

Kraal Cultural Manual

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For convenience we have decided to divide the manual in clusters.

The major clusters are:

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Kraal Cultural Manual

A FRAMEWORK FOR CULTURAL STUDIES

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY:

Gilbert A. Sprauve

At the outset we offer a few words about our conceptual framework and the contents of this volume: The word manual implies a publication embodying a high level of utility. Yet, utility in this context might imply more than we wish to concerning "fixing" or "repairing" culture. True, most of the writers, resource persons and culture bearers who made up our team are Virgin Islanders and/or West Indians and are seriously committed to the preservation and promotion of "the Culture of our Islands." Yet, from the outset we have attempted to maintain a level of objective distance in presenting cultural activities and institutions. We thus preclude or at least reduce the temptation toward nostalgic brooding. We have thus made an effort to organize this manual along thematic lines. We have tried to order the themes or unit headings in terms of what we feel is a logical sequence in the acculturation forces that surround and engage us in natural settings.

The reader might discover ambivalence in our content, particularly on the matter of Virgin Islands versus West Indian Culture. We would respond that the charge of ambivalence itself might be an oversimplification. For, the task here imposes a concept of nothing less than multivalent switches operative in Virgin Islands Culture.

Instructors should note that as teaching tools the entries may differ considerably one from the other and, as such, may pose different types of practical challenges. Some subject areas simply lend themselves better to systematic skewering of the levels from "abstract" and "theoretical" discussion to illustrative "sample" or "specimen."

Along with the above two levels of presentation we have developed for most of

the texts a set of questions intended to reinforce content and ease understanding. Additionally, we periodically suggest topics for writing or oral presentation of one kind or another, under the rubric "Discussion," and offer suggestions for additional readings. Again, to help classroom instruction and to maximize the deployment of time resources we have devised a code concerning appropriateness of readings. Selections intended for use at the junior high level are designated JH, immediately after the selections title or heading. SH signifies senior high. C-U means college and/or university. I refers to Instructor. The level of difficulty of the exercise one decides to assign depends ultimately on the academic and experiential level of the user. At this stage of the project this latitude imposes on the subject area coordinator and ultimately on the instructor a burden of systematic previewing before presenting. As a rule, however, we offer theoretical articles as background material. This is primarily for the benefit of the instructor. We intend that instructors use them as a backdrop in promoting in-class discussion. We hope that students at all levels will be encouraged to roam through this volume following the dictates of their natural curiosity. The majority of them are already accustomed these days to similar educational adventures on the Internet. We hope that they would study both the articles and the specimens and related passages, relate them to each other and react to them in terms of their own live experiences.

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Whence The Call For Virgin Islands Culture And Towards What Ends?

In this slightly edited transcript of one of the Institute's working sessions we have italicized the larger interactive segments as an aid in following the flow of the main presentation.

J. ANTONIO JARVIS' "CHALLENGE FOR VI SOC. STUDIES"

(SH, C-U)

Gene Emmanuel, discussion leader

Participants are: Sele Adeyami, Janet Burton, Monique Clendenin, a media speiclist on St. Croix, Elaine Jacobs, a teacher and adjunct professor on St. Thomas, a teacher on St. John, a teacher on St. Croix, Lisa Forde, a teacher on St. Thomas, Olive Lettsome, a writer and cultural worker on St. Thomas (deceased), Gilbert A. Sprauve, a professor and institute coordinator residing on St. John and Mario Watlington, a retired Government and University administrator and adjunct professor.

Gene Emmanuel: When some research is done here in the Virgin Islands, much of the research does not utilize the skills of Virgin Islands scholars. And . . . she [Dr. Agatha Nelson] states that it is difficult to achieve self-esteem if everything written about a people comes from another place, another time, another people, instead of from the depths of our own soul searching. Now, this was an important bridge for me to Jarvis' work because in the article by Mr. Hill*, which is entitled "Social Studies Virgin Islands Style" the way that the editor framed Jarvis' work is also important. Essentially, he gave a very short introduction to the text, as you can see right here. And, what he did for the remainder of the time was to really give you Jarvis' introduction . . . In other words, it is almost Jarvis presenting his introduction and article.

When you look at it you will see that right away he goes to the crux of the problem by pointing out that children know more about Greece, Rome and England than they do about St. Thomas, Tortola and Puerto Rico. Naturally, they

cannot appreciate what they see and feel. They are aware of the environment only in superficial way. And of course . . . there is a need for an outline of the content materials and methods of Social Science instruction in elementary schools, and what is the big thing? Jarvis utilizes what Mario Moorhead** calls the inside/out approach. Everything goes inside out, and this is what Jarvis is saying to us here. He's saying to us that we ought to start with the surroundings of the child and spread into the world.

Jarvis is very instructive in his words. He speaks about [education] on a formal basis. That is another important point. Because he says, "If we begin our formal Social work with a unit on the Virgin Islands and include the nearby Caribbean islands . . .".

Now, let us, [consider] "formal," "the formal work." By that we mean, the very first time the child has Social Science. Because we should not get him unless he has first been introduced to it vis a vis his surroundings. Second, it is the Virgin Islands, but also the Virgin Islands and the nearby Caribbean islands. So that the content also has to be Caribbean. And there should be, he says, a greater opportunity for growth and useful living. "It is necessary to stress that one must begin where one is born and will have to live most of his life." Yes! Reinforced . . .

Sprauve: Throughout my education as a Virgin Islander, in the public school system Buddhoe's name never came up. I mean, not even a dot, not even a dialectics took place on the inclusion of his name. And I probably knew Toussaint L'Ouverture's contribution before I knew of Buddhoe's, coming through a whole other avenue.

Lisa Forde: I teach at the high school, and I know a lot of the kids here don't know their own history . . .

Olive Lettsome: Excuse! My son, he brought home a paper . . . old historians in the Virgin Islands, teaching people exactly who they were and the history and the contribution.

. . . Now, it was his work but I read it. I was home; I got the opportunity . . . I studied it. That information was there!

L. Forde: Maybe in that one particular school, because I was going to say in the school I teach, we have some teachers that are teaching it, but I was going to interject later on that before you even begin to think about infusing this into the curriculum, the teachers themselves have to have the knowledge . . .

Olive: But, Dr. Sprauve. What he said, that is true. I went through the same thing that he did. I didn't know! And it's only being taught now. We never had Black History Week. It was . . . [through] Dr. Lezmore Emmanuel . . .

E. Jacobs: I think what you're talking about here is an effort to bring things . . . wider, not on an isolated basis. We want to see it throughout the system. And that is very, very important.

Olive: But, you know that it was done at the Eudora Kean [High School]?

L. Forde: But, I'm not saying that it was not done . . . in some schools. I am saying for the most part, and I'm speaking from my own experience with the children that I teach: they do not know! They'll know when they take Lezmore Howard's class. When they take that class, they'll come in my classroom afterwards and tell me. But, it's not being done across the board.

E. Jacobs: Because there is not a curriculum, not the guide to follow.

Adeyemi: The latest Social Studies curriculum guide, done in 1986, you have a section for V.I. History, you have a section for, I think at that time what they call Afro-American Studies and so forth. But, at the ninth grade level a semester of V.I. history is mandatory. And a semester of Caribbean History is mandatory. But, one of the things you've got to look at is the kind of material you have available for teaching that, right? For V.I. history what they have right now, last year at John Woodson, is Thurston Childs' from . . . the very early part of . . .

Gene Emmanuel: Nineteen thirty six!

Adeyemi: The key point that I want to make is that you have to know the course and how wide is it, how systematic it is, and so forth. But even more importantly or of equal importance is the perspective. You have Caribbean history, but when you look at it, it's about the history of the Europeans in Caribbean . . .

M. Watlington: This is something that bothers me all the time, when I hear that they are not teaching it in the schools. Are you saying the teachers are not resourceful? Because the libraries have all this information. This library has so much information. If we're discussing the Organic Act. We're going through the status problem now. Does that need to be in a history book, for teachers to bring that forth to students at a specific time?

L. Forde: That's the point! A few good teachers will do that.

Watlington: Let me say, that I taught for fifteen years Business, in this school. The textbook that we got from the United States had nothing about Hills' wage and hour law, but I took those excerpts and presented them to the students. So, it bothers me when I hear: "Well, you know, it's not in the curriculum!" What about the currency of material that teachers are expected to bring? Is it that they do not have enough time? Or they don't know where the sources of reference are? They have a responsibility. Running through of material! We're going through a status situation now. Something should be said on the level that children can understand what is happening now. They don't need a textbook to tell them that. This is what bothers me.

Gene Emmanuel: I think that what happens though, is that most, just about all the areas are governed by a set of guidelines which are inclusive of these things. That is where I think Jarvis is . . .

Watlington: But what guidelines?

Emmanuel: Units have guidelines, lesson plans. They are complete with lesson plans and evaluations

L. Forde:...evaluations. And we're evaluated according to how much we teach . . .

Emmanuel: They teach those units.

Watlington: But, they do those lessons from the lesson plans?

L. Forde: But I think we also have to recall. To say that material is available, that is wonderful. Yes, it is. I speak from experience. I have [to use] my own

photocopying machine and my own computer if I want to get any work done for my children. Yes, the textbooks are obsolete. But I don't have the resources to photocopy a story that's ten pages for a hundred and thirty-five students every day. I don't have it! Rockefeller may have it. I don't. Yes, it's wonderful to say we should be resourceful and . . . the many good teachers that we have in the system do it, but . . .

M. Clendenin: I had a question, more than a comment. I thought that recently, within the last ten years there was a fourth grade text we could use through the library. Isn't that used?

Emmanuel: *Clear de Road*. It's used, but I think we get into filters. You see, there are the mandatory classes. And most of these texts are used in the mandatory classes. Outside of the mandatory classes, Social Sciences is going on. Now, what Jarvis is talking about is starting with a perspective. The teacher may bring information in, but how does he bring it in? For example, I might bring it in. How do I know if what I have is accurate, number one? It's a serious problem. In the information that's there, in the information that is available in the library, say. Accuracy of it. That's one of the things we're finding out from doing these presentations.

Another thing that we're finding out is that much of the information that we have on record is written--again, as with Puerto Rico. Let's look at Oldendorp***. Certain things that we find in Oldendorp are going to be prejudiced by the same kind of issues that we raised earlier about the Puerto Rican. That is why I raise the Puerto Rican situation. There is a parallel there, to show that we have these same issues.

Now, it's not a mountain that we can't conquer, but I think it is best conquered through developing the kinds of material so that teachers could get trained and that this kind of seminar be continuous and be [repeated]. So that the teacher now is not going to have to go to the library.

And there is a problem, because when I'm doing my research and I go to the library . . . when I go to the library, I need to take my students in the Caribbean room. Because of policies and so forth, only one could go at a time. Or, you may not have your ID. You have to have this, a set of mitigating circumstances that if Lisa's waiting, she may have to wait two days to use a chapter of a book. I mean,

there are many serious problems that we need to be making some recommendations about.

But, if the material is available in a manual or in a series of documents, there is a need now to suggest which books are dated. I mean, something should have come out by someone, some one of us saying that Childs is dated. Though we know it. But, there should be some article, some document, and point out what are the limitations of its use. You can use it, but what are the limitations. What areas? Don't put that into the curriculum any more because that is now passé.

But, we don't even have that kind of refinement. So that basic material that we have, we have not developed the means to continue their use, so that they remain accurate, and those that are accurate can be utilized by the teacher and the students properly . . . Janet had a comment . . .

Janet Burton: During the break I was talking to Leba, and I was telling him about how, once when I was little in our reading books we had "See Dick run! See Jim run! And Spot," and those kinds of things. And it was totally divorced from our culture, and then we had Miss Jennie Wheatley from Tortola who has written some books. Well, one particularly about Boysie, his experiences: picking geneps, cutting wood and swimming, and so forth. And I read it to my students. Every two weeks I would have students at Guy Benjamin school. I would read them one story. And every time I went back, they wanted to hear more about Boysie. I was thinking, why can't we, just in first grade or kindergarten, while students are learning to read, just have them read material that is done locally? We can make textbooks, and we can have them start with this. Maybe they'll learn to enjoy reading more, than if they are reading about things that they are unfamiliar with.

Emmanuel: The other danger with reading about things that are unfamiliar, is that they develop some very different kinds of faulty perceptions, and again, according to the accuracy of the information they receive on the streets or wherever they receive, they get some wrong ideas about what their culture is. What it's not. They may want to divorce themselves from it. They may think it's just a pile of so and so.

Sprauve: A case in point on that is his last paragraph here. "In social services for fourth graders [they] should understand how the hospitals, schools, newspapers etc., etc., function." The child growing up in the Virgin Islands today, with

everything being shot past him: five-thirty news, Daily News in the morning, his parents talking over it and grumbling and fussing and so on. What is to happen, in terms of the ideal that Jarvis had? And the preponderance of the media, which is generally negative on every one of these issues. And we know we can't be prescriptivists about it; it's a democracy, the press is a free press. The question is what could we dedicate ourselves to that counters and gives this child some sort of confidence about himself and the people that are his parents, his grandparents and what not. In a way, you wonder if it wasn't easier for Jarvis, at the time. The polarization in the press was what: Daily News and Home Journal. One of them a grassroots paper and the other an elitist paper. But I doubt that there was anything close to a fraction of the kind of bombardment on one target, which is people who can't get their act together. That wasn't happening. It was--correct me if I'm wrong, Mr. Watlington. It was a question of which option do you take? Do you have culture based on grassroots interests or culture based on elitism? It wasn't an attack on the identity of the Virgin Islander in terms of his competence in the forties. Was it?

Watlington: I would say you're right in what you say. I want to say one thing on Jarvis though. I want to point out too, he was one of my teachers. I had Social Studies with Jarvis. He started a course called Contemporary Civilization and he traced the Blacks coming here from Africa . . . Contemporary Civilization. I remember it as if it were yesterday. He taught that course. But he himself was not an original researcher. It is only practically about a year or so before he died he went to Denmark and accumulated a whole body of information to come out with. Basic research. And when he came he died right after that. That information is still lodging in his son's place. Jarvis was not original. He was quoting Oldendorp and all these other characters too.

Sprauve: We don't hold it against him though!

Watlington: We don't hold it, but what I am pointing out is that even in his own report. (That is why I say that we have to be balanced in what we are saying.) Even in his own report about several of the outstanding persons there, he didn't mention one Virgin Islander. Even in his report here [in] which he is mentioning that we have not mentioned certain of the people, he did not mention Rostchhild Francis, he did not mention . . .

Sprauve: But he mentioned Buddhoe. Right?

Watlington: Right? But what I am saying, he's talking about local. He did not mention two important characters that ran through that period.

Emmanuel: All right!

Sprauve: I do not mean to protract this. I just want to respond. If we were . . . this very act that we are engaged in today. If we were to take the folk hero in Virgin Islands politics and say that we were dedicating any part of what we are doing overtly, this project would be shot down immediately, the whole project would be shot down! Immediately!

Watlington: If what?

Emmanuel: I would say, if we dedicated the program to Adelbert Bryan.

Sprauve: I can understand why D. Hamilton Jackson or Rostchild Francis had to go unnoticed. They were close to the present battlefield. And so, it was easier to talk about Buddhoe a hundred years back. Right? Than to mention his contemporaries. That was a red flag in the face of the Navy government.

Emmanuel: Let's go a step further. I think that this curriculum, the reason why the curriculum is unpublished up to now and the reason why Jarvis--this is a prime reason that Jarvis had the difficulty he had with the Department of Education . . . this is a revolutionary curriculum. In academic circles today this is a revolutionary curriculum.

Olive: It was. In the old days whoever get that close to publishing?

Emmanuel: Not just that. In terms of his techniques, the methodology, his techniques and the stuff that he's doing here. The theoretical considerations he's making. Look at the position he takes! Look at the aim! "To teach the Virgin Islands student as much as possible of the Social Structures for the Virgin Island, integrated with history." He's talking about interdisciplinary studies . . . He's talking about something that we in the university are struggling [with] right now. And it's a hallmark of many quality type institutions. Number one. Now, he's talking . . . at the level where our children--at the fourth grade level where they would be completely prepared. Look at the vision! Look at the model he's suggesting! And furthermore, he goes on: "To teach tolerance and understanding

of other West Indian peoples through comparison and contrast of their methods and manner of living." He's talking about ethnic studies; he's talking about folk studies. He's talking about cultural . . . he's talking about Comparative Literature. Comparative Social Science. That is what he's talking about.

M. Clendenin: I just want to [speak about] how you get this material in, and I want to talk about my own experience, my learning of V.I. History. I went to Catholic School. My learning of V.I. History came mainly through Doctor James program on Saturday mornings. [Laughter] Really, that's where I learnt most of it, because whenever there was a local holiday or something dealing with V.I. history he talked about it. He brought on people to talk about it. And as a child listening to the program, that is where I learnt about it. In addition to the fact that my mother was a teacher in the public school system. She at the time--in the seventies--must have taken some course here at CVI . . . She had a lot of books on the subject. So, once I heard it there, it sparked my interest to read more. That is how I learned it. [Things] haven't changed much. Media can play a role, and there's a way, and we have to figure out what that role is going to be. Again, you pick up the Daily News today, and there's an editorial talking about the need to eliminate Supplication Day as a holiday. It's more than an economic issue. It's a cultural and a social issue as well.

Emmanuel: That is a good point. I'll tag on that for one second. Puerto Rico, in their school system, there's a whole book written on this whole issue of the holidays. Because, what they did, they marked their school calendar by deciding which holidays they were going to celebrate . . . If it was Puerto Rico Constitution Day or George Washington Day, they chose Puerto Rico Constitution Day. So, they made some very serious decisions for their school calendar. And that has served as a very important measure of cultural strength and cultural identity and direction for the school system in Puerto Rico. So that holiday is a key issue that has been treated too cavalierly all along.

* Mr. Hill. Here reference is made to Mr. Valdemar Hill, Virgin Islands historian, statesman and author of several books on Virgin Islands history, including *A Golden Jubilee*.

**Mario Moorhead, contemporary Virgin Islands historian and a founder of the United Caribbean Association (UCA).

Oldendorp, C.G.A. the Church historian of the Moravian mission in the Virgin Islands who in the late 1760s did extensive fieldwork and note gathering relative to that mission and enslaved Africans in the then Danish West Indies.

QUESTIONS:

1. What does the presenter mean when he states "they cannot appreciate what they see and feel?" Does this statement imply a functional problem the children have or the "system's" inattention to the local landscape?
2. Where is the child situated with respect to the world, according to the "inside/out" approach mentioned here?
3. What is the "blind spot" that Jarvis targets, according to this account?
4. Does the word "formal" here relate to a way of dressing? Explain your understanding of the word in this context.
5. Why would one say of Jarvis, in retrospect, that he was a pan-Caribbean man?
6. What is participant Lettsome saying to the group concerning whose responsibility it is to educate the child and one's self?
7. What do you understand the problem to be with the text used to teach Virgin Islands History at the Woodson School?
8. Does participant Watlington appear to take sides with the teachers, the Administration or the parents? 9. In what way is Teacher Forde to be seen here? As resourceful or as resigned?
10. In terms of supplementing classroom material and experiences with the library, the presenter cites problems that are both practical and procedural. List two of these problems and indicate which problem is of what sort?
11. How does participant Sprauve see the inclusion of local issues as possibly backfiring and creating problems?
12. What does participant Watlington mean when he declares that Jarvis was not original?

13. What is the gist of the discussion when inclusion and omission of Buddhoe, D. Hamilton Jackson, Rotschild Francis and Adelbert Bryan are discussed by the presenter and participants?

15. At what level of the child's education, should the reforms start taking effect, according to Jarvis?

16. Do you think that Jarvis' reforms would have produced more divisiveness in the V.I. community, or more harmony and exchange?

17. Participant Clendenin learned a good part of her V.I. History through a rather different channel from the conventional. Explain!

18. Explain how you see the elimination of Supplication Day as a holiday as a cultural and social issue!

ACTION QUESTIONS:

1. What is the significance of mentioning General Buddhoe's name in the same breath that one mentions Toussaint L'Ouverture?

2. What do you know about Dr. Lezmore Emmanuel?

3. Are there experiences that you have had or that you know others to have had that would make interesting local stories like the ones mentioned by Teacher Burton? Summarize one of them in a paragraph of about one half of a page.

4. Would Jarvis' ideas for curriculum reform be considered revolutionary today? Explain your response.

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Dr. Richard Kurin's Keynote Remarks

(C-U)

The following is the edited text of Dr. Richard Kurin's keynote address to participants in the Summer Institute of Virgin Islands Culture. We sought Dr. Kurin's participation as a presenter for many reasons.

First, as Director of the Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies he played a key role in bringing presentations of Virgin Islands' and Senegalese culture to the National Mall of the United States in the Summer of 1990 as part of the annual Festival of American Folklife. This was a particularly trying period for Virgin Islanders, given the devastation of the islands only nine months earlier by Hurricane Hugo. Dr. Kurin's cultural, diplomatic, and organizational skills were severely tested in mobilizing teams of cultural scholars and researchers in the islands, on the African continent and in the United States. He succeeded in cultivating and inculcating goodwill, comporting himself with the appropriate sensitivity and the necessary optimism, so that the best of the folklife and culture of our people could be showcased, simultaneously with that of Senegal.

Two years later, the following year, we brought the Festival program back home and a new edition was produced at Estate Lower Love on St. Croix. High on the list of local consultants and coordinators that Kurin and his team recruited for the Festival on the Mall and that they endorsed for the one on St. Croix were the editor of the current document and chief co-editor, Professors Gilbert A. Sprauve and Gene Emmanuel, respectively. Moral support and technical assistance from the Smithsonian's Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies has been continuous and enthusiastic.

Specifically, with respect to the content of Dr. Kurin's address, it should be noted that in the first of our two pre-institute workshops the director felt that participants (all Virgin Islands educators and cultural specialists) should prime up for the day's roundtable workshop by reading a particular publication on culture

and sharing reactions with the group. The document assigned by the director was a very recent article appearing in the Journal of the American Folklore written by Roger Abrams and dealing with what he called "romantic nationalism." While the article could not be said to be in any way focused on any aspect of the Virgin Islands or Caribbean culture generally, we viewed its treatment of the modern history of national folk culture as potentially provocative for our group and also as the type of reading that would help foster the mood of objectivity needed to generate a reasonably theoretical discussion of Virgin Islands' culture. Dr. Kurin is eminently familiar with Abrams' work, and we felt that as we wound down the Institute it might be useful to have him guide us on a re-visit to the publication and to see in specific ways how it might relate to the Institute's purview and scope.

It is a pleasure for me, both personally and professionally, to continue the cultural dialog with scholars, educators, officials, and culture bearers in the U.S. Virgin Islands. It is through a healthy exchange of ideas between committed people of goodwill at local, territorial, regional, national and international levels that challenging cultural issues can be encountered and clarified, and strategies, approaches and solutions assessed and formulated. I am deeply grateful to Virgin Islanders for inspiring, challenging, and contributing to my work and that of the Smithsonian Institution over the past few years.

Working at the Smithsonian Institution, I've had to think more and more about the characteristics of cultural representation. This was particularly so when the so-called "culture wars" became a national issue in the 1992 U.S. presidential elections and where, for the inauguration, I was asked to help develop the plans for celebrating American culture in an inaugural festival termed an American Reunion on the Mall. The issues of what is American culture, and whose culture is it? come to the fore. It is not that the general principles behind these issues are particularly American. I think Jamaicans are asking some of the same questions. And so too are the Soviets who it seems had a national culture in December, 1993 and then did not the next month with the dissolution of the larger state.

My thinking on the status of national culture is truly a work in progress. I am trying to come to terms with a variety of ideas that carry through in my work at the Smithsonian and involve interaction and engagement with some of the people in this room through such intense, high visibility projects as the Virgin Islands

festival programs.

I am one of the people in the U.S. government's national institutional apparatus who has to define what "folklore," "folk culture," or a "people's cultural heritage" is. When the Smithsonian took on the role of developing the Virgin Islands program at the Folklife Festival we had to define, at least operationally the question of what is folklore? What is it not? What counts? What doesn't? Traditional Anansi stories and familiar Virgin Islands foods seem to be accepted elements of Virgin Islands folklore. But do the paintings in the Art Museum in St. Thomas count as part of people's folk culture? What about quadrille? How polished and choreographed does it have to be before it's not folklore? I don't know, exactly! But when we talk about expressive forms of culture, whether they be oral, visual, or manual, the genuine folk forms refer to those arising from interactions of people in groups, generally passed down informally across generations. And such forms of expression are the property of those people, under their control and authority exercised informally.

Politics and Economics of Culture

When we talk about cultural nationalism, we introduce the role of the state. The state exerts influence, formally and informally over the cultural practice of the people. The state can promote or discourage folk culture as a whole in or its different parts. States can encourage folklore to be written down or otherwise formalized. It can try to wipe out practices it regards as primitive and vulgar. It can rearrange and choreograph folk culture. It can set up arts and culture agencies to institutionalize it. It could promote majority culture, or promote tourism art. It could promote natives coming out with smiling faces and wearing pretty costumes. The state can oppress forms of the culture of the people. State authorities could say, "Hey, I don't like those people down at the marketplace singing those calypso verses about me! It incites other people," and forbid the practice. State policy toward culture may be officially neutral, but that is exceedingly difficult to effect in actuality. Use of official language, forms of adornment, the curricula taught in the schools, even forms of entertainment offered at state functions encourage certain forms of cultural expression and discourage others.

Not only is culture becoming the number one political issue, but it's also becoming the number one economic issue. Though it may already be so, culture is becoming the world's largest industry. There is a huge amount of money spent these days aimed at producing and controlling the symbols, images, values, ideas, and beliefs of the world's people. Think of all types of cultural production as an industry--from advertising about what you should eat and wear, to tourism, entertainment, education, and the movement of information in books, over radio, television, computer networks and the like. Now who are the producers and sellers of that culture? To and for whom are they selling?

There is a tremendous amount of resources involved in the economics of cultural production. That's why I think it's important to look at state policies. State cultural policies can determine what languages may be spoken, and where. They determine what is taught in the schools, who and what is to be respected. They often determine who is eligible to be taught whose history. And state policies can include and exclude people from that history, defining some people as culture heroes, consigning others to oblivion. State policy may even decide what is defined as knowledge and what isn't. State policy can also determine who has rights and privileges, based on your culture and the interest of the state, as for example when a recent Supreme Court decision had to consider whether the religious duty of some citizens to sacrifice animals would override the interest of the state to reduce cruelty to animals. The state can encourage certain occupations with cultural roots and discourage others.

Should the state promote high culture, popular culture, commercial culture, or folk culture? Should it abstain from using culture as a tool for either national unity or the expression of personal freedom? Should the state foster a singular cultural identity among its populace, or a diverse nation? Should the state invest its own resources in culture, and to what end?

Folklore and Nationalism

I'd like to discuss the way folklore is differentially construed in relation to the state, a subject under consideration by the seminar and treated in Roger Abrams' article recently published in the *Journal of American Folklore*. Abrams is a distinguished professor of folklife and folklore at the University of Pennsylvania, a leader in the field and one of our closest advisors for the Smithsonian. Abrams is a close and respected friend of mine, and has also done a lot of research in the

Caribbean.

In this article, Abram notes that folklore is defined in different ways by different sets of people who have an interest in doing so. While we all might go from now until doomsday trying to find the definitive statement of what we mean by folklore, we are not likely to find it. Rather, says Abrams, forget about looking for a particular definition. Concentrate instead on who is doing the defining. That will help us focus on what is being defined, for what purpose, and with what consequences.

Abrams poses two categories of definers and definitions. One, he finds in pre-modern Europe. He asserts that the earliest definitions of popular antiquity and folklore came from the aristocracy and represented an effort to find in myths, legends, epics, and tales the charter for aristocratic rule. These stories of ancient kings and their lands and kingdoms helped a contemporary aristocracy legitimate their domain, sovereignty, and position. Folklore helped kings claim land as theirs, justified by divine right, and the weight of history.

Abrams' second group of definers are bourgeois nationalists of the 18th and 19th centuries--the urbane people driving the Industrial Revolution. Abrams argues that these people in France, Britain, and Germany were trying to construe the state in new terms--not in those of aristocracies, but in terms of unities of peoples, languages, and races. The basis of the state for them is something called the nation, which is thought to be a people who are physically unique, and different from others by their very nature. The people are intimately associated with a land, a particular land that gives them sustenance. And the people have a language which determines their culture. But language and culture are not just arbitrary. There is little emphasis on the fact that they are learned. Instead, language also is thought to have a basis in the nature of the people and the nature of the land. It is given. And it is tied to brain size and other physical characteristics. Indeed, the notion of nationhood is defined as a complex of a physically distinct race of people, natively born of a particular land, and speaking a language suited to them. By the mid-19th century, Europe is awash in romantic nationalism, with scholars and scientists examining how skull shapes and bumps on the head reveal national character (and pathologies), how language and nationhood developed (through the study of myth and folklore), and what the ideal type of German, Frenchman, or Englishmen should look like. With the desire to establish a state based upon

nationality, a people start inventing its various characteristics and elaborations. Traditions of peoplehood--of the folk--are in many cases invented, as with national costumes, for example. Songs, ballads and folk tales are invested with stronger, nationalistic meaning as they come to stand both metaphorically and metonymically for the nation of the whole. And national destinies--generally the formation or expansion of the national state--are sensed and articulated. Hence the German philosophers find a *geist*, or spirit, guiding the destiny of their people. In the U.S., this emerges by century's end in the form of "manifest destiny."

This nationalism is a remedial nationalism, a reaction to modernism, in which people who are involved in the Industrial Revolution have to confront its consequences. Rapid urbanization made for harsh city life; migration de-stabilized familial and conventional security; new jobs were performed under extremely bad working conditions. A lot of people welcomed nostalgic feelings for perceived bygone days. From the point of view of someone living in urban squalor with no facilities, a lousy job, disrupted family, and a lot of uncertainty --the quaint days of village life, as a symbol of the natural and the traditional--one probably looked pretty good. This widespread feeling feeds the notion of folklore in the 19th century.

While I agree with Abrams' analysis and astute treatment of European folklorization, I think it is limited. Perhaps it is a way of tracing how folklore develops as an academic discipline or field in 19th century Europe. But it doesn't deal with the full relationship between folk culture, nationality and state formation in much of the rest of the world, or in settings where it did not result in the academization of folklore. In this article Abrams is curiously silent about the development of folklore and the state in the United States, the Caribbean, Asia, Africa, and even the Soviet bloc. There is no treatment of how folklore was used to articulate an idea of self-identity against the state, as in opposition to colonial powers. In Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico and many places, folklore is used by nationalists as a way of fighting against entrenched colonial powers. In South Africa traditional songs have been widely used to summon up local communities to fight against the Afrikaner state. This is found even in the United States. If you look at the folklore movement in the 20th century, you find various leftists, union organizers, and civil rights activists using folklore to assert the rights of lower classes, minorities and others in their opposition to the state. Many others use folklore as a form of resistance against the state.

If you look at the Soviet Union and other places in Eastern Europe, you see something else entirely. There, folklore has been so thoroughly reinvented by the state that people nowadays rebel against it--seeing in it the symbolic projection of state control over culture and the expressive life of its people. In the Soviet Union and its successor states, folklore takes on the appearance of a theatrically, choreographed, costumed spectacle which people have to learn from state sanctioned organizations. Folklore becomes in a way the "official culture" of the people, and has almost totally replaced every form of expression actually created by people at the community level. Indeed, as the community has been replaced by the state, so too has its forms of expression. Soviet folklore was used to show that the state had overcome the feudal order upon which serfdom was based. Soviet folklore indeed said peasant culture was good and strong, and that regional culture was part of people's legitimate heritage. It also disconnected royal and courtly culture from peasant folklore, ignoring it, and saying in effect that the aristocratic culture of the czars was not the legitimate culture of the nation. The Soviets didn't want to go back to 19th century peasant life, when most of the common people were serfs. Instead, the Soviets recognized peasant customs, folklore, forms of dress, song and so on, but strategically included or encompassed them in a larger idea. And indeed when the state held folklore festivals you'd see the marvelous display of troupes of people from the different Soviet states, dressed up in their native costumes, all arrayed in long lines and columns, neatly different, yet supremely choreographed. They reminded me of Olympics opening ceremonies--staged spectacles of international brotherhood, unity, or other idealistic goal. They also reminded me of Nazi Germany. The people, neatly arrayed, the various regional, ethnic and local cultures of the Soviet Union under the willing domination and control of the state.

Folklore, as the culture of the people, is much more messy and organic. By definition it is decentralized, widely shared--not owned, and generally unorganized. Populist, if not democratic, folklore generally operates under the sight of the state, often frustratingly unaffected by state authority or decree. Hence it takes on the connotation of rumor, wrongful knowledge, even public ignorance to the rationality of the powerful. By concentrating on the development of folklore as an academic discipline--as the study of folklore in Europe--instead of its subject matter--people's culture the world over, Abrams passes over much of current significance. Indeed, he implies that folklore is really a matter of

particular historical occurrence, located in a European national past, rather than something that drives events today.

Currently, we see the workings of folk beliefs and folk religion in revivalistic movements. Hindu fundamentalists in India, Muslim fundamentalists from north Africa across southern Asia, Jewish fundamentalists in Israel, and Christian fundamentalists in the United States are all pursuing new forms of statehood, realignments of traditional, popular and elite culture and values. These are not people, energies or events of the past. They are thoroughly contemporary, non-state movements of people trying to grapple with their lives. In many cases, these movements threaten to overwhelm or undercut the authority of the state, and are perceived by the state as somewhat dangerous and uncontrollable.

Another important item that Abrams seems to miss in his analysis of the construction of folklore is consideration of intermediate forms of social organization between the state and the people. Intermediate structures or institutions such as churches, neighborhood organizations, marketplaces, workplaces, clubs, carnival crews, self-help societies, professional associations, unions and others exist as intermediary social formations between the individual and the state. They play an important role in terms of defining and expressing the culture of the people. Somehow, this is absent in Abrams' analysis, and for me, that is where much of folklore is to be found.

A final absence in Abrams' article should be noted. An important group defining folklore is not dealt with at any length. Abrams never identifies scholars as having a stake in how folklore is defined and for what purpose. My sense is that the folk are going to outlast the folklorists, that culture will outlast the cultural anthropologist, and that history will be here long after the historians. Scholars, I included, make a living studying, writing about, and talking about what others believe and do. Currently, scholars in these areas are mainly in retreat, generating a lot of self-referential, self-reflective literature that goes without any action or responsibility.

Abrams' article does leave us with a challenge, a challenge that should be particularly felt in the U.S. Virgin Islands. He takes to task the way in which most people view folk communities. The dominant model of folk communities today is that the true folks are generally rural people--as in St. Croix or St. John, or those living in relatively isolated, concentrated urban pockets, like in Savanne or

Frenchtown on St. Thomas, for example. Or they may be an occupational group practicing a pre-modern form of work--fishermen, for example. Again, the dominant idea about these people is that they are unicultural. Their culture is taken to be more traditional than that of others. It's orally transmitted and not thought about much--it is taken for granted. In this paradigm, these folks become less folk when they become urbanized and more educated. They are assimilated, lose their folksiness and become less marginal

and more modern.

With this is a loss of a sense of community. In this model, the folk community is taken to result from face to face interactions, people enjoying ongoing ties and relationships with people they know for generations. The modern community if it exists is truncated and severely limited. More often, the modern community is only legalistically or formally constituted, is short-lasting, dissipated, more anonymous, and less involved in day to day life.

In this view of the folk and the community, folklore, or people's culture, is constituted by the natural expressions of that community of folk. We don't have to do anything intrusive to make it come out. We don't want to choreograph it. We don't want to touch it. We don't want to change a word. It's there, it's pure, it's somehow natural--like the rain forests. And folk documents are constituted by speech, unschooled craft, daily social occasions and celebrations. The dangers and threats to folklore are fairly self evident--formalization, elaboration from without, new inspirations and sources of creativity that challenge the traditional way. Hence for example, a folklorist fieldworker comes into the community, says: "Well, tell me that Anansi story again!" The person tells the story again. The folklorist writes it down. Now, the person who used to tell the story wants to see the written form. After a while, the written form becomes crystallized as the real or authentic version. It is published outside the community, and comes to stand for the culture in the wider world. A book makes its way back to the community, or is brought by a fieldworker of the next generation who finds that the story has changed, and that the people now do not properly know their own culture. The state is then assumed to have the responsibility to help the community preserve, or even relearn its own culture, and so it establishes programs in the schools, research, public programs and the like.

This dominant model has a lot that makes sense, and it does resonate with much

that we see. But it is also much too simple to apply to the processes of culture in the complicated real world. How we apply such concepts as culture, folk, community and even nationality are not self-evident or simple tasks.

Consider the question discussed earlier in the seminar--"What's included in Virgin Islands culture?"--and you can see very clearly the problems with the dominant paradigm. First, just who is in the community? Are immigrants from down islands who live in Savanne part of the community? How about those who work in the hotels and restaurants, are they included? What about the Puerto Ricans in St. Croix, or the mainlanders who own condominiums here and are part-time residents? How can we talk about the "naturalness" of culture when so many Virgin Islanders adopt forms of pan- Caribbean music and art and take them as their own? And what do we do about Virgin Islanders in New York? Presumably they're carrying Virgin Islands culture by cooking pates and johnny cakes and kallalou in their Brooklyn kitchens. Where is the community? People speak over the phone, or people write letters back and forth, or people even have fax-to-fax instead of face-to-face communication. Does this count? Is it a modern form of traditional community life, or its destroyer?

Contemporary Folklife in a Complex World

There is a growing notion in the world that there are human cultural rights. The specifics of what those rights are, who has them, and what is of common value to humanity is still debated. Yet it would seem that any formulation of cultural rights would have to identify the ongoing creation and manipulation of culture. Rights mean the ability of people to create, expand debate and manipulate their culture. That's how culture is made. Culture is made in a sublimely local way. It is made by the people. It is made every time a Virgin Islander in Savanne cooks a meal or somebody celebrates a birthday, or somebody speaks, or talks, or sings, or dresses up, or attends a wake, or goes to work.

Culture, being creative and adaptive, fosters diversity. Whether that is a problem or a resource depends on who's talking. Is cultural diversity good or bad for a nation? Some would argue that cultural diversity is a problem, taking away from the center, from the kind of social consensus of the nation. Such a view assumes that the prevailing culture is complete, whole, and unchanging. Thus, diversity

could be seen as preventing assimilation to a homogeneous way of life. But what is the homogeneous way of life that cultural diversity threatens? Americans, for example, might legitimately ask whether it is American pop culture? Biblical culture? Greco-Roman culture? Anglo culture?

More convincing is to view culture in dynamic terms. Immigrants and the young might bring new ideas and things into creation. But so too do cultural exemplars and older people who have the security to experiment. Cultural creativity will be found at local, national and global levels. It will be found in high literature and with songs of the streets. It will be found in so-called centers--in New York, Paris, Washington, and Hollywood, but also on the so-called periphery in San Juan, in Watts, in Bangor, and Mexico City. Indeed, the very idea of what is central and peripheral is likely to become increasingly meaningless.

There is a great democratization of culture taking place. Technology is a major factor in this--for it is much harder for any one to control it. Nowadays, you don't have to be rich to control or use contemporary technology. For mere dollars, students in China communicated about the Tieneman Square protests to the world. For \$69.95 one can buy a dual cassette recorder and establish a virtual recording company. For \$1,200 a person or group can become their own movie company. Technology has allowed for an amazing degree of decentralization in terms of the documentation, creation and control of cultural produce--as amply demonstrated by the growth and character of the Internet. But the use and worth of this technology is predicated upon dialogue--people communicating with each other, across institutions, interest groups, distances, nations, and languages.

Besides encouraging the use of technology to enhance cultural dialog, training has to occur to produce morally committed, economically street-smart, politically savvy, intellectually adept people to navigate contemporary cultural waters. We all need good cultural workers who can connect with the culture of the people, document, understand, analyze, and interpret what is happening. We need competent people to work on the economic viability of local culture and how things indeed can survive. We need cultural brokers and liaisons who can help people culturally represent themselves before those people are shut out of having their voice heard. We also need workers who protect the rights of people, communities and groups in their cultural property. Increasingly, companies and popular artists are exploring the cultural property of others in order to exploit it

and appropriate it for their own use without properly compensating those who produced it. Pharmaceutical companies for example are trying to find cures for cancer and AIDS and other afflictions. They're sending scientists to the rain forests to visit with the shamans, the bush healers and other people who know about herbs and other things growing there. They pay local knowledge bearers a hundred dollars or so and then take a potential cure or other useful medicine back to their laboratories where they might develop products worth millions. This has also happened musically as pop singers bring back rhythms, lyrics and styles from South Africa or Cajun country, copyright music that is not theirs, and yet make millions from it--offering back little in return to the people and communities who developed and nurtured the music. Obversely, we are seeing large corporations marketing products that appropriate local culture back to those people. Heinz ketchup is marketing salsa back to Mexican Americans. Coca Cola came out with Gombay punch in the Bahamas. To compete, Pepsi is now marketing Junkanoo Punch. Can the day of Egg McFoo Yung, Pizza Hut Pates, and Dunkin' Johnny Cake Donuts be far behind? There are vast locally based, community centered cultural resources that can be used to generate income, economic development, and concrete benefits to common people. But workers are needed to figure out how.

Finally, doctors, lawyers, political leaders, teachers, and numerous others have to be made more aware and become more sophisticated about cultural issues. People have to be trained in cultural studies and practice. Some people did take such training. In the last generation, Jomo Kenyatta, for example, studied anthropology at the London School of Economics, did a study of Kenya, wrote a book, *Facing Mount Kenya*, led an independence movement and became Kenya's first president. But by and large politicians and bankers, corporate heads and public servants, nurses and teachers are not well versed in cultural issues or any in-depth understanding of cultural resources and processes--even in their own community. We need people, and need them now, if we are to catch up with the complex cultural world in which we live and will increasingly have to understand.

QUESTIONS:

1. In a brief paragraph, explain Dr. Kurin's involvement in Virgin Islands folk culture.

2. Tell how the Office of Folklife Programs of the Smithsonian became involved in the Clinton-Gore inaugural. Is this a question of a healthy or unhealthy alliance between culture and politics in your opinion? Explain your answer!
3. When Kurin discusses Politics and the Economics of Culture he speaks of the State's involvement. What does "state" mean in this context?
4. According to Kurin, where does culture fit into the scheme of politics today?
5. The author seems to suggest something insidious in the relationship between the imagery of advertising and culture. What is the underlying message here?
6. Dr. Kurin suggests a continuum of cultural information and knowledge between Disneyland type attractions and scholarly sources. Where on such a continuum would you place folklife festivals, based on what you know of them from this article and from real life experiences?
7. Is there any particular reason why fishing rights in the Virgin Islands may or may not be decided based on precedence in the Great Lakes involving American Indians?
8. Give one good reason why the Roger Abrams article under discussion here might apply to issues of culture in our region?
9. According to Kurin, Abrams' concept of the definition of culture has to do primarily with contexts, environments or even individuals. Explain this process>
10. According to 19th century bourgeois nationalists what are the basic ingredients of nationhood or nationality?
11. Are you able to establish a systematic connection between a concept of culture and "manifest destiny?"
12. 19th century bourgeois nationalism is seen here as a reaction to modernism and thus remedial. What is the situation it attempts to remedy or exploit?
13. Is it accurate to say that Kurin's major bone of contention with Abrams is the latter's failure to recognize cultural authority stemming from the colonized or the formerly colonized as an underclass? Explain your answer.

14. The modernization process sometimes mindlessly plows culture underfoot. In the Soviet Union, however, according to this article, the process is programmed. Explain how and cite one of its consequences.

15. Kurin implies that populist folklore can be a tool of resistance. Can you identify the words by which this suggestion is made?

16. Kurin discusses fundamentalist cultures in India, North Africa, Israel and Southern Asia and mentions perceived threats to the authority of the State. Can you cite a recent event that would appear to bear witness to the concerns mentioned here?

17. In what category would Kurin place self-help organizations among Abrams overlooked agencies?

18. One particular trend in cultural research in recent years is seen here as eventually turning from source of useful perspective to unhealthy preoccupation. Can you state what is and trace its emergence?

19. Formalization and elaboration are seen as the main dangers to folk culture in its own element. Can cultural documentation be conducted ethically without creating a situation of overexposure to these dangers? How?

20. Kurin notes several latent or potential cultural sub-groupings presently operating in the Virgin Islands. Can you identify two of them and cite for each one the cultural activity around which it appears to organize itself?

21. According to Kurin some observers see the advocacy of cultural diversity as potentially dangerous for national unity in the U.S. Can you explain why? Are similar concerns evident in the U.S. Virgin Islands currently?

22. How does Kurin characterize the most important manifestation of culture today in the here and now?

23. What is the author's main prescription for state cultural policies, given the current flourishing of multivocal culture.

24. In the decision-making concerning cultural diversity versus cultural unity, how is the age factor viewed by the author?

25. In your opinion, which of these cultures Americans are likely to be most zealous about protecting: pop, Biblical, Greco-Roman or Anglo? Which culture are we as Virgin Islands most likely to defend? Which one, as West Indians?

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After Fifty Years Of American-ness, A Clamor for Culture

The clamor for Virgin Islands Culture in our curriculum has been heard many times over the past decades and may have first been uttered in the past century--if one judges by the tone and content of some of Edward Wilmot Blyden's writings, some of which are seen in this volume under the topic "Resistance". The following article is reprinted from the leaflet *50 Years*, published by the St. Thomas Friends of Denmark Society in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the "Transfer" of the Virgin Islands from Denmark to the United States of America, March 31, 1967.

Quo Vadis

(JH, SH, C-U)

Eldra Shulterbrandt

...And now to the future. All of us have pet hopes and dreams for our own future, for the future of our children, and for our loved ones. Far too few, however, allow themselves to dream of the future of the community of which they are a part, and for which they are partially responsible.

There is no gains-saying that the future of our Virgin Islands is inextricably interwoven in the dreams for ourselves and those we have for our children.

Any dream for our future must, of necessity, be broadly based in our past, and in the values which we presently hold dear. What are the important things to us here and now

...

If this question were asked, many people would say that the most important thing to us is "our way of life." What is this "way of life?" To different people it means different things. To some it is the quality of human relations practices here, (of which we are so proud)--that people of different races, creeds and persuasion can live together in mutual respect, in harmony and in peace. To others it means the

current booming economy, and the charisma and challenge of their role in rapidly increasing this economic base. To still others it is as basic as our "quaint" street names, our wonderful climate, our culture, the unique blend of architecture which identifies us from the rest of the Caribbean islands, or simply our memories of the past. We hold that it is no isolated quality, no one dimension, but it is a subtle blend of the physical characteristics, combined with the human intangibles which are so difficult to describe, but which are so very real.

Admittedly, there are other places in the world which are as beautiful as the Virgin Islands, those that can also boast of gentle, friendly people. There are areas where the natural resources far outweigh those of St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John, but we know of no spot in the world that has the magic blend of qualities--human and natural--that we have here in the Virgin Islands. This, then constitutes our "way of life"--a beautiful, natural setting--people living in dignity and mutual respect for one another and with a common goal of creating and developing a better life, each having an opportunity of sharing in the fruits of his labor, in accordance with his ability and regardless of the roots from which he sprang. With this definition then, let us contemplate the future of our Virgin Islands. What may we expect it to be in the next fifty years, or more?

In any projection of the future, whether it be in the Virgin Islands, in Denmark, in Hawaii or any place in the world, we can be sure of only one thing, the inexorable mark of CHANGE. There will be Change on many levels and in many directions. There will be change in population, in communication, in economy, in culture, in transportation and on every other major front in which we are presently involved. There will be change in values and change in priorities. There will be change in education and there will be change in our social patterns. There will be change in our "way of life." We will pass through many new phases in the next fifty years, of this we can be sure.

Passing from one phase to another does not necessarily imply retrogression or negative results--it can be a blending, a modification, utilizing the best of what we presently have, molding it with the new and the fresh, to meet the challenge of the future. In order to do this, however, we must make a conscious effort to identify those areas of our "way of life" which are good and true, and to hold fast to them against all threats . . . maintaining our basic human values, while at the same time directing our growth and development along a positive, orderly path.

Let us take a look at a few of the changes which we must anticipate, dream about, plan for and direct. It seems reasonable to believe that tourism in the Virgin Islands will continue to be blooming in the next five or ten years, only if adequate provisions are made for its protection and growth. Some one jestingly remarked that it is cheaper to spend a two week vacation in Europe, all expenses paid, than it is to spend a similar time in the Virgin Islands. If this be true, what effect will it have on tourism, on our economy and eventually on our people? What is our responsibility to affect this change?

Visitors to our shores like our people, they like our sea, sand and air; they like our breathtaking view and our clean, healthy towns, but what provisions are we making to keep Sandy Point, John Brewer's Bay, Coki Point, Hull Bay and other beaches virginal, with sparkling white sand, free from empty bottles, cans, debris and, most importantly, in the public domain. This must be part of our plan. If the Virgin Islands is to continue to be recognized as one of the glorious spots of the world, we must preserve our natural resources, our dramatic views.

The possibilities of land values spiraling to such astronomical heights that those of modest means can no longer afford a plot, are real. Unless we plan, today, and direct ourselves to these possibilities, we may wake up to find that only those with substantial wealth are able to own a home on our hillsides, on our valleys--in the choicest spots where views are magnificent. Forbid it that the day should ever come when, on walking down Queens Street, Main Street, or Kings Street, we are assailed by sign after sign saying "For San Franciscans Only." This would strike at the very heart of "our way of life" and might destroy one of the very real reasons that encourage tourists to come to the Virgin Islands.

Since we are dealing in dreams, allow us the privilege of sharing with you our dream of what the Virgin Islands could be in the future. We beg your permission to be fanciful and free--to be visionary--to dream.

In our dream of the future, the glorious heritage which was ours has been sustained and enhanced. New discoveries in science and technology have been utilized to beautify our cities and towns, to provide water in boundless amounts, to maintain electricity and power in sufficient quantities to supply our industries, to make our hillsides and our valleys velvety green. There is food aplenty, grown on our own farms and served fresh daily on our tables. No longer are we at the

mercy of the whims and fancies of external sources of food. We produce our own milk and cattle, our own bread and butter in sufficient quantities to fill our own needs, and to share with our neighbors.

In our dream, industries have been developed in a well planned, orderly fashion. They are servants to our people, providing them with their needs. They are never the masters.

We see our people producing and sharing the wealth which has resulted from sound economic planning.

Our dream continues. Our economy is strong and growing ever stronger, but it is developed, not at the expense of the people; but with their cooperation, their labor and their vision.

. . . and in our dreams there are microfilm newspapers and super transistor radios and broadcasting stations, television stations beaming pictures in black and white, and also in glorious color--but in our dream their roles have changed--they are media of education on all levels. They give facts; they provide leadership; they transmit news at the very moment it is happening. They have developed a tradition for informing and for educating the people of the world--the world is close knit as a result of their leadership and their efforts. They have been instrumental in bringing peoples together to share their language, history, culture, art--their diversities and their similarities. As a result of the new development of news media, the Virgin Islands is in the midst of world affairs.

. . . And so our dream continues.

We envision changes in educational goals, techniques and philosophy--our children do not "graduate," they grow and mature. The process starts with the parents, even before the child is born, and it is persuasive and pervasive--in the home, in church, on the job, in the community. Teachers are everywhere, and everywhere they are effective and inspiring. Classrooms are centers for the development and satisfaction of curiosity. In our dream, ideas surround us; they are exchanged and explored. Virgin Islanders read--they read for pleasure, they read to gather information, to learn new techniques, to understand the past; they discuss; they are alive, they are alert--they are educated and they are educating. There is intellectual foment; there are scientific discoveries that contribute to the

well being of man--there is excitement and there is the satisfaction that comes from serious scholarship.

Our cloud floats gently upward--our dream continues. There has been a Virgin Islands Renaissance in art, in literature, in music, in philosophy. Young people have sparked this curious awakening. They are active in creating art--in writing books--in discussing philosophy, politics. They have purpose and dedication. They are the new leaders, they are the entrepreneurs. Our future is in steady hands.

Most important, however, in our dream we envision our island home as the world's greatest exporters of good will. From all over the universe, men come to live among us to learn the secret of our good life; and despite the fact that other areas in the world will have attracted the transitory visitor, we have become recognized as the Mecca for those who would study and learn the art of living-together; those who would discover the secret labyrinths of peace, those who would attain the comfort of self-realization.

ACTIVITIES:

1. Students should consult a dictionary or encyclopedia on the meaning of *quo vadis*; they should then do the same concerning the expression status quo.
2. Discuss the question: Does the author appear to be a proponent of the *status quo* for the islands? In what sense so, in what sense no?

QUESTIONS:

1. Can students furnish two examples of "quaint" street names? What do they understand by a quaint name? is it a Danish name or a folk name like Glass Bottle Alley?
2. In sum how does Ms. Schulterbrandt define "our way of life?"
3. What is it about CHANGE that is absolute in the writer's view?
4. Does the writer suggest that change is likely to be swift and radical?

5. Does Ms. Schulerbrandt suggest we make a choice between "our way of life" and development and growth? Explain your answer.
6. What are the writer's concerns about tourist attractions like Sandy Point, Trunk Bay and Brewer's Beach? What about Main Street? About 30 years later, were her concerns justified?
7. What would Ms. Schulerbrandt have liked to see radio and television doing today that they were not doing in her time? Have things changed where these media are concerned?
8. What is Ms. Schulerbrandt suggesting when she voices dissatisfaction with our school children just "graduating?"
9. In what way is Ms. Schulerbrandt's view of education a humanistic one and not merely a materialistic one?

DISCUSSION:

As students read the remarks of Edward Wilmot Blyden on upcoming pages on higher education, those of Jarvis on the Social Studies curriculum, Euwema on tourism and the economy, Emmanuel's and Clendenin's on the media and Sekou's on the status question, they must consider the extent to which Ms. Schultebrandt restated on the one hand and pre-configured on the other fundamental issues of interest to cultural education in the Virgin Islands.

Which of Ms. Schulerbrandt's views on modernization would be characterized as anti-development by today's standards? Which ones are likely to be considered radical and even socialistic? Considering developments in the Virgin Islands since her time, were her concerns reasonable ones?

Where do the youth fit into the scheme of the Virgin Islands Renaissance mentioned by the author? Do you believe Ms. Schulerbrandt's views of young people were the prevailing ones among persons of her age twenty years after she wrote this article? Cite two folk sayings or teachings to support your answer.

Appropriate field techniques are essentially important (1) if reliable cultural material is to be gathered and (2) if future field workers and specialists are to be assured a receptive reentry into the culture by resource persons and informants

when such contacts are indicated In what follows one of our best known raconteurs, who is also a story-writer, shares with us some rules of the road.

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On Nurturing And Curating Our Cultural Sources

CULTURAL INTERVIEW AND FIELD TECHNIQUES

Richard Schrader

As a research tool, the interview can be a master-key for unlocking the past of Virgin Islands folk life. Nothing beats a warm, flesh and blood discourse of the bygone days, before most of the culture was stripped from the bones of our people. But whether or not the doors of what is left of our native culture are opened to us, largely depends on the way in which we conduct our interview. The interviewer should always try to obtain certain basic information such as the age of the interviewee, place of birth, childhood experiences and other related information. However, there is no one set of questions that will fit every occasion. The interview should never take on the appearance of an interrogation, but rather a warm, friendly, homey drawing of information from the springs of history and culture. The interviewer should never try to sit in the driver's seat. He or she should merely act as a guide on the ride back into time.

The tape recorder is preferred over paper and pencil. It is quite difficult to sense the gut feeling of the interviewee about a particular matter or even share in a good belly laugh while the eyes are glued to a sheet of paper and with a pencil darting from line to line. In trying to capture every word you may lose the message. The more the interviewee feels that you have connected to his/her story the greater the flow of information will be.

The interviewer must always be on guard for signs of irritation or annoyance shown by the interviewee. One day while talking with a 94 year old man, after an hour into the interview when I asked "How old are you?" "Da noh foh yoh business," he replied. "Sorry," I said, "Meh noh been mean foh mash yoh corn." I then shifted the subject and our conversation continued as before in an amicable

manner. I had known the interviewee from childhood and he had known my parents. Naturally this relationship contributed to the success of the interview.

The interviewer must be a good listener. Let the interviewee talk. Sometimes one may not receive the answers to the questions asked. But the answer given could open up the conversation to another area of interest. For example, if Mr. "Bee Brown," when asked about his job driving Massa Wowie's phaeton or about his experiences as the only man in a woman sugarcane gang, breaks into a jumbie story, don't say, "We are talking about A nor D." Don't pull the reins. Nudge him/her on! The discovery might be greater than you think.

Another means of recording information is by taking mental notes of what is being said. It is sometimes inappropriate to take out a tape recorder or pencil and paper. The mental notes could be used when you unexpectedly come across a cultural source that should not be passed up. However, the information should be written down at the earliest opportunity.

During the past five years I have interviewed approximately 40 persons over the age of 60; ten were 80 years or older.

QUESTIONS:

1. At the outset is Mr. Schraeder more concerned about objectivity in data gathering or a solid rapport with the informant?
2. Is the best interview conducted like an interrogation?
3. "Back seat" driving is often discouraged. What is good about it in the present context?
4. Explain the advantage of the tape recorder over the pen or pencil and pad.
5. How does one show he has connected to the interviewee and the story he is telling?
6. According to the author, does it really matter that the person being interviewed is as old as the interviewer's parents?

7. What does Mr. Schrader offer as a possible justification for allowing the interviewee to digress freely?
8. Are there times when just listening without the recorder or pencil and paper can be justified?

From the outset we have maintained that Virgin Islands Culture--especially its folk culture--has to be studied within its historical framework. The unpublished documentation on aspects of Virgin Islands folk culture could fill volumes. Instead, the bulk of this material occupies the stacks of the Royal Archives in Copenhagen, and is in general handwritten in Danish in an evolving Gothic script. Mr. Gerard Emmanuel discusses these challenges to Virgin Islands cultural researchers and to our leaders and decision makers.

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ARCHIVAL RESOURCES: OVERVIEW OF PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

Gerard M. Emanuel

The problems and challenges of archival resources in the Virgin Islands are similar to those experienced in other developing areas throughout the world. One common problem is the low priority placed on archives by government officials and by societies in general. This prevents proper development and maintenance of archival materials. Of course, people recognize the importance of preserving information for educational or other developmental purposes. However, several reasons exist for the lower priority attached to preserving local archival information.

A general reason for the above situation is that with "progress" and "development," a few issues have forced themselves at the forefront of the minds of both decision-makers as well as on populations in general. Among these are the increase in violent crime, a decrease in the quality and affordability of health care and severe unemployment. In non self-governing territories such as the U.S. Virgin Islands, an additional factor lurks behind the scene. This is the lingering constitutional, institutional and psychological impacts from centuries of domination by colonial powers.

Wilfred I. Smith, Dominion Archivist in Canada, provides ten additional reasons for the low priority given to archival institutions in developing countries. Most of those he lists are thoroughly familiar to those of us who have engaged in some form of research. However, one we often overlook is the expense and difficulty associated with preservation efforts in a tropical climate.

Mr. Smith's article also implies that governments have difficulty associating the preservation of archival material with their need for economic, educational and other national developmental initiatives. These problems are not unlike those we experienced in trying to convince people in these islands of the importance and relevance of political status.

Similarly, archivists and record management officers experience difficulty in convincing legislatures or executive branch officials of the importance and

relevance of appropriate management of archival materials in the enhancement of government efficiency, effectiveness and decision making.

Fourteen years ago when I worked as records management officer for the Florence Williams Public Library, I wrote a letter to my supervisor detailing the need to develop better coordination among the agencies which housed archival materials both within and outside of the U.S. Virgin Islands. The letter also requested funds to identify, photograph and return the documents housed in the Royal Archives in Copenhagen, Denmark. At that time they were becoming badly deteriorated and their preservation was not considered a priority by the Danish government. The Danish government's interest at that time was on historic coins.

Additionally, the letter requested the purchase of preservation supplies to retard the damage occurring to government documents already stored in the Library. Nothing resulted from these requests. Several years afterwards when former Ambassador Terence Todman was serving in Denmark, we met to discuss what could be done to bring home the documents on the U.S. Virgin Islands. Nothing ever materialized.

I have been out of touch with the archivists in Copenhagen for several years and have no information on the existence or condition of these materials. However, it is clear that time is definitely of essence if we intend to preserve a sizable chunk of our heritage.

Archival material also exists in several colleges universities, churches, libraries and other institutions throughout Europe and the United States. For example, a recent conversation with historian George Tyson, revealed that the English archives have information on a classic event in V.I. history - the "firebun" of 1878.

Mr. Tyson has also given me the names and addresses of several institutions in Spain, France, England and Holland which may contain archival information on the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Specific Challenges Related to Archival Resources in the Virgin Islands

There are several challenges that face us regarding the identification, storage, preservation, organization, development and general management of archival

materials. Obtaining financial resources does not head the list as might be assumed. The principal challenge is changing the mindset of persons who have the power to effect change. Second, those of us who are already convinced must do a better job of persuading our community not only of the importance but the relevance of these efforts in allowing our leaders to more systematically, efficiently and effectively address and redress the problems with which we are confronted. For example, socio-economic data needs to be developed and stored in a more accessible manner so that decision makers can use it in their calculations. The numerous masters' theses and doctoral dissertations prepared about the U.S. Virgin Islands available throughout the United States and the rest of the world must be accessible either electronically or physically. Oral histories need to be compiled, cataloged, transcribed and utilized more frequently in our schools. Government agencies need to prepare annual reports on a more consistent basis and circulate them to public libraries.

More training needs to be provided for person handling archival materials. We need to affiliate ourselves with organizations such as the Caribbean Archives Association, the Society of American Archivists and the International Council on Archives. We also need to more fully employ the resources of UNESCO and other international agencies which could provide technical and other types of assistance to us. A team of librarians, historians and other scholars needs to be created to conduct an inventory of materials here in our community, in the rest of the Caribbean, in the United States, in Europe and in Africa. Simultaneously another group, or members of the same group need to start looking for a private location to house materials.

One could go on enumerating the myriad of challenges which confront us but some concrete action has to be undertaken or else all of this will remain academic.

When we focus our minds on resolving the challenges confronting us regarding archival resources and actually DO something about it, we can only succeed. However, if we never DO something we can only fail.

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"Cost Effective Management of Archives"

"Planning for the Development of Archives"

"Archives in Development"

(Materials circulated at the Caribbean Archives Association Seminar on Archival Development and Managment, November 11-15, 1984, V.I. Hotel, St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands)

QUESTIONS

1. According to the author, how is the problem of the Virgin Islands in the matter of archives similar to that of developing countries?
2. Name two issues associated with development and modernization that are cited by the author as likely to overshadow archival issues.
3. From a constitutional perspective, how does the author characterize the Virgin Islands?
4. Does the author attempt to link present day societal problems in the Virgin Islands to the islands' colonial status?
5. Mr. Emmanuel cites a non-Caribbean writer who in turn notes at least one obstacle to archival preservation over which we have little control. What is it?
6. In the absence of a commitment by the Government to any major action with respect to the archival material in the Royal Archives in Copenhagen, what did the author recommend might be done by the Government as a stopgap, at considerably lesser expense?
7. Besides the Royal Archives in Denmark, name three other places (including countries) where significant collections of archival material are likely to be located, according to the author and his sources!

ACTION QUESTIONS:

1. How do neglect of V.I. archival resources and inaccessibility to them impact negatively on public policy making? Name two measures you could take to promote solutions to such neglect and its ramifications!
2. Do you believe there are ways the computer could be used to promote accessibility to the data bases scattered in libraries world wide? How?
3. Are oral histories of any importance to the issues of archival preservation? What methods and techniques suggested by Schraeder in his piece on field methods will be most important in this area of archival preservation? Do you know of any special language or communicative skills that will be needed for this phase of cultural research. Are these skills significantly different from those used when the original archival material in Copenhagen was collected? Explain your answers!
4. According to Mr. Emmanuel, what kinds of international link-ups are likely to yield good results?
5. The author offers a kind of action plan, involving several kinds of experts and agencies. Could you draft application forms for persons seeking two of these jobs, or seeking to be assistants to two of these experts?

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WERE THERE AFRICANS BEFORE?

(SH, C-U)

Gilbert A. Sprauve

In recent decades the Virgin Islands have come to occupy a place of a certain prominence in New World pre-Colombian history. We might explain this development in some measure as the result of archeological, anthropological and linguistic research. Here we refer to such research as it concerns the question of a possible ancient pre Colombian presence of Blacks on this side of the Atlantic. The undisputed leader in this field of research among caribbeanists is the Guyanese anthropologist and linguist Ivan Van Sertima. Professor Van Sertima was educated at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University and Rutgers Graduate School and is currently an associate professor of African Studies at Rutgers. We quote below from some of his recent writings related specifically to an early Black presence in what today we call the Virgin Islands:

I would like to draw your attention now to a dot-and-crescent script that I found in the Reef Bay Valley at St. John's in the U.S. Virgin Islands (Van Sertima, p.22.)

We have evidence from the Smithsonian itself [of] the discovery of African skeletons in the U.S. Virgin Islands. I think it was in 1974 or 1975. And I'm going to say what they said. They said these skeletons were morphologically African. They said that they were the bones of two Black males in their thirties and they were found in a pre-Colombian grave at Hull Bay in the Virgin Islands. They said they were probably pre-Colombian because the layer or strata in which they were found was dated about 1250 A.D.

They also found something that was typologically pre-Colombian: A pre-Colombian native American ornament around the forearm of one of these skeletons. But when they went into the lab to carbon date them, they couldn't. Now, I do not want to embarrass anyone. I have been told privately why there could be no proper carbon dating. It has nothing to do with this thesis and we share (the Smithsonian and I) a common concern that nobody should know about it. But it is necessary for me to say that it was in bad grace for them to suggest, as one of them did in a newspaper, that Van Sertima is a man who sees a horse and

calls it a cow and that the reason why they could not carbon date the skeletons is because of the interference of sea water. That explanation is not valid.

Even more extraordinary was one report that the skeletons had to be post-Colombian because they found a nail associated with the skeletons. What is the conclusion? Africans can not make nails. You see what happens when your main focus is on primitives (pp.32- 33.)

We shift now to something that came about as a result of the Smithsonian find of African skeletons in a pre-Colombian grave in the Virgin Islands. The skeletons could not be dated and so the matter remains inconclusive, at least where the bones are concerned. But not far from Hull Bay, where these skeletons were found, at the bottom of Reef Bay Valley, on St. John's something unusual has emerged.

This script (Plate 64) is found at the bottom of a waterfall in the Reef Bay Valley and it is reflected in the water. The unusual regularity of the dot and crescent formation is what attracted me to it and away from the relatively meaningless carvings of animals further up the rock-face. It has been deciphered by Barry Fell, professor emeritus of Harvard. Fell has got into a lot of trouble over some of his decipherments but this has been carefully checked out. Scholars in the Libyan Department of Antiquities arrived at the same decipherment as he did. It has been identified as the Tifinagh Branch of the Libyan script. This was used not only by Southern Libyans but by people in some parts of medieval Mali and by the Tamahaq Berbers which in the period of which we speak, were not the heavily mixed Euro-African people they are today. The inscription reads: "Plunge in to cleanse yourself. This is water for purification before prayer."

Elsewhere in the volume *African Presence in Early America* (Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 1992) Professor Van Sertima presents the reader with documentation of early sea-going craft built and sailed by Africans, including West Africans, cites many statements made to early European explorers by Amerindians concerning the presence of Blacks among them as neighbors or captives and cites mention of a [Black] people in St. Vincent.

The above is the context within which we approach Virgin Islands pre-colonial--in the sense particularly of pre-Danish--cultural developments.

Editor's postscript: Relative to the possibility of an African origin of the Reef Bay petroglyphs, see also "Danmark," an excerpt of which constitutes Islands of Beauty and Bounty, (translator Nina York), in which the author, A.S. Orsted, made the following observation (in 1856): Around the lower one of these [cascades at Reef Bay] figures are carved in the rocks on both banks--very crude sketches of human faces, cruciform signs, etc. These are the only traces discovered on our islands from the days of the Caribs (p.37).

. . . The Caribs were a people very different from the other aborigines of America (perhaps they had their origins in Africa.). They were at the same level of civilization as the pre-historic Europeans.

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The First West African on St. Croix?

Aimery Caron

In the June 10, 1990, issue of EL NUEVO DIA, Ricardo Alegría, the well-known historian and ethnologist, published the story of Juan Garrido: a West African conquistador, under the title "El Primer Negro Libre de America" ("The First Free Black in the Americas"). As the story unfolds, we learn that Juan Garrido went to Hispanola, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guadeloupe, Dominica, Florida, and Mexico. Although not mentioned specifically, a clue is given to assure us that Juan Garrido did visit St. Croix at least once.

According to Alegría, in 1538, after having served the Spanish Crown for 30 years in the Americas, Juan Garrido wrote a plea or memoir to Charles V detailing his services to bolster a request for a pension. It is primarily through this memoir that we are able to learn of him.

Juan Garrido was born on the West African coast and went to Lisbon as a young man. Since he was free, Alegría surmises that he was the son of a king who traded with the Portuguese. Most likely, Juan Garrido had been sent to Portugal to become Christian and to acquire a Portuguese education in order to facilitate political and commercial relations between the two nations.

Soon after, perhaps in a quest for adventure, Juan Garrido went to Seville and, in 1502, he joined Nicolas de Ovando, the newly appointed governor general of the Indies, and his large expedition to Hispanola. From there, in 1508, he joined Juan Ponce de Leon with about 50 conquistadors to explore Puerto Rico and prospect for gold. In the summer of 1509, Ponce de Leon and his men fell upon some Crucian Caribs building a canoe out of a Ceiba tree on the South coast of Puerto Rico (1). They were returned to St. Croix and Juan Garrido may well have been of this group.

In his memoir, Juan Garrido affirms that he participated, with Diego Velasquez, in the conquest of Cuba. If so, he could not have remained long in Cuba, as he fought under Ponce de Leon in 1511, to repress the Caribs and the Tainos who had joined forces in Puerto Rico in a great revolt against the Spaniards.

Then, in 1513 Juan Garrido joined Ponce de Leon to explore Florida in search of the mythical fountain of youth on the isle of Bimini. That same year, they returned to Puerto Rico to learn that the Crucian Caribs had set fire recently to the town of Caparra. It was at that time that Ponce de Leon was named commander of a squadron of three ships to fight the Island Caribs. Juan Garrido wrote that, in 1515, he sailed with Ponce de Leon's squadron on a punitive expedition 'to the islands of Guadeloupe, Dominica, and other islands and in all we fought the Caribs.'" However, we know from other sources (2) that the first stop of this particular expedition was St. Croix where a thorough search revealed that all the Caribs had left. Thus, this is the first known authenticated case of a West African visiting St. Croix. Furthermore, it is probable that, between 1513 and 1515, this same squadron was involved in other raids on St. Croix and the Virgin Islands against the Caribs, and that Juan Garrido participated in some, if not all, of them, as it is known that he always followed Ponce de Leon

In 1521, both men returned to Florida where Ponce de Leon was wounded by the Indians and died shortly thereafter In Cuba. At this point, Juan Garrido decided to join Hernan Cortes in Mexico. There, his first action was the capture of the city of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) from the Aztecs. He later gathered the remains of some conquistadors fallen during the "Noche Triste" and buried them in a historic sepulcher he built, titled "The Martyrs," at the City gate.

Sometime between 1522 and 1523 In Cuyuacan, Juan Garrido took the initiative for which he is best remembered: he sowed wheat for the first time in Mexico and produced flour in commercial quantities at his plantation near the gate of Tenochtitlan, on the road to Tacuba. Later, in 1523, he took part in the exploration of the rich region of Michoacan. Upon his return to Tenochtitlan in 1524, the city council appointed him to a post equivalent to that of city manager which he retained for about three years, until Cortes fell in disfavor.

Toward 1527, he and a group of adventurers rushed for riches to Zacatula, Michoacan, where gold had been discovered. It would appear that within a year he returned to his plantation at Tenochitlan poorer and deeper into debt.

After several peaceful years on his plantation, in 1532, Cortes lured him again for his last adventure in search of fame and fortune. It was for the exploration of Baja California which was then some mythical island reputed to be populated with black women from the region of Cihuatan, rich in gold and pearls. They returned in 1535 after enduring terrible hardships and failing to find anything of worth.

This time, Juan Garrido retired permanently with his family on his plantation to die a few years later, poor and forgotten. Nevertheless, he was immortalized in three paintings. Two of these paintings are 16th century codex paintings where he is shown with Hernan Cortes and his conquistadors. The third one, a mural depicting the history of Mexican agriculture, was painted by Diego Rivera . . . at the Presidential Palace.

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Carl Ortwin Sauer, "The Early Spanish-Main," Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1969, p. ??.

15 September 1990

QUESTIONS:

1. As you follow Juan Garrido in his travels in the Caribbean in the first paragraph of the current article, are you able without the use of a map to trace with a fair degree of precision the directions and distances from one destination to the other in the chronological order suggested? Do you believe that he might have seen or visited at least one island more than once as he traveled from one destination to another?
2. What was the document that turned out to be the source of most of the biographical information available on Juan Garrido? Who was the author of this document?

3. What piece of information suggests to us that Garrido might have been the son of a king?
4. What would a Portuguese education have done for the young West African at this time?
5. Who was Nicolas de Ovando?
6. How does the author arrive at the idea that Garrido may have traveled to St. Croix? Do you accept this line of reasoning?
7. What is our source for knowledge that Garrido participated in the conquest of Cuba?
8. Do you know enough about the Tainos, and the Caribs to understand why the battle of 1511 was a particularly significant one?
9. Is there evidence that the Caribs from St. Croix traveled to Puerto Rico frequently?
10. What is it about the geography of the Caribbean that would either re-enforce or dispute the author's suggestion that on this punitive mission to Guadeloupe, Garrido would have visited St. Croix?
11. When and where did Ponce de Leon die?
12. What do you know about Cortes?
13. How did Garrido come to be known as a farmer too?
14. Is it apparent that Cortes' influence had something to do with Garrido's success in public life?
15. Where on the mainland of the Americas is Baja California located?
16. Is it possible to know what this first African to have probably visited St. Croix looked like?

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MIDDENS, CONCH SHELLS AND MOTHER OF PEARLS: CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

(JH, SH, C-U)

Gene K. Emanuel

When the black smoke signifying trouble bellows from the huge steam chimney of the Virgin Islands Water and Power Authority's electrical generating plant, it is also a signal of distress coming from the spirit of the early North American Indian culture that had established itself in St. Thomas and made Krum Bay one of its "instrument factories" many generations ago. Archaeologists and anthropologists have generally accepted this early colonization of the Virgin Islands as a rich historical discovery, since, among other things, the type of tool made and used by these "Krum Bay people," including the important ax, were made of a compound known to us as ferric oxide, iron. In this same Krum Bay rocky landscape, hammer stones to shape their ore into tools were also found. Early in the dawn of Virgin Islands culture, when the environment really mirrored paradise, emigrants from North America were already bringing their culture and technology to these Virgin shores.

Loven, a noted Taino scholar, suggests that they may have come from the Atlantic coast of North America, the area around Georgia that later in time was to be peopled by marooned African slaves from the plantations of a dying Southern realm. Thousands of miles from their motherland, in the sheltered bay between green hilly perimeters, this early colony apparently took advantage of the calm waters and abundant sea life to fish, kraal and develop a minor sea economy. No evidence of pottery making has been found and some investigators have suggested (Booy, 98) that the absence of pottery identifiable with this culture suggests that the North American-Virgin Islanders were not yet making pottery.

What the tool making "factories," scattered among the shell heaps of Krum Bay suggest is an emphasis on the tools of military engagement -- possibly a warrior people becoming acculturated by the demands of a new environment. Fragments from the Krum Bay site show iron ore working people used the stone ax extensively in St. Thomas even before it found widespread use in the Florida peninsula. Other early Caribbean and Florida natives used the conch shell

extensively as a tool and it became a stamp of their age. Later, it was to be elevated to become the trumpet from the sea and a call to worship, commerce and war for thousands of Amerindian Caribbean people. Today its sound still reverberates throughout the valleys and scenic hills of St. Thomas, the fishing shores of St. John and the fertile plains of verdant St. Croix.

The historic drum of the Krum Bay dwellers, the sweating petroglyph of Salt River's Batey Plaza near the cacique's lodging and the salt ax of Frederiksted open a "chuk" space to view acts of sovereignty and an enormous range of human activity by early Caribbean settlers whose legacy informs our cultural activities to this day. Moreover, these powerful historical realities should provide important educational content for studying our histories, cultures and the lives of Virgin Islands peoples. Beacons of man's struggle with his space and kind, they guide our understanding of our collective selves at a time when there is much doubt, question, and misconceptions about identity in general and who we are in particular. These signposts of Taino and Carib civilization--"the only salt-ax of the Celt type knowing the Americas," the notched ax of St. Croix; the Mayan influence in Taino culture; the quality of the painted pottery - then, hard, delicately painted; the large coral limestone head tooled to be mounted and used as ouanaragaona (mask)--all of these put together with the African petroglyphs at Reef Bay on St. John are bits and pieces of a psychic whole that has eluded generations on these lands.

Edgar Lake, in an address to the Board of Governors of the Virgin Islands Cultural Heritage Institute, at the installation of the Board of Governors at Government House, St. Thomas, September 4, 1993, referred to a musical panegyric and a table inlaid with mother of pearl created by Fernando Essanason on the occasion of Charles Lindberg's arrival the Virgin Islands as "another historic encounter" that, like the Taino-Carib heritage, was transformational for future generations. Lake also noted that a number of important recorders of the encounter exist in our community: notes in diaries; souvenirs; photographs; some response in art, or the collected memory. Sadly, these artifacts, like so many aspects of the true history and literature, are buried 'in some dark place.' Former Secretary Adams of the Smithsonian Institution was instructive: "In the Smithsonian . . . various pieces were gathered, mainly from the Caribbean, a century ago, for their anthropological value" and these became part of the bedrock of these collections, especially after the 1985 Afro-American index

project (Lake, 1992) at the Salt River regional headquarters and sanctuary, four petroglyphs, part of the flat rocks that were set on end to enclose the plaza, have been located to this day (Hyatt, 33). One petroglyph in particular has been described as representing a pregnant woman -- perhaps a symbol or a goddess of fertility or even a childbirth icon. An even more important speculation concerning another Salt River stone monument should engage historians, creative artists and social science investigators for the window it creates to the world view and vision of the valiant people whose tragic mission it was to encounter the expansionist European privateers whose intrusion and cultural destruction brought a developing culture to a sudden and untimely end. To many the monuments are slabs of stone out of time. But in time Virgin Islanders and the world will begin to understand this petroglyph of mouths and eyes. It is characterized by a little tunnel which passes through the rock and opens outward, like the mouth of a river. Unlike the pigeon holes of the fortresses of places like Mombassa and Goree Island where captive Africans took their last look at their motherland, Hyatt claims that the tunnel in this monument near the cacique's house was used for rain magic and for the insertion of a speaking tube from which the chief/priest could speak oracularly to an awed community.

The island Caribs of Ay-Ay, like the celebrants of Kwanza in modern day St. Croix, made offerings to give thanks for the first fruits -- the anacri accompanied by carnival-like drinking feasts called ouicou. They played batey or pelota on courts bordered by rock fences that served like Austin Peterson and Paul Youngblood's public art to express the values and valorize the totems of power that ruled their society. Their military units were part of a Pan-Caribbean force that according to the testimony of their contemporaries, "were solidly united with other Carib islands, including Vieques. Thus, our Virgin Islands connection to Vieques predates the European presence in these seas and continues to this day. The Boriquenon account also informs us that (Loven and Navarrete) the Spanish never landed on Ay-Ay. Navarrete suggests that historians following Martyr's account have confused the Salt River episode with the landing at St. Martin, leading to a much more imaginative interpretation of Columbus's visit to Ay-Ay.

These accounts are other bits of evidence in the Pan Caribbean connection of which the Virgin Islands have until these last decades, been squarely in the center. So our middens, conch shells and mother of pearl are instruments and objects of our vision as well as our past. Middens are refuse heaps -- the garbage

dump of centuries that contain only broken things and waste that have been the dark hole, the vault of some dark place that adds pieces to the emergent cultural map of the Virgin Islands. It is said that middens contain whole vessels, except when vessels are used for burial. That is true also of the authentic cultural history of the Virgin Islands. It is no single vessel, no solitary holy place, but is strewn through the earth layers of generational use and embedded in the memories of silent generations now fixing their final stare. It is also entombed in museums, archives, and languages from which our own middens, conch shells, and inlays of mother of pearl are formed.

QUESTIONS:

1. How is the theme of conflict between modern development and historical culture approached by the author? Is the approach a direct one or a hesitant and halting one?
2. What technological advance is attributed to the pre Colombian "Krum Bay people" whose artifacts are now viewed as being under siege?
3. What role does this article suggest the sea played in the civilization and survival of the Krum Bay people?
4. Nowadays the blowing of the conch shell can still occasionally be heard. Is it possible to relate this ritual to any of those of the Krum Bay people, according to the author?
5. How does the author employ landmarks and artifacts in establishing continuity between Amerindians, Africans and mankind in general in the terrestrial space we call The Virgin Islands?
6. When the author speaks of the "monuments" as "slabs of stone out of time, what kinds of cultural residue does the word "monuments" refer to?
7. Name two types of recreational activity that are believed to have been enjoyed by Amerindians in the Virgin Islands.
8. How does the present account contribute to the view that Vieques is one of the

Virgin Islands despite its administrative association with Puerto Rico?

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RANDOM COMMENTS ON RANDOM ACTS OF CHILDBEARING--a vignette (experienced on a St. Croix transit bus on October 10, 1994.)

(JH, SH, C-U)

Gilbert A. Sprauve

The following text is presented as a vignette in the context of issues of contemporary folk culture. Some of the textual material we have chosen to include in this manual could best be qualified as "vignette" or "specimen." We consider the characterization vignette when the passage essentially makes its own statement and specimen when it relates closely enough to a major article that its presence alongside the latter contributes significantly to the underscoring of its main points.

She'd signaled from the side of the road for the bus to halt for her. A stout, hardworking, healthy-looking Black woman. Before taking a seat she arranged her two plastic bags of empty aluminum cans neatly under the seat on the vehicle she would occupy. The seat she chose was next to his, though she had had a choice of any other seat she wished on this bus this Sunday afternoon.

No sooner had they exchanged howdys, that she challenged him: "You don't know who I am!!!" He nodded agreement feebly. "How come I know your name and you don't know mine?"

In short order she revealed that she'd campaigned for him the time fourteen years ago when he'd run for a Senate seat, and won. She had an opinion for most important issues facing the islands, and told him that she often called the Saturday call-in show on radio and contributed her two cents. As the bus gained more passengers on its way towards Christiansted, this stocky woman with her plastic bags of empty aluminum cans continued to expound on one issue and another, for his edification and that of the other passengers and the driver. For, there was one

bus stop near Sunny Isles that was poorly located and was only creating a traffic hazard and to boot causing drivers to be ticketed. Yet, all in all, this bus service was improving the quality of life for people. If she or John Doe wanted to go to the beach up on the East End nowadays, all they had to do was get a bus schedule and be at the right stop at the right time.

But some bad-minded taxi-van operators were trying to sabotage the service by paying some good-for-nothings to take out the signs for the bus stops. She had had to remind a set of drivers that they had had their chance to serve the people better all these years, had refused to provide service to passengers who lived off the main line. And they should remember that these people who were driving these public buses were people just like them with mouths to feed and children to clothe. (So persuasive was she in her re-staged remote engagement with the taximen that another passenger, a heavy set younger woman sitting in the middle of the bus chimed in with her own endorsement of the service; she could now do her shopping at a market that she hadn't been able to get to all these years!)

Somehow the conversation came around to recycling. She said she'd made as much as \$35.00 on one trip with her cans. But recently she was being more circumspect. Some people were making it harder for others. The recycling people had discovered that some individuals were putting sand in the cans to increase their weight. Besides, you never know what you're going to discover in a garbage bin anymore. Look at that man, who found the baby. "And the man had a right to keep the baby. Instead, they take it from him. It was his baby; he found it!" And, because Plunger was off island when the incident took place and wasn't current she filled him in on the details: "Imagine, a forty-five year old woman. And the father was a man in his seventies. But he was married. Told the police the woman gave him the bag to throw in the garbage and he never know what was in it. I know one thing: I bring seventeen of them into the world and thirteen of them live. And I never once think about throwing away any of them. And I never encourage any of my daughter to do that. But to get back to the man who find the baby. It's only because he went to throw away his garbage, and he hear the infant crying, which somebody else might not have paid any attention, or decide it was a cat or something. It was his, and they had a right to give it to him. Too much unfairness. If he had keep it they would have never know. If anything like that happen to me, I turning around and walking away. I'm not getting into anything like that."

(The above incident took place in early October of 1994 and is reported on by Gilbert A. Sprauve.)

DISCUSSION:

1. This mature woman enters a public bus on which the narrator is the only other passenger this Sunday afternoon and chooses to sit on the same seat within a foot of him. Does this act say anything to you about the two individuals?
2. Does this passenger display an attitude of hostility towards the narrator? Or, is she warm towards him? Or indifferent?
3. Based on what you believe you know about this woman, what do you suppose she means when she says she campaigned for the narrator? What activities would she probably have engaged in on his behalf?
4. How would this woman contribute her "two cents" to a radio call-in show. Could you create a brief dialogue that she might be engaged in on any given Saturday with the host of a call-in show?
5. Could you give one reason why people on the bus were not likely to think the woman was "talking random," but instead was making enough sense to deserve some attention?
6. Do you get the feeling that this woman felt that Public Works and the Police Department were doing all that they possibly could to make the bus ride a safe and pleasant one?
7. Is it possible to conclude from the text you are reading that the taxi-van drivers were making regular trips to the beach at Cramer's Park?
8. Do you have the impression that this woman could testify in Court that she knew who the people were who were taking down the bus stop signs and the persons who were instigating them to commit the act?
9. In this woman's view, who provided the more adequate service to the riding public, the bus or the taxi vans?

10. Did her statements about the quality of the service encourage others on the bus to speak up in protest against the bus company?
11. Do you believe that the re-cycling people were paying persons like this passenger per can delivered or by the weight of their bags?
12. Besides the aluminum cans from one's own household, where would a good deal of the cans come from that people would return for re-cycling, according to this text?
13. According to the passenger, what lead to the baby's presence in the garbage bin?
14. What lead to the discovery of the foul act?
15. Does the passenger have a clear opinion of who the guilty party or parties is or are?
16. Does she have an opinion concerning what ought to be done with the baby?
17. Does this person impress you as someone who would likely turn her back on an infant that she might discover one day in a garbage bin? Explain the basis of your answer!

ACTION OPTION: Students might develop and perform a skit on the whole content of the above vignette or on the accidental discovery of the baby in the bin and its consequences.

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CHILD REARING: A VIRGIN ISLANDS MODEL

Exploring Our Cultural Assumptions in
Childrearing Practices in the Virgin Islands

(SH, C-U)

Denise Bennerson, Ph.D.

Gia Richards, Ms.Ed.

The United States Virgin Islands consist of three islands St. Croix, St. John, and St. Thomas. The Virgin Islands (VI) is a multiethnic, and multicultural society. The islands include many people from the Caribbean, the West Indies, the continental United States, Europe, and other countries from around the world. Presently, the professionals in the Virgin Islands educational system who we identify as administrators, teachers, therapists, and paraprofessionals experience difficulty understanding or interpreting the dialect and mannerisms of the families and children that they serve in the Virgin Islands. The difficulties often stem from non-familiarity with the various cultures within the Virgin Islands as they relate to the cultural experiences that the newcomer brings to the islands.

This paper will address the cultural sensitivity that professionals should have as they work with children, who come from various cultures within the Virgin Islands. There are many generalizations or stereotypes that tend to simplify the cultures within the V.I. It must be emphasized that all Black people who live in the V.I. do not come from the Virgin Islands nor do all Hispanics come from Puerto Rico. Within those races are people of different ethnic origin. And each group comes with its own culture.

Cultural groups differ with respect to cultural values such as language, views of life and death, roles of family members, problem solving strategies, attitudes toward education, health, mental illness, and level of commitment to traditional or nontraditional ways or the quality of the blend between these two.

The lack of awareness of different cultures may lead to breakdowns and misunderstandings in communication. This may result in prejudicial behavior.

Presently, cultural sensitivity is essential for providing effective services to families especially since we believe in the strength of the family.

This article is the result of preliminary work on a study that investigates the cultural factors that affect childrearing practices in the Virgin Islands from birth to the age of five years. A tri-island questionnaire has been developed that addresses the way parents of different cultures raise their children. It has been observed that parents usually rear their children according to how they were raised.

Culture is defined in the study as the body of understanding, attitudes and behaviors that people accept, share, and display. The variations that may exist within each cultural group are due to differences in socioeconomic status, social class, religion, age, education, location, and length of time in the United States.

Cultural knowledge informs the professionals about the choices and options they should make in working with families and their children. Childrearing practices play a significant role in multiplying communication between the outsider and the client society. Childrearing practice are defined as techniques used in a home to elicit a certain type of behavior from a child.

Culture influences childrearing practices and the way that parents and other adults interact with children in verbal and nonverbal language. Recent studies have found that childrearing practices help to form and shape the child's view of self and how he or she fits in the world. The cultural differences in childrearing are occasionally viewed as strange or unnatural to those outside the culture, but the differences usually make sense within the context of the environment in which they evolved. To work with families and their children effectively it is necessary to be sensitive to their needs and desires. One needs to consider the family's point of view which in turn requires use to further acknowledge the culture from which the family come. This step is fundamental if we are to understand them and their concerns.

A problem that has plagued previous studies on culture in attempting to understand the needs of particular groups is the lack of adequate ethnic or national origin separation in the data collected. For example, Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans were grouped into large undifferentiated categories that do not allow professionals to understand the needs of a particular group of children.

Distinctions such as Puerto Rican versus Cuban versus Mexican American children, Southeast Asian versus Chinese versus Filipino American children, and Antiguan versus Trinidadian versus Crucian children are a few examples of the distinctions needed in order to effectively plan services for the population we serve.

Since the study has not been completed, we will not suggest assumptions about other cultures, but we will attempt to explain cultural assumptions as they relate to the Crucian Culture from which we originated. As an individual you are encouraged to compare your own cultural values, and try to establish differences as well as similarities.

These are some of the:

NONVERBAL CRUCIAN CULTURAL ASSUMPTIONS

SILENCE

Children are not encouraged to speak, nor to take part in adult conversations. Children should "Hear it, see it, and leave it right there."

DISTANCE/SPACE

The closer the relationship the shorter the distance or space between people. The "hotter the melee" the more touching takes place between individuals.

EYE CONTACT

Children are not expected to look their parents, and as a general rule, adults in the eye when spoken to. This gesture is looked at as a challenge.

EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION

Infants are nurtured warmly and affectionately; concern is expressed about "spoiling" the baby. They use the term "hand basket" as what they don't want the child to become.

The extended family such as aunts and grandmother still play a vital role in sustaining the family.

BODY LANGUAGE (FACIAL EXPRESSION, GESTURES)

Mother still uses the LOOK to change a child's inappropriate behavior.

Body language of children such as "hands on your hip (akimbo), mouth pushed-up and cutting eyes, making up your face" (in response parents usually say "fix your face or fix your mouth") is considered to be rude.

DIET/FOOD

Food is a very important part of the culture. Mothers love to see their children EAT. Every major event such as parties, and other social gatherings must have a big spread.

This includes numerous starches, and various types of meat. Salad is very low on the totem pole.

HEALTH

Herbal remedies are still considered part of the healing process when someone is sick or injured with or without modern medicine.

HUMOR AND WHEN TO USE IT

We have a great sense of humor and it may be used on someone who is not familiar with the culture (sometimes the joke is on them and they don't know it). We also have a tendency to laugh before we finish telling a joke to someone.

POLITICS

Most politicians are elected based on numerous fish fries with lots of food and a popular band. And those who speak the loudest, are most visible, and considered to be loving to the community are usually elected.

RELIGION

Though people have their orthodox religious beliefs many still believe in spirits good or bad, or take part in a ritual known as "Obeah.

PROVERBS

Many of the proverbs are based on local philosophy and are reiterated as advice for example:

"Who don't hear will feel."

"What yo do in de dark come out in de light."

"Time longer dan twine."

"Every skin teeth ain' a grin."

"Monkey know wha' kind of tree to clime."

TIME

As a general rule, it is accepted by members of the culture to be late for any gathering and this is sometimes know as "Crucian Time, "V.I. time," etc

VERBAL CRUCIAN CULTURAL

ASSUMPTIONS

ADDRESS FORM

It is considered bad manners or a lack of respect to address older individuals by simply their first name. Appropriate titles are Ms. Norma, Mr. David, Mrs. Elizabeth, Miss Karen or Dr. Theresa. If it is a family friend the appropriate titles used are Auntie, Uncle, or Cousin whether or not they are related example "Auntie Ena," or "Cousin Roy." This way of addressing the adults demonstrates respect.

GREETINGS AND LEAVINGS

It is extremely important to greet people whenever you meet them, whether in a business or social situation. Lack of the greeting is considered rude, and the individual will pretend not to hear your request. They may respond with "You wake up with me this morning?", or "We sleep together last night?"

"Good Night" is both for greeting and leaving more so than "Good Evening" or "Good Bye."

TURN-TAKING IN A CONVERSATION

The "hotter the melee" the faster people speak, sometimes louder, sometimes in a whisper. They may interrupt one another instead of taking turns, and there is a tendency to speak more in dialect.

Presently, the study is ongoing and in progress. Preliminary findings are that the beliefs that influenced many cultures in the past, still hold true today. There are some hypotheses that can be formulated, based on the experiences of the investigator and the answers received in response to the questionnaire about "Cultural factors that affect child rearing practices."

The hypotheses are:

1. Most parents who are of the West Indian Culture will cut their sons hair after the child begins to talk and not before.
2. Most children are attending a preschool or a day care center as opposed to staying with an extended family member or one individual.
3. Hispanics retain a very influential part of their culture by speaking predominantly Spanish in their home.

The following are exercises that one can use for establishing cultural sensitivity in a group:

A CULTURAL JOURNEY

Culture is not just something that someone else has. All of us have a cultural, ethnic, and linguistic heritage that influences our current belief, values, and behaviors. To learn a little more about your own heritage, take this simple cultural journey.

Origins

1. When you think about your roots, what country(ies) other than the United States do you identify as a place of origin for you or your family?
2. Have you ever heard any stories about how your family or your ancestors came to the United States? Briefly, what was the story?

3. Are there any foods that you or someone else prepares that are traditional for your country(ies) or origin? What are they?
4. Are there any celebrations, ceremonies, rituals, holidays that your family continues to celebrate that reflect your country(ies) of origin? What are they? How are they celebrated?
5. Do you or anyone in your family speak a language other than English because of your origins? If so, what language?

BELIEFS, BIASES, AND BEHAVIORS

1. Have you ever heard anyone make a negative comment about people from your country(ies) of origin? If so, what was it?
2. As you were growing up, do you remember discovering that other families did things differently from your family because of their culture, religion, or ethnicity that seemed unusual to you? What was it? Why did it seem unusual?
3. Have you ever felt shocked, upset, or appalled by something that you saw when you were traveling in another part of the world? If so, what was it? How did it make you feel? Pick some descriptive words to explain your feelings. How did you react? In retrospect, how do you wish you would have reacted?

PLANE RIDE

PARTICIPANTS: Teachers

OBJECTIVE: To explore individual perceptions of other cultures

TIME REQUIRED: 30-45 minutes

MATERIALS: Masking Tape

Signs

White

Asian/South Pacific

Black/African-American

Latino

Native American

SEQUENCE: 1. Gather the group outside the room where you have sectioned the floor with masking tape and labeled each section White, Latino etc. Explain that several planes are taking off at the airport, each filled with labeled group.

2. Ask participants to choose the plane they would be the most comfortable on, then go to that plane and discuss why they chose it.

3. Pull everyone back into a group and explain that due to weather each participant must get on the next available plane, the one they least want to board. They go to that plane and again discuss why they chose it.

4. Discuss the discoveries the groups for each plane ride have made as a large group.

SUBMITTED

BY: Diane Sly, Juneau (Alaska) Team

REFERENCE: Social & Political Contexts Class, Pacific Oaks College, Pasadena CA, 1987.

Concepts and Questions

1. What is meant by the term cultural values and how these terms are manifested within a given culture?

2. How would someone from an extremely different cultural background respond on a first visit to your city? To your home?

3. What is the relationship between culture and perception?

4. If someone were to visit the island what are five cultural beliefs that you would share with them?

5. What influence does culture have on the context of the classroom?

6. Can you think of ways in which your culture has shaped the expectations for classroom behavior? Be specific and give examples.

7. What specific suggestions can you make that could improve your ability to interact with other ethnic or racial groups in your community? How would you go about gaining the necessary knowledge and experience?

8. Can you think of instances when you have been guilty of assuming similarity instead of differences?

9. How do you believe the educational needs of a multicultural society can best be met?

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There is another kind of childrearing that takes place in the Virgin Islands. It is institutionalized and its history includes a long track record of service to those who might otherwise go nameless and faceless in our society. Inclusion of the following article in our manual should remind the reader that even the best plans and strategies for effective childrearing in the Virgin Islands are not likely to be superior to the weakest link. After reading this article students could engage in such consciousness-raising activities as: a) interviewing schoolmates who are products of "homes" and reporting to the class on their new perspectives on the subject of homelessness, or b) preparing for and participating in a field trip to a home.

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Queen Louise Home: A volunteer's story--A vignette

Susan Burkey

Special to the Avis

Almost everyone has been a volunteer at one time or another. Whether it's serving on the PTA, a church or youth group, it means giving time to a worthwhile cause. Some people volunteer hundreds of hours of time because they are committed to their church, PTA, Boy Scouts or hospital auxiliary.

Volunteer cottage parents at Queen Louise Home give away more than 6,000 of their time in a year. Twenty-four hours a day, five days a week for one year demonstrates a definite commitment.

Most cottage parents come to Queen Louise Home from the United States and are fresh out of college.

Bodil Due (Do-ay_) is not a typical cottage parent. She grew up on a farm in Denmark and has a few gray hairs. After 10th grade she left school and took a job as a maid/nanny and has worked with children ever since.

"I was very tired of school," she said. After a year, she went to work at a children's home, where she performed the duties of cook, gardener, as well as child care worker.

"I didn't mind because I was brought up to work hard," Due said. Then Due went to work in a kindergarten and despite the cigar smoking headmistress, decided working with toddlers was her vocation. Due returned to school for three years to become accredited as a kindergarten teacher.

In Denmark, according to Due, children between the ages of three and six are sent to kindergarten and grouped by age.

"Kindergarten, in Denmark, is based on children playing without adult intervention," Due said. Children learn to figure things out and deal with conflicts through play, she added. And, Kindergarten teachers encourage close friendships between children, she said.

Due compared the atmosphere at Queen Louise Home with that of a Danish kindergarten. Because the children who have lived at Queen Louise Home for some time have learned to interact with many different children, they're better prepared for school, according to Due. Since these children live in cottages, with as many as nine other children, they have to learn to get along.

After almost 20 years in education and being promoted to director of the kindergarten, Due decided she needed a change "because things became too easy." Over a period of two years she inquired about various volunteer jobs, until one day she saw a story in her local paper written by St. Croix resident Nina York about the children's Christmas seals program for Queen Louise Home.

"I knew this was it. The kids were the right age. I wanted another culture and history and this (St. Croix) is tied to Denmark."

After mailing the necessary forms and being notified of acceptance into the cottage parent program, Due arrived last May to begin her commitment at Queen Louise Home.

She said she knew there would be problems. However, the problems are different than she anticipated. She feels her experiences and her education have prepared her to better understand and relate to the children in her care at Queen Louise Home.

Due said her first challenge was to win the children's trust. This takes longer than with most children, because these children have had many different people caring for them--in their homes and at Queen Louise Home. Along with the role of being a parent, and an adult, she said it was important to show the children who is responsible at all times. This is difficult because some of the children at Queen Louise Home not only have been responsible for their siblings but, in some cases, their parents.

"It is also important that you are aware of you being the one who takes responsibility in all situations--also in order to establish a secure atmosphere, where the children know they can rely on you," Due said. Now, after 2 1/2 months, Due feels the children are beginning to trust her.

"They haven't accepted me as family, yet," she said.

In Due's cottage, the nine children range from 3 to 10 years old. Besides getting to know the children's personalities, it is necessary to learn their backgrounds, special health needs and developmental differences.

"You can't ask the same of the 3-year-old as the 10-year-old," Due said. A cottage parent's day begins at 6 a.m. with dressing, feeding and getting the children off to school. After the children leave, the cottage is picked up and the dishes washed. Child care workers arrive at 8 a.m. to help with the house work. The cottage parents have a 3-hour mid day break to write letters, shop or go to the beach.

After school, some of the children attend therapy, some have doctor's appointments and the rest play on the sprawling grounds behind the cottages. The cottage parents pick up and deliver the children with appointments while the day care workers attend to the children on the playground.

After dinner at 5 p.m. and the chores, (dish washing and sweeping), there's time for coloring, going to the park, watching a movie or the occasionally necessary "pajama ride" to calm over-tired children. Due said she plans to teach the children some Danish songs after she has translated them to English.

Due said she had anticipated the Queen Louise Home would be more angry and violent, considering their backgrounds of abuse and neglect. However, she said the children are generally happy, especially those who have been at the home a while. (Some of the children have lived at the Home 4 and 5 years --all their lives.)

"They still have their individual problems. You do your best without being a therapist," she said.

Due said her favorite time of the day is the morning. "It can be real cozy if you let the children wake up slowly." Everyone is usually "in good spirits. The real conflict starts when everyone is tired," she said.

She knows she's not going to change the world or even the children at Queen Louise Home, "but to help as much as I can." She said she hopes to learn as much as she teaches. When Due returns to Denmark at the end of her contract, she will return to her position as director of the Trolld Hoj kindergarten.

The director of Queen Louise Home, Masserae Sprauve-Webster said, "A cottage parent has to give, give and give some more. Bodil left her country to give to a community to which she has no ties. She is giving us the utmost."

DISCUSSION:

The above segment is presented primarily as a "wake-up call", lest we forget the growing problems of homelessness and abandonment of children. A useful exercise would be for students to attempt to list those customs and traditions inventoried in the Bennerson article that are likely to be missing in the life of the average Queen Louise child. The student might use specific concerns raised by Bodil to explain why those traditions listed are absent. Next, the class could brainstorm how the more useful of these traditions could be integrated more naturally into the program at the Home to reduce the level of social disadvantage faced by these children as they face the outside world.

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Family Business = Everybody's Business

Editor's Note: The following was composed on St. Croix on September 25, 1994 by G.A. Sprauve, relying on his best recollection of an informal family discussion concerning child-raising that took place an hour earlier between an aunt and grandmother, her great-nephew and her niece. All names of persons in what follows, except the interviewer, have been changed.

E = Auntie Eldra T = Terrence (great-nephew)

C = Clarice

T.: I know what you're talking about. For three years, three whole years, Granny never talk to me--won't say a word to me--over something that she say I say to her one time when she tried to correct me.

C.: What did you say to Aunt Leona that upset her like that?

T. She didn't like how I was wearing my cap and she criticized me for it. All I said was: "You take me for somebody just off the street and, like, forget who I am." She went and told my mother I call her "Just somebody from off the street!"

G.: If that's what she understood, I could understand her feelings.

Auntie E.: Terrence isn't giving it to you right! Terrence said to Cammie: "Nobody just off the street can't tell me how to dress!" Something like that.

G.: Which was it, Terrence. The way you tell it or what we're hearing now?

T.: Something like that.

G.: Well, is a big difference between one and the other, you know!

T.: Anyway, she wouldn't say nothing to me for three full years!!! My mother tell me, unless I apologize to her, I could forget it!

C.: Well, did you make up to her?

T.: Umpteen times I tried. She wouldn't breathe on me.

C.: Did you say to her you were sorry?

T.: That I was sorry? Not exactly. But I tried to talk to her, to make up to her.

C.: It's how you do it. Now, with my son, Yancey. He comes over, to me, he hugs me, he says he is sorry he hurt me. He don't hold back anything. And he don't expect me to hold back anything. If I am going someplace, and he wants to know, I must tell him. Because if I ask him where he is going he tells me. He gets upset if he comes in the bathroom and I hide from him. Because if I go in the bathroom and he's in there he don't hide from me.

E.: There, I can't go along with you. A bathroom is the one place a person should have complete privacy.

G.: How old is the boy?

C.: Twenty-one.

E.: Oh no! By then he doesn't need to be getting into your private business. Nor you into his.

[There follows an explanation by G. on how situations like the above, where there is so much contact between children and parents, sometimes yield problematic results. He hastens to state that he admires the openness in parent-to-child contact just described, notes that as a general rule, St. Croix families seemed closer than St. Thomas in matters of this nature. Physical closeness in his own family was withheld very early in the growing up process.]

C.: I used to scrub my boys' back and neck up to when they were fifteen and sixteen.

E.: Again, that's carrying it kind of far. Why couldn't those two big boys scrub each other's back and neck?

C.: You know, boys don't like to get in the tub with each other. Besides when the one was in the hospital with his operation that time, it was I that bathed him. He found it more natural. And you never know when you might have to do everything for one of your own. They feel better knowing it's you than a nurse or somebody they don't know.

E.: There I can agree with you.

C.: But what G was saying just now about closeness, maybe it runs more in our family, Auntie. Take your niece F. and her son, S. Of course, S. isn't too good in his head to begin. Maybe some of the B. blood there. But, he would get in serious trouble for his mother. One day up at the beach something happened between her and some fellow. Somebody came back to Fredriksted and made the mistake of telling S. about it. He came over to my house in a huff, telling me he is looking for that man. He only wants to find him, and he will kill him. I tried to calm him down. I was only wasting my breath. He decided if he found the man he would kill him. "That man upset my mother!"

But, again, that's the type of temper S. has. As a li'l boy, from up in the States his uncle noticed he wasn't learning to tie his shoelace correctly. So, when his uncle came down, one Carnival night he went with him and his mother to the Village. I don't know what got into the man to pick trouble with S. Because, it wasn't like it was broad daylight where anybody could see. His uncle said to him, "S, it looks like you still can't tie your shoe string properly. Look at your one shoelace dragging in the dirt!" S. got angry right off the bat and went scouring the grounds of the Village, looking for stones to pelt the man with. And, from the time he found them, he started pelting him. No matter how much he says he was sorry, only joking, the boy won't stop. It was a sight to see this big man running and taking cover from this four year old pelting stones!!!

E.: I guess that too must run in the blood. That was my first boy's favorite sport when I had to beat him as a child, to find stones and throw at me.

C.: This boy loved so much to pelt stones, one time Miss A. met him and some friends playing and making noise in her schoolyard. She told them to find some other place to play and make noise but not in her schoolyard. S. got so mad, he went and find all the stones he could and rained stones on her schoolhouse roof till she had to stop class, since nobody could hear anything inside till he stopped.

Yancey's strongerheaded-ness one day made me have to go to court . . .

E.: I am not too surprised at that news. Because, when they don't want to listen, that's where it usually ends up--in Court. Then the same parent who let the child control them will ask the court to kindly punish. Which is a thing I can't stand. One of the most ridiculous things to do.

C.: Make me have to go to court. What happen? I sent the boy to his grandmother in Christiansted one day. Instead of doing what I told him, he meets a group of his paddies who just stole a car and all of them go joyriding. Till the police stops them. They hold all of them, and a neighbor comes to tell me that the Police is holding one of my sons. I rush to the station, and find Yancey with a group of young men that officer Thomas has doing jumping jacks. So, I get him out. The next thing I know, now is that he's on probation. Anyway, because this boy won't do what I told him to do in the first place, I go through all this. Then comes the day in Court. One of the other boy's case is called ahead of Yancey. the boy's mother goes up and ask to make a statement to the Court. What does she say? "Judge, I want you to know that when my son comes in after hours, I lock him out and he has to sleep outside!"

E.: "Sleep outside!!" That woman is crazy!

C.: That's exactly what I'm saying to myself. And Yancey's case is coming up soon. The Court has assigned him a lawyer. I say to the lawyer, "I want a chance to say something to the Judge!" He tells me OK. But he is doing all the talking. We break for a recess. I haven't had a chance to talk. We go back in Court. He's doing all the talking. When I had enough, and before the Judge closed the case, I stood up and asked the lawyer: "Didn't I tell you I wanted to address the Court? OK! Your honorable, I want you to know I have been doing everything to keep this boy in line and doing it without a father to help me. I have had to be his mother and father at the same time!" And with that, as soon as the judge turned him over to me, I grabbed Yancey up, and on my way out of the courtroom with him I put two good cuff on him, and remind him that when I send him on a mission in the future, he is to do as told! And that was that!

[The discussion then turned to Abu, the eighteen year old grandson of E. whose first overt manifestations of defiant behavior towards the grandmother started when he insisted on his rights in the matter of allowing his locks to grow. There followed a series of petty encounters with authority at school, at home and on the streets, then truancy, intervention by his other grandparents in St. Lucia, bringing him back to the father's homeland (despite the fact that his father, himself a school teacher, remained thriving--mostly indifferent to the boy's incipient delinquency--on this island of his mother's origins.) At the beginning of Summer "before he got into any more trouble" Abu was sent for by a brother of his father

who lives in Alabama. This uncle of Abu's was on the phone with E just yesterday complaining that the young man's shiftlessness up here [in the States] was already becoming a matter of concern for him.

E.: The day that that boy let me to know that who his school teachers were was none of my business was the day that I told him to find his way back to the house of his wor'tless father, who only knows how . . .

C.: Auntie, Abu tell you to stay out of his business???

G.: It wasn't in so many words, the way she told me it.

E.: You judge for yourself, C. When--after all the nonsense I went through with that boy over his so-called rights to his dreadlocks--the day came that I say to him that I want him to bring home a list of the names of his teachers, he turns around and tells me he knows who all his teachers are. What is he saying to me if not that I must stay out of his business?

C.: So where is Abu now, and what is he doing?

E.: With his uncle in Alabama. Says he's going to finish school up there, get his high school diploma. But his uncle says he's not even doing the things he has to do, didn't get his transcripts to the school in time. It's always somebody else's fault. this time, "the school didn't send them along." Do you know how many times I say to Abu, "You're going to be eighteen in a few months. You'll be"

C.: "...in charge of your own life!!! "When my son was under age and I lay down the rule, the first thing he used to like to say is: "I cyan't wait till I make eighteen!!!" Like the time when I notice the Rasta company he was keeping and then he come home one day with his hair in locks. I tell him he cyan't live in my house with he hair that way, to get rid of the locks. When he come back the next day with the same locks on his head, I say: "Yo know what? I think you better see 'bout packing up your t'ings; I don't plan to get in trouble for you!" That's when he start seeing I was serious. He trips out of the house, went out in the yard by the big tree. He stand under that tree glaring at the house all morning like somet'ing out of the wild what ain't show how close he go permit you to get to him. Like he studying to see whether I serious or not. When he made up his mind, he turned off

down the road. When he come back his head was trimmed.

But, back to Abu. It could be that he is trying to tell you something, Aunt E. Because, I know Abu loves you.

E.: Loves me? That's the way people does tell people they love them? Causin' you all kinds of headache? I already raise my children, and none of them ain' cause me no headache like that. When J. gave up teaching after a few months and started hanging with the Rasta set and growing his hair in locks, I took him aside and had a serious talk about whether he wanted to be treated as an outcast in this society or like a member of a decent family. He was by then an adult. Nothing I could do to change his behavior. He went back to Michigan to College. (Getting in College was never a problem for him, since he was always a straight A student.) And I'll tell you what. Six months later when I was in Michigan for his brother's graduation and I saw him coming to greet me I couldn't believe my eyes: Hair thoroughly groomed and decked down to a "t". I say to him, "What happened to the locks?" "The locks??? I'm moving with the movers, Mom!"

"So, back to Mr. Abu! I received a letter from him yesterday, telling me that he's going to get his life together. About his hair, that he trimmed half of it off. He is begging me to accept him on his own merits instead of based on how he wears his hair. One day he's going to be as successful as his Uncle J.

C. wants to know where Abu's mother (her own first cousin and C's daughter) is during all this. When told that she's somewhere in Africa, C. replies: "If she were my daughter, wherever she is where she would have to stay. She couldn't come stay in my house. I would tell her plain to her face. "You cannot stay in my house if that's the best you could do for your son and my grandson."

DISCUSSION:

Various aspects of our culture come to light when one reads a segment like the above. The student must identify at least three of them and be prepared to discuss at least one of them for five minutes or write a two page discussion of his or her views on the subject as they relate to those of the principal participants in the segment.

1. Let us suppose that Terrence said to his grandmother "You forget who I am!" what do you suppose he really meant, and she really understood that started the contention between them?
2. What is it that might have broken the ice between the boy and his grandmother that he seemed unable to do? Would you consider this a case of poor communications, stubborn pride or both? Who is/are being inflexible?
3. Would you say that C's remedy to the stalemate between Terrence and his granny would be to just take the needed action instead of talking?
4. What does "it" refer to when E says "that's carrying it too far?"
5. C. argues that the openness she practices with her children can also have its positive aspect when the unexpected happens. Explain and indicate your agreement or disagreement!
6. What do you understand by "isn't too good in his head anyway?" In the West Indian Creole context, is the speaker declaring this person crazy or preparing the listener for the unexpected?
- 7, 8. How seriously would you take S's tantrum over someone upsetting his mother? How would you compare the intensity of his feelings with the concern Terrence expresses that his grandmother refused to talk to him?
9. What does the factor "broad daylight" have to do with whether or not S's uncle was "picking trouble" with him?
10. Stone "pelting" seems to develop as a form of aggression or defense at an early age among boys in this society. Give two examples besides the first incident cited above!
11. You may have at one time or another heard someone claiming that someone else--usually younger--was "getting out of hand." How do you suppose such an expression might be used with respect to the Courts having to step in to discipline or punish a young person who had shown signs of rebelliousness during childhood?
12. Is peer group pressure a likely culprit in the series of incidents that led to this

mother having to go to Court one day?

13. Why do you think E. characterizes the first woman's plea to the judge as "crazy"?

14. Do Yancey's mother's actions in Court demonstrate as much confidence on her part in the judge as in her lawyer?

15. Does the reader experience a sense of *deja vu* as he/she reads the exchange between E. and C. concerning Abu's evasive response about his teachers? Does the reader feel that he/she understands better the conflict between Terrence and his grandmother at the beginning of this section?

16. Based on the way Abu evades when it comes to revealing who his teachers are, according to his grandmother, are you able to imagine just how he might have declared his rights to his dreadlocks?

17, 18. Can you cite an example in the exchange between the two women of somebody "picking the words right out of the mouth" of somebody else? What conditions must be present for this phenomenon to take place?

19. What kind of trouble is the mother threatening to get into if her son continues to grow his locks and stay at home?

20. Can you think of "somet'ing out of the wild" that would act the way the boy with the locks did the day he stood under the tamarind tree glaring at his mother's house?

21. Could you cite a couple of factors that might explain the two different ways these two women from the same family deal with children who decide to identify with Rastafarianism?

22. Based on the contents of the letter E. has just received from Abu would you say C. might be right when she tells E. "the boy love" her?

23. C's remark concerning Abu's natural mother would indicate she doesn't hesitate to show people the door. Is she as justified in this case as when she threatened her son with expulsion?

ACTION QUESTION:

1. How are the stereotypes of Rasta dress and hair style that we hear from these two women consistent with what Dr. Akil Petersen says about earlier treatment of Rastas in the Virgin Islands.
2. What would Abu have to do to change these older women's views to tolerance and admiration for his Rasta lifestyle?
3. What do you make of the ban in the British Virgin Islands next door to persons entering the islands with dreadlocks? Are Human Rights an issue in this case?

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RASTAFARIANISM AND CULTURE

Dr. Lewis "Akil" Petersen

Good afternoon. I'd like to thank Dr. Sprauve and Professor Gene Emmanuel and all the other organizers of the program for inviting me to speak on the topic of Rastafari and Culture.

Without a doubt Rastafarian is a culture, meaning that Rastafari represents a totality of Gods and mannerisms. The philosophy and action behind of it. There are many people who would regard Rastafari as otherwise. I am saying: wayward, without objectives. I am saying: wayward without any purpose. Like people just hanging 'round.

What I am here to say today is that Rastafari is indeed culture. And what I'd really like to emphasize in my presentation is what I consider to be the contribution to and or influence of Rastafari on our culture. I know we are supposed to be, I think, emphasizing V.I. Culture and I am gonna try my best. But, you see, because Rastafari are found everywhere and our philosophy is common, you will find that our influence and contributions are basically the same. Especially in the Caribbean region.

So, I'm going to speak really within that type of context. And I think a brief historical perspective is in order.

Because I don't want to assume too much that you know about Rastafari.

Now, Rastafari comes out of a background such that our philosophy is based on basically the opinions of heroes, such as the honorable Marcus Garvey, and the Bible on the other hand. And we not only want to speak of [these], because Marcus Garvey has predecessors too, also influencing him, including our own native born Edward Wilmot Blyden. We're speaking of other heroes such as Hubert Harrison, Rothschild Francis, who were all Freedom Fighters in their time and who, I might add, were not necessarily respected for their contributions in their times.

It is easy for us to look back in this time and say how great they were, what contributions they made and even have holidays to observe their birthdays, etc. But, believe me, in their times they didn't get the respect which we give them

now, and the majority of their contemporaries were never on their side.

So, I was saying that one of the pillars of our philosophy is the opinions and philosophy of the honorable Marcus Garvey. Marcus Garvey, in brief, was Jamaican born, but importantly to us, he was a Pan Africanist, meaning that his philosophy was total, and there were no boundaries as far as where African peoples lived and the unity that we should have among ourselves. We came out of a history whereby we were forced, stolen from a land called Africa. We were put into Slavery. And not just mere physical slavery. We went through a whole mental process whereby we were really stripped of what was ours, a process whereby we were made ashamed to identify with Africa after a few years, or to even associate ourselves with anything African, meaning the shape of our nose, lips, etc., and the texture of our hair. Many people would say to me that there's no need to discuss things like that. That is Slavery! That is the Past.

Now, I and the Rastafarians fully disagree with this discourse. What we are experiencing today is basically the legacy which that has left with us, meaning that there are still many among us who are ashamed of their natural features which come along with being African people, who are ashamed to identify with the African continent, much less to call themselves African people.

So, heroes such as Garvey, Edward Wilmot Blyden, etc. were those who advocated that we should be proud of who we are, and there was nothing disgraceful about being associated with Africa. Rastafarians now have picked up from where they left off.

Garvey was one who made many prophecies, included: that we as African people should look into Africa where a Black king would be crowned. He would be our King, which would lead us eventually . . . , literally to our home in Africa. Now, Garvey was one who always told us that we should not be looking at life through the spectacles of Europe, or anywhere else. We were people who were African people, and we should look to God and to life through our own spectacles. Therefore Rastafarians should be proud of who we are, we should see life from our own unique perspective, and in our favor.

So, with that type of background, that type of foundation, what I'd like to speak about in the next few minutes are what I call some of the contributions and/or influences of Rastafari Culture on the culture which we have here called V.I.

culture or even on a broader scale, as I said before, Caribbean culture.

Now, Rastafarians, like their predecessors, advocate Pan-Africanism, afrocentric thinking. Pan Africanism, like we said before, is simply philosophy which says that all African people are one. Because that is basically what we have in the Virgin Islands. Our culture, our people in the Virgin Islands represent nothing more than an extension of the African Culture. That's what we represent. And Rastafarian Culture advocates Pan Africanism. And the way that is manifested is like in the following example: (And this comes to mind every time!)

When I was growing up here in the Virgin Islands--and it still happens, to maybe a different degree, I think-- we used to refer to our contemporaries, our schoolmates from other islands with some very derogatory words. Our contemporaries, our fellow students from Antigua, St. Kitts, Trinidad, etc. we would call them islo, islan'man, gyarrot and many other terms. As if we ourselves were not from an island! That's very ironic; it's very crazy.

Now, what I offer to you as a contribution of Rastafarianism is that we as Pan Africanists wiped out that philosophy altogether. People who embrace the philosophy of Rastafari, when I was going to school at that time--I'm talking about '74-'75, those type of years. People who embraced that philosophy of Rastafari, Pan Africanism wiped out that stupendous about "you are this and you are that, you are islan' man. I from a islan' too!" And therefore, what began to happen, is that we began to see ourselves as one people. Now, from listening, I still think I hear some of that kind of talk. But I submit to you that have been a great deal diminished because of primarily the contributions of Pan African thinking people and especially Rastafarians. Because in the Caribbean region I propose that Rastafari as a body, as a movement, represent the greatest cultural force . . . in the region. In the Caribbean region. That is a very key

. . . an essential contribution of our philosophy, and it is manifested in many, many, many different ways. We find as a result African children, or young Black children now being able to readily and proudly identify with Africa, as opposed to before time. Before, you find that many of them, young and old, would say they have nothing to do with Africa.

They are not Africans, etc., etc. And that is changing. Changing because of what we have had to say and what we have contributed. You see it manifested in a lot

of clothing nowadays. A lot of young and not so young dressed in African clothing as we call it. I just call it clothing, but dressed in African clothing, as a result again of our contribution. You find also that many of our people are changing their names, because, again, of an African philosophy which has been contributed [to] to a great degree by Rastafarian philosophy and culture.

I remember going to school during the same years that I quoted to you, and during that time there was a real--what should I say to you--a real urge for everybody to have a new name, an African name. Some people went about it whereby they bought books and got a name, the meaning of which they knew. Other people were so desperate and so fast about it. They made up a name. And most of these people were again--at least, they felt they were--Rastafari or, what you might call sympathizers with the Rastafari faith. Closely associated and very strongly influenced by Rastafari philosophy. Again, another major contribution of Rastafari philosophy!

Now, Rastafari people have always been a people of foresight, a very basic and grassroots people, and that reminds me of a passage in the Bible which says that "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Marcus Garvey and all our predecessors are also people of great vision, and when I speak of vision, many things come to mind, but I bring only one example.

Agriculture . . . that is my field. Now, I as a Rastafarian, and all Rastafarians, know and regard Agriculture as the basis of any society. Serious! I am sure you have never studied any civilization which has developed without first being an agrarian civilization, building from that base. I say that to say that here in the Virgin Islands the people as a body, as a group, who have had that foresight to know that Agriculture must be in place . . . are again? Rastafarians! And that is manifested in their work. I'm talking about groups such as in Bordeaux and elsewhere who have been fighting for years to maintain at least some portion of the land just for the purpose of getting ourselves established rightly and agriculturally.

In a few hours I have a workshop to give--an agricultural workshop. I am sure, as usual, most of the people who will attend will be of Rastafarian persuasion. I am saying to you again, we are people of foresight, a very basic and grassroots people, and we are that people who are going to take that type of lead that we need to be [able] to get to that point where we would like to get.

Along with those contributions, you know, since we all are a culture, like I said before, with our own way of doing things, our own system of worship, holidays of our own, also forms of language. And the language which we use has been greatly, has greatly influenced our everyday language. I'll use two expressions. One of these expressions is "ital." Ital as we use it simply means food which is of vital, pure and natural nature. You hear a lot of people talking about how they only eat ital food. One of our contributions again! Now, I don't want to say it's a contribution just because it's a different term. What I want to say is that ital food by our definition is pure and natural food. The contribution here is more than just introducing a new word. The contribution has to do with our health and physical situation. OK? So, as a result of this philosophy then we have people who should be in a healthier state of being because of this change in style.

Another contribution--and I can personally testify to this

--,many of us as young people just consider ourselves rebels. We're just against everything. As the Bible was presented to us, as Christianity was presented to us and taught to us, many of us couldn't accept it, because we considered it was coming to us from a very European and Western point of view. The manifestations, even the pictures in the churches and in the homes never looked like us.

We couldn't identify with them. I was one of those people.

Now, Rastafari philosophy came and Rastafari philosophy said: Take a second look, man! That Bible came out of you and your people. And that Bible speaks about you and your people. Interpretations became different. We started to see God in a different image and with biblical texts to substantiate such. Our very story about coming out of Africa and being enslaved for four hundred years was substantiated again by biblical texts when we began to relate ourselves to those texts. When we began to see relationships between Ethiopia or Africa and the Bible, things began to change for all of us. We began to take more pride in ourselves. We began to look at the Bible in a different way, picking it up almost every day, reading a chapter a day. And so for many of us then, the contribution was that we became more biblically literate. And many of us still read the Bible on a daily basis, because of these contributions again of Rastafarian Culture.

I said before that a lot of influence comes also in the way of dress. And the dress

reflects Africa many times. And the dress also reflects a degree of modesty, because, as you see, around town many of the women who regard themselves as Africans dress . . . most modestly compared to many others. So, dress has been also greatly influenced. And needless to say about the contributions via the music!

The music reflects Pan Africanism; it reflects afrocentric thinking once again. And also this particular song I'm going to use as an example. Since we originate and come out of the Caribbean islands . . . because we are everywhere and our philosophy is common. You don't recall a Rastafarian by the name of Black Stallin sung a ballad called Caribbean Unity? That type of influence! That type of song, again, is a part of our contribution. Because that is the way hat we think, OK? No more gyarrot and islan' people and that type of talk! That is gone! That is in the Past, Rastafari say.

The next thing before I kind of leave, is to kind of project how I feel these influences would impact on the culture of the Virgin Islands and the Caribbean in the future. OK? Because we are right now in the making of the future, OK? We are in the development of the process. So, if things continue as it is and the way they're continuing right now, what you end up, what you're going to end up having is a new generation of adults who are Pan African in their philosophy, a group of people who will no longer put so much emphasis on the fact that their co-worker, etc. was born on a different island. You're going to be looking at a group of adults who have indeed African names for the most part. Because you know that a lot of young people, young children right now . . . have African names. Think about what would happen when he became adult. You end up with a generation of people with African names. It's something to think about, because you will no longer be referring to "Hugh" or "Lewis" . . . So, think about it, because it will happen, and right now, man, you're in the making of it!

There is a prophecy again which comes to mind as I discuss something like that. There is a prophecy which says that Ethiopia will stretch out her hands unto God. We are right now in the fulfillment, in the making of that prophecy. That's a prophecy that Rastafarians quote all the time. And we know what it means. You see, Ethiopia, as we know it today is not the Ethiopia that we knew yesterday. When the Bible speaks of Ethiopia, Ethiopia was far greater reaching, geographically speaking than Ethiopia is today. And when Ethiopia and

Ethiopians are referred to in the Bible it refers to African people as we know African people today. That's fact. That is simply true.

So, I've presented to you what I consider to be the contributions of Rastafari within the culture as we know it at this time and also what I project to be our impact on generations of the future to come, OK? And, furthermore, Rastafari, as we began to say, is a culture with very, very deep roots. It is not a culture or a way of life to be taken for granted. Or something wayward, like we began to say. Without direction, objective, etc. We are a people with direction, indeed, objectives indeed and a people who have made serious and significant contributions to our V.I. Culture and Culture in general. And we'll continue to do so.

QUESTIONS:

1. How does the author define Rastafarianism?
2. Does the author refer to a specific group of people when he uses the adjective "wayward" and the phrase "people just hanging 'round?" Explain your understanding of these expressions in the present context!
3. How does the author state his objectives in this presentation?
4. Why is Marcus Garvey mentioned in the discussion of the historical background of Rastafari?
7. How do Blyden, Harrison and Francis relate to Rastafari in the Virgin Islands, according to Dr. Peterson?
6. Do Dr. Peterson's remarks suggest that such thinkers as Blyden, Francis and Harrison would have been admired and respected for their ideas had they lived in our times?
7. When Peterson says "That is slavery; That is the Past" is he himself rejecting aspects of Virgin Islands cultural history as, or is he making another statement?

8. According to the author what is the basic problem with the way we look at ourselves.
9. How do Garvey's teachings inspire present-day Rastafarians?
10. What does the author mean by Pan-Africanism?
11. How does Pan-Africanism relate to Rastafari beliefs?
12. At least one of the nicknames used by the author and his friends, as school-boys, to mock children from neighboring islands seems illogical and ridiculous today. Which one or ones fit this description? Explain!
13. How does Rastafarian philosophy contribute to greater harmony among West India peoples, according to the author? 14. Does the author appear to put as much value, less or more in island pride than African pride between Rastafari and the younger generation in the Virgin Islands?
15. Cite two signs noted by Dr. Petersen of changes in social habits by young people and adults alike in the Virgin Islands that appear to reflect more pride in Africa-ness.
16. What is the main difference between the commonly held view of the significance of Ethiopia today and the biblical version of this land?
17. Dr. Petersen quotes a biblical passage which tells of the importance of "vision" if the people are not to perish. What local undertaking does he cite to prove that Rastafari in the Virgin Islands have the necessary vision to avoid a catastrophe?
18. The author tells how in the past the youths looked at the Bible and found little they could relate to, but since Rastafarianism came on the scene much of the indifference and disinterest has been replaced by serious Bible study. How does one explain the breakthrough?
19. The author cites a case of calypso music contributing to greater cultural harmony in the West Indies. Who was the singer of the calypso in question?
20. What is the context in which Bordeaux is mentioned in this presentation; what is the significance of Bordeaux?

21. What influence has Rastafari had on the way some women dress, according to the author? Can Rastafari take complete credit for such an impact?

22. How did the Rastafarian singer Black Stalin contribute to a major philosophical objective of Rastafari?

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EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF VIRGIN ISLANDS AFRO-AMERICAN CULTURE

Father and Dr. C. Warren Smith

The culture of the islands reflects the ideals, principles and practices of a community at a certain time in a particular environment. Richard Nieberbe in his book "Christ and Culture" refers to the definition of Culture by Malinowski as the artificial secondary environment which man superimposes on the natural. It comprises language, habits, ideas, beliefs, customs, social organization, inherited artifacts, technical processes and values.

Culture is social and is human achievement. We distinguish culture from nature by noting the evidence of human perseverances and effort. It is the work of men's minds and hands. It is subject to change by time and environment.

The religious culture of the Virgin Islands has a multi-facet basis

--it involves the pagan ritualistic aspects of the African slaves brought to the islands, the Macavine messimanis, the English settlers.

The focus of this paper is directed to the transitions of the religious aspects of the black or African American.

As early as 1671 when the colonization of St. Thomas began Slaves [are seen as maintaining] their ritualistic form of worship of the Gods of Nature in dance accompanied by drums and the beating of sticks. The rhythms [are] free, individuals shout and moan.

Moliefi Asanti in his book Afrocentricity describes the scenes in the "Mass madness which is not really madness by the call and response, and suddenly the whole congregation is praising the objects of nature.

Simultaneously, the Dutch and Danish cultures were being superimposed on the islands, in addition to [that of] the English settlers.

The census of 1686 revealed that of a total population of 135 families, Creoles (non-Danish) were 54; Danes 13; Dutch 37 and English 12.

There was very little interest in the religious training or practices of the slaves, by the Danish missionaries. However, the major change was created by the Moravian missionaries who taught Christianity to the slaves. They retained the ritual practices and the chanting of the slaves. The earliest pattern of the religious culture was demonstrated in the blending of the western religious thinking of God with enthusiastic cry and shout of excitement. The rhythms also enhanced the ritualistic presentations.

At time of Emancipation, when slaves enjoyed the freedom of assembly and free worship, another aspect of religious practice became evident. This was introduced by other slave tribes which practiced witchcraft and voodoo. This was not an organized form of religion, rather, it took the form of a cult.

The development and spread of the main-line churches from the continent and Europe, the patterns of black religious culture gradually changed to the western or European pattern.

The state church of St. Thomas was the Lutheran Church; however, the dominating churches were the Moravians. Anglican (Episcopalian), and Catholic Churches gradually came into prominence. The black churches were [predominantly?] the Pentecostal type. They afforded the cultural expression of singing, shouting and even dancing.

The present status of black religious culture is multi-phasic; it involves all of the western churches, the Eastern group of Moslems, Buddhism, etc.

In recent years we have noticed a rise in the Rastafarian religion. The African-Americans in the Virgin Islands are not as deeply involved into the cultural aspects of the western, eastern and African as well as the Caribbean religions.

The cults from Haiti and the southern parts of the United States extending as far as south Brazil have also influenced the religious patterns.

The stage we are setting up is one of comprehensive understanding and tolerance for each [group's] primary beliefs. The mainline churches such as Catholic,

Episcopal, Methodists and Lutherans will probably in the near future become united in doctrine and practice. The black man is now appearing in his rightful status as pastor, rector and religious leaders.

As the forces of Islamism enter the course of events, the status of Christianity and Judaism will undergo another revolution.

QUESTIONS:

1. If, as the presenter's source claim, culture is the secondary environment of man, what is the primary one?
2. While this article is on Religion and Culture, the initial definition of culture offered does not list religion. Which of human activities listed relate directly to your concept of religion?
3. What does perseverance have to do with our definition of culture, according to Father Smith?
4. How does the author elaborate on his statement that Virgin Islands religious culture has a multi-facet basis?
5. How does the author define the Gods of the enslaved Africans?
6. How were those Gods worshiped?
7. Based on the citation from Asanti and the statement by the author of how Dutch and Danish cultures were superimposed in the islands, is it reasonable to speculate on who enjoyed more independence in developing their religious culture, Afro-Americans or Danish West Indians?
8. How does Dr. Smith compare the efforts of English and Moravian missionaries in inculcating Christianity to the enslaved population?
9. According to the author's description of the blending of Western and African religious cultures, would you say the first contacts were probably dynamic or subdued?

10. According to this article, when did voodoo make its appearance in the islands?
11. According to this article, would you classify the Moravian Church as a Black church?
12. What appears to be the view of the author concerning Rastafarianism?
13. Is it possible to argue that at a time of rampant right wing polarization in Religion and Politics in the Nation and religious and ethnic strife on the global scene, the local perspective offers hope for more tolerance among religious practitioners?
14. Is *cosmopolitan* an appropriate word for depicting the state of religious culture in the Virgin Islands today? Explain your answer.

ACTION QUESTIONS

1. Consider the statement "It [culture] is subject to change by time and environment." Is this concept of culture consistent with the one presented by Professor Blake in his article "Cradle to Grave?"
2. The Lutheran Church here is described as the "state" church. Compare its effectiveness--or lack thereof here--with the depiction found in Professor Blake's "Cradle to Grave."

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FULFILLING THE GREAT COMMISSION: CARIBBEAN GOSPEL SINGERS GOING INTERNATIONAL

Dr. Patricia Harkins

According to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in the Bible, Jesus Christ appeared to his disciples after his resurrection from the dead, instructing them: "Go ye into the world, and preach the gospel" (Mark 16:15, KJV). This has become known in the Christian community as the Great Commission. Many Caribbean Christian songwriters and musicians today have taken this message to heart, including Jamaican gospel artists Lester Lewis and his wife, "Singing Rose," solo artist Glenworth Pierre from Dominica, and a rising young trio from the Bahamas who call themselves System 3. University of the Virgin Islands student Viola Clarke identified the purpose behind the music of such Caribbean artists in this way: "It gets the attention of people who are not really interested in Jesus Christ, and provides Christians with an opportunity to witness to others" (report).

Lester Lewis and Singing Rose have been pioneers in the field of "Reaching Around the World" by integrating such popular styles of contemporary Caribbean music as reggae with what they believe is "the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ" (personal interview). They have successfully carried their "heart-felt message," that Jesus is Love (n.d.), to nearly every continent. And even as their own music ministry grows, they continue to mentor others whose goals are similar. They have actively encouraged the young men in System 3, for example, to master such new styles as rap, dance hall and hip hop in order to reach other young people throughout the Caribbean--and beyond. In a song titled "Even Da Go" the Bahamian trio "translate" the words of the New Testament Great Commission into Language framed by a beat their audience will listen to and understand. (En Da Mon 1990). They have accepted the advice of their friend Glenworth Pierre, who is convinced that Christian musicians need to use lively, contemporary Rhythm[s] to Rock This Generation (1993).

My brief conference paper is the preliminary step toward a book-length study of Caribbean gospel artists who are striving to develop international audiences. I

plan to focus on primary research material including personal interviews, oral histories, performances, unpublished manuscripts and recordings, although published work will also be an important factor. I will be highlighting the vision and work of Glenworth Pierre in the first chapter of my study. I find his life and his art an interesting blend of familiar--and unique--elements. Moreover, he has been a consistently cooperative and articulate subject. His age (31) and the stage at which he currently finds his career (rapidly developing but not yet well-known in most areas outside the Caribbean) set him squarely in the center between so-called "local" artists and those who have reached audiences not only in the United States and/or England but also other nations of Europe, North and South America, Africa.

In his written testimony Glenworth Pierre tell us:

I've been singing ever since I was a little child. From the day the Lord save me he gave me a new song and from that day I have been singing the Gospel . . . to show forth His praises among the nations of the Caribbean and throughout the whole world. ("Vision and Testimony") Pierre's lyrics testify to his vision. His latest release, a tape titled *Is Only Now We Dancing* (April 1993) features a song by the same name. As the music starts, Pierre says to his listeners, "This song is for every believer throughout every nation. Rise up in the Lord, your God!" (Side A, opening number).

The titles of his albums reflect the themes that permeate his songs: He sees Caribbean gospel artists today as *Radical Soldier[s]* (1988) *Standing on the Front Line* (1989) *Ready for War* (1990) "against sin and corruption" (23 March 1994 personal interview). Instead of being *Criticizers* (1990) he believes that Christians throughout the world need to declare with him, *We Are Winners* (1991), constantly experiencing *Revival* (1991), "including those Caribbean Christian stations that refuse to air some of my songs because the lyrics contain references to dancing, for example, and so might offend some people" (March 1994 interview): *You must bow to Jesus* (1992) so that *Christ's Love will Reign* (1994?).

Like his friend and mentor, Lester Lewis of Jamaica, Glenworth Pierre was not a Christian as a young man. He was born on the island of Dominica and brought up in a Catholic family. But when he left home at the age of 17 for the island of St. Martin he was not searching for God. His goal at that time was simply "to

experience life outside" (interview March 1994). Being the lead singer for a local band called "True Roots of I" was no longer enough. He wanted to play the guitar and he wanted to sing professionally in tourist hotels. Within six years he had achieved his dual musical ambitions, although he sometimes found it necessary to supplement his income by working as a painter and carpenter.

But by early 1985 he was a divorced man, no longer living with his beloved only child; without a job. "I did not have even a cent to my name . . . my back was against the wall" ("Vision and Testimony"). Then, on the fifth of February, a Sunday night, he experienced a dramatic conversion when he felt compelled to read the Book of Psalms ("Testimony"). Alone in his rented room, he found himself in tears, praying to Jesus "to come into my heart" ("Testimony"). "I forgot about every plan I had," he explained in a recent interview. "I had to change directions" (18 April 1994 personal interview). He felt compelled to burn the manuscripts of all the songs he had written before he became a "born again believer." He began to attend church and he no longer smoked marijuana, gambled or drank. He also began writing and singing gospel songs. In spite of continuing "financial challenges" (April 1994 interview) he chose to go into full time music ministry.

In 1988 he produced his first album, *Radical Soldier*. To date he has released nine gospel tapes and plans to release a CD and a video in the near future. He is an ordained minister of music. Pierre describes his ministry in this way:

I am a psalmist. My styles include reggae, soca, calypso, cadence and soul [as well as country and rap]--a big featured variety. I also write, compose and arrange all my songs. I play rhythm guitar, bass guitar, harmonica [drums] and keyboards. ("Testimony")

Pierre writes some of his lyrics in standard English, but most of them are written in Dominican-English dialect and/or Dominican-French patois. His unreleased song "We Need Jesus" demonstrates the linguistic versatility that is a distinguishing characteristic of his work. Whether in the studio or on stage, Pierre performs only original compositions as a solo artist. However, like most Caribbean gospel musicians, he is generous with his time and talent, often performing with other artists, sometimes without compensation, as a backup musician or singer.

Glenworth Pierre's dream is that he and others, such as his friend Piper Laundry from St. Martin and the young Bahamians in System 3, will be able to emulate Lester Lewis and Singing Rose, reaching out through music to impact "the lives of hurting people all over the world, especially the lives of young people" (23 March 1994 interview). It is no coincidence that he dedicated his latest release, *Is Only Now We Dancing* to his adolescent daughter.

In the book he is presently writing, *Man's Reject is God's Best*, Pierre relates some painful facts from his own childhood and adolescence. He is one of many "outside" children fathered by a Dominican cricket player who toured the Caribbean. Pierre's mother left Glen and his sister with relatives in Dominica while she went to the States to work. There she married, and started a new family. Meanwhile Glen and his sister were raised in separate homes. They never met their mother's husband or her other children. When Glen was a teenager his mother disappeared under mysterious circumstances far from the Caribbean, and was eventually declared dead. "I'm a living witness and example of being a reject," Glen writes, "But I grew up to be a very blessed young man" (unnumbered M.S. Chapter Two)

In his quest to be a messenger of hope to what he believes is "a dying world" (23 March 1994 interview) Glenworth Pierre has traveled extensively in the Caribbean. When he visited Jamaica Lester Lewis and Rose took him into their home, giving the younger musician much "good advice and encouragement" (19 April 1994 interview). In 1991 Pierre traveled to the United States for the first time, ministering in Baltimore and New Jersey. After 6 months he returned to St. Martin where, ironically, he encountered the dynamic New Jersey based Praise, Power and Deliverance Ministries International for the first time. Pierre has always resisted being labeled as a local artist. Now he was given the opportunity to become part of an established international Christian ministry.

He went with them when they returned to the States, and was soon invited to fly to London as part of the team they were sending there. Although the money and the security they offered were enticing, he was determined to remain loyal to the vision he had of his own ministry. In 1993 he came back home to the Caribbean alone, released a new album, and began to promote it.

It is well into 1994 now and although Pierre has begun to think about making St. Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands his "home base" (19 April 1994 interview), his

travels continue. He plans to visit Trinidad and St. Lucia this year, which are among the islands "where my music is well received but I haven't ministered to myself" (19 April 1994 interview). In September 1993 he was invited to join a Christian crusade in Africa but declined, explaining later in an interview, "If I don't receive a release in my spirit from the Lord I've learned to be still (23 March 1994). He did, however, create a song he titled "Mama Africa" which he dedicated to all the people of that continent (unreleased). He is confident that he will return to both Europe and North America in the near future.

In the testimony he originally gave while he was ministering in the United States, he wrote:

Caribbean Gospel Music is going to make a crossover into the United States of America . . . When I see the way the people here in America are responding to my ministry . . . I see a bright future for Caribbean Gospel Music. ("Vision and Testimony")

"The time is right," he added recently. When I was in England people were listening to Caribbean music everywhere. My own music received more air play than it does here at home. People there couldn't get enough of my music!" (19 March 1994 interview). Like Lester Lewis and Singing Rose, and the trio of artists who make up System 3, Glenworth Pierre has dedicated his life to "fulfilling Christ's Great Commission--to go into all the world and preach the gospel" (19 April 1994 interview). He does this through "the use of the talent" he believes "is a gift from God" (19 April 1994 interview). "I have given my heart to Jesus Christ," he testifies (23 March interview). "Give him your heart," he pleads to his listeners in one of his songs, "for He's a Lover like no other" (Criticizers).

QUESTIONS:

1. What is the basic message of the new breed of singing evangelists?
2. How does reggae fit into the scheme of the contemporary trend called "Reaching Around The World With Music?"
3. Is it your impression from reading this article that System 3 is a progressive group of musical crusaders? Explain.

4. How does musician Pierre manage to use both the language of young music groups and that of Scripture to suggest a method of reaching a wider public?
5. Why was Pierre's religious music banned from some Caribbean radio stations?
6. What incident does Pierre cite as transforming him from a hotel entertainer into a member of the music ministry?
7. Is there any fundamental difference in the musical styles of Mr. Pierre as church musician and the earlier Pierre as club singer, according to his own words?
8. Is, it apparent that Pierre and his contemporaries in the music ministry are sensitive to the spiritual needs of the youth?
9. Was Pierre's upbringing typical of that of those he is now trying to reach through songs these days? If the answer is "Yes", is he likely to provide a convincing role model for them?
10. How does Mr. Pierre see trends in religious music in the States pointing the way toward developments in the Caribbean?

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Gritty Bi-lingual Religion on Air

The Maria Brannigan bilingual evangelical radio ministry: a transcript of November 1, 1997 broadcast, courtesy of Family Broadcasting (WSTX) and G. Luz James Sr. Transcribed by Gilbert A. Sprauve for Kraal, 3 November, 1997.

Her name is Maria Brannigan and her ministry is one of compassion and inspiration. During the week she ministers to the prisoners and inmates of the correctional and custodial institutions on the island. Then, Saturday at dusk, after the radio public has had its fill of berating, lampooning and in every other way feasting on the flesh of elected leaders and public functionaries, she makes her way into the studio, takes a seat before the microphone and greets her listeners in the name of her Savior:

Don't matter w'erever you may be, I hope dat if you sailin' or flyin' you will have your li'l ear radio in your ear an' listenin'. Dis radio station WSTX? God bless dis station dat provide de word of God to go t'rough. An' I'm goin' to read 100 Psalm unto you. De lord has given me dat Psalm in his . . . in my sleep, once upon a time dis year. An' I love it an' never forget it. May de Lord bless you an' keep you, your home, your childrens in Jesus' name.

It said [Que Dios le bendiga tambien a todos los hispanos qu me estan oyendo, Maria Brannigan. Yo creo que muchos de ustedes saben ande yo pertenezco. Dice asi Psalmo 100, Look en tu Biblia. Look for your Bible. Read wid me . . .

Now, I'm going to sing a song. Dey tell me short. I pray dat de Lord help me to sing it in Jesus' name. I pray dat God help my voice. . . I'm goin' to sing "In time like dese." Un canto que voy a cantaren espanol y en ingles. Los hispanos que hablan ingles pueden comprender. Ahora estamos en los untimos dias for t'ings dat I hear that happenin' now . . . We dey in de last moments . . .

[After a bit more commentary, Sister Brannigan sings accapella her song, after which she preaches: You understand what it said. I don' hae to explain to you: In times like dese you need--not be alone--I, we need a savior. An' really, in time like dese we need the Lord. Because not'ing in dis world can help. Education cyan't help. Money cannot help. A good job cannot help. Not'in g at all ccannot help. Is only God can help . . .

I was studyin' to see how dis world is goin' now, an' if yo' take a look at de 24th chapter of Matthew. It is a fulfillment of de word of God. You read in firs' Timothy, yes if I ain' make a mistake. T'ird chapter . . . w'at time we livin' in now. I'm goin' to read jus' a few verses to close it off because time is runnin'. The spanish people dat I am talkinto: leh ehtoy explicando, ya estamos en los ultimos momentos. Ya no queda mas nada. Y la Biblia es nuestra guia qne nos guia. Aun no tenemos la Biblia podemos predicar el Evangelio de Cristo. Por eso debemos estudiarlo para tenerlo en nuestro corazon grabado y en nuestra mente. Para cuandoquiera, podemos predicar la palabra de Dios a los perdidos. Estamos leyendo. Voy a leerles dos . . . cita en el capitulo 24 de Mateo, 24 chapter of Matthew, and den I'm goin' to give you two or t'ree verses in the book of firs' Timothy, yes, if I ain' make a mistake. Anyway, I'll find it: In de last days. It said like dis . . . [the passage is read]

. . . All dese are the beginnin's of what is to come. So, if dese w'at we're seeing' now is the beginnin' of sorrow, w'at it will be. I won't like to be here. An'I might be here . . . but I know when it come dat all dose dat a'cept the Lord Jesus as dere personal savior, dey won't pass t'rough dat sorrow, because dey will be flyin' like a li'l bird. Because the Word said it and God is not man to lie . . . W'at He promise He will fulfill. I will tell you I will give you dis an' dat, an' I will change my mind, but not God . . . Leh ehtoy leyendo en el capitulo 24 de Mateo que dice asi: Respondiendo, Jesus le dijo [translation of the above] . . . y habra peste y hambre, terremotos en diferentes lugares. Todo esto seria principio de dolor. Beginnin' of sorrow.

Our brothers dat hearin' me. Dear people dat hearin' me, listenin' to me. Young people. Many of you are educated childrens going to school. You is a human being. God created you. He give us five senses. Remember, if you readin Genesis. God talk. he made animals and other t'ings. But man was made, fashion' by his han'. Ah don' care w'at nobody say, I didn' come from no monkey. I come from God han'. He fashion me de way I look. Dat's why we shouldn' have a section black and w'ite an' dis an' dat. We all are God made, God fashion'--de way He love us to be. W'en a artis' . . . I have a son, Andre. De brother know, many people know he. W'en he paintin' anyt'ing, any picture, he does draw it to his likeness. An' dat is God way wid us

. . . Dat's de reason why we, w'enever we sin, we have an account to give God.

Because we look like him. No curse, no punishment for animal. It don't have now'ere in the Bible said dat. In de sun of de temple de animal self lie. No way! He said man dat die in Christ shall raise. An' punishment too for dem, but not for de animal dem. Dey only have soul feelin', but we have spirit, an' body . . . We are God's image. he didn't say de horses, de donkeys, de bulls dem is his image. No way! Man, my image. So dat's why I feel I look like God. But you don't live for God, you don't look like god. You look like de serpent.

Although de Bible said he was a beautiful angel, but his attitude was ugly. An' dat's why you see many of our childrens, w'en dey turn dere back on de Lord, dere attitude ugly, dey do ugly t'ings. Dey don't understan' it, but dere attitude are ugly, dere action. Because dey follow de ugly spirit which is Satan, demon, devil. He don't do not'ing beautiful. Yes, he will paint a man beautiful to you, young gyurl dat hearin' me, but 'tis a Satan. Young boys dat hearin' me, he will paint a gyurl beautiful to you, but be careful! You mus' have de beauty of God in you, de spirit of God to recognize who dat gyurl or boy is.

Heavenly Father, I thank you, I'm going to cut it off. But I will tell you dat listenin' to me . . . yo leh ehtoy leyendo en el capitulo 24 de Mateo que la venide de Cristo esta a la puerta. Dios no es hombre para mentir. Nosotros somos imagenes de Dios. Dios hablo, y fueron creados los demas. Pero Dios creo el hombre en su imagen cou su mano. El nos dio parte de su espiritu. Soplo sobre el hombre Adam, imovible ese cuerpo, y recibio vida. Yo ehtoy seguramente que cuando el tuvo este soplo que Dios hizo [whhssh], an' he open his eye, an' he smile an' he see God. Den after God give him a gift. He take from him an' he make de gyurl for him. Dat's why it is a sin, an abomination for a man to love a man. God didn't created two man. He create one man, an' He put now from de man an' he made de woman as his companion, workmate, to work wid him, to walk wid him. Dat's why a husban' should love he wife an' wife love you husban'. You became one flesh, de Bible said. Blessed are a couple w'en dey join together, but cursed is two man w'en dey join together, or two woman. Do not get mad, do not get frustrated against me. I got to tell you de trut' because I love you . . . so may God bless you. An' I pray for my inmates. Dem is my childrens. I cry for dem I suffer for dem. I pray for dem an' I pray dat tomorrow dere's many dat will be seein' me in Golden Grove, an' I pray for de Lord to bless dem an' help dem to continue, servin' de Lord, many of dem. An' may God bless you. Mama send hello for you in Anna's Hope, w'erever you be . . . Dose dat workin' under parole,

I pray for dem to come out, but I pray for you to come out wid de Bible in your han' . . . why God have you dere? Maybe it's for a purpose, to serve Him. So, may God bless you, may god bless the island, bless the whole world . . . blessin' to all. Every pastors, evangelists, missionary. An' I had a li'l trip an' come back safe, in Jesus name. I'll see you, Bye. God bless you. Thank you, Jesus.

QUESTIONS:

1. [For Spanish/English bilinguals] How does the Spanish translation of the seremon compare/contrast with the English version?
2. Do you think that the meaning the preacher's message loses its strength to convert the listening audience as she rotates throuh the two languages?
3. What message doyo think Maria Brannign is trying to convey to her listening audience?
4. Translate Psalm 100 ("The Rejoicing of Israel in God's Faithfulness") in your own words.
5. What is the chapter Matthew 24 ("Signs of Christ Coming") and Timothy 1 ("Paul's Charge to the Apostle Timothy about God's Foundation") telling us about Maria Brannigan's conviction to her ministry?
6. Do you think these three books of the Bible help explain Maria's message to us why or why not?
7. After reading this transcript,would you be encouraged to turn on the radio and tune into Maria Brannigan's message each Saturday evening? Why or why not?

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Editor's Note: The following article is reprinted from the booklet of the 1990 Folklife Festival. The following note is included in the introduction to the article: "Guy H. Benjamin remembers growing up in East End in St. John in his Me and My Beloved Virgin St. John, U.S.A. Mr. Benjamin has had a long career as an educator. He began teaching immediately after graduating as the first St. Johnian from Charlotte Amalie High School in St. Thomas. He is now retired and lives in New York City in the winter and St. John in the summer."

Rounding The Seine

JH, SH

Guy H. Benjamin

Every time I remember our boyhood days in East End, I still feel correct in saying that no other children had as much fun, joy and happiness as we had.

Our community had just eleven families. My godfather owned a seine and a large boat to hold it. He would keep the boat ready, and whenever a school of fries (minnows) came into the bay, we would be looking out for the sweet carang [the cavally, a member of the jack family], the beautiful yellow tail snapper, and the fat blue runner (our native name, the "hard nose"). They generally came one or two days after the fries.

If they were sweet head fries, they never had a chance to last too long near the shore. The men threw their nets over them and would have to ease them to the shore, so many would they have at one time. Then they emptied the fries in their boxes. Everybody in the village would come to get a share. I could hardly wait to get home with them. My aunts would jump on the fries, take off the heads, and wash them. Meanwhile my grandmother gave me the mortar, with the black pepper, onions and salt. This I had to pound until it was fine and mixed. Then my aunt would season the fries while the flour batter was being prepared. Many people then made roussayed (fried fish with lard, butter, or salad oil). The fries were then placed in the batter and cooked. Ambrosia! The whole operation took 30 minutes combined, from sea to stomach. Nothing can be finer than to be eating batter from the sweet head fries. This year, Goldie (Mrs. Golda Samuel) gave me some at Thanksgiving. Is it any wonder that I overate again?

In the meantime, the men were on the lookout for the fish. You heard the signal--Round Off! Everybody left the houses and headed for the beach, every

little boy and girl, grandmothers, aunts, uncles, and cousins by the dozens.

All of us small boys were out in the water. We must keep the fish from coming to the ropes, so we "beat water."

The men were out at the back, holding back the cork that's attached to the seine. The women pulled the ropes to get the seine in as fast as possible before the fish got a chance to realize they were a captive supper, lunch or breakfast. And all of us naked boys got nearer to land so that we soon would be pulling the seine.

We had the two arms in the surf. We had to let the fries out so we could see what we 'd caught. A beauteous sight! The fish were going around in perfect circles, glistening silver and spotted gold. We had caught carang and yellow tails. There is no prettier sight any place than these beautiful dinners swimming around. I wonder if they knew their fate? Then my only thought was to help get them on shore, which we did.

Now it was sharing time. First, they were all divided in two--one share for the owner, the other for the rest of us. No one was omitted, not ever the landowner. Every child, woman, and man was given a share. When we caught the blue-eyed bonito, if each one could not get a whole one, then we sliced it in junks [chunks] and we all shared. If that were communal living, then we were the Danish-American communists in the Virgin Islands.

This was the happy, glorious life we lived in East End, with our sea which provided us with natural health and life.

If my grandmother wanted a lobster for Sunday morning breakfast, she would say, "Guy, bring home a lobster with you tonight." I would go to my favorite rock and take out a lobster and bring it home. My aunts would cook it in a kerosine tin on the fire. I would eat the legs while it was cooking--so succulent and sweet.

We had lobsters like this, even after I returned to St. John to teach. Then Milton would say, "Benjy, cook the raisin fungus [cornmeal dish] and I'm going for the lobsters."

In a hour, he'd be back with at least four. It would be a whole gang of hungry men and boys. But we'd have enough and some to spare. Progress has taken away our lobsters. Today we are paying \$20.00 for a three-pound lobster, and we must go

far out in the ocean bed to dive for them.

DISCUSSION:

Reference is made in the above article to at least two kinds of fishing practices employed for centuries in the islands and elsewhere. Can the student say what these practices are and explain them? Can the student name two other traditional forms of fishing in the Virgin Islands and the Caribbean?

The word *share* is employed several times in this article. The student should be able to single it out as a noun and as a verb. What does the practice of the boat owner's share tell us about trade and commerce in East End, St. John during the author's childhood? When does the root word share imply a proprietary interest or right? When does it connote an act of generosity? How do these meanings of the word relate to the lobster and its place in the diet of Virgin Islanders in the past and at present?

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About Feathered And Scaled Friends

A story reprinted from The Island's Nautical Scene, Mid December, 1995 (pp. 6-7).

Charter Captain Falls for a Pelican

a true story

by Stan Louden

The powerful bond that we humans have with dolphins is initiated by the sound of those deep gasps of air that we hear when a family of dolphins visits your boat. This urgent breathing sound tells us that these sleek sea creatures, who live in the water that we live on, are truly our close relatives.

They live in the ocean with the elegant simplicity of perfected bodies, while we "primitives" are so dependent upon all the clumsy paraphernalia of yachts, sails, engines, and expensive reverse osmosis water.

Life in the oceans is thousands of times older than life on the land, so ocean life is more diversified and perhaps, ultimately, more advanced than land life. But, since all us land creatures originated in the ocean, water creatures are still our direct relatives, our "first cousins" removed by only a few million years.

This is a mere sparkle of seconds in a universe that has lived through tens of billions of years. And we still sense the physical inheritance in our long-forgotten ocean ancestors. So, this may be why we still feel strong family bonds of "cousin-hood" for many of our fellow sea creatures.

To see this in action you only have to watch those pale-skinned visitors to the Caribbean who go out on a snorkeling expedition. The incredible joy and delight is expressed by all these deprived "city-inmates" at their encounters with ocean life and how they assert human personality characteristics to every new creature who they meet in the water.

Remarks like--

"Myrtle, did ya see that shy little seahorse peeking around that coral head over there? Looks just like Cousin Albert's teenage boy, don'cha think?" And-- "Good job; Aunty Gertrude didn't see that parrot fish. Sure as shootin', she'd git some more outlandish ideas about makeup."

Well, these warm feelings and the strong wishes to visit with our "cousins" in the oceans are not restricted to visitors to the Caribbean. Those of us who have been here for years feel these yearnings too . . . even those who work on the water and who often work in the water.

Perhaps these feelings of being only just slightly removed from our fellow "ocean citizens" who share our earthly home is felt even more strongly by those of us who spend every day out on the oceans.

Charter yacht captains in general seem to possess this view, but one charter yacht captain in particular found that he was not content with being a kind of "spectator." His feelings for the ocean's denizens who surrounded his yacht *Splendidum* at every anchorage were evolving beyond a mere sense of cousin-hood and were taking on "romantic" proportions.

Ya see, Captain Andy wanted "closer contact"; he had this tremendous urge to . . . well, to just hug a pelican. But not just any old pelican. Andy's heart was set on one feathery female in particular-- "Penelope the Pelican."

Penelope was a classy little bird. She sat demurely on one of the pointy rock at the edge of a quiet little bay in the northwest corner of The Bight. She may have seemed slightly aloof while she perched all by herself, grooming her dusky, bleached-out grey/brown feathers.

But, actually, like all pelicans, Penelope was just . . . , well, she was not very smart. This came about, ironically, as a result of her successes. Penelope was a big bird and so she had to deal with no real dangers except the annoyance of the hooligan behavior of the gulls when they made their seasonal visits.

With all the fish she could eat available, anytime, and unlimited warmth continuously from the Caribbean sun, Penelope did not exercise those "birdy mental mega-bytes." So, truthfully, Penelope was kinda dumb. But she had personality, instead.

Penelope was cute, coy and very feminine as she perched on her rock, but she was also full of get-up-and-go, too, when she wanted to be.

Well, our intrepid Captain Andy, like all those other "Errol Flynn's" who preceded him, had to conger up a plan in order to even get close to his feathery "Juliet."

So, he began to watch Penelope, discretely, out of the corner of his eye, because, even though Captain Andy was an old-fashioned affectionate kind of guy, he was also sort of...shy, too. He watched Penelope's style as she sat on her rock and even admired her ability to stay aloof from the hooligan gulls as they raucously fought each other for every tidbit in the water.

Then, suddenly, Penelope launched off her perch and flapped her great wings in the direction of Splendidum. When she was directly above the school of tiny fish that were hovering in the shade of Splendidum's port hull, she folded her wings back and crashed into the water, almost within reach of our Andy.

Penelope repeated this inelegant maneuver a few more times, each splash bringing her closer to Splendidum and her suitor.

And now, Andy hatched his plan of conquest. He had noticed that each time Penelope crashed into the water to get a beak full of fishy delights, she also got a snoot full of seawater; probably a quart or more. This is a lot of ballast, even for a smart flyer like Penelope. One more dive and Andy felt sure that he would be embracing his pelican/Juliet--the feathery Penelope.

And she was aloft once more; then the wings folded into an "F-16 supersonic cruise-like position" to eliminate aerodynamic lift, and Penelope cannonballed in for another beak full of the fishy treats. But this time, our suitor Captain Andy was in the water too.

He, with great romantic cunning, had unexpectedly surfaced right alongside Penelope, whose beak was now swollen with delectable fishes, the surplus dribbling past her lovely yellow lips, but ballasted down by quarter or so of seawater. And, so Andy made his move.

Captain Andy had surfaced nose-to-beak with fair Penelope, and before she could protest he gently threw his arms around her lovely wet shoulders. Then, being ever so careful of her very delicate lightweight bone structure, he fulfilled all of

his passionate fantasies --Captain Andy HUGGED PENELOPE.

Oh, and did I mention that Captain Andy's charter yacht Splendidum had a full complement of charter guests while Andy was fulfilling his romantic reveries? Well, I have it on the best of authority that the peels of hysterical laughter that echoed repeatedly around the Bight that evening during the usual generous rounds of sunset cocktails was the stuff that literary legends are made of.

One of Andy's charter guests, with a poetic flair, suggested, towards the end of cocktail hour, that the port hull of their yacht should be re-named "Penelidum," in honor of this mythic romance, while the starboard hull should continue as "Splendidum."

Thus began the Norman Island myth that explained how star-crossed love had bridged between PENELIDUM and SPLENDIDUM.

DISCUSSION:

Students can summarize in a two-to-three-paragraph one page composition what the introduction of this story tells us about the relative ages of life on land and life in the oceans. What is the basis for the author's suggestion that life in the oceans might be more than that on land?

Students should, through reading or first hand research, be able to name and describe at least three different kinds of the "tiny fish" that pelicans and other sea bird in the Virgin Islands feed on.

Can the student tell from this article which of the fish-eating birds lives in the Virgin Islands all year and which one visits? Can the student name the bird referred to in the article which visits and tell when this bird arrives in the Virgin Islands and when it leaves?

What does the shadow of the boat have to do with the feeding practices of the pelican?

When pelicans dispose of the seawater ballast mentioned in this article, fishermen say they are "straining." Do you understand why they say this? If you were a

fisherman in search of fry for fishing, what might this straining tell you about the school of fry in question?

What words and statements in this article hint that persons engaged in these types of encounters with the creatures of nature in the Virgin Islands today are more likely to be visitors than locals?

Does this article give you reason to believe that the story about a pelican "chapping" a tourist at Caneel Bay some years back might be a true one?

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Reckless Graining

The fellows are spinning tales about giant sea creatures. So Plunger relates the following tale from his childhood.

"We got to Red Hook one Sunday afternoon at about two thirty. It was my younger brother, my older brother, myself and our ole man. My ole man was a serious hunter: wild ducks, wild pigeons, waterfowl, Barby doves, whelkcrackers. As long as it had wings and he had a twelve-guage, a sixteen-guage, a four-ten or even the twenty-two, watch out! He was good for his fishing too, especially trolling. Which we would have been doing that day, most likely out by the Tobagos, if we had left the house by 7:30. (Who knows, maybe my mother had insisted that we boys had to go to church that Sunday, and he, feeling like he wanted us along this time, had waited till after lunch to set out for some hunting instead of the combination trip.)

"Anyway, we're at Red Hook. He and my older brother are headed into the mangrove to get the dinghy so they can go bring "Trade Wind" to the wharf for us and the supplies. The remaining two of us walk out onto the wharf. I look out towards Trade Wind, but the first thing I see just yards away from the dock is this huge moving mass of blackness. At first I think it is the shadow of a passing cloud. As I look closer, I realize I'm looking at two giant sting rays, no less than 9 feet across at the fins. I show them to my younger brother, then both of us yell out to the others: "It got two BIG stingrays up here by the wharf."

"How big?" our ole man calls back from the mangrove as they start launching the dinghy.

"Big, Big!"

"Keep your eyes on them!"

"In a few seconds the dinghy is launched and my older brother and the ole man are rowing energetically against the southeasterly wind to bring the dinghy alongside Trade Wind, bobbing on her mooring. Soon, they're on the larger boat, the twenty-five horsepower greymarine is puttering, my dad has cast off and they're headed our way, my dad the lookout on the bow and my brother at the tiller.

"Yo' see dem yet?" I call out to the ole man. He signals yes, and directs his skipper to bring the boat to the dock.

They pick us up at the dock, and we take turns keeping our eyes on the rays. The ole man orders me to find the grain, where its hidden under the bunk, to be careful with it, my younger to retrieve the white plaited rope (used often in those days for clotheslines) and he attaches the two. Then he takes his post at the bow, orders the chase begin and commands the helmsman to head Trade Wind wherever he points.

"Look! They're behind you now! They're coming under the boat. Stay on course. Good! The smaller one is at the bow now. Stay like that! The bigger one is coming out now! Euungh!" With that our ole man, who wasn't known to be particularly athletic, launched the five-foot metal grain. Things started happening right away. The rope started uncoiling rapidly. It was all he could do to make two quick turns around the bow cleat of Trade Wind. By now all of us except the tillerman were on the forward deck and cabin observing the action. But the pressure on the rope from the wounded sea beast was too much for two turns. And my father was wincing from the heat of the rope sliding through his hands. The struggle was brief. Soon our end of the rope had gone and we could only see it trailing in the water. By now we were in front of Red Point, at the exit to the bay. We followed the trail of the white rope for another minute or so before it disappeared into the deeps of Pilsbury Sound.

"Dat's it! Gone! Everyt'ing! Ray, grain, rope!" sighed my father.

We would wonder about the condition of the giant ray and then, I am sure--though we never said it openly to each other--wonder what crazy impulse had swept over all us to do such violence to that beautiful and graceful sea beast. I tell myself that it had to do with that hunting business!"

25 September, 1997

Gilbert A. Sprauve

DISCUSSION:

How would you describe the feelings of the teller of this tale as he recollects the crucial incident in which he participated as a boy? Would you describe the

"graining" as one of the memorable moments in the lives of the three brothers? Explain why you would or would not describe it as such. Does the incident relate in anyway to how we treat "guanas" or "crapauds?" Explain your response.

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KRAAL CULTURAL MANUAL

Cluster Two

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Cluster # 3

PART 5: Showing Them Unity Through Diversity

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LIFE of a lot, LIFE in a lot and LOTS of Life

The following segment offers a number of glimpses of early twentieth century social dynamics among the folk in St. Thomas. It was gleaned from a tape recording of an interview done with the editor's mother while conducting field work for the 1990 Folklife Festival of the Smithsonian Institution. Numerous such unedited tapes and notes are available, and we hope that exposure to these samplings will stimulate readers enough to spawn a new cadre of cultural researchers, whether as analysers of the material now on hand or gatherers of more current data.





``I = interviewer Gilbert A. Sprauve; E = Eunice Sprauve

I: Most of the people at that time, the local people of St. Thomas, who were not in a position to own substantial resources and their own house . . . lived in dwellings.

E: ...rented houses.

I: Rented houses . . .

E: ...or rented rooms.

I: Could you tell me a little bit about that? I mean, where were these to be found? How would people go about the arrangements for rentals, how did they move from one place to another, maybe as the family grew and that sort of thing?

E: Well . . . umm . . . the poorer people really didn't have . . . there was a lot of poverty around, and the poorer people didn't have their own houses; they had to rent. Rent rooms really, so . . .

I: Were these people who had come . . . who used to . . . who at one point used to live in the country and they had now come to the town?

E: No, not necessarily! The people maybe in the country, I guess, might have been better off. Because there were thatch houses in the country. People lived in thatch houses in the country. I rememberer . . .

I: Do you remember seeing thatch houses?

E: Yes, I remember seeing thatch houses in the country. I remember seeing them.

I: But house made out of what they call wattle an' daub?

E: I've seen them. I can't remember what the sides were, but I remember the

thatch on the top.

I: What part of the island would you say?

E: Out on the south side. I tell you, as a child we didn't travel too far. I don't know about East. I know about North. I could tell you about the north. Because we lived close to a family that were friends. Mother and they were friends. And the husband and the father of that family, he had land and so on, down Neltjeberg, right down in the bay, and that was... You had to walk to get down there and that's on the northside. And when they had these clubs. The clubs were where the other men go to help to clear the land, or they had other things they want to do. Work.

I: They were doing this right here in St. Thomas?

E: Yeah! I went to several clubs, because the children had to gather the wood and keep the fire going, so . . .

I: So, it would be like clearing a grasspiece?

E: Not a grassland alone, but with trees and big things there growing, was to chop them down and make the land ready for planting. Food. You see, and the wife and any friends she had from down . . . We were living in town, living just down there across from VITELCO, in that area down there where VITELCO is now.

I: So, you all would actually walk out, in the country?

E: You had to! You ain' had no way to get out dey. Yo' leave very early in de mornin'. As yo' goin' along de road, yo' noticin', yo' could see all what was goin' . . . That place by Dorothea has changed up so much to what it used to be! There where the Experimental Station was. That was a big grasspiece with animals in it. A big grasspiece! Hmmph? I was saying . . .

I: Back in town, in terms of the housing arrangements . . .

E: Well, you see, there was somebody who the owners put in charge, like a . . . collector . . . sometimes it was a woman, it was a man. No, the person didn't . . . the person might live in a property of the owner. They might, but, I mean . . . not necessarily on the particular place where . . . I remember Miss Miyah. She was one of the collectors for Lockhart. She lived in one over here by . . . Almost there

by the gut.

I: Is that the same Lockhart for the bakery, or a different one?

E: That was the old . . . the bakery and everything had belong to the old father. The old father started all o' these; they in turn went to his children. I'm talking about the days of the old first Mr. Lockhart. Because I remember him. He lived in his place.

I: A local person?

E: Yes! That's Dotsy Elsko's grandfather.

I: And he would have somebody like Miss Miyah?

E: Yes! Miss Miyah collected for some parts of the property. He had a lot of property. So, she did collecting for this downstreet area. And I knew. He had property all about, maybe he had other collectors too. But, she I knew collected in the area down there.

I: And that would be: She would come 'round every month . . .

E: Yeh! She would come 'round and collect. One thing with Mr. Lockhart. I knew that he used to do, he kept a . . . team of workers: masons, carpenters, painters, you know? And he kept his place in repairs. Yes! He kept his place in repairs. Because, he came around on the Sundays to check the properties.

I: . . . the big yard . . . is something among your memories, that you saw a lot of social activities among the different families. What would you say was the general nature of the relationships that obtained in these areas where so many people lived . . . were confined . . . to essentially what we called long row houses, right?

E: Long row? Sometimes long row on either side. And a big yard. We had a well and a cistern . . .

I: Usually you would have a well?

E: Yes! Most times there was a well and a cistern. The well, you could get water there every day. But the cistern for drinking, certain times you got water from

there.

I: There was no public tap you could . . .

E: No, no. Nothing about tap! When the collector or whoever was in charge . . . for instance, even though we had Miss Miyah there to remember, in the lower area, going down more toward the sea, that area down there, the Phipps--Edgar Phipps--was in charge, kind of in charge. All like where the Retirement, the GERS building, he had a garden in there. He used to look out for the lower section of the area down there, and I remember him with a garden in there. He plant de potato, and you know different vegetable . . . okra, and different things. A big garden he had.

GRAVE AND CRADLE

I: At that time the ice factory was . . . operating?

E: Yes, the ice factory . . . I don't remember exactly. I remember . . . I don't remember exactly when . . . But even though that ice factory was in my, in our area, ice was something that was . . . something more like a luxury. You just didn't figure you needed all that ice, you know?

I: The reason I'm asking is because I'm thinking of what used to happen, let's say, when there were deaths and burials and so on.

E: Oh . . . well, according to what time the person died. They had to be buried the same day. The coffins were made right here. And, if they died early enough in the morning they were buried the same day if they died later on then they had to be...you had to have them...the bodies were kept at home...and some of them were kept at home, you know. That's why you had the big wake, at night!

I: They had special things they used to do to preserve the bodies?

E: Yes, there were people who . . . knew to do it and they would use lime and lemon . . . they had kind of things they would use. I hadn't been around any of the bodies. I have seen them. I think I remember when my grandmother died. I think

so. They didn't take her anyplace. She was there lying down on a door. They put her on a door. They used to take off the door. That's what they would do. Yeh! Take off the door, bring the door in, and put the person to lie on the door . . . Yeh, take off the door and put them on it.

I: You don't know of any particular superstition or anything that would . . . with that door?

E: No!

I: I remember when I was growing up the days before the real morgue and so there was a lady here on St. Thomas who took care of bodies.

E: Mum hmm!

I: I was trying to remember. I can almost visualize. I can almost visualize her, but I couldn't remember the name.

E: Tain' Miss Ruby? Ruby*?, a clear-skinned lady...

I: I was thinking of a heavy-set, dark lady . . .

E: I remember the lady, I remember . . .

I: Sister, I think . . .

E: Oh! Sister Curtis?

I: That's who it was? Did she do that kind of thing too?

E: I think she did. She used to attend to sick people on a whole. And, she have come up here to tend to my foot.

I: Really?

E: When I had this knee bothering me so! All-you were small. But she came up here. And she used to tie on the bush and the banana skin. Tie it on my knee and . . . The knee was giving me all that trouble.

I: And she was recognized as today, what you'd call some kind of herbalist?

E: Well, I guess so. They would call . . . what she did, she attended to people. She would come to the house and she would tend to you. She would recommend certain things . . . But her mother before her . . . because this is what my mother told me, because it was her mother the one brought me in this world . . . Her mother was recognized by the Danish government. You see, there were several older women who were [recognized] as midwives. I remember her mother too!

[When the original transcript was read to Eunice Sprauve on August 18, '94, she corrected "Miss Ruby" to "Miss Ivy." She also suddenly recalled the name of the woman who delivered her as "Taan Malaine," which she explained as probably derived from "tant," associated with an older and honorific "auntie" and "Madelaine," probably from one of the French islands.]

MIGRANTS AND TRANSIENTS

I: [concerning] migrations into the Virgin Islands as far as you remember, or people coming into the Virgin Islands from the other islands. What was the main stream of people coming into the Virgin Islands, and then settling here?

E: Well, I really don't know . . . amm. I knew some of the people. I knew some of the men, even women who came here. But some of them did not stay here . . . They went to . . . They went on this same Captain Smith boat we were talking about. They went down to Santo Domingo . . . wherever the men were, they went down. But there were some who came. but there were some who came here very [early?] Look at my grandmother. She came from Saba. But I do not know how she came . . . I don't know the story behind that.

I: That was your father's . . .

E: My father's mother, yes!

I: You remember her at all?

E: If I remember her?

I: That was Bella?

E: I remember her very well. My mother always tell me . . .

I: So she played an important part in your life?

E: Yes. Because my mother always told me. Yo' know how much t'ump I get? "Jus' like yo' grandmother, jus' like yo' grandmother!!!" She always tell me I jus' like meh grandmother. I had a lot of aggress . . . you know? She didn't fool around. What she had to say she said. Very strong-willed woman.

EDUCATION

I: Well, so you went to school, and went to Nisky, of course.

E: Hmm!

I: And later on you entered into . . . teaching.

E: Into the high school. What was I . . .

I: Until what age did you go to high school?

E: What I was . . . Until I was fifteen, because there was no other grade after...at that time...you see what happen, somehow Education was something that did not have priority in the islands at the time. And it was a matter of whether the colonial . . . Whether the Council . . . it was the Council at the time . . . could find money for teachers or not. If they could find, well they added a grade. If they couldn't find, well . . . that was the end. And at that particular time we got to the ninth grade, we came up through the ranks, but then there was no . . . we weren't sure of whether these would be a tenth grade or not. And we graduated from the ninth grade, but we weren't sure whether there would be a tenth grade or not. And by that time, at the age of fifteen I had already received a teacher's license, because you had to take examinations in those years. And you had to be examined in every subject. And you had to pass every subject. You failed one, you failed all. And during the years . . .

I: What were the subjects?

E: Well, they were English, Arithmetic--Mathematics you call it--Arithmetic,

Physiology, Nature Study, Geography, all were by themselves. History . . . you had Writing . . . Yeh, the quality of your writing . . . Spelling . . . whatever they figure you would have to teach in Elementary School. Whatever it was that it was thought you had to teach, you were examined individually for. And you had to be knowledgeable about each of those subjects. For instance, they did not combine Geography and History. Geography was solid, solid geography. Arithmetic would have been Arithmetic and some Math, some higher Math mixed with it. History was solid, solid history. In the English you had all kinds of construct . . . You had your Mechanics, you had Literature, you had all kinds of things was thrown in there. You had a solid exam in each of these areas. Physiology, you had to know everything about your body. Health was something else by itself. Nature Study, you had to know all of everything about those plants you [were] talking about, and the structure and everything about them . . . So, during the Easter holidays that year, 1929 it was the class, our class had said that . . . it was advertised as I remembered, that the Department was giving examinations for teachers. The others, they went there for fun. But I was dead serious . . .

QUESTIONS:

1. What can we surmise about where the folk lived as a general rule if they were not country dwellers, based on this interview?
2. Why might country folk be better off than the urban poor? Is there a connection between this situation and that mentioned by Kurin while discussing folk culture and the Industrial Revolution? Explain your answer.
3. How are clubs similar to the lodges discussed by presenters Browne, Guiry Vanderpool and Watlington?
4. Are there signs of division of labor along gender lines?
5. What do you know about the St. Thomas land mass that might explain the informant's statement "Yo' leave very early in de mornin'?"
- 6, 7. Discuss the social aspects of rent collecting. Are you able to speculate concerning what kind of property belonging to the landlord a person like Miss Miyah would have inhabited?
8. How would the availability of ice impact on foodways? (See article by Oswin

Sewer et al on foods during Slavery.)

9. Consult old newspapers or interview at least three elders and list at least two other businesses that Lockhart owned.

10. Is it possible to view Mr. Lockhart' choice of Sunday for checking the properties as an act of consideration towards his tenants? Explain!

11. Why would the big yard need both a well and a cistern?

12. Does the possession of a garden suggest any links with arrangements or concessions granted for survival--and sometimes the advancement--of the folk during Slavery?

13. Read carefully the passage that begins under the heading "Cradle and Grave"! Then discuss the narrative flow from the mention of ice technology in the Virgin Islands through the informant's discussion of how the dead were handled, up to the account of her own arrival in this world! Could you relate this as a local story with the beginning: "One night, when Granny was tired of the children pestering her about how life used to be when they didn't have this and that, she sat with them and started talking . . . ?"

14. The above section, beginning after the heading "Migrants and Transients" tells us something about how influences from other islands wove their way into the fabric of Virgin Islands society. How does this information relate to that in historian Whitman Browne's presentation concerning names and families in the Virgin Islands?

15. How many years in school do you believe constituted a formal education at the time the informant started her education?

16. What was the major practical consideration in designing the curriculum for the secondary school during this period?

17. What do you suppose constituted the primary requirement for one to be hired as a teacher? Would such a system be practical today?

18. What subjects are studied today by high school students that relate in a general way to the Physiology and Nature Study mentioned by the informant?

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SAVANNE

Editor's Note: The following is reprinted from the booklet and guide of the 1990 Folklife Festival of the Smithsonian Institution. Questions on the text were developed by the editor of the current publication.

Ruth M. Moolenaar

A Historical Perspective

The port town of Charlotte Amalie on St. Thomas was founded to serve the needs of early Danish traders and planters. Savanne, or Savan, the northwestern subdivision of Charlotte Amalie, was established to provide housing for an increasing number of manumitted slaves or "free coloured," as they were called. This group, having gained their freedom by direct purchase or by baptism, left the rural estates on which they worked and lived and moved to the town. Although legally free, they were treated as an inferior class and were subjected to rigid restrictions. As reported in *Emancipation in the Danish West Indies, Eye Witness Accounts II*, by Eva Lawaetz, "the free colored were banned from certain punishment for certain offenses. In addition, they had to always have on their person a FRIBREV (Letter of Freedom) to prove they were not slaves." In the mid 1800s Governor General Peter Von Scholten was responsible for several laws aimed at protecting the rights of the free coloureds. Unfortunately, many of the freed Blacks were never apprised of their rights. So large was their number in St. Thomas that it was agreed to sell lots in the Savanne area to facilitate their needs. Thus, the neighborhood was established around 1764-65.

The character of the neighborhood was evidenced by the construction of its houses. In contrast to the masonry, European-styled buildings and homes of the commercial district, houses of Savanne were small wooden frames covered with shingles. Described by some architects as vernacular row, the prevailing design was a long row of contiguous houses that formed an L- or U-shaped structure. Others were individual houses of the same wooden frames but having a small balcony. Built a few feet above the ground these elevated homes were reached by wooden or masonry steps. Under the raised houses children found safe havens for play, and nesting hens used these shaded areas as good hiding places for their eggs. One long, winding road ran through the center of the neighborhood.

Economy of the Area

There was no alternative in Savanne to the trading and other businesses of the commercial district. The people of Savanne were obligated to leave their neighborhood to seek employment. Many women and a few men were engaged in "carrying coal," a job that involved carrying huge baskets of bituminous coal on their heads up the planks of ships calling on St. Thomas. Coal was used as fuel by the ships. Working from mid-day into the wee hours of the next morning, coal workers were paid with tallies which, when redeemed, netted two or three cents per basket.

Another source of employment for women was laundry, which involved washing uniforms worn by gendarmes and other uniformed officers. The uniforms were made of heavy cotton like khaki, twill or denim, and when wet the clothes exacted much energy from the women who did their work without modern machinery and detergents. They hand scrubbed the garments, slapped them on rocks, boiled them on an outdoor fire and finally bleached them dry in the sun. Ironing was almost as tedious a chore done with a charcoal fired "goose."

Some women earned a living as vendors in the Bungalow at Market Square, now called the Rothschild Francis Square, or as peddlers throughout the town. The Bungalow vendors were a distinctive group. Colorful in dress and spirited in temperament, they added a special flavor to the area. Each woman had her individual spot or table, which she guarded jealously. As a group they regulated prices and conformed to unwritten norms as they bargained their wares of fresh fruits, vegetables, herbs, spices, food and drinks.

Men earned their living as cargo men, common laborers, janitors, or fishermen. Skilled workers emerged years later from this group. These artisans exercised great influence in the community. Operating small trade shops within and outside the area, they satisfied the community's needs in such areas as cabinet making, furniture repair, masonry, joinery, brick laying, barbering, dressmaking, needle working, and cooking.

Social Services

Before local government provided social services for the needy, fraternal organizations played an important role in furnishing these services for the

Savaneros. These institutions, in addition to providing financial assistance in time of need, supplied counseling and other services. Two such fraternal organizations in Savanne were the United Brethren of the St. Joseph Association and the Beloved Sisters of Mary and Joseph. The Harmonic Lodge and the Old Unity Lodge were also popular among Savaneros even though they were located outside the boundaries of Savanne.

Entertainment

Unlike the courtyards of the commercial district, which served as extended work areas or as stables of wealthy merchants, the Big yards of Savanne were for entertainment and informal, traditional education. These wide open spaces bordering the long row houses were identified by landlord's name or by location. There were the Lockhart's Big yard, Richard's Big yard and the Sealey Big Yard. Three popular yards outside of the Savanne area were Ross's yard, Buck Hole, and Barracks Yard. On moonlight nights families gathered to share stories, jokes, gossip, and family events; they recited poems, danced and sang in the Big yards. Daytime activities were also plentiful. The people of Savanne also frequented two popular dance halls, Jubilee Hall and Dilley Hall. Additionally, the fraternal lodges were available for social affairs.

Political Life

Since Savanne was one of the most densely populated areas on the island, it attracted the attention of politicians, who stumped the area at election time wooing voters. In the 1940s and later, the strength of a political party or its candidates hinged on support from Savanne. The old Banaba Well, a popular landmark formally used as a water source, became the rostrum from which political candidates delivered fiery speeches. After these performances people gathered at nearby "Eva Grants Corner" for drinks and conversation. Middle-class and wealthy political candidates were sometimes viewed ironically by the Savaneros who were aware that their small homes and their food and drink would ordinarily be scorned by these candidates outside of an election year.

Several leaders were elected from Savanne. These individuals fought tenaciously for improved wage laws, improved roads, better health facilities and most importantly, for job opportunities. Today, people with their roots in Savanne can be counted among the society's list of legislators, doctors, lawyers, civic and

religious leaders and other professionals.

Other Impacts

From the 1930s education became high priority, and graduation from high school was considered an outstanding milestone in one's life. Unlike parents in the commercial district, few Savaneros could send their children to the mainland or to Europe for higher education. Therefore, after high school graduation most young men and women worked for the Virgin Islands Government. Many of these individuals continued their education in the 1950s.

Savanne Today

Visible change in the area is reflected in the houses. Quite different from their predecessors, many homes are now two- and three-story concrete buildings. Glass and aluminum shutters have replaced wooden windows and doors. Several wooden homes with shingles remain, however, as testimonies to the early character of the area.

Unlike commercial Charlotte Amalie, few historic sites in Savanne remain to tell the community's history. One surviving site is the Jewish Cemetery, which served the group of Jews who fled from the island of St. Eustatius in 1781 after the attack of Sir Rodney on that island. These Jewish members of the community became ship owners, ship chandlers and brokers and participated in the slave trade. They became a vital part of the community and lived primarily in other urban areas, but they were buried in Savanne, on "Jode (from Judah) Street." Other street names in Savanne are Pile Strade, Vester Gade, Slagter Gade, Gamble Gade, Silke Gade and Levkoi Strade.

Currently Savanne is home to immigrant populations from Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and the eastern islands. Blacks of Savanne earned a living in conditions resembling servitude while the Whites of the commercial district flourished financially from the bustling trade of the town and its harbor. The sociology of the two groups reflected this difference.

QUESTIONS:

1. Why was Savanne established?
2. Whence the "free coloured" in the Danish West Indies?
3. Where did Savan's inhabitants live before moving there?
4. How did these early residents of Savan prove they were not slaves in the days of slavery.
5. About when and how did residents of Savan come into possession of their lots of land?
6. What was the typical shape of the so-called vernacular row house?
7. What material was the row house typically constructed of?
8. What impact did bituminous coal have on the well-being of families in Savan?
9. What was a tally?
10. What was the source of heat in the "gooses" used to iron people's clothes?
11. What kinds of purchases took place in the market?
12. What indications are there that division of labor was practiced in the upkeep of the family during this period?
13. Name one source of aide to those in need in the days when no government sources were available?
14. What role did the "big Yard" play in the social organization of the old neighborhoods?
15. What is the historical significance of Banaba Well for Savan and Virgin Islands politics?
16. Did the different classes mix and mingle freely during the period covered by the article?

17. Where did the more affluent get their higher education?

18. How did the early Jewish people would eventually be buried in the "Jewish Burial Ground" come to the Virgin Islands in the first place?

19. In what essential way has the sociology of the area called Savan remained fundamentally the same to this day?

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Life of a Lot (J-H, S-H, C-U)

Myron Jackson

Editor's Note: The following segment was transcribed from a slide presentation and narration on Virgin Islands neighborhoods made by Mr. Myron Jackson during the course of the Summer Institute on Virgin Islands Culture, July '93. We recommend it be read as a supplement to the Moolenaar piece on Savane and the earlier interviews on life in the yard or among the folk of our islands. If class time permits at some point Mr. Jackson or a person of his qualifications with his photographic and artistic collection should be invited to make a similar presentation before Virgin Islands schoolgoers.

The population we're talking about in Savaan, we're talking about artisans--for example, if you've read the letters of Alton Adams when he goes back and he talks about the family living in Savaan and the occupations: his father worked in ship repairs and his mother, who was a tailor, a seamstress. And they talked about life in Savaan during the late eighteen, early nineteen hundreds. Many of the coal workers--since Savaan was really the center for the African population on St. Thomas, that was the place like how Tutu is today. That is where you found the majority of Black Virgin Islanders living. Many of the coal workers were from that area. And the West Indian Company Dock and Hassel Island they [the workers] would go . . . and Signal Hill was very important, which was visible from Savaan, which would tell them the nationality of the boat that was coming in.

If they were going to haul coal for a German ship they would look at the Signal Hill, and that would tell them--the balls and their location--tell them what nationality. So, from that the merchants would leave their homes, open up either for goods coming in, or the coal women and coal men would go to the Kings Wharf or West Indian Company, depending on where they were coaling their ship.

Sprauve: I have a question . . . The area that includes Frenchman Hill. Now, let us look at the claim that Savaan became the place where freed Blacks lived. There is more to the real story of Savaan. There was a place there they used to call Tortola

Yard, where you used to go buy coal, right? I feel that there's maybe an area we're glossing over, in terms of stratification in Savaan. I don't know if it's being treated. There was a freedmen's presence there, but then there was also this grassroots people, and we know that in later years, in the early years of this century that Savaan was essentially a place where many people from Tortola, hard working . . .

Jackson: I'm getting there . . .

Sprauve: OK, I'll just wait . . .

Jackson: I want to point out some areas of interest which . . . Dr. Sprauve talked about Frenchman's Hill. It's interesting since today we were meeting, because Public Works is about to launch a street-naming project, so we were trying to define where certain streets' colloquial names are identifiable to those particular streets. For instance some streets have . . . one street may be Dronnigen's Gade and it may have two sections. Let's take Seventh Day Street, for example. Seventh Day Street is Dronnigen's Gade to the east and west, including Polyberg. Seventh Day Street is from the beginning of Seventh Day Street to the stop light. And Polyberg starts from the opposite side, from Jefferson School, go over the hill, but that's all Dronnigen's Gade. So we were trying to get Public Works to be sensitive enough to the project that identifies areas like that.

This is the Frenchman Hill area [showing on chart]. [Answering a question from a participant:] Dronnigen's Gade, Kings' Quarter is Seventh Day Street. And Seventh Day Street . . .

Olive: It extends to the top of Polyberg Hill?

Jackson: No, it doesn't. It stops at the stop light. And Polyberg starts on the opposite side of the street.

Olive: In essence, Seventh Day Street is nothing legal?

Jackson: The legal name for the street which the properties carry, is Dronnigens Gade. But, we of course give our local names to these streets

Olive: ...Goat Street?

Jackson: Now, Goat Street is Prindsens Gade . . . When we talk about areas--and Dr. Sprauve raised a very important question. And that is, what were the areas, what was Savaan like in the various periods? To deal with the seventeen hundreds, the whole area we are talking about is in this area here [demonstrating on map]. If you notice, there's a cemetery right here. This is Jorde Gade, meaning Jew Street. There was a very strong Jewish presence. Frenchman's Hill, Catholic, French Huguenots. A very strong influence. And they even had a hospital, I think in this building, one of these buildings here. This area is comprised of three groups in the seventeen hundreds, going into the eighteens. Free Blacks, Jews and Catholics. Those were the three groups that Danes tolerated and allowed some upward mobility to some extent in the society. And when I say that, meaning, for example, for the Jews and the Catholics, they were not permitted to build their church or synagogue, but were allowed to worship in the privacy of their homes. They were tolerated to that degree. Many of these buildings here, once you go to the east of these lots, which is very important when you start to talk about genealogy and family histories in these islands and the movement of people. For, cemeteries are one way you can trace a people and find out from the tombstones . . . next would be the properties, property ownership. So when you start to go back to the property ownerships or briefs you will deal with the late seventeen, early eighteen hundreds. But most of our records are not available from the seventeen hundreds. You will find ...anytime after eighteen forty for most of these properties you'll find names, and it's very difficult to identify if you don't know the family line, whether you're talking about White families or you're talking about Black families, or you're talking about families that were mixed. But we know for the most part in this area, that there are many families who come from that mixture, whether they be Jewish and African--and Jewish doesn't necessarily mean that it was White either.

The Frenchman Hill area, this was a very aristocratic area, on this hillside here (and Dr. Sprauve could give you a little history on their family property and the purchase of that property by his father and how that changed hands.) So, gentrification, so to speak, in this area has changed it and would still change it, because it has really up to this day been a place where new immigrants to these islands--and I don't like to use those terms: immigrants and stuff, but newcomers to the islands. Savaan continues to be that place. If you go through there today,

for example, you will hear music and the people of Santo Domingo. You will hear Haitians. You will hear people from the Eastern Caribbean. [The tendencies] continue today.

Back in the early nineteen hundreds this was a place where many Tortolians took refuge whether they came . . . in those days immigration was not as difficult . . . and people came through Red Hook and sometimes even walked to Town, to a family member or a friend that they came to in Savaan.

Very narrow streets, made for walking and horse and buggies, donkeys. Had a well organized system of lots and many of these lots are in today standards, even back then, they were very small. The buildings front the street. It was required that all properties carry a legal address. This has General Gade, the lot number and the quarter. So you'll find that on it. Building materials: of course in this area were permitted in wood, even we find shingle. Before galvanize was introduced, shingle roofing was customary for these buildings. Shingle sidings. Many of the buildings because of the fire code, many of the property owners got fire insurance. This is one early company here, the Sun Insurance. This is a company still in operation. You notice the requirement of a black print and white lettering. This is on Pile Straade. Most of the buildings are hip roof, and these are single family homes . . . the multiple family are longer; they're usually on a different lot. Cooking and everything--the family activity--took place in the rear of the lot. And many of the larger lots would sometimes have tenement housing to the rear, and what I mean by that is the owners would sometimes build some small cottages in the back and lease out, rent out rooms, one or two rooms or several rooms, just like people do today, people did back then. A source of income for many families in this area. The cook house was usually separated, a separate structure, where the larger structures, like on Frenchman Hill, for instance, those kitchens were a lot more elaborate and usually connected to the house, even though it might be detached in some way.

Cooking, doing the laundry, storytelling, many of those traditions that are deep-rooted in African traditions. For example, the sweeping of the ground every morning at five thirty to six o'clock, many of us remember it as children either as having to do it or we remember the women in the household with the younger members of our families doing that.

(This is a village in Tumu which I went to visit in Canton, a family clan in Tumu.

And it struck me in many ways as a place I was very familiar with in terms of what the yard is to us.)

The yard also was a place where our children learned to use various tools. I was moved by this toy, which is a Heinekin beer can and a vegetable can which were opened by the seam and smoothed. As children our yard was an extension of our play area. And this is a beautiful toy. Some people look at it and discard it, but the child uses his resources, his resources from his environment, and of course there is no Woolworth's, Pueblo and Grand Union, and so many of our children . . . our children growing up.

It also is a place where we played our games. Warri is just one. There are many ring games, children games, storytelling by our grandparents or the community storyteller.

The shingle siding is the earliest type you would find, and then the lapboard siding came about later. You'll notice all of these houses front the street. And there is usually a building or lot, some area left for the things that we don't do in the house. There is a cemetery associated--a Jewish cemetery--across from this. This is Jode Gade, meaning Jew Street, and it's connected to the Synagogue which is the second oldest in the Western Hemisphere.

When we talk about the history of a lot I want you to keep in mind that

. . . I'm talking about lots as they connect to this community and they connect to our history. And these lots that are in this vicinity in Savaan was a small Jewish community. And they lived in Savaan with their families, and they probably did not have a synagogue at that time. Later on they built a synagogue and the connection to this synagogue to the Virgin Islands is a connection to Spain, because it was a Sephardic synagogue. And what does that mean? In terms of the history of Spain? That [goes] back to the Moors. And the Moors ruled Spain for several hundred years. And it was only through Isabel and Ferdinand defeating the Moors that led to the voyages of Columbus. So in a very big way this little area called Savaan has a very, very rich history. And the meeting together of religions, culture, races we are products of. (And this is in Spain. And this is the Great Mosque in Cordoba, which was converted to a church.)

The craftsmen that built these structures came out of the tradition of one

generation to a next. They made furniture, some of them made from the mahogany wood that was available, the tropical hardwood . . . this is Mr. Broome whose father was a carpenter and who built houses. These houses were built with the technology we call mortise and tenant. This is a building we restored recently that was on our family property on the lot. Very small cottage. As you notice, everything is connected: all these beams are connected by pins. Very few nails in there, with the exception of the siding that goes on and the nailing or screwing in of the galvanize on the roofing.

For the most part we discard these houses for various reasons. One, wood is a symbol of poverty. That to say you have arrived in a society, you've made it, a concrete structure is preferred. So, we are losing these wooden structures on these lots. Tortola, the connection of Tortola in terms of many of the merchants, the farmers sending their produce or coming to St. Thomas with it to sell their good. (Much of the Virgin Islands population on St. Thomas has deep roots on Tortola. That goes back several hundred years, and Tortola has provided food to this community for several hundred years. The movement of Africans, whether it was slaves or free Blacks to the Virgin Islands, was a very extensive one, and Savaan had its role as providing shelter and homes and a community for many Tortolians.

The market place which is not too far...from Savaan--and Savaan has grown over the years; some people, like the area I showed before, the older ones say "That's Savaan!" and some people today claim Savaan from seventy-five corner by the Catholic Church up is Savaan today. But Savaan has grown. So its boundaries over the past two hundred years have expanded east, west, north and south.

The market square was a commercial center and the women were the dominant characters in the market square. This is today Rotschild Francis Square, who came from the Savaan area, and the square was named in his honor because he was a political activist and we claim that he is the father of the organic act. This is the tenement housing that Dr. Sprauve made reference to in terms of Tortolians. Many of these structures were built to provide housing for the Virgin Islanders or immigrants and that each door and window is really just a room, a front room, and then there would be a divider gave some kind of privacy for a bedroom, and then cooking was done to the rear of the property. And this is one of the last of these long rows to this length. It's quite an impressive length. Running almost the whole length of the block. This lot is owned by one family, so that the family that

owned the lot lived in this main house and rented out rooms to the rear of the property. This is also a tenement house and each . . . usually the stairs would tell you how it was divided: window, door, window, door, window, door. Probably three families lived here. Many of the structures are now being replaced by concrete houses. Some sensitive [to] and continuing a vernacular architecture. Louvered windows replace shutters and jealousy windows, for example. And these monstrosities that we are building--concrete jungles--that are out of scale to our old neighborhoods and their character and in many cases really destroy the . . . setting of our old neighborhoods.

So, the challenge to you that I bring this evening is: How do we go about preserving our buildings and preserving the history? And how do we make these buildings live again through new construction [that we make] relevant for our children. [It is] the question: whether we restore these buildings even though they may not serve the intention that they were intended [for]. They could be efficiency apartments. They could be many things other than us losing them. And that symbol, for example, the "Committee To Revive Our Culture" has used, the symbol of the vernacular cottage which is very much part of the landscape of the Caribbean.

DISCUSSION: Mr. Jackson's presentation [which was enhanced by a large collection of slides] is offered here as a backdrop for the Moolenaar article on Savanne and the narrative discussion of Eunice Sprauve that preceded the Moolenaar piece. The main points made relate to:

1. The community's early mercantilistic orientation and how it impacted on ethnic groups and sectors within the laboring class. Students should be able to identify the main ethnic and laboring groups mentioned and relate each to some physical structure or feature on the Virgin Islands cultural landscape even if it is only residual in significance today.
2. Official versus vernacular practices in street-naming. Can students give three examples of dual names for streets or places on their island of birth?
3. Cohabitation along religious lines in the greater Savanne area, reflecting Danish policy on foreigners and their religions. Can students name the groups

identified here. Can students speculate about the absence of Moravians and Lutherans in this list, though both groups are present early in the colony's history?

4. The Tortola element in Savanne's history. Students should describe at least one way that Tortola migrants "came through the window."

5. Vernacular dwellings and issues related to preservation. What are Mr. Jackson's major concerns?

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The Life of a Lot: Critical Plots in the Colonial Narrative

(C-U)*

Edgar Othniel Lake

Editor's Note: The reader is informed at the outset of the following article that the charge to write derived from its author's presence at the institute session during which artist, planner and cultural consultant Myron Jackson presented a series of slides and lectured on the subject "Life of a Lot."

Glimpses of the 1829 engraved series, "Ten Views in the Island of Antigua," were seen in Myron Jackson's slide presentation on the "Life of a Lot" panel, at the University of the Virgin Islands' Teachers Summer Institute on Virgin Islands Culture.

Among some 160 slides spanning Europe, Africa, and our own Southern Hemisphere, Jackson constructed a hagiographic narrative from otherwise unrelated landscapes, inferring how lots had been colonized - and otherwise used.

It seems no small irony that an inevitable contradiction would ensue: fusing colonial images of the Caribbean with contemporary images of his travels to Europe and Africa. And it is this spook crossroad--post-colonial regenerative images, and the "convention of absence" surrounding William Clark's preeminent Caribbean engravings--which prompts this critical response.

Indeed, new constructs are now implied between sugar as an 18th century commodity, and colonial images as a 20th century commodity. Consequently, our ongoing structures of historical presentations with colonial materials, must be constantly reappraised.

One such dialectical tension exists between the romantic and mythic images of colonial plantation life, and the savagery of the bonded and indentured experience. Where European excesses have been self-evident, great efforts have been exerted to ground these into antecedent medieval ideologies. On the other

hand, indigenous populations and colonized peoples - however misrepresented - have rarely had their myths, fables or codas appropriately mentioned, much less integrated into any rationalization of their subaltern status.

William Clark's 1829 paintings of colonial Caribbean plantation life, "Ten Views in the Island of Antigua," are clearly definitive of 19th century plantation sugar production. (Only George Robertson's Jamaican series, 1775-78, rivals Clark's output. Further, only the illustrative panels from "Cultivating Corn in the Andes," early 1500's, from Guaman Poma de Ayala's "Nueva Cronica" (1615)), reflect the earliest narrative of how New World land was cultivated. In fact, three sequential panels, presenting rectangular plots bear strong resemblance to Clark's later "grid" compositions.) (Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, in The Smithsonian's "Seeds of Change"/ "Old World Cargo Changes the Americas" panel.)

Yet, none else offers so complete a documentation with so benign a draftsmanship of the landscape, machinery, and laborers as Clark's 1829 images.

Clark's "Ten Views . . ." is also a visual manifesto which obviously served the propagandists of the colonial gentry.

As a guest painter of Christopher Codrington at his Betty's Hope estate, (named for the latter's daughter), Clark was afforded ample access to the incongruities of plantation life, to include Codrington's off-island cross-breeding estate. Yet, his paintings reflected the humanist's accommodations of his day, as well as the enhanced gratitude for his patrons. Small wonder that Caribbean scholar Eric Williams used a symbolic eight (as in El Dorado's pieces-of-eight) of these images in his 1970 magnum opus, "From Columbus to Castro: the History of the Caribbean."

Since then, the history of appropriation regarding these images has been vastly uncharted. Indeed, they invite yet another chapter in the post-colonial construct: the Invention of the Caribbean.

Most recently, noted cultural scholar Edward Said in his magnum opus text "Culture and Imperialism" (1993) throws the gauntlet to the proverbial sugar mill floor, plumbing Jane Austen's Industrial Age novel "Mansfield Park" (1814), and implicitly linking Thomas Bertram's fictional Antigua plantation to Clark's images: "But just because Austen referred to Antigua in Mansfield Park . . .

without any thought of possible responses by the Caribbean . . . there is no reason for us to do the same."

(pg. 66)

Some 160 years after Clark's engravings, it remains poignant that it is from an American colony in the Caribbean - the U.S. Virgin Islands--a genuine image-generating colony, addressing its own peripheralities and self-definition--that these matters of democratic vision surface.

II

Isidor Paiewonsky's "Witness Accounts of Slavery in the Danish West Indies" (1989), offers the classic colonialist appropriation of Clark's images. One of William Clark's images, "Cutting the Sugar Cane", is a plot of land on the Delap's Estate, bordering Liberta Village, in Antigua. Yet, Paiewonsky in his book, lends no geographical address, nor source of reference, for this document.

In fact, his substitute caption ("Slaves Cutting Sugar Cane Under Supervision"), can be construed as curiously derogative, if not redundant, given the fully descriptive characters in Clark's composition.

Gregson Davis, Aime Cesaire scholar and Antiguan author, in his book "Antigua Black", pointedly transcribes the language of colonial observers and plantation owners. In fact, Davis underscores the symbolism of Clark's only figure of supervision, sitting on a horse - with his back turned to the field of workers by understandably captioning the chronicle of his people's history with cryptic accuracy.

His caption corresponding to Clark's engraving "Cutting the Sugar Cane", reads as follows: "The negroes, provided with cutting bills, then arrange themselves as when hoeing, each taking his or her respective row...The manager, during the busy time, is employed in arranging the required supply for the Mill, which in good breeze demands the greatest exertion of everyone on the estate." (pg. 64)

Some 30 years before, William Beckford wrote a telling description of this work scenario, which is still a manifesto worth knowing--now, two centuries later: "Their different instruments of husbandry, particularly their gleaming hoes, when uplifted to the sun, and which, particularly, when they are digging canefields they frequently raise all together, and in as exact time as can be observed, in a well-conducted orchestra, in the bowing of the fiddles, occasion the light to break in momentary flashes around them."

Moreover, as sub-plot, the landscape of Clark's painting, "Cutting the Sugar Cane", has been curiously altered by Paiewonsky: the hill ranges and windmill structure poorly reproduced. The canefield - both lot, and plot - is symbolically appropriated and rendered as a surreal "landscape", with its tropicalist "tropes" removed. Extended even further, "Author's private collection" is tacitly rendered as a credit line, replacing the artist's name, and date-line citation.

By contrast, Gregson Davis' book title, "Antigua Black", is an allusion to the notorious black pineapple, once dubbed "Black Pride" in the colonial era. (There is still only one plot of land, on Antigua, dedicated to the cultivation of that fruit. Although pineapple is the island's "National Fruit", its iconography as both cultural - and static colonial trope, and the economical exploitation required to make it commercial, is a delicate boundary.)

Further editorial incursions occur when Paiewonsky carves up another of Clark's paintings, "Planting the Sugar Cane", by cropping the colonial structure (Monks Hill Fortress) so that a footpath, now medieval-like, crosses the plane of the reproduction, moving upwards, to nowhere. Several people of African descent are removed, lost in the cropping, giving the centrally grouped figures an almost harlequin-like symmetry. It is as if Lewis Carrol's "Alice in Wonderland" were transferable to this colonial hinterland.

Mysteriously, the painter's captioned title, "Planting the Sugar Cane", is substituted, and invented, for "Slave workers toil while Bombas supervise". (As early as 1727, Africans killed a Bomba at Fort Christiansborg, in Accra, allowing an undisclosed number of their comrades to escape. The name may well have become a derisive term for the black overseer, since Assante informants cited "Bombra" peoples, (a Creole dialect term for Bambara peoples from Senegambia, and Mali), for their roles in the slaving operation, and [a people] with whom they were always at war. (see Oldendorp 1777:281)

Superfluously enough, the author, renders the courtesy credit line as: Mapes Monde Co., Ltd., Rome. (On the other hand, permission in The Smithsonian exhibit 1993 "Seeds of Change" for Clark's "Cutting the Sugar Cane", was granted by the British Library.)

The folklorian legacy of this lot in Clark's "Planting the Sugar Cane", and now transferred to the village descendants of Liberta Village, includes my grandmother, and great-grandmother who worked this identical estate. Antiguan families who own "lots" (called "plots" by villagers) there, still leave them uncultivated. In part, this is due to a folk mythology "Table Top Garden" (creolized as "Tip Top God/Ja"), which our predecessors invoked on this site.

J.B. Moreton's book "West Indian Customs & Manners" (1793), chronicled this mythology of call-and-response songs as "agricultural tasks in agricultural time", as follows:

"Tink dere is a God in a top

No use we ill Obisha!

Me no horse, me no mare, me no mule

No use me ill, Obisha"

Dahomeans, called Watyi or Watje in St. Thomas, told a similar myth to Oldendorp. They related that there had been a time when their ancestors were on a high mountain, where "they heard a delightful music from the heavens."

Then a chain was lowered from the sky to the top of the mountain. On the chain were some heavenly persons, who stepped down and related "...many wonderful things of the delightful place of their stay. And at the same time told of the intent to stay with them if peace and unity were among them; but the contrary would be unacceptable to them because they were children of peace. The ancestors told them, they could not find such a rare thing. Upon such news these heavenly persons bid them farewell and returned by the chain to the heavens. But the ancestors watched them disappear with grief. And up until now, one has been waiting for their return in vain..(Oldendorp 1777:310)

Believing celestial deliverance was inevitable, in Antigua, they eked out a living

on this mountain-top site then named Bodkins Estate. From these "lots", so carefully divided into rectangular squares in Clark's painting, my predecessors cultivated cash garden crops, developed communal banking schemes which were (perhaps like Clark's rectangular lots) called "boxes", bought and maintained these "free villages" like Liberta, Freetown, and Freemansville after Emancipation in 1834.

Predictably, the Moravians built Grace Hill Mission in the hill slopes, so evident in Clark's painting, "Planting the Sugar Cane".

(My grandmother, Ellen Peters, learned to "read" the printed word in the family pew, # 13, of the small chapel, at this mission; largely by memorizing the plots of New Testament narratives at weekly Bible lessons. Evidently, she understood that her mastery of one plot, would afford her the mastery of another lot.)

Perhaps it is Jamaica Kincaid, the Antigua writer and iconoclast, who gives Clark's images a modernist twist on post-colonial appropriations. In her latest book, "A Small Place", a critical essay about local political stranglehold and tourism impacted public spaces, Kincaid deftly instructs us how to use the colonial image to better regenerate ourselves.

On the cover of her book, she uses Cynthia Krupat's tint of J. Johnson's 1820 painting, "Grace Hill". Halving the painting's composition with the spine of the book, on which the title ("A Small Place") is written, Kincaid thereby underscores the irony of its meaning. She further separates her forbears from the colonial "gentleman" promenading against the sweeping countryside. Traveling precariously along the road, two women and two children move cautiously on the boundaries of the plantation they traverse: double-plotters by intent, and in content.

As a frontispiece inside the book, the identical quartet moves in the opposite direction, perhaps indicating a shift in the plot. But it may also be a gesture of wandering exile so inherent in their act of escape.

This act of flip-flopping the colonial image extends itself in myriad and masterful ways, as in an epic Caribbean play; and is both commentary and coda of traditional and modernist narratives.

Even colonial coinage history reveals counter-stamping, as a Caribbean particularist aspect of reversal acquisitions. This involved a simple process of punching a design into an already circulating coin. For Puerto Rico, in the 1880's, mutilated U.S. silver dollars as well as Spanish pieces of eight were stamped with a fleur-de-lis design, circulating long after Puerto Rico became a U.S. possession in 1898.

The Danish West Indies used an artfully different technique. Denmark was the first colonial power to mint coins specifically for a Caribbean colony. In 1840 the first coins were struck, but a decade later severe shortages still plagued the colony. Denmark simply bought up the coins of various nations from bullion dealers and stamped the monogram of King Frederick VII on them. Thus branded, each coin was "free" to circulate through the colony, and survived long after the U.S. purchase of 1917.

In 1792, to celebrate the first abolition of the slave trade, and specifically to the Danish West Indies with effect from 1803, several "plots" were created.

The Danish mint struck a medal to celebrate the first European victory for abolition, bearing the head of a black man, opposite a figure of Nemesis. MI MISERUM ("unhappy me") was substituted for the designer's MISERIS SUCCURRERE DISCE (learn to succour unhappiness). Nemesis' inscription was also exchanged: "I champion human law", changed to "behold, I am here".

Nemesis, long the antiquarian icon of distributive goddess, has before her a vase with the head of a Black, and her ash wand for punishing the great of the world now substituted with a whip; the unjust chastisement of slaves.

Paiewonsky's "Eyewitness Accounts..." provides one other mythic "plot" in the colonial narrative.

In his account, Johan Lorentz Carstens' 1739 re-patriation to Copenhagen provided an archway for multiple narratives in the colonial texts. Firstly there was Carstens' "Farumgaard", and later his castle "Knabstrup" where waves of African tradesmen from St. Thomas resided. Residence quarters were built, known as the "St. Thomas houses", which survive to this day.

However the history of those lots was otherwise transformed, they extend deep into the critical plots of the colonial narrative in equally dynamic ways. While fastidious shipments of coconut cakes were sent to Denmark to Mrs. Carstens, it is the carefully crafted miniature boxes that have survived, and are among the National Museum's holdings. As metatropes, the coconut cakes ("sugar cakes") subverted the European indulgences in the "sweets" of distant plantation life: dedicated laborers, stable profits, acquired aristocratic privileges. In fact, these "docile" Africans exploited the conceits of those "masters" of the lot by sending the quintessential Creole chevron of industriousness - coconut cakes - while masking the stereotypical projections of dedicated field-hands, becoming themselves "masters of the plot".

The confirmation of this conceit invades Hans Nielsen, Knabstrup farmhand (and plotter of his own fable), when master Carstens dies. The core of Nielsen's Black Tale is that the farmhand Blacks come to escort Carstens "home": a black carriage drawn by four black horses, a black-from-head-to-toe coachman, a footman at rear, also black.

[The "two black horsemen" theme dates back to medieval epics with Afro-Islamic connections, to include the text "Carajimedia", an anonymous parodic work of the High Middle Ages citing "dos negros cavallerizos". "There is, at least, among the Hispano-Arabic middle ages, a rich sampling of literary texts that sports the rampant surprise and moralizing of Arabic and Spanish people toward the intervention of blacks in question of knowledge..." (See: Jose Pieda, Kallaloo 16:4)]

Then, what follows is a most propitious structure. Nielsen in his 1747 recitative accounts, emblazons Carsten's immortality, and thereby extends the colonial narrative: "There was extreme silence for a short time and then there was

movement Then, the coachman...lifted the reins turned horses and carriage around, urged the horses into a gallop and disappeared into the night."

Keeper of the plot, Hans Nielsen, further living in close contact with Africans re-settled in Denmark, from St. Thomas, often repeated segments of the Ewe and Lucumi peoples' belief system of returning home to Africa, after death.

Lastly, there are two ships in another William Clark's painting "Carting and Putting Sugar Hogsheads on Board", set in Willoughby Bay, Antigua. One is a one-mast vessel; the other is, symbolically, a two-master. More work needs to be done to better appraise how the horrific [1789] two-master slaver "Polly", captained by James De Wolfe, with its incessant cargo of our Ewe-speaking ancestors, was so seamlessly bestowed as spiritual namesake on Rothschild Francis, beginning during his lifetime. Forever emblazoned in the minds of the simple folk, it offers no small resonance that the traditional auction block, now marketplace, is named after him.

It may be that profound mythological properties were embraced by the humble people: "Polly"--two master word craft--served both masteries.

In this critical analysis of attempts to fuse colonial images and contemporary excursions, culture is ballast and cargo.

"Polly" is both winged recitative nemesis -cautioning us all of the piratical incline; and the ancestral ghost "about the land": lots as plots in the colonial narrative.

CONTEXTS FOR DISCUSSION: The above article emerged from a session of the Institute program targeting the theme "Life of a Lot." The fundamental question before the group related to empowerment through property or ownership. As such, "lot" was discussed in its many dimensions, from concrete and physical parcel of land to abstract and existential destiny as bequeathed or seized. Early in this critical article the author points out the pitfalls of juxtaposing current and synchronic-- especially postcolonial sociocultural--realities on adulterated putative historical documentary scenarios. Ultimately, it might be the case that our best hope in unravelling the historical perspective of the oppressed

in matters of identity and entitlement is to study closer certain contemporary phenomena and dynamics usually characterized as "folkloric" even in urban settings. Consider the following observations [my translation] from folklorist B.Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in an article entitled "L'etude du folklore en milieu urbain:"

The study of folklore is basically an investigation of how people

in their daily lives forge values that are fully significant in their view. In an urban milieu, where the bureaucracy in large measure increasingly controls the each person's life, folklorists are especially alert to notions of mastery, and autonomy and efficiency at a local level: the individual, the family, small scale commerce, housing . . . the street, the parish, the neighborhood . . ., collective reasoning. They also try to discover the relationship that pertains between the special traits characterizing an urban setting and the expressive forms that are transmitted there. In what way the urban environment personalized and humanized. How does one integrate into the larger power structures . . .?

We would suggest then that the cultural-historical approach to the study of the 'Life of Lots" in the Virgin Islands is rendered more challenging by limitations and inadequacies in the instruments currently and conventionally available for the task.

DISCUSSION: Identify in the above essay three instances of appropriation of cultural trusts viewed by the author as being the property of the folk of the islands. Identify two of the individuals whose documentary methods are brought into question. Relate the basic theme of this essay to the editorial note accompanying the Danet article on French heritage. Do you believe that any of the author's concerns relative to the content of the presentation in question could be addressed through a reading of the Felix Pitterson interview? Explain! Read the section of the article in this manual in the chapter on "Resistance" relative to the life of the publisher of The Emancipator, then explain this author's discussion of a two-master ship at the end of his essay. Comment on whether or not continuity and coherence can be established from the contents of the 1829 Clark paintings to "Polly" the transporter of Ewe-speaking slaves and "Polly", publisher of The Emancipator. If so, which theme would drive the narrative, emancipation or alienation. Explain your choice.

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From The Cradle To The Grave: Cultural Aspects *Re* Virgin Islands Families

(SH, C-U)

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Throughout this conference you are likely to hear several perceptions of the concept of culture in a universal sense and several perceptions about what Virgin Islands culture is or ought to be. Discussion relating to what Virgin Islands culture is or ought to be are becoming more frequent, but they are not new. In 1991 and 1992 we in the United States Virgin Islands (USVI) witnessed an intensification of these discussions due to several occurrences. A few that readily come to mind are the participation of the Virgin Islands (VI) in the Smithsonian Folklore festival of 1991 in Washington, D.C. and the 40th anniversary celebration of the St. Thomas carnival. In the 1970s there were several community forums focussing on various aspects of VI culture. I recall one in particular in 1972 that was sponsored by the Caribbean Research Institute of the College of the Virgin Islands now the University of the Virgin Islands (UVI) under the direction of the late Dr. Norwell Harrigan. This conference addressed the topic, "Virgin Islands Culture: Myth or Reality?" The pros and cons expressed then about VI culture are similar to many being expressed today; however, today the cons can be negated more easily because there is empirical data as to the important components of culture, such as producing art, literature and music. The data being presented at this conference attest to this.

The theme of this panel, From the Cradle to the Grave, could suggest that we discuss as best as we can some developmental aspects of VI culture in a general sense. The assigned object for this panel however is for a highlighting of some cultural universals pertaining to [the] VI family. In the time allotted to me I will focus on some things that my research and experience suggest fit into the theme. I wish to preface this with some theoretical points about culture that may be helpful in following the presentation.

Simply put, culture is the way of life of a people. It is a totality of learned socially transmitted behavior. Cultures vary widely and each is unique. To the sociologist, culture consists of all the shared products of human society. These products are of two basic kinds, material and nonmaterial. Material culture consists of all the artifacts, or physical objects, human beings create and give meaning to, e.g. books, clothing, games. Nonmaterial culture consists of abstract human creations, e.g. languages, ideas, beliefs, rules, customs, myths, skills, family patterns, political systems (Robertson, 1988). Other variables of a culture include norms, folkways, mores, taboo, law, sanctions, values, etc.

The theme of this panel, Cradle to Grave, implies change. Sociologists contend that cultural change is inevitable, and stems mainly from discovery, invention and diffusion. Changes in material culture are usually more readily accepted than changes in nonmaterial culture. Culture shapes us, but collectively we, in turn, shape and change the culture we pass on from generation to generation. (Robertson, 1988). In this context the cradle is the past generation and the grave the present generation. "Bring Back the Culture", a popular calypso of 1992, written by Whadablee, a Virgin Islands artist speaks to the desire of many Virgin Islanders for return of old customs. What in the VI culture is being lost or diffused that we need to bring back? Put another way, what was in the cradle phase of VI culture and what is in the grave phase? Some of this cradle phase content may be found in the writings of Virgin Islanders J. Antonio Jarvis, "The Virgin Islands and Their People"; Earl B. Ottley, "Trials and Triumphs: The Long Road to a Middle Class Society in the Virgin Islands"; Valdemar A. Hill, Sr., "A Golden Jubilee: Virgin Islanders on the go under the American Flag"; Darwin D. Creque, "The U.S. Virgin Islands and the Eastern Caribbean" and writings of other Virgin Islanders and others such as I Paiewonsky, Isaac Dookhan, William Boyer, Gordon Lewis, Ariel Melchior, Albert Campbell. The grave phase content is becoming plentiful through contemporary dissertations by Dr. Marilyn Krigger, Dr. Charles Turnbull, Dr. E. Aracelis Francis and others; also books and articles found in periodicals like "The V.I. Voice". UVI students are also writing research papers addressing aspects of this in their senior seminar classes. Some of what is considered lost are such things as appropriate respect for elders and authority by the young; community respect for burial customs; abandonment of religiousness, sustained interest in indigenous music, dances and games.

The Cradle Phase of VI Families

Sanctioning Children's Behavior

After the Arawaks and the Caribs the major inhabitants were the slaves from Africa. The first slaves are reported to have arrived in the Virgin Islands between 1681 and 1682 (Creque, 1968). Virgin Islands slaves were emancipated from Danish rule in 1848. The emancipated slave was at a loss as to what to do with his sudden freedom, having been accustomed to the paternalistic relationship which existed under slavery. The ex-slaves now faced the stern reality of providing food and shelter for himself and his family (Creque, 1968). Later in time, 1944, Jarvis would describe Virgin Islanders as very imitative, adaptable and self-possessed. Also, there is no such thing as a typical Virgin Islander in dress, manners, physique, or color. The people are varied, complex and hard to classify; but they do share certain general beliefs, cultural and recreational habits, superstitions and economic problems (Jarvis, 1944).

Slavery, as an institution, played havoc on the structure and functioning of families of slaves in the Americas and the Caribbean including the Virgin Islands. Socialization of children in VI culture and authority patterns within families for children were impacted to a larger degree by other major institutions such as religion, government, education, health care and the economy. The general outlines of family structure and family patterns in the VI are similar to those within the Caribbean region in general and among the emancipated slaves in particular (McKenzie, 1993). Some family forms or unions in which children were socialized are Married, Common-Law, Visiting, No Longer Living with Husband or Common-Law Partner. In the post emancipation period and for a considerable time after many families lived as extended families, primarily for economic reasons. Within the extended family structure children were subject to a variety of authority in terms of admonishing children for negative behavior and attitude carried over to kinship relations, both blood and fictive, godparents, teachers, ministers and other clergy, adult neighbors and some others. Children in the VI during this period and up to the early 1950s were socialized to expect this kind of authoritative intervention. Ottley in particular and Jarvis to a degree cite some of these cultural characteristics pertaining to sanctioning the behavior of children.

The following from Ottley illustrates this:

Young people were relatively well-behaved. There were a few bad eggs who were candidates for reform school, but except for harmless pranks, a lot of skylarking and an occasional

fight between individuals or rival gangs, most kept out of serious trouble. Those who misbehaved faced serious punishment at home. You were taught to respect your elders, and if one was rude to an adult or used a bad word, he was whipped, and sometimes forced to wash his mouth with vomit-inducing soap water or kneel for hours on sharp stones.

All of us were afraid of Elliott Thomas, the rough, stern-faced Main Street grocer, who frequently and vociferously expressed the view that a good whipping was all that was needed to coax the most unruly youth into exemplary behavior.

Religious Influences

Missionary work of the various churches made a distinct contribution to the cultural life of the Virgin Islands Negro (Terms like Black and African American are contemporary and older people today still have difficulty in their use.) Religion played an important role in the lives of the Danes in the colony, prior to the hegemony of the Americans, and the Sabbath was kept holy. Attendance at the Lutheran service - the national church of Denmark - was compulsory (Creque, 1968). Church-going was obligatory. Children were forced to attend Sunday services and Sunday school, and no matter how poor the family was, you had a special suit that was put aside for Sundays (Ottley, 1982). The specific contributions of religion and churches to the culture were in education, both secular and nonsecular. Fraternal organizations like the St. Joseph or Mary and Joseph lodges

also indirectly infused many of the same cultural practices.

Virgin Islanders are great joiners of societies and clubs. If it is fantastic in its aims, ostentatious in its methods, and has elaborate ceremonies and costumes, it will make all the others suffer for a while. Until the novelty wears off (Jarvis, 1944). According to Jarvis the people changed readily from one religion to another, baptized their children anywhere, and thought nothing of it. The role and importance of godparents started within the church because culturally, from a secular and nonsecular sense, godparents felt high obligations to look after their

godchildren.

Burial Customs

There were some practices which showed respect for the dead that were viewed as cultural. Two such practices were Wakes and the Closing of the Doors of Businesses as the hearse with the coffin passed . Wakes are watches, which include singing of hymns, eating and drinking held with the dead body throughout the night until the next morning. Prior

to funeral homes and the embalming of bodies, this practice was practical, since the internment of the body was usually within 24 - 48 hours after death; however, there is no reason why abbreviated wakes as still held in some mainland communities with funeral homes cannot be continued. Wakes and the funeral allowed the family to profess allegiance (Jarvis, 1944). Business closed their doors out of respect for the family of the deceased, it was traditional and part of good customer relations; however, today, business on the route of the funeral do not need this aspect of customer relations, nor do they see a need to carry on traditions of this type.

Towards the Grave Phase of VI Families

Children of the 1960s to the present time in the USVI are culturally different from the children during the period that we termed the cradle phase because culturally the USVI has changed. There are still embodiments of the historic culture; with the current trend to bring back some of these cultural traits, a balance that we may wish to sustain and pass on will be achieved. However, diffusion, the spread of cultural elements from one culture to another, has taken place. This occurred primarily through the influence of mass media, tourism and a new racial and ethnic mix resulting from the continued migration of people from the Eastern Caribbean and the US mainland. Granted, the data shows that the population has always been mixed along racial, class and ethnic lines, but the dynamics of interaction are changing. The population in the Virgin Islands grew from 62,468 in 1970 to 101,809 in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census). This population increase came about due to the pull factor to meet employment needs of the community. Also, and not too many natives were returning from their earlier migration to the U.S. Mainland during the 1940s and 1950s. The new native children were

socialized under different cultural elements and parents experienced difficulty in providing quality

time in parental care. Family structure has not changed much from the past although we have more nuclear and single parent families without the assistance once provided by the extended structure. Industrialization, modernization and an understanding of the purpose and use of public welfare have been contributing factors. The role of kin, neighbors and social institutions in terms of admonishing children for negative behavior and attitude has changed. Legal statutes and unwillingness of parents to accept traditional intervention have contributed to this change. One of the current results is that many children today appear to have no respect for elders nor authority and they fear neither man nor God.

Since the Virgin Islands are impacted by global consequences and mass media and since the current leadership desire tourist from all parts of the world it is important for the VI not to become culturally deprived. Virgin Islanders have to identify all of their cultural universals that are uniquely theirs and not allow for a cultural lag. We need to enthusiastically observe our holidays and partake in cultural revivals, and most of all we need to live as a people and a family. Family reunions are on the upswing and this practice needs to be publicized and commended. If some of these suggestions are followed then there will never be another conference like the one of 1972 where we begged the question, Virgin Islands culture...myth or reality?

QUESTIONS:

1. To what recent events does Professor Blake attribute the current resurgence in interest in defining Virgin Islands culture?
2. Explain how the then College of the Virgin Islands was involved in exploring issues related to Culture two decades before the current institute?
3. When Professor Blake re-states the arguments of the past relative to the pros and cons of Virgin Islands Culture, does his statement reflect a negative or positive state of affairs at present? Explain!
4. From what you know of the discipline "Sociology" explain how Professor

Blake's reading of the panel title "From Cradle to Grave relates to his own academic background as a professor of Social Work!

5. What are the essential kinds of shared products that define culture as viewed by the sociologist?
6. Give two examples of nonmaterial culture and relate each one to at least one material product.
7. Do you believe that the three agents of change mentioned by the presenter are stated in their natural order of emergence in human society? Explain briefly!
8. According to the bilateral relationship between Culture and us set forth by the presenter, what happens to us during the "cradle stage"?
9. Explain briefly how calypso might relate to promotion of Virgin Islands Culture.
10. Does the metaphor of the cradle phase, as employed here, suggest a desire to return to a certain past?
11. How does Professor Blake provide, from the Virgin Islands historical record of societal organization, reinforcement for the frequently heard pronouncement these days that "it takes a village to raise a child?"
12. What was it about the Lutheran Church that was likely to strengthen its authority respective to attendance of even the poorer folks at church services?
13. Do you see a contradiction in the readiness of the folk on the one hand to change from one religion to another, while these same folk felt a high obligation towards their godchildren?
14. Do these two behavior patterns say anything to you about the morality of Virgin Islands folk at the time?
15. Name two major factors implicated in the presenter's article when he says that children of the 1960s are culturally different from those of the cradle phase?
16. Can the advent of funeral homes be seen as contributing to the disappearance of wakes?

17. Is racial and ethnic mixing a new phenomenon in the Virgin Islands? What is the significant point to be made here?
18. Based on this article, can it be assumed that parents will again accept correction of their children by persons outside of the immediate family?
19. Professor Blake notes that businesses along the funeral route closed their doors during the passage of a funeral cortege, and part of it was the good public relations such an act produced. How do you explain today's general disregard for this practice?
20. What do we know about the time parents reserve for their children in recent years?
21. How does the reduction in the rate of extended families in the population appear to be impacting on child-raising?
22. When all is said and done, can Professor Blake be said to have remained completely objective in the matter of cultural preservation in the Virgin Islands?

ACTION QUESTIONS:

1. An earlier selection in the present manual, albeit a sub-section of a larger narrative, bears the title "Grave to Cradle. How would you account for the difference in perspectives between Professor Blake and the presenter in that instance?
2. Study the piece on Jarvis and Social Studies Reform and explain how Jarvis fits the metaphor of cradle and grave.
3. Read Carol Henneman's editorial, then Professor Blake's section on traditional child-raising practices. Are you able to perceive arguments in Blake concerning why the village concept may no longer work in the Virgin Islands?

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FISSION AND FUSION AND CREOLE, CALYPSO AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

(adapted from an earlier version in 1990 Festival of American Folklife) (JH, SH, C-U)

Editor's note: This article is included in the manual in order to shed light on the sociolinguistic and cultural contexts in which many of the ethnological processes discussed in the volume are rooted and evolve.

Gilbert A. Sprauve

A key to unraveling the Islands' rich cultural flux and variety is the perspective compounded of linguistic and sociological sciences. Thus the major cultural groupings are to a large extent subsumable under the rubric "sociolinguistic sectors." Approaching the society in this way provides one means of gaining a clear cultural perspective on the complex and creative ways the following sectors of the population interact, communicate and compete with each other in relatively peaceful and harmonious settings:

1. Crucians
2. St. Thomians/St. Johnians
3. British Virgin Islanders
4. French
5. Puerto Ricans
6. Kittitians/Nevisians

7. Antiguans

8. Dominicans/St. Lucians
9. Trinidadians
10. American Blacks
11. American Whites
12. Arabs
13. Indians
14. Haitians
15. Dominicans from the Dominican Republic

The sociolinguistic approach taken here is useful in understanding the forces that bind together the society of these islands, themselves microcosms at once of the ethnically mixed Greater West Indies and of the United States melting pot. The author admits to a predilection for an approach defined less by conflict among the various groups and more by the cultural wealth which attends diversity and which, to some extent, is the by-product of intense economic exploitation and adversity. Others may be inclined to survey our island communities from a sociological vantage point and rely on

surface conflictual indices, thus reducing the groupings to "Blacks," "Whites" and "Others" or "Natives," "Aliens" and "Others." Such an approach would obviously underscore antagonisms still present in our islands.

Cultural divisions, indeed, also can be marked by conflict. This may be heard in the terms utilized for other-group identification in conflictual - and quasi conflictual, that is, festive - settings. These include "cha-cha" for Virgin Islands French folk, "garrot" for folk from the Eastern Caribbean islands and "Tomians" for St. Thomians. "Crucians" for St. Croix natives and "Tolian" for Tortolians carry no significant negative or conflictual charge. "Pappa" and "mamma" are used frequently to refer to Puerto Ricans in the Virgin Islands, as "johnny" is to refer to Arabs.

If preservation of the Islands' rich cultural variety is on our list of priorities, then

all sociolinguistic instruments marshalled to serve that feature deserve our attention, from lyrics of our calypsos to folk stories told in West Indian Creole. For the survival and persistence of the consciousness that we call "Virgin Islands culture" is by no means a trivial historical matter. To understand the workings of the engine that drives this consciousness we must first glance back at the economic and political forces that came to bear on these islands during the past half century.

The most dramatic expansion ever in the Virgin Islands economy began in the late fifties and early sixties of the present century; it is still in progress today, much to the dismay of a wide cross-section of our populace. Some historians date the groundwork for this boom to the years of the Second World War. Almost overnight these islands came under intense pressures to be the showcase par excellence of unchecked capital development and exponential commercial expansion. (Weren't we, after all, an American territory operating in the free enterprise system? And weren't the islands unsurpassed in natural beauty, the ultimate commodity for wealthy and adventurous visitors and investors?) When we consider these pressures from the outside, combined with local leaders' self-consciousness about poverty and their naive vulnerability to grandiose schemes of wealth for all, then we can comprehend why suddenly the doors were thrown open and the forces of development unleashed. This kind of accelerated development everywhere hinges on the availability of cheap-labor. The Virgin Islands were no exception. But Virgin Islanders were also coming into their fuller rights as United States citizens/subjects; this meant that, although their wages did not enjoy full equity with those of United States citizens on the mainland, they were still a decent cut above those of our fellow West Indians on our neighboring islands. The ambitious Virgin Islander who felt hemmed in by inadequate wages at home routinely pulled stakes and traveled to "The Big City" - usually New York - to make his fortune. The ambitious West Indian, analogously stymied by low wages on his home island, was all too ready to fill the order when developers from the Virgin Islands - latter day raiders - arrived on their shores in pursuit of able-bodied laborers for Virgin Islands industry and construction.

Thus was set in motion a new version of the famous triangular trade, this one involving the United States, the Virgin Islands and other islands in the Caribbean. The Virgin Islands were the hub of this trade, rather than simply one corner, so the analogy with triangular patterns is perhaps imperfect. But in effect the three

part trade worked as follows. From the brow of an under-paid labor force transported to and toiling in the Virgin Islands, substantial revenues in the made their way to these islands. On the other hand, when Crucians discuss their past and their cultural traditions they pay homage to ancestors, including relatively recent ones, whose place of birth was on one of the Eastern Caribbean islands such as Antigua, Barbados, Nevis or St. Kitts. Several mini carnivals or ethnic celebrations in our islands demonstrate this bi-directional orientation. British Virgin Islands/American Virgin Islands Day is primarily a St. Thomas and St. John fete, while Eastern Caribbean Day is celebrated on St. Croix. Dividing along similar lines, Fathers Day in St. Thomas--including boat races and a fishing tournament - toasts the contribution of the French settlers and their descendants; while on St. Croix, Puerto Rico/VI Friendship Day celebrates the presence of those who migrated from Vieques and Culebra to our shores.

A robust debate has been going on in the Virgin Islands about whether these festivals promote unity or disunity. But in each community the grand-daddy of the annual celebrations is clear: it is Carnival on St. Thomas and St. John, and Festival on St. Croix. All groups participate and compete in these events. Calypsonians flock to them from the Greater Caribbean to meet the challenge of feting and entertaining the Virgin Islands in all its cultural diversity. In this way, the fissures of rampant exploitation and its attendant cynicism are subjected to intense festive meltdown. And the culture prospers.

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ETHNICITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARIBBEAN IDENTITY IN VIRGIN ISLANDS CULTURE

(SH, C-U)

Alcess Lewis-Brown

[N.B.: No footnotes have been found.]

PART I

For very obvious reasons, the concept of ethnicity is an abiding pivot point of interest for all Caribbean island societies. This concept is treated much the same way that a science teacher might treat a certain exotic microscopic entity; such that, all sectors of the community probe and comment on the many features of ethnicity. Some offer their theories about specific racial origins and cultures within the society. Others, looking for self-qualifiers, earnestly search for the "gold" of certain foreign parts trapped in their specific nucleus.

For Virgin Islands society, these parts are the -people of African descents from along the Caribbean chain, the French, Hispanic, Jews, Danes, and other Europeans and their descendants, as well as the more recent "Arabs" and East Indians residing in the society. Attempts at culturally classifying this society and its people must be done with some degree of trepidation. However, because despite the fact that the islands are so richly researched by tourism experts, national demographers, culture specialists, journalists, etc., there is a certain type of understanding that must be part of this research. To begin with, the culture of the islands is, ethnically too black to be purely European, too North American to be simply another set of islands in the Caribbean, too North European and African to be simply African or Latin.; too modern to be primitive, too "overdeveloped" to be underdeveloped; too unique to be considered the same as any other Caribbean island; too similar to other Caribbean islands not to fit in as another piece in the big Caribbean puzzle.

This struggle to find a comfortable ethnic and cultural classifier is not new,

however, especially if we consider that, according to African anthropologists, there is "little agreement among African experts about how the various peoples of Africa should be classified." So, we ask ourselves, where does it all end, or for that matter, where does it all begin.

Also, there is even one hypothesis circulating, as a follow-up to the work of anthropologist Professor Leaky, of "mankind's monogenetic and African origin." So, as passionately as we coddle the ethnicity issue, it is sufficient to say that the variants on this issue are diverse.

Society's focus on the variants on the ethnicity phenomena can be traced all the way back to the exploits in the beds and back rooms of the African-dominated plantation societies. Historical records show that, ". . . slaves remained the majority, a position they held almost from the outset of each island's exploitation." However, despite the common denominator of a dark-skinned African majority, skin color as well as degree of specific ethnicity -- measured in such terms as mulatto, quadroon, etc., was a major concern for all of the players in the plantation society. Even in the bitter aftertaste of slavery, in its rawest and most conspicuous forms had disappeared, this remained an, often times, biting issue.

On the road from emancipation to self-actualization, skin color was, and perhaps still is, in a feeble way, like a road sign. The darker you were, the closer you were to slavery; the lighter you were the further away. Money, though, has been the great equalizer, so sometimes, it was used as a deciding factor in determining how close one was to slavery.

Therefore, grudgingly, and for the sake of development, room was made at the table for the darker brother, with money. Then, later on, room was made for the darker brother with education and so on. Thus, face to face, ethnicity and development viewed each other like the cat and the mouse, switching roles as necessary on the cue of the question, should I prey or play?

Early in the 19th Century, black consciousness rose like smoke from from smoldering coal. The ethnic value of African-ness became a welcome spark of light. This consciousness was greatly stimulated by community activism, and other leaders, as well as negritude writers, who made it a point to glorify the African and his African way of life in their works. Despite the fact that most of

these intellectuals and free thinkers operated outside the mainstream, they served to undermine some of the most crippling post colonial attitudes; especially since the most pervasive themes dealt with in the negritude genre is the need for ethnic validity, as well as for self-determination-- intellectually and economically among colonial and post colonial peoples.

Virgin Islander, writer/historian J. Antonio Jarvis didn't exactly glorify his people in his works, but instead his seemingly harsh, historical exposé made him very unpopular among them. Perhaps, the problem that he faced is the problem of most free thinkers in small societies, in which new and relevant ideas are either ignored or equated with 'subversion'. Whichever way, Jarvis' plight is perceived, it would be fair to say that Jarvis dealt pointedly with these themes, as they related to the Virgin Islands, to the extent that some of his points, stuck like a kasha in many sensitive local hides both home and abroad.

Rothschild Francis, and other Virgin Islands political activist, were also pumping up local pride, self confidence, and political awareness with their political and social commentaries. Marcus Garvey of Jamaica is considered to be another trail blazer in this genre. Fernando Ortiz of Cuba also explored African-American themes in his analysis of Cuban culture and economy. Luis Pale Matos of Puerto Rico also turned his attention to African culture for his inspiration.

In the early trickle of black consciousness, facsimile institutions were established to structure Caribbean societies. It was just about the same for most islands in the colonial network. The key institutions targeted for structure were school systems, churches, and of course the ad hoc political machinery, which could be led by anyone from a naval commander to some fly-in-by-night personage who had been given a safe haven to relax and retire. Their attitude to the population that was inadvertently thrust upon them was an indictment of freedom.

Their ill-preparedness for dealing with the emerging process of Caribbean race relations was seen in the attitude of some of these transient leaders. One example of this situation is the U.S. Virgin Islands under navy rule, where officers had oversight and authority to rule. "There should be full recognition of the fact," wrote Major General McIntyre, in an argument against civilian rule, "...that in assigning small islands for supervision it is proper to keep in mind the specific object for which they were acquired. An island or a small group of islands acquired primarily for naval purposes does not differ greatly from a war vessel or

a fleet at anchor."

Perhaps because of the tourist economy, that assessment still seems to haunt some of the Virgin Islands'

relations with outside observers and casual visitors, from the larger world, for, in some instances, the islands are viewed as vessels of pleasure anchored for fun in the dapple and lazy loll of the Caribbean sea, and in the opinion of some, local concerns and personalities are equal to this balm. Further, realistic cerebral concerns are expected to be set aside, and what's more, cannot be found to any great extent in such a place-- to facilitate someone's else's fun in the sun, the Caribbean man must remain the perpetual limbo dancer or moko jumbi.

But we must force those who stand in assessment and judgment of the Caribbean man to elevate those cultural mainstays to the appropriate level and compartment of the Caribbean culture.

In this regard, not only the Virgin Islands, but the rest of the Caribbean has been a spectacle for the modern world. The lust for sun and fun from the outside world has given stiff competition to a realistic Caribbean identity.

However, it is the best and worst of times for Caribbean peoples-- including Virgin Islanders. Because, despite the contemporary problems endemic to our societies, there is a resurgence of self-awareness at all levels of the society, which might be part of the prescription for our plans and goals as we forge this new ethnic personality.

As Dr. Eric Williams so eloquently stated for the Caribbean "Given its past history, the future of the Caribbean can only be meaningfully discussed in terms of the possibilities for the emergence of an identity for the region and its peoples. The whole history of the Caribbean, so far can be viewed as a conspiracy to block the emergence of a Caribbean identity in politics, in institutions, in economics, in culture and in values."

This conspiracy has not gone unnoticed by segments of the Virgin Islands community; even though other Caribbean islands have led the most recent marches in the challenges against it. In fact, it has been the subject of much discussion over the last several years. An issue that has jogged the minds of

territorial educators is the relationship between local education and Virgin Islands culture.

The debate on this issue came to its first head with the local government's decision to request a "federal money grant under the terms of the Higher Education Act of 1965 for the purpose of promoting the study of local history, civics, and geography in the instructional program of the local schools." Specifically, the public schools, because, generally, from my experience of being a part of the Virgin Islands private school system from kindergarten, private schools made no attempt to educate students about Virgin Islands history. This history was touched on in regards to its "limited" relationship to the struggles of Europe.

So, even though Project Introspection was set up by the Virgin Islands Department of Education, it didn't ripple in some quarters of the educational system. The project was approved in 1967, and up to 1972 when I was graduated from St. Peter and Paul High School, the fact that much of the celebrated beauty of European infrastructure was made possible from the wealth that poured into European coffers from the sweat of African brows on the Caribbean sugar estates, was not even important enough to be given significance in the standard world history class.

Much of what was learned about Caribbean history, was handed down through discussions with the older members of our society and from comments and sometimes off-hand discussions with grandparents and parents. In one of those off-hand moments of discussion with my mother, I recall her statements about her visit to England as a young woman. "When I left Antigua to visit England," she said, "I didn't take on the English people with their 'nuffness'. They lived in all of their luxury because of the blood, sweat and tears of my people. Their wealth didn't frighten me."

The application to the federal office of education to fund the project mentioned earlier, was a statement that jacked up the issues of national pride and cultural identity that characterized the social debate in every colonial and ex-colonial Caribbean society.

Even with the social debates that went on in the Caribbean during that time, the economic, social and political development of the region was atrophied by a

plethora of by-product distractions. They rose to confront Caribbean peoples as they moved through the landscape of history. History reveals in an interesting way the evolution of the Out-of-Africa man as he came through the "rites of passage" in the Caribbean. If we dip back in Caribbean history for a moment, we might shine our historical flashlight on island connections through the saga of plantation life.

It is no secret that slaves escaped from one island to the other in search of kinder treatment or freedom. Virgin Islands slaves ran to Tortola and other British islands, when freedom was granted in those islands in 1834. Before that, slaves steadily escaped to Puerto Rico and Vieques, and any other island where they saw an opportunity for marronage or freedom. Issues of birth were never a factor then. Freedom was the password.

With the advent of World War I, the depression in the United States and World War II, there was a mass exodus of Caribbean peoples to just about anywhere they could find work to sustain self and family. Many Virgin Islanders along with other Caribbean people fled to Santo Domingo in search of work and a quick dollar. Earlier, the Panama Canal Zone was another point of gathering for Caribbean people.

Many of the people who traveled to these places were swallowed up in the battle for survival and never returned to their waiting families. Unlike the escape during slavery, this voluntary decision to seek work, presupposed an eventual, voluntary return or reunion; however, the wait for many families spanned generations. Recent success stories of families united in a second or third generation is now common. This whole issue is a big subject for contemporary Caribbean writers.

The exodus out of the Virgin Islands slowed considerably during the Paiewonsky era, when the Virgin Islands opened up to tourism, broad based government employment and the comfort zone of an American economy. Other Caribbean islanders fled their homeland for opportunities available under the American flag. Out of this, new issues of quasi-slavery and freedom became a reality for those who lived in the Virgin Islands on a bond.

There are many alien stories told privately about this time in Virgin Islands history. For all of the parties that were caught in this vicious web, however, these stories opened old scars. In fact, they cause such discomfort, that both natives and

aliens alike would rather not talk about those times. To many, these stories are best brushed aside, like dust under the historical carpet--forced away like a bad dream.

One story that is at once horrifying and fascinating is the story told of the man who tried to enter the Virgin Islands through Puerto Rico. A late night flight through Puerto Rico had a reputation for being easy. By that time, the Immigration were tired and they didn't bother to check passengers too closely. They just waved them on hurriedly. Once immigration authorities checked passengers in San Juan, there was no checking again in St. Thomas. The catch to this, though, was that if you were light skinned, you were almost assured a wave on.

The story is told that this man was very black. So, it is alleged that he didn't want to take chances with not being waved in as a Puerto Rican. Therefore, upon his arrival into Puerto Rico, he arranged to be stowed away in a cargo box in the hold of a BWIA airplane. Apparently, as the airplane readied to land the bags shifted in the cargo hold, and his ribs were inadvertently crushed. He arrived dead on delivery at Harry S. Truman Airport. The word spread like wild bees through the community. At the airport, all of the people of the island where he was allegedly from recognized his body. In their minds, the baggage handlers, the bell boys, the tax drivers, silently acknowledged their country-man as his body lay motionless in the baggage claim area. They were seemingly too afraid of immigration reprisals to acknowledge their country man's body. It is said that even his mother didn't acknowledge his body.

There is another story told about a young man who worked with a local construction company, who wore a Charlotte Amalie High School uniform to work each day. He calculated this whole charade so that his entire outfit, included books and school bag. You see, the story goes that he had been told by many people that he resembled the Ottleys, a prominent local family, so much so that even local immigration officials mistook him for a member of this Ottley family. He used this well established resemblance to his advantage. If ever an immigration raid was conducted while he was on the job- site, it never failed, one of the local immigration officers might say to him, "Boy, why are you hanging out with these aliens. You father know where you is?" Then, he would incline his head, shade his gaze and politely pick up his school bag and leave.

Other stories are not quite as humorous. In fact, some cast a smear on the integrity of the officials who held prominent governmental positions.

One such story is about the immigration officer, and I will not call any names, who enlisted the services of alien craftsmen to build his home, in exchange for negligible wages and of course additional time on their passports. After the huge house was built, it is said that the officer called for a round-up of these craftsmen and deported them -- without paying them money owed to them for their labor on his house. The story goes further, that this immigration officer was never able to live in that house in peace. There were rumors that his house would sporadically catch on fire, or that the fire would subside just as the fire truck approached the house, so that the firemen grew tired of responding to this seemingly playful plea for help. Also, this man is alleged to have reported that a barrage of stones assaulted his house roof, but only he heard these stones.

Being born in Antigua, myself, I can recall as far back as age five, the once-a-year mandatory trips on the Empress sailing vessel from St. Thomas to Tortola. It was a slow, noisy, hot, unending, miserable voyage to satisfy the immigration laws that all aliens had to leave the island once each year to renew their "bond" or "bondage", whichever word one would care to use. Weary and pained from the return trip, one was required to line up in the sun or perhaps the rain, while an immigration officer snared out, at his human cargo, from behind his wire framed glasses. I am sure that, for many children, after they became aware of African history, this has had to haunt them in a "middle passage" kind of way.

These kinds issues planted themselves like a cancer that was rooted front and center in Virgin Islands society. So, as economical development prepared to round the corner of Virgin Islands History, human and social development stepped into another quarter.

Today, as we look at this situation with a lot more understanding, we can trace the historical pattern that had all of the players trapped in this sticky web, because right before our very eyes, the cycle begins again. As the old immigrants assimilated and settled in, a new set came, giving the children and grandchildren of the "old" ones license to be prejudiced and perhaps even oppressive against newcomers.

The new set of Caribbean immigrants feeling the brunt of oppression today are

the Haitians and the members of the Dominican Republic of old Hispaniola. The members of the First Black Republic in the region are now the last at the regional super table. They seemed to have come near the end of the meal and so most times, are uninvited.

PART II

Under the protection of the U.S. umbrella, the Virgin Islands became the Mecca of the Caribbean, an elite core of islands offering opportunities to its now less fortunate neighbors. Thus, the term native became somewhat racist - but economics and politics shaped the nuances of that perception and thus created many cultural subgroups. Each group came with its own cultural legacy and established traditions.

These established cultural traditions not only fed off of each other, but they were also stimulated by each other and brought about a natural response. The areas of stimulation and response remain, our food, our music, elements of mysticism and our creative genius as a whole.

As with any other great culture, these are basic potent elements that melt, mold, fuse and define culture. No matter how far down the Caribbean chain we travel, food among people of African descent bears a striking similarity in type taste and mode of preparation.

No matter what circumstances might impel us to squirm away from each other, even if it's grudgingly, we have no choice, but to acknowledge each other's artistic and creative genius. As a result, we freely borrow from and enhance each other's display of talent.

Ethnicity is not an issue when we consider that Crucian folk hero, Queen Mary, the Fireburn Queen of 1878, was born in Antigua. She is no less a hero because of that. Virgin Islanders still regale her for her historical contributions.

The subject of ethnicity is not an issue when we are "playing mass" in the streets. The Jouvert tramp and the annual carnival parades, attract all strata of the population now. Even levels that upheld the European view of dancing in the streets and otherwise as, ". . . free forming improvisatory style, that contrasted

sharply with the prescribed European measures . . . Dancing was something 'well educated' people learned and performed, on the other hand the 'dances of negroes are of one sort; turning and moving about.' We have evolved from the "mass of night gown troop with biscuit pan, quatro, squash, ukulele and iron band of the Easter and Christmas fete of long ago"9 in****to a highly organized, modern and sophisticated festival or carnival in new grafts of sound and color, yet we notice striking similarities to the South American and Trinidadian mode of celebration that is popular all over the Caribbean.

We can't deny that the steel band music of Trinidad is now a celebrated Virgin Islands cultural tradition. Nor can we deny that reggae music of Jamaica is without question a trademark for cultural music.

And, in St. Thomas, when a certain "sophisitcat" can tell you that the reason a certain incident happened to someone is because it is alleged that "somebody put on their hand," not withstanding a first-class college education, you understand, amused but not amazed, exactly what the person means. It is not a laughing matter that after over three hundred years out of Africa, the mystique of ancient Africa is fresh an alive in unthinkable places. This is no secret in Haiti, because Haitians openly tout this mysticism that we call obeah; however, it exist in the darkness of silence here in just about all Caribbean societies.

It is clear the, that at the core of our cross cultural interaction, there is a picture of human nature, a map of the universe, and a version of Caribbean history.

I submit that these are the things we will all be remembered for. The many great cultures of the world are remembered for their intellectual and spiritual contribution to humanity. The Greeks are remembered most for their philosophers, and their mythology and their art.

The Egyptians are remembered for their creative genius in the sciences and engineering revealed in their pyramids and great still with mummification. The Chinese are still associated with enchanting gardens. Rome is a city whose name evokes thoughts of major artistic and intellectual achievement. Its ruins stand as a memorial to the creative imagination of the past. The various cultures of Europe also boast many contributions to the enrichment of humankind. The Dutch share among other things, Rembrandt, their creative and influential artist, whose work has been a source of inspiration for many generations of artists universally. His

personal life was fraught with not too pleasant melee, as we would say locally, but he is most remembered for his contributions through the arts to humankind. The battles of the world are mentioned as a matter of course, but those cultures with the ability to impact humanity withstand the test of time.

In the Caribbean, even our language doesn't necessarily bind us, because from the outset, Caribbean peoples were transported from various parts of Africa. Each tribe brought its own language, in order to facilitate a common means for communicating with each other a graft occurred between the language of the tribe and language of the colonizer. This graft spawned the enchanting rhythms of the Caribbean tongue and if you know anything about Africa, you know that there were many variations of this graft, since in "only three or four of the forty-two countries of Africa do most of the people speak the same language."¹⁰ Hold over words from some of these African languages have been incorporated into the various cultural languages of Caribbean societies.

Although language does not capsule culture and therefore, proposes no built in obstacles to the communication of cultural significance, the notion of difference, of a point of departure between cultural realities, is an issue. We have only to look at how close knit Hispanic communities are on St. Croix or how the French people, on St. Thomas have stayed together in their own communities. The notion of difference have been the stimuli for many battles within this community, silent or stated.

Our intrinsic battle with each other rest like a huge boulder, on axioms blessed by time. Axioms that, in many instances, are no longer relevant or healthy. The feuds between Christiansted and Frederiksted, are well known. There is no secret about the long standing feud between St. Thomas and St. Croix either. It is not unlike the feuds that lead to the secession of Anguilla from St. Kitts and Nevis, nor the scuttle between Antigua and Barbuda or the two St. Martins, sharing one island mass. Further away from our shores, we want to close our eyes and perhaps even, stick our fingers in our ears when the media presents the struggles presently going on in places like South Africa, Bosnia and Sarajevo.

Domination rarely breeds anything wholesome. Some say that a history of United States domination has crippled Virgin Islands self confidence and has caused this society to be fragmented, but that is an issue that can be made against many other Caribbean countries.

There has been debilitating consequences which we continue to examine over and over again. With good reason, we could look at the historical precedence for independence in the Caribbean and as we begin to discuss political status, there are lost of examples to draw from, starting with The First Black Republic in the Western Hemisphere, Haiti.

The experience of Haiti's plight, on its own, is a constant reminder to other non-independent and fragile independent Caribbean nations. When St. Domingue chose voluntarily in 1860 to return to Spanish control, it was a determination to opt for continuity, for a relationship that they had come to identify with, as well as to rid themselves of Haitian domination. This was the region's first incident to the voluntary return to colonialism; however, this side of Hispaniola is on its own again and living in straitened conditions.

In the British Caribbean, England practically threw out her colonies in the proverbial bath water, their political independence didn't preclude them from economic stagnation, poorly developed infrastructure, lack of fiscal self confidence. In some instance, some islands developed a reputation for corruption. As someone once said, "No one will ever know how tall you are until you are asked to stand." However, a statement can be made that no matter how tall we stand, even as the opportunities present themselves to us for self determination we can be our own worst enemies.

No matter how one views the Virgin Islands condition, one must admit that a vicarious cycle exist. This, perhaps, is due in part to the fact that we live in an import society, which naturally harbors a certain degree of psychological dependence on the societies from which we import. Then as a natural consequence, a great proportion of dependence reduces local self confidence, stymies personal development and as we well know, sets us up for the control of a handful of people and confusion among the ranks.

So, it no wonder that many of the problems of the sixties are revisiting us like a ghost on crack. If we choose one year in the sixties, and compare it to 1993, it would be as though the saying 'the more things change is the more they remain the same' was coined to fit that comparison.

Let us use 1969, if you will, because that year is a good catalog of the action in the Caribbean. If we pay close attention, we will note that much of the concerns

of rest of the Caribbean creates a mosaic that includes the Virgin Islands; even though, because of the economic reasons, for a long time, the notion of being a part of the rest of the Caribbean was disdainful for many Virgin Islanders.

The chronicle of 1969 includes, "The British invasion of Anguilla resulting from its secession; anti-police rioting in Montserrat; serious labor disturbances in Curacao; political crises in Surinam; chronic labor unrest in Antigua; endemic racial tension in Jamaica; political turmoil in Guyana; the disturbances caused by the independence movement in Guadeloupe; the unpopular dictatorship in Haiti, the uncertainties of the democratic movement in the Dominican Republic; the United States blockade of Cuba; and the Castro Support for Latin American Guerrillas."¹¹ The turbulence within Democratic machinery in the Virgin Islands also reached boiling point around 1969.

In 1969, the troubles of the region were closer to each island than we care to say. There were not only economic troubles for some, but there were, also cultural and institutional troubles. We've made many strides since 1969, but in 1993 our concerns have just changed clothes.

What is the answer now? This is perhaps the question one would ask. I submit that as a people we should capitalize on our differences and make them work for us. None of the original Africans or Europeans, for that matter, are among us anyone. We are the new-vogue synergistic Caribbean person. So, the only task how, is harnessing the creative energies of this new ethnic personality.

PART I QUESTIONS:

1. What words are used by the writer at the outset suggest that ethnicity in some way relates to the segmenting of a community?
2. The writer acknowledges the quantity of research that has been done with a view to classifying the islands culturally while expressing a reservation that hints at insufficient quality. What is that concern?
3. Would you say that the main problem in classifying Virgin Islands culture,

- according to Ms. Lewis-Brown is its great similarity to or its great difference from other regional cultures?
4. Does the writer suggest that among Blacks, skin color further skewers ethnicity? Explain!
 5. How does wealth interface with skin color in drawing ethnic boundaries, according to Lewis-Brown?
 6. How is the cat-and-mouse metaphor applied to the inter-relationship of ethnic standing and privilege in the West Indies?
 7. In this article are Black intellectuals and writers of the early 20th century viewed as being aloof and indifferent to the race issue or involved and activist?
 8. Does the statement on Jarvis here confirm or negate what your other readings on this Virgin Islands intellectual have revealed to you?
 9. Rothschild Francis is mentioned as an activist for Virgin Islands rights in the same paragraph as Marcus Garvey. Are you able to identify at least one Virgin Islander whose significance and prominence at an international level merits the title of precursor and even mentor of Garvey? Locally, was there a leader on St. Croix who could be considered a counterpart and cohort of Francis as a freedom fighter?
 10. How does Lewis-Brown characterize the average naval administrator of the Virgin Islands in the period following the American purchase?
 11. When Lewis-Brown mentions a view of the Virgin Islands as "vessels of pleasure" is the word vessel employed strictly in its maritime sense, or are there social and other connotations? Explain!
 12. What do you understand by the word "balm" in the present context?
 13. What is this conspiracy that "has not gone unnoticed by segments of the V.I. community" that Lewis-Brown refers to?
 14. What problems would the federal moneys sought via the Higher Education Act of 1965 be used to alleviate?

15. According to the writer's experience, were the private and parochial schools as attentive in their curriculum to matters of race and ethnicity as the public ones?
16. What did the writer's mother mean when she alluded to the English people with their "nuffness"? Can you think of a local expression in the Virgin Islands with the same meaning?
17. Using our flashlight to see into the hidden recesses of our history, as Lewis-Brown suggests we might do, what important fact are we bound to discover about our islands populations?
18. What collective adventure of Caribbean people is viewed by Lewis-Brown as a major subject of Caribbean writers of our times?
19. What is the writer referring to when she speaks of "alien" stories?
20. In the tragic case of the stowaway, one might say that given certain realities "the man had two strikes against him from the get go!" Could you explain such a view of his predicament?
21. The story of the immigration officer and the uninhabitable house is well known on St. Thomas. How does it relate to the spirituality mentioned by the author in the opening pages of this article?
22. How does the author invoke the terror of the "middle passage" of slavery times a modern setting?
23. In appealing indirectly for more understanding with regard to bad treatment of Eastern Caribbean peoples by Virgin Islanders and other "insiders" the author uses words like "pattern", "web", "cycle". What do these words tell us about ourselves?
24. How would you highlight the irony of Haitians being the last to be invited to the supper table? Were you making the argument for a privileged place for Haiti at the supper table, what would you say concerning the country's significance?

PART II QUESTIONS:

1. According to the author, when did the term "native" take on racist overtones?

2. In what areas of our culture are our island traditions seen as engaged in cross-pollination and interfacing?
3. How does author Lewis Browne highlight an earlier period and earlier conditions in our cultural history when ethnic differences had little importance?
4. How does the author use West Indian dance to suggest the need for caution in approaching ethnographic differences in contemporary Virgin Islands society?
5. How are Trinidad and Jamaica seen as contributing to the Virgin Islands cultural potpourri?
5. What religious movement is obeah here associated with in this essay and in what circumstances is it practiced, as suggested here?
6. Why is it that our language does not bind us, as Lewis Browne sees it?
7. Where and under what circumstance did multilingual contacts among Africans take place?
8. What linkage is being hinted at between cultural attributes or activities and cultural survivals when the author mentions the Hispanic and French communities of the Virgin Islands in the same paragraph?
9. Are these activities and attributes consistent with the contents of the articles on these two ethnic groups included in the present volume?
10. What example is offered here of ethnic strife within the Virgin Islands?
11. The decision by at least one country to return to the fold as a colony is depicted here as a mixed bag. Explain this perception!
12. The author speaks of a vicarious cycle having to do with Virgin Islands identity and self-determination. What are the forces in dynamic tension that create the this "vicarious cycle?"
13. The year 1969 is viewed by the author as one which a series of events took place impacting on questions of political status in the region. Are you able to cite three of these and summarize their outcome or their importance to the present status of the islands in question?

14. What characteristic of today's Virgin Islands population is underscored in the author's final words, and to what use should we put this feature, according to her?

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DE-MYSTIFYING FRENCH MIGRATION

Anne-Marie Danet

(JH, SH, C-U)

Editor's note: The following is one of two articles presented in this volume having to do with the cultural history of the French of the Virgin Islands. As we point out elsewhere, there is a substantial difference in the tone of ethnic self-assertion expressed by French Virgin Islanders when compared with that of Puerto Ricans, persons from the Eastern Caribbean islands and others. While the latter groups tend to present a case for an unconditional franchise, the French appear to be more interested in preserving a distinct cultural past. It is perhaps useful to explore models that work with East Indians and Arabs in the Caribbean when analyzing ethnicity and identity among French Virgin Islanders.

Some writers have enshrouded in mystery the French settlements at the Carenage and on the Northside of St. Thomas, claiming that there has never been any authentic information on the origins of the French migrants to St. Thomas, nor on the reason for their migration.

We propose to remove the shroud and lift the veil of mystery.

The history of the French immigrants on St. Thomas has been well documented in the government archives and in the various parish registers on Saint-Barthelemy, Guadeloupe, France and on St. Thomas. The reason for their migration has also been documented.

During the years of Swedish rule, when the economy of Saint-Barthelemy began to decline and life was at its most harsh, many young men of Saint-Barthelemy began to seek their livelihood on other islands. Some also joined the French Navy or the French Merchant Marines.

Others moved to more prosperous islands, to France and even to Canada. Those who came to settle on St. Thomas were very poor and most, though not all, were

illiterate. Their ancestors came, not only from Brittany and Normandy but from many other provinces in France; they came from many different towns and cities. From the East to West and from North to South, from all across France, those ancestors came.

They had origins in Aquitaine, Flanders, Poitou, Burgandy, Provence, Saintonge and from the Province of Berry. They came from the towns and cities of La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Chateau-Chinon, Rouen, Nantes, Marseille, Sainte-Arnoult, Sansais, Toulon, Nice, Lille, Agen, Saint-Brieuc and Bastia in Corsica. These are the origins of the French migrants from Saint-Barthelemy.

They did not forsake their culture nor their language of their ancestors. The French settlers of St. Thomas continued to speak the dialects which the original migrants from France had brought to the islands of the Antilles. The settlers on the Northside of St. Thomas spoke a Creole dialect, while those who settled at the Carenage spoke a patois, others spoke Old French.

The women wore a distinctive type of dress which also had come from the countryside of their regions. It was a shirt-waisted, long-sleeved dress with a high collar, a tight band around the waist, a long skirt, gathered at the waist reached to the ankles, almost hiding the bare feet. An apron was worn at the front of the skirt, this apron was used even for Sunday services. Their heads were covered by a white sunbonnet which draped down to the shoulders. Some women wore a high-crowned straw hat with a wide, turn-down brim.

Every young man hoping to get married built his own little cabin. In fact, when a young man asked for a girl in marriage the first thing her father asked was whether the young man had built his own home. Home-building was a community affair with friends and relatives helping with the building. The communities were close-knit for most of the settlers were related to each other.

We must not leave the impression that all immigrants were fishermen or husbandmen, for some were boat-builders, stone masons and barbers. There were talented musicians, singers and players of the accordion who were all very much in demand at weddings, baptisms and other festivities. There are yet in Frenchtown and on the Northside talented musicians of the original French immigrants.

DISCUSSION of the specimens: First, review the Watlington, Vanderpool and Guirty specimens. Next, review the Felix Pitterson interview. Then, study the current article by Danet. The above is done with a view to identifying common conditions that fueled flight from one's home island.

How did these conditions affect cooperative and mutual aid linkages in the anglophone, hispanophone and francophone communities?

Do you believe, at the community level closer links existed between the several ethnic groups at an earlier period? (See Olwig's monograph relative to historic ethnic conflicts in Denmark in the 18th and 19th centuries.)

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A "GOLDEN MEMORY?"

TROPICAL TROPES IN DANISH IDENTITY

Karen Fog Olwig

(SH, C-U)

(translated by Gilbert Sprauve and Karen Fog Olwig)

Editor's Note: This article is included in the manual in order that certain issues related to the psyche, self-concept and cultural expression of Virgin Islanders might be raised. While it is often claimed that the Danes exercised very little cultural influence on these islands--especially at the vernacular level--, we caution against rampant underestimation of the Danish factor. (A case in point would be the concept of the press held by D. Hamilton Jackson, which is presented in our section on "Resistance.") No doubt, some of the second guessing of the U.S. Naval administration and its policies by Rothschild Francis and some of our older informants was in part driven by reminiscences of how the Danes did things.

Below, we suggest how a reading of this article might inform a substantive discussion of ethnicity in the Virgin Islands.

During the summer of 1992 a number of images from the former Danish West Indies were showcased in the Nikolaj Gallery, a cultural center located in a former church in inner Copenhagen. Entitled "The Danes in the West Indies" the exhibit marked the 75th anniversary of the sale of the islands in 1917 and it was sponsored by the Danish West Indian Society in conjunction with the Nikoaj Gallery. It was reviewed in many of the country's newspapers under headlines such as "A Puff of West Indian Fairy tale," "Three Little Live Wires," and "Golden Memories." (1) It was seen by about 350 visitors a day, a better than average number according to the staff at the Nikolaj Gallery. The exhibit therefore can be said to have been well received in Denmark.

The exhibit generated a much cooler reception among a group of visiting scholars who were attending a conference on West Indian history near Copenhagen. They found that it was characterized by a one-sided Danish perspective which was dominated by colonial and racist perceptions. When the foreign guests asked the Danish hosts at the conference why the exhibit had this cast the Danes were unable to provide a ready explanation. They replied that the primary organization behind the show, The Danish West Indian Society, consisted mainly of persons with direct ties to the former Danish West Indies. They therefore could be expected to nurture a rather nostalgic perception of the old Danish colonial mindset. And like any society, Denmark contained its share of ethnocentric people. But this reply did not offer any explanation for the fact that an exhibition, which would be viewed as blatantly racist and paternalistic in other, comparable, Western countries, was received so positively in Danish society in general.

I shall attempt to shed some light on this question by analyzing the West Indian exhibit as an example of a particular form for narrative about the development of Danish society which emerged during the nineteenth century. The importance of particular narratives in shaping our interpretation of the past has been discussed by the American anthropologists Edward Bruner (Bruner 1986). In a discussion of ethnographies of American Indians he argues that most ethnographic works can be seen to be constructed around a dominant narrative structure which, in turn, constitutes and interprets the people we study in a mode. He shows that the dominant narrative of North American Indians was, for many years, one which described a proud people with a rich cultural heritage, who, upon American colonization, experienced a loss of cultural traditions, so that they had no choice but to become assimilated into North American society. In the course of the past decades a new narrative has emerged in North American society in which the American Indians are represented as having had a past of oppression and exploitation, followed by a future of resistance against cultural denigration. While the narrative of assimilation can be seen to conceal the oppression which Indians have been exposed to, the narrative of resistance serves as a justification for the Indians' demand to reclaim lost rights. Furthermore, whereas the assimilation narrative renders the Indians inarticulate and mute, the resistance narrative invites them to speak out for themselves. After a period of confrontation between the two narratives, the narrative of resistance has become dominant, and the narrative of assimilation is no longer of significance in ethnographic writing on native Americans, as they are termed in contemporary ethnography.

I shall argue that the Danish and the foreign views of the West Indian exhibition similarly can be seen to reflect two different narratives about Danish West Indian history, the one informed by Danish national ideology, the other by the critique of colonialism emanating from circles concerned with the fate of third and fourth world people. In the case of the Danish West Indies, however, no confrontation of narratives has taken place, largely because the Danish nationalist narrative has flourished within post-colonial Danish society, while the narrative critical of colonialism has been directed primarily toward the dominant colonial or neocolonial powers of the latter part of this century. The two narratives have thus not co-existed within the same cultural space, and it has been possible for the Danish narrative to develop into a domestic genre that says more about Danish cultural identity and self-understanding than about the Danes in the West Indies, let alone the West Indian population in the West Indies.

The Exhibit's Narrative

The exhibit "The Danes in the West Indies" consisted primarily of a number of images (lithographs, water colors and photographs) which were made by Danes who, in the course of the last two centuries, stayed for shorter or longer periods in the islands. According to a newspaper interview with one of the organizers of the exhibit (2), it was divided into two sections: one offers a presentation of artists and their works; the other provides a historical background for different themes such as town life, the functioning of the plantations, and the sale of the islands.

The exhibition can be seen to be structured into two phases: 1) the Danes colonize the islands from the latter part of the seventeenth century and develop an economic system based on plantations and commerce; 2) the islands experience a period of economic depression which leads to their sale to the Americans in 1917. The turning point in this course of events is the abolition of slavery which took place in 1848 during the rule of Danish governor-general Peter von Scholten.

1) Danish Colonization and Economic Enterprise

The first phase was characterized by a great deal of Danish enterprise in the form of colonization of the three islands, construction of forts to defend the colony, establishment of sugar plantations, especially on St. Croix, and the initiation of a

transatlantic emporium based on St. Thomas. This required a determined, if somewhat harsh effort. In order to control the many slaves who were needed as a work force in the enterprise an especially firm hand was needed. West Indian slaves are described as belonging to some of Africa's most boisterous and quarrelsome races, and they were therefore difficult to subdue. (3) For this reason it was necessary, it is explained, to institute a strict regime of punishment, which involved whipping, the lopping off of ears and, in the worst cases, hanging and decapitation. To appease a modern clientele at the exhibition, which might perceive this punishment as being barbaric, it is stated that such punishment was certainly no different from the punishment which was dealt to Danes at home. That such punishment was "necessary" is made abundantly clear at the end of this text where reference is made to the St. John Slave Revolt--the bloodiest and most violent in the islands' history, when slaves, "through cunning," surprised an entire, unprepared, company of Danish soldiers at the fort and killed all except one, who managed to escape.

The exhibit also attempts to defuse the objections which the modern Dane might hold against the slave trade, not to mention slavery itself. It is explained that field labor was too hard for Indians and White Europeans and that production was only possible with the aid of Black slaves that Danes obtained at their forts on the Guinea coast. Having pointed to the need for African slave trading and slavery in this manner, the text notes that Charlotte Amalie on St. Thomas could boast the world's largest slave market.

The Turning Point

This rough sketch of Danish West Indian history is brought to a close with the abolition of slavery. Focus is here on the Danish governor-general who is characterized as a person with great sympathy for "the colored population." Not only did he establish a school for the slaves, but he also liberated them in 1848--against the planters' will. This cost him his post as governor-general. The description of Peter von Scholten's freeing of the slaves is placed close to a picture illustrating the decline, which began in the second half of the nineteenth century.

2) Economic Decline and Loss and the Colonies

Under the heading "Economic decline and sale" the text gives the impression that Peter von Scholten's humane action had catastrophic results in the colonies. It is stated, without further explanation, that "abolition of slavery and economic recession at the end of the nineteenth century brought about a fall in the population." The decline obviously would not be reversed, and it became necessary to dispose of the islands. After several efforts Denmark finally succeeded in selling them to the U.S.A. in 1917. The economic problems are reflected in Hugo Larsen's pictures which are described as being marked by realism. It is stated that he showed sensitivity for the tired person, in a slumped posture, who apparently hardly has the energy and will power to live after the workday is over. This impression of a worn down people is counterbalanced by many of the other images from the last part of the Danish period, which give an idyllic impression of the islands and their population. They show the islands' Black population as loyal servile souls who diligently scour floors and devoutly care for little blond Danish children, or as rather exotic and romantic folk who live in peace and quiet from their petty trade. The exotic is most apparent in the paintings by Frederik Visby about whom we are told that he painted Black women with long dragging skirts, twisted up like a couple of trousers, a characteristic scarf hanging from their neck and a cigar in the mouth. That the humane Danish government was behind this idyllic image is sensed, for example in the picture of West Indian children being taught in a school originally established by Peter von Scholten.

The narrative which emerges in this exhibit can be summed up as one about a proud and enterprising Danish past, sacrificed by the noble abolition of slavery which was accompanied by economic and demographic problems which led to the loss of the colonies. In the light of this loss and the many problems caused by the abolition of slavery the Danes appear as humanists and the late Danish period as an idyllic and benign time. The Danish narrative was seriously challenged when it met head on with the narrative of the foreign researchers who visited the exhibit.

The Visitor's Narrative

The visitors' narrative, which has characterized historical/anthropological research in the last decades, is closely related to that which was seen to have dominated ethnography on American Indians during recent decades. In the West Indian variant, the present day West Indians are seen to have lived through a long history of oppression, but through their long battle with this oppression they have developed strong cultural traditions which today form the basis of modern West Indian society. This narrative can, for example, be seen to have constituted the structure behind a conference which took place in Utrecht, Holland, in 1992 under the theme "Born out of Resistance: Caribbean Creativity as a Response to European Expansion." (4) The foreign researchers who came to Denmark were particularly offended by the fact that the Danish exhibition did not let the Afro-Caribbean people speak and that they were used only as a back drop against which to set the stage for Danish accomplishments in the colonies. This was regarded as being highly problematic because, in their view, it tended to reduce the Afro-Caribbean population to an inarticulate and helpless group of subhumans.

1) Muteness and Missing Dignity

The muting of the Afro-Caribbean population was seen to be evident in the introductory chronological summary of Danish West Indian history which was placed at the entrance to the exhibit. This survey was supposed to present some of the most significant and relevant events and data on the Danish West Indies, yet one of the most central post-emancipation events for the Afro-Caribbean population after the slave rebellion did not figure in it. This was the great labor rebellion that took place on St. Croix in 1878 as an act of resistance against the social and economic problems which the emancipated experienced after the abolishment of slavery in 1848.(5) Emancipation did not result in a major improvement in the condition of the freed, largely because the Danish authorities introduced a labor law which forced them to enter into work contracts which bound them to the plantations where they had previously served as slaves. Wages were barely at subsistence level, and it was difficult for them to see the difference between their newly gained freedom and their former slavery. The economic and social problems caused by these labor contracts were the main reason for the decline in population, mentioned in the exhibit. Indeed, there was an extremely

high infant mortality rate on the islands, and a great number immigrated from the islands--or fled, if they were not able to annul their labor contracts. It was only after the revolt in 1878, 30 years after the abolishment of slavery, that the Danes abolished these labor laws.

By ignoring this watershed in post-emancipation West Indian history, where the Afro-Caribbean population staged a revolt against the repressive colonial system, the exhibit avoided dealing with some of the more unpleasant aspect of Danish West Indian history. The only even in Danish West Indian history. The only event in Danish West Indian history, between the slaves' emancipation in 1848 and the islands' sale in 1917, which appeared to be worth of mention in the chronological survey was the Danish Prince Valdemar's visit to the islands.

The exhibit's representation of emancipation, which was also occasioned by a rebellion, was likewise seen by the foreign visitors to be characterized by a missing Afro-Caribbean perspective. The chronological summary mentioned briefly that Governor-general Peter von Scholten liberated the slaves after a slave revolt led by the freedman "Moses `Buddhoe' Gottlieb." It is only Peter von Scholten who is given a central position at the exhibit itself, where his emancipation of the slaves is viewed as illustrating his great humanitarian role. The Black population's active role in the course of events leading to emancipation is not presented.

The visitors also took offense at the exhibit's description of Africans as particularly well suited to physically hard work in the cane fields and to slavery descriptions which in other societies would be considered strongly racist. These objections were fueled by descriptions of Africans as being absolutely terrified by exaggerated fears concerning the destiny awaiting them in the West Indies, which cast them in a comic light. The text explained that Africans thought that Whites used their skins to make shoes, or that they would be eaten and their bones used to make gunpowder. Compared to these alleged fantasies West Indian slavery comes to be seen as an almost humane institution. But the price is that the African people are deprived of their dignity.

2) Living Life for the Moment

The account of the Black as unruly and ignorant savages, and then as grateful, free people who faithfully served their Danish masters and in their spare time lived an idyllic existence occupied by petty trade and domestic duties, equipped with a large cigar, did not leave the West Indian people with much tradition upon which to build. This was reinforced by a slide show on the contemporary American Virgin Islands which presented the image of the Black population as a carefree people, who tend to live for the moment. Accompanied by lively calypso rhythms, this show gave the impression that West Indian life, for the most part, consists of songs, games, dance and feasts, only interrupted when nature interferes in this little earthly paradise, as happened, for example, in 1989, when hurricane Hugo wrought violent damage on the islands. The image of a carefree people is reinforced by Greenlandish artist Hans Lynges paintings which depict West Indians more or less without clothes, as one with nature.(6)

A Danish Matter

The historians Svend E. Green-Pedersen and P.C. Willemoes (1983) have criticized Danish research on colonial history for having been carried out from an almost exclusively Danish perspective. They argue that Danes have concentrated on Danish economic and political concerns which are analyzed from the point of view of the industrialized West, and that they have carefully avoided representing Danish colonies as objects of imperialistic exploitation. Similar criticism has recently been voiced by another historian Niels Brimmes (1992), who emphasizes that the foreign societies have figured only as a troublesome and demanding setting for Danish industry abroad.

Danes are not alone in writing colonial history from a narrow, national point of view. Historians from most major colonial powers, however, have been exposed to sharp criticism during the last decades from a growing number of well educated third and fourth world historians who have begun to conduct their own research. Many of them have therefore had to broaden their scope of research to include the local populations [involved]. Much recent colonial history has situated itself [at] a vantage point between European rulers and local populations where both are seen to have played an essential role in the course of history (Cohn 1980, Olwig 1985b). This is reflected, for example, in Danish colonial history on Greenland which has been challenged and subject to critical discussion, led, not the least, by Greenlanders themselves.

Danish research on the former tropical colonies, however, has only a very limited degree been challenged by people representing the third world. This, as Green-Pedersen and Willemoes Jørgensen suggest in their article, may well be because these former colonies were sold off by Denmark many years ago. There has not, for this reason, been a common cultural, or linguistic, space, where the narrative of the old colonial power could be challenged by the narrative espoused by the third and fourth world today. Indeed, it has been possible for Danes to maintain a provincial; colonial history, such as the one expressed at the exhibit at the Nikolaj Gallery. The Danish narrative about the West Indies has therefore become an exclusively Danish matter which says relatively little about the West Indies, but a great deal about how Danish cultural identity and self worth is generated through reflection on Danish deeds abroad.

I have argued that the West Indian exhibit was revealing of a narrative about a past of enterprising and honorable people who asserted themselves among the most prominent of world powers. With the emancipation of the slaves, the Danes experienced a long period of social and economic decline which ended with the loss of the last colony in the tropics. Due to a humane act, the Danes therefore lost their status as a colonial power--their glory was replaced by magnanimity. Their economic and political loss was compensated for by their moral gain.

This Danish colonial narrative finds a parallel in a Danish narrative on the development of the modern Danish nation. The present land boundaries belie a Danish past of territorial possessions extending well beyond present national borders to Great Britain, Germany, the Baltic and northern countries, as well as to far-away colonies in distant continents. The loss of these possessions, however, was turned into an internal moral victory when the Danish monarch magnanimously reformed Danish agricultural society by liberating the peasants from serfdom, abolishing cruel and capricious forms of punishment, providing schools and aiding the peasants to acquire their own farms. The freed and independent farmers, rooted in the Danish soil, then, as the narrative goes, assumed leading role in the social, economic or political development of Danish society. These farmers are thus seen to have created the foundations of the modern, democratic Denmark that we think we know today (Kjaergaard 1985). As the Danish historian Fugue Oestergaard had demonstrated in an article about Danish farmers and national identity (Oestergaard 1992), the prominent role of the Danish farming population in the emergence of the modern Danish nation has

become consolidated in a dominant narrative. In this narrative Danes are viewed as freedom loving, egalitarian and tolerant people who place equality, welfare and fairness before grandeur, might and honor. This narrative has obtained hegemonic status that has been so strong that it has dictated the limits of public discourse, including the academic one.

This narrative can be seen to have been transferred to Danish West Indian history in spite of the fact that it is only by choosing and interpreting historical data in an extremely selective manner that the Danes in the West Indies can give the impression of being a people who, on the altar of humanism, sacrificed their greatness. Danish society from the middle of the nineteenth century was characterized by an economic, political and cultural growth which benefited the farmer class (the rural small holders and proletariat, on the other hand, was exploited and impoverished and many immigrated to America). The Danish West Indies of the same period was hardly characterized by economic growth and political progress towards a more democratic society, however. Here, the old autocratic rule continued in the style of the absolute monarchy with little consideration for the welfare and desires of a large Black population. This actually was noted by some of the Danes who visited the Danish West Indies during this period. One of the most prominent was the journalist Henrik Caving who, in 1894, published the book *The Danish West Indies*. There is not much tropical nostalgia to be found in his description of the tiny Danish community on the islands. His skeptical attitude towards the Danish government should be seen in the light of his affiliation with the daily newspaper *Politiken*, which was highly critical of the Danish political system at the time, and which defended the rights of the rural small holders and proletariat in Denmark.

The problem of inscribing accounts of the Danish West Indies into a dominant Danish national ideology emerges fully when the Danish presence in the West Indian colony is subjected to closer scrutiny. It becomes apparent that throughout Danish West Indian history, the Danes made up a small minority on the islands, not only in relation to the large Black majority, but also within the White minority on the islands. At the West Indian exhibit in Copenhagen it was stated that "Even if the Danish population comprised a small number, they managed to give the islands a Danish imprint." (7) The architecture in the cities and the Danish street names were mentioned as examples of this influence. There is, however, little doubt but that the Danish influence was limited almost entirely to

the field of colonial administration, and that the islands' economic and social life was entirely dominated by people of foreign origin. On St. Thomas and St. John most of the plantation owners were Dutch, on St. Croix they were British, and the great merchant houses on St. Thomas were almost without exception owned by foreigners or persons of foreign background. Many different languages were spoken on the islands, and in the course of the nineteenth century English became the dominant language. It was not before the end of the Danish period that Danish economic and cultural initiatives took place, supported by nationalist forces in Denmark, which were intended to counter the impending sale of the islands to the United States. The purpose of these measures was to revive the weakening economy of the islands and to teach the Black population Danish language and culture. These economic investments, however, were too limited to have any effect, (8) and the effort to promote Danish culture came too late to leave a mark on the islands. (9) Thus, despite the 250 years of Danish colonial rule it is difficult to point to the existence of a proud Danish past, except within the colonial bureaucracy.

It is also questionable, however, whether the colonial government itself was entirely Danish, because many of those who were influential in colonial rule were of foreign background. This was the case with Ernst Schimmelman who, as minister of finance in Denmark, was one of the main forces behind the establishment of a commission to investigate the transatlantic slave trade. Schimmelman was of German origin and strongly oriented toward German culture, and the report of the commission was written in German (Green-Pedersen 1970-71). The abolishment of the slave trade was emphasized in the exhibit which described Denmark as "the first colonial power's to ban "all trade with slaves" in 1802. (10) Peter von Scholten, who was praised at the exhibit for his efforts to help the Black population of the islands, was also of foreign origin, the family having come to Denmark from Amsterdam (Lawaetz 1940:229).

It was quite natural that many of the Danes who became influential in the West Indian colonial administration were of foreign origin. Until the latter part of the eighteenth century Denmark was dominated by a small elite which had immigrated to the country from elsewhere in Europe, primarily Germany. The proud Danish past was therefore to a great extent the product of these European immigrants and their descendants. Indeed, Denmark has been described as being a multi-cultural society until the end of the eighteenth century (Feldbaek 1992:

91). At this time the growing Danish middle class began to feel restricted by the dominant position of this internationally oriented elite, and a certain amount of hostility developed toward this elite which was now defined as non-Danish. This was most clearly expressed in the anti-German attacks which erupted in 1789. Ernst Schimmelman responded to this by criticizing Danish "cultural mediocrity" and the Danish penchant for "putting narrow personal interests before common humanity" (ibid.: 90).

Most of Danish West Indian history should undoubtedly be written in "multi-cultural" terms. The Blacks, who comprised the majority of the population, descended from slaves of many different African backgrounds, and the White population derived from a number of European countries. If one is to point to one characteristic which most poignantly captures what was particularly Danish about the Danish West Indies, it may be the fact that such cultural complexity was permitted and allowed to flourish, particularly with respect to the White population. It would have been natural if the exhibit "Danes in the West Indies" had been presented in this light. This would have put the Danes on the map as a tolerant, freedom loving and egalitarian people. Instead a more narrow, nationalistic viewpoint was chosen, which astonished and angered the visiting West Indian historians. When their viewpoints were presented, at their request, in a small article in *Politiken*, one of the leading Copenhagen newspapers (Olwig 1992),⁽¹¹⁾ these arguments were completely rejected by the leader of the Nikolaj Gallery, Lise Funder. She stated in a rejoinder (Funder 1992) that the exhibit only showed "a small corner of the life and nature of the three islands as seen with the eyes of Danish artists," and the exhibit in no way presented incorrect information, but merely explained "how conditions actually were...."

An imagined world

The positive interest shown the West Indian exhibit, coupled with the rejection of critical voices from abroad, might lead one to conclude that Danes have established such a well defined cultural identity that they are incapable of conceiving of other narratives than the one which supports this identity. This conclusion is in line with the generally accepted view of Denmark as a culturally homogeneous society. The existence in Denmark of historical conceptions and narratives of the Danish West Indies which are different from those outlined

above, does not support this conclusion, however. I have already mentioned the critical voices which emerged during the Danish colonial period, and referred to historians who have criticized the way in which Danish colonial history has been conducted.

That this more critical approach to colonial history is known outside narrow academic circles is apparent in a review of the West Indian exhibit published in *Politiken* (Lindboe 1992).(12) In a rather ironic vein it is remarked that "the West Indies has come to represent a golden nostalgic memory of the times when Denmark was a colonial power." At the exhibit one can "experience a sensation from the golden days, when plucky Danish merchants sailed on the West Indies, and where a very special culture developed on the three exotic islands." The review finally notes that one might easily remark "that many of the artists idealized the islands and the life out there." This was in the good old days, before anybody discussed the "exploitation of the third world, and the colonies." It is therefore suggested that the exhibit reflects the continued presence of a way of thinking associated with a geographically and historically distant colonial setting. In the mental enclave of Danish West Indian history, ideologies, which are no longer acceptable, can still flourish freely.

Because it is so far removed from any West Indian reality Danish West Indian history can be said to have entered the realm of an "imagined world" to borrow an expression from Indian anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1991). According to Appadurai, "imagined worlds" play an important role in the modern world, because it is characterized by a [welter ???] of disparate and disjointed economic, political, cultural and technical flows which make it difficult to create an orderly and coherent life. By drawing on the creative resources of the imagination, however, people are able to construct imagined worlds, which constitute meaningful frameworks of life. Some of these imagined worlds are associated with a distant place with which people identify, because they and/or their ancestors have formerly lived there or otherwise been closely associated with it. Such displaced, imagined "homelands" can become quite "fantastic and one-sided", because they are not confronted with the actual places to which they refer (ibid.:193).

It is possible to understand the Danish West Indian exhibit as a form of imagined world created and maintained by people who have only limited contact with the

lived world which it represents. This is certainly the case with respect to the Danish West Indian Society, the prime organizer of the exhibit [..]. The society can trace its origins to a group of "Danish civil servants and gendarmes" who met in 1917, shortly after the colony had been transferred to the United States. It is explained in a special issue of the Danish West Indian Society's journal, which was sold at the exhibit, that during colonial times Danish officials hoisted the Danish flag, the Dannebrog, every morning "at the Danish forts, the military barracks and the governmental buildings to assert the Danish role on these exotic tropical shores." When the Dannebrog was lowered for the last time, "it was cut into small pieces, and every one of the parading gendarmes c his little piece of the historic flag (Thorval 1992:7). When these people met a couple of months later in Copenhagen on the Danish flag day, Valdeman's Day, in order to celebrate Dannebrog, they decided to found an association called "The Danish West Indies." This organization met for many years in the premises of the Danish regional "homeland societies in Copenhagen. (13) When most of the older members with direct ties to the West Indies had passed away, the association was turned into a more cultural and historical society presenting lectures, slide shows and films about Denmark's colonial history.

For many years this society had dominated and sustained the Danish interest in the former Danish West Indian colony. It has also organized a number of highly successful exchange vists with its sister organization "The Friends of Denmark" in the Virgin Islands. The visits usually take place late in March [in] connection with "Transfer Day", a public holiday in the Virgin Islands, when the islands' transfer from Danish to American rule is remembered by flying the Danish flag in the morning. Since the 1950s the Virgin Islands have become a popular tourist destination. The islands' Danish past has been an important attraction in the tourist industry because it is seen to give the islands a particular "Old World" charm. The old Danish street names and the historical buildings from the Danish period have been emphasized as some of the most important elements in the islands' Danish heritage in the tourist brochures. The impression that the islands hear the imprint of a significantly Danish past is therefore rather easily affirmed by a brief tourist visit.

It is no wonder that the Danish West Indian Society's view of the former Danish West Indies is influenced by its founders' close personal ties to the former colony. It is remarkable, however, that this view has been so generally accepted in Danish

society that few reacted against the exhibit at the Nikolaj Gallery, or supported the protest levelled against the exhibit by the West Indian visitors. The reason should be found, I have argued in the fact that the view of the Danish West Indies which the exhibit represents, has become an integral part of the dominant Danish perception of the nation's history.. Furthermore, the imagined Danish West Indies world, which the exhibit represented [...], can be seen to be highly relevant for modern Danish self-understanding. It grants to Danish life great moral human value at a time, when this life is lived in a highly shrivelled national space, and when Danes find themselves in the margins of a world dominated by foreign superpowers and an array of different technical, economic, cultural and social flow from foreign metropolises. The Danish West Indian world imagined in Denmark may bear little relation to the lived world of the former Danish West Indies. It rather constitutes a representation of a powerful internal Danish mindset which has thrived for many years and, ...as such, is real enough. Adopting another view of Danish West Indian history hence involves much more than revising Danish views [the] historically and geographically distant subject of Danish rule. It involves revising many Danes' view of themselves.

Notes

1 In the first headline, the Danish word eventyr means both adventure and fairy tale. These reviews appear in Borholmeren, Kristeligt Dagblad, and Pilitiken.

2 Bornholmeren August 1, 1992.

3 The texts at the exhibit are excerpts of articles published in the book Kunstnere i tropesol [Artists in the tropical sun] (1992). This book was published by the Danish West Indian Society in collaboration with Nikolaj Gallery in connection with the exhibit.

4 For an analysis of the Danish West Indies from this point of view see my book on St. John (Olwig 1985a).

5 The labor rebellion and the economic and social problems which led to it is discussed in Jørgen O. Bjerregaard's historical review in Kunstnere i tropesol (1992). He argues that it had been necessary for the authorities to introduce the

labor regulations which, in many ways, can be seen to have caused the rebellion. See also Tyson (1995).

6 One of Hans Lyng's paintings is shown on the cover of the exhibition publication *Kunstnere i tropesol*. It shows a Black woman on a beach dressed in a bikini which does not cover her breasts.

7 The exhibit contained texts both in English and Danish. Unfortunately, I only noted the Danish texts. My English translation of the Danish texts may therefore be slightly different from the English texts at the exhibit.

8 The Danish West Indian Company, which was founded toward the end of the Danish period, was one of the most ambitious Danish projects of the time. It was later purchased by the Danish East Asiatic Company and was for many years an important economic factor on St. Thomas due to the fact that it owned a major part of the harbor in Charlotte Amalie. It was sold to the Virgin Islands government recently.

9 One result of the Danish cultural politics in the West Indies which has been noted by many Danish visitors to the islands is that many of the older people who attended Danish school were able to sing Danish children's songs. *An example can be found in *Fra Slav sang til Soca* [From Slave Song to Soca], a book and tape which provides fine illustrations of the cultural complexity which has always characterized the islands (Bjerregaard et. al. 1991).

10 There has been a major debate in Denmark whether the ban of the slave trade was motivated by humanitarian or economic causes. This is discussed in Green-Pedersen (1970-71; 1981). The Schimmelmänn family was one of the few from Denmark which owned great plantations in the Danish West Indies. The family remained in Denmark and managed its estates through overseers (Degn 1974).

11 I had called the article "Danes in the West Indies - and West Indians in Denmark", but when it was published it had been changed by the newspaper to "Racist exhibit".

12 The Danish writer Thorkild Hansen's trilogy *The Slaves' Coast* (1967), *The Slaves' Ships* (1968) and *the Slaves' Islands* (1970) also belong within this more

critical history tradition. The last volume, which describes slavery in the Danish West Indies, focuses on the emancipation of the slaves, and Peter von Scholten's role in this.

13 "Regional `homeland'" is rather loose translation of the Danish word hjemstavn and the German equivalent Heimat.

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DISCUSSION: In two consecutive paragraphs on pp. ?? and ?? Ms. Olwig demonstrates certain commonalities between a significant segment of the Danish underclass in Denmark and the enslaved in the Danish West Indies. Cite these two paragraphs and tell whether or not these class affinities facilitated betterment of the condition of Blacks in the West Indies. How do you suppose the struggle of the Danish underclass influenced the later struggles of D. Hamilton Jackson for a free press in the Danish West Indies?

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From one identity to the other

(JH, SH, C-U)

Felix Pitterson speaks:

Editor's Note: The following text was transcribed from a taped interview carried out by the with Mr. Felix Pitterson, perhaps the single largest independent landowner in the Virgin Islands. While his name, fame and wealth clearly presented him a number of options relative to identity, it is clear that he viewed himself as a Black and a Virgin Islander, at least within the confines of this interview.

Well, two things...I never count. I may count the money was sent to the bank, but not the money I have. And I never figure how old I am. I'm not interested in my age. I feel young, good looking and if you don't believe it, ask this girl [pointing to a domestic] ask this girl [indicating another female who was present]. I never figured, honestly, my...because it's two things that you can lose immediately. It's what you got: your money and your age. Your age, your life. So, I never figure how old I am. People say I'm ninety three, eighty three, I don't give a damn, but I feel like fourteen.

And, as far as my history, I'm a bastard. You know what is a bastard? A bastard is a man born for...on an unmarried couple. My father was a White man and my mother was a Black woman. Of course, in those days .I'm sorry that I won't be able to take you to a little ...dream that I call it. I call it Eve...Adam and Eve. And before, as I tell you, [inaudible] I used to go every Saturday and Sunday and talk to older people about St. Croix and St. Thomas and so. And one of them took me up to the same place that I owns today...I didn't know at that time...And she told me all about that building. It's not a building; it's a piece of thing of about from here to here...

G.S. About...twelve feet?

... twelve. And they used to take care of the children there. The Slave ladies, girls used to go to the fields.They used to bring the children there. They used to allow

another girl to take care of the children and have her children and some other children. And while she was there somebody would come enter with the master. The master was a White man and use to turn...take the same girl that was watching, use her for...you know... intercourse. And I was told that . And I own the property now.

G.S. You were told that by an older... ?

older person. And I got similar buildings. And I am the biggest landowner on St. Croix. When I say biggest...I bought pieces of land. Like today I own...seventeen hundred and forty...nineteen hundred and forty acres of land.6. Did not being Crucial born hinder Mr. Pitterson in his acquisition of land on the island, from what he says in the interview? And so therefore I ...beside that, as you know I retired from the United States Navy. And I was...

G.S. You went into the Navy when...

When I was a young boy. Eighteen years old.

G.S. Okay, and where were you at that time?

I was in San Juan. I happen to come from Culebra to San Juan. And they was enlisting people. And...we had to go to a place in San Juan. I was going to Cataño, and I went the wrong place. And a guy told me [to] go in there. And I went in there. And a guy told me [take] my clothes off. I was a boy. I took my clothes off. I was a big guy--a hundred and thirty-seven pounds. A man.

G.S. That's how you joined the Navy?

Yes. I don't like to say that because probably they won't like...In those days a Black guy in the Navy was like two, three places below a dog.

G.S. You were treated like dogs?

Well, real bad. They comes in, make you get up from your seat, Jim Crow you there. In Norfolk , Virginia, I slept Jim Crow there. I have to eat Jim Crow. Then I went to Europe. To France. And stayed there during the War. And, when we came from France, believe it or not: In all our second grade education I make Chief Petty Officer. It had two in the whole Navy. And I was one. And when I

came back I was a Chief. I was third degree, but when it came to eat, I went to eat in the Chief place. And then, since I was senior Chief, I sit down in the front of the table. And at [inaudible] Buchanan came up and no one would sit down. And he says "General Clark, what happened? No one would eat and a...your White man wants to pay a servant." He say "Hi!" He knows that you couldn't answer that word in the Navy. You have to call a guy by his name. So, he say "hey", I didn't answer him. "Hey!" he came up, "I'm talking to you!" Then I stand up. "About face!" A lot of Navy people was there. He was talking ...he was telling me..."Hernan!" "Officer, of this section, I wouldn't have a nigger sitting in my table. "Forward, march!" Get Out! When I forward march outside, another officer came, higher than him, "Stop! About face! Forward, march! Take your seat at the table!" And he say: "That man just come from the War. You wasn't in the War! You are a reserve! And as long as I am here I wouldn't allow that.!"

...I have gone through hell for being Black. Another time I was in Brest, France. And I have a habit of all the time going by myself. And this time I went to a restaurant, and I was eating there, and two White guys see me.

G.S. Frenchmen?

White! Americans. With all my rank! Below my rank! And I was sitting down in there. One came in. And he say: "I know you are a Chief, but you sitting down in the wrong place. If you were in Georgia or Alabama you know you couldn't sit down there. The two French people were there and a woman who talk french was looking at me like to say I ain' doing nothing with he. Leave him alone! He say: "When I count two, if you ain' outa here you see what will happen to you!" So, he say, "one, two!" He come to me and he pull me out Boy, I don't know where the hell I get that strength. I hit that guy so hard. And he fall. And with him I hit the other guy. And that guy breathe like a horse...and he shit all over himself. The two...the French woman and French man, they came by and kissed me. Called the ambulance and took him out.

G.S. How did you decide to live on St. Croix

I'll be frank. One time I was... You're not the first one. Puerto Rican people have come...and ask me for an interview. I had a hemisfero hotel. [Dónde está el papel del hemisfero aquí?] I had a hotel , a li'l hotel.

G.S. After you left the Navy?

I have a little hotel and the people used to come.

G.S. People from the Virgin Islands?

Yes, from the Virgin Islands. From Antigua. I was stationed in ...Antigua. And I know that I can't go naked in Antigua. And the people in Antigua, the old people that know me will clothe me. Because I was very strong. One time I was coming in a pickup in the Navy. And I find two Black women.

G.S. ...when you were in Antigua . . . two Black women laying in the road. . . And I stand up. I told the two English men. White. What's this? "Well, we're enjoying ourselves!"

G.S. Oh?

"We're enjoying ourselves! The two niggers got cowitch!"

G.S. What?

You know what's cowitch? So, I get up, I went inside. Took half of my clothes off. I wipe it. Pee on them. Wash it with my feet.

G.S. Was that a remedy that you knew of?

Yeah!

G.S. How did you know about that remedy?

Remember! I came from a small island. Hard. In Puerto Rico. Then the two White men try to [stop me from doing] it. I beat the hell out of them. There was a horse, and I took them hitting against the horse. And loose the horse and let the rope run. And I went in. And by that time was coming and took the English guy. He was . . . So they took me to the American Consul to report me. So, they called my commanding officer. And my commanding officer says "Chief, you are in big trouble!" . . . So I was taken to the English Consul. Big guy. And his wife and the family of the guy. So the Consul. . . the American Consul and the English Consul was together, the wife and the [inaudible]. And he say to me: "Well, why you done that?" I say, "I was coming in, and I saw these old ladies. Naked, on the hot

road! And I try to help them!"

G.S. And on the ground?

And on the ground! Naked! And my officer said: "I WOULD HAVE DONE THE SAME THING!!!"

QUESTIONS

1. What does Mr. Pitterson offer for proof of his eternal youth?
2. How does this informant make the connection between money and age?
3. In his definition of the word bastard does the informant show evidence of being a speaker of a language other than English?
4. What do Adam and Eve have to do with Pitterson's view of himself as a bastard?
5. Are you able to connect the old building referred to where slave girls cared for children and the present status of the same land, as Mr. Pitterson reflects on the matter?
6. This man was not born in the Virgin Islands and appears no to have been born on Puerto Rico either. Which island do you think was his original home?
7. What race does the informant appear to identify with as his own?
8. What does Pitterson mean when he declares: "It had two in the Navy. and I was one?"
9. Is it clear to you why Pitterson was addressed with the word "hey!"
10. In the situation Mr. Pitterson described in Brest, France, where would the two American bullies have had Pitterson eat his meal?
11. What does Pitterson mean when he says he can't go naked in Antigua?
12. What similarities do you see between the incident in Brest, France and that

with the two women on the road in Antigua?

13. Do you characterize Mr. Pitterson's action in the two conflicts mentioned above as heroic or contentious?

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Ella es Negra pero--she's Black but. . .

[Vignette]

(JH, SH, C-U)

Editor's note: The following is re-printed here in order to permit a further exploration of the identity and race issue among Virgin Islanders of Puerto Rican heritage. The student might be encouraged to prospect for commonalities and differences in approaches to race and identity issues in the Pitterson interview and the Borrero article, and later to see how these Afro-Hispanics compare with Virgin Islands French people in these matters.

Black is not the opposite of Spanish. It took me all of my adult life to understand that my need to express myself as a Black woman was not in opposition to my being Puerto Rican. All of my life I heard the sad refrain, "She's Black but. . ." whenever I was spoke of in Spanish by other Spanish folks.

Whenever they said I was "pretty, smart, had good hair" it was fairly complimentary, but I could never understand why it was in opposition to being Black.

Racial prejudice among Puerto Ricans and other Spanish colonized people was always a nebulous thing. On the surface the society was clearly mixed, making it appear that racism was impossible since most families contained mixed racial types.

In Latino society, when one looks at who has the "good" jobs and looks at the barometer of society's values--television--one quickly observes that us "colored folks" are missing as equals.

That is not a coincidence. There is a clear historical pattern of racism in Spanish culture. While dancing salsa, and wearing the beads of the Yoruban Orisha religions brought by the slaves to the new Spanish colonies, many fair-skin Latinos are uncomfortable with the idea of a separate Africa-based personality

within the culture.

They often say we are all one here, but cannot explain why the poorest people are Black in any Spanish country, why white actors in black face are used in Spanish soap operas from Latin America and why most executive-level positions are held by the "lightest" people.

The explanation lies deep within the essence of the Spanish slave tradition which was considered to be more benign than other European masters.

The Spanish often mixed with their slave women and produced the mulatto cultures we see today in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic) and throughout Latin America. Cultures in which the myths around "Blackness" are told in terms of the sexual prowess of the Black woman and the fearsome violent nature of Black men--"El Negro Bembu." Cultures in which Black people often observe among themselves wryly that, without the African element Latino culture would be like "rice without salt," bland and tasteless.

Against the backdrop of these dichotomies, I learned that I was a special kind of Spanish. I was a Black Spanish woman.

My father, Heriberto Borrero, an independentista and fiercely proud Puerto Rican, had the same hunger to know his roots that drove Arturo Schomburg, a Puerto Rican-born West Indian, to amass a huge library of the Black contributions to civilization. He taught me about the universality of the African personality. Not just our survival from slavery, but our contributions to all that mankind calls great.

My journey to myself was further strengthened by the Black Spanish women around me who taught

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