Book Reviews


- Dirk H. van der Elst, Chris de Beet, Aantekeningen over de geschiedenis van de Kwinti en het dagboek van Kraag (1894-1896). Utrecht: Center for Caribbean Studies, University of Utrecht, Bronnen voor de Studie van Bosneger Samenlevingen 6, 1980. 76 pp., Miriam Sterman (eds)


BOOK REVIEWS


Comparative Afro-American is a stimulating, well-produced book. MERVYN ALLEYNE writes with clarity and conviction and, considering his subject matter, with surprisingly little prejudice or rancour. This is a book that synthesises data and theory, that is often provocative but never boring and that will offer information and enlightenment to any reader who has ever been involved in teaching people who use, or have been influenced by, Atlantic pidgins and creoles.

In Comparative Afro-American, ALLEYNE attempts to explore the English-based creoles [i.e. the creoles which derive most of their vocabulary from English] of the Atlantic in much the same way as GOODMAN (1964) did when he compared and contrasted French-based creoles. To a large extent, ALLEYNE achieves this end for the creoles of Suriname, Guyanese Creolese, Jamaican and Sierra Leone Krio, but he does much more. By illustrating and emphasising the African input in all creoles arising from plantation colonies in the New World, ALLEYNE invites the reader to see the similarities in culture as well as in language between all Afro-American communities, irrespective of the language of the colonisers.

Comparative Afro-American has seven chapters, the first four dealing with the comparative method, with comparative phonology, syntax and lexicosemantics; the fifth with creole language studies generally; the sixth and longest with 'The African Base'; and the seventh with 'Intermediate Varieties.' The book begins with an excellent introductory overview by IAN HANCOCK, and includes two useful maps, a good bibliography, fifteen pages of notes and a brief conclusion. The only item to cause confusion is the author's nationality! He is referred to as a Trinidadian on p. ix and as 'a native of Jamaica' on the cover. But, whatever his nationality, ALLEYNE writes with conviction and authority on every creole to which he refers.

In his Introduction, ALLEYNE emphasises the strong cultural and linguistic affinities between Afro-Americans and West Africans. He insists that creole languages should not be seen as linguistic sports but examined within the framework of cultural contact, contact in which influences work both ways. To illustrate his claim of strong, albeit neglected, influence from West Africa on
Afro-Americans, Alleyne selects six creoles, namely Ndjuka, Saramaccan, Sranan (all from Suriname), Krio, Jamaican and Gullah, with all of which he is personally familiar. I am not particularly happy about his inclusion of Krio, the creole lingua franca of Sierra Leone, as an exemplar of Afro-American speech. True, it shares many of the linguistic characteristics of other Atlantic pidgins and creoles, but it is not absolutely comparable with the other five creoles. First of all, we cannot assume that Krio emerged at the same time, “namely, the sixteenth and seventeenth century” (p. 21), or under the same type of New World plantation system. The known facts about Krio’s origins are clearly set out in Hancock’s review article (1981), in which he shows that a variety of coastal Afro-English, very closely related to modern Krio, predated the settlement of manumitted slaves in Freetown. And secondly, the potential for renewed West African influence on Krio was infinitely greater than for the New World creoles. Nevertheless, even if we discount Krio, Alleyne’s evidence reinforces the lesson that creolists have taught other linguists — that languages can and do possess elements derived from more than one source, and that for some languages it is impossible to offer a unique genetic classification.

Chapters 1 through 4 offer a telling inventory of comparisons between West African languages and Afro-American speech forms, comparisons that include an examination of phonetic inventories, vowel harmony, tone and the interaction of tense and aspect in the verb phrase, as well as a section on vocabulary which claims that the Afro-American lexicons and the semantic structures underlying them are the result, not of simplification processes, but “of substitution, massive and rapid... of West African lexemes by English... lexemes” (p. 109). While I agree, in principle, with Alleyne’s claim that West African languages have left an indelible imprint on Atlantic pidgins and creoles, I feel that he occasionally overstates his case. Many of the features he lists do occur in West African languages and in Afro-American creoles, but many also occur in Tok Pisin, the pidginised English of Papua New Guinea as well as in the Papuan vernaculars. Among such shared features are a preference for CVCV patterns, a five or seven vowel system, nasalisation of vowels particularly in the vicinity of nasal consonants, some vowel harmony, an unmarked verb form with tense and aspect being indicated by separate morphemes, verb serialisation, reduplication, marking of plurality by the use of the third person plural pronoun and the tendency to mark sex and generation overtly. Thus in Krio we have man pikin dog for ‘male pup’ and pikonini man dok in Tok Pisin. Such similarities do not negate Alleyne’s claims, but they emphasise the fact that, while many of the features in Afro-American creoles derive from West African languages, some are the result of pidginization processes and others are due to shared features in the contacting languages.

Alleyne’s book splits naturally into two parts, the first four chapters comparative and data-based, and the last three descriptive and speculative. Chapter 5 on “Creole Language Studies” adds little to our knowledge of the subject although its emphasis on the difficulty inherent in defining such concepts as ‘pidgins’, ‘creoles’, ‘simplification’ and ‘expansión’ is salutary. The two final chapters, however — “The African Base” and “Intermediate Varieties” — contain much that is of value. In chapter 6, for example, there is a very original section (p. 154ff) on the possibility that Afro-American items such as alata (rat), alen (rain) and aboma (boa constrictor) may show vestiges of a noun class system characteristic of the Niger-Congo family of languages. And Chapter 7, which could easily have been the subject of a book in its own right, does well to remind
readers that intermediate varieties are not the exclusive property of decreoliza-
tion, but may be considered as stages “in a process of language shift under
extremes of communicative stress” (p. 182).

Comparative Afro-American goes a long way towards refuting the view that the
main linguistic input into Atlantic pidgins and creoles was from the language of
the colonisers. It illustrates clearly the all-pervasive influence of West African
languages on Afro-American varieties of English and is hopeful that they will not
be eradicated but will be used increasingly as a vehicle for the Afro-American
experience which they were created to enshrine.

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Black time: fiction of Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States.
BONNIE J. BARTHOLD. New Haven and London: Yale University
Press, 1981. x + 209 pp. (Cloth US$ 20.00)

This book makes a substantial contribution to the field because of its theoretical
focus and its unique comparative approach. Unlike earlier studies by JANHEINZ
JAHN, which were purely historical, or that of G.R. COULTHARD, which compares
several New World literatures, BARTHOLD’s book situates black fiction in a
broader literary and cultural context.

BARTHOLD’s basic premise is that, for a variety or reasons, certain themes recur
in the literature written by blacks in the English-speaking world on both sides of
the Atlantic. She then goes on to explain why this is so, even though there are
obvious cultural differences between traditional and contemporary West Africa,
and between Africa and the New World.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, entitled “The Historical
Background,” traces the development of two opposing attitudes toward time in
modern black fiction. Cyclic time, characteristic of traditional Africa, and linear
time, characteristic of Western civilization, coexist in the texts that BARTHOLD
analyzes. She relates this literary phenomenon to the black cultural experience
by showing how historical circumstances, such as colonialism and slavery,
affected the conceptualization of time in black societies.

The second section of the book discusses how the duality between cyclic and
linear time affects narrative theme and structure. Basing her analysis on classics
such as WOLE SOYINKA’s The Interpreters, ORLANDO PATTISON’s The Children of
Sisyphus and Ralph Ellison’s Invisible Man, the author explains why the characters’ movements toward a freely chosen future do not represent progress but merely a repetition of previous stages of their existence. Barthold also attributes the use of the multiple point of view in black fiction to the gap between the characters’ desire for a new beginning and their exile from historical time.

In the third section of the book, Barthold examines one representative novel by each of seven writers — Achebe, Lamming, Toomer, Attaway, Armah, Morrison and Soyinka. In each case, the discussion focuses on the characters’ struggle to effect a balance between their inner sense of time and the social concept of time that prevails in their respective worlds. In Barthold’s view, what is common to all seven works is the characters’ futile attempt to overcome the fragmentation of their lives and to insert themselves in a living historical tradition. Her conclusion is that the characters’ struggle parallels the larger social struggle of blacks who are caught between the mythic continuity of the African past and the linear fragmentation of the Euro-American present.

While much of the material in Black time is familiar to students of black literature, Barthold provides a stimulating reinterpretation of her sources by examining the literature as a cultural and philosophical product rather than as an isolated aesthetic phenomenon. At times, the author’s complex sentence structure makes it difficult for the reader to follow her train of thought. A case in point is the following sentence that refers to Gayl Jones’s Corregidora and Alice Walker’s Meridian: “In these books complexity of character precludes the type and lends to celebration an unflinching willingness to face the contingencies of black time, not only in the world but in the female self” (p. 124—25). However, by examining a neglected aspect of black fiction within black literary history and within the larger British and American tradition, Barthold succeeds in providing a coherent new reading of several novels that before were alternately praised and blamed for their artistic form and their social content.

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Research on the Atlantic slave trade has been greatly furthered by a series of international conferences held in Rochester (New York), Copenhagen (Denmark), Colby (Maine), New York (New York), and Aarhus (Denmark), each of which has resulted in a book. The present book is a compilation of the papers presented at Aarhus in 1978.

The book incorporates fifteen papers, divided into four themes, introduced skillfully by Stanley Engerman. Most of the writers are familiar contributors to previous symposia, further examining topics on which they are established authorities. Such compilations are notably uneven; in this instance the United States, the Iberian nations, and Latin America are virtually neglected. There is
but one chapter on France, a major slaving nation; perhaps reflecting the locus of the conference, there are two on the minor nation, Denmark. West Africa, the main source for the Atlantic slave trade, is considered in only two of its minor areas — Senegambia and the Gold Coast — and an essay on imported monies.

"Abolition and the European Metropolis" is the heading of the book's first section. The section actually is an anomaly because it deals not with the book's theme, the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, but with emancipation of slaves by Great Britain. Howard Temperley, in a paper on the ideology of antislavery, asserts that the attack on slavery was the outgrowth of free labor societies, such as those in Great Britain and the United States, where there existed "an already widely held belief that their nations were the custodians of certain values which distinguished them from other nations" (p. 33). This leaves one wondering about emancipation in Haiti, through violence, and in Latin America, as a consequence of the wars of liberation.

Pursuing a second major theme — the broad base of antislavery — Roger Anstey explores theological foundations for the movement, describes the missionary activity in the West Indies, especially of the Methodists, and points to popular pressure for emancipation by 1832. Surveying the public campaign against slavery over the years 1787–1834, James Walvin discerns a widening support for antislavery, from the petition movement of the late 18th century, through the struggle for slave registration, on to new sources of support such as slave insurrection and economic arguments, reaching its full vigor after 1832. Taken together, the three papers illuminate the broad base and the fervor of the antislavery movement in the United Kingdom.

Section Two of the book, "The Impact of Abolition on Africa," opens with an essay by Philip D. Curtin on "The Abolition of the Slave Trade from Senegambia." Of the high quality we are accustomed to expect from Curtin's scholarship, the essay examines such themes as the rise of legitimate trade, the persistence of the slave trade within Africa, and the diversion of incomes within Senegambia, coming to the conclusion that "the end of the slave trade was not very important" (p. 96).

The monetary impact on West Africa of abolition is examined by Jan S. Hogendorn and Henry A. Gemery. They show that abolition caused a sharp drop in monetary growth, followed within decades by a recovery resulting from expansion of commodity exports. They conclude that West Africa enjoyed both a social saving and an economic benefit from abolition. In an insightful essay on abolition in the Indian Ocean, Ralph Austen sees abolition as an expression of Western expansionist ideology. That ideology came into conflict with economic and political goals; even so abolitionists, accepting the need for accommodation, strove to remake the Indian Ocean world in their European image. Edward E. Reynolds, examining abolition and economic change on the Gold Coast, discerns both continuity and change; the work of Christian missionaries in promoting the cocoa industry as a substitute for the slave trade illustrates the difficulty of separating economic from moral motivations.

In Section Three, on the illegal slave trade, David Eltis, considers certain variables about shipping and mortality and concludes that the major impact of abolition came not until the 1830's. Similary, Pieter Emmer finds that the Dutch slave trade ended only with slave registration in 1826. French suppression, at first ineffective and reluctant, at last saw justification in national pride and commercial opportunities, according to Serge Daget.

Companion pieces on the Danish trade by Svend E. Grene-Pedersen and
HANS CHRISTIAN JOHANSEN in Section Four, on American demographic and cultural responses, show that the Danish intent to make the Negro population self-sustaining was based on an overly sanguine interpretation of the St. Croix tax rolls and was never fulfilled. In an outstanding essay on slave demography in the British West Indies, RICHARD B. SHERIDAN concludes that efforts to encourage reproduction and family life were a failure. FRANKLIN W. KNIGHT'S study of the development of Afro-American culture, warning against oversimplification, observes that Africans adapted to the Americas in a variety of ways.

Despite its disproportions, the book holds a unity through the affirmation of several themes: the ideology of emancipation had a broad base, for which neither an exclusively moral or economic explanation is adequate; the impact of abolition on both the illegal trade and Africa was surprisingly slight; attempts to substitute an American-born labor force for African-born workers failed. The result is a group of thoughtful essays from experienced interpreters of the Atlantic slave trade.

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These two volumes deal with hitherto-unexplored branches of the Atlantic slave trade, and as such may be seen as part of the continuing and very impressive response to PHILIP CURTIN'S 1969 call for archival work on that subject. The first details the operation of one of the great chartered monopoly companies which dominated the early history of the trade; the second examines the other end of the competitive spectrum in the form of the activities of slave traders based on Rhode Island, chiefly in the second half of the 18th century. The importance of the two books goes much beyond the fact that they describe between them how fewer than 200,000 of the five million or so involuntary 18th-century African migrants were carried across the Atlantic. This is partly because the Spanish Americas, which recent slave trade research has tended to ignore, were the major destination of both groups of traders examined in the volumes and partly because the business of slave trading is more richly detailed here than in studies of some of the larger branches of the traffic — for example those dealing with the Portuguese trade.

PALMER uses Spanish and British primary sources to outline the British trade to Spanish America both before and after the Asiento was awarded in 1713. Though there is a chapter on interlopers, the nature of the sources dictates that most of the book is concerned with the operation of the South Sea Company
which held the Asiento from 1713 to 1739. There is much new and valuable material on the numbers, prices, ages, coastal origins and American destinations of the slaves and on the diseases to which they were subjected during and after the voyage. In addition, the description here of the tense relationship between the company on the one hand and the Spanish and British colonial authorities on the other has no counterpart in the 70-year-old work of Georges Scelle, on which many historians have been forced to rely for the Asiento. The whole is written in a clear and uncomplicated prose style.

Yet answers to the larger questions are not always clear. Why did the Asiento fall short of expectations for the British, as indeed it did for most other holders? On the profitability issue Palmer treats the company’s own gloomy assessments with proper scepticism, but his conclusion that profits were “better than good” sits uneasily with his comment three pages later that the company was “a commercial anachronism” and that it delivered only half of the slaves it contracted to supply. Likewise, the huge extra profits which the data show to have been available on slaves shipped direct from Africa seem at odds with the company’s choice to supply over three-quarters of its slaves from Caribbean rather than African markets. The price, cost and volume data which have been so diligently assembled here might have allowed the author to move beyond the assessment of “inefficiency” which earlier writers have been quick to resort to when referring to chartered companies in this business.

The Coughtry volume performs a similar path-breaking operation in establishing the direction, composition and organization of the North American carrying trade on the basis of a large body of ship data collected from numerous primary sources. The author does not restrict himself, however, to the business or even the quantifiable aspects of the traffic, but makes extensive use of diaries and personal letters to construct a picture of the lives of owners, officers and crew which will be of interest to social historians. He is also concerned to a degree with locating the trade within the fabric of the economic life and development of Rhode Island, though he avoids here the larger issues raised by Eric Williams in a different context. Despite this, there is a fascinating final chapter on abolition which describes the role of the Quakers, who pursued the slave traders through the courts, but as a matter of principle argued against the imposition of fines and other penalties on those found guilty.

Yet once again, one is left with a slight sense that more could have been achieved with the material. The author is unnecessarily conservative in making a virtue out of the avoidance of any judgment that smacks of a statistical projection or inference. Some readers will be disappointed that Coughtry, though better positioned than any other current scholar, makes no attempt to assess the volume of slave imports into North America and that he ignores the work of scholars such as Fogel and Engerman who have. Likewise, the excellent separate series of slaves imported and rum exported could have been at least correlated. Scattered references to price data might also have been pulled together.

These however are minor concerns. Both volumes represent major advances in areas which in the past have been largely subjects of conjecture. Their publication significantly reduces the schedule of work to be done on the slave trade—the two chief remaining subjects being the Portuguese traffic, particularly in the South Atlantic, and a major work of synthesis which will build on the extensive primary research of the last decade and a half. For with a few exceptions, much of the recent work has tended to avoid the really large questions of the slave trade,
abolition and economic developments on four different continents. The present volumes must bring such a work nearer however.

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Small garden . . . bitter weed is an interpretation of the social, economic, and political history of Jamaica from a socialist perspective. Using the methodology of historical materialism, GEORGE BECKFORD & MICHAEL WITTER skillfully weave a neat historical tapestry which depicts the struggle of the oppressed black masses of Jamaica against their oppressors — the white capitalist colonizers and the Jamaican mulatto petit-bourgeois merchants and manufacturers.

After the Spanish worked the original population of Arawak Indians into extinction, the English colonizers peopled the island with slaves and indentured servants from Africa and Asia to produce sugar for export. This marked the beginning of a protracted conflict between capital and labor as the workers sought to change the relations of production. The aim of the authors is to argue for a complete transformation of the relations of production under which the capitalists initially owned both capital and labor into a socialist system under which the workers own everything. Under the present system of dependent capitalism, the workers are exploited by both foreign and domestic capitalists.

Throughout the book, the State is viewed as an institutional mechanism structured to support the interests of the foreign capitalists and their local clients against those of the black masses. This perception, it is argued, has been supported by the policies of successive post-independence governments to steer the country along a peripheral capitalist development path. To change this, the authors advocate a political revolution so that “the process of socialist transformation in Jamaica [can] shift into high gear” (p. 124). Given the authors’ objective, it is not surprising that they should admire the Michael Manley regime during the latter part of the 1970s for its “struggle against imperialism,” while unflatteringly describing the new Seaga government as “the instrument of a degenerate ruling class that perceived real and imagined threats to their property, status and privilege from the PNP government and the democratic movement it led” (p. 145).

The petit bourgeoisie is depicted as the guardian of the status quo; therefore, any fundamental change in the system must come from the oppressed black masses. Thus, such Jamaican leaders as BUSTAMANTE and NORMAN MANLEY are seen to have ridden on the crest of the working class revolt of the 1930s. According to the authors, “The Colonial Office accepted the leadership of Bustamante and Norman Manley in order to support the dominance of the mulatto petit-bourgeoisie in the emerging anti-colonial movement” (p. 61).

In their attempt to weave a neat historical tapestry of Jamaica’s social,
economic, and political change, Beckford & Witter have taken great license with a number of historical causal relationships. The migration of the black peasantry to the Kingston metropolitan area, for example, is treated as a direct result of their rural displacement by "the inroads of bauxite and tourism" (p. 64). Nothing is said of the role of population growth or of the pull of urban industrial development. The economic hardships of the latter half of the 1970s are attributed directly to the loan conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund: "The IMF seal of approval for external support generated such a massive decline of the standard of living of the working class that internal support [for the Manley government] weakened consistently" (p. 93). Nothing is said of the government's policy errors which helped to reduce the productive capacity of the economy.

Because the authors clearly place the blame for the harsh economic conditions of the black masses of Jamaica on the foreign and local capitalists, as well as on the State which supports them, they make a clear distinction between the capitalist-controlled export industries and the national economy. To the authors, the national economy is the indigenous economy which includes the large numbers of people engaged in various kinds of hustle activities. They argue that dependent capitalism has neglected the development of this indigenous economy and that only when the latter is allowed to develop can national self-reliance and social justice be achieved.

Beckford & Witter are obviously mesmerized by the survival capabilities of those who operate in the indigenous or hustle economy to the extent that they confuse the survival capacity of the individual household with the managerial requirement of the domestic economy: "We assert unequivocally that management is already in plentiful supply. Anybody who doubts the managerial capacities of Jamaicans need only ask themselves how in these times of severe hardship, poor people are able to find food for their children and shoes and bus fares to send them to school — surely a miracle of domestic household management" (p. 111). Given this management capability, the authors argue, "all that is required is people control of the material base of the society and the associated transformation of the social environment" (p. 111). This is an incredibly simplistic perception of what national management is about. Perhaps this explains why the book downplays the serious problems of domestic management the Manley government encountered during the latter half of the 1970s. It also, in a way, reflects the naiveté of some academics regarding the practical management problems involved in the translation of their high-sounding and frequently sweeping ideological arguments into the reality of day-to-day policy making. In spite of the fact that Michael Manley drew heavily on the academic community (including the authors of this book), he abandoned the emergency production plan which they helped him prepare largely because it was unrealistic.

All this aside, the book is fascinating to read. It undoubtedly reflects the authors' thorough familiarity with the social, economic, and political history of Jamaica. Their interpretation of this history, however, shows a disturbing propensity to attribute the country's problems to external causes.

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Reflecting on the impotence of knowledge to effect change in human behavior, FREUD (1910: 225) noted his own "long superseded idea ... that the patient suffers from a sort of ignorance, and that if one removes this ignorance by giving him information (about the causal connection of his illness with his life, about his experiences in childhood, and so on), he is bound to recover." FREUD continues: ". . . such measures have as much influence on the symptoms of nervous illness as a distribution of menu cards in a time of famine has upon hunger." EUGENE BRODY'S "Sex, contraception, and motherhood in Jamaica" is a case description of just such a time of famine.

BRODY, a professor of psychiatry at the University of Maryland Medical School and an analyst trained at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, examines why the widespread availability of contraceptive information and services in Kingston has not led to any decline in the Jamaican birthrate. He goes on to describe the economic and cultural context of reproduction for poor Kingston women (the famine), and the psychological stress and intrapsychic conflicts these women experience (the hunger).

The book reports outcomes of a study of Jamaican fertility-related behaviors that was conducted between February 1972 and April 1975. To "understand the barriers to contraceptive use," BRODY and Jamaican associates conducted interviews in public clinic settings with four samples: 50 sexually active non-contracepting women, 50 late users of contraception with three or more children at the time of first contraceptive request, and 50 early users with zero to two children at the time of first contraceptive request. The researchers intended to interview the mates of these women (150 men), but they were able to locate only ten of them, which suggests both the considerable distance between poor Jamaican women and their partners, and the superiority of ethnographic field research over clinic interviews for this topic. For the fourth sample, brief interviews were conducted with 283 Jamaican men who came to clinics to obtain contraceptives (condoms) for themselves.

In the transformation of these interview materials into variables and gamma correlations, BRODY's goal of "psychoanalytic knowing" is somewhat muted into standard socio-economic description. The women respondents are classified by employment, education, housing, etc., down to the fine points of their knowledge of reproductive physiology and the history of their coital partnerships. Yet in tables and BRODY's often sensitive commentary, the particular characteristics of the Jamaican situation unfold: the dehumanizing physical environment; the harsh and repressive parental response to young girls' displays of sexual interest or concern; the ambivalent and conflictful identification of young girls with their own mothers; the earliness of first intercourse (age 15 for most, with almost one-third of the study women reporting that their first sexual experience was the act of intercourse itself); the median age of first pregnancy at 16; the brief duration of partner relationships and the absence of economic or emotional security with these partners; the burdens of sustaining later children unaided; and the bargaining aspects of sex. In this context sexual intercourse without contraception may be seen, in BRODY's words, as a maladaptive symptomatic act standing "for an underlying process out of awareness... or conscious control". Its repetitive, obligatory quality stems from unconscious motives "such as when feelings of
loneliness, powerlessness, rootlessness, or inexpressible and not fully conscious anger at an important other demand relief and cannot be dealt with by direct action." A menu card of contraceptive pills will not allay this hunger.

On the whole, Brody presents the psychoanalytic perspective with considerable restraint. One would like to have his further reflections on various topics of his discipline, such as the styles of cognition, defense mechanisms and ego strengths of these women. The Jamaican situation would seem to provide a rich case for consideration of current analytic topics such as Kernberg's work (1980) on adolescent sexuality and on relations between the adolescent couple and the surrounding social group. The "yard" setting in which young Jamaican girls begin their partnerships and reproductive careers evokes the large unstructured groups studied by Rice (1965) and Turquet (1975) in which underground, secret couple formation occurs as a direct reaction to and temporary defense against group processes.

The psychoanalytic tradition often appears ethnocentric in its insularity. Brody's contribution is a tactful and thoughtful effort to enlarge that tradition.

REFERENCES


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Religious cults of the Caribbean: Trinidad, Jamaica and Haiti.

Dr. Simpson is a disciple of Herskovits and in the tradition of his famous master dedicated his life to the study of Afro-American religions in the Caribbean, with special emphasis on the Shango Cult of Trinidad. His first investigations of acculturation in terms of cultural re-interpretation, retention and syncretism in these religious movements date back to the early 1940s. His pioneering work caught the attention of scholars in all parts of the world, especially in the 60s
when Afro-American studies were very “in”. In 1965 the *Shango Cult in Trinidad* was published, and in 1970 a new edition of this work added chapters on Jamaican revivalism and RasTafari, as well as on Haitian voodoo.

The new revised edition (1980) contains two more chapters — one on the Kele-Shango cult of St. Lucia and another on Afro-American religion and religious behavior, which sums up the empirical findings and adds a cross-cultural dimension to the previous, largely descriptive chapters on Jamaica, Haiti and Trinidad. Half of the new book is dedicated to the Shango and Shouter Church in Trinidad and gives us excellent insights into these two cults/sects. While Shango is based on the religion of the Yoruba of Nigeria, the Shouter Church has its roots in Baptist Protestantism, with a strong admixture of African beliefs and rites. It is of interest that similar Christian movements have developed in West Africa from similar roots in recent decades. The author observed the Shango Cult over a long period of time. After he first published some of his papers, many other scholars worked in the same field, and Simpson was able to compare his own findings with the research of others. He describes all aspects of the movements — the powers and their association with Catholic saints, the rites, the status of leaders and the importance of healing and conjuring, thus stressing the utilitarian aspects of the cult, which is also an African trait.

The second part of the book contains papers on Afro-American religion in Jamaica which deal with revivalism and the RasTafari Movement. Voodoo in Haiti was observed by the author already in 1936 for the first time. Most of the material used by Simpson in the elaboration of these chapters dates back to the 1940s and 50s. The most recent material on the Kele cult in St. Lucia derived from a relatively short visit to the island in the 1970s.

Although some of the material might be outdated today, it is very important for a new generation of fieldworkers to compare their own findings with the documents collected 30 or 40 years ago. Religious, psychological and social dimensions may change rapidly with modernization and outside influences. From my own experience with the Cult of María Lionza in Venezuela, which I have observed over the past 20 years, I can say that Afro-American religions are dynamic movements that are open to new teachings and rites and adapt to the changing needs of a society in socio-economic development. The new edition of Simpson’s standard work should be welcomed by scholars interested in the religions of the Caribbean area and may greatly help researchers in their fieldwork.

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Hasta 1973 los procesos de rebelión de esclavos negros y la formación de sus sociedades cimarronas en las Américas no habían captado la atención de los investigadores norteamericanos, entre otras causas — dice Richard Price — porque muchos datos importantes sobre el fenómeno se hallaban en idiomas distintos al inglés. Philip Curtin, historiador del tráfico de esclavos en el Nuevo Mundo ha señalado otra causa, válida en su propio campo: “la tradición parroquial de la historia nacional etnocéntrica.” Esta, como transplante de Europa a América, ha enfocado restringida y sesgadamente el proceso histórico en el cual grupos distintos a los de Occidente se tratan en un esquema fortuito, cuando no falso.

En este lado del mundo puede añadirse, que el problema se recrudece frente a “la tradición editorial etnocéntrica metropolitana” de Estados Unidos y Europa. En tanto que volúmenes apreciables de conocimiento científico se publican en inglés, sus traducciones en español pueden demorarse uno o dos decenios. Como contrapartida, las obras en español pueden llegar a no traducirse jamás. Así, la comunicación creativa entre estudiosos se torna utopía.

Por ello, Sociedades Cimarronas de Richard Price, editado en México, es una brecha en la barrera de variados etnocentrismos. No obstante, casi diez años debieron transcurrir entre la aparición de Maroon Societies: rebel slave communities in the Americas y su publicación en español.

Price reúne, en esta edición, quince contribuciones de varios autores sobre comunidades cimarronas, llamadas también palenques, quilombos, mocambos, cumbes o maroons. Los organiza en cinco áreas historico-geográficas: la América Española, el Caribe Francés, Brasil, Jamaica y las Guayanas. Las fechas originales de los artículos van de 1952, un escrito sobre palenques en Cuba, hasta 1970 con la narrativa de un viaje de jefes cimarrones de Suriname al África Occidental. Incluye además, segmentos de un diario de combate de un soldado en comisión de guerra contra los negros en Suriname en 1772 y un fragmento singular de historia oral de los cimarrones sobre acciones guerrilleras en esa misma región. Aunque estos dos documentos no son destacados especialmente por Price, la inclusión es uno de los puntos brillantes de su libro. Tal es el tipo de documentación que los estudios de cimarrones necesitan con urgencia.

La edición en español incluye además el epílogo y la actualización de la bibliografía publicada sobre el tema en el periodo entre su primera y segunda edición en inglés de 1979.

Pero el capítulo más importante del libro es la introducción. Price construye una urdimbre de comparación analítica, sólida, amplia y multidimensional que está destinada a servir de apoyo a muchos trabajos durante un futuro extenso. Sobre esa urdimbre y con las colaboraciones del libro, Price trama el desarrollo de la formación cimarrona en el marco colonial esclavista de Europa en América. Es indudable que su gran preocupación por entender la alquimia en la forja cultural afroamericana queda plasmada en este capítulo.

En efecto, una perspectiva de creatividad del negro en América modela su explicación de nuevas formas socio-culturales. Una de ellas, la cimarrona. En el
proceso — señala — hay transformación, elaboración e innovación de la tradición africana, de la indígena y de la europea. Pero el análisis de Price está cuajado de inquietudes. No se conforma con aludir al quilombo de Palmares como un Estado, a los cimarrones de Jamaica organizados en una Federación o citar a bandas como la de André en la Guayana Francesa para mostrar un perfil variado de su elaboración politico-militar. Price urge a los estudiosos sobre la necesidad de una pesquisa en la articulación socio-económica, guerrillera e ideológica que debieron tener las sociedades cimarronas. Y también sobre el proceso de su transformación o disolución.

Claro que un número apreciable de trabajos recientes, algunos estimulados por su misma publicación, han respondido con creces a las inquietudes de Price. Para citar un ejemplo, las estrategias de huida y enfrentamiento cimarrón que aparecen diáfanas en la introducción, han sido vertidas por el venezolano Germán Carrera Damas en una interpretación política reivindicativa para el negro contemporáneo. Así, en el marco de un cimarronaje cultural, las estrategias de huida y enfrentamiento pueden explicar la participación actual del negro en la lucha de las clases sociales. Cuando el prejuicio de las clases dominantes hacia el negro reprime su ascenso socio-económico, éste adopta temporalmente valores “blancos”. Pero tras del mismo objetivo, él puede enfrentarseles validando sus tradiciones negro africanas.

El Colombia, al destacarse masivamente la epopeya guerrillera y libertaria de los palenques, sus creaciones lingüísticas y sociales, la imagen estereotipada del negro empieza a desdibujarse — no solo entre el público general, sino entre los mismos negros. En Brasil, el quilombismo como cimarronaje político contemporáneo es una propuesta que al actualizar puntos ideológicos del fenómeno seguramente provocará enfrentamientos.

Pienso que Price ha logrado avivar el estudio del cimarronaje o movimiento guerrillero no como una cuestión del pasado en el Nuevo Mundo. Ciertamente, la vigencia de la guerrilla y un cimarronaje contemporáneo en algunos de nuestros países, es una respuesta a desigualdades sociales y económicas y a violación de derechos humanos — situaciones, éstas, que igualmente apremiaron la formación rebelde de palenques, quilombos o maroons.

En el ámbito de Latinoamérica, trabajos como este de Richard Price, al trascender las bardas etnocéntricas, se constituyen en puentes no solo entre el ayer y el presente, sino entre distintos mundos.

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Jean Fouchard’s award-winning book, The Haitian Maroons, consummates a moldy controversy in the study of resistance to slavery in Saint-Domingue. Fouchard distinguishes two major schools in that sub-field. The first, which he calls “Haitian” (though it includes some French historians), stresses the inherent
harshness of the slave system, and regards the quest for freedom as the major cause of marronage. Explicitly or not, that school also ties maroon activities — including their very flight — to the general slave uprising of 1791 which eventuated in the 1804 independence of Haiti. The second school, represented mainly by French-born historians, sees marronage as an "accident" of the system, occasionally provoked by the extreme cruelty of some masters, unbearable work conditions, lack of food, etc. Within that view, the "desire" for freedom was hardly a cause of marronage: when and if the harsher edges of the system were softened, slavery was indeed bearable. The role of the historian then becomes one of isolating the variables that provoked the greatest number of flights among those "sick" or "disturbed" slaves. Fouchard's judgment on that perspective is unequivocal: "Cut-rate psychoanalysis" (p. 90). And since French historians have stressed the Haitians' paucity of documentary evidence, Fouchard sets for himself the task of confirming, with the most massive compilation of facts, the claims hitherto based on pride and logic, and engages in combat "for the honor of the Haitian school" (p. 106).

The argument is extremely powerful in its simplicity: if one can accumulate cases of marronage numerous and diverse enough to rescind the notion of its incidentalness, then the flight from plantation life stands as an endemic feature of the system, and the "desire" for freedom — however qualified — remains the major commonality among maroons of all kinds. One need not dismiss the "classic" causes; they simply do not exhaust the breath of the phenomenon. Fouchard digs up his evidence from no less than 48,000 announcements of runaway slaves in flight, in jail or on sale after capture, made by the masters and scattered in hundreds of issues of 22 colonial newspapers from 1764 to 1793. These numbers carry their weight and impelled Gabriel Debién, the dean of French historians of Saint-Domingue, to salute the book as "an event in the field of history investigation." Trinidad-born C.L.R. James, author of the classic Black Jacobins (1938), assures us, in his preface, of the book's "place among the historical masterpieces of the age." Indeed, by sheer accumulation, Fouchard succeeds in showing that maroons were of all ages, all origins, all shades, ranging from the "Bossale" who escaped the very day of his arrival to the privileged Creole, born on the plantation, who fled after years of service without "apparent" motive. One would have liked to see more systematization in that presentation, of the kind that Fouchard presents in an extremely useful table of the slave trade, by far the most valuable documentation to date on slave arrivals in Saint-Domingue (p. 123-141). But such tabulations must have been very difficult, given Haitian historians' total lack of institutional support. The book bends, at times, under the weight of its documentation, but its redundancy did not tire this reader whenever it went beyond the announcements themselves to flesh out the diversity of the maroon population. With The Haitian Maroons, an approach to resistance in Saint-Domingue fulfills its promises.

But the vindication of the Haitian school should not cloak the fact that the notion of freedom in se is a fairly recent invention of Western liberal thought, always qualified by practice despite the claims actuated by ideologues of both the French and North American Revolutions. Thus to impose freedom as an abstract notion to the collective consciousness of Saint-Domingue's slaves may, ironically, take away some of the credit due to their ingenuity. Maroons built specific visions of life beyond the plantation, and they fashioned strategies to implement their conflicting goals within the totalitarian context of a slave society. One would like to know the differences in the alternatives open to — and
the choices made by — those who formed camps in the mountains versus those who lingered around towns, or those who openly advocated the overthrow of the system in 1691, 1758, 1786, and 1791. I have suggested elsewhere that the latter groups seem confined in the Northern part of the colony, where topography, demography and military balance curtailed the establishment of permanent camps (Trouillot 1977). But surely, more detailed studies are needed on the uses to which runaway slaves put their freedom, and fruitful comparisons could be drawn with other colonies (Price 1976, 1979; Kopff 1976). Further, a definite break imposes itself with the dramatic changes in the context of maroonage brought by the 1791 general uprising and the 1793 Proclamation of Freedom. Henceforth, the extent of maroon contribution to the rebellion must be dealt with empirically, especially since Manigat (1977) has provided a potent framework for that research. Finally, as Fouchard readily admits, many maroon bands refused to join the "regular" revolutionary army, some fought against it, and others endured long after the 1804 independence. To the best of our knowledge, Haiti's last maroon leader disappeared in the 1820's when his troops were disbanded by the Haitian government. Now that Fouchard has substantiated the quest for Freedom it remains to be shown what such freedom signified to different strata of a variegated mass.

The Haitian Maroons: Liberty or Death introduces English readers to the Haitian school of history through one of its most prestigious representatives. C.L.R. James' preface deserves notice, as almost everything else this veteran of the earliest wars has written since the 1930's. To be sure, well-seasoned academics will find the whole package a bit too flamboyant, especially since A.F. Watts' carefully woven translation preserves the rhythm and the fervor which characterize the Haitian school and contributed to the laudatory reception of the original French version of Les Marrons de la Liberté in 1973. But in Haiti, history was never a career: it is still, as Fouchard's title reminds us in reviving the old slave saying, a matter of "Liberty or Death."

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Ensayos de sociología Dominicana. José del Castillo. Prologue
by Harry Hoetink. Santo Domingo: Ediciones Siboney,
Colección Contemporáneos 4, 1981. iv + 210 pp. (Paper
US$5.00)

This series of essays, first published in the local press during 1980, is grouped into
three uneven divisions: Politics, Society and History. The weight is found in the
essays written on contemporary themes, and this may explain why the logical
order of presentation is reversed. Nevertheless, as a historian, I read the last
section first and continued with the essays on the society before delving into the
analysis of contemporary politics. As a result of this unorthodox approach, I
confirmed that the author operated from a solid historical knowledge, demon-
strated incisive and sound understanding of his people and their problems, and
was an astute political analyst who brought clarity and objectivity to the often-
passionate study of politics. By the time I reached the end of the first part of the
book, and the end of my assignment, I was a fervent admirer of the author.

José del Castillo, a young professor and social scientist at the Autonomous
University of Santo Domingo, has carried out extensive research in document-
ary material available on the recent history of the Dominican Republic. His
previous work has been based on material gleaned from the U.S. Consular
Reports and published in various journals and academic collections. Harry
Hoetink, who wrote a prologue to the book, is fully justified in bringing this
scholar's work to the attention of Caribbeanists.

The middle section on Dominican society also concentrates on the movement
of people and the strain and stress this brings to the society. It discusses the
Dominican emigrant to the United States and the problems faced by the
undocumented migrant who still longs to visit periodically his homeland. The
grossly brutal exploitation of the Haitian migrant, enslaved and mistreated on
the sugar plantations, is placed in proper historical perspective and possible
solutions are studied. Racial prejudice in Dominican society is unmasked and,
through the words of Joaquín Balaguer, the prejudice of the elite is clearly
demonstrated. Finally, there is a section on internal migration and the growth of
the urban areas of the Republic.

The strength of the book is undoubtedly in the first section on politics, which
takes up about fifty percent of the publication. It is most refreshing to read an
objective, dispassionate, but highly lucid and accurate analysis of the Dominican
political picture. This section analyzes the rise and deterioration of the political
power of Joaquín Balaguer, the rise of the political power of José Francisco
Peña Gómez, the discarding of Juan Bosch, the strength of the Dominican
Revolutionary Party and the inevitable victory of the ruling political coalition of
rural elite and urban masses. So on target is del Castillo that he has docu-
mented the rise of the president-elect Salvador Jorge Blanco easily two years
before his recent success.
It should be clear by now that the term *sociología* in the title does not mean the same as the North American word sociology. However, in this work and others by this author, the objectivity and scientific training is reflected in the high quality of the essays. The writer has done his research, and he confronts his society with detachment and without identifiable prejudices. The book is well worth serious academic attention.

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In the preface to this innovative study, **Andrés Serbin** describes himself as a Gramscian anthropologist interested in the historical dynamics of post-colonial Caribbean society. For his demonstration of the methodology, **Serbin** picks Guyana, a country of considerable interest to the Venezuelans who will constitute his primary audience. **Gramsci**'s special contribution to political theory is his concept of hegemony, i.e., that combination of techniques (involving both force and consensus-building) by which one political class persuades other classes in a society to accept its own moral, political, and cultural values.

The task **Serbin** gives himself is a complicated one, as the dominator/dominated dimension of colonial hegemony in Guyana is compounded by ethnic conflict within the world of the dominated. Nevertheless, **Serbin** skillfully demonstrates the relevance of **Gramsci** to the culturally pluralistic Caribbean. The data in his chapters are organized to demonstrate (1) the historical imposition and impact of the dominant (British) ideology on each of Guyana's ethnic groups, (2) the reaction of the latter, including the development of counter "ethnic ideologies," (3) the agents (*espacios*) of hegemonic or counterhegemonic ethnic socialization (i.e., family, religion, religious associations, and unions), (4) the hegemonic ideological apparatus of the state (through its control over education and the media), and (5) the post-war and on-going political party struggle over ethnic and national ideology.

Critical to the approach **Serbin** uses is his concept of "ethnic ideology." A working definition of this phenomenon is found in the following quote: "... [I]n the colonial context, a series of unstructured (diffuse) ethnic ideologies were developed, principally constituted by ethnic stereotypes and attitudes about the dominant European group and the other subordinated ethnic groups. These ideologies were generated from among various factors: the survival of ties with the original culture, the particular place (*inserción*) of the group economically and socially in the colonial society and the impact of the dominant ideology and culture on the pattern of each group's differing process of acculturation " (p. 116). Up until the 1940s, **Serbin** argues, the Portuguese, Chinese, and "Afro-
Guyanese" accepted Britain's moral, cultural, and political ideology, while the "Indo-Guyanese" and Amerindians stood apart, rejecting it.

In such global characterizations, one loses some of the fluidity, borrowing, and struggle over socialization that doubtless occurred. For example, such characterizations do not help us to understand how the Afro-Guyanese could move quickly from one column ("accepting dominant ideology") to the other ("accepting counter ideology"). Nor do they help to explain the internal transformation (or the extent thereof) of the counter-ethnic ideology among East Indians in the 1940s and 1950s, moving from defensive protection of their cultural institutions to (at least partial) endorsement of Cheddi Jagan's Marxist-Leninism. Part of the problem may be the author's treatment of ethnic groups as if they were corporate and/or homogeneous entities. Given the scope of his inquiry, this may have been a convenient didactic shorthand to use, but the reader's curiosity is nonetheless aroused by the instances of individuals "crossing the aisle" to cooperate with political parties of ethnic groups other than their own. What brought them to do it?

Thanks to the British interference with self-government in the 1950s and sabotage (with U.S. help) of the Cheddi Jagan government in the 1960s, counter-hegemonic ethnic ideologies have proliferated, sponsored by the People's Progressive Party (stripped to its East Indian base after a promising multi-racial debut), the People's National Congress (Forbes Burnham's Black section of the old PPF), the African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa, the Indian Political Revolutionary Association, and the 1974 merger of these last two in the Working People's Alliance under Walter Rodney. Serbin clearly laments the turbulent factionalism in the system (including the murder of Rodney, noted in a postscript), and in his treatment of the institutions of social control he makes it clear that the PNC has become the new hegemonic political class, sustaining or inspiring the others in their political reactions.

If there is a shortcoming in Gramscian anthropology, as demonstrated here, it might be its limited attention to economic and political dependency in its international context. For example, there is little here on the economic and political behavior and impact of Booker Brothers, Alcan, and Reynolds, or the fate of these in the hands of the PNC government. And the events of 1962–64 were handled with disappointing brevity. These criticisms notwithstanding, the book offers a useful introduction to many dimensions of Guyanese society and politics.

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"[This] is not a typical academic's account of discovering an uncivilized and backward black tribe. We discovered an experience, we discovered friends and family, we discovered ourselves" (p. xix). So it is that Counter gives promise of an ethnographic account of Suriname's Maroon societies in which, perhaps, as Victor Turner puts it, "Barriers between self and other, head and heart, conscious and unconscious, history and autobiography, have been thrown down..." But this initial promise goes unfulfilled. It soon becomes apparent that the authors are seeing the bush through the tinted lenses of an Afro-United States cultural nationalism of the 1960's (not an unpardonable perspective in itself), but without the care of scholarship that might justify either the work's ideological bias or its ethnographic pretensions.

The pilgrimage into the bush bears some of the marks of an exoticising anthropology of earlier decades. We follow the authors by photographs and text from the hot, but paved, traffic-filled streets of Paramaribo to the remote reaches of Suriname's jungle interior — several days' journey by canoe along piranha-infested rivers. The journey has its rewards, however, for here live peoples "... purely African and isolated from the outside world" (p. 32). The folk we come upon are insulated from modernity by both space and time: "At that moment it seemed that for every mile we had traveled into the rain forest we had traveled back about a year in time, until we had gone back more than two centuries" (p. 33).

The authors sustain the impression throughout that ritual, family organization, woodcarving, and much else have long existed in the timeless, undifferentiated state in which they come to discover them. They go so far as to chide their brothers in the Old World for not having held to their traditions quite so tenaciously: "We wondered just how West Africans would react to seeing the Surinam bush people, who had held on to their ancient traditions better than most nations on the African continent today" (p. 55). Even such tell-tale evidence of change and interaction with the outside world as outboard motors, axes, and the bright fabrics used to fashion the clothes that the forest dwellers pictured throughout the book are wearing, are only briefly remarked upon. Only on subsequent visits are the authors prepared to acknowledge change, but even then their analysis is unsophisticated: "They are losing control of their lives and their livelihood" (p. 263).

Counter, a biologist, and Evans, an admissions officer — both of Harvard — take several jabs at anthropology, and in particular at "white" anthropology. This is all well and good; critical self-scrutiny has become one of the most profitable directions taken by anthropological writing in the last two decades. In this case, however, the authors only damage their own credibility in their effort to denigrate the work of other (unnamed) scholars. It is inaccurate to imply as they do (p. xvii) that European and American anthropologists who have done research among the Suriname Maroons have all focussed on groups near the coast and on the periphery of Bush Negro societies. Moreover, some of the very scholarship they discount would have helped them establish more convincingly the nature of the cultural links between Africa and the Suriname Maroons.

What we have from Counter & Evans are assertions of cultural continuities unsupported by careful proof; indeed we are often left to take on faith the
existence of the parallel West African elements. They assume, moreover, that similarities of form are sufficient to establish the African origin of particular cultural features. By contrast, other scholars have pointed out that formal resemblances can also be traced to other world areas; that some seemingly African forms have developed in Suriname quite independently; that there has been constant change in Bush Negro societies which can be traced in artistic production and social organization; and that it is to underlying ideas of values and aesthetics that we need look for African continuities in the New World — ideas that place a high value on the constant transformation of cultural form. By neglecting such work COUNTER and EVANS do a disservice to Afro-American scholarship.

_I Sought My Brother_ does have certain nascent qualities that might have been developed into important statements. The authors pick up on elements of values and artistic style that resound with black culture in the United States: the similarities between Bush Negro ritual and the gospel choir (p. 209) is but one instance of this. Such intuitive insights, however, are not developed. Similarly, a fuller treatment of ethnobotany, or of the important relations between Afro-American and Indian communities of the rain forest, could have made a significant contribution to the understanding of these societies. Instead, COUNTER & EVANS are content to be myth makers, inventing the Suriname Maroons as authentic Africans on an 18th-century set who have waited just long enough to be filmed and marketed to an eager North American audience.

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_Bijdragen tot de kennis van de kolonie Suriname, tijdvak 1816 tot 1822._

There are only a few reliable sources on the social history of Suriname in the first half of the 19th century, written by persons living at that time. One such manuscript is the memoirs of ADRIAAN FRANÇOIS LAMMENS, who lived in the Dutch colony of Suriname for almost twenty years. LAMMENS, who was born in 1767 in Vlissingen (The Netherlands), left for Suriname in 1816 where he held several positions at the Court, including President of the Court of Civil and Criminal Justice. In 1835, he returned to The Netherlands and settled in The Hague, where he died in 1847.

LAMMENS' memoirs consist of seventeen volumes, one of which (number 13) is entitled "Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Kolonie Suriname." This volume provides a valuable description of Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, and of its population — both blacks and whites. The book contains a variety of information on mating behaviour, fertility, mortality, income, occupations, ethnic divisions, slave houses and local markets. The description of the daily activities of the slaves who carried their produce to the local markets in Paramaribo is especially interesting. According to LAMMENS, the growth of these
activities was caused by the urbanization which developed at the expense of plantation agriculture. In this connection he also mentions the fact that many Negroes were loitering aimlessly in the streets of Paramaribo (p. 53–55).

Referring to the stagnant economic development of Suriname, he blames the mother country, The Netherlands, for discouraging the development of small industries in the colony. “The Government has never encouraged the establishment of small industries for fear that they would develop at the expense of the interests of the mother country” (p. 61; see also p. 146). To support his claim that conditions for the development of local industry were good, LAMMENS provides an overview of occupations and salaries in Suriname, showing that the skilled labour required for small industries was readily available.

Concerning the allegedly-open hospitality in Suriname, LAMMENS’ statements are not clear. “. . . the fact that a stranger with a high position in society is treated well when [because] one [the host] can benefit from it . . ., this I do not regard as hospitality: self-interest is [probably] the motive” (p. 64). On the next page he claims, however, that “. . . if someone has fallen on evil days, then everyone is willing to help.”

LAMMENS’ statement that it was the slave women who carried the produce of the slaves’ provision ground agriculture to the local market in the capital (p. 78; see also pp. 113, 195) is surprising. Preliminary results of recent archival study suggest that male marketers were replaced by females only after the abolition of slavery. Nevertheless, his remarks on this theme are of importance in view of the developments which took place in other slave societies such as Haiti and Jamaica.

The same holds for the introduction of steammills for the processing of sugar cane at the beginning of the 19th century. His conclusions on the mortality-reducing effect of the introduction of these mills for the slave population (p. 148) raises questions for anthropologists and demographers interested in comparative analysis of the New World slave societies. LAMMENS’ explanation of the growing number of sexual unions between white men and coloured women — which points to the shortage of white women (p. 57) — is naïve. On page 91 he states that this habit “still occurs in spite of the fact that the number of white women has increased considerably.” LAMMENS seems not to have been aware that the sexual unions he referred to were rather common in Suriname at that time, at least for the white overseers on the plantations.

Thanks to the editor, Dr. G.A. de BRUIJNE, this important source of valuable information on Suriname can reach a wide audience.

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Volume 6 in the series Bronnen voor de studie van Bosneger samenlevingen (Sources for the study of Bush Negro societies) has a 33-page review of the most trenchant archival and ethnographic evidence on the varied antecedents of the Kwinti Maroons of Suriname, their emergence in the 1850's as a vassal population of the Matawai Maroons, and their (re)settlement in the Coppename River area. Kraag's diary is next reproduced in nearly 13 pages of regularized Sranan Tongo, followed by just over 13 pages of Dutch translation. Appendix A (24 pp.) copies Helstone's missionary report (printed in Suriname in 1947) on "What the Gurinti or Koffimakka Negroes tell about their origins." Appendix B (7 pp.) reprints an 1895 article from the German mission on "Coppenkrissie in the heathen bush, a small plant from the Heavenly Father." There are also maps, a bibliography and a glossary. With the exception of Kraag's diary, the volume is in Dutch.

The Kwinti are the smallest and least understood of the six Bush Negro tribes, not least because both the Coppename and the Saramacca River branches report three distinct accounts of their beginnings. De Beet & Sterman report evidence to support at least two of these theses, and reach the following conclusions on Kwinti provenience: Slaves along the De Canje River revolted in 1763 and fled their plantations. Their success ignited a rebellion among slaves on Berbice plantations. People from both areas escaped eastwards to the Corantine River, and drove off the government postholder who was stationed there. These were to be the ancestors of the Kwinti. By December of 1764, the insurgents — who at one point numbered over 1000 — had been suppressed, the original instigator had committed suicide, and other leaders had been executed. Because official attention remained focused on Berbice instead of on the Corantine (which today separates Guyana and Suriname), the runaways in the Corantine region enjoyed a period of relative safety during which they may have joined up with a non-pacified Maroon population living in the Coppename region.

The introductory chapter further traces the gradual process by which the Kwinti settled among the Matawai, and their disenchantment when Noah Adrai, the estranged brother of the fabled Maroon prophet, Johannes King, became the new and despotic grannman (chief) of the Matawai. It documents the reasons for the bitter hostility between Alamu and Akettimoni, leaders of the Kwinti who fled to the Coppename, and the largely unwritting role of the Moravian mission in the rise and fall of Coppenkrissie and the power of Christianity on the river.

Kraag's diary and the appendices are implicit illustrations of the failure of the missionaries in their competition with a religion they did not understand. The Moravian Brethren's Paul Wehle was instrumental in the appointment of Christiaan Kraag (a Bush Negro convert whose tribal affiliation is not mentioned) as native evangelist to the Kwinti in 1894. By 1900, the redoubtable Kraag had baptized almost everyone in Coppenkrissie, Wehle had baptized the last four heathen in Kaaimanson, and only seven heathen were left in pagan Bitagron. The mission's reports were ecstatic: "The attitude of the evangelist Christiaan towards the congregation is apparently sound and blessed. He carries out his task with conviction, and possesses the necessary gifts and the requisite
steadfastness of character" (p. 70). Three years later, however, interest in the
new religion had evaporated; church and school were ignored; the Kwinti were
riven with internal political strife; and the evangelist was effectively being
starved out. KRAAG was recalled, and for seven years there was no Christian
mission on the Coppename. In 1910, however, when it had become obvious that
the Djuka were successfully re-converting the Kwinti to traditional Bush Negro
beliefs, a new evangelist was sent to the then-dominant village of Kaaimanston,
where church and school have been maintained since, albeit in competition with
Catholic missionaries and representatives of various native cults.

This volume is not a perfect production. The introduction, really the in-
tellectual heart of the work, is somewhat repetitious, and there are a few mistakes,
such as a date of 1800 rather than 1900 for the settlement of Makajapingo (p. 15)
and an implication that 1908 precedes 1896 (p. 30, footnote 4). The essential
elements in the puzzle of Kwinti provenience are not resolved: we still do not
know what relationships if any existed among their ancestors, the people of
JERMES, and those of GOLIATH. Both of the latter, like the escapees from Berbice
and De Canje, had reason to avoid the Matawai and the Saramacca.

But these are quibbles. The fact that the very evidence which DE BEET &
STERMAN present encourages alternative interpretations can only underscore the
inestimable service which their archival research and scholarship perform. Bush
Negro societies have unique and vigorous characteristics which students of New
World cultures are only now learning to appreciate for their comparative as well
as intrinsic value. The only major improvement required for this monograph
(and indeed, for this series) is its translation into English.

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separate accounts should be made public — one about commercial activities, the other concerning military activities. As a Cerro de Pasco Corporation before its time, the company combined its military task with its commercial expansion — not in the mountains of Latin America, but on the shores of Africa and the West Indies.

As an intermezzo, Kunst deals, in Chapter V, with two important international problems in the period around 1800. The first, the process of decolonialization which was so important in 19th-century Latin America, was insignificant for the Dutch colonial regions in the West Indies. The second, the abolition of slavery, was a subject for deep reflection in the colonies and the metropolis, resulting in abolition only in 1863.

The last and longest chapter (about 100 pages, compared with about 20 to 30 for the other chapters) is also the most important and original. It gives a detailed account of the history of law in the Netherlands Antilles, beginning with the 17th century and ending in 1869. Kunst offers an abundantly documented story of Dutch colonial government and colonial administration of justice, subdivided in three main periods — the period up to the Napoleonic Wars, the years until 1815, including a period of British Rule, and finally the 19th century. A highly important development was the very late introduction of the modern codification of law in the Netherlands Antilles. In the metropolis, that process of modernization was already realized under Napoleonic rule. The inconsistency within the system of law of the Dutch kingdom was very clear. So was the reason why. The principle of personal freedom, an important element in the new system of law, was incompatible with the existence of slavery on the Netherlands Antilles, so the old law should be, and was, used in the colony until the abolition of slavery in 1863. Professor Kunst also gives a very interesting description of the historical genesis of the separation between the functions of the executive, legislature, and judiciary in the Netherlands Antilles. Here, a decisive point was reached in 1869, with the establishment of a newly organized and independent judiciary, with different courts.

Finally, I would like to make some critical remarks. From the title, one might expect a book with a broad scope in time, region, and subject — describing a long period from the 16th to the 19th century, a complex region with a complex historical development, and a wide subject, covering the history of law, commerce, and colonialism. It is no wonder that Professor Kunst cannot give us a satisfying analysis on so broad a subject within one book. So, in fact, he concentrates on the Netherlands Antilles (and not Suriname), especially on legal and juridical questions. Therefore, another (less pretentious) title focused on the two dominant elements — the Netherlands Antilles and the history of law — might have been more appropriate. In fact, the first five chapters, interesting though they are, are an extensive introduction to the long chapter on the history of the Netherlands Antilles.

My more serious criticism is that this book lacks a central problem, as a point of reference for the reader and the author. The text begins, without problem or framework, with the story of the discovery of America, and ends very suddenly with some details about administration of justice on the Netherlands Antilles. There is no conclusion, no synthesis, and this is a problem throughout the whole text. There is an abundance of facts, justified with a fine academic apparatus. But a systematic analysis and synthesis of the presented facts would have strengthened the book.

These critical remarks notwithstanding, Professor Kunst has written a most
important book. It is a rich source for the history of law of the Netherlands Antilles, offers many important facts about the government and administration of justice over an extensive period and demonstrates very clearly how the important decisions on these subjects were prepared and taken by the government in the metropolis.

NOTES

1. See article XVI: "Datmen alle ses Jaeren sal maecken generaele Reeckeninge van alle vuytreedingen ende retouren, mitsgaders van winste ende verlies van de Compaignie, Te weeten een van de negotie, ende een vander Oorloge elck apart" (KUNST p. 328).

2. See MANUEL SCORZA’s Redoble por Rancas, a novel on the commercial and military penetration of a multinational in the Andes region of Peru between 1950 and 1962.

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Antilliana. WILLIAM CHARLES DE LA TRY ELLIS. (Edited by J.E. SPRUIT and E. VOGES, and distributed under the auspices of the University of the Netherlands Antilles). Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1981. 206 pp (Paper Dfl. 24.00)

In 1977, the well-known and highly-regarded Curacao jurist, W. CH. DE LA TRY ELLIS, died at the age of 95. For years he had been a member of the highest court on his native island, the Hof van Justitie (Court of Justice); in the last years before his retirement in 1934, he had served as presiding judge. In addition he was for many years a member of the legislative assembly of the Colony Curacao, the Koloniale Raad (Colonial Council) and the advisory boards of the Governor. After his retirement he was still involved in several ways in the political decision-making on Curaçao.

DE LA TRY ELLIS spent much of his time, especially in the 1940’s, studying the history of Curacao and of the Caribbean in general. This resulted in a number of articles, which for the greater part were published in the little-known periodical, Lux, that was printed on Curacao in a limited edition during and shortly after World War II. On the initiative of the University of the Netherlands Antilles, all 13 articles which he wrote in the period 1943–1960 are collected in one volume, Antilliana. They are all written in Dutch.

Only a few articles deal with the Antilles in general. In connection with works published by others DE LA TRY ELLIS made some remarks on the first period of European penetration in the Caribbean and on phenomena linked with this period (the encomienda and repartimiento system, the decimation of the Indians, the importation of the first Negro slaves into the West Indies, the activities of the buccaneers etc.). He has not added new facts to the data published by previous authors.
Of more lasting importance are the studies which have been dedicated to the local history of Curacao (eight articles) and Bonaire (one article). These deal almost exclusively with the second half of the 18th century and with the 19th century. They are mainly based on archival research that was carried out by the author himself. Exactly which archives he consulted is not indicated; unfortunately, the studies have no footnote references. Nevertheless, it becomes clear that he found his data in the minute-books of the Colonial Council and the Court of Justice and their predecessors, in notarial records, in the Publicatiebladen (the Official Gazette) and in the Curacaosche Courant.

Not only in the somewhat solemn, official style, but also in the choice of topics, the author can be recognized as a lawyer. His interest focused on legislation and jurisdiction in the past and in historically developed legal relations. He also wrote with some pleasure on aspects of everyday life in Willemstad and on the origin of names of streets and plots on Curacao. The present-day reader still will find much worth knowing on these subjects in this book. Although most of the articles were written 35 to 40 years ago, only one (that on the Orphans' Court) has in the meantime diminished in importance through new publications. This indicates the quality of the studies and justifies the decision to bring them within reach of a greater public. It also illustrates how little Antillians up to now followed in the track of this illustrious predecessor.

The way in which this volume was edited by J.E. Spruit and E. Voges is not spotless, for they had a rather limited sense of their editorial role. The volume would have been improved if the editors had added an index and, where relevant, had mentioned new studies that were written since the first publication of these articles. Typographical and other errors have not always been caught; on pages 140-146 at least 33 typographical errors in the original publication (most of them in Spanish words and sentences) have not been corrected. The "Verantwoording" is sometimes in error about where the articles were originally published. The editors' decision to collect all the articles which De la Try Ellis published has led them to include in this volume an article on the December 1942 speech in which Queen Wilhelmina announced a new political future for the Dutch colonies. In terms of its subject and significance, this three-page eulogy on Queen Wilhelmina and the House of Orange does not fit well with the rest of this volume.

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The central problem of this study is the influence of the establishment of Shell (in 1915) on Curacoan society, in particular on the standard of living of the population. The author tackles his subject with three hypotheses:

1. As a result of the establishment of Shell, the agricultural-commercial society of Curacao was transformed into a modern capitalist-industrial one.
2. Social and economic circumstances (i.e. income, supply of food and water, health and welfare, death rate) improved.
3. Social relationships altered, evidenced by increasing social mobility to the advantage of large groups of Curacoan society.

To test these hypotheses Dekker compares a period ‘without Shell’ (1900–1915) to a period ‘with Shell’ (1915–1929). He bases his study mainly on a careful investigation of the so-called ‘Colonial Reports.’ These reports contain the information on the state of the colonies presented yearly by the Colonial Secretary to Dutch parliament. Statistical data taken from these reports and from some other sources are presented in 85 tables and graphs collected in the second part of the book; the first contains the analysis.

Dekker’s study shows that Curacao indeed turned into a capitalist-industrialized society in the third decade of this century. (Perhaps the commercial part should not be forgotten; commerce is still today one of the mainstays of Curacao economy.) However, material conditions of the population hardly improved. The death rate was only slightly lower at the end of the twenties than at the beginning of the century; infant mortality was even higher in the third decade. Employment opportunities increased, but the bargaining power of Curacan workers was mitigated by the inflow of labourers from other parts of the Caribbean; vertical mobility was hindered by the engagement of new staff from the Netherlands. The effect of rising wages was probably nullified by a steep inflation.

Dekker has enriched our knowledge of Curacao society with an essay based on ‘hard’ figures; yet I have some problems with this book. Dekker chooses 1915 as the turning point in the social-economic history of Curacao. True, in that year the Royal/Shell group decided to build a refinery on the island. However, the refinery was not brought into operation until 1918 and only started to work “fairly continuously” in 1923 (van Soest 1976: 194). That Shell was not a flourishing business in its initial years is also clear from the fact that in 1919 and 1920 about 2000 Curacaoans migrated to Cuba to work in the cane-fields (Paula 1973). As Dekker is familiar with both van Soest’s and Paula’s studies, he cannot present 1915 as the ‘watershed’ of the social-economic history of Curacao and entertain the expectations formulated in the second and third hypothesis. It creates some irritation to have Dekker first refer to the 1919, 1920 decrease of population as “puzzling” (p. 14) or “obscure” (p. 87), only to clear up the mystery in the last chapter. Moreover, the author fails to inform us about an important reason why so little was done to improve material conditions of the working population after Shell got through its take-off period and was doing well (1923–1930). It was not only a lack of interest in the fate of the poor; in those days Curacao was struggling to attain more independence from the colonial power.
One way to try to reach that goal was to keep government expenses as low as possible: a balanced budget would deprive Dutch parliament of the pretext to meddle in local affairs.

Dekker does not need the artificial suspense referred to, as his book reads as a gripping account of the history of Curacao of the first decades of this century; besides, the wealth of statistical data presented will remain an important source of information for further research on this particular period of time.

REFERENCES


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EDITORS’ NOTE

In a year when the New West Indian Guide is initiating new editorial policies, establishing new disciplinary orientations, and building an expanded international readership, it seems appropriate to remind ourselves of the journal’s past resources. Toward this end, Dr. P. Wagenaar Hummelinck has compiled a “Register” of contributions to the NWIG from 1960 through 1981 (vols. 40–55) which supplements similar indexes made in 1945 (of vols. 1–25) and 1964 (of vols. 26–39).

Dr. Wagenaar Hummelinck has prefaced this index with a review of the journal’s history through 1981, which is intended mainly for our readers in the Netherlands. In paying homage to those who have maintained the journal as a major source of scholarship on the Caribbean region, he has left one notable omission by not mentioning his own long-standing support. An active contributor to the journal and member of the editorial board since 1947, Dr. Wagenaar Hummelinck assumed the position of Managing Editor in 1950. Generously offering his scholarly knowledge, managerial skills, editorial experience and financial support, he was responsible for keeping the journal alive in times of austerity and has now helped it set new goals in this time of expansion. His fellow editors wish to thank him for all that he has done, and to acknowledge how much the journal’s new directions are based on foundations that he helped to build.
VOORWOORD

Dit ‘Register’ geeft een overzicht van de inhoud van de laatste zestien ‘jaargangen’ van een Nederlands-talig tijdschrift, dat — sinds zijn oprichting in 1919 — een gestadige stroom van wetenschappelijk-verantwoorde bijdragen tot de kennis van Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen heeft gepubliceerd. Te beginnen met de zes-en-vijftigste jaargang is de Nieuwe West-Indische Gids echter een periodiek geworden, waarin alleen nog in de Engelse taal gestelde artikelen worden opgenomen op het gebied van de sociale wetenschappen en de humaniora.

De omstandigheid, dat dit het laatste Register is op delen van een West-Indische Gids met bijdragen op velerlei gebied in de Nederlandse taal, moge een rechtvaardiging zijn voor het korte historische overzicht dat hieronder wordt gegeven.


De stuwende kracht gedurende de eerste jaren was duidelijk Benjamins, die als secretaris/eindredacteur werd opgevolgd door mr. dr. B. de Gaay Fortman⁶). Belangrijk was ook de toetreding tot de redactie van Joh. F. Snellemann⁷), W.R. Menkman⁸), mr. Johanna Felhoen Kraal⁹) en dr. J.H. Westermann¹⁰). Aan de toewijding van de Gaay Fortman en Menkman is het te danken dat De West-Indische Gids gedurende vele jaren een tijdschrift van
betekenis heeft kunnen blijven — want ook toen waren er al ogenblikken, zoals in de herfst van 1949, dat men zich in alle ernst afvroeg of men maar niet beter met deze uitgave kon stoppen.

Dat *De West-Indische Gids* een zo goed verzorgd tijdschrift heeft kunnen zijn, is zeker voor een groot deel te danken aan de belangstelling en zakelijke steun van Wouter Nijhoff\(^{11}\)), voor wie deze uitgave nimmer een commercieel-aantrekkelijke onderneming is geweest.

De eerste aflevering verscheen in mei 1919. Mr. Fock schreef het ‘Voorwoord van de Redactie’, waarin de hoop wordt uitgesproken “dat het door dit tijdschrift zal gelukken iets in het belang der koloniën te bereiken”. Het eerste artikel was van de hand van H. van Kol\(^{12}\)), over ‘De Koloniale Staten’, onder het motto: “Hoe eer gij den knaap behandelt als een man, des te eer zal hij beginnen een man te zijn.”


De eerste 30 jaren — waarin Benjamins en de Gaay Fortman secretaris/eindredacteur waren en Menkman, Snelleman, Fred. Oudschans Dentz\(^{13}\), Jhr. L.C. van Panhuys\(^{14}\) en C.D. Kesler\(^{15}\) de meest vruchtbare medewerkers — kan gevoeglijk als de bloeiperiode van *De West-Indische Gids* beschouwd worden. Dit was een tijd waarin de gemiddelde omvang van één jaargang bijna 400 paginas bedroeg, terwijl die van de 25 jaargangen daarná (1950–1981) nauwelijks 250 bladzijden haalde.

Na het beëindigen van de negen-en-dertigste jaargang besloot men — op aandringen van de ‘Stichting Culturele Samenwerking’ (STICUSA) — *De West-Indische Gids* te laten samengaan met de tijdschriften *Vox Guyanae* en *Christoffel* in één periodiek: de

Gezien het feit dat het aantal abonnees steeds gering kon worden genoemd, zal het niemand verwonderen dat het voortbestaan van de Gids vele malen onderwerp van bespreking is geweest — vooral toen de Firma Nijhoff haar bemoeiingen met dit tijdschrift had gestaakt, nadat het ‘Fonds West-Indische Gids’ (dat door dr. J.H. Westermann was gevormd met het doel de tekorten op de exploitatie zo veel mogelijk bij te passen) steeds minder aan zijn doel bleek te kunnen beantwoorden.

Een uit dit Fonds voortgekomen ‘Stichting Nieuwe West-Indische Gids’ heeft daarna de uitgave op zich genomen, maar achtte — nadat dankzij de financiële steun van STICUSA nog zes jaargangen het licht konden zien — na het beëindigen van de vijfenvijftigste jaargang toch het ogenblik gekomen om te trachten, door een wijziging van opzet, het voortbestaan van de Nieuwe West-Indische Gids als New West Indian Guide te verzekeren.

Dit ‘Register’, is eenvoudiger dan die van de jaargangen 1—25 en 26—39, omdat een aantal kleine rubrieken zijn verdwenen en de Lijst van Trefwoorden niet meer volgens geografische gebieden is opgesplitst.

Deze Lijst van Trefwoorden is — in overeenstemming met die in de vorige Registers — in het Nederlands gegeven, in tegenstelling tot die van de Artikelen en de Besproken Boeken, waarvoor een Engelse versie is gekozen.

De medewerking van Stanley R. Criens is voor het tot stand komen van dit Register van grote betekenis geweest.
NOTES


3. Mr. D. Fock (19.VI.1858 — 17.X.1941) was Minister van Koloniën en (van 1908-1911) Gouverneur van Suriname. Hij trad uit de redactie toen hij werd benoemd tot Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië.


5. C.A.J. Struycken de Roysanscour, die de geestelijke vader van de W.I.G. kan worden genoemd, was oud-administrateur van Financiën in Suriname. Vooral in de eerste moeilijke jaren heeft hij veel voor dit tijdschrift gedaan. — Zie 15, vóór p. 49.


7. Joh F. Snelleman (26.XII.1852 — 1938) was een journalistiek begaafd man en een veelzijdig geleerde. Hij was redacteur van twee encyclopedieën: van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië en van Nederlandsch West-Indië. — Zie 14, 1933, p. 305-310, portr.


12. H.H. van Kol (1852 — 1925) werkte als ingenieur in Nederlandsch Indië, was in 1894 een van de oprichters van de S.D.A.P., en had twaalf jaren lang zitting in de Tweede Kamer. Hij publiceerde veel reisherinneringen, waaronder 'Naar de Antillen en Venezuela' (1904).


LIJST VAN REDACTEUREN

_De West-Indische Gids_, jrg. 1-39 (1919-1959)


Dr. H.D. Benjamin 1919 (1)-1932 (14) [eindred. 2-14]
Prof. Dr. J. Boeke 1919 (1)-1949 (30)
Mr. D. Fock 1919 (1)-1920 (2)
C.A.J. Struycken de Roysancour 1919 (1)-1933 (14) [eindred. 1]
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Joh. F. Snelleman 1922 (4)-1937 (19)
W.R. Menkman 1934 (16)-1964 (43)
H. Schütz 1934 (16)-1937 (18)
Dr. P. Wagenaar Hummelinck 1947 (28)-heden [eindred. 31-heden]
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Tijdens de periode van samenwerking met _Vox Guyanae_ (Suriname) en _Christoffel_ (Nederlandse Antillen) — 1960-1967, jrg. 40-45 — werden vermeld als leden van de
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IN JRG. 40-55, 1960-1981

Samenvattingen in een andere taal zijn door een vertaling van de titel aangeduid.

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