female slave as a given, they did not explore post-emancipation labor, which shows aggressive women exhaustingly busy in all aspects of life: labor for home and for hire, in religion and in the arts. All are positions of cultural transmission.

This became apparent as the unit of analysis became the individual cycle of household development. The lack of sexual division of labor had blinded ethnographers who were accustomed to find it as a structuring principle of societies. While both slave labor and peon-wage labor minimized gendering of labor, until the analysis narrowed to actual women, it was hard to discern the egalitarian nature of West Indian society. Clarke (1966), Kerns (1997), Momsen (1993), Sally Price (1984), and Karen Brown (1991) focused intensely upon women. Kerns observed that the sexual division of labor was flexible and contingent, and based upon skill, not strength. Yards are sites of both production and reproduction. Momsen stressed partible inheritance of land and equal educational opportunities. Again, the fluidity of Caribbean social structures defied rigid analytical compartmentalization. Kin were always more important than the western concept of the conjugal couple as the building block for social organization.

Once in the work place, however, research revealed a less positive picture of women's roles. Materialist analyses emphasized the relations of production in capitalist

enterprises. The concept that women's economic role is hegemonically controlled deviance, as Gramsci and Foucault articulated, is relevant to these analyses. Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow (1981) found structural inequalities in female occupations. For them, power/disempowerment arose where dominant interests intersected those Caribbean/African traditions where gendering of public and private spheres were not dichotomous. Yelvington opposed, as did Olive Senior (1991) and Lynn Bolles, the myth of the dominant public black female. Whether it was Yelvington's Fat Ass Brigade, who were summoned to rallies to support male politicians, or Bolles' nurturing female labor unionists who put male hierarchical needs ahead of their own ambitions for political office or union leadership positions, the picture is one of psychologically and structurally exploited women. That is, the vaunted support network that forms the base of the goblet is fatally flawed.

Harrison (1997) and Steady (1981) supported this position but articulated it on the global level. Steady portrayed the Caribbean female as the antithesis of capitalism and the prototype of the feminist. In capitalism, the division of labor is hierarchical, the production unit the individual, the family nuclear and patriarchal: this was in opposition to Africa, where there was parallel sexual division of labor, resulting in an equal valuation of work, the production unit was the family and the family was polygynous with a communal social organization that encouraged autonomy within cooperation and favored kinship over conjugal relations. However, she warned that without a good economic infrastructure, female self-reliance has negative effects, especially in conjunction with male migration. The question here, again, is, who benefited from female labor and male migration? Today "men and women emigrate in roughly equal

numbers" (Richardson 1989:224). Olwig emphasized that the family network, spread as it was among America, Canada, and England, was crucial to successful migration (cf. *The Lonely Londoners* [1956]). In many ways, this global safety network was an extension of the family network that abetted escaping slaves as recounted in slave narratives.

Strong women are a tradition in Anguilla. Dependent for centuries on remittances, the women did everything. Marietta Morrissey takes women as a unit of analysis. "A materialist analysis suggests that woman's roles are established through the system of production (in particular, the labor market) and reinforced by ideological agents such as the state and church" (Morrissey 1991:275). In Anguilla, the women were forced by economic conditions to work long before the state and church were present to sanction the gendered division of labor where men emigrated and their women, but not all women, remained on island. "*In dem days you hardly miss men because then you was young and you could do your own work. You was young and you could work the ground and everything and then you mind the stock. Because when the men go the women are still here working. You go in the pond or you do anything or you hire out to anybody to do what you could do.*"

Women were high achievers. In 1984, before children were automatically admitted to secondary school, girls - by 236 to 181 - held more of the limited places. Though 46% of the women were inactive, according to the census, that is, not employed outside the home, in that same year before the tourism boom, women still dominated professional, technical and clerical fields (Banks 1986:66-67). According to Banks, women also worked off-island; males outnumbered females at ages 15-44, a reversal of

Lowenthal's statistic that in 1972 Anguillian women aged 15-44 outnumbered men three to two, a change in the gender imbalance that probably reflected increasing opportunities in the service industries at home. Lowenthal's findings agree with S.B. Jones; he wrote that women began to emigrate as early as 1922 to Perth Amboy with their husbands and family and on their own to the United States Virgin Islands (1976: 26-27). Perhaps the women who left were the lucky ones. Respectability carried a high price in Anguilla.

#### WOMEN OF TODAY

In years gone by 'twas always felt That women were inferior And therefore were always treated harshly By men who felt they were superior	They were treated as slaves in the house Especially in the kitchen When they failed to prepare the kind of meal That would satisfy their men
They were battered and hounded sorely And asked to take a lower seat They could not even stand and converse With anyone they met on the street	Destined to the punishment of child bearing With no pity for the pain they suffered Hunger, nakedness, anger Oh what hardships they endured
They suffered ill treatment severely If they failed to obey The harsh orders given to them By the men or anyone in power I'd say	Some men still feel that even today They can still batter women And try to dominate them As if they are their children

But oh what rapid changes  
Women have fled to the top  
Women are now giving orders  
And by God, that won't stop!  
(Richardson 1997:21-22).

Unwed pregnant women are the quintessence of unrespectability. No matter that single mothers are a cultural norm, the woman remains the subject of gossip. How she was treated by her family varied from island to island and household to household, but she was always subjected to special treatment, whether she was struck or thrown out of the house. Della Walker described an Anguillian illegitimacy ritual wherein the woman's father "circles the bed of the new mother three times and disclaims the child as a member

of the family.” but he didn’t, and this is a crucial distinction. disinherit his daughter (1968:115). The church played a role in stigmatizing illegitimate children: they could only be baptized on Monday and children could not wear colored clothes until they had been baptized. “In those days, and until the early 1960s, when a young girl got pregnant it was as though a death had taken place in the village. There was sadness everywhere. Most of the mothers wept and went to the home of the young girl to sympathize with her parents who were distressed over the shame which their daughter had caused them” (Petty 1993:59). Such social control has faded in Anguilla.

The important point is that a single mother’s public ostracism is almost invariably followed by a quick reunion with her family (cf. Herskovits 1937; R.T. Smith 1956; Clarke 1957). Such special treatment sets her apart and gives her a public reputation. During her period of shame, she is, in Victor Turner’s terms (1988), in a liminal state where she is a marginalized outsider, occupying a space that is gendered male. When the woman is accepted back into the family, she has been reagggregated as respectable. Thus the dichotomies of reputation and respectability are life stages and virtually rites of passage for the West Indian woman. In seventeenth and eighteenth century “sociability” in Olwig’s term, brides in New England increasingly were pregnant when they married. Some did not marry and raised their children in their parents’ homes (cf. Ulrich 1982). Because of the synchronic similarity between white, New England family structures and that of black, plantation slaves, this analysis partially refutes and partially reinforces Roger Abrahams’ and J.F. Szwed’s (1983) argument against Sidney Mintz’s (1967) assertion that slavery eliminated all institutions. If that were so, they asked, why were there parallel developments in family institutions under circumstances different from

Mintz's plantation model. Olwig's concept of English sociability offers a different solution.

Evidence from Anguilla rebuts M.G. Smith's argument that matrifocality was an artifact of bondage because the heterogeneous slaves could not develop common procedures for marriage. According to Smith, slaves lacked their lineage and kinship groups and, propertyless, were unable to transfer property at marriage as they had done in Africa (1965:108). While M.G. Smith's thesis completely ignores human ingenuity, it is also not true. In Anguilla, kin were known. There are today two categories of kin: acknowledged and unacknowledged. Within the small island, almost everyone is related to some degree: the difference is a personal decision, often based on the three types of status, of whether to recognize each other or not. Anguillians will say of a relation, "*We recognize each other as cousins.*" Recognition is not always mutual. Those who are interested in genealogy often stop their research when they discover a relationship that they would prefer to remain unrequited. The absence of baptismal and marriage registers due to the long lack of ministers to conduct and record these rites also hinders the search. As for land, Anguillians possessed land before the end of slavery, as did some free blacks and free colored throughout the Caribbean. While owning land may be viewed as peasant resistance, "a primary symbol of independence from plantation control" (Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow 1981:480), and there is still a lack of black ownership of land in many islands, Anguillians own Anguilla. They do so by default rather than through resistance, but land ownership and the personal autonomy that that bestows are the bases of their national and personal pride. It is what makes them different - and, in their eyes, superior.

## Fishing

"*We called them fishy-guts.*" sniffed an Anguillian about the fishermen from Island Harbour. Before tourism, large landowners, boat owners, and fishermen were regarded as the richest Anguillians. The United States Virgin Islands tourist market bought most of Anguilla's catch of lobster and fish that they exported on a weekly or biweekly basis. Later, fish were shipped to St. Martin, and, now, the catch is used to feed Anguilla's tourists. While many Anguillians fished to supplement their diet, Island Harbour inhabitants fished commercially. It became Anguilla's main fishing village due to "its position near the productive reef along the northeast coast of the island" (Crock and Peterson 1999:64). Big houses first appeared in Island Harbour. Fishermen are notorious in Anguilla for being independent to the point of being unable to organize, to cooperate, to take collective action. The Fishing Department must come to where the fishermen are working if they wish to meet with them.

In earlier days, salt picking benefited fisherman. Where the schooners that had come for salt dumped their ballast and bilges, fish would gather. As the fish have declined in local waters, fishermen must go farther and work harder for their catch. Fortunately, technology has improved the boats: engines, durable hulls, and bigger crafts, up to forty feet, allow the fishermen to go farther, although their technique remains pot or trap fishing, supplemented by occasional rod or line fishing especially for yellow snapper. Attempts to encourage sustainable development and to protect the marine environment have brought marine management, which in turn has imposed restrictions on anchorages, minimum size of catches, and a prohibition on invading reef and spawning areas (Carty 1993:15).



In a 1966 article, Richard Price argued that fishing slaves were a privileged subgroup whose "unusual socioeconomic role permitted a particularly smooth transition to a life as a free fisherman" (1363) and proposed that studies of technology could trace culture change. He emphasized the necessity of studying Caribbean subcultures as historical products. Anguilla's fishermen contradict Price's study of Martinique fishermen and underscore the necessity of examining each West Indian island separately. For Anguillian fisherman, technological change is very recent and confined to boats, not actual fishing equipment. To the contrary, there seems to have been a regression in technique. When the French invaded Anguilla in 1796, the Anguillians allegedly "cut the lead balls from their sprat seines to load the cannons" (Carty and Petty 1997:59). The European method of seine fishing either lost favor in Anguilla, or it became economically unsuitable. Furthermore, it is likely that the primary occupation of Island Harbour people was based more on serendipitous environmental proximity rather than being a historical product of a structurally privileged subgroup. Almost all Anguillians fished; the wild band who settled Island Harbour simply had the luck of the Irish in where they shipwrecked. Except for endogamy, there is no evidence that Island Harbour residents have a different form of family organization, or diet, or values. Temperamentally, Anguillian fisherman are as "independent and proud" and "entrepreneurial" (Price 1966:1363) as those in Martinique, but these traits are regarded as characteristic of all Anguillians. Price anticipated the Colonoware arguments (cf. Deetz 1993; Ferguson 1992) when he surmised the sharing of fishing techniques between Amerindians and Africans; however, he perpetuated the prevailing, but false Carib/Arawak distinction. (For

a discussion of African Gold Coast fishing techniques and the use of Amerindians and Africans as fishing slaves. see Yentsch 1994.)

The self-perpetuating fishing community of Island Harbour seems the sole instance in Anguilla where a color and class distinction was deliberately maintained. Price was forced to contradict himself about the supposed continuity of fishing subcultures when he proposed that “large numbers of praedial slaves apparently flocked to the seashore ... so that there may have been less actual continuity in fishing than in subsistence agriculture” (1966:1379). It is not, as he characterized it, “amazing that fishing techniques have undergone so little change” (ibid). Fisherman in the Caribbean and elsewhere were limited until the invention of the steam engine. Even then, Newfoundland and other colonies failed to invest in the expensive trawlers, or again, lacked the capital to do so. Both fishing and salt production, counterpoint trades, were low technology, labor intensive industries that failed to attract capital. (Only in 2000 did the Anguilla Government invest in a fishing boat.) As for technical change, it is possible to date Pacific Island cultures by developments in fish hook design, but not Caribbean societies. Price’s speculation whether fisherman in the Caribbean have a different family structure and temperament remains unsupported by evidence. Although Lottis Hodge’s partner, Eli, was a fisherman, his family structure and temperament seem to fall, unfortunately, within a societal norm.

It is more plausible that all Anguillians are like Price’s fishermen, rather than just the subset at Island Harbour. They all feel independent, superior, and live apart from each other. This stems from what Price has identified as the institutional failure of slavery: it developed “inner forms that shadowed its own collapse” (ibid:1378). In Anguilla, not

only the institution of slavery failed, all colonial institutions did. What was true of Price's sugar islands holds even more relevance in the unstudied salt islands. "The population consisting almost exclusively of peasant proprietors, was 4,075 at the 1911 census. Anguillians are a particularly sturdy, independent, intelligent type, their high character being developed by the hard school of nature in which they live, and by the system of proprietorship which has existed for generations" (Burdon 1920:229).

All of Anguilla had a smoother transition to emancipation due to a land-owning peasantry and pervasive colonial institutional failure. A study of Anguilla certainly adds to the history of Antillian labor that Mintz desired because Anguilla fails to meet the characteristics of a capitalistic, stratified plantation system (1989:96). No one could be induced to invest capital in Anguilla. The islanders, like people on other islands that were unsuitable for sugar cultivation, veered unsuccessfully from monocrop to monocrop that inevitably failed to be commercially viable with the result that the plantocracy waned and colors and classes conflated. Although Mintz believed that the "ideal antithesis to the plantation would be small-scale, self-sufficient agriculture (or better, horticulture) ... with little trade and relatively little dependence on outside institutions" (ibid:132), self-sufficiency occurred only in the most isolated Maroon settlements.

Substantial agrarian self-sufficiency is usually associated with the formation of a peasantry - that is, of a class (or classes) of rural landowners producing a large part of the products they consume, but also selling to (and bringing from) wider markets and dependent in various ways upon political and economic spheres of control. Caribbean peasantries, are, in this view *reconstituted* peasantries having begun other than as peasants - in slavery, as deserters or runaways, as plantation laborers, or whatever - and becoming peasants in some kind of resistance response to an externally imposed regimen. Thus Caribbean

peasantries represent a *mode of response* to the plantation system and its connotations, and a *mode of resistance* to imposed styles of life (ibid).

The establishment of a peasantry on Anguilla was not due to resistance but rather to the vacuum left by the attrition of the soi-disant plantocracy and concomitant institutional failure. It was not a reconstituted peasantry: sugar production during slavery never reached industrial proportions so the slaves had to farm. Anguillian peasantry was Mintz's "whatever": their subsistence farming was a response to those who weren't present to ask the question. Anguilla is a clear alternative to the sugar islands to examine the relation between economic organization and social forms.

### Recklessness

Many Anguillians greeted my characterization of them as historically reckless and cranky with delight. Whitman T. Browne, a native of Nevis, in his book on Robert Bradshaw, *From Commoner to King*, described Anguillians: they "appear to have always relished a good fight even when the odds were against them" (1992:xii). National recklessness is most obvious in Anguilla's Unilateral Declaration of Independence. This was such an extreme move that it could qualify as chutzpah, a Yiddish word signifying nerve or gall, unmitigated effrontery or impudence. The classic joke that is used to explain the word concerns a person who murders his parents and then throws himself on the mercy of the court because he is an orphan. St. Kitts and England must have regarded Anguilla's strategy in a similar light.

This recklessness is also embedded in Anguilla's national sport, boat racing. It evolved out of the competition among the convoy of schooners bearing men home from

the cane fields of San Pedro de Macoris, a department in the eastern region of the Dominican Republic. Racing became part of the peoples' culture and psyche. Boat racing is "passionate, expensive, loud, argumentative, colorful, frustrating, foolish, fascinating, and Anguillian" (Carty 1997:4). David Carty argued that the aridity of the island drove Anguillians to become mariners: environmentally driven economics made Anguilla different from the other islands. Anguillians built boats and bought second-hand Nova Scotian schooners to ply their inter-island trade. Boats were named after English ships or for ideals such as *Business* and *Industry*. (Today cars are named as boats once were, but the names are often taken from American popular culture.)

"Unique in the Caribbean." Anguillian boats adopted the share plan used by fisherman "but never by traders" (ibid: 15). After deducting expenses from gross receipts, the net earnings were divided into thirds: one third went to the owner, the other two thirds to the entire crew. In addition, the captain received a half share of the owner's portion. To compound this more egalitarian system, a British official speculated benevolently that when times were rough on the Rock, boat owners would sometimes hire more crew than they needed. His supposition was not confirmed.

The men left for Macoris on New Year's Day and returned in June or July. The return trip was a direct beat to windward and could take four to 17 days. This was when the competition arose, although one former captain said, "*In Anguilla two boats meeting anywhere are a race.*" The crew fished from July to December, but they transferred the strategies of racing to fishing boats and to smuggling. "A good smuggling boat became a good racing boat" (ibid: 28): lean, quick and maneuverable with a collapsible rig. Fishing by day and smuggling by night, the crews always raced. The hatred for the warden arose

from the consequence of being caught: the boat was confiscated. This would leave not only families, but entire communities without both legal and illegal supplies.

Racing did not become formalized as a national sport until 1940 with the establishment of the now traditional August Monday Boat Race. In the mid 1960s, boats evolved from fishing boats and became thoroughbreds: they were built specifically for racing. It was not until the 1980s that Island Harbour, always different, began to compete. There are two deliberately reckless aspects to Anguillian boat racing: the construction of the specialized boat and the technique of sailing. Class A boats have no deck, yet they regularly dip their lee rails into steep seas, while carrying between 1200 and 2000 pounds of ballast. "In the words of a visiting naval architect, 'they willfully defy the principles of buoyancy'" (ibid: 70). The classic Anguillian boat race, though not as common now, was the stem-to-stem, in which once two boats came hard lee 28 times. "When two boats on convergent tacks are seconds away from collision, both crews must cry 'hard-lee, hard-lee' across the water and tack away from each other. Both boats are then technically neck and neck when a hard lee is called. It can be very dramatic maneuver and can fill a novice with enough dread for him to want to leap overboard in terror" (ibid: 93-94). The Anguillian sense of recklessness is embedded in a sense of divine guidance that supported both migration and the revolution. The doxology constituted one stanza in the following excerpts from a series of poems.

#### ANGUILLA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Britain made a big mistake	'Twas rumoured that a warship was
So everybody say	traveling
To link Anguilla with St. Kitts and Nevis	To help solve our problem
So many many miles away	But Britain only sent Paratroopers



warms with the glow of pleasure which home-returning men alone experience for mother, wife, brother, sister, child are looking out for him there on the white sands of Road Harbour; on the shore of "Ensign Rummy's Blown Poynt", or under the manchineal trees of James Rohane's Forest Bay. But he never forgets Macoris, and when asked about the life in that country will reply with strange fervour, as if addressing some good friend who had aided him in times of dire need: "Macoris ! Macoris ! God bless Macoris !" ... With the one hundred or so dollars saved they tried to build better homes, to pay off debts incurred for clothing for wife and children and to keep their church cards straight (1976:25-27).

Alexander Charles, a Dominican fisherman and smuggler, worked in the Santo Domingo cane fields:

I make five years in Santo Domingo and I tell you and I see dead people. I see dead, I see dead, I see dead. One kill another. In a dancing house, Easter Saturday night, you saw people dead like ants. No law for that at all. When you get paid, the country people are going to ask you what you have, and then they take it away. They stab you and take your money, or cut behind your neck with a machete. You have no chance. Nobody would do nothing (Beck 1979:22).

But, Charles "got lots of girl friends" in Santo Domingo (ibid:30) and a straw hat, brown shoes, gabardine pants and a silk shirt. He also fathered at least one child there.

An Anguillian reminisced:

*I went three times to Santo Domingo. I went thirty-four, I went thirty-six, and I went thirty-eight and now I done with it. Hard work. Six months at a time. But when you come up plenty white lice on your clothes. I didn't make so much money. But you see in them days down there things were cheap. You could get a pound of meat for 3 cents. Their money. And you could get two bonus. A donkey, a mule, or two bonus on either side. You could get tania, yam, potato, sweet cassava, peas, everything. Them two bonuses were 60 cents. So you see things was cheap. The money was not much, but the things was cheap.*

George Rogers, another Anguillian, left school when he was eleven and went to Santo Domingo in 1925. He sailed with 175 men and boys and worked six months there, earning 17 cents per ton of cane that he cut. "The most that he ever brought home were two blue pants, two blue shirts, a "punyar" (long knife) which he wore on his side and



about US \$10.00 which he said was 'like a grand prize'. On a few occasions he brought home some sugar bags and machetes" (Petty 1993:21-22). Petty told this story to emphasize the hardscrabble poverty in Anguilla. But it raises a question. If men actually brought back so little from Santo Domingo, why did they go? Cui bono?

It was an adventure, albeit a backbreaking one, outside the confines of the closely related Anguilla society. Anguillian men regard it as such: it is the women who frame male emigration as bringing economic help. A biologist might describe the exogenous activity in terms of maximization of the principle of the survival of the fittest Anguillian men. Their absence also reduced the Anguillian natural population increase, a necessity on an island with a low carrying capacity. An economist might analyze the exodus as a means of conserving food during the winter months. The food would be shared among women, children and the elderly, while the men would eat, and eat well, elsewhere. Additionally, without cheap labor from other islands, the sugar industry would have been stymied. It was subsidized not only by male labor, but by the work of the Anguillian women in their provision grounds, cotton fields, and salt ponds. The justification of the seasonal abandonment of Anguilla by the most able-bodied men and boys would be that it was a sacrifice made for the others' benefit. That the returns were scanty did not matter. On an ideological level, nomads, as the emigrants refer to themselves, are the contrariety of colonized, as much as independent is. Together, independent and nomad, as national traits, stand opposed to colonialism and open a space where Anguillians could, and were encouraged to, define themselves. This space subverts binary oppositions by joining the primitive nomad with the western ideal of independence in opposition to colonialism, a western economic goal. If Lévi-Strauss' binary oppositions were hierarchically slanted

towards western culture, then the contrariety that Anguillian poses tilts the bias towards humanism and away from materialism.

### Sugar

Anguilla's sugar production rarely rose above the level of domestic consumption and had been virtually eradicated by drought by 1800; in 1822, Anguilla produced less than two hundred casks of sugar a year (Petty 1990:48). It is not surprising: sugar requires four metric tons of water for each kilogram of refined sugar produced. Anguilla Petitioners apologized for their worthlessness as a sugar colony in 1823:

It is most true Sir, that as a Sugar Island we are comparatively very insignificant, as a proof of which we can only advance to you the fact that this year has not been made in all upwards of two Hundred Casks and that of a very indifferent quality, the whole of which has not been adequate for the home consumption of a population in all of 3080 souls 2400 of whom are Slaves (CO 234/11).

Post-apprenticeship, the laboring class told Lt. Governor Cunningham that if Anguilla had sugar estates with cottages and fair wages like those they had seen elsewhere, emigration would cease and those who had emigrated would return. (The actual reversal of emigration would not occur until after tourism began in the 1980s.) The low production of sugar was blamed on the lack of capital. The effort to keep producing sugar caused a chain reaction. The sugar planters did not have enough cattle to supply manure for their fields, so they bought it from the farmers, who, then, were unable to raise as many yams as were needed to feed the population. In 1841, less than 100 barrels of 240 pounds apiece of sugar were harvested and the provision crop failed entirely. Two years later, many former sugar fields lay fallow. In 1845, there was a better crop: 290 cwt. of sugar was exported. It fell to 152 cwt. the next year. Sugar was

sold in St. Kitts or Antigua. The Stipendiary Magistrate concluded in 1847 that “proprietors of estates in Anguilla make them pay” (CO 243/10). This remarkable fact was due to the proprietors not growing sugar; they “therefore have little capital invested” (ibid).

#### Other Exports

The land is chiefly owned by small peasant proprietors who formerly cultivated only such crops as Sweet Potatoes, Pigeon Peas, Indian Corn and Beans for home consumption” (Burdon 1920:231).

#### Phosphate

Salt picking, as Anguilla’s premiere light industry, was joined briefly in the late 1800s by the mining of guano and phosphate, primarily from Anguilla’s small satellite island, Sombrero. Guano came to the attention of the Secretary of State and the Admiralty in March 1858 when a United States ship took guano off Sombrero and claimed possession of the island (CO 407/9). Although Sombrero, thirty-eight miles northwest of Anguilla, had been included in the English colony of the Virgin Islands in 1666, it had remained unpopulated and ignored until the Americans, driven by their great need for fertilizer (Carty 1993:23), started the mining of phosphate. The report about guano almost went unnoticed because Mr. Thomas Richardson of Anguilla sent his letter directly to the Secretary of State, Lytton, instead of through proper channels. For this, he was rebuked (CO 407/10). The American claim to Sombrero was disputed by the British in November 1858 and, a year later, after the wreck of a mail packet, the British discussed erecting a lighthouse. In March 1860, the Colonial Office instructed Governor Darling to send a geologist, Mr. Sawkins (CO 407/9), to investigate mineral resources on Anguilla’s

cays, where he discovered phosphate of lime (CO 407/10). By April, English interest in Sombrero had intensified: "it would be most inadvisable to request the United States Government to take possession and to exercise the rights of Sovereignty over it by erecting a Light House: a course which would probably be only an encouragement to that Government to take possession of some of the many uninhabited islands or Cays in the West Indies belonging to England" (CO 407/9). America's imperialistic foray into the Caribbean met with resistance: in March 1865, the British leased Sombrero to Francis Dumas' Phosphate of Lime Company (Limited) for 21 years.

In many ways England's belated discovery of the worth of its casual possession, Sombrero, parallels their earlier discovery of the potential worth of the salt in Anguilla (see Chapter II). Both discoveries were responses to proposals by Americans and were countered by the British leasing lands to St. Martin entrepreneurs. American intervention and exploitation has continued.

The lighthouse was completed and began operations in 1868. Production of phosphate peaked at 3,000 tons annually until the site was abandoned, after thirty years, in 1890 when demand fell (ibid). Although Anguillians were only employed for about twenty years to mine phosphate, the lighthouse is still manned by Anguillians today. In the 1990s Anguilla would once again find Sombrero under American siege. Beale Aerospace, an American company, attempted to lease the island from Anguilla to use as a launch pad for commercial space missions. This offer was resisted by most Anguillians, despite Beale's seductive advertisements in *The Anguillian* that promised wealth and college educations for the islanders' children. British birders and Anguillian

environmentalists banded together to save the desolate bird sanctuary. Beale turned its attention to Guyana, then went bankrupt.

### Cotton

Anguilla lost the early cotton market because the United States green seed variety produced a shorter, coarser cotton and was cheaper than West Indian Sea Island cotton. *G. barbadense*: not until the twentieth century would cotton flourish again. Anguilla is the reputed source of Sea Island cotton. Growing from sixty acres in cultivation in 1861 to five hundred in 1904, production climaxed with 148,595 pounds of cotton exported to Liverpool, England, in 1910. The usual crop averaged approximately 50,000 pounds. Raising cotton was women's work.

In the early twentieth century, one thousand acres of Sea Island cotton were planted in Anguilla and Dog Island. The yield was low, averaging 80-100 pounds per acre, and only worth £8,000 - £10,000 a year, "but as little is spent on cultivation, this repays the grower" (ibid). From Mrs. Burdon's point of view, as the wife of the Administrator of the Presidency of St. Kitts and Nevis, Anguilla's income was "a marvelous change: whereas formerly the expense of administering the island was largely defrayed by St. Kitts" (ibid:). S.B. Jones recorded the logos of Sea Island cotton, which he claimed should be called *Gossypium anguillense* :

An interesting account of the origin of Sea Island in the United States is given in a letter to the Charleston Courier on February 20<sup>th</sup> 1839. It appears that after the Declaration of Independence, partisans of Great Britain were provided with homes in the Bahamas and there took up the growing of the Sea Island variety of Cotton. It is said that they obtained the seed from the Island of Anguilla in the B.W.I. In 1886 [sic-1786?] seed was sent from the Bahamas to planters in Georgia... who planted it on St. Simon's Island, Georgia.... Mr. Spalding says that all the Sea

Island Cotton of Georgia and South Carolina descended from these plants (1976:20).

The mythos is different:

*It is strange as on the side we ah, at one time we also did very well with cotton here. The cotton was produced here on Anguilla and, my great uncle managed the estates' cotton, but then he bought cotton from any plant in Anguilla and he installed a mill. And exported the lint, the gin. But what happened was then that we were left with a lot of cotton seed. Before that the cotton used to go to St. Kitts and it was ginned there. So we were left with a lot of cotton seed. One of the trading schooners took cotton seed back, I think it was to Virginia, because his family was cotton planters, and they had an amazing crop with cotton from seed, plants from this seed. The following year, when the cotton crop was over and they were ready to sell there were schooners here in the bay waiting. And there was an auction and the price of the seed shot up. And for 15 to 20 years or so Anguilla did very well out of the cotton because we got a good price not only for the cotton lint, but for the cotton seed to the southern United States. The mill, the gin was installed in 1910 and the cotton business ended in the 1950's.*

What is interesting is that the two accounts place the advent of Sea Island cotton at the turn of the twentieth century, instead of its actual arrival after the American Revolution. Because Jones' book, published in 1936, was available in Anguilla, it is likely that part of the Anguillian mythos stemmed from the typographical error, 1886, in the logos. Thus do mythos multiply.

According to various sources the boll weevil got into the Anguillian cotton and it died out towards the end of the 1940s or early 1950s.

*That was not the reason that they didn't buy because of that. We did have some problems with it. But that was because they were getting the little insects blown over to St. Kitts apparently. At least that is what they said. That was their theory. Because of that theory the Government made us in Anguilla grow cotton to suit the rainy season in St. Kitts. The rainy season, you see, which was not the best time you know for us. Our season was slightly different. But um the law was passed that by a certain date all the cotton plants had to be destroyed. Burnt. Pulled up. And everything gathered. The old bolls the cotton actually grew in, the old leaves, the stems, the roots had to be pulled up and they were all burnt to prevent the spread of the insect. We were fortunate in that we did not have, we*

*were not badly affected by the pink boll worm as St. Kitts and the other wetter countries were. They were, apparently the dryer climate here you know prevented the insects from thriving, you know as well as they did in St. Kitts and Antigua. The [untimely] planting cut into our crop. But still the cotton thing went on, you know for many years um. But I'm trying to think. I remember that um certainly all of the 1940's cotton was planted all over this island you know. And the gin. My grandfather got a bronze plaque sent to him by the Lancastershire Mills of England. And it stated on it that um that the best cotton lint ever received, it was the Association of Lancastershire Mills, came from here in Anguilla. So. And he had it bolted on to the Old Ginney but um after he retired somebody stole it from the building. That old engine that was there was put on in 1910.... like today if you ordered an engine from England, they're not going to take it off the shelf and send it to you, they have to build it. Um and when that engine was ordered the mill you know the gin and the engine they were ordered but the gin parts were made quickly. They were sent out but not the engines. But the blue print for the layout of the mill came with the, for the gin, came with it and in it was the base for the engine. And it showed the holding down both of them and so on and with my Uncle George, we caught it. He had that made all made and that concrete was there, the bolts set in concrete and when the mill for the engine came they took it from the crate and set it in place and turned the bolts down and it started shortly after they put the exhaust pipe on it. And the fuel line.*

The latter part of this story is an important refutation of the technological ineptitude ascribed by Kittians to the Anguillian Bobo Johnnies. (See also the article by John Updike in Chapter IV.)

### Economics

Like Aristotle's agrarian society, Anguilla also was assumed to produce excess wealth. Anguilla's was to be dedicated to sustaining English institutions. Import duties, taxes, and tithes were supposed to support the customs officer, a police force, a judiciary, a church and school. But the imbalance in Anguilla's economy prevented even this production of wealth which could be argued as having use value to them. Their infrequent agrarian and animal surpluses were exchanged directly for other comestibles by barter or smuggling. The few Anguillian commodities that had exchange value in the

world market, that were commensurable in currency, were raw materials such as timber, indigo, sugar, cotton and salt. Only the latter two were consistently produced in sufficient quantity for market. But, as long as British law forbade Anguilla to sell its salt to America, it had no exchange value. As the Anguillian petitioners and stipendiary magistrates reiterated, restrictions on salt trade resulted in the cessation of labor: why should people work if their labor is a waste of effort, if it reaps no reward? Is commodity exchange impossible in a colonial relationship of dependence? If there is indeed a lack of independent reciprocity, what happens to Anguilla's new commodities of service and history? Are they like Mauss's gifts, reciprocal exchanges of inalienable objects between a mutually dependent people who are in a relationship? But in this case, gift exchange is more like commodity exchange because the relationship is hierarchical - the nation of busboys the *New York Times* advertisement proclaimed. As Weiss (1996) proposed, the introduction of commodities is a disruptive process that changes and subverts agency.

Anguillians are aware of how rapid their economic transition has been and how fragile it is. According to Marcel Fahie, the Permanent Secretary for Economic Planning and Development, Anguilla has experienced one of the fastest rates of expansion in the Northeastern Caribbean. The result has been a structural transformation: a reversal of outward migration and the start of women working outside the home. Of course, poorer class women have always worked, but before they could work on their provision and cotton grounds at home or with their children in the salt pond. Fahie ignored the outmigration of women in their childbearing years. He alluded to Anguillian aversion to borrowing, even from banks, and approved of the current trend of a reduction in savings rates and a rise in credit. Warning that Anguillian prosperity was a facade that rested



upon the seasonality of tourism, he cited the small tax base, the lack of institutional development, increasing social dislocation, and the need for economic diversification (1999:42).

Lowenthal wrote that "External agencies dominate the Caribbean enough to warrant the term 'neo-colonial'. West Indians have achieved sovereignty only to find, like the slaves emancipated a century ago, that they gained the appearance without the substance of freedom. Today they are more dependant than ever on the great powers.... New forms of dependency reinforce old colonial habits ... great-power strategic aims, global economic patterns, the diffusion of technology and of expectations, and the endurance of colonial attitudes all subvert true independence. Independence is largely a mirage in the modern world" (1972:232-3). Little has changed in the last quarter century. Cui bono?

#### Memories of Anguilla, 1960

And the black children in blue  
trotted down the white-dust road  
to learn cricket and Victorian history,  
and the women  
balancing water drawn  
from the faucet by our porch  
held their heads at an insolent angle.

The blind man. The drunk.  
The albino Negro,  
his monstrosity never mentioned,  
his lips blistered by the sun.  
The beaches: empty of any hotel.

Dear island of such poor beauty,  
meekly waiting to rebel. (Updike 1967:21)

CHAPTER II  
"SALT, OUR ONLY STAPLE"  
(CO 239/12)

Said he was a Buffalo Soldier, Dreadlock Rasta - - Buffalo Soldier, in the heart of America- - - If you know your history - - Then you would know where you coming from - -Then you wouldn't have to ask me- - Who the heck do I think I am- - - I'm just a Buffalo Soldier- -In the heart of America- -Stolen from Africa, brought to America- - Said he was fighting on arrival- -Fighting for survival- - Said he was a Buffalo Soldier- - Win the war for America- -

Said he was a Buffalo Soldier- - Win the war for America- -Buffalo Soldier, Dreadlock Rasta- -fighting on arrival, fighting for survival- -Driven from the mainland- -To the heart of the Caribbean- (Marley and Williams 1983).

Anguillian Salt Producers

Echoing my ethnographic experience, I am presenting the voices of contemporary Anguillians before situating them in their historical context. In foregrounding their experiences, I want to present the background as complex answers to questions about what I needed to learn in order to understand these speakers. Among those queries were: the meanings of terms such as mudder and kinsena; the processes of production; social organizations such as labor teams; the geography; and the colonial records of the industry. In the following pages, worker and manager transcripts are juxtaposed, forced into a surreal contact, "to judge the impact of domination on public discourse" (Scott 1990:5).

## Worker Narratives

After droughts had destroyed sugar production by 1800, salt became Anguilla's only staple. It was seasonal labor, as tourism is today; this preserves an agrarian rhythm to life in Anguilla just as the terms used in the salt industry, reaping and harvesting, make mineral production analogous with agriculture. Until men stopped migrating to the Santo Domingo canefields for seasonal labor, women were the main salt harvesters, because picking occurred primarily in June, but sometimes as early as March. Later, men came to outnumber women in the pond. Usually the women picked with their sons, "*a little family operation*," because "*often they wouldn't trust anyone else*" to work as hard or to take a fair share of the money. Some claim there was a primitive form of sick leave: if a worker in a flat was genuinely sick, the others would give the worker her or his money for that week. "*But he'd better be really sick!*" This form of paid sick leave is disputed by managers and workers.

## Male Worker Narrative

*Yeah. In early morning and you come and get your two flat of salt. I'm picking about a hundred barrels. Barrels. You pick a flat of salt. A man goes and shovel it. The other people up there when you go and just take that flat and you go without it, you leave the next flat there. Some flats carry all of 19, 18 barrels. Two flats, thirteen and twenty-two. Collins, he from Long Bay. He was my mate. We all lived like sisters and brothers. If you are sick you ain't getting no money. At all. You ain't work. That's it. We used not to take no money, but one time a year just this thing happened to me. I was working with man named Joe Carty. In the pond, and he draw the money and he bring it to me to share. And I have, a lady, by the name of Miss William. She leave me, she had the money. She share the money herself. Take the money from me and she shared it. And when she share this money, I worked the whole time to have some now, work the whole time. My money was less than the cost of who you work for. And I called back for the money to the Board. Yeah. And when I called back for this money and I shared it, two men who stand up for me. And when I done shared that money, each man shake my hand. And each one give me five dollars. And tell me*

*congratulate me. You see I'm gonna tell you there are some people watching your face and think you dumb. Well I'll show them that you ain't dumb. Show them you ain't dumb. Because you go along the path. Play your cards right. Don't trust that person. Don't trust that person. According to who never work, never get no money. I mean I never gave them their money. And there was two people never worked, never wouldn't do anything, no work, and their money was straight from all those. Straight. And I called back with the money. I don't know why he is. Cause if a man meet me and he come here trouble me, he get what he wants. All I do is pick [the salt] up. You put your hands underneath and you broke the cake and you bring it up. That's all. Underneath your hand in and you broke the salt and everyone helped throw it in the flat. Yeah, you throw it in the basket. Father and mother picked the salt. Yeah. At that time it was expensive work. And they had to throw it over the dam then. By the basket throwing the salt. Just take it in. Pull the flat through over the dam and they make catch it. Catch it and go for the next load. After that they come to eight pence a barrel. Then when they picked it again next year the people still. One time it had they called for more money and at that time it was Mr. Rey, Carter Rey. Said he ain't giving no more money. And it had a man by the name of Kicky Hazel. He saved the time this morning and give it a rush. Time to leave from Sandy Ground come South Hill start a farm. He couldn't do it after the rush, it couldn't pick. And there was no salt pond there. So anyway the next time they started to pick it they called for a dollar a barrel. Dollar a barrel and she kepted the things over a dollar till the young folks come to \$2.50. At \$2.50, you get \$2.00. After that and the last salt pond I been in I get \$2.50. Well sometime after come to \$2.00, it could of come out all about \$50 to \$60 a day. According to how much barrel of salt you threw. How many barrels you threw. Have a girl named Maude, me and she used to work together. And me and she go in the pond, the last pond, we could of come out with \$50 a day. Only two of us. You see what happened they just wouldn't give the people more money because he said two men, one man can't have two jobs, wouldn't give the people no more money. And that time, Puerto Rico were taking salt. Trinidad was taking the salt and he lifted up the high price and they stop picking it. And the salt stop there. People pick it up. So no more pond to talk now. I tell you something. Very sweet money. Kinsena is a money. When you called it kinsena that word come from Santo Domingo, but kinsena while you used to work in St. Kitts. And we used to get back pay and bonus. We call it back pay and bonus. And so sometimes you get \$100, you get \$200 now like that. Oh well you save some and spend some. When you get paid you have to go pay the shop, when you could save, you save.*

#### Male Manager Narrative

*The men would do the shoveling, always. The harder work. The men would shovel it out. Women used to carry salt too.... But the, I remember when I took over the management here in 1963,64, we had ladders. The women used to carry*

*the salt in boxes on their heads up ladders. you know. ... To build it, to make it heap high. And there was a woman, and she was pregnant and she slipped and fell. Terrifying. Fortunately she was ok, ahhh, but I thought then that we've got to mechanize this part of it at least, and we did. We brought conveyor belts and eventually I bought a front-end loader from the British Army when they were leaving here. The one I wanted was not to be sold, was not on the list to be sold, but I pulled a few strings with the governor here and the Army Captain. So I went up as far as the Minister of Defence in England and they agreed.*

#### Female Worker Narrative

*I don't know where I was born. Because my mother and father they leave when we small. And they went to Santo Domingo. And they never did come back. I was around people older than me and good neighbors. When I was a girl growing up everybody loved the people. If you would cook for me you tell me, and if I could cook for you, I'll tell you and that's the way we used to live. But that ain't true today. Oh, I stopped [picking] at the time it broke up because I had blood pressure you know. And after that I had stopped out, but I still pick up several years after that. But not now, you know. It's a hard thing to mash up. I don't think now for years. I was a young girl [when I started]. I was a very young girl. I didn't have no school or nothing then but I really wouldn't remember the year. That was a long time ago I was working there. I really wouldn't remember the year. You know. Could have been as late as the 80s, you know or the 70s. But I had salt after that. Kinsena. Oh, that was, they called, they called the tallies. That was the money day. Yes. Saturday. Saturday. And then they called the cantina.... they call that the mudder. Sometimes you see when you broke the cake like this. You put it under your hand and you broke the cake and you lift it up and you will see the black on the bottom of the salt. So you know you have to wash it that out good. Because with that mudder they wasn't taking it. So we had to wash out that mudder good and then carry it. Because you see the salt with that mudder they wasn't marking it. You have a basket and you put it in the basket you wash it first before you put it in the flat. We had the mud too. We used to go up to our knees in mud. But it was in the salt and you had to wash it good. And the mud and the mudder you know you had to wash it good or they wasn't marking it. Certain parts were very deep. Yeah, the south, the south was deeper than the north. The mudder was a hard something. You know. Hard down by the salt. It was hard. Under the salt. That was hard. Hard something. When you lift the salt, you lift the two together. But that is on the bottom of the salt, the mudder. Now the mud is different. [We carried salt] up the ladder. Sometimes we had to top up the heap. And they put up three ladders, then, and you're topping you know. Eleven o'clock and now for the top. We had to carry it up the ladder. Up and down. Yeh. We go to the pond and the lock there and they throw the salt there. Yes, sometimes we used to get 4 or 5 heaps. Old time people used to go to*

*Macoris to cut the cane. They had to go there, work hard. All they'd get, they'd send back you know, to their families here. So we got by, you know. Because you know they had to go and all they would get they'd send to you and help, so. Yeh. Because when the men go the women are still here working. There was no waiting on them. Just doing what you can do.*

### Production and Harvesting

On Anguilla, as opposed to Salt Cay in the twentieth century or even Tortuga in the seventeenth century, salt production remained a low-technology enterprise that employed the agrarian terms used in subsistence farming. "In general, primitive methods proved susceptible to increased levels of production, and there was, until the last century [due to rising industrial use], no compelling reason for innovation in salt production, as simple methods were advantageous to the numerous small proprietors of an unorganized industry" (Multhauf 1978:21).

On Salt Cay in the Turks and Caicos, there were 120 acres of salt pond out of the island group's total 750 acres of salt ponds in 1908 (Gregory 1972: 202). Sixty-foot wind machines ground salt with rollers: there were two "double machines" to grind salt. When there was no wind, the workers turned the sails by hand, one behind the other: they had to turn the sails around if they wanted to go the other way. Workers put sea water in on "rising walls" and used a salinometer to test if the brine were ready before they shunted it into increasingly smaller making ponds by opening and shutting a series of gates as the salinity increased. It took five weeks to make. Sometimes they would get one foot of salt above ground in the ponds, but three to four inches was normal. Raking was the most common method of salt harvesting in the Caribbean. Using "break ups" with teeth, workers raked the salt into heaps. This produced a wet product that needed to be hung in



2.1 Salt harvest in Road Bay Pond, Anguilla, 1983. (Photograph: Lloyd Gumbs.)

sacks suspended from the ceiling of a warehouse to dry. Carts brought the salt to the boats. If the ship was too high, the loaders used a landing stage. Workers had to be very careful lest the boat sink: they watched the wash deck on the boat for an overload. Each lighter carried forty to fifty bundles with ten bushel bags in a bundle. A bushel of salt contained twelve bags. According to Nelson Hayes, who wrote *Dildo Cay*, there were thirty bushels to a ton and the workers could load fifty tons an hour. It would require fifty hours of non-stop work to load 75,000 bushels. Teams of two men heaved the bags into the four- and five-mast schooners that came from Newfoundland and Canada. Workers loaded 12,000 bushels into each boat: they shipped 200,000 bushels a year at 2 cents a bushel. They started at sunrise and laboured for nine hours, turning out at 10:00 and 2:00 and quitting at 5:00. The highest pay was mere shillings:12/6 a week. To supplement their income, workers fished. These occupations were complementary: when ships dumped their ballast and bilges, fish would gather.

In contrast, Anguillians picked their salt by hand (see Figure 2.1). The salt ponds were one to three feet deep and teams of men and women waded out into them pulling or poling large flats. They wore "tips," laboriously sewn from pieces of old bicycle tires, to protect their fingers. Reaching underwater into the black slime at the bottom of the pond and lifting pieces of the ledge of salt which rested upon it, the workers broke off cakes of salt as big as five inches thick. They placed these in baskets made of "wisps," small pieces of vines or twigs, or in loosely woven baskets imported from St. Martin, rinsed the mud and mother from them and threw the cleaned salt on the flat-bottomed, wooden boats. The pond water reached temperatures of 112° or more and the sun beat relentlessly





2.2 View of heaps of salt and the industrial complex at Sandy Ground, Anguilla during the last period of production. Background: Road Bay Salt Pond. (Photograph: Colville Petty.)

out of a cloudless sky, sending a shimmering glare into the eyes of the workers. Salt crystallizes in coral-like formations: walking across the bottom of the pond pricks like walking on a million minute tacks. When the salt crust cracked, workers' bare feet plunged through the sharp-edged holes to the more than pleasantly hot mudder. Excavating feet back through the crust often resulted in scrapes of varying severity. Instead of having the healing properties associated with both mud and salt, the pond water exacerbated any insect bites or cuts. Former workers have two to four inch scars on their shins and fingers: such ulcerations are common everywhere salt is picked. Even the end of the work day custom of the pickers throwing themselves fully clothed into the relatively dilute sea did not alleviate the sores.

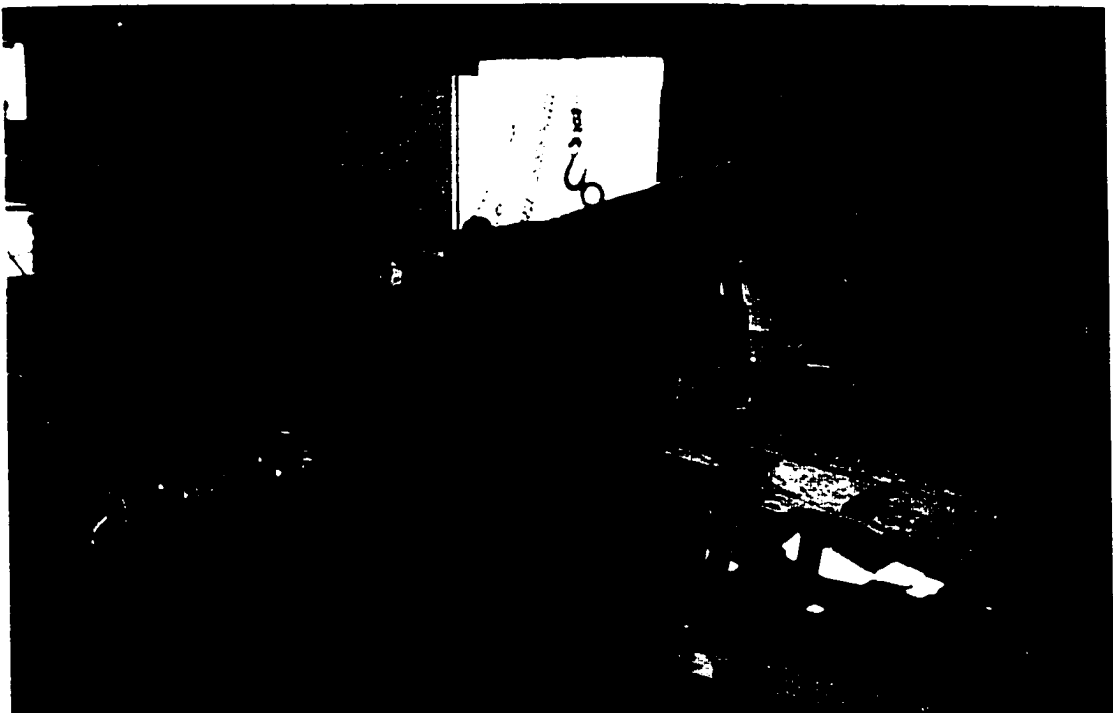
Four buildings stood beside the Road Bay Salt Pond (see Figure 2.2). This complex consisted of a concrete cistern, a pumphouse, a large building for salt milling, and an outhouse. The small pump building housed the diesel pump that allegedly replaced a windmill. An engine belt entered the building at the back and ran between the mill and the main machine. The pump removed rainwater from the catchment basin, the ring-dam, as well as any overflow from the salt pond during a storm. Block and tackle raised the wall up. The water fed by gravity into the pump to start it working. This small building was used as an office when the pump was later moved into the milling building. The main building was built by Carter Rey, owner of Wallblake House and the Factory. Both wings of the milling building could hold 100 tons of salt apiece. It featured a large window near the roof that allowed the hot air and humidity to escape. Some salt was stored in a ruined stone building that had belonged to a sugar estate. It was directly

across from the pumphouse on the sea side of Sandy Ground.

### Technological Improvements

Originally, pickers harvested the salt that naturally crystallized along the edges of the pond. Technological improvements included, in the nineteenth century, Wager Rey's building of "dams around the pond to prevent rainwater flowing into the salt making area and a long middle dam to provide an adequate holding and settling area for seawater." (Carty and Petty 1997:79-80). The dams formed a ring around the pond. Later, a pump was added to remove the rain water (see Figure 2.3). There was a little canal on the north side to let sea water into the pond when the tide was high. The areas by the flood gate and where the heaps were piled were covered with cement to prevent sand from being shoveled up with the salt. Chutes were used to fill bags with salt and to load salt into boats.

*Along this western side about perhaps 200 feet from the western end there's a long straight dam across it that separated the water from this side from the main pond from the salt making area. And it was that area was used to hold the sea water that was let in. The sea water was let into that and it remained there for a while. It would settle, whatever material you know was carried into that would either after a while sink or float. If it sunk it stayed on the bottom there, if it floated to the surface it would be blown by the wind down to the western end. And when the water is let in, it is let in from the eastern end. So you would get pure sea water without any vegetable matter and so on and mud being let into the pond. During the harvesting we have to be careful not to let the salinity of the main pond get over 103 degrees because if you did that there was a danger that it could go to 110 and you would get the sodium. There was a fine area there, a narrow window where the sea water would evaporate you know and you'd get sodium chloride in the bottom and you could let in sea water to have it continue to you know to precipitate sodium chloride. So you would let it in from the two sides. The two sides from the western part in three areas so that it would mix readily you see. And it did mix fairly readily with the other waters in the main pond. You first put it against the north wall in this part. You left it there, it could evaporate you know and become brine but less you know. A weaker brine than*



2.3 The pump house (above) and the salt grinding mill (below). (Photograph: Linda Lake.)

*the brine of the main pond and you would let the water through from there after all the debris had gotten out of it. And um so you would keep the salinity of the water below 110 degrees. You have to try and maintain it between 100 and 105.*

The western pond served two purposes. One was to get rid of the debris and the other was to dilute the main pond. When the picking was finished, the manager would raise the level of the pond water by 10 inches to a foot. Later a floodgate was built for passage of the loaded flats. Wager's son, Carter Rey, "installed the first diesel-driven pump and the mill for grinding coarse salt into fine" (ibid). Another engine for the salt grinding mill was donated by the Prime Minister of Barbados when Anguilla separated from St. Kitts. England had sent it to Barbados during World War II to light the airport.

Nonetheless, workers complained that, when they poled their flats to the floodgates there would be a backlog of flats waiting to unload. There were too many flats, because it took less time for a crew to fill a flat than for a person to shovel the salt into boxes for women to carry, sometimes three at a time, back east to the salt heaps. The crew would leave one person with the flat and return to picking. The boxes were tallied and the total credited to its flat. The flats were individually numbered and people still remember their own flat numbers as well as the crews of other flats. Who worked with whom and who wouldn't work with whom and why were important in the social dynamics of that time. The salt heaps were protected from the weather by being "baked together on the surface of the heap by the heat of the sun, and forms so solid a crust that rain cannot very materially affect, or waste it, provided that the heap has had time to crust sufficiently. It is however commonly estimated that the loss of salt thus heaped is ten percent" (*Discover* 1995:104). Some petrified piles still exist in Salt Cay a quarter of a

century after the end of the salt industry there.

Later advances occurred as management streamlined the process by standardizing the equipment. Anguilla's flats are alleged to be unique in the Caribbean. Originally the sizes varied as much as did reporter's guesstimates of the size of the island during the Revolution: 6 × 10, 7 × 9, 7 × 12 on the bottom. They were replaced with ones that measured 16 feet × 8 feet. Before, the wooden tally tablet had had to list beside the number of the flat the number of barrels that it carried. After standardization, the flat was brought to the shore loaded level and was tallied as a whole, rather than tallying individual barrels. Each flat carried about eighteen barrels of salt that weighed three hundred pounds apiece. The wooden boxes held 105 pounds of salt plus the weight of the box and the still damp salt. Women carried these on their heads across Sandy Ground and up a series of ladders stacked against the rising heap. At the top, they dumped the box onto the heap, came back down, and fetched another load, much like the women who carried 85 pound baskets of coal on their heads to refuel the inter-island boats (Medlicott 1997:30).

Workers used to bag the salt from the heaps. They would carry a scale up to the top, fill a bag, weigh it, and add or subtract salt as necessary. This method made for slow bagging. The manager devised a hanging measuring barrel. Its volume equaled what a bag of salt would weigh. The boxes of salt were poured into it until it was level, then the barrel could be swung upside on its stand and emptied down a chute into a bag that was hooked onto a nail. This method increased production from 200 bags a day per scale to 800. The milled salt was packed into bags weighing 112 pounds, twenty to a ton, a long

ton of 2,240 pounds. Women wielding ten-inch needles whipstitched the bags together. The ships for Trinidad would take on five hundred tons in two days; it took seven light boats working non-stop to load them. Workers were promised one sum, for example \$160, if they finished loading the boat, or if they did not finish, a percentage, their share of what was laded. Payday was called what I heard as *kinsena*. No Anguillian except a manager who spoke Papiamentu, after working for years in Aruba, knew what the word meant or where it came from or how to spell it: *Quincena*, fifteen in Papiamentu. The necessity of borrowing a word from Aruba and Curaçao for payday underscores the prior lack of cash wages on Anguilla. Some male workers thought the word was *cantina*, brought back from Santo Domingo.

Getting to the pond to work was difficult for such a scattered population. People would walk miles from West End and the Valley, leaving at 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning to start work at 7:00 a.m. There was a one-hour break at noon, then work resumed until 4:00. All reported that the work was hard, but they were glad for any work. Early starts broke the back of the workday before the noon heat. It was easy going down to the pond but, at the end of the day, workers had to climb up out of the natural amphitheater to get home. Those who did not live with walking distance of the pond would come down from Farrington, Wattices and points farther away on Monday morning and “sleep on the Road” (cf. Charlotte in Chapter III) with relatives, returning home (“going up”) Saturday night. Entrepreneurship came with the advent of trucks. A man from the West End bought one and drove around the island, picking up workers.

### Manager Narrative

During the March 2000 election in Anguilla, the treatment of the former workers in the salt industry became an issue. Salt plays the same role in local politics that sugar plays in the bigger islands, but with a twist: whereas the political power lies with the sugar islands' labor union bosses, on Anguilla, a former manager of the Road Bay Salt Pond was a politician with a large following, especially of former workers and their families. He served as Chief Minister for thirteen years. Although he has not been active politically for many years, in 2000 a member of a rival party accused him of negligence towards the salt workers.

*I didn't provide or the company did not provide gumboots for workers to wear the pond. And some of in them were around the little shop in South Valley listening and it was true you know. Nobody thought about the boots. And Jim-Jim stopped in there and he said nonsense, you couldn't wear shoes in the pond. For very simple reasons, he said. If you got some of the sharp crystals in your shoes you would be in trouble. Barefoot then you could walk on the crystals and the crystals will sink in the mud. But if you got them in your shoes or in your boots, they'd cut your feet to ribbons in a short time.*

The manager talked about independence and unions. Anguillians, unlike the sugar workers on St. Kitts, resisted unionization.

*People always too independent. We are always very independent minded. And there were too many, there was no one industry. Every year when I was manager of the salt company I had to negotiate with the workers over the wages. But I was very sort of frank and forthright with them and never had any problems.*

They negotiated yearly, but there never were any formal contracts.

*The thing is that if we were having problems selling salt it was obvious because the salt was there. And that there was a lot of salt left over from the year before those workers knew that they could not expect an increase in wages. It was as simple as that. But if the salt was gone you know then the lofts were clean and the house empty then they knew that they were in a strong, strong position for bargaining purposes for wages. ... I guess what set Anguilla off was the ignorance of both Anguilla and its way of life as opposed to St. Kitts. It was a*



*different way of life. St. Kitts had a sugar industry. We had nothing like that you know. Once you became a man, in Anguilla, once you became an adult, you struck out on your own you know you had to find a way to make a living. There was no, you know you couldn't go and get a job, you couldn't go, there was no work, unless you went to St. Kitts or Santo Domingo. They were more or less closed you know. So the Anguillans were sort of very independent, hardy people and to the extent that a very well-respected lawyer in St. Kitts said once there is a vast difference of the mentality between the people from St. Kitts and those from Anguilla. He said, and he was an estate owner in St. Kitts, he said that if you gave a group of men a job to do and they were slacking on it you could talk to them rough, telling them to hurry up you know just get on with it and so on. You couldn't do that to an Anguillian - he would walk away.*

#### Female Worker Narrative

Several of the salt workers said that if they got pushed by management they would say, don't you say that to me. Independence was a serious game for Anguillian workers.

*Sometime you know the bosses were push, pushy, but I wouldn't say. I have complained cuz I don't hold up cuz if I have something to tell you I tell you. And if I vex, I vex. I know at one time I had to get very vex. I stop working. That some of them come say, what happen to you? I say age. I ain't prepared to discuss nothing with them cuz they feel you're boss over me, you must have went to me and say what is what before you could push me around. That's right and I don't say anything. You don't say nothing to me at this time, nothing. So they aren't coming to me with nothing. So when you find that you don't like, you going to hold up, you know that, you don't tell them what to do. You don't tell me what to do so why should I then stand up and listen to some man. You done make your order already. Don't say nothing to me. Go. Me and the boss has words. Not if it was he, but if it was he who he had pushing you around and I tell them all, he come, I tell him if you don't want me to rude to you today, you go. We really can't control her today, he says to me, then nobody says nothing to me. Harsh. I love him. He had his way. He like to push around to get his work done, but otherwise than that I could deal with he good. Good. Me and the boss would sit down like me and you here and talk, and talk, whatever conversation you want to talk. ...I would say, I always used to say that he was a slave driver, that's right. Cause he liked to push, push you around. We used to say, ah, there's the slave driver, there. But he would come and you would try to talk you. If you're willing he would sit down and talk with you, you talking whatever he want. Then he could get it done in the way he want it done. They has us working at night in grinding salt. Up at 10 o'clock at night we had to work grinding salt. When a ship come in and he don't have the amount of salt he work us at night.*

### Male Manager Narrative

*They had the urge to make money in producing salt. You know all that was needed to get them working really hard. I felt sorry for a lot of them because they were overdoing it. They would come down here and they'd walked from West End. Walk from West End and come up here and go in the pond at four o'clock in the morning you see. There's that sort of thing. Can you see, can you see me or see anybody pushing them to work? Telling them to hurry up? But in St. Kitts if you're working by the day, working whatever you're doing by the day, then you had to be pushed.*

Laborers did task work in St. Kitts.

*They cut cane by the ton. You see. Unfortunately that was one of the problems that created distrust. All the cases of distrust in all the sugar workers everywhere was that they were paid by the ton to cut cane. But they never saw a ton of cane being weighed. I spent a lot of time on Molyneux Estate which was hidden 7 miles away from the sugar factory. And those men would cut the cane and their cane would be put in certain place and put on a certain railroad and you know and driven along with six or seven other carts. It was always doubt in the minds of the cane cutters. As to the amount of cane they really cut, you know. Am I getting paid for the work I did? Yes, yes. When they put a barrel of salt on the heap in Anguilla they witnessed the barrel of salt themselves, but we had to be careful that sometimes they turned the barrel upside down and put a little bit of salt on the top.*

The preceding juxtaposition of transcripts fails to substantiate domination.

Instead, what is revealed is a very incomplete hegemony, in which management was sympathetic to the workers and there was mutual manipulation. In Gramsci, strategic hegemonical concessions lead to the loyalty of the dominated. In Anguilla, the transparency of the salt industry, the economic scale, the interrelatedness of the islanders, and the low technology of salt making combined to level hegemonic distinctions in a manner that is not characteristic of capitalism. These distinctions left mid-twentieth century Anguilla with very little backstage on which to compose hidden narratives. This issue will be discussed more fully in Chapter III.

## Salt Ponds

There are more than twenty salt ponds of varying sizes in Anguilla that, in the absence of streams, constitute its only wetlands. Formed when sand bars cut off earlier coves from the sea, these ponds lie below sea level and never completely dry. "Located between the bays and the upland watersheds, the salt ponds serve as catchment basins which trap runoff sediments from the land, thus protecting the bays and offshore coral reefs; provide coastal protection from hurricanes, erosion and flooding as well as critical habitat for specialized biota such as mangrove ecosystems; and serve as natural filtration systems, supplying purified underground water" (Anguilla National Trust n.d.:vi). The ponds "act as settling basins which trap fine sediments and pollutants which would otherwise end up in the sea and stunt coral growth" (Anguilla National Trust 5(8) March 2000: n.p.) Amerindian settlements have been found on the barrier beaches, the thin strips of land that separate the sea and the salt ponds. Four sites date to the Ceramic Period, A.D. 300-400 and "14 substantial occupational sites" from the Post Saladoid, late ceramic era, circa A.D. 600-1500" (Crock and Peterson 1999:28). For the Amerindians, the salt ponds provided "subsistence resources such as oysters, crabs, and birds. Mangrove wood harvested from the ponds was a likely source of fuel and construction material" (Anguilla National Trust n.d.:vii), while the Anguilla Bank reef system provided fish. John Crock and James Peterson hypothesized that, like societies in the Pacific islands, the elite lived along the coast, while the more marginal population occupied the interior (1999:156). Again, the similarity to Rapa Nui holds, although it is the reverse of the settlement pattern

of historical Anguillians. As with much of Anguilla's history, there is no material or documentary record that Anguilla was actually inhabited by the Amerindians at the time of European contact, only that it was covered with forest at that time (ibid:26).

### The Salt Pond at Road Bay

The great curiosity of Anguilla is the salt pond. This is a shallow lake surrounded by little hills, except where it is divided from the sea by the beach alone. The salt forms a crust on the clay under water, whence it is scraped off and laid up in stacks on the shore, which being thatched with branches of the tier-palm present at first sight the appearance of an Indian village. The salt which I saw dug out for use was very white, strong and beautifully crystallized. The pond is common property, and every one may take as much of it as he can get. The natives talk of their crop of salt, as planters do of their canes, or as we should do of our corn. In favorable years three hundred thousand bushels of this article have been exported. If the poor folks had a free port, they might get on tolerably well. Unrestricted commerce, which is munificence and stimulus to London and Liverpool, would be charity to Anguilla (Coleridge 1832:217-218).

By far the most important and largest salt pond is the one owned by the Crown at Road Bay that covers 98 acres or approximately 400,000 square meters, even after extensive twentieth-century reclamation that reduced it from its former 240 acres (Carty and Petty 1997:80). Although Long Pond produced salt, especially for the St. Barths market, until the mid-sixties, and West End Pond produced salt in 1963 and 1974 (Carty 1993:19), Road Bay remained active until 1985. The Road Bay salt pond on Anguilla was originally replenished by sea water overwashing the barrier beach, Sandy Ground, during the hurricane season. The water settled one to three feet deep in a declivity below sea level under the northern escarpments that bounded the land side of the harbor beach and salt pond like an amphitheater. Out in the road, reefs and sea grass completed the circle. The sea water precipitated its salt due to solar evaporation. Anguilla has no distinct wet

and dry seasons: half of the annual rainfall usually occurs during May and the hurricane months of October and November. Within the average annual rainfall of 40.7 inches, however there are vast variances: 1987 received 55.73 inches of rain, while 1991 had only 22.98 inches (ibid:6). In contrast, the Turks and Caicos had a mean annual precipitation of 29.51 inches during 1921-1950. While the wet years are good for agriculture, the dry years yield both a bountiful salt harvest and famine, if the salt cannot be sold for food. Saltmaking depends upon a natural imbalance in which evaporation exceeds precipitation.

To achieve this imbalance, two elements in addition to low rainfall are necessary for the natural formation of solar salt: strong trade winds and a hot sun. The winds and sun work in concert to evaporate the water. Seawater contains sodium, magnesium, calcium, and chlorine. The biogeochemical cycle of salt precipitation begins with the precipitation of calcite when seawater has evaporated to two times its normal concentration. Gypsum precipitates at five times, sodium chloride at nine times seawater.

Thus while salinity gradually increases by evaporation, the chemical composition of water changes abruptly as ions come out of solution at specific precipitation points... Dissolved oxygen varies inversely with temperature and salinity, and it follows a diurnal cycle in which the water becomes subsaturated at night and supersaturated during the day. ... Pond water temperatures in the British Virgin Islands range between 20° C on a cool winter night to 45° C [ 66°F to 112°F] on a hot day in a highly saline pond. Temperatures over 40°C limit eukaryotic production ... Benthic microbial communities (BMC's) have great effect on the biochemistry of salt ponds. BMC's typically develop at higher salinities. Their presence helps to seal the bottom and thus acts to increase the rate of salinization (presumably by preventing underground water flow) (Jarecki 1999:43).

This, then, is the mother: both an organism like a vinegar mother and a substance with the appearance of mud, or mudder. In Anguilla, both workers and managers were



2.4 Linda Lake holding a piece of picked salt. The mother is still attached to the bottom. (Photograph: Linda Lake.)

unclear on this topic and the spelling of mother/mudder: all agreed that it was different from mud. Some thought the mudder was the brine shrimp. The salt forms in a crust underwater on top of the mother, which adheres to the salt when it is picked (see Figure 2.4).

“Historically, saltmakers knew the salinity of the pond by the organisms that were living within them. In particular, halophilic algae and bacteria would turn the ponds bright red, indicating the water’s readiness to be transferred to the final crystallization ponds” (ibid:49). It is doubtful that it was the presence of microscopic organisms that warned the mid-millennium harvesters: the color would have been the primary indicator. Anguillians believed that unless little pink brine shrimp appeared, there would be no salt: in reality, it is the degree of salinity that allows the brine shrimp to thrive. Originally colorless, the shrimp feast on the red chromogenic bacteria that begins to multiply at about 90° salometer and change to a reddish color (Gregory 1966:29). The brine shrimp mythos is a reversal of cause and effect. Marc Bloch hypothesized that, in Africa, “[t]he similarity of red brine to blood, in taste as well as color, must have made a profound impression on primitive folk” (1963:91). The other firm belief regarding salt picking was that it would rain when the salt was picked because of evaporation. Picking salt seemed to unplug the pond so that water escaped to the sky. “Apparently years of experience had led to the observation that whenever the salt was broken, it would rain. There was therefore no surprise when we were blessed with a slight drizzle that morning, intermittent rain all that afternoon and some rather heavy showers for the rest of that week” (Christian 1995: 8(1)20). This mythos is disputed by a former manager who kept

daily rainfall records that are now destroyed. The likely explanation is not cause and effect but the timing of the picking. It was at the end of the dry winter months when rain might be expected.

The salt industry, which “prior to 1980 was the island’s major economic activity,” (Anguilla Ministry of Finance 1991:3.6.2) was one of three sources of cash wages for Anguillians due to their very narrow export base: lobsters and fish sold to the United States Virgin Islands tourist restaurants and an ever decreasing cotton crop were the other two. The cotton was usually not a source of cash for the workers, but was sold to the Factory, which housed the island’s two cotton gins and its main store. In spite of a few one-room stores, the Factory dominated Anguillian commerce from the early 1900s until the 1960s. Each worker had a ledger in which the amount of cotton or other produce delivered was credited against his balance. When the worker paid for goods in cash, it was necessary to buy a stamp to paste in the ledger. Thus, it was salt alone that was the major source of local cash wages for the islanders. The word salary derives from the Latin sal: Roman soldiers received a salt allowance as part of their pay. As for the Romans, so for the Anguillians: salary derives from salt, both in linguistic terms and in fact.

Before the United States became the primary purchaser of Anguilla’s salt in the 1800s, the majority of the salt had been shipped south. In the early days, schooners would come from the Grenadines, the birthplace of boatbuilding in the Caribbean, and later from St. Lucia and Dominica to buy salt from Anguilla. In turn, they sold it to the big sugar estates in Barbados, Trinidad and Guyana to feed the work animals. All cattle, horses, and



mules need salt. Only omnivores such as pigs can live in the tropics without salt added to their food, although Anguillians feed their pigs salt. "*They say a big mule working all day in a cane field in the heat could perspire sixty gallons a day.*" As for human needs for salt. "[l]es coureurs du Tour de France cycliste perdant, par temps chaud, de 10 à 15g de sel par jour ... peut perdre jusqu'à 2 liters de sueur par heure" (Plumey 1996:171). Salt was so critical that Martinique had legal requirements for the amount of salt and rice that must be given to the slaves (Tomich 1991:309). The sugar islands were dependent upon the salt islands to maintain their farm animals and slaves. They were connected by the Canadian schooners that came laden with white pine from Montreal and salt fish from Nova Scotia to trade for salt, sugar, rum and molasses to take back to the fisheries.

The typical Anguillian imbalance is evident in their cost of production of salt, which priced it out of the world market, and their import/export deficit. If the tourist industry, composed primarily of Americans, had not come to Anguilla's rescue, predating, but barely, the collapse of the salt industry, Anguilla, historically a nation of nomads, would have been left virtually dependent on remittances, as many Caribbean islands are (cf. Olwig 1993; Richardson 1989). What is clear is that, as importers, consumers, tourists, and, especially in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, the site of a large Anguillian emigrant population that almost equals that in Slough, Buckinghamshire (nicknamed Sloughbucks), the United States is and has been, a, if not the, major factor in the Anguillian economy. While Canada and England contribute grant-in-aid money, their domination of funding is due to Anguilla's status as an Overseas Territory: the island is forbidden from applying for grants except with the approval of England. Barred by the

mother country from being a free port throughout its early history. Anguilla remains barred from soliciting foreign aid for development.

### The Caribbean Salt Trade

On April 23<sup>rd</sup> he sailed from the island of Grenada bound for this island [Anguilla] for a load of salt. On 28<sup>th</sup> instant, turning up that shore, there being a small sandy key off the harbour being enclosed with a parcel of shoals and shallow ground, and not being acquainted, the brigantine Miss Stays and sailed on the reef, was immediately bilged and found it was impossible to get her off ... Deposition of Jehabed Clarke, master of the late brigantine Elizabeth of Piscatoga, 1769 (Anguilla GIS Bulletin July 1979:8)

This protest, a notarized insurance claim, is the first record of the Anguillian salt trade. In the days before refrigeration, salt was regarded as white gold. Salt was prayed for as a divine gift by early Europeans. The only preservative for meat, salt from the Caribbean islands, run by Bermudian sloops through the British blockade, literally kept George Washington's Revolutionary Army on the march. As the source of white gold, the salt islands were prizes to be fought over, a century before sugar became king. The sixty-year Dutch war for salt began with the Dutch love of herring and their butter and cheese industry. All three required salt. The Dutch herring fleet numbered more than 4,000 by 1650, but, before then, in 1628, the Dutch West India Company benefited from Joannes de Laet's 1625 *New World or Description of West India*, which appraised the salt potential of various Caribbean islands, including Anguilla: "no fresh water but there is a salt pan with enough salt for two or three ships a year and a beautiful bay" (Goslinga 1971:129). Having been chased by the Spanish out of Aruba, the Dutch turned to Tortuga. "The dangers inherent in the salt trade brought frequent requests to the Heren XIX for

some military protection for the salt carriers” (ibid). The Dutch salt pan at Tortuga was guarded by three canons and, in 1632, could load thirty to forty ships simultaneously. By the 1670s for “almost half a century the salt lagoons of the Caribbean had been the scene of many a savage battle between the Spaniards and the Dutch. Many a time had the pure white salt been reddened by the blood of soldiers and sailors of each side. For another twenty-five years the salt pans remained as a pivotal point of controversy in the relations between the two countries” (ibid: 139). Finally, in 1674, the Dutch consolidated their control over Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire and St. Martin, from which for “a long time to come they were able to furnish their own needs as well as much of Europe’s with the salt their ships carried” (ibid:140: cf. Emmer 1997).

In the 1600s and 1700s, Bermudians used to maroon indentured white servants on the deserted salt islands. The following is a description of the labor conditions then.

The business of salt raking is chiefly carried on by the Bermudians who come here in the month of March and continue during the dry season, leading a life that the idea of liberty only can render preferable to slavery itself. They live in little huts...they have a knife in their pockets and a kettle in the kitchens; their wardrobe consists of nothing but a straw hat, a check shirt and a pair of oznaburg trousers; their food is salt pork, and now and then an iguana (a sort of large lizard), when they have time to catch them, and very often they are without bread; yet in this way of life they enjoy health, nor do they ever differ about property or religion, for they have neither priest, lawyer, or physician among them (London Annual Register, 1764, in Sadler 1997:50).

This absence of European professionals would be replicated in Anguilla. It should be noted that this idyllic description of salt picking followed the publication of Jean Jacques Rousseau’s *Émile, ou l’Education* by two years.

Gradually the indentured white servants were replaced by black slave labor (see

Sadler 1997) and production of salt in the Turks and Caicos became an industry. Former Caribbean slave, Mary Prince, dictated her biography in London to a woman who was a friend of the family of the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, Thomas Pringle, with whom Prince was residing as a domestic servant. Pringle published her account in 1831 "in his private capacity" (Pringle 1831:n.p.). Despite the deliberate distancing of Pringle from his society, it is hard to believe that he would have published an account that did not substantiate his cause and, moreover, that Prince was not intelligent enough to frame her story to fit his needs. It is impossible to judge the degree of bias or lack of it in slave narratives: certainly there is evidence for both the best and the worst scenarios. Mary Prince had been brought to work the salt on Turks Island. She related:

I was given half a barrel and a shovel, and had to stand up to my knees in the water, from four o'clock in the morning till nine, when we were given some Indian corn boiled in water, which we obliged to swallow as fast as we could for fear the rain should come and melt the salt. We were then called again to our tasks, and worked through the heat of the day: the sun flaming upon our heads like fire, and raising salt blisters in those parts not completely covered. Our feet and legs, from standing in salt water for so many hours, soon became full of dreadful boils, which eat down in some cases to the very bone, afflicting the sufferers with great torment. We came home at twelve: ate our corn soup called blawly, as fast as we could, and went back to our employment till dark at night. We then shoveled up the salt in large heaps, and went down to the sea, where we washed the pickle from our limbs, and cleansed the barrows and shovels from the salt. When we returned to the house, our master gave us each our allowance of raw Indian corn, which we pounded in a mortar and boiled in water for our suppers (Pringle 1831: n.p.).

What is interesting from the point of view of this study is that conditions of slavery were worse where there was not only a plantocracy but a high level of technology. Where there was little or no capital invested and the returns were subject to the vagaries of the environment, in short, where neither capital, class or technology prevailed, where

salt picking was truly a light industry, the terms of employment were correspondingly lighter. The exigencies of capital and technology are based on temporal constraints: the deadline, the quota, the production unit, the regular dividend. Labor is exploited accordingly. Twentieth century salt workers were exploited less on Anguilla.

### Anguillian Salt Production

The history of Anguillian salt ponds begins with ownership-in-common and ends with control by the crown. In 1665, a report was sent to the Colonial Office: "Anguilla...hath some fewe English on it, with excellent salt pitts and a good road for ships" (CO 1/19). By March 1774, Anguilla was producing 50,000 barrels of salt annually that were sent to America. The American revolution caused Britain to close that market. Then, the devastation wrought by the French when they invaded in 1796, sent Anguilla into a 200 year depression. The Anguilla Petition of 20 July 1822 begged Charles Maxwell, the Governor of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla-Virgin Islands to open their port for six months "as had been hitherto granted on similar occasions of extreme drought" so that they might sell their salt (CO 239/8). Pickwood's 1824 Commission found that the principle imports were flour and cornmeal and lumber for building rafts for salt picking. They recommended that "[t]he salt pond indeed is to be considered as public property, or rather as a common inheritance on possession, since every white and free inhabitant is at liberty during a salt crop to collect as much salt as his means will allow him to heap together" (*St. Christopher Advertiser*, 1 December 1824).

Anguillian salt production remained stable for a century; this indicates little

industrialization or technological innovations occurred. In 1824, James Colquhoun, Anguilla's London agent wrote, "Our staple commodity therefore consists of Salt which in some favourable seasons is produced from a large Pond by the natural process of evaporation and which leaves a fine crystallized salt sometimes gathered in as great a quantity as from 50 to 70 and even 100,000 Barrels of three Bushels per Barrel" (CO 234/11). In 1920, Katherine Burdon reported "an average annual picking yield of about 100,000 barrels, amounting in value to £2000" (229). The crop fell after 1920: the peak crop after World War II was 60,000 barrels or approximately 7,000-8,000 tons in 1967. In contrast, Morton's 250 workers on Inagua in the Caribbean produce more than 1,000,000 tons a year from its 34,000 acre reservoir using road graders to harvest the salt. It is stored in quarter-ton piles.

The Colonial Office despaired of Anguilla's potential as sugar island. Even Anguilla's agent, Colquhoun, admitted to Earl Bathurst that Anguilla barely produced enough sugar for its own consumption and that sugar was very inferior. To compensate for Anguilla's inadequacy as a colony, he cleverly recalculated the annual amount of salt produced: 200,000 and even more than 300,000 bushels. Earlier dispatches had reported the harvest in barrels, which contain three bushels. There was salt, but it threatened the work ethic, reported a Kittian committee sent to "ascertain the state of the island of Anguilla":

It is the general feeling that this salt-pond is the only source of wealth in the Island. "But for our pond, the Colony must be abandoned." is the universal cry. But we are induced to question the extent of this advantage. We think that if the lazy hope of this uncertain return, were extinguished or moderated, a different direction and a greater impulse would be given to the small stock of industry on hand, and that more certain and more profitable returns would be the result (*St.*

*Christopher Advertiser* 1 December 1824).

In a merchantile Empire, Anguilla could only export the very thing England did not need: salt. England had been importer of salt and had levied a duty on it since 1303 and a tax since 1694. In the sixteenth century rising sea levels flooded the marshes in Northern Europe and salt-making all but stopped: they had burned peat from marshes to obtain salt (Bloch 1963:96). By 1707 there were 361 pages of English statutes about salt. However, they had discovered rock salt in 1670. As that industry developed, the English became, by 1800, the world's principal salt exporter. They repealed all salt taxes and duties by 1823. Because the island could not sell salt to England and was forbidden to sell it elsewhere, Anguilla, in return, could not buy British imports.

Anguillians were outraged when they discovered that Turks Island in the Bahamas had been licensed as a free port for the export of salt and they renewed their 1822 and 1823 petitions for a free port. Governor Maxwell recommended their 1824 petition to the Lords Committee of Privy Council for Trade, noting that he had informed the Anguillians that if such a privilege were granted, they would be expected to pay a salt or poll tax. The free port would operate under the same regulations as the one in Turks Island. The Privy Council remained adamant and, in 1825, Maxwell wrote the Colonial Office:

These poor but loyal & brave people (who by themselves preserved the Colony for the Crown) whose only Staple is Salt still naturally cling to the Hope that they will not be held up as a miserable exception from all others of His Majesty's possessions in the West Indies, as it appears to them because they are a small community & insignificant compared with the King's Dominions in those Seas, in their agriculture & trade & compelled to be idle by Law. They state in a late Letter, that if the boon be refused, "they will be unable to purchase machinery for the purpose of extracting the fresh water from the pond after rain, by which they would be able hereafter to secure a Crop of Salt in succession - that would be Privilege of a Free Port their staple Commodity would become more generally

known throughout America, where the quality is esteemed and their prosperity be laid on a sure basis (CO 239/12).

Two leitmotifs appear in this letter: Anguilla's special dependance on American markets and its particularly disadvantageous relationship with England. At this point, Anguillians had retained James Colquhoun to act as their London agent. Three years after he began working on Anguilla's behalf, Colquhoun underscored Anguilla's lack of parity under English law:

The vessels of the United States now bring Cargoes of Lumber and Provisions to the Foreign Islands which in many cases they sell for Money and return in Ballast in which case they would call at Anguilla and take a return Cargo of Salt. ... this indulgence was granted 18 Oct to certain of the Bahama Islands. Whatever may be the distress and Claims of Turks Island or of any other of the Bahamas whose sole produce is Salt, those of Anguilla whose sole dependance is also upon Salt, will be found to weigh equally heavy in the Scale (CO 239/17).

After the American Revolution, the population of the United States swelled as did their need for salt and prices soared. The United States imported salt from the Caribbean in their own vessels after 1790, when a ten percent ad valorem duty was imposed on salt brought by foreign vessels. Salt was placed on the American free list from 1807 to 1813. "Philadelphia merchants were asking and receiving \$3.10 per bushel for Turks Islands salt in 1814" (Gregory 1972:75). The United States did not achieve self-sufficiency in salt until 1900, although their salt consumption was one of the highest in the world. In 1823, Americans consumed 16.2 kilograms per capita. American household use, today, even including food preservation, snow removal and water softening, is estimated by Robert Multhauf to be 7.5 kilograms per capita. Turk Island dominated the West Indian trade with the United States: it supplied 75-90% of their Caribbean salt. After the end of



the War of 1812, salt prices on the Philadelphia market dropped to 73 cents a bushel in 1815. The price continued to slide until it bottomed out at 15 cents per bushel in 1860 (ibid:89). Anthony Gregory viewed emancipation as a major cause of the decline in salt production in Turk Island. The other cause was the United States' protective tariff on salt imports. The tax began as a means of paying off war debts but was perpetuated as an incentive to developing the rock salt industry in the United States. In addition, there was an increasing dependence of the fishing industry upon the salt tariff as a subsidy (ibid: 126).

Once again global politics saved the salt islands. The Civil War in the United States was responsible for the sharp increase in salt prices in 1864 and 1865, even though the United States increased their import duty in 1864. The next demand for salt came from the North American fisheries. Solar salt was too large for curing fish: "a crystal size of about 1/4 inch in diameter" was preferred (ibid:102). Corn, in the phrase corned meat, refers to the corn-sized crystals of salt used in the brining process. The English called their wheat corn; therefore, the size of the crystals of salt is that of a grain of wheat that is smaller in diameter and length than a kernel of American corn. On Anguilla, when salt was "properly ripe," the crystals were each bigger than an inch. Ground salt would earn a penny more per bushel. The demand for fishery salt led to technological innovation in the Turks Island, where a steam engine was installed in 1874 to grind salt. Anguilla failed to adopt the new machinery.

A good salt crop during slavery meant an increase in the workers' food allowance

and provided funds to purchase lumber to construct rafts to transport the salt. These were virtually the only costs of production: the salt itself was dependent upon the caprice of Mother Nature. She regularly did not smile upon Anguilla. There was a total failure of the salt crop from 1826 until 1832. Anguilla's Principal Customs Officer, John Morris, wrote Viscount Goderich that, due to the lack of salt, the population had been unable to buy flour and other provisions and many had starved to death.

As it had in Turk Island, emancipation interrupted salt production. An American first promoted the idea of the systematic exploitation of Anguilla's natural resources. Ralph Higinbotham, the Counsel of the United States at St. Kitts, intervened in November 1837. He wrote Sir Henry MacLeod, the Lt. Gov. of St. Kitts:

... if proper attention were paid to the collection of Salt which has hitherto been neglected, owing to little or no encouragement given to the labourers and the want of an efficient person to superintend the concern. During the past year, a large quantity of Salt (supposed to be one fourth of the Crop) was left in the Pond from these causes thereby causing a loss to the Treasury as the Export duties have of course been so much less. The parties who have hitherto collected it, have allowed it to lay on the Pond side for many months, I believe I may say in some instances, for years, not knowing how to dispose of it and trusting to occasional Vessels calling here to purchase. I have made arrangements in the United States to dispose of as much Salt as can be collected and under these circumstances I would respectfully enquire from Your Excellency if a Grant of the Pond could be obtained for a term of Years, say Ten, or Twenty, (as rainy seasons may intervene whereby we may be prevented from obtaining a Crop) securing for Mr. Jeremiah Rogers and myself it's sole use for that time, on condition of the whole of the Export Duty going to the Colonial Treasury and binding ourselves to collect all the Salt that can be made. Mr. Rogers is an extensive land holder in this Island and has the command of ample means. He has many apprentice Laborers who will work well in consequence of his having treated them with much indulgence. I have leased Estates here and hired laborers to work them. From my interest in America, I can at all times command Vessels to take all the Salt that can be made and am now Shipping all that can be purchased. A large Annual Revenue would thus be secured to the Colony unless prevented from collecting by rainy Seasons. I am aware that a Grant of this nature would give dissatisfaction to some individuals. But it would undoubtedly benefit the Community at large, and give

employment to the labourers who have hitherto be deserting the Island in great number & unless some such encouragement is held out to them the Colony will shortly be depopulated (CO 239/58).

His proposal was endorsed by Special Justice Thomas Egar in Anguilla, who felt that the export duties would remove any need for taxation - a mythos still prevalent. Egar insisted that the salt crops required supervision and praised Higinbotham, who had "within the last few days...sent more than half the salt on the Pond side to New York and elsewhere" and leased estates "thereby preventing the Emigration to Demerara: which has lately been carried on to a ruinous extent" (ibid). The "benefits of this pond have been secured only by a few who have purchased from the poor Class the Salt collected by their hard labour, at such extremely low rates, as to dispirit them from making much exactions for it's collection and when thus obtained they have not known how to dispose of it, like a miser with his gold they have kept it" (ibid). Perhaps Anguillians were aware of the falling market for their white gold. "The rich and poor would be equally benefited by being relieved from Taxation as the Export Duties would suffice for the exigencies of the Country" (ibid). It is hard to understand how such a rising tide would float the boats of both the proprietors and the apprentice laborers, but this endorsement of trickle down economics was written by a dipsomaniac Stipendiary Magistrate who had suffered several head injuries in India.

Colonial officials, awakened by the American Counsel, began to take an interest in Anguilla's salt. On 8 June 1838 on a visit to the island, the Chief Justice conducted an Examination with regard to the Salt Ponds of Anguilla. The official question and answer format brought out facts that supplement Cunningham's later report to Governor

Colebrooke. Eight days before harvesting commenced, the public was notified. A gun, fired at sunrise, signaled the opening of the pond. All free inhabitants had the right to enter the pond, but normally sent their slaves and later their apprentices. The vendors sold the salt to American and other colonial vessels, and retained the profits, while the apprentices sold theirs to speculators on the island. An export duty of four and one half St. Kitts currency per barrel was paid to the Treasurer. It was proposed that the proceeds from some portion of the salt be free from the foreign half of the export duty and those monies be paid to the treasurer for exigencies of the island. There was no annual cleaning of the ponds for fear of opening fresh water springs "of which several have from time to time made their appearance and retarded the progress of the salt" (ibid). Then and now the customary method of closing off a new spring in the salt pond was to invert two boxes over it: one to contain the spring and the other to hold down the smaller box.

Higginbotham's bid had failed by 7 January 1840 in part due to the removal of the apprentices to the Southern Colonies. Governor of the Leeward Islands Colebrooke remained interested in the prospect and on 27 November 1839, C.T. Cunningham, the Governor's emissary, filed a dispatch concerning his visit to Anguilla. His lengthy letter detailed Anguilla's salt history:

It will be here necessary to enter into a more detailed account of this Salt Pond. During the days of Slavery and Apprenticeship, a convention appears to have existed, which authorized the Council to appoint a Commissioner for each Division of the Island. Their joint duty was to inspect the Pond at the period when a Crop was expected, to appoint Constables for keeping off trespassers and to give due notice to all the Inhabitants on what day the gathering or reaping would commence. On the day in question, a signal gun was fired early in the morning, and "till 2 O'clock P.M. the reaping was carried on for the benefit of the free. Those who had the largest number of Slaves or Apprentices would of course get the largest proportion of Salt. After the hour of 2 P.M. the labourers are said

to have been allowed to reap for themselves, and they generally disposed of the produce of their labour to their masters. ... On the grounds which I have mentioned, it appears evident that if Her Majesty's Government take possession of the Pond, and are able to buy Artificial or Mechanical means to ensure an annual Crop, and if a bonus be paid on such Crop into the Island Treasury for Island purposes, the general benefit of such a plan would amply compensate for the possible loss to individuals. The present uncertainty of the Salt Crop arises from the situation of the Pond. It is surrounded on all sides, except that part towards the Sea, which is about one-fourth of its circumference, by hills which slope off very gradually to its Edge. During rainy weather, the hill streams rush down, are at once received into the lake and stir up the soil or "mother" as it is termed on which the Salt encrusts itself. Thus except in thoroughly dry seasons, there is no crop at all. From what I could understand, the rain which falls upon the surface of the lake, is not supposed to have much effect in disturbing or retarding the formation of the salt beneath the water. If such be the case, and a canal or Dyke were dug on the gradual slope of the hills to which I have alluded, and the excavated earth thrown up as an embankment towards the lake, so as to receive and carry off the Streams rushing from above, there seems every probability that an annual Crop might be expected at least such appeared to be the general opinion of those residing on the spot to whom this plan was mentioned. I have said that the side of the Lake towards the sea is not surrounded by hills. It is separated from the sea by a low narrow neck of sand, and the dyke or canal, which would be naturally somewhat higher than the lake, would empty itself, almost without assistance into the sea. To an unpracticed eye, there appears no great difficulty in remedying by such means the natural defects of the locality, but of course, no one except an experienced Engineer could pronounce positively upon the subject. The small Valley at the bottom of which the Pond is situated is said to be very healthy and the land is considered some of the most productive in the Island (ibid: No 119).

Colebrooke, too, accepted the fallacy that freedom from taxes would benefit all.

Just because the elite could save money on taxes did not mean they would pay the apprentices more. And, in Anguilla, the vestry systematically failed to meet to set taxes. According to Colebrooke, the main market for Anguillian salt was St. Thomas.

Almost a year later Lord John Russell instructed Colebrooke to order the now Lieutenant Governor Cunningham to Anguilla to meet with the Vestry. If "they will meet in vestry & take measures for the protect. of property, HM's Govt will grant to Trustees

for the benefit of the Isd a lease for 99 years of the Salt pond, that the Trustees shall be recommended by the Vestry Themselves" (CO 407/6). If they showed "Energy," they would also receive a resident President. In effect, Russell was using salt to bribe the island elite to behave. Then, as now with tourism and the off-shore registry, the guarantee of British political stability was key to the viability of Anguilla's economic schemes. A month before, in September 1840, Russell had sent Colebrooke Bahama Act 993 on the management of salt ponds. Laws were necessary because, as Cunningham had reported to Macphail: "I wish that it were in my power to add that the profits arising from this crop have been or are likely to be fairly divided ... but rather to a power which belonged to various proprietors in the days of Slavery, and which I found them still exercising, of compelling those who reaped the crop to pay a moiety of the Salt so reaped for liberty to stack it on the banks" (CO 239/60).

In December 1840, Colebrooke wrote Russell urging the appointment of Major L. Grame as President of Anguilla. He complained that, unlike the Bahamas, Anguilla had no public accommodation on the bank of the salt pond. A Colonial Office note on the back of the letter read: "This is a case of some difficulty as I presume we are bound to protect these people - but who are the proprietors of the Salt Ponds, I cannot quite make out" (CO 239/61). In January 1841 Colebrooke wrote to MacLeod, the Lieutenant Governor of St. Kitts, proposing a profit-sharing scheme for the Anguillian salt workers:

In the letter of the Special Magistrate allusion is made to the Turks Islands from whence as he observes there are two hundred sail of American vessels annually engaged in conveying the Salt and he considers that an equal quantity of salt of a superior quality may be obtained at Anguilla. The superiority of the Turk's Island Salt is acknowledged in the United States where it bears a higher price than that of St. [ ]bes or Cadiz. This is partly the effect of climate and partly of experienced

management but the prosperity of the Turk's Islands is also in a material degree referable to the effect of the Royal Legislations and the encouragement held out by them to the Settlement of Labourers. At the commencement of each year the ponds are divided and every free Inhabitant is entitled to a share - these shares are either worked by the owners for themselves or disposed of to others at the market value which varies according to the prospects of the season and to this participation by the laborers in the profits of their industry may be ascribed the prospects of the Turks Islands while other Islands possessing Salt ponds of superior quality are either entirely neglected or less productive. Salt raking like mining is not an attractive species of labour and the adjacent lands are commonly less productive than others - In fact the abundance of the Salt formation is proportioned to the dryness of the season. It requires therefore that encouragement should be given to the laborers as in mining operations by a participation in the profits. It would appear from these communications that the Salt ponds at Anguilla as in the Bahamas are the property of the Crown and that they have been raked by the inhabitants of every class in the season on their own account - an export duty being paid in the produce. If they are [sic] not placed under any superintendence it is difficult to understand what provision has been made for accurately cleaning them with -without which the salt is imperfectly formed. It will therefore be desirable to obtain precise information upon these points and whether there are any existing limitations upon the right of the apprentices or other labourers to rake the salt on their own account. It is unquestionably an object of great importance to encourage the influx of capital and to facilitate the disposal of the produce in exportation but it is equally important to secure and strengthen the interest of the labourers in the product of their industry whereby their emigration will be most effectually checked (CO 239:58).

Near the end of his letter, Colebrooke then formulated a liberal vision of capitalism.

The encouragement recently given to the speculation of Mr. Higgenbotham holds out a hope that both may be accomplished and if this Gentleman has leased estates and thus acquired a command of the services of apprentices I am not aware that there will be any obstacles to the profitable application of their labor in raking the salt, or any necessity of precluding others from participating in that benefit - What occurs to me in the absence of more precise information is the expediency of appointing commissioners annually for the division of the Ponds into shares either for distribution amongst the whole population by which an opportunity would be afforded to speculators to contract with the shareholders for the salt raked by them or for the disposal of the shares by public competition or the lease of them on special conditions that the labourers employed should have certain shares in the produce. Under any arrangement such parts of the pond as might not be raked

within a limited time should be open to the public as the Salt is liable to be lost by the occurrence of rain, and it is necessary to give the utmost encouragement to the timely collection of it when formed (ibid).

The scheme was underway. By 12 August 1841, Anguillian President Grame wrote to the Officer Administrating the Leeward Islands:

Mr. President French had issued a notification fixing a day for entering the Salt Pond, and the season being far advanced, I did not think it provident to interfere with the arrangement made by His Honour, and the Salt is now in progress of collection in the customary manner. I was present on the occasion of its first being entered, and so far as I could judge there might be from three to four hundred persons of all ages met together, but many were absent in consequence of the crop of last year not having repaid the labour of collection indeed a great portion (Nearly ten thousand barrels) remain on the beach unsold. From all I can learn the Inhabitants individually, will lose nothing by the Crop being lett on lease. For the benefit of the Island Treasury, the only gainers by the present plan are a few speculators, and those who (lacking advantage of a large collection of labourers) dispose of provision at an exorbitant profit (CO 239/64).

Governor Macphail decided that, to avoid individual bargaining with whatever purchaser accidentally appeared, the Justices of the Salt Ponds should grant short-term leases of the ponds rather than make every resident a share holder. Selling salt through a manager would be more lucrative to the community at large. Macphail also recommended advertising the surplus salt in neighboring islands.

The 30 September 1841 Stipendiary Magistrate's report read:

Upon the general conduct of the labourers, I have the satisfaction to report, that although some hundreds of peoples were assembled together in one spot, for the space of many weeks, collecting the Salt Crop, not one crime was committed, and only three petty assaults brought to the notice of the Magistracy. Temporary huts were built on the margin of the pond for the reception of the people. After their daily toil a portion of the night was passed in dancing and merriment. During the whole time of labour, and of festivity good order and good conduct prevailed. The respectable deportment of the laborours on this occasion presents a gratifying contrast with the scenes of tumult and riot which often prevailed in similar occasions during Slavery when in addition to punishments inflicted by the Authority of Masters, the Jail was not infrequently filled with disorderly persons. John Osborne (ibid).



Osborne's report casts a fascinating light on Peter Wilson's respectability/reputation dichotomy. In Osborne's probably abolitionist view, freedom was conducive to respectability, slavery to reputation. Current managers and salt workers regarded this 1841 report of festivities every night after work as apocryphal. One said in astonishment, "*after those old folk, things change.*" Their response can be used to question the reason why reports of singing and dancing in the slave quarters predominate in white nineteenth century reports until such festivities become stereotypical, rather than occasional, behavior. The stereotyped festivities illustrate an almost preternatural strength possessed by black people. They can literally slave all day and yet have the exuberance to dance and play all night. This scenario justifies demanding enormous amounts of labor from slaves because it characterizes them as capable of, even enjoying, extraordinary exertion. Cui bono? Both the anti-abolitionists and white masters then and now the descendants of slaves who valorize their ancestors' cultural and personal resilience.

The Vestry responded promptly that it had nominated Justices to manage the salt pond and to lease land on the margin of the pond for raking salt. They would "lay out alleys leading therefrom to the Sea, for facilitating the removal of the Salt" (ibid). The salt crop was copious in 1842, but, before it had time to form a crust, it was almost completely destroyed by heavy rains in August. This implies that the salt was not pure. Pliny observed that "all salts are sweetened by rain" (Multhauf 1978:128). The "French practice of ... allowing salt to stand, sometimes a year or more, before it was sold, gave it a goodness for, over a long period, the gentle moistening of mist and dew would dissolve and wash away the chlorides of calcium and magnesium, while leaving the sodium

chloride largely unaffected due to its non-hygroscopicity and consequent resistance to dissolution" (ibid:129).

A former manager of the Anguilla salt pond recalled:

*The saturated brine would be at 100. If it got up to 110 you get other salt being precipitated and that would contaminate the sodium chloride. And it would ruin it because it was far more hygroscopic. I've forgotten what it was. Another salt I'll try to remember. There were several but the principle one was very hygroscopic. It would absorb moisture from the atmosphere much more readily. Pure salt does not um absorb the moisture from the atmosphere very well. But if it is mixed with this other salt then it will and therefore the salt will remain damp and wet and in fact if you put a bag of it you will see water running out of it.*

In spite of the reorganization of saltmaking, Anguilla remained a backwater. The Stipendiary Magistrate in his report for 30 June 1846, gloomily observed: "I cannot report the progress of any improvement. There has been none, I believe for the last century" (CO 243/10). A year later, the report ascribed the children's poor school attendance to "their parents having gone to the salt Pond have taken the children with them. This will be for a short time" (ibid). The report of 31 December 1848 continued to be pessimistic. Lack of capital was strangling Anguilla. If the salt pond were improved, there would be "a return freight for the Canadian vessels. They are compelled either to go to Turks Island for salt or to go home in ballast; the Dutch in the island of St. Martin have made fortunes by an outlay on their salt pond and the French in the same Island have followed their example" (ibid ). Britain was slow to capitalize and/or nationalize salt ponds. Even the extremely productive ponds in the Turks and Caicos weren't nationalized until 1951. They ceased production in 1964, but the ponds on Salt Cay, another island where salt was their only staple, were subsidized until 1975.

Finally, on 18 February 1856, Anguilla's virtually abandoned salt ponds were

leased to a company composed primarily of Kittians and capitalistic production of salt began.

An Act To Incorporate a Joint Stock Company Now Subsisting under the Name of "Anguilla Salt Ponds Joint Stock Company" and for granting certain powers to the said Company. 8 February 1856. No. 119 of 1856 Whereas the Salt Ponds in the Island of Anguilla having been for sometime past in an unimproved and neglected state, to the great injury of the said Ponds and of the Public Revenue of the said Island of Anguilla a Joint Stock Company has recently been formed for improving and working the said Ponds, called the "Anguilla Salt Ponds Joint Stock Company:" AND WHEREAS Her Majesty has been pleased to grant certain Trustees for the benefit of the said Company, the Lease of the said Ponds on certain conditions, among others the said Ponds should, within twelve Calendar Months from the date of such Lease, be improved by Trenching and Draining the same according to certain Plans thereto annexed, and that such Trenching and Dams should, throughout the continuance of such Lease, be kept well and sufficiently cleansed and repaired: AND WHEREAS it is very desirable and requisite that the said Company should be incorporated as well for giving permanency to so useful an Association, and also to enable the said Company for effectually to hold, deal with, and manage their Property and Concerns, more particularly as regards the Trenching and Draining of the said Ponds, and to vest in the said Company requisite Powers to purchase or take over at a fair evaluation all Lots, Pieces, and Parcels of Land adjacent to the said Ponds, being Private Property, and necessary for the purpose of so Trenching and Draining of the said Ponds, and generally to enable the said Company to purchase and to hold such real Property in the said Island of Anguilla, not exceeding in value the sum of 500 pounds, as may be requisite and necessary in and about the working of the said Ponds (CO 240/21 #434).

After the customary boilerplate defining the corporation as a legal entity, the Act returned to the touchy topic of land easement.

That for the purposes of Damming and Trenching the said Ponds, and of Cleansing and Repairing of such Dams and Trenches from time to time as occasion may require: it shall be lawful for the said Company to enter upon and hold any Lands immediately adjacent to the said Ponds that may be requisite or necessary for such purposes, and in case the said Company and Proprietor of any such Lands so immediately adjacent to the said Ponds, cannot agree for the value of the Land so required for the purposes aforesaid, or if the Proprietor shall refuse to exceed to the request of the said Company, or be unrepresented in the said Island, then the said Company or their Agents shall cause the said Land or Damage which the Owner or Possessor or both shall sustain by the holding of such Land, or cutting of such Trenches and Erections of such Dams on or through

his, her, or their Lands, to be appraised by three neighbouring Freeholders, not being Shareholders of the said Company, who shall set upon the value thereof the amount of Damage done under their hands, and the said Company shall forthwith pay the said appraised value or Damage to the Person entitled to receive the same and on such Payment or Tender of such Amount, the Land in question shall on recording the Certificate of Appraisement in the Officer of Register of Deeds in Anguilla, ipso facto, without any conveyance vest in the said Company: Provided always that nothing in this actual affect or be construed to affect in anyway the Rights of Her Majesty, Her Heirs, or Successors of any Body Corporate in the said Island of Anguilla (ibid).

Some 1,500 shares were sold at \$5 each thus providing a capital sum of \$7,500. No individual was to be allowed to acquire more than 100 shares and 100 were specially reserved for the people of Anguilla. The initial outlay on works was estimated at £300 and the annual outlay at £1,200. The Company was granted at 20-year lease and was directly under the management of a Board of Directors, mostly leading inhabitants of St. Kitts, assisted by a Secretary-Treasurer at a salary of £30 a year, and a Manager resident in Anguilla at £75 a year. Soon after operations began the shares were raised to a considerable premium (Petty 1990:180-1).

In 1865, the Vestry charged Reverend K. Warnerford with mismanaging the salt ponds. During his term as manager, the Anguilla Salt Pond Company had suffered losses.

The Reverend and the three appointed members of his party “refused to attend any further meetings in protest” (ibid:189), leaving the three black elected members of the vestry. The Reverend’s accuser was dismissed; the white minority on Anguilla still carried political weight. (A similar resistance through non-attendance led to the dissolution of the Anguilla House of Assembly in 1999. Then, the split was along party lines rather than color lines or along the hierarchy cleft by the distinction between appointed/elected.)

The sinecure office of Salt Measurer had been abolished in 1856. The royalty of two pence half penny a barrel of salt provided virtually the only revenue Anguilla collected and it remained an important source of government revenue for another hundred

years (Carty and Petty 1997:79). The royalty was too high, the company failed, and in 1868, Edward Lake Carter, one of the original shareholders and the Anguillian owner of Landsome Estate, took over the lease at a reduced royalty of one half penny per barrel.

With regard to the island's salt industry, Reverend William Bouchier, Chaplain of the HMS Comus, reported in 1888 that the salt was reaped, mainly at the pond at Sandy Ground. "where he saw 'moored a little flotilla of over a dozen flat bottomed boats, used by the salt gatherers to store the salt crust in.' He also saw a heap of salt, 'about sixty feet across the base,' and observed that the salt heaps were often used as grandstands during regattas held in the Road Bay. The Island exported both coarse and fine salt. There was a windmill at Sandy Ground where grinding operations were undertaken" (Petty 1990:218).

In 1938, nationalization of the Anguilla salt industry was proposed in the St. Kitts Legislative Council. "The Government explained that the problem with the salt industry was that there was no reliable market for salt and therefore 'the extension of the lease [of the pond to Wager Rey] from time to time was in the best interest of the island'" (ibid:252). At that time, the harvest lasted about five to six weeks. People were paid by piece rates. The working week was 5 days a week, nine to ten hours a day. Men were paid double what women were for carrying salt (ibid:256).

World War II had little impact on Anguilla. There was no blackout because there was no electricity. Other than American troops clearing a grass strip for use in emergency landings in 1941 and giving a radio set to an Anguillian, the only war incident was the sighting of a submarine by a fisherman. The Warden, as the administrative head of

Anguilla was titled, a man appointed by the British officials in St. Kitts, believed that the fisherman had seen a whale. "I have seen many whales, but I have never seen one with a metal pipe blowing smoke out his ass," the fisherman replied.

It was not the war, but the advent of the tractor that hurt Anguilla economically. Of marginal use in that stony country, tractors eliminated the need for mules and men in the sugar fields. Anguilla stopped exporting both salt and emigrant workers. Many smaller, ancillary sources of cash, such as the sale of clothes Anguillian women used to make for their men to sell in Macoris, ended. Simultaneously, the cotton industry ceased. Only fishing, subsistence farming, legal and illegal inter-island trading and transportation, and one-person businesses such as dressmaking survived.

When the last of Carter's heirs died in 1954, a number of prominent Anguillians, including Joseph Owen, who had long been involved in running the salt pond as a partner in the Rey Company, formed the Anguilla Road Salt Company and leased Road Pond from the government until 1985, when the salt industry ceased. In 1963, the Road Salt Company negotiated a new lease: EC \$480 yearly rental and 20c royalty per three hundred pound barrels of salt above the allowance of 2400 barrels a year. Additional port and pier charges and export taxes reduced revenues substantially. The Revolution disrupted production in 1968 and, when the crop failed in 1969, the company successfully petitioned the Anguilla government for tax relief. The government waived royalty payments. In 1976, the government raised the rent to EC \$1,000 and the export duty to 20c per barrel. Although the salt contributed to local government revenue and global foreign exchange, as well as serving as a seasonal source of cash wages for a large

number of the Anguillian work force, as an enterprise, it never adequately repaid its patriotic, quixotic shareholders.

Production at the Road Bay Salt Company peaked in 1967, the year of the Revolution, when all were trying hard to support Anguilla's secession from St. Kitts. The workers harvested more than 60,000 barrels in six to eight weeks and employed 156 salt pickers, eight men working in the grinding house, eight loaders outside, four drivers, three or four workers on the wharf, and four to eight stevedores, depending on the size of the ship - or almost 200 workers out of a population of about 6,000. In addition there were thirty full-time employees who ground salt year-round, unless they ran out of salt. They carried salt into the grinding house where one or two women, usually including a totally deaf woman, removed any debris and fed the grinding mill. *"She was very good at feeding the mill because she concentrated on what she was doing. She didn't listen to all the gossip and because she was deaf mute she had other senses far more acute ... And she could tell by the feel of the vibration on the floor you know how the mill was ... whether it was getting too much salt or too little."* The harvesters reaped about 7,000 - 8,000 tons of salt, amounting to 14,000 to 16,000 flat loads.

If it were not for the special circumstance of the establishment of the Texaco refinery in Trinidad in the 1960s, the salt industry would have perished twenty years earlier. Texaco increased its consumption in 1967 to four hundred tons a month. This serendipitous event was due to advances in aeronautics. Sparked by OPEC's diminished oil production, England and the United States developed new breeds of fuel-efficient airplane engines. These required oil that had a specific gravity closer to that of water.

Texaco needed clean, coarse salt to refine jet fuel, JP4, and high speed diesel fuel. Adding salt to the water/oil mix made the water heavy and it precipitated out in several weeks; this was called settling up. "The decline of the salt industry is attributable to several factors, including the high cost of production, relative to other low-cost producers, the loss of its major market following the oil price declines since 1979 to 1980 and, relatedly, economic downturn in Trinidad and Tobago, and large swings in production due to irregular rainfall" (Anguilla Ministry of Finance 1991:3.6.2). In particular, the devaluation of the dollar in Trinidad made it financially unfeasible to produce salt for that market. The OPEC crises in the 1970s drove production at the Texaco refinery up to 360,000 barrels of oil a day; when the slump came in the 1980s, processing decreased to 36,000 barrels a day and resulted in the devaluation of the dollar in Trinidad. The company ceased sending a boat to Anguilla for salt.

Again, environmental and global factors proved critical to Anguilla's economy. But of these global factors, the United States dominated. It was the market for the island's lobster and fish and the corporate home of Texaco, who owned the refinery operations in Trinidad. In the United States, by 1974, road salting had become the second largest consumer of salt, after the chemical industry, artificial dyes, rayon, aluminum, phenolic plastics, solvents, pesticides, and automotive fluids. The car, if road salting is included, is now the largest consumer of salt and produces "a redistribution of terrestrial salt" (Multhauf 1978:235).

Guadeloupe, Barbados and Puerto Rico also imported fairly large amounts of Anguillian salt. There was also a small demand for the fine ground salt in the Trinidad



bakeries. For the last twenty years, Anguilla has imported salt along with all its other food, primarily from the United States. Although Anguillians assiduously avoid customs duties, they remain the major indigenous source of government income today.

When the salt industry became organized as a capital venture, there arose a general belief among Anguillians, based upon earlier official speculations, that "when the government first decided to lease the salt pond to private enterprise, an undertaking was given that in return the collection of land tax in Anguilla would be discontinued. In fact, it appears that this tax continued to be imposed until the 1960s (at which time that rate was EC \$1 an acre on all cultivated and uncultivated land) when it was discontinued" (Anguilla Government Information Service Bulletin 1979: 9-10). Here, Mitchell contradicted the Anguillian mythos that supported their resistance to any taxation.

In November 1999, Hurricane Lenny stalled off Anguilla. During the 30 hours that Anguilla was on the edge of the eye of the hurricane, 26 inches of rain fell completely flooding the Valley to a depth of 15 feet and inundating the salt ponds. The storm surge swept across the barrier strip between the ocean and the salt pond. All of these events were natural, part of the cycle of the formation of solar salt, but, compressed in time and space, they drastically changed the ecology of the salt pond. It will take years for the salt pond system to correct itself and there is no incentive except among a small group of Anguillian environmentalists to give it time to heal. There is talk of making Road Pond into a marina to attract tourists, but that would endanger the coral reefs and marine grass in the road. Recently people have begun fishing in the diluted salt ponds.

#### A Complementary Industry:

### Saltfish

Ursula Ewald wrote about "the spatial patterns of cottage industries or of proto-industrial enterprises affiliated with the production and marketing of salt. In the context of salt related studies, it might be feasible to use the economic principles of landuse zonation, outlined by Johann Heinrich von Thünen during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century" (1996:69). According to Von Thünen there were two principles for determining different landuse schemes: 1) the intensity principle, the "most cost-intensive with increasing proximity to the center, whereas towards the periphery they became more cost-extensive .... highly labour- and fuel-intensive fire-evaporated salt can be/could be made close to major settlements while salt, obtained with less production costs, e.g. solar salt, warranted transport from the periphery to the center because it still sold at a competitive price"; 2) "the commodity principle indicates that the transport qualities of specific products and their market value determine where they are being produced" (ibid: 76) On the periphery where labour and land are cheap, there is production of valuable, low-bulk, virtually non-perishable products.

If salt was Anguilla's only staple, it was counterposed economically with Newfoundland, a British colony whose only staple was fish. If the salt from Anguilla fueled the slavery and plantocracy ventures, it was saltfish from Newfoundland that fed the frontier. Like Anguilla, it was isolated and had little arable soil. They both had dual economies based on exchange and subsistence farming, supplemented by remittances (Ryan 1986: 249). During the slow seasons, Newfoundlanders migrated to mainland North America for work. Fishing, like salt, was subject to environmental factors in both the supply of fish and in the weather required for curing it. A light wind and temperatures

between 60-80° were essential for producing quality saltfish. Inferior curing and periodic catch failures, such as in the 1880s, were associated with Newfoundland's failure to expand its industry (ibid: 40).

Anguilla and Newfoundland shared the imbalances of being marginal, monocrop colonies in a global economy. "Access to foreign markets had always been a deciding factor in the development of the Newfoundland cod fishery ... Newfoundlanders were completely exposed to the forces of the market place and the very existence of their economy depended on developments in Southern Europe, the Caribbean and, later, Brazil" (ibid:236). Newfoundland's economy was almost completely dependent on the sale of dried salted codfish in unregulated markets and on foreign imports. Fishing, like salt making, was a seasonal trade and there were no price guarantees. "Fisherman usually worked from May to September without knowing what price they would receive for their catch ... a fisherman just got to wait until somebody makes a price" (ibid:xxiii). Unlike salt, "fishing was based on a free-access resource and because the fishermen were independent operators who needed very little capital investment. Therefore, although the cod fishing was stagnant, an increasing number of people became dependent on it" (ibid: 39). Migration was necessary to keep the population stable: "the exploitation of a common property resource cannot stabilize it at a point where all involved in it can expect a reasonable standard of living unless the surplus population moves elsewhere on onto other activities" (ibid: 256).

After the American Revolution halted trade with the Caribbean colonies, the British Caribbean became Newfoundland's biggest market and their cheapest grade of

salt fish, used to feed slaves, was called West Indies. Newfoundland enjoyed preferential import tariffs in the British West Indies after that until the free trade years of the 1840s. While “the Caribbean, especially the British Caribbean, declined in wealth and importance during the nineteenth century” (ibid:83), saltfish imports did not decline after emancipation due to “the general economic decline” of the region (ibid: 254). “[S]o long as saltfish consumption was dominated by the poor, there was a ceiling on price increases, but very little in the way of a floor” (ibid: xx-xxi).

There are parallels in their political histories that should have a cautionary effect on the discourse of independence in Anguilla. The “unemployment, poverty, bankruptcies and the violent reaction to their conditions by the fishermen and servants forced the British House of Commons in 1817 to appoint a select committee to study the situation” and “there was a general consensus [by the committee] that the unemployed surplus population would have to be removed” (ibid:115). Anguilla would be studied in 1824, 1939, and 1970. Relocation of the entire Anguillian population was a popular colonial remedy in the first half of the nineteenth century. After 1824, the relocation solution was increasingly urged on Anguilla. Starvation followed on both islands in the 1830s. “The extremely high Spanish tariff had been the main reason for this collapse, and the British government was unable to help. In Newfoundland, the result was a falling standard of living, near-starvation in certain places, and political and socio-economic confrontation” (circa 1834) (ibid:118). Like Anguilla, Newfoundland failed to modernize. Newfoundland didn’t “take full advantage of the telegraph” (ibid:58) or invest in steam trawlers (ibid: 41). The two islands shared a love of independence. Newfoundland also

shared Anguilla's loss of economic autonomy. St. John's merchants played a role parallel to those of St. Martin: "the acquisition of almost complete control over the colony's saltfish trade by the St. John's merchants" (ibid: 69). Newfoundland, like Anguilla, "appealed to the British Foreign Office for assistance in acquiring and/or maintaining preferential or at least equal, import tariff treatment by the importing countries" (ibid: 252-3).

Newfoundland anticipated Anguilla's post-independence predicaments. It collapsed: "the colony's political bankruptcy in 1934 when self-government was surrendered in return for the assumption of the public debt by Great Britain" (ibid:246). Newfoundland was "forced to call a halt to its journey along the road to political independence [to] ask the imperial government to reverse this political process in a futile effort to save its trade" (ibid: 257). Saddled with a huge public debt, Newfoundland discovered that "political independence was incompatible with the commercial reality of the international saltfish trade" (ibid:257). Britain's interest in North America and Caribbean possessions declined in favor of its African possessions.

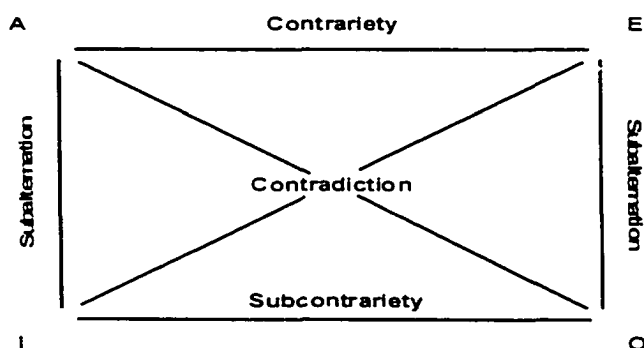
#### A Digression on the Symbolism of Salt

...the mighty synthesizing and focusing capacity of ritual symbolism. It might almost be said that the greater the symbol, the simpler its form. For a simple form is capable of supplying associative links of a very generalized character: it displays a feature or features that it shares, literally or analogically, with a wide variety of phenomena and ideas (Turner 1967:298).

This is a digression because it is inconclusive and susceptible to oppositions: it muddles on many points rather than elucidates. But it is necessary for an understanding of

the place of salt in Caribbean discourses. Salt is a simple form and it serves as a major symbol in almost every culture, as Victor Turner predicted. It is often interpreted as half of a dichotomy. A dichotomy is best phrased as contrary oppositions, the opposition of contrary propositions and terms, rather than as contrary propositions, which denies every possible case of the other. Claude Lévi-Strauss, in *The Savage Mind*, often failed to distinguish between absolute oppositions, contrarities and polar oppositions,

subcontrarities. Polar or binary oppositions or subcontrary oppositions refer to two things that come under the same class, yet are the most dissimilar in that class. Apuleius' commentary on Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* presents the Square of Opposition as a schematic:



This is the source of many Anguillian contradictions, especially those concerning their serious game of independence, but also that of class and color. It is at the root of colonial doublethink (see Chapter III). Contradictions are absolute opposites, in which only one of each pair can be true. Contrarities are an affirmation and denial which have the same subject and predicate and each of which is of a universal character containing the words "every" and "no". Both cannot be true, but both of the contradictions may be true: therefore it is possible that contrarities may be simultaneously false. Subcontrarities are "particular" sentences: they contain limited statements marked by the words "some"

and “not every.” Contradictions occur on the A/O and E/I axes between universals and particulars. Conclusions drawn from one of these forms to another, as in subalternation, are said to be obtained by immediate reference. Inductions are formed by going from a subcontrariety to a contrariety; deductive reasoning flows in the opposite direction. In the Square of Opposition, subalternation also denotes the relation of a particular proposition to a universal proposition having the same subject, predicate and quality.

What Westerners define as logic is hierarchical and linear. People raised in this tradition feel comfortable with dichotomies, especially those based on contrariety oppositions. Salt, so elemental, is the stuff from which dichotomies form. The purpose of this section is to see the relationships between these oppositions which render them complementary rather than binary opposites.

Anguilla’s isolation from the rest of the Caribbean conferred both strengths and weaknesses. For early anthropological research, the isolated community was a desideratum. Free from the influence of other cultures, the people should have preserved their quintessential heritage. But this was ideal, not real. The English on Anguilla were few, vastly outnumbered by blacks, and as cut off from England as the slaves were from Africa. No replenishments brought fresh blood and old concepts to either master or slave. It is to be expected that there would be little English cultural coercion, especially with the severe institutional failure Anguilla experienced. Amerindians have only one recorded contact with Anguillians: the raid in 1656. Again, there should be little cultural influence. But, because Anguillians were nomads, living on remittances even during slavery, their cultural concepts might have been challenged or changed by these three

sources as filtered through the slave experience on other islands. Additional cultural contact with their Dutch, French and Swedish trading and smuggling partners and, later, with their Hispanic co-workers in the cane fields may have inflected Anguilla culture.

The Caribbean area, then, was the stage for the meeting of peoples from three cultures: Amerindian, African and European. The following is a brief examination of the literature on salt for each of the three traditions. This is not to suggest a homogeneity of usage in any of the three: rather it reflects a radical selection of what has been written. Neither does this survey claim to be a comprehensive review: it unfortunately shares some of the flawed intellectual premises of the Yale Cultural Traits Inventory, now known as the Human Relations Area File.

#### Amerindian

Anthony P. Andrews' 1983 book *Maya Salt Production and Trade* encompassed historical, archeological and ethnographic information about the distribution, production, and trade of salt in the Maya area of the Gulf and Caribbean coasts of Mexico and Belize. The inland Maya needed supplementary salt because the sodium rich meat and marine sources, common in hunting and fishing societies, were lacking in their diet. They also suffered from salt depletion produced by heavy labor in the tropics, a problem that slaves on both the sugar and salt islands and domestic animals would share. The Maya salted some fish to preserve them and possibly used urine both to tan hides and make salt (Andrews 1983:11). The salt industry was a seasonal occupation for the Maya, who were primarily agriculturalists like the Anguillians. Salt was used in life-cycle ceremonies:



birth and death and baptism, the latter "a European custom that may have been introduced by the Spanish" (ibid:12). It was also prominent in witchcraft for both exorcism and casting and negating spells. Ritual nonuse before certain festivals occurred. Highland salt, rich in iron and other minerals, was preferred by the Maya for healing, itself a sacred act. Clearly salt is contextually significant: it spans the dichotomies of life/death, spelling/exorcism. That salt can heal glaucoma and other eye disorders is as common a belief in Guatemala as in Anguilla.

The Spanish had other uses for salt: "The most voracious salt-consuming industry was silver mining" (ibid:14), where it was used in the amalgamation process, and for salt licks on cattle ranches and in the consequent tanning of hides. The Yucatan was the main salt-producing Maya area: its Hispanic salt production is estimated to have been 20,000 metric tons, while, in 1980, it harvested approximately 430,000 metric tons. Some of Andrew's conclusions, and those of J. Jefferson MacKinnon and Susan M. Kepecs were disputed on evidentiary grounds by Joyce Marcus. "Among the Aztecs, however, the production and trade of salt was a highly specialized industry involving entire communities ... guilds and formal festivities" (ibid: 113). Aztecs prayed to the goddess of salt, Huixtocihuatl.

Sophie Coe, in *America's First Cuisines*, noted that the simplest fast for the Aztec, Inca and Maya was abstaining from salt and chile (1994:83). Salt symbolized the teaching of the Inca in their origin myth. Coe claimed that the Maya had a salt fish industry and coastal salt works (ibid:158). Quoting Bernabe Cobo, she described how the Inca used salt.

Instead when they ate, they would put a lump of salt next to the dish, and that was the salt cellar, and when they ate they would lick it, giving the palate a taste of salt rather than the pottage. Sometimes, when they were eating together, and there was only one lump of salt, they would pass it from hand to hand, licking it one after another (Coe 1994:179).

Catherine Good, using linguistic analysis, would concur with Ursula Ewald's (1994) suggestion that there was continuity in salt-producing technology between the late pre-Hispanic and early colonial periods in Mexico. Good found that on the Costa Chica, salt makers used "Nahuatl-derived terms in a non-Nahuatl speaking region as well as archaic Spanish vocabulary associated with the productive process" (1995:10); these retentions indicated continuity. For the Maya, salt making was a seasonal occupation alternating with milpa agriculture and was primarily a woman's job that is now preformed by descendants of maroons and free blacks. Among the Nahua traders, who were mainly male, "ritual gifts of salt ... symbolically express the fact that salt was once the basis of their support" (ibid:12). It should be noted that neither Good nor Ewald were studying salt production by solar evaporation; the Mexicans they studied leached salt from soil.

Salt's symbolic multivocality enabled it to become the foundation of many differing dichotomies. Three authors have built their cases for salt as the bases of contemporary class distinction upon the report of a nineteenth-century travel writer, Alfred Simson. Both Michael Taussig and Cheryl Pomeroy cited Alfred Simson's 1886 account of his travels in Ecuador and along the Putumayo River. Pomeroy gave the complete quote:

they are divided, or may be divided, into two great classes called by Ecuadorians "Indios" (Indians) and "Infieles" (infidels, heathens). The "Indians" are Quichua-speaking, salt-eating semi-Christians; the "infidels"

named by the others "Aucas," speak distinct languages, eat no salt regularly, excepting some of the Jivaros, and know nothing of baptism (Simson 1886:58 in Pomeroy 1988:147).

Taussig paraphrased the quote and added Simson's footnote to substantiate his premise of the planters' image of the wild Amerindians.

The term *auca*. "as commonly used now in the Oriente." [Simson] (foot-) noted. "seems to bear the full meaning it did anciently in Peru under the Incas. It includes the sense of infidel, traitor, barbarian, and is often applied in a malignant sense. In Peru it was used to designate those who rebelled against their king, and incarnation of their deity, the inca." (Taussig 1987:97).

Taussig, then, used local connotations to inflate the otherness of these wild men by transmuting heathen traitors into evil animals:

Several modern Ecuadorian Quechua dictionaries clearly bring the various meanings together "savage, seditious, rebel, enemy" and in the Columbian Putumayo today *auca* also connotes, to my friends at least and with varying intensities, the unrepentantly "other" world of savagery down there in the jungles of the *oriente*, a world quintessentially pagan, without Christ, Spanish words, or salt, inhabited by naked, incestuous, violent, magical, and monstrous people, even wilder, perhaps, than the *tigre moicano* -- animal, but also human, and unreal. Even in Simson's studied realism it is obvious that wild Indians are conceived to be so like animals that their animality partakes of the occult, thus inspiring a paranoid vision of evil lurking in the wilderness, encircling society (ibid).

Pomeroy maintained a less dramatic difference based on an environmental explanation. For Pomeroy, the quote furthered her hypothesis that salt was used as an ethnic marker in the Andes.

The perception that people who did not eat salt regularly were uncivilized may have been a highland Quichua prejudice, much as it was a Spanish and Ecuadorian one. The people of an Inca expedition into the eastern montaña traded salt for the gold they sought and were aware of the scarcity of salt in that region (Oberem 1974). Furthermore, the highland Quichua peoples viewed tropical forest peoples as generally unclothed, poor, and "unproductive" *desaprovechadas* peoples (Cabello Valboa 1951 [1586]: 438). One of the Quichua/Quecha names given to these peoples was *auca*, meaning they were war like and uncivilized (Guaman Poma 1936 [1613]: 64, 322, 323). Because salt was scarce in the

montaña and in montaña food, the highlanders very likely concluded that tropical forest people were so poor they even lacked salt, a dietary essential for highlanders (Pomeroy 1988:147-8).

“For the Quichua of highland Ecuador, salt, a common component of cultural and symbolic dialogue between Andean groups” (ibid:148) remains an ethnic marker, “a fundamental category of food”: in the sixteenth century, “the daily consumption of salt indicated membership in their society” (ibid:152-3).

When Littlewood referred to Taussig’s paraphrase, he, too, strayed from the sense of his citations. The following is an interesting example of how scholarly footnotes build on each other when they take quotes out of context.

Any Creole figuring can be pursued through a multitude of associations. To take salt: it is often used sparingly by rural West Indians, and was avoided by the salt-water (African born) slaves (Herskovits 1958:156) for it would hamper any miraculous flight back to Africa. Certainly, for inland Africans, their first experience of salt water was closely associated with enslavement. Salt is characteristic of the cheap imported slave food, salt fish, which is still valued in the rural West Indian diet. In both Europe and Africa salt is linked to the spirit world: in West Africa devotees of Obatala (ch. 8) refrained from salt; it is used to catch the soucouyant in Trinidad, and in Europe is associated with nature spirits (Kipling’s *Puck of Pook’s Hill*); food prepared without salt was once offered to the African powers in the West Indies (Abrahams and Szwed 1983: 156) and in the nineteen-thirties was ritually used in Trinidad wakes (Herskovits and Herskovits 1947:263). In Creole Guadeloupe salt represents female sexuality (André 1987: 83), while Amerindians avoided it as a sign of the Europeans’ civilization or even of their sorcery (Taussig 1987:97, 172). Salt is important in Roman Catholic doctrine (“salt of grace”) and its manufacturing from ashes may be unseemly given Rasta attitudes to death. In high science, salt stands for the earth, the female and body. Biologically, a relative avoidance of salt among those of African descent may be related to their greater physiological retention of sodium (Kiple 1984: 46) (Littlewood 1993 272-3).

Avoidance is the wrong word to characterize Taussig’s construction of Simson’s report that some Amerindians do not use salt. Also, Littlewood seems to have fallen into

the fallacy of the medical model of foodways when he stated that people would avoid what they did not need physiologically. Salt is arguably addictive (see Bloch 1963; Chagnon 1992). For a refutation of the effects of salt on Africans, based on the racist nature of scientific salt research, see Cooper et al. below. Contrary to some African groups' occasional ritual avoidance of salt, West Indian religions seem to encourage worshippers to define themselves as different from the spirit world by ritually eating salt or salted foods.

Pomeroy distinguished as Simson did. While one of Pomeroy's two hypotheses, that salt was precious in the highlands because it prevented iron deficiency falls into the fallacy of retroactively attributing medical knowledge (cf. Douglas, 1966; Feeley-Harnick, 1981), the other stressed that salt was a predominately female product "both in Ecuadorian society and cosmology" (1988:131). The saltiest highland springs were female: the weakest, male. After the Conquest, when the Spanish preferred sea salt to montane salt, the former became a status food and goiter and cretinism became epidemic in the Ecuadorian highlands. This contradicts Pomeroy's first proposition. If the Quichua had known how to halt the spread of these disorders, they would have. However, there is no disputing that salt was desired in the montaña and it is quite likely that the Quichua would regard salt-less tribes as poorer than they were, without understanding that the hunting and fishing jungle tribes' diet was rich in salt. Only when the Spanish began to use montane salt as a medical agent in the nineteenth century can we be sure that the connection between goiter and highland salt had been made. The Spaniards' knowledge seemed to have gone unshared.

For Ecuadorians, "salt and sugar are not used together in any dish, suggesting that these two fundamental categories of cooked food are both conceptually and behaviorally separate" (1988:149). Taussig also found that, in rituals among the tin miners in Bolivia, sugar was ritually opposed to salt (1980:150). Pomeroy noted that when the lowland Maya made sea salt by solar evaporation, men were in charge. Ecuadorian men traded the salt.

It appears that pan-Quechua or pan-Andean cosmological structures have manifested themselves here. Together, the commalike shape and the saltiness of the water appear to be female properties of the Andean cosmos, while the shape itself appears to represent the process of emergence and birth. At Salinas-Bolívar, the cosmological and social worlds seem to be mirror images of one another in that the female realm produces the saltiest springs and women produce salt from salt water (Pomeroy 1988:151).

There are two mentions of using salt to alter consciousness or mood. Unique in the literature, such practices are attributed to Amerindians. Fernando Ortiz claimed that the Tainos, after debilitating fasts, used to mix powdered tobacco "with sea water and salt, thus reinforcing its narcotic properties" to achieve the "possibility of hallucinating hypnosis" (1995:138). Amerindians in Quíbor, Venezuela mixed a saline compound with tobacco to produce a stimulating substance and used salt as currency, according to Franco Urbani (1998:43).

Salt, then, for Amerindians through the centuries has carried ritual, status and gender connotations. Ritual uses included abstinence during fasting and the concept that salt contained ancestral knowledge. Status concepts were the most sharply opposed on a materialist basis: haves and have-nots. Salt tended to be gendered female, both as an occupation and as a symbolic object.

### African Uses of Salt

[In Africa] lacking other sources, people used to drink the [blood and] urine of animals for its salt....A certain political pattern began to emerge: where salt was plentiful, the society tended to be free; where it was scarce, he who controlled the salt controlled the people (Bloch 1963:89,95).

In the song quoted at the beginning of Chapter II, Bob Marley internalized the precepts of the British education he received in Jamaica: a people need a history. In turn, he grafted the Buffalo Soldiers onto the Rastafari family tree. This augmentation added almost 70 years of history to the Africanist movement and subtly reversed the route of the slave trade so it appeared to come from the United States to the Caribbean. It both exonerated Africa in the slave trade and positioned the Caribbean as a wayside stop on the path to repatriation. The Buffalo Soldiers were American blacks, who, after the Civil War, were organized into the United States Army's 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Cavalry to escort settlers in the West and to lead campaigns against Native Americans. According to legend, the Native Americans admired the Buffalo Soldiers' bravery and hair: they bestowed the name Buffalo Soldiers on their valiant enemies. But the Buffalo Soldiers were exterminating Native Americans on behalf of the United States Government. Bob Marley's most famous song, a heartical Rastafari anthem, is "One Love," which is not about decimating others.

Buffalo Soldiers are antithetical predecessors for an Africanist repatriation movement, even if, in recent times, the goal has become local liberation before repatriation (see Barrett 1997). The Buffalo Soldier is poor logos but superb mythos. Cui bono? Black male self-esteem, the Rastafari movement, dreadlocks. It embeds Western

black men in the history of wars, if not resistance. But, if Afro-Caribbean people want to know, in the words of Bob Marley, "where you're coming from," it is also necessary to examine slavery in West Africa.

There are many links between salt and slavery. The first major uprising in the history of the African Diaspora was that of the Zarj, East African slaves who were imported to work in salt mines and plantations in Iraq in 869-883 AD (see Popovich 1999). "In Africa the scarcity of salt made it more precious than human freedom; it was in fact, a most powerful factor in the slave trade. Families in the African interior sold children into slavery for a handful of salt. As recently as 1882 a traveler in British East Africa reported that he was offered 'a young girl for four loaves of salt'" (Bloch 1963:95). "The New England merchants of the cod trade were deeply involved in slavery, not only because they supplied the plantation system but also because they facilitated the trade in Africans. In West Africa, slaves could be purchased with cured cod, and to this day there is still a West African market for salt cod and stockfish" (Kurlansky 1997:82).

There are eighteenth century records of salt-making in Guinea. Equatorial West Africa had extensive salt pans along its coastline where there were natural formations of sea salt or saliferous beach deposits, but, immediately inland, there was no salt. This strip of land was, in general, beyond the southern limit of the salt trade from the Sahara and extended from north of Senegambia through the Bight of Benin. "Up to a few years ago, a great caravan brought salt twice a year to Timbuktu in Mali from the Taodeni salt swamp in the Sahara Desert" (Bloch 1963:94). Two thousand camels traveled 450 miles



to bring back 300 tons of salt. "Some of the most renowned art works exported from that area were the Sherbro ivory salt cellars of the sixteenth and seventeenth century"

Gundaker 2002: personal communication). The Senegambia area imported salt from Europe before 1800. From the Bight of Benin to the Congo River, ranging into central Africa, salt was obtained from plant ashes, that, after 1800, was supplemented with imported salt.

Salt played a critical, albeit unrecognized role, in the triangular trade. Like sugar, it was one of the Caribbean products that went to the metropolitan country, usually in direct trade, rather than in the slave ships themselves. The salt islands were not depots for slaves. Salt went north to America and England, to preserve the fish and meat that were then shipped both to Africa, where they were used in trade for slaves, and to the Caribbean to feed slaves and Europeans. Salt food was also the mainstay of the sailors who traversed the triangular route. In addition, salt went south in the Caribbean to feed plantation cattle and mules. The triangular trade was mercantilism in action: the object of its desire was sugar, but it was salt that fueled the engine: the slaves, sailors, and animals.

Benin was the center of the eighteenth and nineteenth slave trade and, even today, is allegedly involved in regional traffic in children. On 17 April, 2001, 43 children from Benin Togo, Mali, Senegal and Guinea, ranging in age from infancy to 24, were removed from a ship. "Five children told authorities their parents were paid around \$14 before their departure." (Associated Press 2001)

UNICEF believes some 200,000 children are trafficked across West and Central African borders every year.

Smugglers persuade desperately poor families in countries such as Benin, Mali and Burkina Faso to give up their children for as little as \$14 in the belief they

will be educated and found jobs.

Instead, many are sold to coffee, cocoa and cotton plantation owners in better-off countries such as Gabon and Ivory Coast. Others end up as domestic workers, market vendors and even prostitutes (ibid).

There are parallels in the foods, salt, sugar, coffee, and chocolate, all of which are arguably addictive. Human requirements for salt are 3 to 7.5 kilograms per year.

According to Laurence Plumey, people need "3-4 g de sel par jour" (1996:171). "La pointe de la langue est tapissée de bourgeons du goût spécifiquement conçus pour le sel. Ces bourgeons perçoivent pour le sel des concentrations minimales encore plus faibles que pour le sucre (1/400 pour le sel contre 1/200 pour le sucre). On suppose que cette attirance pour le sel, commune à tous les mammifères, est en réalité une réponse à l'éloignement du milieu marin" (ibid:171, 174). Salt susceptibility is both idiosyncratic and hereditary. How much slavery is still involved in the production of foodstuffs and clothes that, traded globally, are regarded as commonplace? Cui bono is all of us who live in developed nations.

East Africa has a rich tradition of salt-making, usually by boiling brine leached from saline earth. Graham Connah postulated that "trade in several key commodities was apparently important in the maintenance of centralized authority: one of these seems to have been iron and another was salt" (1991:480). The Kingdom of Bunyoro, modern Uganda's former neighbor on Lake Albert, was a powerful state when the Europeans discovered it in the nineteenth century. Its wealth came from cattle, cultivation and its trade in salt, probably coming from Kibiro.

"The important role of salt in the development of internal African trading systems and its contributions to social and political changes have often been discussed" (ibid).

Archaeological excavations at Kibiro revealed artifacts dating back a thousand years.

Brian Fagan and John Yellen found an Iron Age sequence from the Ivuna salt pans in Southern Tanzania. It was one of the few localities where salt could be extracted from the earthen crusts around the mineral springs, then leached with water. The brine would then be evaporated over a fire. These rare sites "assumed considerable importance as centers of regional trade" (Fagan and Yellen 1968:1)

A historian, Paul Lovejoy, studied salt production and trade in the central Sudan to understand the influence of ecology on history:

the constraints of the natural environment on human activity helped shape the course of history. Where people lived and worked was partially determined by available salt resources and the ability to exploit them and partially by political and other factors, but the ecological setting was important. Fluctuations in rainfall not only affected agriculture but also salt production. Although man altered his ecological conditions through the kinds of agricultural, pastoral and other activities he pursued, more often than not ecological factors beyond human control had a more profound influence on history (1986:14).

The Hausa and Kanuri in the central Sudan distinguished between salt and natron. As Pomeroy found in Ecuador, in the central Sudan "there is no better measure of poverty than the inability of people to afford salt" (ibid:20). Salt in the central Sudan is almost always a mixture of salts. What Lovejoy termed salt had sodium chloride predominating, while natron was primarily sodium carbonate. Lovejoy made an important distinction: "an analogy to European consumption of salt is misleading ... the very purity of European and North American salt is responsible for this relatively simple correlation between salt and its use" (ibid:15). The quality and appearance of the salt mattered in how it was used symbolically. In Douglas' terms, African salt, as a mixture or wrung from briny earth or

burned ashes, was often polluted.

Medicinal applications of salt were commonplace: only Muslim clerics used less salt and natron. However, natron or salt was mixed with ink, "then used to write Quranic verses and prayers on the slates of the Muslim clerics. The words were then washed off the slate and drunk as a potion to cure ills" (ibid:24). Although salt was used for eye problems, salt and natron were used primarily for problems below the waist. Natron was used in beans for its anti-flatulence properties and as a purgative. Single men drank red natron to reduce sexual drive, a Sudanese saltpeter. Red natron was a remedy for venereal diseases and an abortifacient. Pure salt was used to counteract guinea worm. A snack of palm shoots spiced with salt, red peppers and ginger "makes the penis strong" (ibid:20). It follows logically that red natron was applied to broken or dislocated bones. Trona, an expensive and strong form of red natron, while also a purgative, was reputed to increase virility and improve sight when used regularly.

As for how these practices and beliefs might have reached West Africa, where the majority of the slaves that were taken to the Americas originated, "Hausa, traders took 'congwa' to Timbuktu, from where it may well have been reexported as far as Segu.... Natron was found on the Guinea Coast -- at Ardrah at least --in the 1790s" (ibid:21). For those who dislike diffusion via trade as an explanation for the presence or absence of cultural traits, there is always the structuralist concept of universality in salt beliefs and practices. This study espouses a third theory: echoing Lovejoy, cultural traits are forged in particular environments and their history can be pieced together.

J.E.G. Sutton and A.D. Roberts excavated stratified early Iron Age sites near the

brine springs in Uvinza, in western Tanzania. They found "potsherds mostly of the distinctive salt-boiling variety" (1968:50) but "it should be noted that there is no standard shape, such as might be expected in an industrial context" (ibid:56) (cf. Marcus 1991). While they acknowledged that there was no proof these vessels were used in salt-making, they claimed a high probability. When the Europeans arrived they extracted a revenue from the salt industry and the Germans later declared the springs Crown land, as the English would do in Anguilla. By the mid-twentieth century, bore holes and solar evaporation in salt pans became the favored methods of production and the government had introduced cotton as an alternative source of cash wages (1968:82).

Salt, then, in Africa had important political and physical powers. For much of Africa, including the Muslim North, salt patrolled the boundary between the spiritual and the secular, particularly the sensual. What is most important for this paper is that salt is found throughout Africa. If the Atlantic constituted inland Africans' first experience of saltwater, according to Littlewood, it was unlikely it was their first contact with salt.

The association of salt and sex in Tanzania has been noted by Brad Weiss (1998: personal communication). In his study of the Haya, he also observed that salt was central to any meal: "it makes cooked food into an edible meal" (1996:83). The mourning meal, the Hyena's Pot, is made without salt deliberately, according to Weiss, to represent "the hardships of death and mourning and is eaten only sparingly by those who bear the pains" (1996:81). At certain times of the year, Africans abstain from salt. "Prohibitions on using salt are widespread in African rites of passage (Turner 1967; Comoroff 1985a) see also Lan (1985:79-80) on the association of salt prohibitions and ancestors in Shona

practice" (Weiss 1996:231). Jack Goody claimed that "the cuisine of West Africa was largely dependent on salt and pepper alone" (1997:212).

Victor Turner worked in Zambia in Central Africa. He found that male and female Ndembu novices could not eat salt or anything "salty or sweet (- *towala* means both)" (1967:63).

Salt is "*wawutowala*" and tastes like blood. If either the novices or their mothers ate salt, the boys' cuts would not heal. This would also be the case if the mothers slept with their husbands before *chikula*. Furthermore, if the mothers ate salt, they would break out in boils when they were washed with medicine at *chikula* ... male informants have told me that the sexual fluids are "salty". Thus it would appear that the Ndembu make a connection between the ideas "blood," "semen," "salt" and "intercourse". The fact that both intercourse and the eating of salt are tabooed means more, therefore, than the mere abstention from different kinds of pleasure while the novices are in discomfort. The prohibitions are intrinsically related (ibid:234-5).

In the Caribbean, Mighty Sparrow's salacious calypso, "Saltfish," expressed forcefully the link between salt and sex, specifically, between saltfish and women's genitals.

"One of the most important West African salt binaries is what Fardon has called the African "Thermodynamic Code" of cool and hot. Salt is aligned with whiteness, sweetness and coolness as it is with the Yoruba. It is essential to maintain 'cool' (civilized, cultivated) human relations and to counter 'hot' bush energies" (Gundaker 2002: personal communication).

Roger Abrahams, in his collection of *African Folklores* (1983), related only a few stories about salt. In one Hausa courtship test story, salt and other spices fail while drippings prevail: fat dominates. In a Dahomey version of the Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves folklore type called "The Password," the thieves were hidden in a hundred sacks

of salt. The hero of "The Three Tests," a Swahili story, wins the help of the jinns by cooking them rice without salt; with their help he frees his older brothers from a spell and wins the hand of a princess. Again salt is associated with worldly affairs, while abstinence from salt is associated with the spirits.

Breaking this tradition, in the Christian ritual of baptism introduced by the Portuguese to the Kongo kingdom in the late fifteenth century, the practice of placing salt on a baptized person's tongue, rather than sprinkling with water, was emphasized. "To be baptized" was "to eat salt" and by extension, "to become too much like Europeans." So in Jamaica to resist eating salt may have been a metaphor for resistance to foreign ways (including Christian conversion). Thus, only those who were faithful to African ways were worthy to return to Africa (Schuler 1980:96).

#### European Uses of Salt

the salt monopoly and salt tax (*gabelle*) in France was one of the main causes of the French Revolution, and that Mahatma Gandhi climaxed his crusade for emancipation of the Indian people by leading them in the famous salt march (Bloch 1968:95).

In Western literature, salt often symbolized truth or temporal and spatial relationships. Except for Lot's poor wife and Sodom and Gomorrah, described as "a land possessed by nettles and salt pits and a waste forever." (Zephariah 2.9), salt evokes positive connotations, often of purity. Lot's wife and Sodom and Gomorrah connect to the spiritually negative aspect of salt: sexuality.

The salt of the earth, like truth in legal oaths, cannot be modified: "if the salt has lost his savour, where with shall it be salted?" (Matthew 5.13). This whole truth is the measure of a man, particularly one who is a laborer, a slave, a social inferior. In this sense, it also is a measure of hierarchical distance between speaker and subject. So, too, is salting birds' tails a spatial metaphor: one of unnatural closeness. As a temporal

marker. salt connotes the lengthy time it takes to count grains of salt or to consume a quantity of salt. Salting food defies the natural order: it provides preservation of food over time and allows its transport over space. Salt itself was conveyed globally so this could occur. Like tears, salt is bitter: "how salt is the taste of another man's bread." cried the exiled Dante (1961:245). And it is savory, a seasoning for Shakespeare of both youth and age, as well as of speech. A salty story is racy.

The whole symbolical value of salt, and all the ritual meanings attached to it, can be explained in the light of its origin and its practical uses. It purifies and protects food from corruption and putrefaction, which seems natural enough, since it comes from the sea, the primordial source of all life. In the symbolism of freemasonry, it represents life, the mother, the woman: the creative female principal as opposed to the destructive male principle personified by sulphur. As creator and thus regenerator, it accompanies the initiate towards the resurrection of a new life granted by the light. Similarly, in the Roman Catholic baptismal service, salt completes the purification of the holy water and destroys the soiling of corruption left by the traces of original sin. As a redemptive element it allows the soul thus purified to attain wisdom, the light of the faith. Even before Christianity, the Romans gave salt, and with it wisdom, to a newborn baby. The sacrificial victims of the Jews and Romans were purified with salt to make them acceptable to the Deity, and everyone knows that the Devil will offer you a saltless meal. If you feel suspicious, and ask for salt, his evil influence will be broken in the same way as the sign of the cross destroys it. A handful of salt is thrown into the fire on the hearth to keep away the demons who might be attracted to it. Salt is used in the exorcism rites of most religions.

Hospitality is also connected with the sharing of bread and salt and the implied promise that no harm will be done to the guest.... Spilt salt, therefore, means the breaking of that bond and the lapsing of protection from on high. The risk must be instantly averted by throwing a pinch of salt three times over your left shoulder, towards the evil spirits lurking in wait behind you. In Leonardo da Vinci's great painting of the Last Supper, he shows a spilt salt cellar under Judas's elbow. The Marquis de Montrevel, a marshal of France famous for his courage on a score of battlefields, including the field of Fleurus, died of fright on 10 October 1716 when a clumsy person spilled the contents of a salt cellar over him. It was death by suggestion, and the poor man is cruelly mocked in Saint-Simon's Memoirs (Toussaint-Samat 1996:474-5).

The early Venetians were poor fishermen and salt producers who traded those two



products. After the eighth-century Lombard invasion, Venice colonized the coasts of present Yugoslavia and Albania for slaves and salt pans that became the source of the Venetian trading fortune. They even smuggled the body of St. Mark from Alexandria hidden in a cargo of salt.

Denise Lawrence observed in the 1970s that, in rural Portugal, "the power of menstruating women is thought to interfere directly with the successful preparation of pork sausages" (1998:124). Because preserving meat with salt was a tricky, even dangerous, transitional process, it was susceptible to menstrual pollution. During the same period in South Wales, Vieda Skultans found that menopausal women were afraid of contaminating red meat and halting the rising of dough: they should not touch salt (1988:154). Prior to 1800 when yeast became more readily available, salt-rising bread incorporated salt into the leavening process. "Large quantities of salt stop the action of fermentation in cheese" (Firth 1977:16). Salt draws out juices and firms food (ibid:237). Here again sex and salt are related. Sausages and bread swell as they respectively are filled and rise. As in pregnancy, the pig's innards are stuffed with its own flesh and blood. The phallic shape of the sausages and the erectile aspects of meat firming and the fecundity of cheese fermenting were endangered by women who were incapable of reproduction. In sausage making, as in Caribbean skin-changing, the skin, the form, contains the content.

There are some similarities to African beliefs. But in the Christian cosmology, the devil is the only spirit who abhors salt. The purity of European salt yields different symbolic meanings from those common in Africa. The taking of salt is part of the

covenant with God: it joins man and the spirit world, rather than divides. The anecdote about the Marquis demonstrates that superstitious beliefs were as efficacious for Europeans, as they were in the so-called primitive world.

Judeo-Christian tradition classified salt as a sacrament. In Leviticus 2:13, God commanded Moses to "season all your cereal offerings with salt; you shall not let the salt of the covenant with your God be lacking from your cereal offering." As salt symbolized a covenant with God, so did "taking the King's salt" stand for fealty. In contradiction, taking something with a grain of salt means maintaining a skeptical attitude towards the truthfulness of that thing. Is this a connection made by the salt of the earth? Perhaps it is a form of peasant wisdom that reflects an underlying lack of faith in their loyalty to their superiors, a doubt that loyalty flows reciprocally toward them. Because so many countries taxed and controlled salt, salt was the nexus where state interests conflicted with personal desire. This ambivalence is reflected in the two sayings. In both, salt, a material substance mediates metaphorically between action and belief. Was this connotation also prevalent among the slaves who refused salt? African gods did not accept salted offerings in contrast to European ones. It is possible that slaves refused salt not only to emulate spirits but to refuse loyalty to European masters. Cooking and cuisine had class connotations in Europe. The English sat above or below the salt. In these instances, wealth and class are often conflated.

In an argument similar to Sidney Mintz's thesis in *Sweetness and Power* (1985), Multhauf posited that hard times and poor food actually lead to increased salt consumption (1978:5). Salt, now, along with saturated fat, have added to Mintz's

proletarian hunger-killers. Salted saturated fat adds more harmful calories than Mintz's junk food triumvirate of sugar, coffee and tea. Technology has brought the once scarce salted fat into the commonplace. Consequently, it is becoming a class/status concern: now, those who aspire to eat above the salt won't partake of either the salt or the groaning board of baron of beef.

### Uses of Salt by Africans in the New World

Alfred Kroeber, in his 1941 analysis of Western Native American Culture Element Distributions, found that salt use was due to cultural rather than ecological restraints and observed that taboos require that a "thing must be both fairly obtainable and fairly desirable before there would ordinarily be much motivation toward forbidding it" (1941:5). Kroeber argued that the strength of the taboo, which varied in ritualized areas, indicated the primary preoccupations, the ones that were most stable and least likely to change, of a tribe. In the tropical areas of Africa and the Caribbean, salt was desirable to counteract dehydration in humans and beasts. For the plantation slaves, salted meats were their only source of animal protein. Salted foods were physically needed and, because they were scarce relative to carbohydrates, they were desired. The dichotomy between refusing and relishing the food of the master is probably present in all situations of captivity (cf. sausage in *Sophie's Choice*).

"Compé Anansi and his wife were starving. So he said, 'My wife, saltfish is my favorite food ...'" (Abrahams 1985:207). Salt fish is treasured and abhorred by the descendants of slaves. As the source of scarce animal protein for slaves, it was desired.

Many recipes handed down through the generations feature saltfish. In Anguilla alone there is salt fish stew: salt fish cake, a five-inch, thin pancake: salt fish patty in a pastry that resembles an empanada: johnny cakes with salt fish: salt fish and akee: salt fish quiche: and even salt fish roti, the hot dog of the Caribbean. These dishes reflect pan-Caribbean cooking of salt fish. Conversely, because salt fish was the food of slaves, Rastafari and other activists disdain it. In addition, there is modern medical knowledge about the dangers of hypertension.

The idea "that people of African descent are 'intrinsically susceptible' to high blood pressure appears to follow from the racialized character of much public health research. ... The rate of hypertension in rural West Africa is lower than in any other place in the world, except for some parts of the Amazon basin and the South Pacific. People of African descent in the US and the UK, on the other hand, have among the highest rates of hypertension in the world" (Cooper et al. 1999:57-58). Given Simson's account of the lack of salt use among the Amazon Amerindians and the lack of salt in inland West Africa, there would seem to be a correlation between consumption of salt and high blood pressure. But, as Pomeroy argued, these are areas of high meat and fish consumption.

Cooper and his colleagues studied populations in Jamaica, Nigeria and the United States and found that "being overweight, and the associated lack of exercise and poor diet, explains between 40 and 50 percent of the increased risk for hypertension that African-Americans face compared with Nigeria" (ibid:59). "The African Diaspora has turned out to be a powerful tool for evaluating the effects of a changing society and environment on a relatively stable gene pool" (ibid: 60). "Psychological and social

stresses are extremely difficult to measure. The long-term effects of racism on blood pressure remain unknown" (ibid:63).

Their paper argued against the theory of the Middle Passage as a Darwinian situation of selective pressure where many slaves died of "salt-wasting" conditions in which the ability to retain salt might have had a survival value. Cooper and his co-authors found this hypothesis problematic: there was "no strong historical evidence that salt-wasting conditions were, in fact, the leading cause of death on slave ships" (ibid). Tuberculosis and violence were common on the ships. The similar mortality rates of whites and blacks in the eighteenth century disproved that the evolutionary pressure was limited to one Caribbean group. "If the middle passage functioned as an evolutionary bottleneck, it should have reduced both the size of the population and the genetic variability within it. The data available, however, "show a great deal of genetic diversity - not uniformity among African-Americans" (ibid:60).

Because blacks in "Trinidad, Cuba and rural Puerto Rico have average blood pressures that are nearly the same as other racial groups," the authors conjectured that "the relationships among races in those societies impose fewer insults on the cardiovascular system than those in the continental US do" (ibid:61). If this were true, the isolated Anguillians should not have hypertension. But, in their nomadic search for cash wages, almost all have been exposed to stress and racism. Cui bono from the myth of African susceptibility to hypertension? Those who wish to ignore the racism that still pervades Western society, in spite of having been forced underground by the Civil Rights movement. There are two main points here. The first is the racist reductionist

assumptions that underlie supposedly objective scientific research. The second is to combat scholarly claims that salt and saltfish were unfamiliar to Africans; the evidence proves otherwise. Salt was scarce in parts of Africa, but it was desired and familiar. The relative scarcity and impurity of salt are possibly why gods could not be fed salt. Desirable but not easily obtained, salt would not be a good object to make taboo to people.

## Resistance to Salt

According to Monica Schuler, the Yorubans and Central Africans, who immigrated as indentured laborers to Jamaica in the years 1841-1865, had recourse to Bakongo cosmology. In this religion the spirits and the sick didn't eat salt; abstention from salt turned a human into a witch who could fly back to Africa. The concept of flying back to Africa is prevalent throughout much of the Caribbean, e.g. Tobago. The living were divided from the dead by water, kalunga, an ideal barrier (cf. Ferguson 1992: 110-116). Because the Western hemisphere was conceived as under the water from Africa, the trade in laborers was a form of witchcraft that prematurely carried Africans to the sphere of the spirits, the land of white people. Because the spirits ate salt-free foods and could communicate with the living, the water of the Atlantic would "stop the pass" back to Africa for those who ate salt (Schuler 1980:45). Abstention from salt was a counterspell to this bewitchment. From the point of symbolic logic, it also confusingly conflated whites with the spirits, the slaves and black witchcraft; suicide and witchcraft of the right hand. Brined cod, mackerel, herring and pork became associated with exile. As the Amerindians did, the Kongo also connected Christianity with salt.

"Many of their ancestors had dreamed of return but could not because they had found it impractical if not impossible not to consume the traditional salted fish and pork imported as food for the slaves and now for the working class" (ibid: 96). Barry Chevannes built on Schuler: So in Jamaica to resist eating salt may have been a metaphor for resisting foreign ways. ... Thus only those who were faithful to African ways were worthy to return to Africa ... But the linking of salt with exile and the avoidance of salt

with repatriation may have been much more widely African .... The dead were thought to return to Africa, a belief that was also common in Vodun. In Revivalism, salt is taboo to the spirits. At the set up ritual a saucer of salt rests on the table around which the mourners sing, and from it they occasionally take a pinch. If, then, salt intake excludes the spirit, total salt-avoidance would have the opposite effect, namely the intake of the spirit and the possession of higher spiritual force of such magnitude as to enable one to fly back to Africa. A common Jamaicans expression, *yu salt* or *'im salt*, preserves the tradition linking salt with the loss of spiritual force. It is used to refer to a streak of bad luck or misfortune. Thus Rastafari salt avoidance, under the Ital rubric, is probably linked to ideas of spiritual force and repatriation prevailing from the time the earliest Africans were forced across the middle passage into bondage, though, as Littlewood (1993:272) points out, the association of salt with the spirit world is also common in Europe. The extent, therefore, to which most Jamaicans have become reconciled to adopting the island as their land may be measured in the adoption of "salt fish," a slave food imported from Newfoundland, in combination with the slave dish of ackee, a West African fruit, now the national dish (Chevannes 1994:35).

Elisa Sobo, contra Littlewood, found that salt was used heavily in rural Jamaica. "Mean people use very little salt in their cooking. Salt costs money, and it is associated with (among other things) imported foods, healing, good spiritual forces, and heaviness. It affects food's flavor, and most Jamaicans declare that they simply will not eat *fresh* (unsalted) food because it tastes bad" (1997:262).

While Rastafari, who adhere to the food, herb, and hair principles expounded in



Mosaic law, currently attribute salt avoidance to its link with hypertension, that link was not known in the founding days of the movement (see Alexis 1983; Chevannes 1994). Rastafari men *"will eat lots of salty foods like kale before doing heavy work."*

It would seem likely that the salt taboo among Rastafari, an Africanist movement, is more closely linked to retentions of African's association of salt as separate from the spirits, the spiritual. For most Jamaicans, salt avoidance gradually became culturally lost: for Rastafari involved in a repatriation movement similar in purpose to that of the indentured servants that Schuler described, a salt taboo serves the same means to an end in Africa. Food prohibitions also set them apart from their countrymen and contribute to group solidarity and identity.

Unlike the Rastafari who avoid salt, the Earth People Roland Littlewood studied traded their crops for salt (1993:7,176). In their cosmology, Salt joined with Fire, Water, Earth, Dirt and Slime and these "elements resolve itself as Life" (ibid:79). Littlewood met a Rastaman, Melangine, whose "six friends decided to leave by themselves and traveled to the east coast to the promontory where the Caribs had committed mass suicide in the sixteenth century. After purifying themselves for a week on a diet of lime juice, coconut water and sea water (all used for purging) [cf. Pringle 1831] three of the group paddled out to sea on a log in the general direction of Africa. They were not seen again" (ibid:181).

In 1809, in the then British island of St. Thomas, a barrel of salt pork cost 20-22 dollars; salt beef 10-12 dollars; salt fish 1-1 1/2 dollars per hundred weight from the Maritime Provinces and elsewhere (Nissen 1838:87). By 1858, the price of saltfish in

Jamaica was competitive with fresh pork and fresh beef (Ryan 1986:78), while salt pork and beef were more expensive. Since saltfish became less of a necessity for the poor, the taste for it which prevails to this day must be due to preference. In Puerto Rico, "Ackee is usually eaten with what the Jamaicans call 'salt fish' which is dried cod, and which, probably like rice and beans, became standardized in Caribbean culture under slavery" (Mintz 1989:228). "But survivals from slavery seem to be viewed mainly as testimony to cultural defeats and losses. The use of words from African languages, the cooking of foods originating in Africa, the worship of gods of African provenience all appear to document the will to endure to resist: but the significance of survivals from the slavery epoch is apparently diminished by circumstances of their origin. However, such a view risks belittling the accomplishments of Caribbean peoples during their period of sores trial" (ibid:228-9).

John Stedman, an eighteenth-century Englishman, vowed repeatedly to live on nothing but bread and salt until he had secured the redemption of an eighteenth-century Surinam slave named Joanna, with whom he was enamored (Price and Price 1992:196, 244). Stedman observed that the Rebel Negroes made salt from the ashes of palm trees. An acquaintance, Colonel Fourceoud, gave Stedman a meal of salt provisions: "This he absolutely held as the best regimen for health" (ibid:243). In 1929, Martha Beckwith wrote that salt cod and akee "is a favorite breakfast dish even upon the tables of the whites" in Jamaica as is pepper pot made with salt beef or pork (1969:14). The consumption of saltfish has been interpreted as a mark of the poorest class by Herskovits and Herskovits in 1947. Today, most people eat salt fish. Nationalists, who may not

have been raised on saltfish, have embraced it for two political reasons. Eating and reminiscing about saltfish creates a bond between politicians and the hoi polloi; in turn, politicians can use saltfish recipes in the creation of national identity and of historical consciousness (see Pyde 1995). Because of the popularity of salt foods, it is only the Rastafari, who, in their role as agents of social change, have dared to ban them.

#### Common Caribbean Concepts of Salt Use

It is not intended to discuss the origins or distribution of these beliefs though it may be noted that they are substantially the same as those reported for other parts of the West Indies, and bear marked resemblances to the *Obayifo* beliefs of the Ashanti (Raymond Smith 1956:165).

Raymond Smith was discussing the belief in British Guyana that salt should be put on the skin of people who suck. The concept that salt will shrink werewolf skins so that they can't put their human skins back on at dawn is common in the United States Virgin Islands (Medlicott and Sasso 1995:8). The Reverend Charles Dance reported in 1881 that witches or old hags take off their skin in Demerara and fly. They sucked the life blood out of infants. Pickling their skins would burn their raw bodies when they attempted to don them again (1983:150). The Herskovitses found this belief in Trinidad in 1947, but there the female vampires could ask for salt and work on it so they could not be barred (253-4). The use of salt and sometimes pepper as a method to discover, hold and punish witches and vampires is "present not only in the two parts of West Africa ... but they have also been found, in the course of field work, in Nigeria, Dahomey, and among the Ashanti, and, in the New World, in Guiana, Haiti, Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad" (Herskovits 1937: 259). Beckwith's account of Jamaican salt superstitions

included sprinkling salt on a broom left behind a door to get rid of unwelcome guests, a concept common in the United States Virgin Islands; walking on spilled salt causes a family quarrel; yelling "pepper and salt on your mammy" to avert misfortune; shooting a duppy with a gun loaded with salt, bluestone and sulphur (1969:85). It was necessary to eat goat meat boiled without salt while building the John Canoe houses that were taken to cemeteries "to catch the spirit of the dead" (Beckwith 1969:151). In Dominican lore, shooting a succuba with salt, pepper and metal is effective. Also, "if anybody asks you for salt Friday afternoon, not to give it. It is a bad neighbor" (Parsons III 1936:150). If you give a succuba salt, she can suck your blood. Dominicans also tell of salt and peppering a succuba's skin. Parson's use of the term succuba for a bloodsucker is alliterative error: succubas have intercourse with humans. There is an interesting parallel between the punitive uses of salt applied to the skin of werewolves and to the lacerations of whipped slaves, who, too, had had their skin partially removed. True symbolic logic dictates that the parallel only exists if the salt were applied to the excised skin. But, is it possible that, on a subliminal level, the slave who had been raised with the tradition of salting the skin of those who suck, might interpret salting his flogged flesh as killing the werewolf in him? Thus, to the extent flogging accomplished any purpose, it might have accomplished the same purpose on two different cultural levels that, in the end, were the same.

Salt, rubbed in raw wounds, intensified the pain. Allegedly, it also caused the wounds to heal in raised welts, an identifying character reference for the whipped slave and a reminder of his subordinate status. Salt was also used for the same purpose in scarification practices in Africa (Gundaker 2002: personal communication).

Feeding salt to a zombie kills him (Hurston 1990:246). Gede, a loa who is also a zombie, is fed apart from other loas because loas will not associate with the dead; his meal is salt herring (ibid:318). But Hurston found that zombies could never speak again unless given salt. To be a zombie is a liminal, dangerous state. According to the Reverend J. Scholes in Demerara in 1885, food for jumbies included rice and chicken prepared without salt (1983:156). In Brazil, Orixalá retained many of his African characteristics: "his white color, the requirement that worshipers refrain from salty dishes and alcoholic beverages, his role in reproduction and the development of the fetus" (Bastide 1978:251).

As in Africa, in the New World salt taboos abounded in the liminal stages of rites of passage where they separated the spirit world from the living. The ritual itself served to connect the two realms. In Trinidad, girls were given salt at puberty to keep their blood moving (Herskovits and Herskovits 1964:127). Unsalted food was offered to the dead at reel dances on the night before weddings, (ibid:89) and again when the women first became pregnant (ibid: 112), and when the child was born (ibid). The afterbirth was placed in a calabash with salt and rum and burned (ibid: 113), while the new mothers were fed saltfish (ibid: 117). Earlier, the Herskovitses had discovered that Haitians buried the placenta in a hole and scattered salt on it to make it spoil quickly so that the evil eye couldn't take it (1937: 93). In British Guyana, the placenta and navel cord were buried in the house yard: "salt may be sprinkled on it, supposedly to prevent the mother becoming pregnant again too quickly" (Smith 1956:131). Barbara Bush wrote that the Herskovitses "noted that in Trinidad salt, green mangoes and lime juice were used to

abort successfully" (1990: 142). This is a misreading of *Trinidad Village*. In it, the Herskovitses wrote that pregnant women avoided pineapple, pirah, unripe mangoes, salt and limes and rum because "these are abortives" (1964:111).

Salt again plays its dual role of healing and harming. It "clean it clean" and "cut it up bodily" (ibid). Barry Chevannes (1994) wrote that Jamaicans mixed plants called "fresh cut" with salt and placed them in wounds and tied the edges together (cf. Turner 1967:241-2). Salt was used as contraceptive in Haiti where women should drink it with coconut milk before intercourse (Herskovits 1937:120). Does it separate the spirit world of potential fetuses from the women? Men, during extramarital sex, put a grain of salt on their tongue to prevent conception (ibid). Is it possible that this was analogous to the spermicidal effects of Christian baptism/slavery or intended in the European sense of taking something with a grain of salt, or disbelief? It certainly doesn't signify loyalty.

In burial rituals Jamaicans nailed the heels of the corpses' socks to their coffins to hold down their duppies. They sprinkled salt in the coffin and laid a trail of salt and ground coffee from the grave to the house door to prevent the duppy from returning.

Duppies don't like salt. Salt gives the "temper" to mortal food and duppies are not mortal any longer so they do not need salt. When he leaves off being mortal, the duppy does not need anything to temper his vitals. Another says that salt is *not* given because salt is heavy. It holds duppies to the ground. He cannot fly and depart if he has salt. Once Africans could all fly because they never ate salt. Many of them were brought to Jamaica but they were never slaves. They flew back to Africa. Those who ate salt had to stay in America and be slaves, because they were too heavy to fly. A woman was positive that duppies do not like salt. She said that salt vexed duppies. If a duppy sees salt around a plate he will keep away. He will run right back to his grave (Hurston 1990:45-46).

In Haitian voodoo, Alfred Métraux discovered that the offering to the dead in religious ceremonies included food cooked without salt (1972:263) and novices could not

eat salted food (ibid:202). Hurston quoted a Haitian threat to kill a man: “‘mop mangé ou sans sel’ (I’ll eat you without salt)” (1990:203). Hurston wrongly equated this phrase with the American expression, “I’ll eat you alive.” It is actually a hierarchical threat in which the proclaimer is comparing himself to the spirits who refuse salted food. Hurston found that Jamaican Maroons jerk pork with salt but Michelle Cliff wrote that Jamaican Maroon women “had devised a method of curing [wild pig] without the use of salt” (1995:112).

### Slave Descendants’ Fictional Narratives

Salt references are common in contemporary Caribbean literature. Michelle Cliff wrote that in Jamaica that crates of salted herring “provided the basic diet of the slaves. Salt was important: it compensated sweat” (1995:25-6). As Steadman did, the poor children ate bread with salt. Ritual uses of salt are mentioned:

No one came to sing the duppy to rest and put bluing on the eyelids of Clinton, nail his shirt cuffs and the heels of his socks to the boards of his casket. No one to create the pillow filled with dried gunga peas, Indian corn, coffee beans, or to sprinkle salt into the coffin and make a trail of salt from the house to the grave. Before the slaves came to Jamaica, the old women and men believed, before they had to eat salt during their sweated labor in the canefields, Africans could fly. They were the only people on this earth to whom God had given this power. Those who refused to become slaves and did not eat salt flew back to Africa; those who did these things, who were slaves and ate salt to replenish their sweat had lost the power, because the salt made them heavy, weighted down. The salt sprinkled in the casket would keep the duppy in the ground, so he could not fly out, bring heat to the homes of the living, seizures to their children -- he could not make their heads swell like a green coconut (ibid:63-64).

Edwidge Danticat wrote that sweet water tea made from sugar cane pulp and “a pinch of salt under the tongue could usually quench hunger” (1996:58). She emphasized the heaviness of salt: “I cannot just swallow salt. Salt is heavier than a hundred bags of

shame” (ibid:150): “[S]hame is heavier than a hundred bags of salt” (ibid:154). As in Shakespeare, consumption of salt measured age: “I have tasted a lot more salt” (ibid:216). In her delineation of Trinidad class and color divisions, in *Crick, Crack Monkey*, Merle Hodge wrote that saltfish was anathema to the middle class.

Maryse Condé had Tituba’s father instruct her: “One day we shall be free and we shall fly back to the country we came from.” Then he rubbed my body with a knot of dried seaweed to prevent yaws” (1992:6). Tituba burned twigs with salt at sunset in a new house: “For although the water of springs and rivers attracts spirits, the perpetual motion of the sea drives them away. They remain on either side of its great expanse, sometimes sending messages to those who are dear to them, but never daring to cross the waves” (ibid:138). In the afterword to *I, Tituba*, Ann Scarborough discussed the African belief that death is a passage, a metamorphosis from the state of life to that of a spirit who participates in the lives of living like the Anguillians’ concept of dreaming the dead. Condé subverted history to make it usable, as Anguillians do. After demonstrating “how Caribbean folktales became a way of redefining the slaves’ universe, [Condé] concludes her essay by suggesting that another kind of literature, an epic, historic literature, with other values [not Ananci’s] was needed” (ibid:191). This is akin to Colville Petty’s conclusion that a personality change in Anguillians is needed for independence.

Condé, in *The Last of the African Kings*, dismissed the lack of cultural continuity: “as for the tradition of a meal without salt, for a host of reasons, it was lost” (1997:42). Spero, the protagonist, rejected the idea that he was “an old bag of bones, a dying man, a zombie who has not found his salt” (ibid:176). Later, combining salt and sexuality, he



made plans for his son: "He would choose her for him: a *bo kaye négresse*, the salt of the earth, who would know what giving pleasure means and would not ask for the moon" (ibid:204).

In a continuation of the zombie motif, Simone Schwarz-Bart from Guadeloupe wrote that, at the end, God would drop Fond-Zombi in the ocean and the salt "will purify and dissolve it all, all the unending awfulness" (1982:111). Her heroine's protector had received salt for her services as a witch, a concept different from that of the Jamaicans in Schuler's research (1980:96). Combining the story of Lot's wife with the value of endurance, she wrote, "I know a Negro is not a statue of salt to be dissolved by the rain" (Schwarz-Bart 1982:172).

Salt symbolism in the Caribbean is multivocalic and reflects the tempering of African beliefs with European and Christian concepts. It still separates the spirit world and the living, but, as in Amerindian and European tradition, it has become a marker of class and character. Amerindian and African salt was usually not pure, while Caribbean solar salt and European rock salt were. The mingling of the various traditions in the New World explains why salt dichotomies are not rigid. Depending on which tradition is adopted, and most Caribbean people adhere to several simultaneously, salt runs the gamut of subcontrarities.

#### The Anguilla Riddle

Somet'ing live in water  
Still water kill it. Salt.  
(Parsons III :441).

However, in Anguilla, perhaps because there was no significant importation of

slaves post-Emancipation to refresh tradition, none of those customs concerning salt are to be found, except for Rastafari salt avoidance. Within a generation obeah has changed from being a real force to being subject to doublethink, in my non-belonger's opinion. Obeah is still ubiquitous, but "*anything you can't explain is blamed on it.*" The only people who betrayed no scepticism were older. One woman constantly accused an ordained minister of practicing obeah because she had suffered headaches since his arrival. There is the occasional chicken with a slit throat in the Anglican graveyard and elsewhere. But Anguilla remains an importer. Just as Anguillians go to St. Martin to consult medical doctors, they seek obeah specialists there. The world of the spirits is usually channeled through mediums in French St. Martin. One "African medium" from that island inserts his advertisement under car windshield wipers. He promises money, luck in exams and games, faithfulness, protection against "enemies," and the return of loved ones. It was a French doctor in Martinique who, while operating on an Anguillian, noticed that she "smoked." He knew the right French obeah term for it and predicted, correctly, that this woman, who was allegedly part of a love triangle, would die.

Fragments of memories of possibly related rituals can be teased out of the elderly. Umbilical cords were buried, women stayed in the house for nine days after childbirth, children couldn't wear colored clothes until after they were christened, and the dead were muffed and had their big toes tied together. These may be counterparts to Jamaican rituals, but changed due to poverty. Anguillians, who had to pull wood off their houses to construct coffins, for want of a nail to bind the dead to their coffins, might have substituted tying the toes to hobble the duppy. There are stories about stolen babies, who

disappeared from their homes at night and reappeared in other houses. "Obeah - the word is derived from two Ashanti words *oba* - 'a child' and *yi* - 'to take': The idea of taking a child was the final test of a sorcerer, a deed giving the status of a Ph.D. in witchcraft" (Barrett 1997:18).

Dreaming is still universally believed. Deceased loved ones come in dreams to warn and counsel the living. Even dead children advise their mothers. Separation between the living and dead is incomplete in Anguilla, as elsewhere in the Caribbean. On a material plane, bush teas and bush healers are widely used and respected for their effectiveness. Health foods and herbal alternative remedies produced in the United States parallel the home brews and are very popular. Rite of passage rituals have become churchified to the extent that there are blessing ceremonies when ground is broken for a commercial enterprise and another when it is opened. The jumbie stories are known, but "you can't see jumbies anymore because of television." The emanations of the one occlude the other.

Symbolic interpretation is similar to drawing a brick foundation. Where the first brick is laid, what element is first assigned meaning, dictates where the rest will fall. The first brick determines the last: each stands in relation to the other. This is not a dichotomy or contrariety: other bricks, the *tertium quid* per Marshall Sahlins (1976), stand in relationship to the first and last. It is very hard to dichotomize, to force the metaphysical moities. The result is often a *tertium quid* that, in a square of opposition, is a subcontrariety rather than a subalternation, an ambiguity, an anomaly. Structuralists such as Lévi-Strauss naturalized the anomaly as a mediator: for Douglas, anomaly was

the dangerous matter that existed at the interstices of group and grid and was mediated by ritual. Turner relegated the anomaly to the liminal part of the processual experience of a rite of passage and thus incorporated it, as did Clifford Geertz (1973). Because symbols are multivocalic within a single culture, it is a fallacy to attempt to extrapolate universal symbols or to compare them.

Comparison results in subalternations and contradictions and contrarities.

Symbols in motion: the dancers are the dance, Turner's whole. Levi-Strauss is a triadic thinker because he is unable to keep his poles apart, in the opposition necessary for his universal mentalities. *Tertium quid*, between practice and praxis, allows symbolic slippage that is common both in cultures and between individuals. To embrace rather than to sequester ambiguity is to deconstruct the oppositions and force them into dialogue. Triadic thinking offers a better analysis than the dyadic square of oppositions. But, as in any analysis, the triad is formed by the phrasing of the question and the first brick, the first interpretation. The values of salt are primarily relational. They are associated with questions of who has it to give, to whom is it given, who takes it, and who refuses it. It mediates the connections that people make with others. Salt stands as a good argument against universal mental processes and binary oppositions. It also serves as a warning. In so far as there are different symbolic meanings, when phrased as western logical contrarities, each is incipiently hierarchical: spiritual/sexual, male/female, dominate/subordinate.

The interpretation of symbols is subjective, both emic and etic, eisegetic and exegetic. Therefore, I have formed only one inductive conclusion about any universal

meaning of salt from the preceding examples: the simple subsistence remains a potent source for symbolic thought and semiotic communications. Because salt is important in peoples' lives, they do philosophize about it in locally significant ways that help them make sense of their own situations. Symbolic usage is often more complementary than contrary. In academic jargon, it is both/and rather than either/or.

Yet, in Anguilla, where salt making has been, historically, a focal point of African Anguillians' experience, there are virtually no symbolic meanings attached to the substance or ritual usage. Salt is employed medicinally. But the only equation Anguillians seem to make with salt is work—unequivocal, hard work: wage slavery.

CHAPTER III  
"CHARLOTTE. THE COMPLAINING SLAVE" (CO 239/30)

The anthropological mode of history may look suspiciously like literature to a hard-boiled social scientist. It begins from the premise that individual expression takes place within a general idiom, that we learn to classify sensations and make sense of things by thinking within a framework provided by our culture. It therefore should be possible for the historian to discover the social dimension of thought and to tease meaning from documents by relating them to the surrounding world of significance, passing from text to context and back again until he has cleared a way through a foreign mental world.... I do not see why cultural history should avoid the eccentric or embrace the average for one cannot calculate the mean of meanings or reduce symbols to the lowest common denominator (Darnton 1984:6).

Supporting the mythos of independence and landowning is the Anguillian mythos is that slavery was somehow easier on Anguilla. Both the dominant colonial officials and the descendants of the subordinate slaves agree on this account. Thus, in this instance, "the impact of domination on public discourse"(Scott 1990:5) has been complete. The better treatment accorded Anguillian slaves is so critical to Anguillian personal and national self-image that it is a root myth. But there is a radical discrepancy between this dominant tale and the not-so-hidden transcript in the Colonial Office records. Exploring the protean ocean between the history and the myth may shed light on how hegemonic power actually works.

The analyst in any situation like this has a strategic advantage over even the most sensitive participants precisely because the hidden transcripts of dominant and subordinate are, in most circumstances, *never in direct contact*. Each participant will be familiar with the public transcript and the hidden transcript of his or her

circle, but not with the hidden transcript of the other. For this reason, political analysis can be advanced by research that can compare the hidden transcript of subordinate groups with the hidden transcript of the powerful and both hidden transcripts with the public transcript they share (Scott 1990:15).

Status domination in Anguilla as vested in the oligarchic members of the court was challenged both by the Stipendiary Magistrate, Robert Pickwood of St. Kitts, and Charlotte Hodge, the complaining slave. Encouraged for more than six years by Pickwood, the Stipendiary Magistrate assigned to Anguilla from St. Kitts, Charlotte filed two complaints against her master, Associate Justice Hodge of Anguilla, during a session of the Anguilla Court. Pickwood had reasons of his own for attacking a fellow justice, but Charlotte was more than a pawn in their personal battle. Pickwood was liberal in his interpretation in his interpretation of slaves' participation in the court drama: the Anguillian oligarchy was not. The three hidden, backstage transcripts of the two dominant groups and the subordinate class became public transcripts that were actually published in the St. Kitts newspaper and preserved in the Colonial Office Record. Why this episode has not entered Anguillian mythos and logos is the question.

Erving Goffman (1959) defined performances as consisting of performers, audience, and outsiders observing people manipulating definitions of themselves and their society. Performance is the presentation of self in symbolic interaction, often in dramaturgical rituals such as trials. It is directed towards an audience, which limits the actors' freedom to define the impression that they wish to create and maintain. As a sociologist, Goffman's emphasis was on how peoples' definitions of themselves interacted with other scripts. People are controlled by their closed social system to a greater or lesser extent. For him, there was no gap between people and society; they are

co-constructed. Roles are always already immanent in the culture. The key factor in the structure of social encounters was the contest to maintain a dominant definition of the situation, the players' "claim as to what reality is", the party line (Goffman 1959:85). When Pickwood spoke out of the character maintained by his dominant white team: when, in the trial, the performers expressed multiple, incompatible versions of reality: when both the dominate white judiciary and the subordinate black slaves failed to collude: the performance was jeopardized and the people behind the masks were revealed and embarrassed. Performance disruptions have consequences for both personal interaction and at the level of social structure (ibid:243).

### Colonial Discourse

James Scott cited George Orwell's reluctant shooting of an elephant while he was subinspector of police in colonial Burma as an example of the need of the elite to keep their masks in place in public, on frontstage, because "actions by elites that *publicly* contradict the basis of a claim to power are threatening" (1990:11). The trial of an elite is therefore arguably a symptom of weakness in the ideological power of the dominant class, or a contradiction in Louis Althusser's institutional state apparatus (1971). How could this happen within the strict hegemony of a master/slave society? Using reactance theory, Scott claimed that overt compliance, "secured only by close surveillance to detect and punish deviance ... further increased the degree of reaction" to opposition (1990:109).

Slave owners, colonials, and capitalists claimed that black workers had a dislike of work: this was fundamental to the Caribbean Quashee stereotype. Slaves' subversion of work has often been interpreted as material resistance to domination by withholding



labor. It can also, in Scott's terms, be seen as status resistance and, ultimately, as ideological resistance, too, in that the mini-max goals of western capitalism are not universal cultural aspirations.

The colonial belief in the Quashee stereotype, a form of self-fulfilling prophecy that justified strict domination by managers and resulted in less cooperation from the workers, continues to be embedded in and embattled by the Caribbean area's economic problems. Doublethink plays a critical role in dominant discourse. Eric Fromm, in an afterword to Orwell's *1984*, defined doublethink: "Doublethink means the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them. ... This process has to be conscious, or it would not be carried out with sufficient precision. But it also has to be unconscious, or it would bring with it a feeling of falsity and hence of guilt" (1984:264).

Orwell's dystopia was a totalitarian society, but his analysis is also applicable to the excesses of feudalism, slavery, colonialism and capitalism. At the heart of all these systems is a violation of basic human needs justified by a benevolent dominant ideology. The fraternal slogan, "Big Brother is watching you," is the ultimate threat. Without a private life, it is virtually impossible to form or enact a hidden narrative. There is no disguise of dissidence possible, no infrapolitics.

The point here is that both domination and the arts of resistance loom large in both official transcripts and in works of art, or at least artifacts of artificers of the imagination. Myths, contested legends, poems, songs, historical documents: all convey overt and covert agendas. Without doublethink on both sides, there would be no frontstage, which is a conscious presentation of self as the other wishes the person to be

and as, sometimes, the person actually wishes to be seen. Analysis must discern whether the actor's motive is, for example, Uncle Tomism, known in Anguilla as Afro-Saxonism, or, Quashee-like, to amuse fellow workers, or for security. It is this the last aspect that leads to what Scott argued is the self-interest of powerless groups in conspiring to reinforce hegemonic appearances (1990:xii). Obviously material self-interest is critical: without a free labor market, the *sine qua non* of capitalism, the peon is dependent.

Material self-interest lies at the core of what Antonio Gramsci would term the conservative aspect of common sense, what Edward Kamau Brathwaite (1971) analyzed as the mutual fear of planters and emancipated slaves to change. Actively rewarding subordinate dependency is inherent in Gramsci's concept of hegemony: the leadership is based upon economic domination, "but it is secured politically by that class's making economic concessions and sacrifices to its allies" (1988:422). Material control depends upon some material sacrifice: ideology, or what I call mythos, which is not a simple reflection of the materialist base, is peoples' "relation to those conditions of existence which are represented to them there" (Althusser 1971:164). Ideology persuades subordinate groups to naturalize the status quo, so that, as Scott quoted Barrington Moore, "the social order is seen as entirely inevitable and immovable" (1990:220). Yet hegemony "is characterized by the combination of force and consent variously balancing one another" (Gramsci 1988:423). This balancing act remains hidden because of doublethink, which for Gramsci is "two theoretical consciousnesses:" such a "contradictory state of consciousness does not permit any action" (1988:333). Building on Scott, it is my contention that doublethink, as a mutually shared ideology, and, more importantly, as praxis, unlocks the hegemonic stasis. Doublethink means that the

hegemonic terrain must be negotiated both publicly and in Scott's infrapolitics. In the Gramscian flux of negotiated relationships, the dancer is the dance, but the ballet is performed on a societally bounded stage. Resistance merely articulates the full range of possibilities within that culture. The trouble, as Scott noted, lies in finding the hidden transcripts of dominant and subordinate relationships.

Those who lose their frontstage masks are destroyed.

### Slavery in the Caribbean

The British Government had established amelioration as an official policy in 1823. Although a cynic might characterize the amelioration acts as an appeasement offered to abolitionists, their ostensible purpose was "to ameliorate slaves' conditions in general and thereby 'normalize' the slave communities' attitude towards child-rearing" (Beckles 1989:97). Improving the conditions of slave women, both prenatally and postnatally, to encourage the production of healthy children, was necessary economically. The importation of slaves to the British colonies had been prohibited in 1807; natural reproduction of the slave population was critical to colonial schemes. If natural reproduction were achieved, slavery would simultaneously pass the abolitionists' litmus test and be cost effective for plantation owners. However, colonial valuation of female slaves based on their fecundity above all other attributes can be considered as the lingering coercive concept, the ghost, in Brackette Williams' term, underlying modern matrifocality.

"The very nature of the controls under which the slaves lived were dependent to a large extent on the kind of crop most important in a given area; that this, in turn, was

affected by [the environment]" (Herskovits 1941:44). Among the list of exceptionalisms that Hilary Beckles (1990) composed about Barbados was its positive natural growth, in part ascribed to both races having female majorities. Anguilla, too, was exceptional in both ways. Its population of slaves increased naturally and it had female majorities. In 1819, there were 142 white women, 89 white men, and 134 white children; this contradicts the mythos that white women and children left early. Free coloreds numbered 109 women, 60 men, and 158 children. Among the slaves, women outnumbered men 760 to 527; between them, they had 1101 children (Jones 1976: 27-28). The plantocracy remained stable: There were 162 white males including children in 1825. Three of Beckles' other exceptionalisms, good roads, a strong militia, and a bad topography for maroons, created a sense of security among the white Barbados population that led to less harsh treatment of slaves. Anguilla, lacking all three, might be expected, in spite of the mythos, to have been more afraid of the overwhelming black majority and therefore more cruel in their treatment of their slaves.

The 1824 St. Kitts Commission of Inquiry on Anguilla had found that slaves were not given clothes or fish or other salt provisions, but they were allowed one and sometimes two days a week to grow ground provisions, contrary to the mythos of three or more days of self-employment. The Commissioners' opinion was that letting slaves loose to feed themselves was ruinous, but, as Petty commented, "the Commissioners misread the situation – the economy was in ruins" (1990:70). Conversely, being allowed to grow their own food was the principal reason the slaves were healthy and had enjoyed a natural increase in population since 1819, the Commission acknowledged.

The Commission noted that “the absence of laws (and the means of detecting or punishing offenders) provided the ideal environment for [slave] abuse” (*St. Christopher Advertiser* 12/1/1824). The Anguillian owners violated the 1807 Abolition Act by trading slaves on St. Martin and St. Bartholomew to pay their debts. But it was their lack of a slave registry that made it impossible for them to take slaves to other English islands. Again, failure to abide by the laws of far-off institutions caused Anguillians material damage. Deviance was trapped in the box, pre-scripted. Petty, maintaining the mythos, averred that there was “no evidence of any system of cruelty against slaves in Anguilla, where sugar production was not well organized and the plantation system not well entrenched” (1990:109). “System” is key to the mythos of the better treatment of slaves in Anguilla. Justice Pickwood would certainly find several Anguillian slaveholders, among them Dr. Benjamin Gumbs Hodge, Mr. Fleming, and Mr. Boyle, guilty of slave abuse.

Hilary Beckles exposed the reverse side of Barbados’ exceptionalism. “[A]bolitionists in England frequently described Barbadian slave owners as perhaps the most conservative in the West Indies. They were considered always the last to reform their slave codes and to extend legal rights to slaves and free coloreds” (Beckles 1990:85). But Barbados at least had laws; Anguilla had none. In 1824, the Barbados Assembly, under pressure from Parliament, passed a law allowing slaves to give evidence in court in all cases. Parliament wanted the Assembly to outlaw whipping, especially in the case of women. Barbados also passed a law that allowed slave owners to imprison slaves for unlimited periods. “In 1824 Parliament decided that Anglican religious training should be part of the preparation for emancipation and created the diocese of

Barbados, the Windward and Leeward Islands.” headed by Bishop William Hart Coleridge (ibid). Abolitionists believed that religion and education would prepare slaves for emancipation. The Methodist Church, with “what planters believed to be social egalitarian theological principles” (ibid:), began to teach slaves to read and write. In 1832 Parliament’s abolitionist stance jelled and in 1833 it passed the Emancipation Act, effective 1 August 1834.

Between the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and general emancipation in 1838, three major slave uprisings occurred in the British West Indies: Barbados 1816, Demerara 1823, and Jamaica 1831. The Jamaican rebellion must have been present in the minds of the jury at Hodge’s 1832 trial, because Jamaica had a high ratio of black slaves to white planters like Anguilla. In Demerara and Jamaica, what began as work strikes escalated only after militias reacted with force. In Jamaica, the rebellion was called the Baptist War and Monica Schuler proposed that the slaves had “detached the LMS and Baptist Church from missionary control and used them as organs of social protest. If anything, a ‘creolization’ of slave protest had taken place, and slaves seemed anxious to find a better place for themselves *within* the traditional plantation society” (Schuler 1991:384). Rebellion and collaboration became conflicting paths to freedom. “The premature expectation of emancipating, the feeling that the monarch was on their side - these are common elements of nineteenth century slave unrest in British colonies” (ibid:383). Schuler distinguished between subtle resistance that consisted of misdemeanors and armed uprisings by “a specific African ethnic group possessed of a clear sense of identity” (ibid:373). After the slave trade ceased, there was decreasing

emphasis on ethnic differences. Slaves reoriented “their resistance to slavery within the framework of the existing system” (ibid).

Beckles posited that “it was anti-slavery rather than sugar production which stamped the most prominent unifying marks upon the region ... black-led anti-slavery resided at the root of the Caribbean experience, and represented a critical element of the core of what was perhaps the first international political movement of the modern era - transatlantic abolitionism” (1991:371). Beckles quoted Eric Williams’ argument that “while metropolitan anti-slavery lobbyists intensified their campaign, during the early nineteenth century, slaves had done likewise. By 1833, he said, ‘the alternatives were clear.’ ‘emancipation from above or emancipation from below, but emancipation’” (ibid:366). Williams was arguing against a hegemonic interpretation in which metropolitan abolitionists spearheaded emancipation, because, by 1833 in Barbados, “slaves considered themselves as principal emancipation lobbyists” and requested meetings with the governor to discuss plans (Beckles 1990:88).

Beckles, writing in 1988, proclaimed that it “is now a major concern of scholars interpreting this extensive record of resistance to assess the extent to which slaves’ rebellious actions were informed by ideological choices in the context of maturing political consciousness” (1991:364). “Craon’s chronology of resistance between 1638 and 1837 ... lists some 75 aborted revolts and actual rebellions ... the relations between slaves in the [English] West Indies can be shown as characterized by ongoing psychological warfare and intermittent blood battles” (ibid). Anguillians specialized in the former. They still do.

Elsa Goveia stressed that the types of slavery in the Caribbean varied according to the colonizer. "Most important of all, perhaps, the tradition of representative government determined that the slave laws of the British colonies were made directly by a slave-owning ruling class. These laws were, therefore, an immediate reflection of what the slave owner conceived to be the necessities of the slave system" (1991:349). Anguilla had no government, no representation, no laws, a minuscule planter class, an oligarchic vestry and a preponderance of slaves.

"It may well be suggested that slaves wanted more than legal freedom on many occasions: that they also wanted political power and economic autonomy. These were certainly objectives that most 'humanitarians' preferred blacks not to have. The records of slave rebellions also show, it is true, that in some instances slaves might well have wanted only the right to reasonable wages and conditions of work under their old masters" (Beckles 1991:365). This would create an apolitical, semi-autonomous peasant culture such as that conceptualized by Sidney Mintz.

Beckles professed that there was usually an ideological level present in slave resistance: the idea of freedom. While the free colored of Anguilla were politically active in collaborating with the whites to ask for Hodge to be their Justice in 1831, their petition was limited to the local, rather than the ideological. They were concerned that they were not able to assist at a trial of their fellow free black man. Except for petitions against unification with St. Kitts, Anguillian documents are remarkably apolitical. It was the colonial officials who pled with the Secretary to introduce or restore institutions in Anguillians. The Anguillians expressed a desire for free port status. A free hand would



seem to be their ideology. This lack of any restraint, fundamental to the mythos of independence, has a dark side that is revealed in the inequalities of slavery.

### History of Slavery in Anguilla

One of the points of my study is to examine how the different economy of an island with a marginal plantocracy and insignificant sugar production affected the structure of slavery. Without understanding the historical variables, it is impossible to understand twenty-first century results. Many scholars, including Roger Abrahams (1983) and Roger Bastide (1978), refused to accept that all slavery was alike: it varied from region to region, and by the category of slave, as well as other ecological and economic factors. Slavery is always slavery, but, like Tolstoy's unhappy families, each instance of slavery is "unhappy in its own fashion."

This proposition is still being argued. Barbara Bush wrote "Patterson does not believe that differences in the mode of production and type of crop affected the way slaves were treated. In contrast, Barry Higman stresses the difference between urban and rural slaves and production on coffee estates and cattle pens, as opposed to sugar plantations" (1980:24). "Comparisons of slave systems are legion and generally defective," Lowenthal asserted (1972:44), yet he found sugar "not only caused Caribbean territories to resemble one another, it substantially unified them" (ibid:28). Slave circumstances were "perhaps easiest in Dutch Curaçao, where aridity impeded plantation agriculture" (ibid:40). Easier conditions of slavery would have created a space for Anguillians' vaunted sense of independence and allowed the lack of color consciousness, the image of racial harmony, so critical to other islands' nationalistic hopes, to flourish.

Sidney Mintz and Richard Price wrote: "But not all slavery systems oppressed equally, and not all slaves dealt with their oppression in the same ways" (1992:83-84). "The general theoretical position we take in this essay is that the past must be viewed as the conditioning circumstance of the present. We do not believe that the present can be 'understood' - in the sense of explaining the relationships among different contemporary institutional forms - without reference to the past" (ibid ). The question remains: which history?

How does Anguilla, a salt island, add information to these arguments? For a complete history of the structure of salt production, see Chapter II. This chapter deals with the particulars of slavery in Anguilla in a limited number of individual cases, especially that of Charlotte.

Before there were slaves in the Caribbean, there were indentured servants. Bermudians had initially marooned white indentured servants in the Turks and Caicos Islands to rake salt: they did not settle the islands until 1676. Salt had surpassed Bahamian cotton by 1800 to become the principal export, in spite of an American trade embargo. This, according to Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, had important social consequences: since "wringing a living from ... the sun-baked salt pans was inimical to the creation of a 'polite' society, [the owners] tended to desert their lands and slaves and gravitate with their families to the colonial capital" (1992:199). Demographically, the Turks and Caicos Islands resembled Anguilla. By 1810, the white population of the Turks and Caicos, 540 total, was outnumbered 41:100 by 1,308 slaves and 16:100 by 1,935 free nonwhites (ibid:261). Half of the slave population were saltworkers. The

number of slaves remained the same until emancipation in 1834. For whatever reason, the population failed to increase naturally, although Craton and Saunders claimed that life in the Bahamas was healthier than on sugar plantations (ibid:291). Yet all authorities agree that the salt work was harsh.

Anguilla's population in 1819 was 3,080, consisting of 365 whites, or 11% of the colony, 327 free non-whites, or 47.2% of all the free, and 2,388 slaves, or 77.5% of the colony (Knight 1990:366). Colonial officials praised the natural increase of the slave population. The mythos about slavery on Anguilla is that it was somehow better. The alleged reason for that was *"plantation owners couldn't afford to keep the slaves. They were given first, two days off to go and plant food for themselves, and then three days off. The sugar cane was stunted."*

In the early years of its settlement, Anguilla was virtually a white colony. The planters, in the first wave of Anguillian resistance, attempted to leave the bleak island. The uncle of Abraham Howell in November 1717, willed his sons and grandsons the "sloop called the Sea Flour to attend and go forward with the settlement of St. Croix" (CO 152/12). It was a brutal time. Philipp Leonard, the brother of the Anguilla Governor, George Leonard, was entrapped by Col. Norton of St. Kitts. In 1700, Norton persuaded Philipp, a military sailor, to leave his ship that was bound for England, because "the Cold would kill him" (CO 152/4). Norton promised him a year's servitude, but indentured him for three years and he was "made to work in the field as a Slave" (ibid). When Philipp refused, "once or twice every week," Norton put him in the pillory to be whipped "till the Blood came and Caused the Pickle of Beef Brine to be put on his Sores"

(ibid). This is one of the first mentions of salt pickle being used for punishment. The Anguillian governor had to pay Norton eighteen pounds to discharge his brother.

The impoverished state of Anguilla was acknowledged in an undated memo, circa 1724, that a “few sloops navigated by Slaves are all the means of their Commerce” (CO 152/54). The nomadic tradition of Anguilla had begun. Being nomads and landowners are not dichotomous in Anguillian mythos. Unlike Bruce Chatwin’s innate, aimless nomads, Anguillians were true nomads in that their regional, then global networks meant that their purposeful wanderings occurred in spaces they regarded as homes, albeit temporary. Their ultimate goal, according to mythos, was to acquire enough money to return to Anguilla.

Slaves were not kept under close observation in Anguilla. In October 1769, the Anguilla Council ruled against Andrew Johnston for harboring the Negroes of Benjamin Gumbs III; whether it was some or all of his slaves is not clear. The Reverend Jonathan Fleming, in November of the same year was fined £60 because two slaves of his killed another slave. The Court stated that Reverend Fleming “doth acknowledge he gave his Negroes orders frequently whom he appointed as watchmen to kill any Negro or Negroes destroying him in his canes” (CO 152/12). After the Haitian Revolution in 1790, the nervous Principal Proprietors in Anguilla requested that St. Kitts arm them with 150 muskets and ammunition. The dominant discourse of a hierarchical master/slave society was well established, even in the poor island of Anguilla, until the French razed the island in 1796. After that, Anguilla increasingly became a haven for runaway slaves. By December 1817, the Swedish Ambassador at the Court of London, acting on behalf of their colony of St. Barth, wrote Lord Castlereagh:

Mon predecesor l'avait reclaimé, et j'ai renouveler cette reclamation mais en vain ... L'esclave qui a été acheté pour le compte de la Courronne s'est eschappé il y a plus d'un an et s'est refugié a l'Ile de l'Anguille. L'impunite de ce deserteur a encore encouragé d'autres esclaves de cette Colonie de s'evader, et le mois passe il n'y avait plus moins de dix que j'avais à reclaimer de l'Anguille. Malheurusement (CO 239/4).

The following year, Richardson protested to Lord Bathurst that a mother and her four children who had been sold on St. Barth were "natives of Anguilla manumitted by Col. Benjamin Gumbs on the presumption that the children were children of a reputed colored son of his" (CO 239/5).

White Anguillians, by the nineteenth century, often made outright references to their outside children in their wills. Not only did they manumit their mulatto children, and provide for their upkeep until they were of age, as Thomas Hodge did in 1805, but they named them as heirs. "Thomas Henry Proctor gives unto Ann Hodge for her coloured child Eliza two-thirds of his real and personal property" (S.B. Jones 1976:19).

Increasingly, too, at this period, deeds in the Anguilla archives recorded that "slaves, returning after years of rented labour in other islands, purchase their freedom, then that of their spouses and children for hundreds of pounds sterling in some cases and then purchase the lands and estates of their previous masters for a few paltry pounds" (Mitchell n.d.:222). If, despite, the lack of currency on Anguilla, this logos is true, perhaps part of Anguilla's sense of pride stems from their ancestors being worth more than the land that they eventually possessed. It also emphasizes the legendary importance of remittance, which may have led to the importance attached to even the small sums that were brought home by later overseas workers.

For the planters, the slaves were their only capital. Just prior to emancipation and during the apprenticeship period, Anguillians shifted many slaves to other slaveholding islands like Puerto Rico where they could be sold. Often the apprentices were “laundered” through St. Thomas. On 22 March 1834, Mr. Carty notified the Colonial Office that there were 2375 slaves in Anguilla, but he did not send them a registry of slaves. In August 1835, the St. Kitts Assembly took formal notice of the “felonious removals of Slaves from Anguilla” and the alleged involvement of the President of Anguilla with this “illegal traffic” (CO 407/5).

British institutional failure in Anguilla led Maxwell to protest to Bathurst in August 1823 that there was nothing “to check the lawless disposition of many of them, or to protect the weak and helpless, or to punish the frequent Acts of oppression and Cruelty practiced on the Slave population, who are unregistered” (CO 239/9). In April 1824, Secretary of State Huskisson complained that fugitive slaves were resorting to Anguilla. To him, slaves seemed to be a class, rather than a race; he queried “the disposal of this class of persons” (CO 320/7).

One of the first acts St. Kitts passed for Anguilla when the former began legislating for the latter in 1825 was an ambiguously titled “Act for Establishing a Registry of Negroes and other slaves in the Island of Anguilla” on 22 August. There was much discussion that year of the Consolidated Slave Act. The English in the West Indies condemned it:

what must be the ultimate fatal consequences to the peace and welfare of the community, if statutes, framed to meet the visionary and chimerical views of persons inimicable to the welfare of these Colonies and ignorant of their local circumstances, should be thus enforced with a rigidity which appears to your

committee to exceed the intentions even of the Framers of the Laws themselves (CO 241/25).

Bathurst replied that the act was “founded upon the suggestions of the principal West Indian proprietors resident in this country [England]” (CO 241/25) and offered St. Kitts the possibility of a future free port. Meanwhile, St. Kitts refused to import fugitive slaves seized in Anguilla because they might “inculcate principles and disseminate opinions the most injurious to the best interests of the Colony” (ibid). Anguillian slaves were exposed to the allegedly inflammatory concepts of these fugitives.

The St. Kitts Assembly dismissed the devolutionary claims of abolitionists: they denied that the slave population was a “degraded class in the Moral Scale of Creation arising from the Cupidity and tyrannical conduct of their Masters” (CO 241/26). Meanwhile, three more Anguillian-born slaves of Col. Benjamin Gumbs were sent to his plantation on St. Martin, escaped and returned to Anguilla, cleverly claiming fugitive status. Gumbs reclaimed the resisting slaves from Hays, the Anguilla Custom Officer. However, he did not punish them and Viscount Goderich wondered if “the escape was a measure concerted with Col. Gumbs.” If so, the slaves were “entitled to their freedom” and the owner subject to penalty (CO 320/7). The slaves won in either case. Gumbs seems to be the best case supporting the mythos: Benjamin Gumbs Hodge refutes it. In 1827, the St. Kitts Assembly deplored the efforts of “respected Societies” to educate free colored persons and slaves, while ignoring poor whites: “in raising by the operation of Education the one Class, in moral and in intellectual strength, while the other would be gradually sinking without this advantage, in the Scale of Society” (CO 241/26). This statement undoubtedly referred more to the plantocracy of St. Kitts than to the less

differentiated society of Anguilla and again conflates class and race. It also presupposes education as the boundary between classes.

Slaves continued to escape to Anguilla. While maroonage would seem impossible on an island as small and barren as Anguilla, 130 years later Anguillian revolutionaries would successfully take to the bush to avoid capture by the British. "Between 1827 and 1831, about 49 percent of the Maroons on the small island of Anguilla were female" (Knight 1990:94). In February 1828, Secretary Huskisson received word that nearly one hundred slaves from St. Martin and a few from St. Croix, "who are chiefly Idlers, and who cannot subsist by honest means" were endangering the safety of Anguilla (CO 239/18). In October, a reprimand was issued from Downing Street, conveying "His Majesty's dissatisfaction" (CO 407/3) because a St. Kitts official named Rawlins had engineered a neutral exchange of 50 fugitive slaves with St. Martin. "If a necessity existed for removing the Foreign Slaves, there was none for restoring them" (ibid).

Stipendiary Magistrate Pickwood, on 27 March 1829, reported that 30 fugitive slaves on Anguilla were "thriving" and "peaceable & industrious" (CO 239/20). No matter how euphemistic his phrases were, it was obvious that status concerns were reaching crisis proportions. An Anglican minister, who had gained "the respect of every class of the inhabitants" was on island (ibid). Pickwood deplored the Methodist Mission's "severe rule which compels contribution, however small, from the needy slaves" (ibid). The Methodist Church seems to have held the same colonial principle that England did: colonies and congregations must pay for their upkeep and uplift through



duty taxes and tithes. Even today, Anguillians attempt to deny self-taxation as a prerequisite for self-rule; smugglers are not accustomed to duties.

Pickwood spoke of the "opposing prejudices" that separated "the respective classes in the other walks of life" as having a negative effect on school attendance that was offered "to the opulent and the poor" (ibid). A few of the fugitive slaves had not farmed the land made available to them, perhaps because, when the proprietor of the land had been told by the Customs Officer to quit, he had destroyed the crops. Pickwood ended by deploring the "hostile feelings which separate the several classes in Anguilla into almost hostile bands" (ibid). True to Anguillian temperament then and now, it proved difficult to collect a small poll tax on slaves. The St. Kitts Assembly decreed that free colored were to be afforded the same civil rights as Roman Catholics: Anguilla deflected the order by replying that it had none of the latter. Apparently the wild Irish had come within the pale.

Anguilla's London agent, James Colquhoun, wrote Murray in 1830 about the Amelioration Laws. He quoted extensively from a letter sent to him by Mr. Carty, the Foreman of the Grand Jury in the Boyle and Hodge slave abuse trials. Carty's words proved prophetic: conferring melioration

on free People of Color as should not place them in a point of feeling with reference to the Whites in a worse situation than at present by exciting a jealousy injurious to the comfort & prosperity of the Community at the same time pointing out the evident policy of attaching this Class of Persons to the Whites.... From time immemorial the free people of Color have been precluded from filling any public situation - nor do I think it likely that much harmony would exist were the line of distinction withdrawn and a perfect levelling System to ensue throughout which once begun would Eventually happen. Witness St. Domingo. ... btwn whom an everlasting grade of distinction has Existed, and will exist so long As Time Endures for it is impossible for prejudice to cease when the very Nature of the thing will [ ] Excite Envies and Jealousies and consequently Feuds and

Quarrels and Anarchy and confusion until one party become Triumphant.... Should this levelling system prevail, and once pervade the Colonies; and Power placed into their hands, you will very soon find the Colonies become untenable for white peoples - those that can remove to Americas will - those that cannot will suffer the most abject conditions which their life can be reduced to until an accelerated death closes their sufferings - and I am fully persuaded the poor Slaves will not be ameliorated by the change. ... The US to prevent free blacks from taking office have wisely taken up a Tract of Country in Africa ... by the name of Liberia and encouraged the migration thither (CO 239/23).

Prophetic but not dire, unless one were an Englishman in Anguilla. Evincing their predicted solidarity with the whites, on March 1831, the Free Coloured and Free Black of Anguilla, some of who owned property and served in the militia, but who were not allowed to assist at trials, signed a petition against having a non-resident, Pickwood, as Stipendiary Magistrate. All had the same surnames as those who signed the White Petition.

The muddled thinking of the colonists about the ability of free coloreds and free blacks to hold office, to serve on juries, and to testify in court revealed doublethink. Some blacks, especially mulattoes, were entitled to freedom; others were not. Free white men could be empaneled on a jury, but should free blacks be eligible? Owning property and serving on the militia cost money, as did buying freedom. Up to a certain point money, or class, erased racial difference. But when monied blacks threatened whites for the elite institutions of power, it was necessary for the elite to define even free colored as being immutably different. In many islands such as Barbados (Beckles 1990) and Jamaica (Brathwaite 1971), the free colored aligned with whites in repressing their black brothers. Blocking access to institutional power for those former slaves who were qualified in all other respects was the practical result of doublethink.

It was during the murky period following the Amelioration Act, a time of a virtually unstated and certainly unequal power struggle, that Justice Robert Pickwood, an enlightened Stipendiary Magistrate from St. Kitts, was sent to Anguilla. Hostility between Pickwood and the slave owners of Anguilla had been building until, by 1831, the antagonism became publically revealed on the frontstage, courtesy of the *St. Christopher Advertiser* (see below).

William Carty, the foreman of the Grand Jury responded to Pickwood's and Hodge's addresses to the Jury: "in the absence of all law to coerce their Masters, the Slaves of this Island are in as happy, if not a happier state, than any Slaves in the Sister Colonies. It is well known that Anguilla is a poor country" (ibid). This seeming non sequitur reveals two aspects of capitalism inherent in the slavery system. Where the plantocracy reaped little profit, material conditions between master and slave were more even and where low technology was utilized on small plantations, hierarchical differences were condensed. That would be true in an ideal world, but the Anguillian plantocracy were human and as likely to blame the slaves for their lack of good fortune as to feel united with them in a brotherhood of poverty. Without slave laws, the elite were free to express their anger and assert their authority. S.B. Jones cited two instances of cruelty that serve to emphasize the power of the elite few. A Mr. Fleming of Long Bay whipped his slave boy, who subsequently died. Dr. Hodge secured Fleming's release from prison by testifying that the boy died of lockjaw. In the second case, the "Court ordered the right hand of the mulatto girl Sally to be cut off for insolent speech to one of its officers" (Jones 1976:18).

As tension built, Pickwood wrote Maxwell on 19 August 1831 that a band of fugitive slaves from Anguilla plantations had gone beyond petty theft to organize "a system of plunder" (CO 239/28). No effort had been made to stop them. "The deplorable distress which pervades every class of the community; leaving those ... who have been accustomed to the comforts and superfluities of life, without the means of providing ... 'our daily bread'" (ibid). The plantocracy suffered from "torpor" (ibid). On 27 September he wrote Maxwell about Charlotte. Charlotte had procured "a letter to be written for her" about the "oppression which she experienced from Dr Hodge at the insistence, as my informant told me, of Mrs. Hodge" (ibid). Women persecuting female slaves who were their husbands' mistresses is common in slave narratives. White women lacked power. Rivalry with a subordinate was probably more likely to inspire aggression than the empathy of sisterhood. But Charlotte's ill-treatment was notorious. "even in Anguilla, where, as your Excellency knows, there is but slender protection for the slave from the arbitrary conduct of the Master" (ibid).

A flogging in the Valley caused the death of a female slave. "Her Master [Mr. Boyle] had expressed an unreasonable degree of dissatisfaction that his slave had not prepared his Coffee before he went to his occupation of fishing" (ibid). On 12 December 1831, the Jury in Anguilla dismissed Pickwood's indictment of murder against the owner, Mr. Boyle. It is to be presumed that Mr. Boyle was free colored or free black; the petitioners in March had said that one of their own was accused of murder. If so, this establishes the existence of a fishing class composed of free former slaves who were literate landowners and could afford slaves themselves. It was in this atmosphere that Pickwood pressed charges against Hodge in 1832.

Years after the two trials Colebrooke wrote the Governor of the Leeward Islands on 27 November 1839 that “Anguilla was probably not worse than other Islands would have been, if no laws had existed in them for the protection of the Slave” (No. 199). Lacking laws, slavery in Anguilla “has entailed a double curse” upon the land (ibid). This appears to be an admission of the righteousness of Pickwood’s vendetta against Charlotte’s master.

Another slave belonging to Mr. Boyle escaped from his “cruel treatment.” but was captured with five other Anguillian fugitives by the Spanish and taken to Puerto Rico. Three others had been sold in Santa Cruz. This was not reported until December 1841.

### Charlotte

Charlotte Hodge, as they say, must have been something. She was described by Justice Pickwood as a “superior and intelligent female slave” (CO 239/24). She was “other” in that the first two adjectives stood in unusual and uneasy articulation with “female slave.” Her story could have happened only in Anguilla. Yet lawsuits brought on her behalf against her master were global in impact: transcripts of her trials reached Britain’s Secretary of State, Viscount Goderich, and had wide repercussions. Literally hundreds of pages of letters about Charlotte crisscrossed the Atlantic among Goderich, Dr. Hodge, Governor Maxwell, Chief Justice Pickwood, and the Attorney General of St. Kitts, Charles Thomsen.

Three Anguillian Justices of the Peace, who were hostile to Pickwood, described Charlotte. Thomas Lake swore she was “a stout, healthy Negro and quite capable of any labour that the other Slaves are employed in” and had a “most infamous and bad character

and was generally considered so" (CO 239/31). When she had threatened to commit arson, a crime she had been suspected of having committed years ago, Lake had sent her to Dog Island. The other Justices of the Peace pronounced Charlotte to be "a woman of the most profligate and dangerous character" (ibid). Profligate, as in, reckless: this is an Anguillian character trait. Her own partner, Filapaso, would charge her with larceny immediately following the Hodge trials. The jurors weighed in with their opinion that, although Dr. Hodge might have "infringed" the law on banishment and illegal transportation when he had sent Charlotte to Dog Island, he had done it "with the best intentions and from the purest motives" (ibid). He was "not guilty of the slightest cruelty or humanity to the Slave Charlotte," they equivocally summarized (ibid). The Foreman of the Grand Jury, P. Musson, grasped one putative legal issue presented by Charlotte's complaint. The Jury had found a True Bill against Hodge in the Dog Island case "in order to try the question, whether a Master had a right in law to do so, and not that they thought him guilty of cruelty in doing so" (ibid).

On 9 October 1832, in a sitting of the Court of Kings Bench and Common Pleas in Anguilla, the Honorable Benjamin Gumbs Hodge, M.D., was tried for assaulting his slave, Charlotte, by unlawfully sending her to Dog Island in 1826. Despite Chief Justice Pickwood's instructions to the Jury, Hodge was found not guilty by twelve free men. On 11 October 1832, Hodge was tried for unlawful confinement of Charlotte in a cellar in 1831 and found not guilty by the same jurors. In this case, the Chief Justice had given the jury his opinion that Charlotte, as before, had "exaggerated" (CO 239/30); she had probably not been confined continuously in the cellar for four months, as she had

purported, but her testimony that she had “been confined from Friday to Monday had not been invalidated” (ibid).

The trials were the climax of a six-year attempt by Pickwood to bring charges against Hodge. By December 1832, Governor Maxwell of St. Kitts had been recalled and had died. Pickwood had been removed and died in 1834, just prior to his reinstatement, and Hodge had immigrated, after having manumitted Charlotte and her daughter Mary. The historical events were the epitome of an abolitionist morality play or a postcolonial narrative of resistance.

Charlotte, the *femme fatale*, was the slave of Hodge. She had a daughter, or, as Anguillians say, she had made a daughter for Hodge. Her daughter’s name was the same as that of Hodge’s late wife, Mary, who had apparently died by 1832. One of Charlotte’s complaints was Hodge’s failure to make “provisions for the support of the child” (CO 239/30). Throughout the trial, Charlotte was willing to play both cards in Peter Wilson’s dichotomous deck: reputation and respectability. “She mentioned it as an indecent aggravation of her punishment that a male slave had been confined for some time in the cellar with her,” according to Pickwood (ibid). Given the hierarchy of social status of that time and place, for Charlotte to cohabit with a slave would have been a step down for her, although she was one herself (see Patterson 1969; Craton 1978; Bush 1990). Charlotte had lived first with her white master, Dr. Hodge, then with Hodge’s wife’s free colored, half-brother, Richard Gumbs, and then with an Italian boat builder, Antonio Filapaso, who was living in Anguilla. After the second trial, Pickwood wrote Viscount Goderich:

I was indeed prepared to support the case upon still higher grounds. This Woman has always represented herself to me as having been brought up as a “pet” by her late Mistress. It is however in evidence, that she cohabited many years ago with

the Defendant, that she has subsequently cohabited with an Italian, who as a boat builder, has been represented to me as a man of competent means and "that she had not heretofore been used to do field work." Now, My Lord, possibly pushing the undefined right of the Master -- and in Anguilla these rights may well be called undefined -- to the services of his Slave to the utmost extent that the most arbitrary will contend for, it may not be said that these services can be applied to labor, for which the physical powers or the previous habits of a whole life disqualify the Slave. The occupation of this Woman up to this period had been exclusively domestic. She was thereby as unfitted for field labor as if she had been of any other country or of any other complexion. But says the witness "she was only required to do light work not to dig cane holes, she had to carry manure." Carrying manure is duly esteemed by the Laborer the most loathsome some task to which he is exposed. A basket is filled with decomposed filth - is placed on the head from whence the finer particles descend on the face and over the whole person and the load deposited at the appointed spot. On all well-regulated Plantations in [St. Kitts] this disgusting labor is avoided by the use of the dung fork and a light cart but where circumstances do not permit this, no one, I believe ever thinks of exposing his adult negroes, whose sense of personal Cleanliness makes them greatly to prefer the digging of Cane-holes, to this filthy process. Under these circumstances it appears to me that no original offense having been shewn, no punishment whatever ought to have been afflicted -- that the punishment which condemned a female, hitherto exclusively accustomed to domestic employment, to field labor, was in itself illegal -- that the resistance of the woman was thereby justified and consequently that the offenses laid in the second and third count of the Indictment were fully proved. Moreover that the place of confinement was not such as ought to be reserved for the reception of contumacious or refractory Slaves. Such I repeat was the course of argument that I was prepared to support with all the authority of the Court (ibid).

Pickwood, a planter from St. Kitts, had been a member of its Council since 1813, a Justice since approximately 1820, and was currently the Chief Justice of St. Kitts. He had had no formal training in law; he was "only a planter with social conscience peculiar for the time" (Mitchell 1992:26) that guided him in his long vendetta against Hodge. (Similarly, Anguilla's second constitution, in 1969, was drafted by Jack Holcomb, an American, who was not a trained lawyer. Holcomb had himself admitted to practice in Anguilla and attempted to establish a law that Anguilla's Justice need not be a lawyer [Petty 1990:377]).



Even though the Colonial Office correspondence bristles with over-sized upper case C's when writing "Capital." Pickwood's capital C in Charlotte is even larger. Charlotte was the equivalent for Pickwood of Capital, his ammunition against the reprobate plantocracy, and his downfall. He picked the wrong battle: the Slave Evidence Act. Despite the efforts of planters, the Act was ubiquitous in the British West Indies -- except in Anguilla. There, because St. Kitts had refused in 1829 to legislate for Anguilla, no Slave Evidence Act applied.

Cowper says, "Laws will, I suppose, be enacted for the more humane treatment of the Negroes, but who shall see to the execution of them? The planters will not, and the Negroes cannot. In fact we know, that the laws of this tendency have not been wanting, enacted even amongst themselves; but there has always been a want of prosecutors, or righteous judges - deficiencies which will not be very easily supplied." Cowper has overlooked the greatest want, the one which indignant prosecutors or upright judges cannot supply, and which can only be remedied by enabling slaves to give evidence. (Southey III:18).

#### Charlotte's Web

It was Pickwood, who, "obviously instantly smitten" (Mitchell 1992:26) with Charlotte, spun the web which proclaimed her to be special. When he met her, en route with Dr. Hodge to his first sitting in Anguilla, Charlotte had allegedly been on Dog Island for four weeks, living on whelks and milk. Charlotte's former lover was Richard Gumbs, a free black who was now "married to Mary, the daughter of ex-Governor Richardson by one of his slaves. Charlotte was now living with a foreigner, Antonio Filapaso, then living in Anguilla" (ibid). Both Mary and Charlotte were Dr. Hodge's slaves. Charlotte had asked Pickwood "to intercede to have her sent back" (CO 239/30). Dr. Hodge had consented to Pickwood's request "and she returned to Anguilla either in the Vessel with Witness & Dr. Hodge or in the one that accompanied them" (ibid).

The facts appear to be that Mary put her husband Richard up to accusing Charlotte of stealing some clothes which were duly found under one of the boards in her house. Charlotte was convicted by Mr. Thomas Lake the Magistrate. A few days later Richard Gumbs further complained to the Magistrate that Charlotte was threatening to burn down his house. He admitted he had not heard the words himself, but was probably reporting a story Mary had told him. Lake conferred with Dr. Gumbs Hodge, and the local constable, Richard Roberts, a son of one of the earlier Governors, was authorized to seize Charlotte and take her to Dog Island where cousin Benjamin Hodge was trying to establish a cotton cultivation. She was thrown into a boat and taken directly to Dog Island without any semblance of a trial or a conviction (Mitchell 1992:26).

The writer of the above paragraph is related to Richard Roberts through their mutual ancestor, the eighteenth century Governor Roberts of Anguilla. Don Mitchell, Q.C., and now a Justice of the Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court, wrote the log of Charlotte in *Anguillian Life*. He characterized Charlotte as "brilliant, absolutely brilliant." She was a joy, a woman slave who resisted. Mitchell only wrote about the first of the two trials of Dr. Hodge for his mistreatment of his slave.

The missing clothes were actually found between the bed and the bedboards. This gives insight into the domestic furnishings in nineteenth century Anguillian workers' houses. Charlotte's status would fall from sharing a house and bed with Filapaso in 1826 to staying sometimes with her sister in 1831.

Richard Gumbs broke rank when he testified about the clothes theft: "she was considered by the Magistrates guilty of the offence - she was about to be sent to Jail for it - Witness took it into consideration - accepted an offer from Filapaso to take remuneration for the Clothes stolen" (CO 239/30). It would appear that Filapaso bribed Richard Gumbs so that Charlotte would not go to jail. No wonder Charlotte threatened to burn down his house; first, according to her, she was framed, then her partner was forced to make an illicit payment. The counsel for the defendant and others also testified on

Hodge's behalf. "Benjamin Hodge's evidence was classic. Its main purpose was to describe Dog Island as a perfect health resort" (Mitchell 1992:26).

Pickwood fought the establishment for 8 [sic] long years before he succeeded in having the Attorney General bring the indictment against Dr. Gumbs Hodge.... typical for the time, he was chief prosecutor, witness for the prosecution, and judge. At the commencement of the trial, Mr. Woodcock, counsel for Dr. Gumbs Hodge, objected to the presence of Mr. Pickwood on the bench. ... After his evidence, Chief Justice Pickwood took the extraordinary step of removing his wig and gown and proceeded into the witness box where he gave evidence of what he himself had seen and heard in 1826. He was not cross examined. Donning his wig and gown again, he returned to his place on the bench to continue presiding over the trial at which he had just given evidence (ibid).

In presenting Charlotte as a "woman with a mind of her own, an Anguillian woman in a long tradition of fighters" (ibid), as independent and reckless, Mitchell omitted the second trial of Hodge for unlawful confinement, with its testimony about the hunters, the shackles, and the cartwhipping. The Grand Jury, who had returned a True Bill on the first indictment, had returned No Bill on the second one. The description in the trial of Richard Gumbs as "the former slave of Dr. Hodge's Uncle [who] was purchased by his mother," is quite different from the "free and privileged son of the same Colonel Gumbs by a slave, Nanny" that Don Mitchell described (ibid). These discrepancies question one of Anguilla's most beloved mythos which has become logoi: that slavery was somehow more easy on Anguilla where planters' children by their slaves were openly acknowledged in their wills. While there are a few instances of the latter, including Col. Gumbs' will, the necessity of Nanny having to buy her son's freedom negates the benevolent image, unless she bought his freedom with money given to her by Gumbs. In an island with almost no circulating currency, that would seem absurd.

## The Second Case

Benjamin Gumbs, a witness in the second case, manifested the independence that is also part of the mythos/logos: it is not benevolent. Dr. Gumbs Hodge's estate manager.

Benjamin Gumbs, testified that Charlotte:

was sent to Upper Quarter by Dr. Hodge - knows nothing of the circumstance which occasioned her to be sent there - Witness was the Manager - was not present when she came - she was sent by Dr. Hodge to Witness to be worked on the Estate - she would not work - she absented herself from her labour - she would quit the Estate at any time - Witness therefore found it necessary to confine her - received no directions to put her in confinement - confined her because she would not work, and would not remain on the Estate - two or three days after she came there, she absconded - the hunters brought her back - considers he was authorized to place her in confinement as she would not work - -- he did not require the authority of any body to confine her - he confined her - considers that when managing an Estate he is to act independently of the Owner - should not obey the Owner's Orders if they were wrong (CO 239/30).

Richard Gumbs testified that he "should have thought it no confinement as she had no house, on the Estate. Witness prevented his Brother from flogging Charlotte once" (ibid). Presumably, his brother was Benjamin Gumbs, the estate manager; Richard was Charlotte's former lover.

Mary, Charlotte's daughter who generally slept with her mother in the cellar during her confinement, testified that "after her mother got out she went down to see Witness at the Road and slept there that night - she afterwards went back to the Cellar ... the hall of her sister's house was very open but the chamber was secure - her sister's place was taken up by her children Witness saw the shackles on her mother's feet when the man was taking them off" (ibid). A mulatto, presumably Benjamin Gumbs, held the key to cellar.

Mary's testimony supported Charlotte's curious statement that she "had on the shackles one whole night - when she returned from Mr. Steward's - they were taken off in the morning" (ibid). The Reverend Mr. Steward, in turn, testified that "between eighteen months and two years ago Charlotte came to him - he observed nothing unusual in her appearance - Witness understood from Charlotte that she was either subject to, or apprehended punishment - in consequence he applied by her desire to Dr. Hodge - does not remember what Dr. Hodge said but the impression on Witness's mind was that there was nothing unusual in Dr. Hodge's feelings or deportment ... towards Charlotte" (ibid). This would seem to be evidence of an institutional failure of clergy to protect slaves. But both the shackles and the incarceration in the cellar could also reveal a backstage elite plot to intimidate Charlotte so that she wouldn't testify about the Dog Island episode.

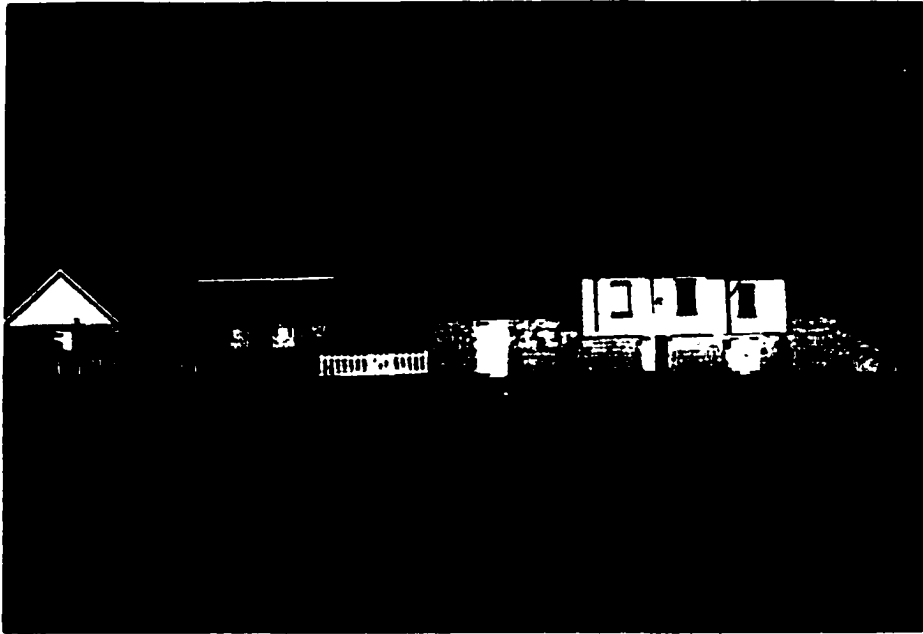
As opposed to Pickwood having "fought the establishment for 8 long years before he succeeded in having the Attorney General bring the indictment against Dr. Gumbs Hodge" (Mitchell 1992:26), "the Attorney General proceeded to file an Information" in the second indictment, when the Grand Jury had returned No Bill (CO239/30). The Attorney General was acting on the orders of Governor Nicolay, who had replaced Maxwell. However, the Attorney General, in all other respects, seemed to be against Pickwood.

Benjamin Gumbs, according to Pickwood was "a reputed son of the Defendant's Uncle to whom the Defendent is Executor, with a necessary control over the property in which the witness and his numerous relatives are. I believe, interested ... [he is] anxious to attract all the responsibility [for the imprisonment in the cellar], thereof himself" (CO 239/30). Material interest spurred mulatto collusion with the elite and revealed how

some of them obtained land. Benjamin Gumbs described Charlotte's domestic activities in the cellar: "after two weeks she had the key and remained there of her own will - she had the floor sanded - she had a table and two glasses and other things - Witness suspected her of stealing the melasses from the cellar and desired her to quit - she would not - and he told her he should be obliged to make her go" (ibid). (See Figure 3.1.)

Charlotte testified: "she was taken out the next morning - the driver came and took her out to work- he cartwhipped her once... was never ill-used in the Cellar only when driver came to take her out and she said she was sick - he said he culdn't [sic] go by that. for the Manager said she must work and work she must - food was brought to her in the Cellar. The Manager allowed her a few raw potatoes, and once a little sugar and once a pint of syrop" (ibid). The details about Anguillian slavery that emerge through Charlotte's testimony, especially mention of the hunters, confirm that slavery was no different in Anguilla than elsewhere. Better or worse conditions are meaningless morally but make a great difference on the personal level. Slavery is, no matter the material conditions, simply slavery.

During Charlotte's cross-examination by Hodge's lawyer, she faltered. Undermined, and intimidated, Charlotte was unable to maintain a frontstage mask. She became confused and testified: "Witness did not go back to the Cellar of her own accord - did not pass a night or two there (These questions being repeated several times Witness appeared distressed and said she was so bothered she could not recall anything). Witness resumed she did return to the Cellar and lived there of her own accord - she remained in the Cellar because her lodging was made up there - she marked down the time of her



- 3.1 Wallblake House, Anguilla. The open door on the ground floor is the entrance to a cellar very like the one in which Charlotte was incarcerated. (Photograph: author.)

confinement with a fire coal - the manager never turned her out or obliged her to quit the Cellar - she never managed to get mellasses out of the Cellar" (ibid).

Mary and Filapaso failed to corroborate Charlotte's testimony in both cases, especially about the length of time that she had been on Dog Island and in the cellar. Thus, they weakened the united front that is critical for the dominated to maintain. Pickwood may have remembered that, in his first report on Anguilla, 1 December 1824, he had written that "Mr. Phillipassi stole lumber from the Lt. Governor and salt from John Proctor." On 12 November 1823, Filapaso had been banished, but he was still on island years later. Charlotte's contradictory testimony and her comrades' failure to support her story led even Pickwood to reduce the effect of her testimony in his address to the jury. He characterized Charlotte's testimony about being locked in the cellar as "exaggerated." Nonetheless, Charlotte was instrumental in bringing both worker and elite hidden transcripts frontstage, where, in public, they could be in direct contact. And Charlotte did win. On 5 November 1832, Pickwood wrote Goderich that he "had had the pleasure to authenticate the documents for the manumission of [Charlotte] and her Daughter" by Dr. Hodge (CO 239 30).

Even after the trials had exonerated Hodge, the letters continued to flow, each more revealing of the elite backstage than the last. Hodge protested the salient point to Lt. Gov. Nickle on 24 Nov 1832. "It is important to state to your Excellency that the testimony of the woman Charlotte who was my slave and who has in a variety of instances been proved to be a person of the most infamous character was, contrary to all



Pickwood wrote to Goderich on 5 November 1832:

The known wishes of His Majesty's Government for the welfare of the Slave... The very case before us Shews an apposite and successful illustration of the practical effects of this new position.... the woman was sent to labor in the field - that she resisted and that she was consequently confined in the Cellar. No attempt was made on the part of the Defendant to shew that she had committed any offence, whereby the punishment of field labor was inflicted....But on the part of the Crown no attempt was made to shew that such punishment was unlawful!... that the woman was thereby justified in her resistance, and that the confinement, consequent thereupon, even for a single hour, was unlawful!...the Attorney General telling them [the Jury] that "it was not a very clear case" (CO 239/30 ).

As in Anguilla now, Pickwood paid more attention to the institutional form, rather than its content, the law as opposed to the underlying concept. The dispute between Goderich and Hodge occurred over whether Hodge had signed the White Persons' petition. Hodge was a stickler for form, too, when he denied being the first signer of a petition to appoint him Chief Justice of Anguilla. (In 1999, the Anguilla government irretrievably broke down over the definition of a quorum. The then Chief Minister sued the legislature to reopen and lost, causing a new election to be called amid newspaper headlines of an imminent British invasion.) Bureaucracy became more entrenched as the ranks of colonial administrators thickened. But there were scant pickings for the widows of colonial administrators: both Mrs. Pickwoods were left destitute by the deaths of their husbands, like President Truman's widow.

The planters of St. Kitts and Anguilla commenced a long and bitter campaign to have Pickwood removed as Chief Justice. The St. Kitts Governor was recalled to London for siding with the planters. Pickwood, stripped of his office before the recall, died from a fall from his horse just as he was about to be reinstated. His downfall was to be caught smuggling casks of Madeira wine from St. Maarten when returning from one of his trips to Anguilla. But Anguilla had made its mark on the Pickwood family. His son was to return to Anguilla as the Special Magistrate for several years after Emancipation. He presided in his turn over the judicial system in Anguilla where his interest in the welfare of the freed slaves

showed that his principles and character had been successfully moulded by his remarkable father (Mitchell 1992:26).

### Stipendiary Magistrate Pickwood and the Elite Resistance:

#### Pretrial and Post-trial Maneuverings

Pickwood's salary for his work on Anguilla was £200. When he was absent on leave in England he was not paid, although he attempted to have Secretary Huskisson grant him a certificate of performance to collect later. Throughout his tenure and, later, during his son's, compensation was always an issue. Anguilla was an unrewarding place to be posted, in both material and social terms. In May 1829, Pickwood, "in his Public Capacity as Master in Chancery and member of the Board of Council" was charged with retaining rents from an estate that were owed in judgment to William Greathead Crooke, who was also a Council member (CO 241/26). Owing to ill health, Pickwood had sailed for England and had used part of the rent money (£769) to pay his own debts. He had returned by August and resumed his role as the President of the Council; in October he was, ironically, made head of the Charitable Institutions Board. It was during that October Council meeting that St. Kitts refused to transact any legislative business for Anguilla until they were reimbursed for the salary of the Anguilla Customs Officer that St. Kitts had been forced to pay in spite of the understanding that they would incur no expenses in legislating for Anguilla. This controversy was not resolved until June 1831.

In December of 1829, while Hodge was again absent, Pickwood was suspended from the Council by Maxwell. Hodge had wanted Anguilla to conduct its own court after the King had rejected the Court Act, which had led to Pickwood's suspension. Instead

Maxwell had ordered Pickwood removed from office. But before his death on 25 June 1830, George IV had instructed George Murray, a Principal Secretary of State, to restore Pickwood. Hodge, who had been recommended by Maxwell to Bathurst, had been appointed as Anguilla's representative to the St. Kitts Council, June 1825. During the four years Hodge had been on the Council, only the Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, who, like Hodge, was not a Kittian resident, was absent as much as Hodge. Pickwood's suspension and Hodge's absence continued until December 1830. Colquhoun, Anguilla's London agent, continued to supply the Colonial Office with misleading, even false, statements about the condition of Anguilla.

I do not believe there is an Island in the West Indies in which the Slaves are more comfortable and where their treatment is in all respects more humane than in this. Here every man whether Bound or free, white or black, worships his God as he pleases ... there is not a Magistrate in the Island who would turn a deaf ear to the Complaint of a Slave against his Owner, but here there be no Cause of complaint (CO 239/23).

Pickwood wrote Maxwell that he wished to be commissioned as Chief Justice of the new Anguilla Court: no cases had been decided on Anguilla during his suspension, so he intended to sail there. In response, Hodge informed Maxwell on 13 January 1831, that Pickwood was a liar: the Anguilla Court had been settling cases. That same month, Viscount Goderich complained to Nicolay that Pickwood claimed Maxwell had been "too deeply implicated in the controversy, as a personal opponent of Mr. Pickwood: [the Charlotte controversy] has made a demand on my time so totally out of proportion as to the real importance of the subject to the public at large" (CO 407/3). In a statement reminiscent of the one Henry II made about Thomas Becket, Goderich added: "You would render me a very acceptable service if you could point out any method, by which,

consistently with the demands of justice. I could bring this angry debate to a close" (ibid). Hodge wrote in February 1831 to Maxwell that "there is not one here who does not despise and pity Pickwood" (CO 239/24). A March riposte from Maxwell to Goderich declared that Pickwood was lying about Hodge having invited him to come to Anguilla. Maxwell sneered at "what little probity [Pickwood] has left" (ibid). That month, too, Anguillians petitioned to have Benjamin Gumbs Hodge as Chief Justice rather than Pickwood.

Hodge wrote the following letter to Maxwell's Private Secretary in March 1831. It contained the leitmotif of divine guidance that informed Anguillian actions, then and now.

I must candidly confess that I can hardly think or speak of Mr. Pickwood's conduct in these particulars without over stepping the temper and moderation prescribed to the gentleman & Christian. It was then that something whispered in my ear "go search for that letter and examine it." I accordingly obeyed that heavenly admonition ... and was fortunate enough to find it ... [in which Pickwood on 13 September] confesses that he had never heard a word of the Island of Anguilla. Only 3 vessels cleared at Customs House in Anguilla for St. Kitts 1 September - 31 December 1830 - there appear to be only three: two of which had no other passenger but himself - and he never talked to Pickwood (ibid).

In January 2000, the Chief Minister claimed that "God said to me 'Sir, dissolve the House of Assembly'" (*The Anguillian* 2(6)1 21 January 2000).

In April, Maxwell wrote Goderich, denying that he was in collusion with Hodge. After the Board of Council found against Pickwood, which was written up in the *St. Christopher Advertiser*, Goderich reached his decision in May 1831. Pickwood was obviously his pet: "class doesn't lie":

that in his Letters of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of December [Pickwood] made certain statements which were deliberately false and which calumniated the other Judges of Anguilla. A very careful Consideration of the subject compels me to acquit Mr Pickwood of this disgraceful charge. That his statements were inaccurate and unkindly cannot indeed be denied. ... it is primâ facie most incredible that a Gentleman of Mr Pickwood's station in society, and standing as he does, in all those relations of Life, that of public or domestic which afford the best security for honor and conduct should have degraded himself (for such is the charge) by writing a series of willful falsehoods. ... The decision of His Majesty in Council in Mr Pickwood's case is final and conclusive. ... You will immediately upon the receipt of this dispatch communicate a copy of it to Mr Pickwood, and revoke the Commission to Mr Hodge by issuing another on which Mr Pickwood shall be appointed as Chief Justice of Anguilla (CO 407/3).

Pickwood addressed the Grand Jury in Anguilla on 30 May 1831:

Whenever it has suited the purpose of an islander to assail me in the public papers, I have allowed his calumny to live its brief hour, and to die unnoticed - the human reptile, whose food is public character to be annihilated by its own venom. ...I have cited two cases to Viscount Goderich, in which I candidly admit my fear, that the color and condition of the parties will expose them to difficulties in obtaining justice. The one is Deborah Flemming, whom you know to be an illiterate black woman, the widow of one of the aristocracy of your Island. Has she, I would ask, been able to receive any of her deceased Husband's property, for the maintenance and education of his Children? - The second case is that of the Housekeeper of the late Mr. Richardson, her name is, I think, Marichi. It certainly appeared to me that a valid assignment of extensive property was made to her by Mr. Richardson, at a time when his affairs were not embarrassed (CO 239/28).

In the same issue, The *St. Christopher Advertiser* carried Hodge's address to the Grand Jury on the opening of the Courts on 17 May 1831. His praise for his sponsor, Governor Maxwell, was probably genuine. In light of Hodge's trials the next year, the rest of his statement doth protest too much.

Gentlemen, while all our sister Colonies are advancing in the glorious career of improvement, while they are proceeding with a rapidity unexampled in their annals, and not surpassed in those of any country, in the grand work of reforming their civil politics, and in adapting their legislation to the spirit of the times; it is melancholy that we alone are stationary. ...state of destitution in which our slave population are placed for want of some legislative enactments in their favor ... inability to recover the little debts that are due them ... advise them ... to prevail upon their masters to sue in their behalf, but as no such suits are ever entered ...

But what is still worse. I have reason to believe that there are some few owners ... who are still acting upon the exploded notion, that the property as well as the person of the slave belongs to his master, and who are sometimes guilty of the great injustice of appropriating to themselves the property of their own slaves.... will prove to the government that, with some few exceptions, as is the case in every community, the general feeling in the Island is in favour of the rights of humanity - that far from being desirous of relapsing into the state of disorder and confusion with all their attendant evils, from which, under the auspices and with the assistance of His Excellency Governor Maxwell, ... we have in great measure been rescued. ... our public edifices, to the three places of public worship which, with the very limited means we possess and almost without any foreign assistance, have been erected here within the last three or four years ... there is too great a want of public spirit that a sordid selfishness is operating too much to the exclusion of more generous sentiments, and, as a necessary consequence of such a feeling, that the public business in many respects, particularly as regards the Roads and the preparation of materials for our Church, &c.. is not followed up with a spirit commensurate with its importance: and that our School Institution ... is in a very depressed state, and the society under whose auspices it was established, has ceased to exist (ibid).

Pickwood's address to William Carty, the Foreman of the Grand Jury, answered

Hodge's complaints:

Hodge brings under your consideration the condition of the slave population, & states, as if it were the only grievance, their inability to recover 'small debts.' Why, let me ask did he dwell on such a paltry trifle, and leave the great and vital question of their food, their raiment, and their protection from the oppression of their masters untouched? Is there any provision made in any of these respects by the laws? To a certain extent and by my agency there is ... such barbarous cruelty by flogging in the Valley on the Sabbath day, too, as to cause a resident in [St. Kitts] to burst into tears at the sight, and declare that he had never witnessed or imagined such a case of blood. He urged the ferocious Master, whose name is in my possession, that he would not dare to do so in [St. Kitts], where a Manager had recently been fined and imprisoned for giving 25 Lashes, without those precautions which the law directs; and the reply obtained was, "I should like to see anyone interfere with me in doing what I like with my own!" [Pickwood supposed] such cases are not of rare occurrence; for otherwise this must have excited a sensation.... the Assistant Judge is the party complained of. Upon one occasion of visiting Anguilla, I landed at Dog Island. I found a very intelligent and superior female slave, the property of Mr Asst Justice Hodge - banished there by the arbitrary will of her Master. At my intercession - and had I not succeeded I was prepared to do more than intercede, she was allowed to return to her family and friends at Anguilla. It appeared that the Assistance Judge had formerly cohabitated with this woman - that she had a Child by him - that another had

supplanted her in the affections of her Master. and that she. as usually happens in these cases. became the victim of the caprice and jealousy of her successor - I never visited Anguilla but that cases thereof were brought under my consideration. and I never failed to mediate in her behalf - Aggrevated instances of such treatment have been subsequently reported to me. which terminated I understand in the confinement of this victim. during a period of several months in a cellar. Now I do not pretend to say that there may not be exaggeration ... it is for Mr Asst Justice Hodges to shew that there is no foundation for them.... conscious of my innocence. I daily expect to be reinstated. I still hold [the Anguilla Justices] to be incompetent to the discharge of important functions which they have assumed. I believe I am correct in stating that the Law Library of the Island consists of the Commentaries of Blackstone and Burn's Justice -books of great intrinsic value. but not such as would enable My Lord Tenterden himself to arrive at an opinion ... how fearful it is to think that the liberty and life of Man may be endangered from such a chance of defective proceedings. (ibid).

Pickwood signed as the President of H. M. Council of the island of Anguilla.

This newspaper fight is where the elite backstage broke rank and catapulted in all their disarray onto the frontstage. Mr. Stephens. Undersecretary of the Colonial Office. writing to Viscount Howick. concluded that they were all mad.

...Perhaps no one is entirely blameless... Mr Hodge and General Maxwell in their invective against Mr Pickwood. ...I do not indeed mean to say that Mr P is chargeable of nothing more than one of those slight and immaterial inaccuracies of Speech ... his anxiety to be reappointed as Chief Justice of Anguilla. hurried him into highly coloured and exaggerated statements of the evils which his absence had occasioned ... personal vanity ... Mr P is in a state of mind equally unfavorable to his own security. and to the peace of the Colony in which he holds so high a station. How far his resentment may be justified by any provocations he has received. it would be superfluous to enquire. But I fear it is indisputable that the feeling itself. whether well or ill founded. has become too strong for control. and is hurrying him into acts of imprudence which will probably terminate in further dissensions and a received Suspension from his Office (ibid).

On 30 June 1831. Viscount Goderich wrote from Downing Street to Maxwell about Pickwood's restoration. He objected to the "protracted controversy." during which he had received fifteen dispatches and letters from Maxwell and Pickwood since he had

last written them. Goderich announced that he was answering all their correspondence together in this letter, which is as relevant as it was 170 years ago.

So long as Mr Pickwood shall persevere in concealing the names of the persons from who he received the information mentioned in his letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> March ... I much doubt whether it would be expedient to inflict punishment on Officers of the Crown by which no positive Law has been broken and no public scandal given. If one person were to be punished for violating the obligations of truth, with what consistency could any other Public Officer be let uncensored, who might be guilty of any other private vices? It is necessary to point out the extravagant circumstances which must follow if the King's Government were thus to charge to themselves Censors of the personal morals of Gentlemen in Public Offices. ... The style which Mr Hodges permits himself to write respecting Mr Pickwood is certainly not such as to excite much confidence in his judgement. He describes Mr Pickwood as appearing "with all the genuine marks and lineaments of a fiend" and receives what he has termed "the heavenly admonition" to search for a letter in which the proof of Mr Pickwood's guilt was to be found. ... Secondly, His Majesty's Government has fully considered the Memorials from various Inhabitants of Anguilla, praying that Mr Hodge may be appointed Chief Justice of the Court of that Island, and that Mr Pickwood may be removed from that situation. I take for granted that the Gentleman whose name appears the first of those subscribed to the Petition of the White Inhabitants is not that of the Assistant Judge himself, altho' it would seem to correspond exactly with his Signature. Be that as it may, His Majesty cannot accede the request of the petitioners (CO 407/3).

Goderich added an order to Maxwell to bring an end to the perjury charge against Pickwood and closed with a stinging rebuke.

The undisguised personal hostility which unhappily subsists between the Judge and yourself aggravates the error of leaving him uninformed of the contents of your own and of Mr Hodges dispatches criminatory.... the crime of Perjury in the return made by [Pickwood] under the Slave Registry Law ... upon grounds with which Mr Pickwood has never been made acquainted. ... The false assertion which Mr Pickwood is said to have made on Oath, is that of describing himself in his returns to the Slave Registry Office by the terms "proprietor" altho' the 258 Slaves comprised in that return, 39 were held merely by the sufference of the real owner and atho' the other 50 were held by Mr Pickwood only as a Renter, and altho' the remainder of the body were the Joint property of himself and of another person. ... "Proprietor" the use of which Mr Woodcock reprobates as perjurious, does not, as far as I can judge form any part of those affidavits. ... In 1828, the return of the same Gang is made by Miss Pogson, Mr Pickwood's joint tenant: ... the fact of the joint tenancy between Mr Pickwood and Miss Pogson, was not



concealed in reality, nor capable of concealment, and secondly that if Mr Pickwood was perjured by omitting to distinguish the rented Slaves, the same crime must be attributed to Miss Pogson also. ... Should you & he deem it your duty to persist in preferring it, you will resort to the ordinary mode of legal trial, in order to bring the question to a decision. His Majesty's Government cannot undertake to try an indictment for perjury ...[they must] make their choice between the retraction and the prosecution of the charge. I shall regard Mr Pickwood as most unjustly dealt with, unless one or the other branch of this alternative be adopted.... Respecting the omission to give Mr Pickwood notice of the first meeting of the Board of Council, which took place after his reinstatement in office ... As it is, I trust, that your approaching transfer of the Government to another officer will terminate these unfortunate controversies; in which there has been so much of personal feeling and so little of mutual forbearance, as to destroy the hope that the breach will be closed during your own administration (ibid).

Goderich explained how the frontstage masks had slipped. He regretted that Hodge had defamed the Chief Justice in his address to Grand Jury. That proved the "unfitness" of Maxwell's candidate, Hodge, to be Chief Justice. Pickwood had displayed "glaring indiscretion in engaging in a public controversy in the Newspapers with his brother Judge" but he had had "provocation" exacerbated by "his acknowledged want of a friend and supporter in [Maxwell]" (ibid). On the other hand, Pickwood, because he had refused to name witnesses, had no proof that Hodge "had confined for several months in a Cellar the former partner of his bed and the Mother of his child. For the honor of human nature I earnestly trust that the statement will be found entirely destitute of foundation" (ibid). However, if it were true, Goderich ordered Maxwell to suspend Hodge from all offices. Similarly, if Pickwood would not name any witnesses, Maxwell should suspend him. Goderich ended his letter on a sarcastic note: "my regret that such an outrage on humanity did not attract the notice of Mr Pickwood, until he had a personal injury to retaliate. ... I am irresistably driven to the conclusion, that if Mr Hodge had not been the personal and public enemy of Mr Pickwood, this unmanly and cruel outrage would not

have been attributed by Mr Pickwood to Mr Hodge” (ibid). Furthermore, Maxwell was ordered to give Pickwood copies of all correspondence with the Colonial Office that Pickwood had claimed he needed to vindicate himself.

Pickwood wrote Goderich on 20 August 1831 that he had learned that Maxwell had preferred a charge of perjury against him. The elite champion of the slaves, Magistrate Pickwood, was himself accused of perjury in an affidavit he had sworn for the Slave Registry. All these attacks seem calculated to force Pickwood back into a united dominant discourse. The day before, Hodge had resigned as an assistant justice and Pickwood proposed Mr. James Lake, to act for his father as an assistant justice. He “belongs to no party and contributes nothing to the spirit of litigation which obtains there” (CO 239/28). It would be a man named James Lewis Lake, who would seize Wallblake House, the residence of a man named Hodge, when Hodge was forced to emigrate during a drought. Hodge had fallen behind on his property taxes, so Lake, who was supposed to be taking care of Wallblake House for his friend, sold the house at auction to pay the taxes then bought the deeply discounted house himself. This allegedly happened at the end of the nineteenth century, but the episode fits with the known actors and actions in the Charlotte episode.

Pickwood noted that Asst. Justice Steward’s state of health prohibited much exertion. Perhaps that was why Charlotte was shackled during her meeting with him. Her incarceration in the cellar was during this tumultuous year of 1831, but her trial would not occur until the following year.

In the same letter, Pickwood complained to Maxwell about the lack of protection laws for slaves and the restrictions on free people of color. The inefficiency of the police

(even today the majority of Anguillian police are non-belongers), the “suicidal neglect of Your National School ... which called upon your best feeling even the feelings of a father anxious for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his child” (ibid). On 17 September 1831, Pickwood wrote Maxwell, Charlotte had been confined in a cellar for five months and had been “released by [Hodge’s] own arbitrary will” (ibid). It is likely that she must have also been imprisoned by Hodge’s arbitrary will, although Pickwood failed to say this. Charlotte had asked for protection against Hodge if she complained to the court about his actions, but there was no such law in Anguilla. So, Charlotte declined to press her complaint.

Pickwood wriggled to retrieve his frontstage mask. He wrote falsely that his letter to Goderich:

contains a sentence which does not appear in my printed letter to the Foreman of the Grand Jury. I allude to the words, “that she had a child by him.” Those words are in the original in my letter book. But as the fact did not appear to me to be important and therefore that it was an unnecessary exposure of the privacies of life I directed my amanuensis to omit it which it appears that he did in one copy of the letter and not in the other. The truth of the statement is not affected by this circumstance; but I very much regret, that by an inadvertance, the copy sent to Viscount Goderich should not have been an accurate transcript of the original sent to the foreman of the Grand Jury (ibid).

After Pickwood received his commission to hold court in Anguilla in November 1831, he was compelled “to live on board a vessel during the whole period of my absence no provision being made for my reception at Anguilla - to discharge arduous and painful duties under Threats of personal violence” (CO 239/24). Of Hodge, he wrote Maxwell, “there is only one person on the island pretending to be a medical man - he was not capable of giving his attendance” (ibid).

Charges and countercharges by Pickwood and Hodge multiplied. When the Customs House Officer intercepted a smuggling boat during this period, he was assaulted by the islanders, who liberated the cargo. Pickwood wrote Maxwell that "Hodge has an interest, either direct or indirect, in the vessel which was seized" (ibid). On 12 Dec 1831, Pickwood reasserted his desire "that every slave in the island shall find protection from cruelty and oppression in the Court" and described how "wretched" Dog Island had been when he had visited the island with Hodge, met Charlotte, and taken her back with them to Anguilla (ibid).

In March 1832, Goderich wrote Nicolay that Maxwell had sent proof that Hodge "did not himself subscribe the Petition of the White Inhabitants of Anguilla" that requested that Hodge be made Chief Justice (CO 407/3). But, noted Goderich, Pickwood's Special Commission on Anguilla had closed without taking notice of the case of Hodge flogging a slave in the Valley on the Sabbath (ibid). Nicolay was ordered to see that Hodge was brought to trial.

Nicolay wrote to Pickwood on 10 May 1832 informing him that Goderich had ordered that the charge by Pickwood against Hodge be "brought a conclusion without delay" (CO 239/29). Therefore, Pickwood must substantiate his claim, "as a charge of this nature [cruelty to a female slave], preferred to the Secretary of State, by one of the King's Judges against another cannot be passed over without the most serious injury" (ibid). Hodge had left Anguilla and was now resident in a "foreign Island" (ibid), probably St. Martin, where he or his relatives had large sugar estates (Jones 1976:64).

Pickwood immediately responded to Nicolay. Hodge was not his brother Judge because "I had at the time no Judicial connexion whatever with the Island of Anguilla,

Govr. Maxwell having refused to re-institute me” and he still wasn’t a Judge when “Hodge availed himself of a charge to the Grand Jury to utter a calumny against me” (ibid). “The Major General [Maxwell] was desirous of protecting his ally [Hodge] from this persecution” (ibid).

On 3 June 1832, Pickwood wrote to Goderich that his “chief worldly hope” was to leave “the inheritance of an untarnished name to my children” (ibid). In retrospect, this wish was ironic: a tarnished reputation was virtually all he left to his children. Pickwood continued: Maxwell had left the island without observing Goderich’s injunction to prosecute Pickwood on a charge of perjury or to retract it. A month later, Nicolay wrote Goderich that Pickwood had made two more statements: Hodge had “flogged another individual in the Valley on a Sabbath” and that there had been “an implied contract between Dr. Hodge and me and that if he would comply with my solicitation to restore the Woman to her family and friends, I at least should not originate proceedings against him” (ibid). Perhaps this contract was sealed with the casks of Madeira wine from St. Martin that Pickwood was charged with smuggling back to St. Kitts from Anguilla and that Hodge, in St. Martin, would have had no trouble procuring. Nicolay noted that Attorney General Thomson had no reason why Pickwood couldn’t preside over Hodge’s trial.

Pickwood had written Thomson on 19 July 1832 “that system of secret oppression, instigated, as the woman told me, by her successor in the affections of her master, which, unhappily, is contrived to elude the law and which is, as your experience will teach you, the evil that ought to be sever’d from the State of Slavery...The complaints generally were that she was required to perform labor to which she was unequal and that

disobedience brought with it consequent punishment" (ibid). Charlotte had the right to bring her complaint to court but Pickwood believed that she was afraid of her master: "Dr. Hodge being a man of great influence among those who constitute the Grand Jury" (ibid). She had spoken to Mr. Morris and the Rev. Mr. Steward about her confinement, but both denied knowledge of it. Pickwood had, probably deliberately, scheduled Court in Anguilla for when Thomson was due in Nevis for their Court.

September found Goderich once again ordering Maxwell to send Pickwood a copy of the dispatch that "I wrote you both on 9 May" (CO 407/3). The trial occurred in October, 1832. At the 31 December meeting of the St. Kitts Council, Hodge was absent and Pickwood was present.

The Privy Council in St. Kitts met on 8 April 1833, with both Pickwood and Attorney General Thomson present, and a letter from Goderich to the Officer Administering St. Kitts was read. Goderich revoked Pickwood's commission and the St. Kitts Privy Council removed him "from all his Public situations in this Island and Anguilla" (239/32). Pickwood hastily wrote a letter to Goderich asking for a delay until Goderich had read his "latest refutation" (ibid). The administering officer noted that Pickwood had "a doubt of Viscount Goderich's power to deprive him of his situation as Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court" (ibid).

#### Postmortem

A letter sent to the Colonial Office on 18 February 1834 reported that "Mr. Pickwood died of locked-jaw in consequence of a slight wound which he received by his horse falling under him, and his knee coming in contact with a glass bottle - Poor man, he

has left a large family to deplore his loss. who I fear are in very embarrassed circumstances" (CO 239/36). Pickwood, who was 58 when he died, had left seven children and a wife living in England. Perhaps Pickwood, alone in the Caribbean like Hodge, had sought comfort locally. If so, his joint tenancy with Miss Pogson on St. Kitts might have been similarly illicit. We are always quick to accuse others of what we ourselves are guilty.

Undersecretary Stanley, in November 1834, complained to Governor McGregor that "years had elapsed from the date of the alleged offense" of Hodge cohabiting with Charlotte, the mother of his children (CO 407/5). Stanley summarized: "it is a strange inference from such example to conclude that the people of England are to defray the expense of prosecution a Judge in Anguilla charged by his brother-Judge with outrageous cruelty towards a Female Slave" (ibid).

A year later, Lord Glenelg was the Secretary for War and for the Colonies. Sophia Pickwood sent him a Memorial in which she listed her late husband's credentials: 15 years on the St. Kitts and Anguilla Courts and 25 years on the St. Kitts Council. She noted that her husband had worked "for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Slave population and for the removal of the disabilities under which His Majesty's colored subjects then reposed" (CO 239/41) and charged that his enemies had caused his suspensions in 1829 and 1832. When her son wrote the Colonial Office in 1838, he revealed that "his mother's estate [had been] mortgaged for almost its full value" (CO 239/52) at her death. On the very next day, Glenelg refused Sophia Pickwood a pension and pronounced himself unable "to provide appointments to your Sons to situations in the colonies" (239/40).

Three years later, on 6 September 1838, R.W. Pickwood wrote Glenelg from Hackney. He reviewed the arguments he had made in a previous interview with Glenelg. His father had been suspended from all his offices in December 1829 by the Governor of St. Kitts, Maxwell, on a charge of perjury. A year later, the King had ordered his father's restoration. The younger Pickwood, as his mother had done before, stressed his father's reform efforts, especially those regarding the admissibility of slave evidence in court. "which at the time exposed him to considerable obloquy" (CO 239/51). A petition to the Earl of Ripon to remove Pickwood had caused the Lord to consider Mr. Pickwood's "reappointment as practicable only at the expense of the tranquility of the Colony as the presiding judge has a personal or political opponent in almost every practitioner at the Bar, and every Sector in his court" (ibid). In addition, Pickwood senior had not "been regularly called to the Bar" (ibid), so a judicial appointment in another island would have been difficult. Pickwood's son produced a Memorial from the Kittian judges and a petition from 160 inhabitants to refute Ripon's conclusion, as well as evidence that when his father had been removed from the St. Kitts Council, he had immediately been elected Speaker of the Assembly. This latter ploy is reminiscent of Maxwell's collusion with Hodge, when he had nominated Hodge to the Council. Pickwood called himself "the heir of my father's wrongs" (ibid) and asked for a position in public office in London. He received a prompt response from Grey on 22 September 1838. The Colonial Office refused to reopen the case: they would put his letter on record but held out no hope for a Public Service appointment. Lord Glenelg had too many other "claims on his patronage" (CO 407/7).



Pickwood's fortunes changed when the Colonial Office secretary changed. In September 1842, Stanley nominated Pickwood to travel to Anguilla in November as Stipendiary Magistrate, but stipulated that he was not to have the title of President of Anguilla. Grame, the current appointee in Anguilla, would become the President of Nevis. Stanley had denied Fitzroy's and Cunningham's recommendation that Challenger be made Stipendiary Magistrate and President of Anguilla. Fitzroy replied that Stanley should make Pickwood a Stipendiary Magistrate in St. Kitts and post Mr. Challenger to Anguilla: "Mr. Challenger, I am convinced is much too diffident and humble-minded to feel any mortification at not obtaining the Title of President" (CO 239/68). A Colonial Office note on Fitzroy's letter confirmed that, contra Mitchell, Pickwood preferred St. Kitts to Anguilla. But, by December 1845, Pickwood was in Anguilla, where he filed the usual end of year Stipendiary Magistrate's report. He complained that "there actually ought to be some one person with authority to confer appointments &c" (CO 243/10), citing as an example that, at a recent inquest, two coroners were ill; if the third had been off island, "we must have waited for instruction from St. Christopher" (ibid). Pickwood's strategy was obvious: he should be granted this authority over his would-be fiefdom.

Pickwood "was removed from Anguilla, where he was formerly stationed to St. Kitts for his own comfort and health, and I am therefore of the opinion that if he continues to prefer residing at St. Kitts instead of at Anguilla" he could do so, but "he must pay for the visits he is required to pay to Anguilla" (CO 407/10), the Colonial Office wrote Governor Hamilton of St. Kitts on 26 September 1855. An allowance of £100 was to be paid to Pickwood to offset his Anguilla expenses. Pickwood died in May 1862 in

St. Kitts. On 16 February 1863, his widow applied for assistance and received £100 as “a donation from the Royalty Bounty Fund” (CO 407/11).

### Deconstruction

The Charlotte affair was eccentric, in Robert Darnton’s term (1984), but as Clifford Geertz (1973) has theorized, power structures such as colonialism are legitimated by offering believers a sense of agency. Thus the event is the unique actualization of cultural pattern. There were two slaveholders vying for dominance in Anguilla: the conservative Anguillian slave-owner, Assistance Justice and Coroner Hodge, who had been elevated to the St. Kitts Assembly by Governor Maxwell, and the liberal Kittian Stipendiary Magistrate and President of the St. Kitts Council, who was receptive to current metropole concepts of amelioration and enjoyed the support of Viscount Goderich, Secretary of State. Pickwood believed in the dominant discourse of benevolence. But was the discourse based on hierarchical, humanitarian or economic concerns? Cui bono? Charlotte, Hodge’s slave, became the active subject of their ideological battle and an allegory of Anguilla in the context of colonialism. After recklessly rebelling, she pragmatically returned to the cellar of her master and made a home for herself there. She was the epitome of Anguilla’s special dependent independence. Dependent on both her persecutor and her protector, she manipulated them against each other. But as their hostility became personal, Charlotte became a pawn in a serious game that was only nominally about her. Even though Pickwood publicly stated that Charlotte exaggerated her story, its essence was compelling evidence of slave abuse. The real hegemonical struggle concerned civil rights. And where civil rights and

slavery met, dominance and money were at stake. Charlotte and her trial set a precedent and demonstrated the possible consequences of slaves testifying against their masters. If free former slaves had been admitted to the jury and to the oligarchic vestry, the outcome of Hodge's two trials might have been different. Hodge had won, but his power base was threatened. His manumission of Charlotte and Mary is less humanitarian than a calculated loss.

Using myths to manipulate traps the mythmakers in their own tales. It is notable that Charlotte has not become part of the mythos as articulated by Anguillians today, in spite of Mitchell's article about the first trial. This is understandable, because Charlotte, while an excellent mythos in many ways is, at closer scrutiny, an even more unpalatable metaphor. She was a strong woman, a rebellious slave, and, unfortunately, ultimately a compliant slave. The testimony at the second trial of Hodge destroyed the mythos that Anguillian slaves had an easier life than others. Charlotte was threatened with flogging, cartwhipped, put in shackles, and pursued by the hunters. However, living on milk and whelks on Dog Island, Charlotte fit the mythos. Her banishment was bizarre, but not brutal. To support the mythos, it would be logical to discuss only the first trial, as Mitchell did. But that is only half the story. It is also interesting that of all the charges made against Pickwood, including embezzling from a client's estate and committing perjury on the slave register, Mitchell, a judge who could not condone real felonies, but who loved smuggler legends, only accused him of smuggling. Mythos is the beneficiary of the radical selection of events that constitutes history.

For Pickwood and Hodge, their public transcripts can "subvert their own apparent meaning" (Jackson Lears building on Bakhtin: 1985:591). In the frenzy of their personal

fury, each man could not see that in destroying the other publicly, he destroyed himself. In Anguilla, during the Charlotte affair, the hidden elite transcript and the usually suppressed subordinate transcript became public discourse. The self-subversion of dominant tales and the selective tactical deployment of subordinate public transcripts reveals the hidden transcripts and the dynamics of how hegemony is negotiated and how incomplete it is. It demonstrates how dominant and subordinate groups alike sabotage their own political communications.

While Pickwood and Hodge sabotaged their own dominant narrative by bringing the backstage to the front, Charlotte exposed herself by exaggerating and her witnesses undermined her with their inconsistency. The man who had been locked in the cellar with her failed to come to court, perhaps due to coercion. Charlotte's group were inexperienced players in the elites' serious game of the English trial system (see Isaacs 1982). They failed to hang together. (A modern Chief Minister would make the error of miscalculating the legal system. He had dissolved the House of Assembly for lack of a quorum. The Speaker sued and his definition of a quorum won. The Chief Minister appealed. His appeals cost unwitting Anguilla \$700,000 in 2001.) Under Pickwood's excoriation of Hodge's arbitrary power over his slave, lay Pickwood's own arbitrary usurpation of the three independent roles of judge, witness and accuser; under Pickwood's liberal concerns about civil rights for slaves lay an acceptance of the Quashee concept. Power and racism are both overt and hidden in this transcript. The dominant hidden narratives contain the converse of the public ridicule they appear to heap on power and racism. Acquiring doublethink about racial stereotypes was essential for aspirants to power because they needed to use superior/inferior stereotypes as agents of social control

to ensure their own frontstage and to guarantee the dependency of the blacks. Here is the location of the backstage of doublethink.

## CHAPTER IV

### “THE OPPROBRIUM OF OUR COLONIES” (CO 239/58)

History is culturally ordered, differently so in different societies, according to meaningful schemes of things. The converse is also true: cultural schemes are historically ordered, since to a greater or lesser extent the meanings are revalued as they are practically enacted. The synthesis of these contraries unfolds in the creative action of the historic subjects, the people concerned (Sahlins 1985:vii).

As in most slavery situations, the early history of Anguilla was written by the representatives of the dominant power, England. They measured Anguilla by how it achieved, or failed to realize, their goals for it as a colony and as a replica of English cultural structures. Until approximately 1850, Anguilla was both an economic and cultural failure. It would never fulfill English colonial economic aspirations, but, after the mid-nineteenth century, the cultural institutions of England recolonized it. How Anguilla's own cultural schemes interpret the historical ordering of events reveal how the meanings have been revalued to create, or fail to create, new models of action for Anguillians. This chapter explores this revaluation, which is less a synthesis than it is thesis and antithesis. Anguilla's serious game involves valorizing those things England regarded as its colonial defects, with certain exceptions, notably religion. The tools used to unpack the documents of colonial discourse and current Anguillian rephrasing by which they make the discourse their own are Plato's concepts of *mythos* and *logos*.

Colville Petty's premises for his thesis on Anguillian history were two: "history is functional in view of the role it plays in national development" (1990:2) and "the decolonization process requires an understanding of the dynamics of colonialism" (ibid:5). He concluded that Anguilla "experienced a history of subcolonization and neglect that affected Anguilla's attitude to political independence" (ibid:10). He, too, had problems obtaining primary sources: most of the records, deeds and wills and all of the minutes of His Majesty's Council in Anguilla were destroyed by a hurricane in 1950 that flattened the Courthouse. Hurricanes also ruined Anglican Church records. Only the Colonial Office records survived. Shannon Ryan has evaluated these as resources: the British Colonial Office consular reports are "uneven in value - some individuals were extremely competent, energetic and well-informed, and wrote very comprehensive reports, while others lacked these qualities and often wrote little or nothing" (1986:xxv). Using these documentary sources, this study examines how history, seen as *mythos* and *logos*, functions in the development of a national self-image that recursively is shaped by and leads to an Anguillian style and substance as they interpret present events.

In this chapter, an abbreviated exposition of a period of Anguillian history reveals the process of colonization in Anguilla and analyzes the institutional neglect that encouraged the Anguillians' concept of themselves as independent. They were permitted by the lack of dominant colonial discourse to define themselves as such. Anguillian history consists of a series of small resistances from elites, colonial officials, slaves, and workers. During the first half of the nineteenth century Anguilla underwent a period of cultural change: it was transformed from a complete institutional failure to an organized colony. Devoid of all institutions for twenty-five years following the French invasion in 1796, Anguilla resisted the reestablishment of colonial structure. It would take England another quarter of a century to recolonize Anguilla. Out of this turbulent period stem the *mythos* that animate Anguillians and fed their twentieth century revolution. This chapter examines the various waves of resistance that were allowed to happen due to lack of

oversight. Clippings from current newspapers and contemporary quotes form a counterpart that underscores that the process of decolonization is incomplete. This would seem obvious, given Anguilla's status as an Overseas Territory. But the emphasis of this paper is that decolonization cannot occur while the dancers occupy the habitus of the dance of dominant discourse. The Anguillian myths that constitute metaphorical versions of their principles involve the settlement of the island, the early departure of the plantocracy, the better treatment of slaves, independent land owners, emigration and refusal to be relocated, and smuggling. The logos are those of institutional failure: legislative, judicial and civil.

#### The Shipwrecked Wild Irish

Anguilla had been an important ceremonial site for the Arawaks. It is rich in Amerindian artifacts and Fountain Cavern, which contains three pools of potable water, has a "large stalagmite covered with the features of the Arawak Creator Diety, *Jocahu*, and a number of petroglyphs" (Carty and Petty 1997: 114). It was called Malliouhana, an Arawak word whose meaning is lost. However, there is no evidence that the island was inhabited by Amerindians when the French visited Anguilla in 1564. In 1609, Captain Harcourt landed on the north side of Anguilla where, he said, "I think never Englishman disembogued before us" (Urdike 1968:70). The English created an exploitation colony, not a settler colony, in Anguilla about 1650 (Knight 1990:78). It was a waste country that was settled without a commission from the King. Lack of patents and land grants circumscribed Anguilla's legal position: the colonists had, in effect, squatter's rights. There was contact with Amerindians when, in 1656, they



destroyed the first settlement on Anguilla. The Amerindians were depicted as cannibalistic savages: one female "Carib" bit an English girl in the shoulder "and tore out as much flesh as her mouth could hold" (Southey II 1968: 17). Severely wounded, the elderly woman bit the girl again.

In 1665, "Anguilla hath some fewe English on it, with excellent salt pits and a good road for ships" (CO 1/19:354). By 1672 Anguilla had been the site of one seizure of a ship and the sinking of another. Along with Statia and Saba it was unsurveyed and would remain so until the coastal survey of 1920 and the cadastral survey of 1972. In 1668, the Colonial Office received even more discouraging news: "2 - or 300 Englishmen fled there - not worth of keeping" (CO 1/23:213). Four years later, Anguilla had three companies of militia, each with 50 men, or 150 white males.

The mythos is that Anguilla was settled by a party of shipwrecked Irish. There were two waves of Irish immigrants to the Caribbean: Irish Catholic criminals evicted by Oliver Cromwell in the 1650s and those who came as servants during the contraction of the linen industry, 1772 - 1774. It might have been some of the wild Irish, so embedded in Anguillian mythos, that Colonel Hart, Governor of the Leeward Islands, referred to in his letter to the Right Honorable Commissioner for Trade and Plantations: the "first Inhabitants were such as had fled from Barbados and the Greater Islands of this Government for Debt or to avoid the Punishment of their Crimes, and have since been Increased by Pirates, who have come in upon Acts of Grace and are Married and Settled there, whose Posterity not knowing the World, remain there and cultivate the ground for a Wretched Subsistence" (CO 142/14). The Irish servants were generally unwanted. They "rioted in Barbados, 'straggled' in Bermuda. ... In the Leeward Islands, 125 unruly Irish

servants were deliberately marooned on the desolate Isle of Crabs” (Fischer 1989:614) just as Seaman Robert Jeffrey was marooned on arid, deserted Sombrero Island in 1807, after several floggings by Captain Hon. Warwick Lake. Slaves, servants and sailors were treated similarly in the eighteenth century. In this case, however, Captain Hon. Lake was court-martialed.

In 1688, the “wild Irish” (ibid:145-6), refugees of Cromwell's Irish purge, arrived in Anguilla an inexplicable 30 years after Cromwell died. The Irish ravaged Anguilla. The next year, the French seized Anguilla and left an Irishman to govern the island. “A party of wild Irish landed upon Anguilla and treated the defenceless inhabitants more barbarously than any of the French pirates who had attacked them before” (Petty 1990:145). There are many Irish surnames in Anguilla today. The mythos of the Wild Irish is regarded as amusing; the term is still used to describe people whose actions aren't condoned, especially whites. Because of the wild Irish, and in spite of the mythos that Anguillians clung to the Rock, Governor Codrington brought all Anguillians to Antigua.

Raided by Amerindians in 1656, by 300 French from St. Kitts in 1666, by the French and Irish in 1688, Anguillians, or people from other islands, kept coming to the Rock. During the first raid, the Amerindians had killed most of the men and enslaved the women and children; in the second, the Anguillians had hidden in the woods; in the third, they had fled to Antigua. Colville Petty found that “[m]any of the settlers were poor whites who had become dispossessed as a result of the sugar revolution in the other islands. They had sold their small tobacco and cotton holdings and some had moved during the 1650s to Anguilla, where land was still available to start a new life. Others were indentured servants, criminal, debtors and pirates” (1990:23). Anguilla was settled

by default by those who had lost at the very beginning of the sugar plantocracy. And, as it would be for the emancipated slaves of two centuries later, the lure of Anguilla was its unclaimed land.

In 1680, English planters from Anguilla settled in the Virgin Islands. More Englishmen left for the Virgin Islands in 1694. "where they made considerable improvements: they were governed by a deputy-governor and council, nominated from among themselves. There were no taxes" (ibid: 165). This arrangement is counter to the prevailing custom of Westminster-appointed officials and is similar to the form of quasi-official government that historical documents identify Anguilla as having possessed since it was settled. It is probable that this structure was indigenous to Anguilla and was taken from there to the Virgin Islands.

In July 1689, "Lieutenant General Codrington sent three sloops, with eighty soldiers, under the command of Captain Edward Thorne, to fetch off the inhabitants with their goods and stock, from the island of Anguilla, where they were miserably abused and destroyed by some Irish, whom the French had put on shore among them" (ibid:149). It was after this that several planters arrived from Barbados. The first link between Anguilla and St. Kitts occurred when Col. William Watts was appointed Deputy Governor of the two islands. In 1671, all the islands in the Leeward Islands Administration except Anguilla received councils. Abraham Howell declared "he was elected by the inhabitants to be the deputy governor until some lawfully constituted authority should take up the burdens of office" (Jones 1976:13). His self-appointment was not confirmed until 1673; he was then permitted to grant land by letters patent and to create a council of magistrates. Four patents granted by Howell still exist. The council never was

established. With the deputy governor as the executive, legislative and the judiciary, there was established a tradition of the non-separation of powers that Pickwood, as judge, witness and prosecutor, would demonstrate in the 1830s. It would not be until 1827 that the Vestry Act established a system of local government.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the governor of the Leeward Islands appointed "an honest old sloop man" who had retired to Anguilla and owned "ye best cotton plantation there" as deputy governor, (Petty 1990:35). The deputy governor headed an advisory council that "was the only political institution on Anguilla for nearly a century" (ibid:38). One leitmotif was established: the deputy governor "will not continue among such reprobates any longer" (ibid:35). The old sloop man returned to Antigua.

Having tried raising tobacco and cotton with little success, the Anguillians turned to sugar. "Sugar transformed a mainly white society of small farmers into a society of predominantly African slaves labouring on sugar estates" (ibid:59). Petty quoted Eric Williams: "A change in the economic structure produced a corresponding change in the labor supply" (ibid:45). Sugar did not thrive due to the arid climate and the lack of arable land and capital. A plantocracy based on ownership of big estates with large numbers of slaves never became established. Diversification saved the island. Anguilla exported sugar, rum, cotton, indigo, fustic, mahogany and ginger (CO 153/2). For the fiscal year 1787, cotton and indigo production were each triple the worth of the 2,129 casks of sugar produced (Petty 1991:6). Anguilla, contrary to the belief that it has always been arid and virtually treeless, also exported a quantity of mahogany.

Anguilla and the other Virgin Islands had been settled “at great risque. Toil and expense by such of Your Majesty’s Subjects in these Parts as could not get Plantations in Barbados and the Leeward Islands” (CO 314/1), according to a petition circa 1711. The settlement in Anguilla had served as a base in the early eighteenth century for colonists to migrate or to extend their holdings to other islands, notably Crab Island and St Croix (CO 152/12). But, by 1753, the tenor of Anguillian wills changed and family compounds prevailed. Thomas Gumbs’ will, written at the height of sugar production, stipulated that “every child shall keep the lot where their houses [are] on ... that my daughter Eliza Roberts shall have a suff’t spot on my plantation equal to those of my sons” (ibid). A different kind of settler, more akin to the legendary wild Irish, arrived in the 1790s. Governor Shirley complained of a brigantine that was “marooning Irish transported convicts” at Anguilla (CO 152/69). Although the Deputy Governor of Anguilla had stopped one boat, another one had landed some convicts at the western end of Anguilla. Lt. Honorable Grenville Esquire replied that, “It is not His Majesty’s intention to authorize the sending of Convicts to his West Indies possessions” and “effective measures have been taken to prevent” this (ibid). However, Grenville was equivocal: he cautioned Shirley not to pass any acts that would penalize “anyone who, under the King’s authority conveys convicts there” (ibid).

Following the settlement of convicts upon the smaller islands came administrative problems in the judiciary. “Her Majesty’s Government would regret to see the number of independent courts of Justice (already so inconveniently large) augmented by new enactments” (CO 241/27). The Colonial Office recommended Kittian law be administered in Anguilla by temporary commissioners, rather than appointing a new body

of judges. An Anguillian militia was “disallowed.” This reversed Bathurst’s earlier declaration that the King had “no prerogative to levy duties or impose laws and therefore cannot delegate that power” because Anguilla was a waste country, “held up by title of occupancy” (CO 239/18).

Anguilla had a scattered settlement pattern, involving, in 1824, “the minute subdivision of property, and the dispersions of the proprietors in this Island” (CO 407/1). Renegades continued to settle on Anguilla. Charlotte’s Italian companion, Filipaso, had been banished from both St. Martin and Anguilla and was only able to remain on the island because Dr. Hodge, Charlotte’s master and former lover, for whatever reason, intervened on Filipaso’s behalf (see Chapter III). Testimony at trials in the 1830s reveals that the West Indian pattern of living in yards had become established (CO 239/24).

#### Crab Island: Elite Resistance

The first salvo of resistance came from white settlers scarcely a generation after Anguilla was settled. In 1683, there was an abortive attempt to settle Crab Island and in 1694 some Anguillians had emigrated to the Virgin Islands. Anguillians and Tortolians had petitioned the Governor of the Leeward Islands in 1687 for their approximately two hundred arms-bearing men to settle Crab Island, due to drought: “those upon Anguilla want water, and most of them live and trade only upon stock which is much decayed by the great droughts we have had in these parts they are making no Sugar, Indigo, or Cotton by which his majesty receives any benefit” (CO 1/64). During the reign of James II, “there was a settlement attempted to be made by Several Inhabitants [on Crab Island] that went from this [Anguilla] and other Islands, but they were Soon Molested and all of them

taken of by the Spaniards and Carried to St. Domingo where they were kept a Considerable time as Prisoners or rather Slaves” (CO 152/11). Santo Domingo is where the Anguillian peasants would go to work the cane fields in the nineteenth and twentieth century, again causing “so many inhabitants lost from these islands” (ibid).

Crab Island lies five miles east of Puerto Rico; today it is called Vieques and is the contested site of American military bombing practices. But, in the 1700s, it was subject to Spain. The Governor of the Leeward Islands informed the Board of Trade in 1724 that the “Spanish governors have orders to kill settlers on Crab Island” (CO 152/14). That had not stopped Captain Howell, the Anguillian governor, from petitioning to migrate there in 1717, then proceeding to emigrate without permission. The Governor of the Leeward Islands received both the Anguillians’ petition and the information that Howell had gone to Crab Island with forty white men and between twenty to thirty Negroes in the same August packet (CO 152/12). Perhaps Howell’s migration was the reason Anguilla’s 1716 population of 424 whites and 829 slaves remained steady at 427 white planters and 824 slaves in 1717. In 1716, Anguillians had petitioned the Governor of the Leeward Islands to settle St. Croix because “the Island of Anguilla is quite wore out” (CO 152/11). By 1717 Anguillians were living on Tortola. The Governor of the Leeward Islands remarked that, in April of 1720, following a five month drought, “several of the inhabitants have deserted [Anguilla]” (CO 152/13). Some had also “applied for Patents for land in Tortola” (ibid). He feared that they would “separate and settle among other nations, especially in the Dutch islands” (ibid). What passed for the plantocracy in Anguilla was becoming restless.

Anguilla was often embroiled in conflicts that originated in Europe, then spilled over into the Caribbean colonies. Anguilla was invaded in 1666, 1667, 1689, 1698 and 1745. In 1744, Anguillians, led by Deputy Governor Hodge of Anguilla, captured the French part of St. Martin, only to be invaded by the French in a retaliatory strike the next year. One hundred fifty Anguillians repulsed seven hundred French in fifteen minutes. During the French Revolution, in 1796, Anguilla was again invaded. This time, the French forced the Anguillians eastward before Anguillians stopped their advance at Sandy Hill Fort. The arrival of the British frigate, *Lapwing*, and the ensuing naval battle resulted in British victory.

#### Port Petitions: Colonial Officials' Resistance

Anguilla's petitions to open its port to American vessels for the export of salt was contrary to mercantile principles. But mercantilism was already in abeyance in the Bahamas. It had been replaced by Adam Smith's concept of *laissez-faire*, in which self-interest benefited all citizens. Current British officials suggest that the Bahamas received exceptional treatment in becoming a free port because their salt went north, while Anguilla's exports went south. This theory makes little sense in two contradictory ways. First, Anguillians were petitioning to send their salt north; second, if, indeed, they wished to send their salt south to other British colonies, it would be in line with mercantile principles. But Anguilla was caught in the transition between mercantilism and *laissez-faire* because it did not function either as a market for British products or as an exporter to England of raw goods. Salt was no longer a precious metal, white gold.



From the beginning, from the British perspective, Anguilla had been a failure. A Colonial Office note on a letter from Colebrooke to Lord Russell almost two hundred years after Anguilla's settlement found no improvement: "Anguilla has been the opprobrium of our West India Colonies for the last half Century" (CO 239/58). Anguilla was infamous because it was useless. Suspect due to its lack of institutions of the type that Europeans recognized. Anguilla's petitions for Free Port status were routinely rejected on the grounds that smuggling would occur. The English cared more about placing customs officers on Anguilla than churches; their concern was more mercenary than moral. Ideally, Anguilla never should have been settled; now that it undeniably was, even though few grants had been issued, it should have its population relocated. But that revived fears of lawlessness. When emigration was at its peak, colonial officials dreaded that a depopulated Anguilla would become a "nest of pirates and outlaws" (1840 No 10). Others found this notion preposterous. A Colonial Office note on the back of a letter from Colebrooke to Russell, 28 December 1840 read:

I confess that it appears to me that the case of the handful of people living at Anguilla is irremediable. I dare say that Major Grame's residence amongst them would be useful to them, as beyond all doubt, the residence of a good Clergyman would. But the radical evil is beyond the reach of such remedies. Fifteen hundred Paupers are living together in an Island with scarcely the semblance of Law, Government, or any other Social Institution and without the materials from which such Institutions could be created. Harsh as it may sound, I really believe that the most humane course is to leave them to feel the pressure of their poverty, because very few hours sail would bring them to Colonies where their labors would be well rewarded, and where the benefit of regular Government wd. be secured to them. Why should we attempt to nurse up a Society such as this, which could never yield any fruit advantageous to the Empire at large, or to themselves? If when the Island is deserted, Buccaneers shall congregate there, they may be dealt with like other Pirates; but it would seem bad policy to be keeping up permanently a kind of work house merely to keep out Robbers who might possibly succeed them. If there are such people, they will hardly abandon their pursuits from the mere want of shelter among the countless Islands of the Antilles (CO 239/59).

(Years later, during the 1967 revolution, Britain's fear of the Mafia and other modern day pirates constructing casinos led, in part, to their invasion of Anguilla.)

The Anguilla Petition of 18 October 1821 begged the Lt. Governor of the Leeward Islands to open their port to import flour, grain, provisions and lumber. Anguilla had been afflicted with both drought and the loss of their salt crop that year. The Petitioners noted that they had received his "communication of the date of the 23rd July: Assuring us that by reason of the instructions given you by Lord Bathurst to discontinue the opening of the Ports for the admission of the Foreign Vessels, you could not comply with the prayer of the [Anguillian] Board of Council" (CO 239/7). The petitioners resisted Bathurst by goading the governor: "We lament that the Orders of our Most Gracious Sovereign should now exclude Your Honor's exercising that Authority, which was delegated to your Predecessors" (ibid). The gubernatorial privilege had been repealed by Parliament in its last session: even before then the privilege had been limited. The governor "could open ports to British ships and British ships only and only for importing certain articles in case of emergency" (CO 239/19). Anguilla's provocative strategy was effective: John Wilson, President of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and Virgin Islands, proclaimed the port open, even for livestock, on 10 November 1821.

In 1822, the Councilors petitioned Governor Maxwell of St Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla-Virgin Islands because, during another "unparalleled drought" (CO 239/8), officials in Tortola had sent an order to Anguilla's Searcher and Waiter "which will effectively deter the very few English Vessels that may be induced to come here for Salt from visiting" (ibid). Their goal was obtaining free port status for six months.

The eighth of February 1823 brought another petition to "Trade with the United States as enjoyed by most of the other British Islands" (CO 239/9) from the drought-stricken Anguillians. They stated intransigently that they were "depending upon foreign supplies for our subsistence" (ibid). Lieutenant Governor Maxwell forwarded it to Lord Bathurst with a covering letter on 28 August 1823. It was received 11 October 1823.

My Lord. I have the honour to enclose a humble Petition from the Lieutenant Governor President and Members of Council of the Island of Anguilla. in behalf of themselves and the Inhabitants. setting forth their destitute and forlorn situation. by not participating in the Trade with the United States as enjoyed by most of the other British Islands in the West Indies -- I have had the honour to submit to your Lordship the deplorable state of these Petitioners -- and under this conviction I had opened the Ports of Anguilla for the admission of Foreign Vessels to enable them to barter the only exchangeable Produce it yields Salt. to obtain some of the necessaries of Life -- but in consequence of Your Lordships direction contained in Your Dispatch No 27-- this indulgence can no longer be permitted -- I have had occasion to solicit Your Lordships attention to the very peculiar and novel state of being of these Inhabitants. in number upward of Three Thousands. without Laws. or Civil Institutions of any Kind. to check the lawless disposition of many of them. or to protect the weak and helpless. or to punish the frequent Acts of oppression and Cruelty practiced on the Slave Population who are unregistered. which to the well disposed Proprietor is a very great detriment. as he cannot avail himself of the advantage enjoyed by the owners of Slaves in the Old Colonies. that of removing them to a more productive Soil. which many of them have been invited to do. but could not avail themselves of it. by reason of not being able to show a Copy of their Registration (CO 239/9).

A Slave Register for Anguilla has never been found. although it was attested to by the 1824 Commission of Inquiry and Anguillian officials repeatedly promised to send one to the Colonial Office. London officials record that it never arrived. The lack of a Slave Register hobbled slave owners. but it was also symptomatic of the Anguillian elite's resistance. no matter the personal cost. to colonial bureaucratization. (Even today. statistics are regarded as a "luxury" on Anguilla. This speaks as much to an ongoing resistance to being pigeonholed and held accountable as to the logistics of data gathering.

While the usefulness of both Registers and statistics is acknowledged theoretically, in terms of facilitating aid, they are distrusted and resisted individually. This is an example of what an Anguillian in Slough meant when he clucked his tongue: "Ah, that wayward island.")

Free Port status for Anguilla continued to be debated in the Colonial Office. Anguilla's London agent, James Colquhoun, reminded Bathurst that "His Majesty and Council had the authorization to extend the American Intercourse Act (#3 Geo 3 C44) to any port" (CO 234/11). Officials in the Colonial Office refused this argument: free port status would be a "great Danger to the Revenue" and would afford "Facilities to the Evasion of the Laws respecting the Slave Trade" (ibid). Customs duties and the protection of the capital invested in slaves, rather than starvation, was realpolitik. Nonetheless, Lieutenant Governor Maxwell humanely, if illegally, proclaimed Anguilla a free port on 14 July 1824; he cleverly sent his proclamation in a letter of 8 August that did not reach London until 9 September 1824. Maxwell palliated his outrageous act by imposing a duty of two pence sterling on every barrel containing three bushels of salt Anguilla exported to be applied towards the expenses of the colony. His letter was not reviewed by Bathurst until November: in May, Bathurst had written Maxwell that while he, Bathurst, was sympathetic to the petition, he did not authorize Maxwell to issue a proclamation. November found Colquhoun explaining to Bathurst that St. Kitts had opened the port for these "distressed but industrious people" who had exported 70,000 - 80,000 barrels of salt (ibid).

British representatives, such as Maxwell, needed the authority to act in emergencies that were necessarily slow to be communicated to the metropole and, once there, received cold comfort. Both theoretically and in truth, all Anguillians could have perished before Parliament learned of their plight, much less acted to alleviate it. Perhaps the Colonial Office regarded this as no bad thing for their bottom line. Often their letters were phrased in what Waugh has called "the weary, well-bred indifference of official English" (1991:107). Such a concept would resemble Senator David Patrick Moynihan's "benign neglect" policy towards blacks during the Johnson years which, while deadly, sidestepped the responsibility of a coup de grâce. According to this policy, one that echoes and thus rebuts current thought on slavery, African Americans' pathological culture of poverty bore the seeds of its own destruction. It is to the credit of local governors like Maxwell that they put their careers in jeopardy by defying their superiors. However, the resistance and rebuke seem as ritualized as a pavane. As such, their resistance occupied, rather than created, a space within the dominant discourse of colonialism.

In June 1825, Colquhoun received a letter from Roland Brandneth, who had visited Anguilla with Governor Maxwell in 1819, supporting Anguilla's desire for free port status. He assured Anguilla's agent that "there is as little smuggling carried out in that Island as in any other among the Antilles who enjoy Free Ports" (CO 239/12). Given the export of salt and the poverty of the inhabitants, "there would be few inducements and still fewer means for carrying on any illicit traffic, were the Port open" was Brandneth's rather naïve view, as if smuggling were impossible in small boats and would not offer Anguillians a way out of poverty (ibid). Yet Britain persisted in the belief that

“where could there be found Consumers for contraband articles, when no one has the means to purchase Luxuries - scarcely necessities of life - There is therefore no motive for smuggling” (ibid). But Brandneth enumerated what would become one of the two roots of the Anguillian revolution, when he pled that it was necessary to extend “civilization among the Colonists of elevating their condition nearer to that of their neighbours” (ibid). In October of that year, Colquhoun, again, forwarded a petition for a free port from Anguilla to Bathurst. He reminded Bathurst that the Governor had opened the port last year “without waiting for authority from home ... altho’ contrary to law” (CO 239/12). Colquhoun’s argument was, in effect, similar to the objection to laws such as the American eighteenth amendment on prohibition: Don’t make laws that will not be honored by the average citizen: they create crime. Colquhoun also pressed the point that once freedom had been granted, it could not be revoked with impunity: “this gleam of prosperity was transient so that it only rendered the feelings excited by the subsequent change, more acute” (ibid).

Provoked by Maxwell’s unauthorized actions, Bathurst finally issued a rebuke to Maxwell. Opening the port twice in the knowledge that he lacked the legal power to do so was not a coincidence. Whether Maxwell was trying to help Anguilla or to impose his own imperious regime on England, his resistance was doomed and weighed against him later in his struggle with the Colonial Office when he backed Hodge in the Pickwood affair (see Chapter III).

The second root of the Anguilla Revolution appeared in 1825, when St. Kitts was authorized to legislate for Anguilla. In 1829, St. Kitts, having been assured that admitting one Kittian to their Assembly to represent and legislate for Anguilla would cost

them nothing, found itself paying the salary of the Customs Officer at Anguilla. Finally, in April 1831, the Collector was ordered to pay the Colonial Chest £918..12..8, including the salary of the Customs Officer at Anguilla (CO 239/24), thus removing the impediment to St. Kitts legislating for Anguilla.

Maxwell's replacement, Governor Nicolay, inherited his predecessor's problems with Anguilla. Justice Pickwood had brought Nicolay Anguilla's 1832 petition concerning their 16-month drought and Nicolay granted them six weeks to get supplies from neighboring foreign islands and to pay duty on it locally, rather than in St. Kitts. However, Nicolay refused to open Anguilla's ports to foreign vessels. Viscount Goderich was in favor of making Anguilla's free port status permanent, a *de jure* recognition of a *de facto* arrangement. The King authorized £500 for relief, revealing the "Paternal intentions of his Majesty" (CO 239/30). The Customs Officer at Anguilla wrote Goderich that the island was in such distress it should be allowed to bring in provisions duty-free for six months: "there has not been a day passed by for this month past, but three or four funerals have taken place, indeed one day twelve took place. I am satisfied that 60 deaths have occurred from want solely" (*ibid*). This occurred during August 1832 and possibly signals the beginning of the plantocracy's abandonment of the starving island of soon to be freed slaves.

By the time of their 1841 petition, Anguillians, copying Colquhoun, began to date their misfortunes to 1796, when the French had devastated the "once flourishing little colony" (CO 239/66). Anguilla's morality was still left to the customs officer rather than the church. They confirmed that their infamy was of long standing but due strictly to their loyalty to the Crown.

### Emigration: Elite and Worker: Passive Resistance

If the white elite could not emigrate to Crab Island and elsewhere, then it was necessary to rid Anguilla of the hungry slaves, at least temporarily. According to Petty, seasonal emigration began during slavery: "During the long periods when the slaves were idle for several months many of them were allowed to go abroad and earn money, some of which they used for buying their freedom and that of their relatives. This was the beginning of the remittance economy on which the Anguillians were to depend for another century or more" (1990:108-9). The exodus included skilled workers such as coopers, sailors and masons, who went to Trinidad, St. Bartholomew and St. Croix. S. B. Jones, Warden of Anguilla during 1919-1923, cited "many instances where slaves were given their freedom mainly on moral grounds, and for faithful service to their masters" (1976:17). Writing in 1936 before many documents were destroyed, Jones had access to wills from the previous century that designated a number of mulatto children to receive property. Manumission, particularly of mulattoes, became more frequent from 1825-1832: "these are granted in exchange for hard cash" (ibid:18). "The colonists appear to dread holding in slavery their own coloured children or relatives" (ibid:19). In 1824, Anguillian free blacks, presumably primarily mulattoes, numbered 327 out of total population of 3080. This supports Barry Higman's suggestion that mulattoes constituted 10 percent of the population in marginal colonies (1990:127). Petty found class conflict between mulattos and slaves and posited as the premise of the Amelioration Act that "class difference based on the color of the skin was permanent" (1990:115). He wrote that on Anguilla there was no insurrection, "but the slaves reacted by refusing to work"



(ibid:121). Based on negative information from Anguillians who had returned from Demerara, Anguillians refused to obey Lord Russell's command in 1840 to move en masse to British Guyana. This is the basis of the mythos that Anguillians refused to emigrate. However, Petty estimated that in the period 1837 - 1845, more than 1000 Anguillians emigrated. He did not speculate whether they had left permanently: to do so would harm the myth. In 1839, Cunningham estimated that "more than 1600 in the last three years alone" had emigrated (CO 239/58).

As for being independent land-owners, Petty used Mintz's definition of a proto-peasantry: "the subsequent adaptation to a peasant style of life was worked out by people while they were still enslaved" (1989:151). Economics sometimes aborted the conversion of slaves to proto-peasants. Bush noted that provision grounds were the origins of Caribbean peasantries and gave the slaves a better diet, but, in the sugar islands of Nevis, St. Kitts, Antigua, and Barbados, the master's store was more important than taking land out of sugar production to make provision grounds (1990:48). The salt islands were different. Petty continued the myth: "Land was available in Anguilla because after emancipation most of the white planters sold out their estates to the ex-slaves and returned to England" (1990:142). Given the falling sugar prices during the 1820s and 1830s that caused foreclosure for debt payments, the amount of money the planters were alleged to have owed, and the lack of circulating currency, it is difficult to believe that the transaction was quite so simple. Bad coins were only taken out of circulation in Anguilla in 1842; Anguilla went bankrupt in 1843 with Anguillian and Kittian creditors taking 50% as full settlement. In addition, the younger Robert Pickwood, in the Stipendiary Magistrate's report for December 1845, wrote: "there was

so much land in the country without any ostensible owner, that no one [ran] the risk of squatting" (CO 239/71). "The people are scattered all over the country wherever the soil is fit for cultivation" (CO 243/10). This matches Henry Coleridge's description of Anguilla in 1832, when he compared the scattered population of Anguilla to that of Devonshire (see McKinney 1996). These environmental/occupational explanations of Anguilla's scattered settlement pattern contrast with the sugar islands' model of post-emancipation villages at the edges of plantations or church-sponsored free villages. A scattered population pattern was not conducive to social schemes.

#### Refusal to Migrate

The refusal of Anguillians to leave their land is a worker narrative. Elite whites had been trying to leave Anguilla for more fertile islands since the seventeenth century. There is an irony. In order to support themselves, the slaves and former slaves, too, had to seek work outside Anguilla. Then the Colonial Office decided to relocate the entire penurious colony in the 1840s. By the latter date there were few white elite remaining in Anguilla.

In spite of the mythos, the Colonial Office's relocation scheme was partially successful. Lord John Russell had ordered the emigration and other British colonies in the Caribbean were eager to receive Anguillian workers. Among the schemes to remove them was an offer from Henry Light of British Guiana: the British Government would pay to transport "the whole population of Anguilla to British Guiana" (CO 243/10). He noted that many of their countrymen were already there, and, in a reversal of the separation of tribal groups that prevailed under slavery, Light recommended that they

should "locate themselves as near to each other as possible" (ibid). In July 1840, a boat from Antigua removed fourteen Anguillians and sixteen others emigrated to Demerara. None went to Trinidad. "Many talk of emigrating next year, but nothing appeared to be fixed in their minds": however, there had been a "Tide of Emigrating" (CO 239/60)). Rain in July and a large salt crop in September contributed to stemming this tide. Most laborers had plots of their own. They had quitted the sugar properties and were share-cropping for one-fifth of the crop "which offered a very handsome return" (ibid). By March 1841, C.T. Cunningham, the Lt. Governor of St. Kitts, was exhorting the Anguillians: "I told them if they made up their minds to remain in their native land, they must each and all cheerfully contribute their assistance to raise it from its failing condition...that the Vestry were under an apprehension that the laborers would rather emigrate than pay taxes" (ibid).

Demerara "swept off many of their companions" (ibid). It was unhealthy and "several are desirous to come back" (ibid). Anguillians preferred "their own fine climate to the swamps of the Southern Colonies": a change of weather in Anguilla was enough to bring them home to "set to work cheerfully to cultivate their small plots of ground" (CO 239/71). By 1843, the problem was what to do with the remnants of the pseudo-plantocracy:

the proprietary body in Anguilla, who, in case of such Emigration would be left totally without means of support. Many of these are persons in a very respectable condition of life, whose whole income arises from the cultivation of Sugar and provisions, or from renting ground to the Negroes. It would be difficult to provide for such persons in Trinidad for even supposing grants of land to be made to them, they could not find Capital to commence a system of cultivation (ibid).

However, the returning peasants possessed capital by 1844.

Indeed the lower orders seem exceedingly attached to their Island, and many of those who in seasons of drought and consequent scarcity of food, went in search of employment to the Southern Colonies have since returned and are now renting and cultivating large plots of provision ground - Some of these laborers brought back considerable sums which they had earned during their absence, and perhaps the thriving condition of many among the laboring population ... may be attributed to the possession of this little capital (CO 239/74).

Post-emancipation and the termination of the apprenticeship period, many of the able-bodied population of Anguilla emigrated, leaving behind their aged and infirm. The deaths of the latter augmented the decrease in the population. Emigration, as an economic policy, can be faulted for encouraging a nation to look for external solutions, as does colonialism. It drains away the base for internal economic development. The mythos of the refusal of Anguillians to leave their land holds only if it is supposed that these migrant workers intended to return, but there is no real proof of that. On the contrary, colonial officials speak of settled colonies of Anguillians in Guyana. When Colebrooke wrote that "many of the Apprentices had been removed to the Southern Colonies" (ibid), it would seem likely that these were English colonies, as opposed to the pre-emancipation attempt by the elite to sell Anguillian slaves on islands where slave trade was still legal. Those who emigrated post-emancipation must be assumed to have done so voluntarily, albeit sometimes lured by free passages and false promises. That many rued their migration and wished to return home, there is plentiful evidence. But, once gone, saving for the return passage home was extremely difficult:

... to add from credible information (derived from Emigrants themselves who have returned hither from Demerara) that there are vast numbers of Natives of this Island, who yielding to the temptations and delusions practiced upon them, but consented to repair to Demerara, and who are now extremely anxious to return to their native home ... One emigrant from hence was dexterous enough to secure his return, by persuading a Captain of a Vessel that if he would convey him back to Anguilla he would engage to induce forty of his kin folks to emigrate (Stipendiary Magistrate Report on Emigrations 30 June 1841).

While rains in July 1840 had allegedly persuaded the laborers not to emigrate, in the Stipendiary Report for June 1841 the lack of emigration records was noted. Estimates of the number who had left since 1834 ranged from 1200 to 1700 people. Perhaps it was pride of jurisdiction or perhaps the simple truth when Cunningham wrote Major MacPhail that year "stating my conviction that the affairs of Anguilla were not so desperate as was generally believed" (CO 239/62). In October of that year, Grame complained to the interim governor of St. Kitts that Anguillians who had emigrated to Demerara and other distant Colonies were cut off from communication with home, while letters from England for Anguillians were held and returned without notifying the recipients. (Withholding Anguillian mail would be one of Bradshaw's first punitive moves in the 1960s.)

Although they had received a petition from the inhabitants of Anguilla in 1841 protesting their "compulsory expatriation," the Colonial Office still wanted all Anguillians to emigrate. In 1843, Trinidad was promoted (CO 239/71) and British Guyana (CO 407/6). Cunningham, in what again could have been a ploy to protect his fiefdom, responded that Lord Russell must be unaware "of the many cases of leprosy, & loathsome forms of disease prevailing amongst the inhabitants" (ibid). This is one of two mentions by Cunningham of leprosy and loathsome diseases among a population universally described as remarkably healthy. Cunningham also, as many Kittian Lt. Governors had, urged that Anguilla be separated from St. Kitts. Resistance in the Colonial Office took the form of establishing, then safeguarding, one's bailiwick.

The 1845 Magistrate's Return is uninformative: Immigrants 0, Emigrants 0 (CO 243/10). It is unlikely anyone was counting. By 1846, the Magistrate's Return announced that "Emigration is at an end" (ibid). However,

No registrar is kept of Immigrants or Emigrants. I am not aware of any going away except for a time, nor of any returning except to visit their friends and relatives. Any increase in the population results from the excess of Births over Deaths, certainly not from Immigration - labor in this Island being 7d per diem on estates, it is not likely that any able bodied parties would quit a better for a worse market. I regret to state that some have returned from Trinidad and Demerara to be burthensome to the public of this Island (ibid).

A different class of persons migrated in 1848: "the better educated" Anguillians sought public employment in Antigua (ibid). It is probable that this is when whatever plantocracy existed, departed, and Anguilla solidified into a peasantry, albeit one in which ownership of differing amounts of land and the ability to hire servants delineated subsets of the peasant class.

### The Rock

Anguilla's soubriquet symbolizes the endurance of the land and its people. Natural disasters plagued Anguilla. Major hurricanes struck in 1747, 1766, 1780, 1819, 1821, 1822, 1898, 1922, 1924, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1984, 1995, and 1999. These hurricanes, like the ones in 1819 and 1822, were often followed by drought and famine. There were earthquakes. On 8 February 1843 an earthquake shook Anguilla, followed by famine. But hurricanes could bring blessings. One in August 1773 rid Anguilla of the crews of a Spanish man of war and a Spanish merchant ship who had been stranded on the East End of Anguilla. Sir Ralph Payne, the Governor of the Leeward Islands, sent a frigate with provisions to relieve the overwhelmed Anguillians. Although the vessel had

been supposed to transport the Spanish elsewhere, it appeared that many of them remained. Finally, after a hurricane, Payne wrote the Earl of Dartmouth that the more than 1000 Spanish, had gone "to wood and water on Crab Island" (CO 152/53). Payne was not always so accommodating. The French seized the island on 5 April 1795, despite the Anguillians' fruitless plea for help to the Commander in Chief of the Leeward Islands.

Drought was a double-edged sword: it destroyed ground provisions but brought forth record crops of unsaleable salt . The Anguilla 1822 petition to Maxwell stated:

... in consequence of a long continued drought which has no parallel in the history of the said Islands, our Salt-pond has as a necessary consequence afforded an abundant Crop of Salt, and that by a further continuance of the same drought, there is every probability it will yield a Second Crop, that from the prevalence of so much and such long continued dry weather the Fruits of the Earth have entirely failed and there is at present the greatest want of Bread and every other kind of provision that can possibly be conceived that the Scanty means which were at the disposal of the Inhabitants have already been exhausted in purchasing necessaries to enable them to reap the Crop already gathered -- that having no opportunity of selling or disposing of their Salt, and having no other resources but that, they will be unable we are persuaded to reap the approaching Crop, if some extraordinary relief is not extended to them or if some Commercial measure tending to invite and encourage Purchasers to come and take away the Salt on hand is not adopted: that it is not however the inability of reaping the approaching Crop of Salt which your Memorialists have to apprehend or regret, it is the Appalling dread of famine and all its horrid consequences, which we deprecate and which in fact has already in part assailed us. But under so much and such great distress and as if with the intention of completing the misery of our Condition we perceive with Sorrow, that an Order has lately been forwarded to the Searcher and Waiter here, by the Collector and Comptrollers of Tortola, which will effectually deter the very few English Vessels that may be induced to come here for Salt from visiting the said Island (CO 239/8).

### Smuggling: Elite and Worker Resistance

Smuggling is the cardinal sin of mercantilism and capitalism. Anguilla has a beloved mythos of both smuggling and piracy. Henry Morgan's Lieutenant, Captain

Bartholomew Sharp, became Commander of Anguilla in 1692 (Carty 1997:58). And, in the mid-eighteenth century, Anguillian Governor Benjamin Gumb's son-in-law, Captain Edward Richards, was a privateer. (Even in the twentieth century, villagers have fought with the police when they arrested smugglers and there was a shoot-out in Sandy Hill between smugglers and the police.)

In 1734, Governor Matthew complained of Anguillian pirates: they "did such things to men of distinction and their ladys on board as I cannot without blushing recollect to myself" (Petty 1990:35). In 1765, "Forged Clearances, as from Anguilla, was happily detected by Mr. Gumbs, the Collector of that port, and notice given to the Officers of the Customs in North America, though not so timely as to prevent all those cargoes from being admitted and sold as the Produce of Anguilla .... This fraud was contrived and carried on by one Claxton, an Englishman at St. Eustatius, under the pretense of a private correspondence with the Officer of Customs at Anguilla" (CO 152/47). Whether Gumbs' actions were deliberately "not so timely" is unknown. What is revealed is commerce between Anguilla and North America. The British were convinced that Anguillians smuggled.

In 1829, the Assembly in St. Kitts passed an act resolving "not to transact any further Business for the said Island of Anguilla" because "His Majesty's Government were pleased to appoint an officer for the customs at Anguilla with a Salary of 200 pounds Sterling Per Annum" that was to be paid out of duties collected at St. Kitts (CO 241/26). But Anguilla Customs yielded little profit for the Crown. Duties failed to cover expenses. This enormous imbalance was obvious in 1838, for example, when duties for 5 April 1833 to 5 July 1838, a five-year period, totaled £371..2..10, while the annual



expense of Customs was £342 sterling. The deficit never changed for colonial coffers. In 1840, the Colonial Office complained that the cost of the Customs House on Anguilla “exceeds by more than five-fold the average amount of duties collected” (CO 407/7). “A considerable export of provisions to the neighboring Islands is the principle trade of Anguilla” (CO 243/10).

By the 1830s, drought had destroyed the sugar crop and brought famine. Still, boats from the neighboring St. Martin and St. Bartholomew were forced to sail to distant St. Kitts and clear customs there before proceeding to Anguilla, a fatal remnant of mercantilism that increased the price of produce for the starving, penniless Anguillians. Again, this policy was an inducement to smuggling. A rainless year shifted the imbalance of Anguilla’s subsistence-level trade to importing “American and Dutch Flour, Corn Meal and other articles” (ibid). St. Kitts wrote a resolution in 1848, “praying for the abolition of the Customs Establishment of Anguilla” (CO 407/7). Anguilla was always the frontier, the Wild West of the St. Kitts Presidency. Ironically, the local radio station now plays country and western music from the United States.

The Crown was always fighting a rear guard action against smuggling in the Caribbean, just as the DEA is now. The often starving Bobo Johnnies of Anguilla faced a desperate physical need for food and a psychological need for alcohol, the *sine qua non* part of the jollies that were the foundation, like the koudmèn in Dominica, of their cooperative social structure. In the early twentieth century, jollies, or cooperative planting efforts involved eight to ten people. They would clear and hole ground and plant up to five peoples’ grounds in a day. Each jolly required the property holder not only to provide food, but a demijohn of rum, which then cost two dollars.

One man, one of the few Anguillians interested in African origins, described jollifications as combining African performative arts and cooperative work with European labor demands. Some people have a more material concept of jollies. "But the jollification was not free. This is a figment of a modern romantic notion of the past which has been enchanted by the rhythms and folk songs involved in that communal activity. The jollification had to be paid for and it was paid for in drink" (Carty 1997:24). Participants both agree and disagree with this view; sometimes they were so poor, there was no rum available. Mayoumba, a folkloric choral group uses the money that tourist hotels pay them as susu for member's emergencies, group travel or charitable donations. They also exchange physical labor. For one house, they poured 425 bags of cement and painted the entire house over the weekend. Because of this cooperation, they point out that big houses do not signify that the occupant is a millionaire. Susus, a form of money-saving prevalent among modern civil servants in Anguilla, is believed by scholars to be African in origin. A susu is formed by a small group of people, who pool part of their salary each pay period and take turns receiving the total collection. Anguillians regard these forms of reciprocity as strictly business; they do not cloud their perceptions with a warm and fuzzy idealization of communalism.

Custom officers, often in collusion with the Anguillians, could ignore small boats that bobbed back and forth to the neighboring islands, as they are rumored to do to this day. The officers, too, wanted and needed more than ground provisions. For everyone on Anguilla, smuggling was a serious game. Interdiction encourages corruption; however, when institutions fail, or barely exist, prohibited goods will easily pass through the permeable barriers of geographic divisions devised by man, not by nature (cf.

Anderson 1995). Exorbitant profits are produced merely by crossing these artificial boundaries. Assessments of current smuggling in Anguilla range from so routine as to be scarcely worthy of mention to highly exaggerated. The mythos is alive: "As for the allegation of smuggling - that is a noble trade still immensely important to the economy of the island and responsible for having provided valuable training and employment for generations of famous Anguillian shipwrights and sailors" (Mitchell n.d.: 90).

Charlotte's Dog Island is currently notorious as a drug transshipment area, although Anguillians do not use drugs to any extent, except the herb.

The colonists' objections to smuggling appear superficially to be concerned with the deterioration of the work ethic among smugglers, but common sense points to a capitalist motive behind the pious censures. Because St. Bartholomew was a Swedish free port in the 1800s and only three hours sail distant, Anguillians frequented it: they made it into the equivalent of a modern duty-free shopping area. A colonial official objected in 1824 that since Anguillians "in proportion as they could procure the necessaries of life from thence at a moderate rate by so much has the industry of the Inhabitants decreased and from formerly being an industrious race, I may with truth assert that there is not now a more idle, indolent set of people in all Her Majesty's dominions" (CO 234/11). Indolence did not suit the Empire. Viscount Goderich promoted Pickwood's restoration in part to prevent "the extraordinary prevalence of smuggling in the Island" (CO 407/3), although Pickwood never prosecuted a smuggling case and was himself a smuggler. By 1840 wiser colonial officials were questioning "the reality & extent of this danger" (CO 407/7). The location of the Customs House on the leeward side of the island encouraged smuggling. Beating up the leeward side of the

island to clear customs lengthened a 6-hour shopping excursion by two to three days. Additionally, the "Labourers who constitute nineteen-twentieth of the population are unprovided with carts to convey their provision from the port of entry across the country" (Stipendiary Magistrate Report No 6, 30 June 1841), which necessitated the boats beating up to the windward side again, laden with the desired American provisions and clothing from St. Bartholomew.

The Stipendiary Magistrate and the Governor of the Leeward Islands, Macphail, both recommended the establishment of a Custom House on the windward side of the East End opposite St. Bartholomew. In 1845, the Stipendiary Magistrate continued to complain that "more than one half of the provision in this Island is smuggled" (CO 243.10). About this time, a magistrate conducting a raid on smugglers in Little Harbour had his horse shot from under him. Mats and charcoal were exported illegally and provisions imported from St. Kitts remained unrecorded. The statisticians in the Colonial Office were severely handicapped in formulating any data on Anguilla's balance of trade. Like other smuggled imports, the value of the unreported goods from St. Kitts "must be eight times the amount given in at least" (ibid). It is impossible to tell on what grounds this guesstimate was made. However, the value of imports continued to fall during the 1840s, from £605 to £183.3.11 in 1846, a reduction that even a bountiful yield of local ground provisions does not fully explain but that massive emigration might. St. Bartholomew rum in 1847 cost two-thirds less than British West Indies rum, coffee five pence a pound versus one shilling. "It is of course universally smuggled," moaned the Stipendiary Magistrate, probably while he was imbibing the beverages (ibid).

## Emancipation

Anguilla is historically and currently described as "little." There was scarce opportunity to be found at home, merely subsistence farming that was hostage to the mercurial whims of the weather. Little islands were not in the best interests of the Colonial Office. The Governor of the Leeward Islands advised the King during the early stages of colonialism not to leave his "subjects Scattered up and down in Small Islands and exposed to the insults of our enemies": from a strategic as well as administrative point of view, it was better to "strengthen the four Chief Islands" (CO 152/11). Emancipation did not leave Anguillians in what Lowenthal has characterized for the sugar islands as "economic bondage, political subservience, and social limbo" because they were land-owning agriculturalists (1972:58). Lowenthal's sugar-planters' supposition that "non-whites were incapable of agricultural enterprise" (ibid:59) shows the same logical fallacy as the myth of African female farmers that allegedly justified the use of black slave women in the fields, which Jane Guyer (1991) exposed: it perpetuates a present constructed social reality as an eternal biological truth.

The stated goal of the St. Kitts Assembly when they adopted the Amelioration Bill in 1826 was to "so far ameliorate their conditions, that they may gradually acquire those habits and principles which may enable them in time, to obtain the station of a free Peasantry." The Kittian representative for Anguilla was present when this bill was passed. English law enabled slaves in Anguilla's neighboring foreign islands to escape. The islands were close together and traffic among them, especially between Anguilla and St. Martin and St. Bartholomew, incessant. After the slave trade was abolished in 1807,

British law decreed that fugitives could not be coerced to return to servitude (CO 239/14).

The unsettling events surrounding emancipation brought “disaffected persons such as the Country is now full of” (CO 239:18). In 1828 there were nearly one hundred foreign slaves who had taken refuge in Anguilla. The osmotic barrier between Anguilla and St. Martin was constantly permeated: “10 slaves to St Martin, 17 the next night, plus smaller groups” (ibid). Again the scattered settlements on Anguilla were cause for concern, for it would be hard “to muster a sufficient Force to prevent the dreaded evil” (ibid) of the wandering, disaffected slaves. Also, during the period immediately prior to emancipation, Anguillians smuggled slaves “to the most convenient foreign island and export[ed] them from there to Porto Rico so that they c[a]me to the purchaser in Porto Rico as regular articles of sale” (CO 239/40). The Governor of the Leeward Islands corresponded regularly with the Secretary of State about Anguillian slaves who had appeared in St. Thomas and Puerto Rico. An additional incentive occurred after the end of the apprenticeship period when slavery still existed on neighboring islands. In spite of some trickery on the part of planters, however, fugitive slaves did not come in any quantity to the relatively barren Anguilla, nor were African laborers imported as they were in Jamaica.

Among the acts St. Kitts passed during the Apprenticeship period, which followed Emancipation Day, 1 August 1834, were laws that resembled those written for slavery in all but name. Seven days absence from work brought women three months prison and hard labor, men three months hard labor and up to 39 “Stripes with a Cat” (CO 240/18).

Although harsh, the punishments were commensurate with those applied to sailors in the Royal Navy. The former slaves qualified for Parochial Relief, an early form of welfare, which provided them with food, clothing, assistance, lodging, medicines and medical assistance. While this humane measure might have had some effect in St Kitts where there were ecclesiastical and medical professionals, the applicability of this act to Anguilla is questionable. By November 1839 in Anguilla, "when the young and able bodied emigrated, they appear to have left their sick and aged relatives to shift for themselves" (No 119). There were "very few small sugar estates" and families "have located themselves on abandoned ground" (ibid). In Anguillian society, lacking the plantation hierarchy, St. Kitts Act 254 that divided the apprenticed laborers into several classes after emancipation was laughable:

Slaves shall be "divided into three distinct classes 1) praedial apprentice labourers "attached to the soil" comprising "all persons who in their state of slavery were usually employed in agriculture, or in the manufacture of colonial produce or otherwise, upon lands belonging to their owners"; 2) praedial apprentice labourers not attached to the soil - slaves who worked on "lands not belonging to their owner's" 3) nonpraedial apprentice labourer all others: "no one twelve and older to be included in three classes of praedials unless was employed in agriculture for twelve months preceding 28 August 1833." Farmers and owners were to register slaves by class (CO 240/18).

The Anguillian Vestry persisted in keeping colored people from serving on the vestry, in spite of an Act passed by St. Kitts in 1834 "relieving the colored people of Anguilla from all disabilities" (No 10). The emigration of laborers resulted in the decreasing number of working sugar estates, a self-regulating downward cycle. During the Apprenticeship Period, 1834-1838, "many of the people, anxious to enjoy their liberty as soon as possible, readily embraced the offers made to them by Agents from the Southern Colonies, and the term of their apprenticeship having been purchased, they

emigrated hither" (CO 239/71). No doubt the struggling sugar planters of Anguilla were happy to collect money for their apprentices, instead of being forced to pay them.

Anguilla's few planters encouraged emigration to Demerara because the former slaves "if taken during the apprentice period" would have been "owed back wages" from the planters (ibid).

In 1841 the estimate of the number of Anguillian emigrants ranged from 1600 to 2000, leaving less than 400 laborers on island. Mounting population pressure post-abolition was in part responsible for the large-scale emigration. In the opinion of Stipendiary Magistrate Grame, "the number of labourers left are more than sufficient to cultivate the soil" (CO 239/65). "This rapid increase in so short a period naturally suggests the inquiry of what has become of the surplus population of Anguilla during the last thirty years, as there has been no sickness or mortality amongst the Slaves satisfactory to account for the apparent disparity of increase during slavery, and of that since its extinction" (ibid).

After the apprenticeship period, as the British bureaucracy in its colonies gelled, Anguilla's lack of a newspaper, combined with a dispersed population, made it difficult for the magistrate to complete the biannual forms. One report, from June 1841, stated that "the newly erected dwellings are all detached, and are contiguous to the spot of land cultivated by the occupant. There is neither town villages nor hamlet throughout the Colony. Many of the labourers have acquired free holds and in every instance, the Owners are conspicuous as well for their industry as for the comfortable appearance of their houses" (CO 239/64). This conflicts with the December 1845 Magistrate's return: "There are no villages strictly speaking in Anguilla unless a few houses and huts at the



Road Bay can be called a village. None have been built since Emancipation. The people are scattered all over the Country wherein the soil is fit for cultivation” (CO 243/10).

But. “the Negro huts are far better in Anguilla” than in St. Kitts (ibid).

Some may have left to embrace the freedom promised by the other colonies; others were smuggled out. It may have seemed heartless to the colonial officials that the young and elderly were left behind, but Anguilla was the prototype of remittance-based economies. What offended the delicate sensibilities of the paternalistic Victorians counted for little in the spiraling depression that Anguilla faced for the next century and a half. As early as 1826, Colquhoun, Anguilla’s London agent was writing to Bathurst: “It is to be regretted that the poverty of the Island obliges our Youth to leave their homes in order to seek a living. At present there are upwards of 30 young Anguillians in the Island of Antigua” (CO 239/15). Because Anguilla lacked a slave register, it is to be supposed that the 30 Anguillians in Antigua were free, although colored or white is unknown. Emigration was a way of life for whites and blacks on Anguilla long before emancipation; Anguilla may be regarded as the harbinger of this critical Caribbean economic pattern. It has been the major economic factor throughout its entire history until approximately the 1980s when the growing upscale tourist trade brought Anguillians home and emigrants from neighboring islands in increasing numbers. The island endured endless cycles of emigration, remittance and, sometimes, return.

#### The Peasantry

The mythos is that colonial planters’ wives and children left Anguilla before emancipation and were quickly followed by their husbands.

*But what happened here was that, when troubles erupt, the first people to leave were the wives of the English plantation owners. So they left their husbands and*

*their sons here. And they made children with the slave women, but then when those children grew up their fathers owned the land. When their fathers died they inherited it. So the children of slaves in Anguilla, of slave women, owned land here before they did in any one other island, in fact some of them never did. There still are a lot of landless people in all these other islands. From Jamaica to the Virgins.*

The mythos appears to be an attempt to position sexual abuse of slaves in extenuating circumstances. But statistics show that there were more white and black females than males of either race, as there were in Barbados. This distinctive demographic forms one of the bases for Hilary Beckles' assertion of Barbados exceptionalism (Jones 1976:27-28). Anguilla, too, then, is exceptional. The high percentage of the population (nineteen-twentieth) that were laborers by the 1840s supports the thesis that Anguilla was a land of peasants and peasant-proprietors with a waning, if ever existent, plantocracy. In 1838, a colonial official noted that the former slaves would be able to find land for themselves: "It is however apprehended that they will detach themselves from the properties and confine themselves to the cultivation of small pieces of land which they have too great a facility in procuring in this Island" (CO 239 58). John Updike claimed that, by 1847, only three or four of the approximately twenty sugar estates were under cultivation (1968:71). The 30 June 1841 Stipendiary Magistrate's report depicted a post-emancipation pastoral.

General character and condition of the Peasantry: My own observation and experience justify me in stating that the labouring population of Anguilla are more docile, intelligent, civil, inoffensive and industrious than those of any other Island: and my observations have extended to every other Colony with the exception of Jamaica. Since Emancipation a marked improvement is admitted to have taken place in their habits and appearance, they are much better clothed and are desirous of expensive apparel. They are cheerful and contented, and present a decent and respectable appearance at places of worship. Crime is seldom heard of. Offenses are rare occurrences and consist principally of petty trespass and occasional assaults. At one period subsequent to the abolition of apprenticeship depredations upon provision grounds were so frequent and extensive as almost to

deter those, who were unable to watch their grounds by night, from planting. But this description of offence has disappeared. The ordinary offences of trespass by Stock and assaults are rapidly declining since my Arrival. A feeling of Security, and of more kind and neighbourly sentiments are gaining ground. My own testimony upon these points is fully confirmed by the evidence of the most respectable and intelligent White Inhabitants.

State and prospects of Cultivation: The Supply of labour is adequate to the demand. The introduction of Capital here would produce a degree of prosperity proportioned to the acknowledged fertility of the Soil. Whereas labourers are employed in the cultivation of Sugar the Wages are 8 pence Sterling. Job work and tasks are unknown. Labourers not infrequently permit the Wages to accumulate in the hands of their employer until a sufficient amount is formed to enable them to purchase provisions and luxuries from the neighbouring Islands. In some instances labourers are permitted to cultivate land gratuitously - in other the proprietors stipulate for one day labour in exchange for grounds - but the prevalent system is for the labourer to cultivate the soil rendering one fifth of the provision Crop to the Owner. Land is also not infrequently rented by labourers at the annual rate of four dollars or sixteen Shillings Sterling per acre.

Relations between the Peasantry and the Proprietors: The Island contains an extensive proportion of unoccupied and unclaimed land. A disposition to cultivate canes on their own account has, in several instances, been manifested by the labourers. Sugar Planters experience no difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of labour. Provision Planters occasionally complain of deficiency of labour, but such complaints may as often be traced to the inability or disinclination of the Employer to pay adequate wages, as to the indisposition to work on the part of the labourer (CO 239/64).

In the same year, Major Graeme also offered an evaluation of Anguilla to the Governor of the Leeward Islands: in his view, the bucolic scenery was transformed into a wilderness. More significant was his statement that "the poor of the island are the descendents of once respectable planters" (ibid). His report constituted official recognition of the blending of class and color, the flight of the plantocracy, and the plight of their Creole descendants, who tilled the land without any machinery save the hoe.

These descendants were unable or perhaps unwilling to meet their poll, cattle and land taxes. Grame admitted that these "fell heavily on the poorer classes" (CO 239/65)

and noted that 320 taxpayers, surely the majority (see below), had defaulted, owing from 16 shillings to 6 pence. (Anguillians still do not pay income taxes.)

By December 1842, the Stipendiary Magistrate complained that since “[w]ages are very low and are paid in Provisions, many of the people consider their time better bestowed on their own grounds” (CO 239/71). Workers didn’t reside on estates as they did in the large sugar islands: they rented land or share cropped. Efforts to introduce a Friendly Society were thwarted by drought-induced depression. In April 1844, Secretary Stanley received a report from Governor Fitzroy that “[m]any of [these Negroes] have very considerable portions of land which they rent from the Proprietors and cultivate provisions for the markets of St. Bartholomew, Antigua and St. Christopher” (CO 239/74). Free trade had followed quickly upon the end of the apprenticeship period. Perhaps it had become less important to the Colonial Office where the island traded than that it became self-sufficient, which, to this day, it has not.

#### Land Owners

Of the 610 agriculturists noted in the December 1845 Stipendiary Magistrate’s return, “not half of them labor for hire. They work their own freehold or leasehold land. I do not think there are 200 labourers for hire in the Island” (CO 243/10). The peasantry had quickly established a class of freeholders on the vacant lands, the basis for present land claims in Anguilla. A cadastral survey was not conducted until 1972 (Petty 1991:42), perhaps after England asked the United Nations to survey the island (Updike 1968:77). A land inheritance system for the small subsistence farms evolved. Heirs’ property, as family land was called, “would not be divided or sold since it belonged to the

family, past, present and future" (Walker 1968:115). There had been primogeniture "before the current generation began to overthrow the status quo.... the oldest family member held the land in trust for the others, and any living heir could use it without paying rent to build a house or plant a garden for his own personal use" (ibid). The oldest daughter often remained home to care for parents: "her role as administrator of the family land and surrogate mother for numerous nieces and nephews gives her a respected position in the family and in the community" (ibid).

Current land claims are adjudged more on elders' memories than formal surveys. (For an extensive discussion of the problems inherent in the family land phenomenon in the Caribbean, see Maurer 1997.) Estates still existed in 1846, but the labourers on them "enjoy the privilege of land rent free" (CO 243/10). Freeholders numbered 113, or 5.18% of the population, while 336, or 15.42% of the population, paid direct taxes. Forty-nine people were associated with a Friendly Society. "Land is so cheap that anyone can purchase or rent for a part of the produce" (ibid). While the number of freeholders remained steady at 113, people who actually paid their taxes swelled to 464 in 1847, although of those who had been assessed by the Vestry, "many will not pay" (ibid). The Vestry must have been unusually perseverant: by December, 35.33% of the population, or 720 people, had paid or were forced to pay direct taxes.

Only in 1849 did the Lieutenant Governor appoint Mr. Arthur Lloyd as provisional Register of Deeds in Anguilla. Before then, to the consternation of colonial officials, the Stipendiary Magistrate, Robert Pickwood's son, confided that "no inquiry has every been made that I am aware of, as to the disposition of the Property of Minors and others in the Island" (CO 407/8). The younger Pickwood's reason for tattling was

money. He had suffered a reduction in his salary when, in 1849, the government had proposed a "commission to settle questions of disputed titles to land" (ibid). They had then disallowed the commission that the reduction in Pickwood's salary was supposed to fund, thus "using the money per annum saved to the Imperial Treasury" (ibid). In 1854, Christopher Carty was confirmed as Colonial Secretary and Registrar of Deeds for Anguilla.

In the 1860s, a proposal that the "survey of the Island of Anguilla should be undertaken with the view of defining the titles to land" was sent to the Undersecretary of War. He, in turn, recommended a "method, which though more rude ... the erection of land marks whereby the land questions might at all events be much narrowed" (407/11). Whatever occurred, or failed to, by 1867, land claims in Anguilla remained unsettled, to be resolved in 1868 by a Kittian Act that gave the Governor of St. Kitts more power to settle claims and specifically protected women and the insane. Like small islands, small properties were relatively unimportant in the colonial scheme.

#### Institutional Failure

...adverse times will increase the insubordination arising from there being no political civil & judicial establishments as in His Majesty's other Dependencies (CO 234/11).

When James Colquhoun wrote these words about Anguilla to Lord Bathurst on 5 January 1824, he was echoing the colonial officials who, for centuries, had been appalled at the institutional neglect Anguilla had suffered. Oddly, Anguillians, in their petitions, only wished for two things: free port status and separation from St. Kitts. They voiced no desire for the imposition of institutions. When they did receive colonial ministrations,

they responded contrarily. If a judge were sent, the jail would be out of order. If laws were passed for them in St. Kitts, Anguilla ignored them. Ministers and educators made fleeting appearances. Anguillians did not appear to be unhappy with this non-state of affairs.

The Westminster model of government was unsuited to small possessions, as was the famous British strategy of rule from within, where there was no within in the acephalous Anguilla. The futility of "petty governments" is still being debated on Anguilla today where the inherent divisiveness of the Westminster system is viewed with skepticism. It is difficult to form two distinct parties with a small population and harder still to find impartial judges and juries on an island where everyone bears the same surnames as were common four hundred years ago. This is complicated by one official, the chief minister from 1998-1999, who proudly proclaimed that he was the opposition even when he was the government. As Lowenthal had observed 25 years earlier, "Long years in impotent opposition have made many leaders unused to tact or compromise or to the belief that any opponent could be sincere let alone sensible" (1972:313).

Chief Minister Hubert Hughes talked to the newly appointed British governor. "I explained to him about my relationship with past Governors and I said 'you are not coming to Anguilla to fall into that abyss because it will be detrimental if you do.'" Observers have commented that the Chief Minister's last sentence had a threatening ring to it which was unnecessary (*The Anguillian* 5 November 1999:5)

It was widely expected that by now the British Governor might have taken a more active interest in what is going on in Anguilla. Indeed, in his Press Conference of October 21, the Leader of the Opposition, Osborne Fleming said that he and his colleagues were a little bit concerned about the quietness of the British Government. The truth is that Anguilla, like the rest of the British Overseas Territories, enjoy [sic] a considerably high level of self-government. The Territories are therefore expected to manage their affairs in a matured manner and to surmount their problems themselves, especially if they are the cause of them (ibid:2).

The Chief Minister revealed Anguilla's hidden narrative of hostility. The second quote, an editorial, revealed Anguilla's hidden narrative of fear. Later, when Anguillian officials went to England to discuss relief for Hurricane Lenny's destruction, the headline boasted about the "Shopping Spree" in London, thus revealing Anguilla's manipulation of their dependent status. All of these narratives were adroitly countered by the new governor's calculated revelation of the English hidden narrative: "I'm going to make [Anguillians] love me," he promised everyone he met. His adamancy in fulfilling his promise and his ubiquity may overwhelm Anguillians. They were so able to ignore the last governor that not one Anguillian official went to the airport to bid him farewell.

The colonial question about Anguilla was never what does Anguilla want, but, rather, what are we to do with Anguilla. Even if the Colonial Office had cared, it would have been hard to interpret Anguilla's mixed messages. They would ask for an educator and a minister, or rather, St. Kitts would request these officials for them, and Anguillians would fail to build the requisite school and church. Over the years, colonial descriptions of Anguilla slipped from despairing to dystopian. Early officials believed that the "peculiar State of Society in that Island and the small proportion of white properties" (CO 239/40) might be abated by a magistrate. Suggestions that it have the same form of government as Sierra Leone failed because the two were analogous. By 1824, according to Bathurst, Anguilla was in a "state of disorder", "disorganized": "the moral condition of the community, which is itself the evil to be met, render the community an unfit instrument of counteraction" (CO 407/1).



Stipendiary Magistrate Pickwood, in his report on Anguilla, acknowledged that this state was due to what may now be characterized as institutional failure: Anguilla was “almost destitute of the blessings of Civil Government and not subject to the restraints Moral or Social whereby its prosperity alone can be insured and of which the influence is almost always to be discovered in every British Settlement” (CO 239/12). The laws had been dormant for the last five years. Colebrooke called Anguilla “disorganized” twice: once to Cunningham and once to Russell. (The term “disorganized” is currently applied to “underdeveloped” or “Third World” states. Obviously, organization is a goal of dominant powers, then and now, because it reifies a hierarchy of nations, races, religions, people.) Colebrooke suggested to Lord Russell on 28 Dec 1840 that Anguilla needed a responsible resident Officer (CO 239/59).

Officials rejected Cunningham's proposals to turn Anguilla into a penal colony because of its proximity to other islands. The marginalia on the dispatches to the Secretary of State increased in acerbity. In 1841, an undersecretary noted, “It seems to me that this dispatch is material only as an additional proof of the policy of attempting to bolster up such a government as that of Anguilla, where as you will see within a few years many of the people have perished by famine ... where the local Revenue must be squeezed out of a Body of whom the greater part are Paupers” (CO239/65). “We have surely enough of petty Colonies without erecting this miserable Sand-bank (for it is little better) with its pauper population into a new one” (CO 239/66). “I am not sanguine of any essential change taking place. An isolated Body of poor people in a very poor and narrow Island must I believe always remain poor, and with poverty must come all the

train of evils which attend when not sheltered and aided by the vicinity of wealth" (CO 239/62). "In short a more worthless Possession can hardly be imagined." (ibid). Within these comments lurked not only class consciousness but an incipient racism that would become overt as Anguilla became increasingly black. An English colony that was a ghetto of poor blacks ignorant of the niceties of English institutions was the evil the Empire feared, yet failed to ameliorate. Anguilla had become the pollution of the Empire, in Mary Douglas' terms, its anti-matter, in Victor Turner's phrase.

#### Early Institutional Failure

From the beginning, England had had two goals for their territories: revenue and/or raw materials for the metropole and self-supporting colonies. Merchantilism demanded a restrained trade. Colonies had to export only to England and import manufactured goods only from the motherland. Colonies were to be cost-effective, affiliated, exploited units of the Empire that also served as Imperial bulwarks. As early as 1672, Anguilla had been regarded as a write-off by the colonial officials. "Anguilla being never surveyed, there can be no accompt given, neither is it material, being fitter to raise stocks of [ ] Cattle than to yield any great produce of Sugar" (CO 153/2). There was not enough "Land manuable" to support "many hands for planting or for their own defiance" (ibid). There was no minister on Anguilla and no records of births, marriages, and deaths. Its few inhabitants in 1678 had "neither Councilor nor Representation. Only the Dep. Gouvernor of Anguilla sworn Councilor for Anguilla" (CO 1/42). In 1724, Colonel Hart, the Governor of the Leeward Islands, wrote the Right Honorable Lords Commissioner for Trade and Plantations: "I found a very Fierce Contention for Property,

and they having no form for Justice. I appointed six Justices of the peace, a Secretary and a Provost Marshall, and have given Commissions to Officers of the Militia to put them under some Military Discipline" (CO 142/14). Again, in 1727, the Governor complained about Anguilla to the Board of Trade: "In these Islands there are continual Contentions about their Meum & Tuum, poor as tis. I would therefore offer that some sort of Judicature be Settled among them, at Present the Strongest has the best title" (CO 152/16). By 1733, Anguillians "of the poorer sort" were working on St. Croix as woodcutters. Because the French had sold or yielded their rights in St. Croix to the Danes, Governor Mathew feared that they and others joining them would accept grants from the Danish, "diminishing our numbers"(CO 152/20). His Majesty's instructions to form a council reflected the lack of knowledge in England about colonial matters: of the council named, two men were in England, two were dead, and the fifth "unknown." The King's recommendation bears a similarity to the actions of the royal herald who, in designing a coat of arms for the Turks and Caicos, transformed the piles of salt into igloos placed under palm trees.

### Legislative Institutions

Colonial administrators viewed Anguilla's small size as a bar to legislative as well as judicial functions. On 8 September 1841 Macphail, the Governor of the Leeward Islands, wrote to the Governor of St. Kitts that "the delegation of legislative functions to the representatives of such small communities has been found in so many instances to be attended with ill effects to the public interests" (No 4). Even Anguilla's own agent

agreed. Colquhoun was opposed to Anguilla's wish for its own Assembly; a "Lilliputian model of the British constitution" was unworkable (ibid:61).

St. Kitts was always other to Anguilla: "The fact that the laws were to be made on another island was considered as laws being made by another people" (Petty 1990:84). Maxwell appointed his favorite, Dr. Benjamin Gumbs Hodge, to the Executive Council of St. Kitts to ease Anguillian fears of being in the minority. Their representative on the St. Kitts Council, Jacob Hardtman, was one among 25. He was a Kittian who had served in Anguilla as an Officer of Customs; both facts were unlikely to endear him to Anguillians. Either St. Kitts was intent on circumventing Anguilla's ability to elect a representative, or the Anguillians were so sharp that they cut themselves. The results of the first election they held were annulled "owing to some informality on the return" (Petty 1990:87). For Anguillians, thwarting the electoral process might be interpreted as resisting an enforced legislative union that would deprive them not only of autonomy, but make them subject to rule by the Kittian majority. While the Commissioners were surprised that the island, lacking law and religion, had not "merged into a complete Barbarism" (*St. Christopher Advertiser*, 12/1/1824), institutional failure did not cause Anguillians to revert to Jean Jacques Rousseau's natural man either. Although they lacked political state apparatuses, the oligarchic, albeit churchless Vestry, established by the 1827 Vestry Act, and the free colored and the slaves were alike in their desire to possess land, private property. Arbitrary inequality and oppression followed: the Commissioners noted the white planters were so slack about their own rights that they were unlikely to protect those of slaves without some restraints in place. Being an Anguilla Councilor had been an honorary rather than a paid position. Lt. Governor

Richardson complained to Bathurst in 1822 that he had held his position for 17 years without any salary.

Initially, Anguilla was part of the British Leeward Islands Administration that had been established in 1671. While exploring the possibilities of an administrative reorganization in 1814, Secretary of State Bathurst received word that "Anguilla is, in fact without a determined form of government of any kind" (CO 152/104). Governor Elliot felt it was "desirable that Tortola and Anguilla form a separate government" but they lacked the revenue to do so (ibid). When twenty-first century Anguillians are asked to speculate, to write an imaginary script of how their history would have been different if they had been yoked with Tortola, rather than St. Kitts, most believe it would not have changed anything: Anguilla still would have wanted to dominate any union. But Anguilla's neighbors, due to many problems concerning boats, insisted that, as M. Engstrom, Charge d'Affaires of His Swedish Majesty at the Court of London informed Lord Castlereagh in 1817: "cette Île est sans autorité et sans force ... [and I] demander [of the British government] en meme temps que l'Ile de l'Anguille soit mise sans un Gouvernement regulier, comme dans les autres Colonies Anglaises" (CO 239/4).

In 1816, for administrative purposes and "to give islands greater autonomy", the British divided this bureaucratic unit into two groups of islands, called presidencies (Petty 1990:45). Anguilla, in spite of its protests, was lumped with St Kitts, Nevis and the Virgin Islands. It remained part of that union until 1871, when Queen Victoria recreated the Leeward Islands Federation, again in spite of an Anguillian petition. In 1822, the Governor of the Leeward Islands was instructed by the Secretary of State, Lord

Bathurst, to propose that the St. Kitts Assembly pass an act to admit a representative from Anguilla. Governor Maxwell demurred; he believed Anguilla should be ruled directly by England. Bathurst persisted. A Commission of Inquiry, headed by Robert Pickwood, was sent to Anguilla. The Deputy Governor of Anguilla and a minority of the inhabitants supported the legislative union. St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla and the Virgin Islands became one administrative unit. The vestry was composed of twelve white male freeholders. Not until the Vestry Act of 1840 were some blacks allowed to vote in the elections for the vestry.

In 1883, the Presidencies of St Kitts and Nevis were united; together they repealed Act No. 21 of 1825 that gave Anguilla the right to a representative in the St. Kitts House of Assembly. Henceforth, a Magistrate or Warden appointed by St. Kitts would administer Anguilla's affairs. For the next century, Anguilla was a subcolony, as Colville Petty has so aptly characterized it. Based on various sources, Petty defined subcolonization as:

Critical exclusion from direct trading within the mainstream of the capitalist market system, based upon the territory's incapacity to produce sufficient surplus to deal adequately in such a matrix; creation of alternate links with nearby colony of some metropolitan power in a satellite relationship; own account small scale agricultural production becomes the dominant form, together with petty merchant/commercial trading operations; migrant labor becomes the main form of wage labor, following capitalist projects to neighboring countries; repatriated earnings [become] a central source of cash for domestic/familial maintenance; constitutional down-grading within the imperial colonial hierarchy ( Petty 1990:285).

The official chain of communication never varied despite the administrative changes. In chronological order, free white Anguillians, then the vestry, then free colored Anguillians, then Anguillians submitted petitions to the Lieutenant Governor, or

the Officer Administering the Government, who was in St Kitts. He would forward it to the Governor of the Leeward Islands.

The governor then forwarded these petitions, usually accompanied by his written support, to the Colonial Office. The colonial secretary decided on the action to be taken. If he felt that the matter should be referred to the Foreign Office, the petition was forwarded there, usually accompanied by his note of support. If the Foreign Office decided further action was inappropriate for some reason, a reply was sent to the Colonial Office to that effect (Ryan 1986:69).

Sometimes the petition or memorial was sent to the Board of Trade, earlier called the Council for Foreign Plantations. Failure to conform to the protocol of communication constituted *lèse majesté* and provoked an immediate and chilling rebuke from the secretary himself (e.g. CO 407/3: CO 407/10). Before a petition reached the noble secretaries, it was passed up a chain of four or five undersecretaries, who added comments. Their names were, by the early nineteenth century, engraved in order of seniority on letterhead with a space beside each name for the person to insert the date when he read the petition. Add to this bureaucratic delay the time consumed by the petition's circulation around the Caribbean and across the Atlantic and back and it is no wonder that, faced by the sudden catastrophe of a hurricane as well as the chronic famine in Anguilla, Lieutenant Governors often declared Anguilla a free port for six months at a time. Because the Colonial Office's response might take almost a year in travel time (e.g. CO 239/9), the failure of the Lieutenant Governors to act quickly would have left Anguilla decimated or, in effect, entrapped into smuggling for survival. Such a slow chain of correspondence was incapable of responding promptly to the exigencies of natural disasters in the far-flung empire. It is what Alec Waugh has termed the "Whitehall error" of imagining that the tropics can be ordered by minutes and memoranda drafted in city offices in a temperate climate" (Waugh 1991:127). The

Lieutenant Governor's unauthorized, illegal, unilateral decisions to make Anguilla a temporary free port would be matched in the twentieth century by Anguilla's own Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI).

### Judicial

While Colonial Officials bemoaned the lack of institutions on Anguilla, the early eighteenth century Deputy Governor Richardson of that island wrote the Governor of the Leeward Islands that "the vox populi, therefore, has always been with us the *Suprema Lex*" (CO 152/99). He then added that Mr. Joseph P. Lake had shot his Negro, Prince, who had threatened him. As usual, the Common Jail was "out of order" (ibid). Justice was of the vigilante type common on frontiers. A starving "Negro Boy" stole from a "Brown Man" and was taken away by "a party of Negroes to give information" in 1823 (CO 234/11). The next day he was found bound and mutilated.

The people's voice in Anguilla was obviously that of the small plantocracy: they appear to have enjoyed the lack of bureaucratic oversight. In June 1831, one free black and two slaves, who were awaiting their executions, cut through the jail roof and escaped. They escaped again in December when the "Gaol was crowded with criminals" (CO 239/24). The jail was described as ten feet square. "It stands alone and altogether out of the reach of the superintendence of the keeper so that if escape be meditated it is only necessary to force a common wood door" (CO 239/28). (In the twentieth century, one prisoner was notorious for regularly escaping to buy rum, then returning.) The Anguillian serious game of independence sometimes stretched to picaresque dimensions.



Despite Anguilla's proven incapability to maintain a serviceable prison, one Colonial Office solution to the problem of Anguilla was to turn the entire island into a penal colony. In 1839, the Lieutenant Governor of St. Kitts, wrote the Governor of the Leeward Islands urging him to explore the idea for "the principles of correction and seclusion so strongly recommended by the Commissioners for Prison Discipline in England" (No 119). Another salt island, Cay Sal, in the Bahamas, was also under consideration. Colebrooke described the current Anguilla jail:

The Prison is a small building divided into two rooms about twelve feet square, with a door way between the outer and inner room. It is unenclosed and stands in the greatest thorough fare of the Island. There are always persons loitering around it, and it appeared the gossiping place for all passers by. Of course there can be no restriction upon the supply of Food and liquor received by the Prisoners, as there is no Jailor residing within the Walls nor indeed is there any Jailor whatever, except the Provost Marshall, whose house is at some distance. The usual custom has been, for the Colony to pay this Officer about one/- shilling sterling each per diem for his attendance upon the Prisoners and the supply of food. He supplies both in quantity and quality according to his own discretion alone. I have stated that the Prison was divided into two rooms, with a door place from one to the other. There was no door however, and I found five prisoners confined together, two of whom were middle aged persons, a man and woman, whose term of imprisonment would expire in a few days. The remaining three were untried, and in fact only committed for examination before the magistrates. Of these, two were boys of 15 or 16 Years old, and the other, a Girl of about the same age. As it was impossible to leave these three confined together, and as there were no funds in the Treasury for making alterations, I felt myself compelled to adopt the strong measure of liberating the Prisoners. I further gave orders to the Provost Marshall to receive no Prisoners of different Sexes till the necessary steps had been taken, for separating them from each other. I hope that this may prove a means of compelling the Vestry to raise funds to meet such like exigencies of the Colony. At all events I trust that Her Majesty's Government will deem me justified in at once putting an end to the indecencies of such indiscriminate confinement of the Sexes. There is no other place of custody for Debtors so that however respectable an Individual may be, if his person is arrested for Debt, he is liable to be thrust into the same den with felons, of the worst description. This occurred not long ago to the then Treasurer of the Island (No 119).

The Lieutenant Governor of St. Kitts commented to Secretary of State Stanley in 1844 that it was odd that, although Anguilla had 3000 people, "yet it is a very rare

occurrence to have any prisoner whatever in the Common Gaol" (CO 239/74). The next year, the Stipendiary Magistrate reported that he was sure thefts had occurred "but no party has been accused" (CO 243/10). The problem with having only a visiting magistrate was that there was the possibility that an innocent man might be imprisoned for up to eight months while he awaited trial: "a matter fearful to contemplate," given the Anguilla jail (*ibid*). In 1846, a female prisoner had pleurisy. "The floor of the jail was wet, the roof being out of repair" (*ibid*). The marshal told the magistrate that "there was no Authority in the Island to release a prisoner" (*ibid*).

"Folk institutions override formal law in still other ways. Even under colonial rule, peasant and working class solidarity hampered law enforcement" (Lowenthal 1972:104). ( In 1943, at a murder trial, Anguillian eyewitness were biased and refused to speak: an innocent man, also an Anguillian, was convicted.) On Anguilla, resistance was relative: it was hard to find a jury in colonial days of unrelated peers; today it is hard for the banks to foreclose and auction off property, because, due to community solidarity and a bewildering, even to the Anguillians, kinship network, no one dares bid (*cf.* Hauser 1993:6(2)33).

"Jury's too will be hardly found among such Small Numbers. ... Innocent blood is sometimes shed & no atonement made." Governor Mathew complained to the Board of Trade in January 1727/8 (CO 152/16). Seventy years later, the lack of a legislature or a court on Anguilla made it impossible for an accused Anguillian murderer and traitor, Richard Tuckles, in jail in St. Kitts, to be tried. In 1812, a colonial official complained to the Earl of Liverpool that Anguillian institutions, "if such may be called the peculiar usages by which its Civil Concerns are carried on," were in such a bad state because

almost no one was “qualified by their acquirements and education to act as Judges, Jurymen, Legislators and Chancellors” (CO 152/99).

Even today, the same judicial concerns apply. Judges and Attorney Generals are sent to Anguilla. “The Judicial Services Commission does not leave the same Judge in one territory for very long periods of time. ‘Our islands are so small that there is always the risk that the Judge may have to recuse himself/herself with greater frequency because of the social inter-relationships that are forged during the time you are assigned to one island’” (*The Anguillian* 4 May 2001: 3(19)3). Today, Anguilla has a resident non-belonger High Court Judge, an appointed Attorney General, and is visited by two traveling judges. A recent Justice, Adrian Saunders, complained as did the nineteenth century Stipendiary Magistrate, Robert Pickwood, that “the Judge doesn’t have access to a really good law library here” (ibid: 25) and that the Judge still must write evidence in longhand.

After seven years without any trials, Pickwood held the first official court in Anguilla on 20 June 1826. Continuing rough justice and the scant population informed Viscount Goderich’s decision to reinstate Pickwood in 1831: “in so small a society as that of Anguilla, the administration of Justice will be most safely entrusted to a Chief Judge who is not resident .... particular Families in Anguilla are so deeply implicated in the litigation proceeding in the Court of the Island, as to render it impossible that the Presidency of the Court should be entrusted to any Member of those Families without the risk or at least without the appearance of injustice” (CO 407/3). In August of 1831, Pickwood complained of the impossibility of getting a jury, so he postponed a trial until

the next year (CO 239/28). With Pickwood's restoration, the Hatfield-McCoy relationship between Dr. Hodge and the Magistrate resumed (see Chapter III).

It was impossible to find impartial commissioners and jurors for that case. The interrelationships on the small island complicated matters and race caused a further division. Jurors in a December 1831 trial were "drawn alternatively from the white and coloured lists" (CO 239/28). The free colored prisoner challenged the former, "but objected to none of the coloured people ...one of the latter class prayed to be excused, being a near relation (a cousin) of the Prisoner" (ibid). He was not excused because he had "scruples": "we observed with satisfaction several of the Prisoner's firmest friends in the Jury box" (ibid). The prisoner, a murderer, was sentenced to death.

Post-emancipation, the St. Kitts Assembly still referred to "the apparent impossibility of obtaining a verdict against a Slave Owner in Anguilla" (CO 407/5). From the Kittian comment, it appeared that the hierarchy did not change immediately, in spite of the mythos. In 1838, an Anguilla jury "defeated the interests of the Govt. by acquitting" Anguillians who had taken slaves to St. Thomas and Puerto Rico to be sold in 1832, in anticipation of emancipation (CO 239/49). A dispute arose in January of 1840 whether free colored men should be admitted to juries: if so, "they would be admissible for Vestries' so should be restricted" (CO 239/58). Apparently there continued to be a local common law or custom against this because, in October 1840, Cunningham complained to Macphail that, "If the case were brought in any form before an Anguillian jury, there would be little chance of obtaining justice for the poor Classes as the Jurymen are in many cases the Proprietors" (No 97).

The discrepancy between the jury composed of half white and half colored in December 1831 and the refusal to admit free colored as jurors in 1840 is likely due to two factors: Pickwood, who was liberal in his interpretation of the Amelioration Law, was presiding in 1831 and admitted colored men to the jury and permitted testimony from slave witnesses. Or, possibly, when the defendant was colored, his peers were allowed to constitute half the jury. Finally, in 1840, the demographic situation had changed. All former slaves were free. They comprised the overwhelming majority of the population and were likely to have grudges against their former masters. To admit them to the jury and the vestry would mean loss of white control over those two powerful frontstages.

#### Civil Institutions

In Maxwell's view, the majority of Anguillians were not respectable: "the respectable part of the community, and probably indeed the majority, would readily embrace any code of law" (CO 239/9). It is likely that Maxwell was conflating color and morals into a respectable class. But as later events confirmed, Anguillian desire is debatable: did Anguilla really want laws or did it want to be a free space, with free trade, yet with salaries supplied by the appalled Kittian colonial administrators? By October 1823, "insubordination" threatened if American vessels were not allowed to pick up Anguillian salt, due to poverty and "there being no political civil & judicial Establishments as in His Majesty's other Dependencies" (CO 234/11). That same month the "Principal Inhabitants," perhaps the respectable ones, of Anguilla hired James Colquhoun Esquire to be their London agent to press for foreign aid that would come with free port status: "it is hardly possible to conceive a state of greater wretchedness

than exists here at the moment" (ibid). Colquhoun, who was also the agent for Tortola, knew how to couch his plea to Bathurst and from that time on all the appeals to colonial and metropolitan officials emphasized that Anguilla had been "comparatively populated and flourishing" until the French had burned the church, homes and houses in 1796 (ibid). Unlike Dominica and St. Vincent, Anguilla had received no remuneration from England for the devastation they had suffered and their defense of the colony. There had been virtually no functioning institutions on Anguilla for twenty-seven years. Poverty had ensued and "very many of the Inhabitants have emigrated [to St. Bartholomew] with their Slaves and property - too many I apprehend recently, and long after the abolition of the infamous traffic in Slaves" (ibid). Colquhoun's letter depicted a disappearing plantocracy by 1824. But the plantocracy were never part of the refusal to emigrate mythos that became logos.

The French had accomplished more than destroying the British institutional buildings in 1796: they had laid waste to the island, "leveling all distinctions as to personal property in indiscriminate ruin - their Descendents ... have been reduced to Indigence as the price of their Loyalty" (CO 234/11). The unintended revolutionary effect of the 1796 battle was a permanent reversal of fortune among the soi-disant plantocracy.

Institutional failure abounded: "there is no Coroner here" is linked suggestively with "the Magistrary are very remiss, their own persons so bad an example" (ibid), implying a murderous magistrary. Again the remedy of "a Legislative Body, however small, as in Tortola," a registry of slaves, and a poll tax or a duty on salt to rebuild the church, jail and courthouse and a police force was proposed (CO 234/11). Governor

Maxwell complained to Lord Bathurst in August of 1823 about the “peculiar and novel state of being” of the more than 3,000 Anguillians, “without Laws, or Civil Institutions of any kind to check the lawless disposition of many of them,” which led to cruelty toward the unregistered slaves. He protested that the lack of registration was detrimental to the owners because they couldn’t “remove them to a more productive Soil, which many of them have been invited to do,” although, as noted above, many Anguillian slave owners had done precisely that (CO 239/9). In May 1824, Bathurst wrote Maxwell about Anguilla: it had no town, a circulating medium of under £500, and magistrates who were in gross dereliction of their duty. He foresaw that there were “too many difficulties ... likely to occur in the due administration of Laws externally enacted” (CO 407/1), yet he remained totally uninformed about the impossible logistics of an Anguillian’s attendance in St. Kitts for the meetings of the Assembly. In response, Anguilla petitioned for separation from St. Kitts for the first time. It would take 157 more years. It would be Kittians’ externally enacted laws that would lead, in part, to the Anguillian Revolution of 1967. Maxwell emphasized establishing a “code of laws, suited to the exigencies of the Island and the institution of a Police” (CO 241/24). Implicit in both Bathurst’s and Maxwell’s messages was the concept that somehow it was a sin to be a poor country.

#### A Truculent Transformation

1825 was supposed to be a watershed year: Anguilla was to be returned to colonial rule after a quarter century of neglect. Religious institutions were to be reinstated. The Lord Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, Dr. William Hart

Coleridge, arrived in the Leeward Islands "to establish an Episcopal jurisdiction" (CO 241/25) with a resident clergyman in each parish.

### Religion and Education

"Unlike the other West Indies islands, there was no prosecution of non-conformist missionaries in Anguilla" (Petty 1990:69). Methodism had spread rapidly through the Caribbean during the late eighteenth century. In 1813, John Hodge, a colored native of Anguilla, returned from visiting a neighboring island and started work as a Wesleyan missionary. He was ordained in 1822 and continued to work in Anguilla (Caribbean Conference of Churches 1973: 61). The Wesleyan minister had, during slavery, reported that the slaves had been treated harshly by one Anguillian man. The dissenter had been called before the St. Kitts council and rebuked although he had averred that things were better now. At the time that Hodge began his work, the Church of England had only six missionaries in the Caribbean.

In his "Brief Review of the state of the Colonies in respect to Religious Instruction" published in 1813 Reverend Claudius Buchanan reports that opposition to the instruction of the slaves still continues. ...Our native subjects in the West Indies stand in closer relation to us than those in the East and claim a prior regard. Our native subjects in Hindustan remain on their native soil: these our African subjects are in different circumstances. We have dragged them by force from their native country and appropriated their bodily services to our use. Justice therefore requires that we faithfully acquit ourselves of every moral obligation toward them. ... There was a condition [in the Negro Education Fund in 1835] that at least one half of the salaries of schoolmasters, Clergy and catechists should be provided from another source and that grants would cease when the colonies could afford to defray their own expenses (ibid:24-25).

In 1837, Charles La Trobe, an Inspector of Schools from Britain, visited Anguilla to examine "the feasibility of building a school at East End and reported that "such was the diminished and scattered state of the population, it [was] difficult to say how and



where to place a school house” (Petty 1993:3). (The scattered pattern was the reason the Bradshaw government denied telephone service to Anguilla in the 1960s.) “As a result of La Trobe’s report the idea was dropped. However, the residents of East End had settled the question of where to put the school all by themselves. They not only built it but paid the master’s salary” (Petty and Hodge 1992:9).

This Anguillian logos embedded their eagerness for education historically as well as their independence and their ability to accomplish their goals without the aid of an uncomprehending England. What Petty did not mention was that it was short-lived, a momentary myth. The school folded in 1846. “I regret to report a decrease of 193 on this head [students]. It is occasional by the breaking up of a school at the East End and another at the Road. They were supported entirely by the black population. The one at the East End was exceedingly well conducted. A want of funds is the cause assigned” (CO 243/10).

The number of taxpayers declined in May 1848, as did school attendance: “I fear many do not want to be taught”; also, “parents do at favorable seasons employ their children in their provision grounds” (ibid). In 1839, Colebrooke had written the Governor of the Leeward Islands that “most of the children whom I saw in the roads, up to the age of 10 or 11 Years, were in a state of complete nudity” (No 119). The Venerable The Archdeacon David Gatewood Davis had, in 1840, informed Colebrooke about the “great irregularity of the children’s ... attendance on the schools ... knowing the cause to be want of clothing from great poverty. I felt the difficulty of applying or suggesting a remedy” (CO 239/58). (Between the World Wars, Anguillian children still had few

clothes. Girls often wore dresses made from Buccaneer flour bags and boys only had long shirts.)

*We had to wear our clothes to school and sometimes we had to wear a flour bag dress. You know in dem days you get flour in a bag. A [Buccaneer flour] bag. And we used to have to wear them to school. No shoes, you know. No shoes. And you had to wash that out for the evening to get to wear it from the school home. You had to wash that out Friday afternoon to go to school Sunday morning. You didn't want to wear it bad to school. In those years you didn't have no clothes because there was no money.*

In 1841, Undersecretary of State for the Colonies James Stephens described Anguilla as “a country which produces nothing but a bare supply of food for 1500 deserted Negroes” (CO 239/66). He added that, in regard to acquiring a clergyman for Anguilla, the Bishop had not responded therefore the Bishop must “think that there are those in greater and more urgent need elsewhere” (ibid). Stephens, writing on the margin of an official letter, continued:

our Policy should not be to foster this Miserable Colony, but rather to induce the people to quit it. In three or four years we shall have laid out more in taking care of them as so many paupers, than it would cost to transfer them all to some of the neighboring Colonies, where they wd be useful & might have every advantage, bodily and mental which the most favored of the African race enjoy. Of course they will never leave home wretched as it is, as long as we expend money for their maintenance there and cherish a foolish sense of self-importance by elevating them to the rank of a separate Govt and a distinct Colony. I am for discouraging these feelings and promoting their emigration, and wd therefore advise not only inaction in these matters, but a distinct explanation to the local Authorities of the motives of that inaction (ibid).

The Anglican Church's Negro Education Fund was exhausted by 1850 and, to a large extent, the Anglican Church in the West Indies was left to its own resources.

## Legislature

On the legislation front, in 1825, the St. Kitts Legislature passed an Act authorizing Anguillian Freeholders to send a representative to the St. Kitts Assembly; that Assembly was ordered to frame a code of laws suitable to Anguilla. Anguillians had selected Joseph P. Lake as their representative but he “had refused to repair to the Island [of St. Kitts] to take his seat.” so a Kittian, Mr. Hardtman, took his place (CO 241/25). Bathurst foresaw problems having an Anguillian representative in the St. Kitts Assembly that paralleled future trepidations about colored men on juries: it would open the gates to unintended positions of authority. In the case of an Anguillian representative, Bathurst instructed Maxwell, at Maxwell’s and the Kittian Assembly’s request, to expressly explain to Maxwell’s appointee, Dr. Benjamin Gumbs Hodge of Anguilla, that, if he achieved “such a situation in the council as would make his succession to the Presidency a probable contingency, he should resign his seat for the purpose of being immediately re-approved as a senior member” although Bathurst lacked the power to “formally limit Hodge’s right of succession” (CO 320/7). Perhaps this political collusion between Maxwell and Hodge was the foundation of their alliance during the Charlotte affair (see Chapter III). For the free colored population, jury duty opened the door to vestry membership. Anguillians’ and free coloreds’ noses under the tent of colonial hierarchy were effectively stomped on by extralegal agreements. Even as late as 1930, colonial officials would acknowledge that, “the absence of communication makes it impossible at present, for a resident of Anguilla to represent that island on Councils” (CO 152/422/4).

## Judicial

Maxwell proposed Robert Pickwood to Bathurst as the Stipendiary Magistrate to hold court in Anguilla. "There is at present no person in Anguilla of sufficient intellectual capacity and ability to preside in the Courts of Justice, and as the forms and rules which govern them are totally unknown" (CO 239/12). Maxwell recommended paying Pickwood the sum that Justices were formerly paid plus more for "risque of going to Anguilla" (ibid). Pickwood's first attempts at holding a Court of Oyer and Terminer exposed him to Anguillian crankiness and their maze of interrelationships. He complained to Maxwell that "the ignorance or inertness of the Civil power there renders every encouragement to the commission of crimes" (ibid). William Hughes had "deliberately shot at Mr. Carty and refused to be arrested by Peace Officers" (ibid). Hughes had gone about his usual business, then had jumped island the day before Pickwood arrived. When Pickwood suspended the death sentence he had imposed upon two slaves convicted of burglary, he achieved enormous popularity "as those parties are respectively connected with almost the whole population of the Island" (CO 239/12).

In 1827 St. Kitts delivered armament for the "newly raised Militia of Anguilla" (CO 407/2). Benjamin Gumbs, the President of Anguilla, stated that, in 1828, there was crown land on Anguilla: "seven acres situated in the Valley District commonly called the Glebe Land of which the arable part is appropriated for the intended Church, School House and Burial Ground, the other part almost a bed of rocks and on an eminence that has been selected for the Parsonage. There is also not quite an acre at the Road where formerly a Church was erected and still is continued to bury the Dead of the District" (CO 239/18). Obviously, the Anglican church had been demolished on Anguilla and had

not been replaced, nor had the other public institutions. By 1829, Mr. Twiss at the Colonial Office wrote a memo indicating that perhaps an officer “invested with a somewhat despotic authority” (CO 239/20) was needed to establish civil government in Anguilla. “At present it is evident that there is no civil authority valid in the Island nor any means of knowing what is going on, or what outrages may be committed there” (ibid). That year Maxwell complained about the “incapability” and “unfitness” of Anguillian President William Gumbs: he was forced to have Pickwood explain his duties to Gumbs (ibid). Times called for tyrannical measures but Britain continued to make do with self-appointed Anguillian presidents.

Complaints about paying for the expenses of a non-resident Chief Justice multiplied as the Pickwood affair escalated during the early 1830s. Court reopened in Anguilla on 18 May 1830 with the Honorable Benjamin Gumbs Hodge presiding as Senior Assistant Justice. He stressed the interrelationships between Anguillians again: “knowing as I do that most of the inhabitants in this small Community are united by consanguinity and other strong ties, and that too many, I am sorry to say are disunited by petty feuds and local prejudices” (CO 239/22). He noted that, although the vestry had been elected several months ago, there had been no meeting “from the neglect of the members to attend” (ibid). Roads surfaced in what would become, along with vagrant goats, sheep and cattle, the leitmotifs of ongoing Anguillian complaints. Hodge noted that Anguillians couldn’t get their roads fixed because they couldn’t enact laws. (In 1999, the day new elections were called, roadwork began all over Anguilla.)

William Carty, Foreman of the Grand Jury of Anguilla, spoke of “three places of public worship which, with the very limited means we possess and almost without any

foreign assistance, have been erected here within the last three or four years” (CO 239/28). Carty was emphasizing Anguilla’s independence, but foreign assistance, then and now, is essential for Anguilla’s upkeep. The Foreman noted that “there is too great a want of public spirit, that a sordid selfishness is operating” (ibid). What there was of a plantocracy, interrelated to all islanders, was obviously not dedicated to public service. The “school Institution ... is in a very depressed state, and the society under whose auspices it was established, has ceased to exist” (ibid). Customs was still ignoring fugitive slaves from St. Martin.

Pickwood complained to Maxwell that the court had given judgment against a deceased person in its last session, when Hodge presumably was presiding. British institutions in Anguilla were “retrograding - some of them altogether extinguished” (ibid). In contrast to Carty, Pickwood noted that the Anglican church was still unfinished. Maxwell wrote Goderich in December 1831 that Gumbs had told him some condemned prisoners had escaped from a jail that was “crowded with criminals” shortly before their execution (CO 239/24) . Mr. President Gumbs attributed their escape to “the neglect of a guard being kept on the jail” (CO 407/3). Goderich commented, “The administration of justice will degenerate into a mere mockery” (ibid). He questioned what has been characterized by a current Caribbean judge as the quasi-official council then ruling Anguilla. Pickwood agreed that it was indeed quasi-official at best, but it had been a tradition since at least 1817, when Maxwell had visited Anguilla. In September, Goderich noted Anguillians “assume to themselves the title and functions of an Executive Council for the Affairs of that Island” (CO 407/3). The Council “rests on no legal foundation” and consisted of “the most considerable members of that community”

(ibid).

The Civil authorities and Inhabitants of Anguilla were acquitted in August 1833 after hundreds of pages of depositions about an incident in March when a French brig from Guadeloupe that had wrecked off Anguilla was allegedly plundered. The Anguillian Officer of Customs, John Bebee Morris, had become "inebriated and struck a French Soldier" (CO 239/34). Morris was informed he must "adhere to the most rigid Rules of Sobriety" (ibid) and was suspended. Governor MacGregor wrote to Lord Stanley on 1 Aug 1833 that it was necessary to

investigate the conduct of Mr. Collector Morris, and the Inhabitants of Anguilla generally in relation to the Wreck, on that Island of a French Brig the "Centro American": ...the principal accusation against Mr. Morris, the principal Officer of the Customs of Anguilla, for inebriety in the discharge of his Official duties, has been unequivocally proved, and that, under the influence of intoxication, He had struck a French Soldier in the execution of the Duty allotted to him by His Officer (ibid).

This followed upon a compliant by the Governor of Guadeloupe, Arnold, to MacGregor:

en se sauvant à terre, d'une population avide de pillage, et menacés dans leur existence par les bandes de Nègres armés de batons composant cette foule empressés de Separer par tous les moyens, des d'ebres du naufrage pour en faire sa proie. Nous seulement aucune aide, aucune assistance ou leur a été offerte, mais le vols et le désordre, encouragés par l'inaction de autorités civiles, ont on lieu du consentement et à l'exitation du Collecteur des Douanes Royales de l'île, le Sieur Morris.... Cet Officer de la Couronne, désigné comme le seule autoritié Salarié du pays....de quatre cent Negroes qui ont profité de cette occasion pour recommencer à piller. ... Ce n'est pas la première fois Monsieur le Gouvernor Général, que de pareils méfaits se commettent dans le même lieu et sans doute par le faute de la même autorité. ... La notoriété publique accuse l'insuffisance ou plutot le manque absolu de toute repression dans ce point de Gouvernement... (ibid).

Morris had threatened the French crew that, "if he and his friends were not satisfied with the Champagne he would let his bull dogs go" (CO 239/37). He asked for two baskets of champagne, then four more. Meanwhile, the black population, armed with

sticks, rocks, and knives, were busily throwing the cargo over the stern of the boat and swimming it ashore. But, some of the blacks complained to the French that "the White People stole so much they had no chance" (ibid).

In an attempt to legalize marriages on Anguilla, St. Kitts passed an act in 1834 recommending that, in order to regulate solemnization of marriage, "the Ministers of the various denominations of Christians separated or dissenting from the established Church should be authorized to solemnize marriages between all such persons" (CO 240/18 # 286). Also in that year, St. Kitts defined husband and wife in terms of praedial apprenticed laborers: "To Regulate the Removal of Praedial Apprenticed Labourers from One Plantation to Another .... such reputed husband and wife shall be interpreted to mean only one such reputed husband or wife as any apprentice labourer shall for twelve months, then next preceding, have cohabited with, under appearance of marriage" and that transfer shall not harm the health of praedial apprentice labourer (CO 240/18 #258). The Anguillians had the gall to claim compensation for the slaves they had "feloniously removed to St. Thomas then sold to Puerto Rico" (CO 407/15).

In 1835, Secretary of State Lord Glenelg wrote to MacGregor: "Your representation of the state of Anguilla, of the poverty, of the inadequate maintenance of the apprenticed Laborers, the lawless habits of the residents, the partiality of the Jurors, the suspicion attaching to the President, & the implied insufficiency & avowed dissatisfaction of the Special Justices" (ibid). Recolonization of Anguilla, which had been going on for a decade, had accomplished little.



### Elite Resistance

The small plantocracy of the eighteenth century had resisted their own council. Apparently, slaves were virtually all they owned. If there were judgments against them they would put themselves in contempt of court by keeping "their Negroes out in the woods, that the Marshall can no ways come at anything, therefore it is ordered as above said that all such persons' Negroes or effects shall be sold" (July 1756 Miscellaneous Decisions of the Anguilla Council in the Anguilla Archives).

In 1831, when the Customs Officer seized a boat from St. Barths that had not reported its Cargo, he was

assailed by an infuriated mob of two hundred persons and threatened with personal violence. It appears that this cargo belonged generally to the principal inhabitants, and that, everyone securing his own share, forcibly took it away from the Custody of the Seizing Officer. Two black men employed there on the occasion have escaped with [the Customs Officer], being in actual fear of their lives, one of them having been very severely beaten by a person known to the officer (CO 239/28).

Pickwood reported to Maxwell that "Hodge has an interest, either direct or indirect, in vessel which was seized" (CO 239/24).

After the end of the Apprenticeship Period, resistance continued. Lt. Governor Cunningham wrote Governor Macphail in 1840: "As it is, the laws are utterly and openly set at nought, and the turbulence and insubordination of a large portion of the Community" (No 97). That same year, Anguillians reneged on their 15-year custom of paying for the Magistrate's passage to and from the island. Unfortunately, there was no law mandating that Anguilla must pay; the Solicitor General of St. Kitts agreed with Anguilla that it had only been an "implied if not express arrangement" (CO 239/67).

Anguilla resisted the Empire's pigeonholes. They refused to register to vote for vestry members. "No attempt is made to keep a correct list of Freeholders" (CO 243/10). Even when they were assessed by the vestry, "many of them have been excused, and many will not pay" (ibid). In 1847, the Stipendiary Magistrate reported: "Any attempt to make the Chief Justice of St. Kitts Judge of Anguilla, also, will be a failure. The Judge of Anguilla ought to be a resident of Anguilla - a Salary is allowed by the home government but it is not spent in Anguilla nor does Anguilla derive any benefit whatever except a flying visit once or twice a year never extending beyond two or three days at most" (ibid).

As Anguilla began to be swept into the British colonial bureaucracy, in 1823, the Anguilla Customs Officer received six blank forms to file his biannual report. He regretted that he was unable to discover the true particulars.

The fact is, that owing to the ignorance of many here to whom I have put queries, they seemed to take the alarm as if they were meant for some inquisitorial purpose on the part of Government to make them pay Duties and Taxes - and have consequently withheld, or pretended ignorance as to the value of their Property or the quantity of produce usually obtained from them (CO 234/11).

Anguillians often deserted their island for "the more genial Soil" of St. Martin. Pickwood wrote Maxwell in 1825 (CO 239/14). The Grand Jury's presentment to the Chief Justice that year was published in the newspaper, exposing the habits of the Anguilla gentry. They were in "gross violation of the Sabbath... not only in the constant labour of a part of the Slave population, but in a wanton, unbecoming conduct on the part of a portion of the other community [the elite], who, to the disgrace of the whole body,

too often indulge on practices repugnant to religious decency” (ibid). There were also irregularities with Weights and Measures.

Peter Wilson (1973) claimed that respectability was the result of the secular role of the church while Karen Olwig surmised that the “English culture of respectability was in many ways defined in opposition to both the popular culture of the common people, such as the culture developed by the Afro-Caribbean population, and the more stratified, inclusive British society which preceded it” (1993:8). Anguilla society, particularly after the French invasion in 1796, lacked a church and a stratified plantocracy. Role models of respectability were replaced by a popular culture of white and black agrarian tricksters.

After the apprenticeship period ended, waiting for the seasonal salt crop produced idleness and gambling: Colebrooke believed that continuous agricultural labor would be more profitable. Without any salt crop for 1839, poverty and theft were rife. Children up to 10 or 11 years were completely naked in the roads and actual starvation had occurred among the poorest people. Theft of crops was so common that a man from each family patrolled their grounds at night with loaded muskets. There was no police force and the three members of the Board of Magistrates refused to meet. Secretary of State Russell acerbically referred to “the supineness of the Vestry” in Anguilla: “Aide-toi, et le ciel t’aiderons appears to be the advice that serves the proprietors of Anguilla” (CO 239/59).

A Colonial Office note written on a Letter from President Grame to Mr. Stephen on 9 November 1841 stated:

I cannot but think that undue importance is attached to this Settlement at Anguilla, where at the very most there are 1500 people living in a state little above that of barbarism, without one element of future wealth among them, or any reasonable prospect of becoming of use to this country. ... And so we may go on and on till the whole apparatus of Govt. is established at the place, where there is scarcely anybody to govern (ibid).

The want of management by the public authorities in Anguilla appears to have ended in the 1840s either due to the emigration of the planters or growing colonial oversight. Cunningham noted in 1843 that crime had almost ceased: the Negroes were improving under freedom: they were most peaceful, intelligent, independent and industrious, as well as sober. No rum was made on the island; laborers were not paid in spirits. But, if the elite were less aggressive, they were still capable of undermining this paradise. In 1847, the Stipendiary Magistrate noted that the number of rum shops had increased, which questions the veracity of the earlier reports. The vestry had drastically cut the price of a license from five dollars to four shillings. The magistrate persuaded the present vestry to increase the fee back to five dollars.

#### Taxes: Elite and Popular Resistance

Institutions in Anguilla had not improved post-emancipation. There was no revenue to support them. Elite resistance to the small poll-taxes on apprentices or any taxes continued. The Treasury reported to Secretary Grey on the cost of the Anguillian church. (Anguilla is still dependent upon British grants for capital projects such as funds for building schools, clinics and the airport.) In 1831, Anguilla received a Parliamentary grant to build a church that was to be matched by a local contribution of labor and/or funds. The church's foundation reached two feet before the workers abandoned it. Anguilla never received the rest of the grant. The vestry had donated £90 currency and labor and materials worth £750 sterling, but they estimated that they needed £900 more to complete the church. Because Anguilla had not made any arrangements to attempt to raise any part of this sum, the Treasury refused in 1836 to advance them more money. In

1833 relief money was held up in St. Kitts. That year the King had granted a bounty of £500 to relieve Anguilla's distress. The Anguillians had had to petition again to force the St. Kitts committee to release the money. More than half of the bounty had been expended on a St. Kitts committee formed to decide how to distribute the funds. The committee also used some of the bounty to send a Mr. Rogers and his wife and five children to Anguilla. In 1835, Gladstone wrote about the church of England on Anguilla. Their Church Building Committee had submitted a petition "relating to the completion of the creation of the Church Building in that Island which were undertaken in consequence of the Grant made to them in 1828 of £1000 - under certain conditions, and, under the circumstances of the State of the Island ..." (CO 407/4). The Reverend Mr. Steward was absent from Anguilla during part of 1837.

Smuggling continued between the trinity of islands: Anguilla and St. Martin and St. Bartholomew. Lt. Gov. Macleod in 1838 wrote to the Governor of the Leeward Islands about "the total inattention to the duties of his office and general conduct of Mr. Richardson, styled President." (No 61). In a letter to the Governor of the Leeward Islands in 1839, Colebrooke described the exact status of Anguilla's presidents: the president and a council were appointed by the Lt. Gov. of St. Kitts; the president's office was "merely nominal without authority, without emolument, without any responsibility, except that of reputation" (No 119). This figurehead government had the task of conflating reputation and respectability. The vestry was elected by freeholders annually to raise taxes: "a clause in the enactment by which [the vestry] was constituted, especially provides that none but white freeholders should be admitted to belong to it" (CO 407/4). The vestry was, according to Petty (1990) crippled: it was empowered to raise revenue by

taxation but only St. Kitts could authorize how it was spent. All Anguillian vestry orders for payments had to be passed by St. Kitts and countersigned by the Lt. Governor of St. Kitts. The catch-22 was that while the vestry could levy taxes, virtually the only people who possessed taxable property were those who were vestrymen. "There is nothing which these persons dread so much, as paying taxes, and therefore for the last three years they have taken no steps toward raising any whatever" (ibid). (When the Anguillian government imposed a package of new taxes on 1 January 2001, including increased taxes on imports, licenses and an additional 50¢ per gallon tax on fuel, Anguillians, who pay no personal income taxes, were indignant. Resisting these "exorbitant taxes," some Anguillians demanded that English taxpayers should give them more money.)

The vestry passively resisted taxes. "They have invariably neglected to meet, lest the question of Taxation should be mooted" (ibid). The Anguilla Treasury "is worse than empty, because it has made use of Sums there in lodged for the appraisement of Apprentices" (ibid). The police had been disbanded and the provost marshal was due money for feeding prisoners. Since the 1825 Commission, "Courts have been held pretty regularly" (ibid); the Chief Justices received £200 per annum in addition to their own salary from the Home Government to visit Anguilla, which should have made the post an appealing sinecure. On 27 November 1839, Colebrooke wrote the Governor of Leeward Islands:

the Colony of Anguilla is, that it has been too long neglected, and our surprise is that Men so associated and so deprived of the influence of law and religion have not merged into a complete state of barbarism... with a single exception that Slavery no longer exists, the Island as a Colony, is far worse off now than it was in 1825 (No 119).

Colonial administrators repeatedly emphasized the impossibility of small islands governing themselves: “the contamination of almost unavoidable association” (CO 407/4). Affirming Gresham’s law that bad money drives out good, “every species of Coin which became too bad for the neighboring Colonies, whether British or Foreign, has been brought into circulation in Anguilla ... [it] is absolutely worthless anywhere else” (ibid). It prevented “all import trade for the benefit of the lower Classes” and “it cannot be expected, that anyone should attempt to establish a Store” (ibid). The absence of a store and the currency difficulty contributed to the smuggling problem, which was based on barter.

During the last seven months of 1839, there was no resident Anglican clergyman and no local law about “marriages solemnized by Dissenters” (ibid). Colebrooke wrote to the Governor of Leeward Islands:

As it is, the dread of any reflection on the legitimacy of their children prevents persons from availing themselves of the service of the Wesleyan Minister and there are many respectable individuals, who although desirous of being married cannot afford to come to St Christopher, a distance of 70 Miles for that purpose. This would appear to be a fruitful source of unhappiness (No 119).

In 1840 the St. Kitts Assembly again suggested that Moravian and Wesleyan ministers should be authorized to solemnize marriage, but a bureaucrat in the Colonial Office wrote in the margin, “will not be confirmed” (CO 240/19). Another proposal for regularizing marriages, issuing licenses to the Magistrate of Anguilla, was rejected by the Solicitor General of Antigua in 1840. Colebrooke ended his 1839 survey of Anguilla:

It will be clear from all this to Your Excellency, that the Island of Anguilla is in a most deplorable condition. The causes of these grievances lie too deep, or are of too old a date, for me to venture upon their elucidation. I might attribute much of this misery to the want of capital but then it may be asked what has become of the Emancipation money. I might attribute it to Emigration, if the Island had not been in a ruined state when the Commissioners visited it in 1825, and if there were not

more laborers even now, than can find employment. ...It's abandoned lands, it's starving and thereby thieving population, it's deserted Schools - it's wretched prison - it's bankrupt Treasury, - it's disbanded Police, - it's Magistrates that will not form a Board, - and it's Residency that no gentleman will accept or having accepted will consent to retain. I have thus endeavored briefly to represent what the state of Anguilla really is. This is no pleasing task, and it would perhaps have been easier to soothe the unfortunate Inhabitants with promises of assistance and relief, and then, as hither to has happened, leave them to stagnate in their wretchedness, until another visit of inspection should renew their hopes. I did not however hold out promises, or encourage hopes, for I felt, that without effecting a complete change in the whole circumstances of the Island, without re-colonizing and in fact re-creating it, no real relief could be afforded.... they will be delighted with any change, for to them any change must be improvement (No 119).

### Recolonization

In 1840, Cunningham visited Anguilla and wrote to the Governor General of Antigua that there were only 13 children in the catechist's school. Although the Archdeacon had written that there were three Church of England schools on the island, the catechist hadn't mentioned the other two, apparently ephemeral, schools to Cunningham. According to Archdeacon David Gatewood Davis, there was quarterly administration of the sacrament, including marriage, by a visiting minister. The Archdeacon noted that Anguillians had no resident clergymen. Although there had been a "succession" of clergymen over the last thirteen years in Anguilla, there were too few clergy in the Diocese to spare one now for Anguilla. Potential Stipendiary Magistrates were unwilling to be posted to Anguilla due to doubt that the office would continue to exist. Cunningham, the Lieutenant Governor of St. Kitts, wrote to the Governor General in Antigua on 11 February 1840:

Of course these gentleman might at once be ordered to Anguilla simply as Stipendiary Magistrates, but they have pleaded so forcibly that they may not be compelled to undergo the expenses of a change of Residence in the present state of uncertainty as to their being continued in Office, that I did not mention it to hope Your Excellency will accede to their earnest prayer, and allow them



severally to remain in St. Christopher until this uncertainty has ceased. Mr. Egar the present Stipendiary Magistrate is a person of such eccentric manner and I regret to say occasionally of such unfortunate propensities that he could not possibly be nominated President. ... I do not know where to find a President for Anguilla under existing circumstances (No 10).

Eventually, Major Grame, the Stipendiary Magistrate in Anguilla, was appointed president of Anguilla at £50 more than his usual salary. A Colonial Office note on the back of Colebrooke's 18 July 1840 letter to Lord Russell opined that "the basis of all these evils is the want of wealth and the want of Population" (CO 239/59).

In July 1840, Cunningham complained to the Governor General that the Anguilla Vestry was still continuing to refuse to meet and therefore no taxes had been raised. Given their loathing of taxation, Anguillians petitioned, as usual, to have the "duties now payable on produce of this Island" reduced or remitted or to give them "a loan or a grant of money" (CO 239/66). In October of that same year, Secretary Russell wrote that Mr. Peddie, from St. Kitts, thought that "the larger part of the laboring popular will be disposed to leave the Isd as soon as their growing crops are gathered: it appears to me that the prospect of any effectual benefit to be brought about by the presence of a Prest is at present too doubtful to justify the appoint" (CO 407/6)

By March 1841 Cunningham wrote the Governor of the Leeward Islands, Macphail, that "Her Majesty's Government would be willing to help Anguilla if it would help itself" (CO 239/62): a regular president would be sent to reside there, i.e. a non-Anguillian. Payment of colonial officials stationed on Anguilla remained primitive. President Grame, who was the senior Stipendiary Magistrate in the West Indies before he had accepted the post in Anguilla, was forced to write the Governor of the Leeward Island about his salary and the "expense of sending a trustworthy person to bring it from

St. Christopher” because Anguilla was a “destitute Colony without even a Post Office Communication” (CO 239/67). (The events of 1841 have their counterparts in modern times. In the late 1970s, once when I was flying from Miami to St. Thomas, I sat next to an Englishman who was handcuffed to a briefcase. It transpired that he was carrying the government payroll to Anguilla.)

Anguilla still lacked a constabulary, any charitable institutions, banks, and mail service from St. Kitts. The latter was a burden on emigrants. The cost of the five to six day round trip from Anguilla to St. Kitts effectively prohibited proving wills with the result that claims upon estates for debts became barred by the statute of limitations; this could benefit the estates of those elites who possessed them. Since there had been no resident minister for more than three years, the resident catechist and schoolmaster, whose salaries had been cut in half, interred the dead. The curate’s salary was “totally inadequate to support a Gentleman in respectability.” according to Graeme (CO 239/64). The public officials of Anguilla had not been paid since 1836.

Cunningham’s visit was as inspirational as that of twentieth century royalty; it was described in terms similar to those used when the Duke of York visited in 2000:

if the simple fact of having visited the Island and having manifested an interest in its affairs, of having proffered sympathy at least, if not assistance and advice if not relief, if, on account of their not having been visited for years, these few hasty visits and this slight notice on the part of one of Her Majesty’s Representatives have sufficed to excite feelings of gratitude, and have in any degree conduced to the improvement (ibid).

In October 1841 President L. Graeme wrote to Joseph Wattley, the Chief Justice of St. Kitts, revealing the colonial backstage:

As long as we keep officers there with Salaries and with high titles, we are paying so many bribes for the concealment of the truth and for the maintenance of Establishments for which the place has no just claim. However I believe that

nothing further could be done than what Lord Stanley has already done to discountenance these pretensions. I presume that Major MacPhail's decision may be approved, altho' it determines nothing, for in such a perplexity I know not what he could have said (CO 239/65).

Macphail, as seen in his instructions to the new President of Anguilla, Grame, appeared unaware that there was no Anguilla Council.

However, Stephens, the undersecretary in the Colonial Office who had been monitoring Anguilla for more than a decade, was aware of the lack. He noted in the margin that the title of president presupposed a council, which Anguilla did not have. "Waiving this minor objection, Lord Russell has agreed to the proposal, and Major Grame a Stipendiary Magistrate has been sent to Anguilla with the title of President" (CO 239/62). Mr. Egar, the former Stipendiary Magistrate at Anguilla had, according to Colonial Office marginalia, a "bad habit of drinking" (CO 239/62), as some twentieth century governors allegedly have had, and Stanley remarked in January 1842 that Egar had "abandoned his office" (CO 407/6). On Macphail's letter to Russell, a different bureaucrat noted "N.B. I confess however I could never quite understand what is meant by the title of President of Anguilla! I suppose it is only a more sonorous name for Justice of the Peace" (No 55).

Cunningham, the Lieutenant Governor of St. Kitts, was another Colonial Office favorite. He had been known "since childhood" by Mr. Vernon Smith, who was immediately under Lord John Russell in seniority (CO 239/62). Cunningham had had an original idea for the president of Anguilla. He had "formed an opinion in favor of some gentleman of colour" (ibid). This "was not Mr. Osbourne [the Stipendiary Magistrate who had written the June 1841 report] but Mr. Richard Challenger," who did indeed write the Stipendiary Magistrate's report for Anguilla of 31 December 1842, in which he noted

that salt was Anguilla's major export (CO 239/71). A Colonial Office memo objected that replacing Challenger with Pickwood's son was a clear case of patronage. Challenger had been appointed in April 1842, but in May 1843, he was reported to have "since left Anguilla, his appointment not having been confirmed" (CO 239/71). Challenger had given most of his salary to the poor. If Challenger had remained as president and if the Wesleyan missionary, John Hodge, were still there, Anguilla's hierarchy might have been among the first in the Caribbean to be colored.

Grants were the topic in 1847. Anguilla needed funds to erect a place of worship in the Spring Division. The Government granted them £1000 that Anguilla was to match. The Government advanced £500, but never paid the remainder. It is likely Anguilla failed to meet their funding goal: it should have been obvious to all that they would, given their known lack of revenue. In 1862, when the Colonial Office estimated that it would take £2000 to survey Anguilla, the official noted, "I am not aware that there is any possibility of such a sum being provided from Anguilla funds" (CO 407/11).

Two fears for the future surfaced then and now. The Stipendiary Magistrate in 1848 worried about the effects of a declining quality of education on the rising generations, as do many Anguillians today. In 1850, he wanted the vestry to pass an act forbidding vessels from discharging their ballast in the harbor, lest, in the future, it choke up the harbor. "I would remark that it is just this sort of remote evil which is not likely to be guarded agt by such bodies as the Vestry of Anguilla" (CO 407/8). (Anguillian environmentalists face similar frustrations today trying to protect sustainable development, biodiversity, and wetlands. Fisherman seem unwilling to comprehend that

just because there seem to be more turtles after a moratorium on catching them does not mean that they have achieved a sustainable number and can be caught again.)

The lack of a resident minister remained a problem. Macphail wrote the Governor of St. Kitts on 8 September 1841 that he “was led to believe that the subject has not escaped the attention of the Archdeacon and that in fact a Clergyman was appointed who has been temporarily prevented from an accidental cause from proceeding to his destination” (CO 239/64). In the same year, Secretary of State Stanley wrote the Acting Governor of St. Kitts about a clergyman for Anguilla: the British Government could not “undertake to defray the cost of occasional visits by a Clergyman from it’s own funds” (CO 407/8).

The 1842 census recorded 2,178 Anguillians and classified as 610 agricultural peasants and 200 as laborers. Share wages were paid in provisions. As in the structure of matrifocality, western terms of relationships, in this case those between worker and proprietor, do not fit comfortably. Anguilla was arguably a peasantry: although subsistence farming may have been supplemented by wages, the relations of production were more suited to a peasantry than to a proletariat. Reporting on his visit to Anguilla in 1843, Cunningham wrote:

I found a good many people...reaping large crops of provisions...[There was] one black man with nearly twenty acres of very good productive land on which he planted corn and cotton. In one small settlement at East End...there were 5 women whose united families consisted of 37 children, the eldest of which was 16 years of age. The husbands of two of these had been drowned, two had died in Demerara and one was missing. These women and their families cultivating from 12 to 15 acres of land, and not only were receiving no relief from public funds, but were tax-payers to a considerable amount (ibid).

Like the remittance economy, the matrifocal family is of long-standing in Anguilla. Although it is generally accepted as part of the mythos that emigrants worked to return to the Rock, many of them failed to return or disappeared. "The number of large families is quite remarkable, and as those, in numerous cases, belong to lone women, whose husbands are either dead, or who left them when emigration was prevalent and have not been heard of since, it seems difficult to conceive how such families are supported" (Petty 1990:156). This contrasts with Cunningham's report. Again, Petty was emphasizing the hard life while the colonial official was boosting hopes that Anguilla could become self-supporting.

Lord Stanley had noted to Lt. Governor Macphail that while Grame bore the title president of Anguilla "in order that his influence & authority there may be more considerable and the more respected, yet in strictness he can be regarded as nothing more than one of the Supy Mag" (CO 407/6). When officials bestowed an empty title on Grame to impress the natives, it put Grame in an awkward position because he knew that he didn't have the power that Anguillians supposed him to have. Potentially, he risked being exposed when he was on the front stage. If he were exposed so would the Colonial Office be. The Colonial Office changed its mind in 1846, when Cunningham wanted the Stipendiary Magistrate to have the title of President. Secretary Grey wrote, "I rely upon the good sense and personal influence of the Magistrate for meeting every technical difficulties [sic] such as those which have been mentioned, and I am of opinion that an inappropriate title would add nothing to his means of meeting them" (CO 407/8).

In April 1843, Cunningham's "repeated visits" to Anguilla came under question in the Colonial Office (CO 239/71). Frequenting "this little knot of people" did not justify the expense to the public (ibid). Throughout Anguilla's history, the London officials adhered to the economies of realpolitik. Nonetheless, Cunningham, who seemed to champion Anguilla, or to be as fatally attracted to it as Pickwood had been, continued to travel there annually, and was careful to file his "receipt in triplicate" and "vouchers in duplicate" for the metropole's burgeoning bureaucracy (CO 239/74). Since his transportation expense was £49, it is little wonder that the average Anguillian was unable to go to St Kitts to be married, to fetch mail, to probate wills and to attend to other business. In 1844, there was still no Anglican minister on Anguilla. Cunningham had recommended that the islanders should establish "an Asylum for their paupers, and especially for lepers and other unfortunate objects of charity, which I regret to say are now suffered to lie about the public ways without shelter and almost without clothing" (ibid). Since it had been noted that the school children were also without clothes, it must be assumed that Anguilla was more impoverished than it was 20 years earlier when at least there were clothes for Charlotte to steal. Cunningham did note that "there appears to be an earnest desire on the part of many people to complete the Church in the Valley" (ibid) that had been under construction since 1828. He reported that "the Public Officers of Anguilla do not receive as Remuneration for their services as much as an industrious day laborer may earn" (ibid). Minimizing public officials' salaries often results in corruption (cf. Spiro Agnew). But such a leveling effect, where laborers and public servants receive the same wages, points to a conflation of class, status and race that would not have been tolerated by a white plantocracy. This is another indication that the

latter class, such as it were, had abandoned Anguilla. Cunningham also recommended that creditors accept fifty percent, another sign that Anguilla was not flourishing. It was unlikely that colonial capitalists would ever be interested in the island.

The Anglican Church continued to ignore Anguilla, although today 35.79% of the population are members of that church. In 1845, noting that "that island has been for a considerable time unvisited by any Clergyman of the Established Church," the Colonial Office queried whether the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel could "without injury to still more important interests, give the island the benefit of a Resident Minister" (CO 407/7). Wesleyan marriages became valid in Anguilla in that same year. All the marriages were Wesleyan. There were two Wesleyan places of worship one at the Valley and one at the Road. Finally, an Anglican Minister, Rev. William Nock, arrived in 1846: of the 2178 people on Anguilla, 80 or 3.67% attended the Church of England, while 400 or 18.36% attended "other." That same year, a Vestry Act enlarged the vestry to thirteen and granted the right to vote for the vestry to all males who owned property.

In 1847 the Stipendiary Magistrate stated that Anguilla was "not so much in want of legislation as of the proper machinery to enforce those already here. There is no supreme authority resident in the Island" (CO 243/10). The Stipendiary Magistrate complained in his report that it had been more than a year since a court of justice had been held. Cases of assault and battery were the major problems, "offenses not cognizable by Justices of the Peace" (ibid). "I admit that the Justices of the Peace of Anguilla are supine to an extent almost incredible. But the Vestry has done a great good" (ibid). In 1844, the Stipendiary Magistrate had noted

I can only account for the small number of complaints brought before the magistrates by speaking in the highest terms of the Negro population of this



Island as to their habits of sobriety honesty and Industry. I have no doubt that also parties who offend knowing the inconvenience and expense they will be subject to if the complaints is preferred against them - do very frequently make satisfaction and compensation to the complainants (CO 234/74).

As in seventeenth century Virginia, the court never functioned for the benefit of the peasants (see McKinney 1996); it cost 24 shillings to bring a suit and wages averaged 6 shillings, 1 farthing a week (Petty 1990:148).

Presaging the American Republican party's late twentieth century backlash against welfare and welfare queens, the Stipendiary Magistrate wrote that the vestry had "established a provision for the aged and infirm - parties who have hitherto supported their aged and infirm relations take advantage of this provision - no greater calamity could happen to the West Indies than the establishment of a poor law, which will offer an inducement to the Negro to forget the dictates of humanity" (ibid). Again, in 1898, the poor laws came under harsh assessment, inadvertently proving that the sandwich generation is not a recent phenomenon. "The state of the poor laws in this Island is most distressing, it is nothing more than a premium for idleness, and a bribe for Children to neglect their parents or relations - no greater evil can be inflicted on the West India Colonies than a poor rate" (CO 243/10).

In 1853, there was again no officially recognized clergyman in Anguilla; according to colonial documents. If there were local religious practices, they were either unknown or remained unrecorded by the British. Due to the perceived lack of clergy, the Secretary of State noted that there should always be a magistrate on the island. "The Negroes in this Island are not able generally to pay a schoolmaster" (CO 243-10), yet they had hired their own schoolmaster in the 1840s, another indication of declining fortune. In the same year, the Secretary of State rebuked Mr. Carty, the Anguillian

Comptroller, who should have resigned his office “on hearing that the duties were not to be remunerated, and by no means to continue to hold the Office whilst he declines to perform its duties” (CO 243/10). (Even though government jobs carry a salary today, charges of lack of professionalism and poor productivity remain. Shirking work as a form of resistance is not limited to slaves.)

Secretary Grey had written to Higginson in 1846: “I regret the failure of the Schools [on Anguilla], but I am disposed to attribute it less to the poverty of the Negroes by whom they had been supported than to their unsteadiness of feeling on the subject: for the Negroes were poor before. I trust that the clergyman who is now to be resident on the Island may be enabled to bring the Negroes to a stronger sense of their duty on this point” (CO 407/8). The Anguillians were, in 1848, reported as remiss in church attendance. In the margin, a Colonial Officer noted that, “they have the excuse of having been often for long periods without a Clergyman” (ibid). Completely ignoring Anguilla’s claims, the Bishop of Antigua requested in 1855 that “a portion of a fund in his hands originally applicable to the payment of the Stipend of a Clergyman resident in Aguila [sic], may be applied in aid of the Church Schools of St. Kitts” (CO 407/10).

Without the formation of the Anguilla Salt Ponds Joint Stock Company in the same year, 1855, and the discovery of guano and phosphate deposits, Anguilla would probably have increasingly escaped colonial notice. By 1860, Petty wrote, the economy was unable to support a labor force of 727 males and 883 females (1980:181). “Such was the undeveloped condition of the Island that when Dr. Isidore Dyett was selected, in 1862, to succeed Pickwood as President of the Vestry, he expressed disgust because he felt that after 23 years of faithful devotion to the public service he would have been

considered worthy of ‘some better fate, some happier lot, than that of a hopeless immolation at a place like Anguilla’” (Petty 1990:181). Anguilla enjoyed a lucrative period during the American Civil War, when their cotton crop was in demand once again. But a drought in the mid-1870s and the end of phosphate production brought poverty back to Anguilla.

By June 1862, Colonial Officials had still been unable to induce the Vestry “to exert itself” to collect internal taxes (CO 407/11). Court had not been held on Anguilla for three years in August 1863. When there was a disturbance in Anguilla in March 1864, the “Lt. Governor called on French Authorities at St. Martin for Assistance”; he should not have done that, the Colonial Office reprimanded him. “without orders from Her Majesty’s Government” (ibid). Nothing seemed to make the metropole comprehend how far Anguilla was from St. Kitts and how distant St. Kitts was from London. The Colonial Office’s emergency protocol could only be based on willful naïveté.

Justice of the Peace C. Lake was appointed as Colonial Secretary, Registrar, Coroner, Notary Public, and Commissioner of the Peace in June 1865. This one-man bureaucracy would become the style of the salt islands (cf. McKinney 1997). “I am not aware that the existence of such offices in Anguilla has ever been reported but as it may occasionally be necessary that some such duties be performed” (CO 407/11). The same official also recommended that if the Church of England School Teacher at Anguilla objected to the salary the Bishop assigned him, he should “give up the employment” (ibid). In 1866, the Kittian appointed President Alsbury was removed as head of Anguilla due to differences he had with certain persons there. Anguillian recalcitrance backfired.

In 1867, following their failure to elect vestry members, St. Kitts enacted a law that the Governor was to nominate the members.

In 1872, pending the formation of the Federation of the Leeward Islands, Anguillians protested against being united with St. Kitts and argued that they had not been represented or consulted about the Federation and therefore were not part of it (Petty 1990: 197). They issued a petition on 23 August. In it, the Anguillians protested taxation of their huts and houses, and of their virtually non-productive land. The lack of provisions "resulted in a heavy reliance on food imports of American origin" (CO 152/109). They noted that the royalty on salt was deposited in St. Kitts and little was spent on Anguilla, whereas they had believed that the salt royalty would eliminate the need for other taxes. Anguillians wanted to be a Crown Colony under direct administration from Britain. But that was not to be for another century.

In 1875 caterpillars destroyed the crops. Petty analyzed the 1878 decision to make St. Kitts a Crown Colony with the Anguillian representative appointed by the Kittian Governor as a racist maneuver to block black legislative power. Anguilla lost its Vestry and its representative in 1882. It would not have an elected representative again until 1936. Once more, it had no formal institutions. 1890 brought the Great Famine, when the Kittian Governor, Haynes Smith, contributed to the logos by stating:

Every inducement is being given to the people to migrate but many prefer to remain and, if they can get no food, to die, than to leave the Island. I can provide for the whole [Anguillian] population in Antigua, and am prepared to remove them, but it seems doubtful whether emigration or compulsory removal can be forced upon them (Petty 1990:224).

Augmented by those left unemployed by the discontinuation of work at Sombrero, 3500 out of a population of 4,400 received relief. In this famine of Biblical proportions,

drought was followed by a plague of caterpillars; deaths increased 213% for the quarter ending September 1891. The British Government refused to grant assistance. Instead, Governor Haynes Smith ordered supplies directly from New York. When the supplies arrived, a riot ensued. Haynes Smith described the event:

For Anguilla I imported food for the relief of the sick during the famine, and arranged that it be taken direct to Anguilla from New York. The steamer bringing in the food brought in some American missionaries belonging to a body akin to the Salvation Army, who landed and addressed the people saying that the steamer had brought them food for the body, and they would give them food for the soul. The people thought that the food was a present sent to them by charitable people in America, and clamored for its distribution. They became very disorderly and threatened the life of the Magistrate. There was an attempt to blow down the building where the food was stored, by use of dynamite which the people had secreted from Sombrero, and a charge was thrown during the night at the house of the Magistrate, Mr. Edwin Baynes, but ... the fuse was put out. Mr. Baynes obtained the assistance of some fifty well disposed, who at once came forward, and he sent to St. Kitts for assistance, when at once I dispatched Inspector Thom with twelve armed men, and order was maintained (Petty 1990:23).

In order to finance the federation [of the British Virgin Islands, Anguilla and Barbuda] Haynes Smith sought permission for the Crown Agents to negotiate a loan of "20,000 charged to the small island. The proposal was met with some sarcasm from one British official who said that he agreed with the Governor as to the similarity of the islands but then added that "one point of similarity...[was] their poverty - another...[was] their incapacity for progress." He went on: "Are they fit for a loan? Not a single white man lives on any of them" (Petty and Hodge 1992:10).

### Twentieth Century Resistance

Petty claimed that a direct consequence of the famine was the exodus to the Santo Domingo cane fields. Such seasonal emigration fit into the agrarian round and permitted Anguillians to return home to their own land (see McKinney 1998). Women were left to take care of the revived cotton crops. By 1904 there were 300 acres of cotton and, in 1906, revenue exceeded expenditure for the first time in many years (Petty 1990: 232). Carter Rey purchased the 400-acre Forest Estate from the government, 150 acres of

which were suitable for cotton, and constructed two petroleum powered ginneries. Labor in the cotton fields, according to Petty, reduced reliance on St. Kitts for poor relief. Cotton production peaked in 1910-1911 at 148,595 pounds. Laborers then went to St. Kitts "to work on The Sugar Factory Company's building and railways" (ibid:237). During World War I, Britain guaranteed purchase of cotton: this price support was merchantilism disguised as protectionism. Throughout this period, the Warden, whose duties were those of both a doctor and a magistrate, had usually been trained only in one field or the other (ibid:234).

"Anguilla's plight had caused it to become the laughing stock of British officials. The Honorable T.B.H. Berkeley, in a pamphlet entitled *The Leeward Islands Past and Present*, wrote:

I have been told an anecdote (for the correctness of which I am not responsible) that at one time, and it may be so now, there was no prison in this island, and a visitor, taking a stroll one day, met a man sitting under a tamarind tree, who saluted him as he passed with the usual "how d'ye, massa?" The traveller passed on, and returning some hours later, again saw the man sitting in the same place, and inquired why he was there all day, when to his amazement he answered, "I da ar gaol, massa," meaning thereby that he was undergoing a sentence of imprisonment.

The only positive aspect of the anecdote was that it suggested that towards the end of the nineteenth century Anguilla's crime rate was negligible" (Petty 1990:231). But there was another usable aspect of the anecdote. To Anguillians, such mockery reveals how misunderstood they are. It depicts the "poor little black country" image that was successfully deployed during the revolution. Also, it paints the background for Anguillian pride in making something out of a place no one wanted.

Dr. S.B. Jones was the Magistrate when the 1922 hurricane struck: "the St. Kitts Executive Council approved funds for road work, but advised Jones to persuade laborers,

particularly women to go to St. Kitts where work would be found for them mainly in the cane fields” (ibid). Life was hard in Anguilla: in 1901, there was a malaria epidemic, a four-year drought in the early 1920s, small pox, and a lack of water that necessitated having to walk three or four miles to a well. Houses were thatched with the cane trash workers brought from Santo Domingo. None of the fishermen knew how to trawl or use a drift net (ibid: 243). When the Limited Franchise began in 1937, “very few people in Anguilla met the property or income qualifications for membership in the Legislative Council and could not therefore contest the elections” (ibid). Out of a population of 5650, only 133 were eligible to vote. The United States exerted pressure for universal suffrage post World War II.

In 1930, the Governor of the Leeward Islands responded to T.C. Macnaghten, Administrator of St. Kitts-Nevis: “It is natural that the people of Anguilla should feel that the island is the Cinderella of the three sister islands. The local feeling on this subject is somewhat bitter...[they] request that the name of Anguilla be included in the postage stamps of the Presidency” (CO 152/422/4). (Ironically, issuing their own stamps would be one of Anguilla’s first moves after their UDI. Since then, they have become famous among collectors for their commemorative issues, including one recently that celebrated the 225th anniversary of the American Revolution. Special stamp editions are common goods in small nations. Although the stamps are usually printed in Europe, the revenue goes to the local government. Anguilla differs from many states in that their stamps regularly feature paintings by Anguillian artists and children and pictures of local toys and boats.)

“The title of the Presidency [St. Kitts-Nevis] is fixed by the Act of 1882. ... The Governor cannot trace the reason for the omission - possibly the title was considered too cumbersome for ordinary usage - but perhaps C.C.D. will have some information on that point. ‘St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla’ is rather a mouthful but not more so than ‘Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony’ or ‘The British Solomon Islands Protectorate’ ....The people of Anguilla are tired of taking a ‘back seat’; and wish to assert their position as partners in the firm - as it were instead of merely being ‘and company’” (ibid). The 1930 Anguilla Committee on Colonial Development Report recommended that because Anguilla was seldom or never mentioned outside the island, the Presidency should in the future be called St. Kitts- Nevis-Anguilla.

Expenditure continued to exceed revenue. The Moyne Commission visited Anguilla in 1938. Their report was submitted during World War II; it was shelved and not released until 1945. It revealed the harsh facts of Anguillian life: the paucity of water, trash houses, and malnutrition among the young, who even then preferred government jobs over agriculture. Lack of sanitation did not have the predictable result: both infant mortality and the crude death rate were very low compared to the sugar island of St. Kitts. The end of the war brought the end of the seasonal migration to the Santo Domingo cane fields. The labor market there was glutted and as a result wages were lowered. Anguillians began to emigrate to the oil fields in Aruba and Curaçao. When a hurricane destroyed 411 of 1185 Anguillian houses, Great Britain, at the intercession of St. Kitts, built 55 one-room, 9×13 wooden houses that held as many as 13 people (Petty 1990:268). Kittians “held the view that it was under no obligation to help Anguilla because St. Kitts received no grant-in-aid from Britain” (ibid:272). St. Kitts only began



to receive grant-in-aid in 1958. "later than all the other Leeward and Windward Islands" (ibid:272). But St. Kitts remained reluctant to share the surplus from its allocations with its dependency, Anguilla. It is unfair to blame this entirely on St. Kitts: it was often following British guidelines for the disbursement of aid funds.

### Revolution

... anthropological research can contribute to an understanding of the politics of cultural struggle and the production and distribution of the material bases of social life in political units. ... Transformist hegemonic dominance at its most entrenched moment provides the practices and the debates about those practices that direct the energies of subordinated strata - whether based in class, race or culture - away from a direct confrontation with the goals dictated by those in control of force and, hence, always mediates their need to use force. Beyond this hegemonic moment, the struggle to redirect these energies is a long and arduous one. At their best, anthropological treatments of the politics of cultural struggle provide assessments of what social practices suggest about the institutional and microsociological leeway a regime has between its acquisition and control of the instruments of force and its need to fully apply them (Williams:1991:270)

The Leeward Islands Federation ended in 1956: the Presidency of St. Kitts-Anguilla-Nevis became a colony and entered a period not unlike the post-emancipation apprenticeship era in that it was intended to ready West Indians for the transition to greater freedom. The Membership System was "designed to prepare elected members to become full-fledged ministers" (ibid:281). The labor movement among sugar workers in St. Kitts found no indigenous roots in Anguilla's peasant farming economy. In the 1957 elections, Anguilla began, once again, to propose separation from St. Kitts. A 1958 petition for separation from St. Kitts, signed by 3,546 Anguillians, brought no response. In their petition to the governor of the Leeward Islands, they stated: "A people cannot live without hope for long without erupting socially" (ibid:301). This polite threat is ironically phrased: Anguilla had been regarded as hopeless for centuries by the colonists.

The black population had endured and sustained the mythos of love for the Rock. In 1965, Hubert Hughes and other Anguillians asked that Anguilla be administered directly by the Colonial Office. Work in the Dutch oilfields had declined and returning Anguillians, exposed to economic conditions on other islands, began to protest Anguilla's much lower standard of living. At home, 56.2% of houses were two rooms or less, 63% had no sanitary facilities, unemployment hovered at 57%, only eight houses had electricity from generators; there was no piped water, paved roads, port facilities, and food was cooked on charcoal (ibid:294). Petty theorized that Anguilla's state of subcolonization, in which British rule was indirect, blinded Anguillians to the British contribution to their social and economic problems. St. Kitts seemingly controlled Anguilla: the larger island even chose the colors for the latrines in the West End school on Anguilla and permission for public functions held in school buildings had to be sought from St. Kitts. Meanwhile, courtesy of Britain's grant-in-aid, St. Kitt's infrastructure and housing had been transformed.

An exemplar of the extent to which Kittians felt that Anguilla was "other" to them is contained in an 1829 letter from Pickwood to Governor Maxwell. Using a phrase that appeared and still appears in ethnographies, Pickwood confirmed the veracity of his observations on Anguilla by attributing them to "its most influential and intelligent Member" (CO 239/20). In the December 1846 Stipendiary Magistrate's report for Anguilla, the younger Pickwood observed that "an act may be good for St. Kitts and bad for Anguilla... because the St. Kitts' legislature knows as little of Anguilla as they do of New Zealand" (CO 243/10).

The roots of Anguillian hostility to St. Kitts grew deep and strong. The Revolution would result in legal separation from St. Kitts on 19 December 1980. Separation Day. In 1967, Anguillians carried placards saying "Seeking the choice of Mother's Care" and "God Save the Queen" (Petty 1990:318). The Kittian opposition to Bradshaw's Labour Party deliberately fanned Anguillian resentment (see Browne 1992: 254 ff.). The 1970 Wooding Commission's report on the causes of the Anguilla Revolution accurately stated that the laws for Anguilla were "made on another island, which in the Caribbean meant that they [were] made by another people" (in Petty 1990:308). The report speculated that Anguilla's lack of representation might have had little effect in the past, but it would now that the island wanted government aid.

Anguilla's goal in the Revolution had been to remove themselves from the double yoke of subcolonization and substitute a direct relationship with Britain. They became an associated State of Great Britain in 1976, but it was not until 19 December 1980 that they became a separate British Dependent Territory. In 1982, Anguilla ceased receiving grant-in-aid from England and had to bear the onus of balancing its budget. Anguillians viewed total independence as unstable. In order to build economically and socially, Anguilla needed stability, which they related to colonialism (ibid:388). Moreover, they lacked the political experience. Petty concluded his thesis with the statement: "genuine decolonization involves personality changes and changes in the social and economic order. Until these changes occur - - until the psychological scars created by a history of neglect and subcolonization have been removed Anguillians will want to hold on to Britain's apron strings" (ibid:389).

Stability has paid well for Anguilla; it is the base on which their up-scale tourist economy and ACORN rest. Anguilla's Commercial On-Line Registration Network, or ACORN, is a 24-hour, seven-days-a-week digital company registration system that allows companies all over the world to be registered in Anguilla in three to five minutes. A company can file and obtain its Certificate of Incorporation within thirty minutes, pay fees, and facilitate government-corporate relations. By getting off-shore businesses to incorporate through reputable overseas agents, Anguilla can capitalize on a unique computer system that allows businesses to stay out of the government offices while still contributing to the local revenue base. Anguilla offers zero tax status. In 2000, ACORN recorded a 40% increase in incorporations from the same period in 1999. Marcel Fahie, Permanent Secretary for Economic Development and Planning, is also seeking economic diversification from the seasonal tourism business in fishing, art, intellectual property, and in high-value, low volume commodities. The island's goal is to increase its position in e-commerce. The mythos ultimately reflects Anguillians' love for an island universally despised, an opprobrium, and their pride in the economic success they have had. Exploiting colonialism is their revenge on both St. Kitts and England.

The disbandment of the vestry meant that Anguillians had failed to acquire political skills. Both their insularity and chauvinism had grown: institutional negligence meant that there was no regularized political relations between the two islands. Moreover, Anguilla was a peasantry, agrarian and egalitarian, while St. Kitts was stratified in the hierarchal relationships of a sugar economy, where cane workers constituted the large base. Kittians' self-image was sophisticated compared to the Anguillian Bobo Johnnies, rubes who were the subject of many jokes chiefly about

Anguillians' lack of modern technical knowledge - a slur that would be echoed by John Updike. Petty pointed out the debilitating effects of this assumed inferiority on the Anguillians' psyche. It is arguable that it also had the opposite effect, labeled by one Anguillian as negative superiority.

Anguilla became a British Dependant Territory, then a British Overseas Territory. Like the three dolphins on the Anguilla flag that endlessly chase themselves in circle, like Charlotte who returned to her prison (see Chapter III), independent Anguilla was back in the colonial fold. Gramsci proposed that hegemonies are historically unstable and never complete: they are negotiated and depend upon consent rather than coercion. England and St. Kitts dominated Anguilla economically but they did not secure their position because they failed to make any concessions to Anguilla. Aware of the contradictions in the social and material conditions between the islands, Anguillians' resistance was inherent in the incompletely hegemonic situation of subcolonialism. They seized upon a conjunctural moment, the formation of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, which would have cemented their unequal alliance, and transformed it into a window of political opportunity.

History repeats itself in the Caribbean, as Lowenthal observed in 1972, because of "the uncanny similarity of past and present problems, of forces impeding reform, and of solutions ineffectually proposed" (78). Antonio Benítez-Rojo (1996), starting, as most do, with Mintz's theory that the plantation system determined the Caribbean's socio-economic structure, analyzed the Caribbean for repetitions of processes, although they can be asymmetrical as well as contrapuntal. He posits order and disorder as mutually generative, rather than opposites. In his version of chaos theory, every repetition

involves a change. I find Lowenthal's more static model of repetition closer to Anguillian history and current social reality. Benítez-Rojo's emphasis on performance as a sublimation of violence may be true for the sugar islands with their rigid hierarchies, but is contradicted by Anguilla's semi-egalitarianism and reflexivity. If the Caribbean is a soup of signs whose direction is endlessly displaced, he failed to read those emitted by the smaller islands where the plantation system was not a determining factor.

### Two Elite Non-Belonger Narratives

John Updike, in a 1968 article for the *New Yorker*, discerned one theme of Anguilla's history: "the lack of external encouragement sounds a constant note" (70). Although his description of the Revolution had minor factual flaws, he had actually visited Anguilla for five weeks in 1960. He described Anguilla as "a latter day Miranda," who had no knowledge of the wonders of the Western world (ibid). In his analysis, the events of 1967 were "a middle-class revolution - Anguilla's refusal to join the Socialist revolution" in St. Kitts (ibid: 72). Updike recognized the contradictory aspects of Anguilla's serious game: "Though everyone, including the Anguillians themselves, emphasizes the revolution's comic-opera episodes, bloodshed was threatened" (ibid: 74). It was a serious game. In fact, some blood was spilled, shots were fired, but there were no casualties. The leaders were accused of treason by Britain, a bewildering charge against men who had staged a revolution to become a British colony under direct rule. It was a David and Goliath fight: "Anguilla ammunition" was the popular name for rocks from the Rock.

Updike was writing during the latter days of the American Civil Rights movement and that discourse forced him, in the Foucauldian sense, to ask questions about class and race as well as to suggest an optimistic answer. In opposition to David Lowenthal's analysis in 1972, Updike found Anguilla to be virtually color-blind and foresaw "a precious possibility in that Negroes, torn as slaves from their African tribes and thoroughly implanted with western languages and traditions can now construct a fresh society.... A backwater like Anguilla, where black and white settlers were bound together in a fraternity of poverty seems to offer a chance of skipping several nightmare chapters of race relations and of moving rather promptly into the polyracial future" (ibid:76.78). The concept of the male fraternity elides the actual sexual politics that bound Anguillians together at least as tightly as did poverty. Yet Updike himself was limited by available terms to analyze the islanders in class and race terms: for Updike, the middle-class revolution was driven by the white and mulatto east enders; the activism of a white Anglican minister had brought a cry for separation of church and state; Ronald Webster, the wealthy leader, was tea-colored. And the discourse was placed within the context of a *mare Americanum*: "the brooding American overpresence on guard against a mini-Cuba" (ibid: 77). His closing anecdote was pure Bobo Johnnie:

Our taxi-driver, who has sent his two sons to college, again gestures at the telephone poles as he drives us back to the airport. "We're waiting for them to grow branches to hang the wires from." We pass the three earthmovers, bright yellow and motionless, that were lengthening the airstrip before the revolution. "Men from St. Kitts bring them in, have to run themselves; Anguilla men put sixty-foot masts on boats in the water, but they don't know how to run bulldozers." He turns and grins, apparently oblivious of the fact that those machines are derelict and that the two back at the hotel are out of repair again. "Well, now we show them Anguilla men know how to run bulldozers" (ibid:78).

V.S. Naipaul toyed with Anguilla's origin myth in the title of his *New York Review of Books* 1969 article, "The Shipwrecked 6000." With his big-island snobbishness, Naipaul pronounced Anguilla a mistake, a sport. Unlike green, hilly Caribbean islands, Anguilla was flat and deforested. In contrast to the sugar islands, Anguillian Negroes "were turned loose for half the week to forage for themselves" (ibid). "More than any other Caribbean community, the Anguillians have the sense of home. The land has been theirs immemorially; no humiliation attaches to it. There are no Great Houses as in St. Kitts; there are not even ruins" (ibid). He was wrong. Wallblake House, although small by sugar island standards, remains and is being restored. There are several other remnants from the sugar era, but they are ruined and overgrown. However, in Naipaul's view, no humiliation attached to them because no history did.

His reason for dubbing the islanders the shipwrecked 6000 not only stemmed from the "myth of a shipwreck" that brought "the white founders of the now multicolored clans," but also because "about the arrival of the Negroes there is some confusion...the past does not count" (ibid). In this too, he oversimplified. In 1972, at the suggestion of the Methodist minister, an Anguillian social worker founded the musical group, Mayoumba. It was named for the village in Gabon on the west coast of Africa, close to the border with Congo, that Anguillians believe was their home. Although no one could explain the provenance of that belief, it is accepted and has supplied Anguillians with roots. The group collects old songs about actual events and people, a gossip-music akin to the Saramaka sêkêti (see Price 1984). The safety-valve for the small Anguillian society is that these songs are regarded as historical, and, in fact, vary from village to



village. This variation alone is proof of the scattered settlement pattern and the lack of intra-island movement.

“Anguillians describe themselves as Negroes...losing the historical sense, the Anguillians have also lost the racial sense” (ibid). Yet, like Updike, Naipaul distinguished between the West and East End: “There are people in the West End (where the people are mainly blackish, with occasional blond sports) who have never been to the East End, (where many of the fair people are)” (ibid). In addition, he noted that “color is accidental, and nothing angers the Anguillians more than the propaganda from St. Kitts 70 miles away, that their rebellion is the rebellion of a slave island, with the blacks loyally following the whites and browns” (ibid: 9). Naipaul’s very inclusion of the Kittian slur served to propagate and perpetuate it as dominant discourse. Naipaul did find an inchoate sense of history: during crises, there was an antique pattern of certain revered families taking charge; but family rivalry also existed. It was rumored to be the cause of the vandalism of a Piper Aztec engine. This act of individual revenge could be viewed as self-defeating and certainly not in Anguilla’s best interests. Loss of an airplane thrust Anguilla back upon its own resources.

According to Naipaul, there is “antique, inbred Anguillian intrigue,” though that intrigue “appeared to follow no race or color line. Responsibility, acquired lusts and fears now balancing the old certitude, had brought dissensions, the breaking up of that sense of isolation and community which was the point of independence ... shipwrecked and isolated, the community had held together” (ibid: 11). Anguillians were “part of the jetsam of an empire, a near-primitive people suddenly returned to a free state, their renewed or continuing exploitation” (ibid 11-12). In his second article for *The New York*

*Review of Books*. Naipaul emphasized the difference between the “long independent farmers and fisherman of Anguilla” and Bradshaw and his sugar union (1969a: 23). His East Indian, even British, biases were demonstrated by his characterization of Robert Bradshaw, Premier of St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla. Kittian politics are “part of the deadly comic-strip humor of Negro politics. These are still only the politics of kingship” without any rules for succession, in which the kings are presented internationally as “dangerous clowns” (ibid). “It has been played out in other countries, this drama of the folk-leader who rules where he once securely agitated and finds that power has brought insecurity” (ibid). Naipaul reversed the Kittian Bobo Johnnie epithet by closing with an anecdote about Bradshaw being unable to use a jack to change a flat tire: the car was finally lifted up by a group of men and the tire was changed.

Both Updike and Naipaul were men who were writing and interpreting history eisegetically. Updike wrote earnestly about Anguilla, but indulged himself in irony. Naipaul, in his deeply sardonic essays, used Anguilla and St. Kitts as exemplars, particularly flawed, of the Caribbean intellectual impoverishment that was the legacy of colonialism. While Updike remained ingenuously optimistic about the cross-cultural spread of social schemes, Naipaul was queasily querulous about the black Caribbean. Later, Updike symbolized his hopes in his poem, “B.W.I.” as “Copies of *Punch* and *Ebony*” sharing the same table (1993:22). Of course, those symbols conflated color and class. The value of Updike’s and Naipaul’s narratives lies in what they reveal about how North America views the Caribbean as a laboratory for examining small-scale social experiments and how racial prejudice and stereotyping exists within the Caribbean itself. Both authors saw what they thought they wanted to see and selected anecdotes that

illustrated their logos. But, tellingly, Updike chose the wrong analogies. The author's elite narratives sabotage themselves and reveal racism.

It was Americans who coined the canard in their advertisement in the *New York Times*, during the revolution, when they protested against turning Anguilla into a nation of bus boys and servants. This is another instance of Western cultural imperialism: presenting a people in terms that are culturally inappropriate. But to Americans, in the throes of the Civil Rights struggle, racism and class were the enlightened lenses through which to interpret the newly postcolonial world. Even today, Anguillians feel so strongly about the importance of tourism for their economy that an editorial on thieves in the 30 March 2001 edition of the locally-owned weekly, *The Anguillian*, opined, "that given the importance of the [tourism] industry to the local economy and the lives of the citizenry, a person committing an offense [against a tourist] would be charged with treason in another country" (2).

Anguilla was desperate for jobs at the time of the Revolution. The 1960s census showed 57% unemployment in the population of 5,810; of those who were employed, 41% were engaged in agriculture, 12% in sea transportation, and 5% in fishing. If they had to work as maids and bus boys, it was preferable to do so in Anguilla rather than in Canada, England, the United States, and neighboring islands. Their pride in being nomads redefined the hardship of being a remittance economy, even during slavery. Anguilla's traditional boat races evolved out of the seasonal migration to the cane fields. The bravado about smuggling hides the stark realities of drought and starvation. The strength of Anguillian women covers the necessity of single mothers to invent, to cut and contrive.

What appear to be values and victories are inversions of the vicissitudes that Anguillians, like Faulkner's Dilsey, endured. The effect is valorized and the cause thus vanquished. History, space and time collapse; the past is elided. Those who were children during the revolution grew up in a landscape without history: boiling houses and Fountain Cavern were landmarks without connotations. There was a general mythos about the demise of the plantocracy. Only one family legend about slavery came to light. The storyteller, a person with an educated historical consciousness, said that her ancestor had, upon emancipation, thrown her mistress into a tree. Perhaps because there were no rebellions, there were no slave heroes, like Nanny in Jamaica, to immortalize the days of slavery.

Anguilla was poorer politically than other Caribbean islands. According to Anguillians, slavery eradicated the family structure so they lacked the griot tradition. No African indentured servants came to refresh their cultural heritage. Anguilla remained an isolated peasantry with no pegs upon which to hang a historical narrative. World events passed them by. In many ways, it mattered little who was ruling them, because they were only intermittently ruled. One Warden or Customs Officer was much like another. Even personal history became blurred. Elderly women have trouble remembering the names of their own and foster children and where they are scattered. Hurricanes and boats are the bookmarks in Anguilla oral history.

Cui bono from institutional failure? Superficially, it would appear that every one did. But Charlotte's trials underscore that a lack of law and the means of enforcing it are always detrimental to the welfare of subordinate classes such as slaves. After emancipation, and, as the island's population became increasingly black, this lack of over

sight was as beneficial to the new landowners as it had been to the former colonists. But, on a cultural level, it was precisely institutional failure that led Anguillians to a false concept of independence undermined by a sense of entitlement.

Exploitation by absentee landlords has never ceased. American-based international corporations run the large hotels; there is a movement to promote indigenously owned hotels, but there are few of them, and they are not the high-end hotels that Anguilla sees as its salvation from becoming another St. Martin, choked with tourists, its harbor clogged with giant cruise liners.

But tourism is the biggest industry in the world and if a nation is both comfortable and colorful, they will come. Dotcom capitalists have replaced the missionaries, adventurers and anthropologists off the beaten track. And it is the hotels, some of which bear Amerindian names, that, with ardent support from a few Anguillians and expats, underwrite local historical and folkloric societies. Whether it is possible for Anguillians to take control of their own invention of tradition and national identity is hard to estimate. Regional pressures come into play: they force the invention of a national dress for Carifesta contests. While a few Anguillians are deeply invested in its history, many are apathetic and equate culture with jump up at the summer carnival. Even Anguillian historians made selective use of their history in the creation of a mythos/logos. The other growth industry in Anguilla is ACORN. It needs computer-literate workers; how many is uncertain, which challenges local schools. Higher education has always been prized by Anguillians, but until recently, secondary education was reserved for an elite who could afford to study in another island and who, usually, had relatives with whom they resided.

The mythos has become logos because it functions as a satisfying, enabling account. By laundering the past, Anguillians can create a modal personality for themselves that incorporates all their values. Who would benefit from a written account which memorializes the centuries of Anguillian truculence and her tribulations that, by comparison, make Job's troubles seem trivial? Two Caribbean historians have written Anguilla's history. Don Mitchell, Queen's Council, and now a Justice on the Eastern Caribbean Superior Court, was interested in the legal documents of Anguilla's past and wrote a partial, early history from a constitutional point of view. Colville Petty, O.B.E. a former Anguillian official, wrote a definitive political history of Anguilla. All histories are radical selections (cf. Price 1983). Theirs are not intellectually dishonest; we all choose those events that substantiate our theses. Both Mitchell and Petty were writing logos that concretized the mythos of their country. Two-thirds of Petty's masters thesis concerns the twentieth century and the revolution; much of the rest of it documents the historical animosity between Anguilla and St. Kitts. This logos works to sustain old grudges against St. Kitts which translate into an ongoing wariness of regionalism that was the point of the revolution.

Their histories convey that England's institutional failure was critical to Anguilla's current status as England's second most prosperous Caribbean colony. Where there were no institutional interstices, mythos could flourish. Historical interpretation is a symbolic process. Both Anguillians and British emerged purified in these pictures: slavery, poverty and starvation breeds character. To contradict the mythos endangers the current cultural conceptual standpoint: a partnership that resembles but is an inversion of the cold war MAD. The Mutual Assured Destruction in this colonial partnership is

international humiliation. This would constitute an intolerable loss of face on the global front stage. The unwritten but understood rules of engagement are that England cannot abandon her baby and that Anguilla cannot begin to support itself, both in the tourist trade or the offshore corporate registration business without the underpinnings of British political and legal stability. The result is a colonial *détente*. Therefore, who needs logos? Cui bono?

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION: ANGUILLA AND THE ART OF RESISTANCE

“and that they should not be like their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation” (Psalms 78.8).

This study proposed to examine how several topics that are prominent in Caribbean Studies applied to Anguilla. My premises were that American Studies is incomplete if it concentrates only on internal matters and that history is a commodity. As mythos and logos it is used symbolically to create national, political and personal images. My hypothesis was that if Anguilla’s history repeats, it is because Anguilla is trapped in the box of the dominant discourse of colonialism. The main Anguillian mythos is independent. My conclusion is that, due to basing its resistance upon an outdated dichotomy of colonialism and independence, Anguilla is incapable of preventing its history from repeating. Discourse is caught in an endless loop. Resistance merely pecks at the status quo but does not transform it. The mythos is neither historically factual nor is it materially or symbolically effective.

Because Anguilla limits its resistance to the single art of independence and because this art is antithetically both personal and national, there is stasis. In answer to Mintz’s four research questions, Anguilla’s form of resistance is independence: Anguillians define themselves as individuals first and Anguillians second; their history is used to affirm Anguillian values; and they are consciously attempting to invent a



matching tradition (see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1993).

The Caribbean has been theorized as a geographical, historical and cultural region by generations of scholars. Its small islands served as microcosms for investigating social structure, or, as Antillians scoff, as labs for American dissection of apparently abhorrent social, especially family, structures. The four major arguments about the Caribbean as an area can be characterized as emphasizing either content or form and the dissonance between the two. Sidney Mintz used the plantation as his main tool for examining the Caribbean as a social region and defined the region in nine features derived from the sugar islands of the greater Antilles. Only three are relevant to Anguilla: 1) the continuous interplay of plantations and small-scale yeoman agriculture, with accompanying social-structural effects; 2) the prevailing absence of any ideology of national identity that could serve as a goal for mass acculturation; 3) a high degree of individualization - particularly economic individualization - as an aspect of Caribbean social organization (1989:xviii). Mintz's focus was on the synthesis, the interpenetration of cultures, rather than their origins. His Marxist, functionalist approach differed from earlier studies of historical culture retentions by Boasian romantics such as the Herskovitses and Zora Neale Hurston. Their emphasis was on the continuity of African content within the culturally changed forms of colonial society. Postcolonial researchers, including Roger Abrahams and Antonio Benítez-Rojo, made interisland comparisons. To define the Caribbean as a culture area, they looked beyond the traits, gestures, and other imponderabilia to deeper patterns such as the man of words, repeating despite all his variations. Abrahams contested Mintz's plantation model: if slavery destroyed all

institutions, why were there parallel developments of religion and family under differing circumstances ranging from those among urban slaves to those engaged in mining. One weakness in Mintz's analysis was his failure to view the plantation as a village (contra Beckles 1990, Craton 1978). This led Mintz to differentiate plantation societies from those of developing nations where identity was rooted in a particular village. For Mintz, it followed that the Caribbean, post-emancipation, had reconstituted peasantries. Anguillians' identity is rooted in a particular village.

Mintz depicted the Caribbean as an area where resistance and accommodation alternated in psychological, economical and political oppositions within a context of hegemonic interdependency where race, class and ethnicity interlock in former slaves' and their descendents' psyches. This cyclical interpretation shares the same flaw as Schlesinger's: it over-simplifies history and freezes it into dichotomies. Based on his insistence that you can't read history backward, a corollary is the invention of tradition. This is a partial answer to Mintz's 1968 scholarly problem: the need for a theory to explain the informal and flexible social linkages wherein the domestic composition is not necessarily the same as the familial group.

For English-trained social anthropologists, the strain between content and form was located in the West Indian family structure and presented a challenge to their theory. The West Indian content defied Western European social forms. Following Meyer Fortes' maxim that social structure is kinship writ large, they took the family as their analytical unit. Their error was they studied the conjugal group, the modern western

nuclear family, rather than the consanguineous household. Herskovits had naturalized this deviation by labeling it African. Working through a structural/functional lens, the social scientists' goal was to provide cultural information for the formulation of policy that would encourage social stability. The West Indian family resisted procrustean categorization in Eurocentric kinship terms; this was deemed the pathological result of slavery. Their focus was synchronic: R.J. Smith and Edith Clarke examined the developmental cycle of the household; Orlando Patterson, the development of mating stages; Keith Otterbein (1966) found four types of households and M.G. Smith analyzed the dual system of mating in a plural society. In a departure from Durkheim's concept of consensual society, M.G. Smith awkwardly adapted a model of India's plural society to a very small island in the West Indies.

Peter Wilson overcorrected their static, synchronic view that both failed to fit the fluid societies studied and to account for cultural change with his diachronic dichotomy of respectability/reputation. However, Wilson failed to see that these can be developmental stages and that women, too, might aspire to reputation. Public humiliation of unwed mothers followed by almost immediate acceptance allows for a quick segue between the oppositions, while bestowing the best of both upon the single event of pregnancy.

Another lens in Caribbean research is indigenous, although deeply influenced by education abroad: the nationalistic movements of the 1960s spurred by Caribbean intellectuals. Historians and nationalists put a new demand on the content/form dilemma by searching for cultural authenticity as a basis for national identity. Edward Brathwaite.

like Herskovits, found the Caribbean an area of socialized ambivalence with two counterposed sets of values. For Braithwaite, creole society, composed of African content in a European form, was based in the slave tradition that was now disdained by mulattoes. Patterson found ambiguity at the personal level: the slaves' identity as a commodity. Beckles promoted Barbadian exceptionalism: Wilson (1992) was bemused by Oscar, who occupied a third space between respectability and reputation. Littlewood assured his readers that Africa was part of West Indian self-perception; Brackette Williams (1991) found the omnipresent ghosts of European ideology.

These dissonant analyses confirm Knight's (1990) diagnosis of fragmented nationalism that can best be solved by regional cooperation without the Westminster model of government. There has been growth without development in the Caribbean: mixed economies and better education are critical for an area where 50% of the population was under 18 in 1989. Centrifugal state policies in conflict with centripetal beliefs and family structures are exacerbated by weak economic and political structure.

Again and again, arguments prove Gramsci's hegemony by consensus theory. For Braithwaite, emancipation avoided revolution but simultaneously prevented change: a negotiated hegemony. Williams, like many researchers, regarded consensus as possible only through the internalization of Western values: *méconnaissance*. She interpreted Guyana as an example of Gramsci's expansionist hegemony. The criteria are expanded to resolve conflicts by homogeneity, but cultural homogeneity is politically hegemonic. Transformational hegemony allows a politics of difference. Harrison argued that assimilation is an unreachable western goal: in that light, ethnicity is not a victory but

serves to keep poor people poor.

That brings the argument back to how authenticity is defined by the dominant, reifying Durkheim's concept that departure from societal rules in a consensual society is deviance, not strategy. The positioning goes beyond nationalism. The African diaspora has become a new minority discourse: a new chauvinism. Stuart Hall (1996) regarded this as a new ethnicity that is the equivalent of Homi Bhabha's hybridization (1994) where there can be solidarity without repression of difference: a politics of difference. Paul Gilroy (1993) favored decoupling ethnicity from nationalism and race and, like Steady, did not want ethnicity to survive by marginalization. Flexible identity is key in a time of fractured nationalism. Gilroy's *Black Atlantic* advocated capitalizing on W.E.B. DuBois' double consciousness of being both black and English. His both/and construction would lead to a new transcultural paradigm not limited to blacks. For him, the African past was irretrievably sundered. Whereas the Caribbean was the center of European capitalism, it has been marginal for centuries. In core/periphery arguments, it has become ex-centric, subject to Antonio Benitez-Rojo's continuous displacement where unity is impossible (1996). But for Bhabha, this unstable position provided a comfort zone, a third space with multiple subject positions where culture is in permanent transition. For him, the nation as narration interpellated the subject and he welcomed the mass migrations that have ended William's knowable community and Anderson's imaginary one. The base of the goblet is gone. While denial of ethnicity, and, concomitantly, of nationality may seem in its putative eradication of racism to be benevolent, is it? Cui bono? Is it just another hegemonic strategy that leads to the

apotheosis of the intellectual elite who understand it? Is it like the catch-22 of political correctness: anyone who is not is defined in politically incorrect terms?

Positionality is key in discourse for David Scott (1991). Positionality is an epistemological device that mediates between structure and agency. He regarded the continuity of the African/slave trope as having no ultimate ontological status in today's culture. Rather, it is used in politics to legitimate causes and, as Bhabha said, to construct virtues. Africa is neither an empty signifier nor an essentialism. It is used in networks of power and knowledge that constitute identity. Identity does not rest on a corroborated past: what is critical is how that past is deployed. Such an argument validates the use of mythos as logos.

Postmodernists like Benítez-Rojo have dwelled upon the endless displacement of signifiers as if Derrida had just spoken. Roland Littlewood has carried this to an extreme where he has abandoned any pretense of objectivity and reason in favor of imitation: an application of onomatopoeia to logic: "In what James Clifford styles our emergent 'post-cultural world', where syncretism and heteroglossia contest, 'we are all Caribbeans now'—hybrid and parodic, creolized and polyphonic, self-creating, endlessly recursive" (1993:234). The goblet is vaporized.

Comparing Anguilla to the other islands that have been the focus for research in the four groups of Caribbean studies, there are similarities and dissimilarities. Anguilla currently rejects Africa and Africanisms as part of their heritage. Only in the most general sense do Anguillians think of themselves as African: they are Anguillian. There is a self-conscious revival of moko-jumbies, an attempt to design a national dress,

cakewalks, and an adaptation of the Trinidad carnival, carefully slotted in August to attract tourists during the slow season. But these Anguilla-Africanisms usually have the once-removed aura that Tex-Mex cooking does. While they appear to be something like the original, they are actually Anguillian inventions. As for the second area of research, sugar plantations and slavery and peon labor, Anguilla is the antithesis. There was almost no plantocracy, but slavery was perhaps harder in Anguilla due to the absence of British institutions. The salt industry was transparent as opposed to the opacity of the factories in the sugar fields. A salt worker was as sure of the result of his labor as an artisan, but for centuries unsure of whether it was marketable. Due to the visibility of the salt industry and its economics of scale, labor unions never formed in Anguilla. Unionization was foreign to the independent Anguillian and there was little local hegemony.

Two topics impact each other. Globalization, especially tourism, has affected the norm of the single mother household adversely enough to constitute a structural change. Matrifocality is no longer, if it ever were, functional. But as a result of globalization, in the form of tourists and e-commerce, Anguilla itself has never been more prosperous.

#### A Summary of the Relationship between Anthropology and History

How does anthropology relate to history? Does it merely add depth to the construction that naturalized nineteenth century nations? In the early days of anthropology, there was an impermeable boundary between it and the discipline of history. Anthropology's premise of a timeless primitive with no historical consciousness contrasted with history as a description of past political events or people framed by a

linear narrative that constituted the representation of the past in the present. During approximately 1860-1900, the leading anthropological theory of universal historical change was evolution. This analysis involved comparing unilinear stages in family organization, technology, religion and society. It was a non-historical method of projecting synchronic ethnographic information into a diachronic sequence.

Theories changed and, during the period 1890-1925, diffusion of traits through space and time, forming distinct cultural areas, became the alternative explanation to evolutionary history. In the United States, historical particularism, professed by Franz Boas and Alfred Kroeber, among others, and based upon their work with native Americans, transformed anthropology. Viewed through the lens of the local, in the context of culture and history, the individual Native American chiefs knew their history. Ethnohistorians studied acculturation using fieldwork as their method to explore both cultural change and history.

In counterpoint to the American School, British Social Anthropologists discarded history as an explanatory device. Bronislaw Malinowski (1984) regarded history, which he called myth, as a device that legitimated societal norms. A.R. Radcliffe Brown's structural-functionalism called for a comparative study of social institutions (1988, 1988a). The ethnographic present hid change; it was based on historical repetitive ritual. Radcliffe Brown's mechanical model of societies and Malinowski's biological-based model tended toward equilibrium, a consensual view of history that harked back to Herodotus, the first known ethnographer. This paradigm was espoused by the scientific side of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, if not by the humanistic aspect. It had its



apogee in Emile Durkheim's concept of the consensual society. Karl Marx was the first structuralist who introduced history into the study of stable societies.

In a reaction against evolutionism, Radcliffe Brown, E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Edmund R. Leach, and Claude Lévi-Strauss avoided history and comparison in their methods. Evolutionary theories led to origin myths that legitimated Western practices. They were Eurocentric: European society was the acme of the evolutionary chain.

Gradually, equilibrium theories lost value under the weight of fieldwork and time, and its seeming antithesis, history, entered the anthropological paradigm. Cycles and oscillations became key concepts for Meyer Fortes and Edmund Leach. Although Leach saw continuities under the superficial societal flux, he challenged the definition of culture and tribe with his studies among the Kachin. His analysis of that tribe as being the product of political relations foreshadowed Arjun Appadurai's concept of ethnicity. Cultural change occurred when actors manipulated the structures within which they held interlocking, multiple positions.

A constrained view of the actor loomed large in Levi-Strauss' anti-existentialist structuralism. Neither the individual nor collective consciousness could change history, a paradigm that would mesh with postmodern concepts of systems that operate despite the will of individuals. These systems are analogous with Michel Foucault's omnipresent fields of force relations that constitute discourse. For Lévi-Strauss, Michael Taussig and Mary Weismantel there was an isomorphism of the underlying structures of various societies. As in Durkheim and Marx, nature uses the same genetic processes to construct itself that man's mind uses to comprehend it. Men and nature are joined here in a manner

that left man as reacting to and resisting nature. Western scientific essentialism becomes a tautology: the underlying principles are abstract reformulations of the customs that anthropologists seek to explain.

The United States' and the United Kingdom's anthropological interests divided roughly between acculturation for the former and social change for the latter. When ethnographic history arose as an anthropological tool circa 1950, notably with E.E. Evans-Pritchard's 1950 essay, anthropology and history converged. Documents provided an empirical base for chronology and analysis. They concretized Boas' concept of the interrelationship of culture and history. Anthropology resumed its place in the liberal arts: scientific metaphors that were demonstrated by replicability and non-falsification became passé in cultural anthropology.

With the emphasis on informants, whether documentary or living, the focus switched to an actor-based, phenomenological explanation of cultural change. However, for Clifford Geertz, a system of culture was realized as an order of action. Its classifications were experienced as an individual totality. The actor couldn't see the structure, he could merely experience it. This would rule out meaningful manipulation of the structure or effective resistance to it. It is a castrated existentialism, because, ultimately, all aspects of a culture, including geography, economy, myth and the actor are isomorphic with each other: although they stem from different sources, they appear the same. The dancer is not separate from the dance. For Geertz, culture was a model of and a model for the society, much as nature had been for Durkheim. Marshall Sahlins analyzed history as culturally constructed; the structure is a dialectic of colonialism. His

ineptly phrased structure of the conjuncture, a redundancy that refracts meaning, is the synthesis of historical trends and particular events, in which the structure gives meaning to the event. Form conquers content. The structure itself is susceptible to time and to historical or cultural change. This led to an argument about the possibility of reading history backwards from the culture of slave descendents. Michael Craton advocated it; among others, Sidney Mintz and Barbara Bush denied it. Virginia Kerns regarded the difference between past and present as one of degree, not of kind.

As anthropologists delved deeper into historical records, they disputed Sahlin's contention that structures shaped events; rather, they framed them. Renato Rosaldo (1980) and Richard Price (1983) found, as Malinowski had, that landscape was used as a mnemonic device to fix events sequentially in time and space. For Rosaldo historical documents verified indigenous oral history. Price defined history as a radical selection wherein the event was the unit of analysis. The Saramaka were conscious of living in a present that was shaped by the past, a concept similar to Walter Benjamin's Messianic time. Books froze history; the Saramaka oral history was based upon parallaxes of cognitive construction and was therefore adaptable.

There were critics of both the form and content of these anthropological histories. David Scott questioned the nature of the radical selection of history: Price's was a radical selection from Dutch and Saramaka texts that had already been ideologically selected, produced and used. Etic corroboration of ethnic mythos as logos was the wrong use of history; as in psychiatry, it is necessary to believe the truth of emic stories to understand them. Michael Taussig and Brackette Williams probed the colonial influence on

mythos/logos. For Taussig, colonialism spelt the death of western signification: colonist and colonized symbolized the dichotomous ambivalences of fear/desire and phobia/fetish to each other. Williams focused on the internalization of European ideology: its ghost haunted the present respectability. Anna Tsing queried the domination of the Western narrative. The Dyaks reversed it: they had history, while the state was timeless. This, oddly, makes the state akin to the western concepts of spiritual continuity, if not the historical events, of Popes and divine monarchs.

James Clifford (1997) echoed Price: all history is partial: it is constructed truths made by powerful lies of exclusion, or, perhaps, by Foucault's subtraction. Fredric Jameson (1991) saw history itself as an evolutionary narrative demonstrating the ideology of liberal arts enlightenment and the perfectibility of man. Bernard Bailyn (1998) insisted on the need for both/and: memory and history. Memory was uncritical, symbolic, and collective: history can focus memory, or perhaps freeze mythos into logos, oral into written. Arjun Appaduri (1996) analyzed the ethnic implosion that occurred, and is occurring, as local events are transvalued by globally-blurred genres. Looking particularly at West Indian people, Paul Gilroy (1993) found that black history has been reconstructed to make black identity plausible for them, much as Jane Guyer's origin myth made women field slaves acceptable to whites. Black history, argued Gilroy, erased slavery with tradition. The continuity of tradition was invariant repetition that stifled the impetus to change. Faye Harrison went further and called it nostalgia: the fond construction of a history that never was.

To confirm oral history with documents constitutes the same pseudo-science as confirming rituals by their efficacy. The question is why are these particular narratives told? Cui bono? Historical and anthropological narratives are both used to create and control experience recursively and to give meaning to existence. As in any divorce, a more complete narrative is found only when both parties to colonialism speak. In this study, it is the colonizers and the colonized, as excised by me, who speak. The tales they deploy are strategies that can and do both save and sabotage themselves.

Antonio Benítez-Rojo proposed that Fernando Ortiz's *Cuban Counterpoint* was postmodern because it was an anthropological work as well as a history that used dialogics. Written in an allegorical genre, it championed culture over politics, myths over history, and popular culture over ideology. Ortiz knowingly wrote within a shared Bakhtinian discourse that pre-existed him as author. Sharing Gramsci's pessimism of the intellect, he avoided binary oppositions: instead sugar and tobacco are counterpoints that confront and compliment each other. What Benítez-Rojo's discussion educes is anthropology as the counterpoint to modernity. The continual flow of nineteenth century thought, linear and evolutionary, creating and controlling tradition and its invention recursively was replaced by the discontinuity of a digital universe that proceeded in precise segments that merely give the illusion of a steady flux. There is no shared narration, only encapsulated seconds in time and space. While this argument can be used against postmodernism, it suffices for this study to note that the always/already of phenomenological praxis is embedded in a multitude of noumenons, the thing itself rather

than our perceptions of it. It does not yield a continuous narrative, although the tale is embodied in the actions of humans in their engagement with the world. Because the digital world is discontinuous, its narratives can not be recursive. It slouches towards entropy.

Praxis theory is usually conceived of as minimizing the effect of the social control created by the institutions studied by English anthropologists and the social patterning of American anthropologists. For Sahlins, the experience of oneself and others in transforming the world was the tertium quid between praxis and practice that constituted the cultural scheme. Because phenomenology is usually closely aligned with symbolic anthropology, which is inherently continuous and communal, its interpretations are consistent with these eisegetic classifications. But classifications invariably lead to excess: they define deviancy. This, in turn, threatens the unity of symbol and/or society, but never each one equally. Change occurred, according to Sahlins, when the relationship between structural categories changed, when there was a structural transformation of categories in motion. His definition of cultural change embodied hierarchal relationships. As Dante noted, there are hierarchies in hell and heaven.

Only with suspension of classifications, a bracketing of them because excision is impossible, does the emic digital moment become susceptible to exegesis. Then, we can catch a fragmented glimpse, if not see the experience other people have of self and others as they transform the world. This is not a unified vision on our part or theirs. It is a digital dot, gone in a blink, disappearing during that blink, discontinuous.

Cultural change, then, is neither caused by phenomenological idealism, actor-based and interpretive, nor is it noumenological, materialist, empirical behavior patterns. It wends synchronously, diachronically in chaos, entropically towards homogeneity and extinction. Or, in the opposite theory, antigravity, it whirls in ever increasing expansion until the cosmos falls apart.

There can be cultural change without a precipitating historical event and historical events that don't cause cultural change. Cultural change is ongoing and may or may not be linked in a causal manner to an event. The event is a unit of historical analysis, while cultural change analysis is actor-based. This Janus-head of analysis looks to the past and present and ignores the future, that toward which a people and their history are allegedly building. Culture is not monolithic, it is contested and emergent. But neither it nor history are prognostic because continuity is illusory. So, the question about history and anthropology remains: Cui bono? Out of the many possible patterns, who's linking together the digital dots and why? And are the patterns changing now that anthropologists are increasingly members of the culture that they are studying?

#### National Self-Image and Independence

*Wanting to be independent is a natural human desire, an instinct that is prevalent among adolescent children and nations. We have grown up somewhat in terms of separating from St. Kitts who became a parent who kept us inside. While the other children were playing we had to be in there and so we wanted to be out there and it felt good to be able to choose who you wanted to be with so we chose Great Britain. But to be with Britain, there are strings attached. But when we look around at other children, not to be with Great Britain, the problems they are facing. We kind of, we want to be very independent in a dependent relationship. But we realize that, because we are not ready to be fully independent.*

Anguilla's ability to make decisions that ran counter to prevailing conceptions of Caribbean nationalism fostered by the intellectual movement of the 1960s positions it as avant-garde, possibly inadvertently. Anguilla's revolution was only secondarily for independence; its primary goal was to separate from St. Kitts. The islanders seem to have the ability to observe and analyze events occurring in the Caribbean before making strategic decisions. The traumas of the islands that opted for complete independence and the destruction of the community in islands that encouraged indiscriminate tourism, especially those who opened their harbors to enormous cruise ships, influenced Anguillians' decisions to remain a colony and to cater to high-end tourism. But environment played a significant role in those decisions. Anguilla cannot become self-sustaining ever in food production, nor are her harbors large enough to accommodate cruise ships that carry more than 300 passengers.

Banks speculated that these very environmental limitations on Malliouhana, the Rock, taught Anguillians to delay gratification, even to live without expectations. This is not true of the generation growing up today. Anguillians used to spend 20 years building a house, but there was pride in their craftsmanship. They would move into their houses and build them as they went with the result that Anguilla had houses in different stages of construction. What to an outsider might seem derelict was a source of pride for the islanders. A remittance economy taught patience; a nomadic life even caused children to be spaced as much as three years apart. The population remained remarkably stable at approximately 2-3,000 people from 1774 until the twentieth century. Here, too, the mythos of the Anguillians' refusal to be relocated during droughts and the aridity of



Anguilla that drove the early colonists away play important roles. The harsh environment is perceived as character-building as well as making land ownership possible. Land ownership bred a valued entrepreneurial spirit that differed from those islands where colonial hierarchies persisted. This, in turn, has created an Anguillian hierarchy based on material success rather than color. Anguillians point to other islands where it is still hard to obtain land. Things take time and Anguillians are or were willing to wait. These were the traditional attributes of Anguillians. The islanders who started a revolution because they felt misused by St. Kitts are now replete with jobs, houses and cars. Instead of clinging to the mythic Rock, Anguillians now say, "why rock the boat," even, when, as in 1999, their own leaders reached a political impasse. History, in the sense of a usable past, seems somehow irrelevant.

It is felt that the rhetoric about tourism, that Anguilla might become a land of waiters and bus boys, is foolish: Anguillians can not be subservant because they derive a sense of independence from land ownership. This confidence prevents Anguillians from feeling exploited by capitalism; instead they feel that they are the ones who exploit the advantages it confers. Yet there is unrest among the hotel workers, who complain that the tourism industry favors well-trained workers from other islands that have long catered to tourists: Anguillians, new to the business, are relocated to invisible positions that pay less. A highly differentiated, complex class structure is evolving under the influx of capitalism. While it is true that all Anguillians have benefited from tourism, it is also obvious that they have all benefited in varying degrees. It is unlikely that the sense of independence gained by earning a salary – any salary – will endure long. Older people

have strong memories of when there was virtually no employment on Anguilla: but their children are learning the role of downtrodden worker through experience. just as Anguilla realized how St. Kitts was cumulatively mistreating them.

Coupled with Anguillian independence is an unwillingness to respect national heroes. There is a statue of Ronald Webster and a stadium and an office building named after him, but the schoolchildren do not know much about this leader of the Anguillian Revolution. While older people pronounce revolution with pride and a capital R, young people tend to be flippant. Those who have been educated abroad believe a nation must have monuments. But, *"because we are somewhat independent I guess to a fault in some ways, we don't really give people credit."*

Indigenous businesses, exclusive of grocery stores and taxi drivers, have developed slowly. There are two indigenous banks, one of which is chaired by the current Chief Minister, and one guest house. Ground was broken in April 2001 for the second indigenously owned hotel. The two indigenous banks account for more than fifty percent of the total assets in the Anguillian economy and more than fifty percent of the deposits and loans within the banking system. These banks help "to further the deeply-held aspirations of the people of Anguilla, to be economic masters in their own country: to remain essentially in control of their economic fortunes." according to the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (*The Anguillian* 3(19)7 4 May 2001).

The forms resistance take define, but do not displace the boundaries of the social structure. The repetition of Anguillian history and the adherence to the serious game of

independence proves the existence of Foucault's box of dominant discourse. The dancer is the dance. As long as Anguillians hold independence as their goal for both self and nation, social inequality is inevitable because the self will not yield to the community. Agency, always limited by the lessening of possibilities in a global world, remains impossible for a mini-state that is incapable of forming a community. Without the status of a mini-state, action is always a restricted reaction, dictated by the possibilities allowed by the dominant power. The real art of resistance would be to break out of the colonial discourse of independence and colonialism that keeps each putative mini-state focused on their colonizer. Currently, Dutch St. Martin and Nevis have active independence movements. But seeking independence alone is not enough. It is merely adjusting a past imbalance and avoiding looking at the current one: the plight of a mini-state in a global community. Regional unification is the only real resistance. To quote an American, who distrusted his fellow revolutionaries' steadfastness of purpose: "We must all hang together; or assuredly we will all hang separately." In either case, of course, hanging is a real possibility.

James Scott regarded the arts of resistance as multiple, contingent and adaptive. Sherry Ortner realized that there never is only one game occurring at a time. Logos and mythos are flexible, multivocalic symbols. But Anguillians are conservative. They did not change their form of resistance, their serious game of independence, when the circumstances changed. Anguilla has achieved prosperity and England is offering its Overseas Territory a partnership that depends upon Anguillians contributing to their own upkeep. Colonial funds are, in the Chief Minister's words, drying up quickly, in 2001.

The local paper prophesizes mournfully that independence is inevitable. But, unlike Kittians, who founded labor unions to promote the welfare of the workers, Anguilla cleaves to its single art of resistance: personal and national independence. Historically, both elites and workers have manifested this same form of resistance. Their goal was always to dominate, to have others “give us what we want” without ceding anything in return. Independence has always been linked to the ability to become self-sustaining. But for its entire history, Anguilla has resisted taxes and duties. The islanders have refused to renounce any portions of their personal independence for their national goal of independence. The tension between the individual and the community is greatest where it fails to become a community with a Rousseauian social contract. Independence, so tenaciously pursued, becomes a symptom of the malaise of the society. Individual rights sabotage national hopes. At the core of Anguillian resistance lies an obdurate lack of reciprocity that manifests itself in utter lack of cooperation internally and in external relations. Emigration, matrifocality and smuggling are forms of the serious game of independence that, as usual, depend upon the complicity of others. Land ownership, the source of the independence, is, ultimately, dependent upon relationships with others: family land, gendered division of labor, jollifications. Even the hard lee maneuver in sailing depends upon mutual blinking. The dependency hidden behind the mythos of independent is the hidden narrative, the backstage of Anguilla. The primacy of the individual makes even nationalism conditional, much less regionalism.

The pending offer of British citizenship is viewed with typical Anguillian distrust. Cui bono? Rather than benefiting Anguillians, it is skeptically presumed to enable

Englishmen or the entire European Union to retire to Anguilla and buy out the local landowners. Losing any of their land would be a blow to the Anguillian mythos and identity. Already, Anguilla's economic opportunities have attracted many down islanders seeking work, especially Montserratians displaced by the eruption of their volcano. Anguillians are in an identity crisis. They knew who they were, but they now do not know who they are. This is symbolized by the frequent quizzical comment: "*All the new names.*" The new names are blamed for the rise of violence in the schools and for accepting lower pay in the tourism business. There is self-doubt. The head of a school said that Anguilla had no culture.

Personal independence, as an agenda and strategy, makes social inequality inevitable and can lead, in times of crises, such as famines, to extreme selfishness. But Anguillians also manipulate their dependency to become global players at regional and international conferences. Officials dash from one island to the next to attend meetings sponsored by pan-Caribbean, U.N., OECS, and non-government organizations on topics such as management, computers, tourism, banking, education, and the telephone monopoly. Anguilla is also a "haven for consultants".

Anthropology should be able to answer whether people learn from the past. Anguillians, probably like most people, do not. The meaningful past is personal; the historic past is political. The concept that the personal is political eliminates the need for history. Historians define a nation's heroes, who thus become the embodiment of the nation's values. Anguillian history begins with the Arawaks, as they say, and fast forwards to the 1967 Revolution. Such a radical excision of history eliminates slavery

and white elites: Anguilla becomes a land of black freedom fighters. But history will be able to answer if my hypothesis, based on the past and present, about the future is a true prognosis.

There is one further question. By positioning independence as colonialism's contrariety, have I facilitated dominant discourse? My hope is that I have not. By identifying and deconstructing the dichotomy, I hope to nullify its power to dominate discourse and change the direction of the dialogue. The concept of independence is an atavism. Cui bono? Multinationals.

So, this dissertation ends where it began: the problem of putative mini-states in the *mare Americanum*. Now there is a new global player that also influences all the islands: the European Union of their former colonizers. Is it not a bad strategy to play a serious game of independence on a personal and national level? Instead of resistance being positioned as anti-colonialism, the Anguillian serious game of independence has continued to be a resistance against uniting with their Caribbean peers. Winning the game of independence is a lose-lose situation for Anguilla. If Anguillians continue to take a narrow focus that conflates St. Kitts and England as colonial powers, they will be consigned to remain isolated and dependent. Serious games can be zero-sum games where there is no resolution that satisfies everyone except for those dominant powers who benefit financially from the situation.

*“That trait of independence still runs through the blood....I sometimes wonder if in some cases what the disadvantages were....”*

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